ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE ROLE OF VIETNAMESE AMERICAN

FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

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Human Development and Quantitative

Methodology

Research in the field of parental involvement is important to identify ways to help support children's academic achievement outside of school. This study extended the literature by examining father involvement within a sample of Vietnamese American fathers using mixed methodologies. Qualitative data were gathered through semi-structured interviews with 18 fathers; and quantitative data were collected through questionnaires completed by the fathers, mothers, and one school-aged child in the family. The interview data were analyzed using grounded theory approach (Strauss & Corbin, 1990) and underwent peer review throughout analysis to ensure codes were reliable and valid. The questionnaire data were analyzed using correlations and descriptive statistics.

Results from the interviews found two roles that fathers take on in their home involvement, the role of the principal and the role of teacher. Findings also revealed five dimensions to be considered in examining the roles and responsibilities of parents: distribution of roles, flexibility and specificity in the responsibilities of the principal role, and directness and frequency in the responsibilities of the teacher role. Further, results from the qualitative data showed that culture and ethnic identity have influence an on fathers' beliefs, expectations, and practices. For example, fathers indicated that they prioritize their children's activities around belief in the Confucius teaching that education is key to upward mobility. The collectivistic views within Asian culture helped fathers to set high expectations and enforce rules for children's academic achievement as this reflect the achievement of the family and community too.

Findings from the quantitative data showed that fathers' ethnic identity, involvement, beliefs, and expectations, and children's motivation and achievement were related to each other in various ways. Consistent across both types of data results showed that fathers were more involved at home, specialized and focused on math achievement, and that ethnic identity and culture played a role in the fathers' beliefs and strategies to parenting. This study provides rich information on the breadth and depth of fathers' involvement and the process involved in helping their children succeed in school. Future research should continue to examine fathers' involvement to fully understanding the mechanisms of parental involvement.

# THE ROLE OF VIETNAMESE AMERICAN FATHERS' INVOLVEMENT IN CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

by

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Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2016

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## **Chapter 1: Introduction**

#### Overview

Many studies have demonstrated that parental educational involvement is positively related to children's academic motivation and achievement (DePlanty, Coulter-Kern, & Duchane, 2007; Ginsburg & Bronstein, 1993; Gonzalez-DeHass, Williems, & Holbein, 2005; Paulson, 1994; Spera, 2005). Additionally, various researchers have focused on parents' involvement in school and at home, and parents' socialization processes have also been examined as a mean to understand their involvement at home, including parents' encouragement in schooling (Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack, 2007). These studies have found that when parents are involved in a manner that encourages persistence and effort, children reported being more intrinsically motivated, and have higher academic achievement (Dweck, 1999; Gottfried, Fleming, & Gottfried, 1994; Henderlong & Lepper, 2002). However, a major limitation of current work is that much of it has been done with European American mothers. Relatively few studies have included parents from different ethnic backgrounds, although this work is growing (Hill & Tyson, 2009; Ng, Pomerantz, & Lam, 2007; Pomerantz & Wang, 2009). Within the group of studies looking at ethnic minorities, Asian American families have been studied the least.

Studies examining parents' involvement in their children's education have found that mothers tend to more involved early childhood, which children are in elementary school and that the level of involvement tends to decrease over time as children transition to middle and high school (Pomerantz, Moorman, & Litwack, 2007). Parents' whose beliefs about the importance and benefits of school tend to be

more involved in their children's schooling, and parents from lower SES or with lower educational attainment tend to be less involved at home and at school (Davis-Kean & Sexton, 2009; Spera, 2005; Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007; Sy, 2005).

Additionally, research have shown that there is cross cultural differences in the ways and amount in which parents involve themselves in their children's education, and also in their levels of expectation of school achievement for their children. For example, Asian parents report less involvement at school and report more involvement at home, while European American parents' involvement at school is more or equal to their involvement at home (Sy & Schulenberg, 2005). Finally, several studies have shown that Asian parents tend to have the highest expectations for their children's current and future achievement in school compared to parents of other ethnicities (Fan, 2001; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998).

As the United States become more and more diverse in its population and especially within the growing Asian immigrant populations (Pew, 2014), it is important to investigate not only majority ethnic groups like European Americans, but also minority groups as well, like Asian Americans. Additionally, some researchers have found ethnic differences in school achievement over the years. For example, there are differences between various ethnic groups in students' performance on various standardized tests. Asian American students have typically performed better than European American students, and students from these ethnic backgrounds typically show higher achievement scores than students of African American and Latino and Mexican American ethnic backgrounds, with Mexican American having the highest drop-out rate relative to other groups (NCES, 2003,

2010; Wigfield et al., 2006). One reason for Asian American children's high achievement could be how their parents are involved in their education; to date, very few studies have explored this issue. Such research could help teachers and future invention program developers understand how Asian American parents' educational characteristics relate to their involvement and its subsequent effects on children's academic achievement.

Historical and cultural contexts affecting racial/ethnic minority groups in the United States (i.e., African American, Hispanic American, Asian American) may provide insight into how and why ethnic differences in academic achievement have been found in many studies. Different ethnic groups may have different perceptions towards schooling in American society due to the manner in which the groups arrived in America and the historical and political treatment associated with their arrival may affect their perception and regard toward the values and norms within the larger American society (Ogbu, 1983). For example, Asian Americans often view the United States as a host country where opportunities for financial and educational success are abundance compared to their homeland (Chao, 1996). As such, many Asian American, including Vietnamese American parents view education as an important path towards future success in life for their children, and socialize their children accordingly. Therefore it is of interest to investigate the processes by which parents of Asian American, including Vietnamese American students socialize or become involved in their children's education in order to further understand the processes that help bolster these children's motivation and achievement seen in the U.S. today.

One of the largest groups of Asian Americans in the United States is the Vietnamese American population. As of 2015, it is estimated that there are 1.7 million Vietnamese Americans residing in the United States, which represents the fourth largest Asian American population in America (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015) and the sixth largest immigrant group in the country (Zong & Batalova, 2016). Vietnamese Americans are considered war refugees due to the United States' involvement in the civil Vietnam War and its later policy of allowing Vietnamese to seek refuge in America. After the fall of democratic South Vietnam to communist North Vietnam, many families sought ways to escape the conditions and demands placed upon them by the new communist party in power. The majority of Vietnamese Americans residing in the United States today are first generation immigrants who arrived after the Vietnam War in 1975 (Pew, 2013). They arrive to the U.S. often with limited knowledge of the English language and are forced to take lower wage jobs to make ends meet and face financial and cultural barriers as they try to assimilate to their new home country. Compared to the other largest groups of Asian Americans (i.e. Chinese, Filipino, India, Korean, and Japanese), Vietnamese Americans have the lowest educational attainment with only 29% of the population having a bachelor's degree or higher, with a higher percentage of men (31.1%) than women (27.6%) in this category (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). The median age of Vietnamese Americans is 35.7 years old. Divorce and separation rates are low within this population with approximately 8% reported as divorced or separated. Most household are family households (78.6%) and most Vietnamese American children are enrolled in primary or secondary schooling (54%) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Given the Vietnamese

American's large population with the Asian American population but lower educational attainment, it will be important to examine the how these first generation immigrants are shaping their children's own educational attainment for the next generation of Vietnamese Americans. The unique experience of Vietnamese Americans is different from other Asian Americans (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, etc.) in the United States, are often not included or reflected in studies of Asian Americans in the research literature. It is important to include this understudied population in studies examining academic outcomes with ethnic minority families and students.

#### **Guiding Theories**

There are many theoretical frameworks for studying parental involvement, socialization processes, and the development of children's academic motivation and achievement. The theories guiding this research are developmental and educational niche theory, and the expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation (Chao, 2000; Eccles-Parsons, 1983; Super & Harkness, 1986). While the former focuses on culture, the child's caregiver, and the child's environment, the latter focuses on the child's own thinking, attitudes, and behaviors. These theories were chosen because they attempt to explain children's academic achievement outcomes through both social factors such as the child's home environment, family socioeconomic status, parents' involvement, and individual factors such as the child's own perceptions of these social factor, and their own interests, goals, values, beliefs, and expectations for success. Both of these theories are needed to understand the processes and relationships between parental involvement and children's academic motivation and achievement.

#### **Purpose of the Dissertation Study**

The overarching goal of the study is to understand the nature of and processes of Vietnamese American fathers' involvement within their children's education. More specifically, the purpose of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of the educational involvement experiences of Vietnamese American fathers by exploring and describing how Vietnamese American fathers are involved with their children's education and how culture shapes their involvement. Thus, this study will 1) investigate the role and responsibilities of Vietnamese American fathers with respect to their children's education, 2) explore how fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation influence their parenting or parental involvement, and 3) examine how these processes relate to one another.

### **Design and Method**

The dissertation research is a mixed methods study using qualitative data from in-depth interviews and quantitative data from questionnaires. This design was chosen because it can incorporate and use established scales from the parental involvement, acculturation, and ethnic identity literatures, but it also allows for new theories to be generated and new information to be gained from open-ended interview questions focused on understanding the experiences of Vietnamese American fathers.

By using both quantitative and qualitative methodologies, statistical analyses can be utilized to examine the relationships between parental involvement, educational beliefs, and children's motivation and achievement, while simultaneously exploring through qualitative analyses the context and meaning within those

processes among an understudied population of Vietnamese American fathers through in-depth interviews.

#### **Research Questions**

#### **Research Questions**

- 1. What are the roles and responsibilities of Vietnamese American fathers with respect to their children's education?
- 2. How does Vietnamese American fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation shape their parenting or parental involvement in their children's education?
- 3. How do fathers' ethnic identity, acculturation, parental involvement, and educational characteristics relate to one another and to their children's motivation and achievement?

It should be noted that the qualitative data will be used to answer research questions 1 and 2 while the quantitative data will be used to answer research question 3.

# **Expected Outcomes and Contribution to Research**

It is expected that findings will provide new information about how

Vietnamese American fathers are involved in their children's education that has not
been captured through previous studies of parental involvement. Measures of parental
involvement were primarily developed by European-American researchers and used
within samples of European Americans and mainly had mothers as respondents.

Based on other findings about Asian American families (e.g., Chao, 1996, 2000;
Nguyen & Cheung, 2009), my qualitative study could reveal that Vietnamese

American fathers have a great sense of responsibility and role in preparing their

children for further education beyond high school and thus are involved in various ways such as discussing possible plans for college and graduate school; giving advice about future career paths, providing alternative or additional learning materials not present at school, and encouraging persistence while struggling through advanced coursework.

#### **Definitions of Terms**

The following terms are defined below to clarify key constructs in this dissertation.

**Parental Involvement:** Parental involvement has been defined and measured in a variety of ways. Some studies have focused on parents' involvement at school such volunteering at school, attending school activities and functions, meeting with teachers., etc. (Epstein & Sanders, 2002; Izzo, 1999; Marchant, Paulson, & Rothlisberg, 2001). Other studies focus on parents' involvement with their children at home, such as helping with homework, monitoring children's progress in school, rewarding or punishing children's performance and efforts, helping select school courses, and so on (Ginsburg & Bornstein, 1993; Gottfried, Marcoulides, Gottfried, & Oliver, 2009; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Hoover-Dempsey, Battiato, Walker, Reed, DeJong, & Jones, 2001; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). Parental Educational Orientation: Parental educational orientation is best described as the cognitive and non-behavioral aspects of the socialization process in children's academic development. It is characterized by parents' own self-efficacy (perception that they can help their children be successful in school), educational value beliefs, and expectations for their children. These are separate but related concepts.

Parents' educational self-efficacy: Parents' educational self-efficacy can be described as their perceived competence to help their children in educational-related tasks. Eccles and Harold (1993) describe parents' self-efficacy as, "parents' confidence that they can help their child with schoolwork.

Parents' Educational Value Beliefs: The value beliefs include beliefs about the importance and benefits of education, doing well in school, hard work and effort in educational success (Chao, 1996; Spera, 2005). These beliefs can be communicated and modeled by parents in ways that help children to internalize the importance and values parents place on their academic achievement.

Parental Educational Expectations: Beliefs about how much education parents expect or think their child will achieve, are important predictors of children's academic achievement (Fan & Chen, 2001; Halle, Kurtz-Costes, & Mahoney, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Jeynes, 2010).

**Academic Achievement:** Academic achievement is the performance and accomplishments of students' learning in school often measured through report card grades and standardized cognitive tests or other achievement tests.

**Academic Motivation:** Academic motivation is the driving force behind students' accomplishments, choices, and decision making in academic activities and tasks related to school. Currently many researchers characterize academic motivation in terms of the interests, goals, values, and expectation for success for these activities (Wigfield et al., 2006).

**Asian/Asian American:** People who are identify their ethnic background as being Asian or Asian America or originating from Asia or have Asian family background.

The subcategories of the Asian have included but not limited to: Chinese, Filipino, Japanese, Korean, Southeast Asian (Vietnamese, Thai, Cambodian...etc), Pacific Islander, South Asian (Indian), (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

In this chapter I review the body of work that has been done on parental involvement as it relates to children's motivation and academic achievement using an integrated theoretical perspective from developmental niche theory and expectancyvalue theory. More specifically, in this chapter I will examine the extent to which parents' involvement is associated with children's academic achievement and motivation. Additionally, I will also examine some predictors of parental involvement, such as their educational beliefs. Finally, important to this chapter is the examination of how the relationships among parental involvement, children's academic motivation, and achievement vary among different ethnic/racial groups. Further, this chapter examines the role of fathers in the parental involvement literature and how fathers can influence children's academic motivation and achievement. As discussed in Chapter 1, this topic is essential to study because there is a growing interest in the role of fathers' involvement in children's education; however, there still is relatively little research in this area, especially research on fathers from different ethnicities. We know that children's success in school is vital for their future success in and outside of school and that mothers' involvement can positively impact children's school success. However, the link between fathers' involvement and children's academic motivation and achievement has not been made as clearly as it has been for mothers. Finally, this chapter reviews the literature on the influence of Asian American mothers' and fathers' involvement on their children's academic motivation and achievement because: 1) few studies have done so, and 2)

the increasing number of Asian immigrants in the U.S. make this population of particular interest.

#### **Theoretical Frameworks**

As noted in Chapter 1, there are many theoretical frameworks for studying parental involvement, socialization processes, and the development of children's academic motivation and achievement. In this chapter I will focus on developmental and educational niche theory, and the expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation. While the former focuses on culture, the child's caregiver, and the child's environment, the latter focuses on the child's own thinking, attitudes, and behaviors. These theories were chosen because they attempt to explain children's academic achievement outcomes through both social factors such as the child's home environment, family socioeconomic status, parents' involvement, and individual factors such as the child's own perceptions of these social factor, and their own interests, goals, values, beliefs, and expectations for success. Both of these theories are needed to understand the processes and relationships between parental involvement and children's academic motivation and achievement.

#### **Developmental Niche Theory**

Put forth by Super and Harkness (1986), the developmental niche theory is based on understanding the interplay of culture, family interactions, and children's development; thus this theory is quite germane to this study. Super and Harkness posit that children's development is based on the interaction of three different cultural aspects of the child's life. First, at the proximal level, there is the child's *physical and social environment*; this is where the child lives, and how the home environment is

organized and structured as well as the child's interaction with the people (e.g., parents, siblings, extended family, etc.) in this environment become an important part of the child's development. Second, at the distal level is the *culturally regulated* childcare customs and practices of childrearing, which are the universal parenting practices that are common throughout a given society and help to shape children's understanding of the world around them. Finally, the *ethnotheories of parents* (psychology of the caregiver), is the third aspect of this theory. These are the parents' specific beliefs about their role as a parent, expectations of children's development and behavior, and beliefs regarding the nature and needs of children in different cultures. The theorists posit that children learn and come to internalize their beliefs and identity through the dynamic interplay of the three cultural realms: their environment, caregivers' beliefs and expectations, childrearing practices to which they are exposed. The developmental niche theory provides a perspective that one's culture permeates the developmental contexts in which children grow up in, which creates a unique niche. This theory can be applied to children or families in any cultural context or society.

Building on the developmental niche theory, Chao (2000) put forth the educational niche framework. Rather than examining children's general developmental outcomes as seen within the developmental niche theory, Chao focused on the proximal environment, socialization practices, and beliefs of parents that specifically affect children's educational outcomes. Chao (2000) posited that parents' educational beliefs are related to parental involvement practices, which are also related to their structuring of the home and social environments that affect

children's educational outcomes. For example, parents' beliefs about the importance of academic skills or academic achievement in school would shape the way parents become involved in children's academic lives through parents' practices and behaviors (e.g., monitoring progress in school, setting time for homework, providing encouragement...etc.), and thus this would affect children's ultimate academic outcomes, including their motivation and achievement in school. It should be noted that the educational niche framework was proposed to explain educational achievement for Asian and Asian American students.

While developmental and educational niche theories focus on the child's exposure to and experiences with his or her culture, caregiver, and environment, they do not provide insight into the how the child's own perceptions, thinking, and attitudes of the provided environment and experiences might influence his or her own behaviors. What drives and moves an individual to action is not just influenced by his or her culture, caregiver, or environment; it is also determined by the individual's own goals and motivations. In order to understand children's outcomes, such as success in school, it is necessary to consider theories that also incorporate children's own motivations for achievement. Several theoretical frameworks have been used to understand students' achievement motivation, such as self-efficacy, attribution theory, and self-determination theory (Wigfield, et al., in press). However, one particular theory of achievement motivation that also incorporates some of the aspects highlighted in developmental niche theory, such as, children's environment, culture, and caregivers, is the expectancy-value theory.

#### **Expectancy-Value Theory of Achievement Motivation**

Initially developed by Atkinson (1957), expectancy-value theorists attempt to explain how achievement behaviors on a given task are influenced by the task's incentive values, defined as attractiveness of success on a specific task, and one's expectations for success. Building on this work, Eccles-Parsons et al. (1983) proposed a complex expectancy-value model of achievement performance and choice in which choice, persistence, and achievement are influenced by the individuals' expectancy beliefs and task value as well as other cultural and social factors. In this section I describe how each component of the theory was defined, and focus especially on the socialization components of the theory.

Eccles-Parsons and colleagues (1983) stated that students' task values and expectancy beliefs are the most proximal predictors of students' performance and choice of activities to pursue. They defined task value as comprising four components: attainment value (importance), intrinsic value (interest), utility value (usefulness), and cost (sacrifices in time and effort). Attainment value is the importance of the task to the individual. Attainment value is about how much the student views the task as important, not just in general, but also how much task fits with their identity or sense of self. A student with high attainment value in mathematics, for example, might view doing well in math as being important to his or her self-identity. Intrinsic value is the interest or enjoyment an individual has in doing the task. A student with high intrinsic value in reading, for example, may state that he or she enjoys reading in his or her free time and is interested in reading many different books. Utility value refers to the perceived usefulness the task and how it

fits with the individual's plans for the future. For example, a high school student with high utility value for science may take advanced science classes to prepare for a major in biology in college. It is thought that utility value has both intrinsic and extrinsic motivational aspects within the concept. When students take classes in preparation for college, it may be extrinsically influenced because it is part of an external motive to go to college. However, taking advanced science courses could also be inherently interesting and enjoyable, which could fulfill one's personal goals or fit in well with ones' self-identity of becoming a biologist in the future, which is reflective of intrinsic motivation. Finally, cost refers to the sacrifice or effort an individual must put forth in order to accomplish the task, or making a decision of what to do when given a choice. For example, a student may have to make a choice between playing with friends after school or going home to do homework; the cost of doing homework could be in losing out on spending time with friends, or the cost of socializing with friends would be receiving a lower grade in class for not doing homework.

Eccles et al. (1983) defined expectancies for success as one's beliefs about how well he or she will do on an upcoming task. For example, children are asked whether they believe they will do well in math next year. Children with high expectancy beliefs may believe that they will be very successful in their math class next year. Although expectancy beliefs are similar to self-concept of ability, these two kinds of beliefs are distinguished theoretically in the model even though they relate strongly empirically (see Eccles & Wigfield, 1995). Self-concept of ability refers to one's beliefs about current ability and competence on given task. These beliefs about

one's competence and ability are often made in comparison to others. For example, female students may believe that they are not as good in math when comparing themselves to male students, which may influence girls to take less math classes over time. Therefore, self-concept of ability and expectancy beliefs are important to consider because children with low self-concept of ability and low expectancy beliefs may cease to pursue more challenging tasks or take advanced coursework in the future, which may hinder future academic achievement.

Children's achievement behaviors are said to be directly determined by children's beliefs and expectations to do well on a specific task and how much he or she values the task (Eccles-Parsons et al., 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000; Wigfield, Tonks, & Klauda, 2009), and indirectly influenced by the child's goals and self-schema through his or her short and long term goals, self-concept of ability, and perceptions of task difficulty (Wigfield, 1994; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). As discussed next, a variety of social and cultural factors also influence children's motivation and achievement.

Particularly important to this review are the socialization factors in Eccles-Parsons et al.'s (1983) model that are said to impact children's own academic motivations. These include socializers' beliefs, attitudes, expectations, and behaviors (i.e., involvement in the home and at school). Specifically, Eccles et al. (1983) suggested that socializers like parents can influence children's perceptions and interpretations of their experiences and self-concepts relating to their academic pursuits and achievement (Wigfield et al., 2009). For example, through parents' involvement with children's schooling like volunteering at school, helping children

with their homework, and monitoring and discussing school progress such as report card grades, parents communicate their beliefs, values, and expectations of their children's educational achievement. Through this parent-child socialization process, children interpret and internalize these perceptions of beliefs and behaviors from their parents, which then influence children's motivation such as their concept of ability, values, and beliefs about school (Eccles et al., 1983; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000, Wigfield et al., 2006).

Eccles-Parsons and colleagues (1983) argued that the socialization process is not just a general process, but rather it involves socialization practices and beliefs that are both general and specific to a certain task or subject, as well as to different groups of children. The modern expectancy-value model was originally developed to test gender differences in mathematics performance and choice of math and science careers, and so the questionnaires measuring the central constructs focused on math (Wigfield et al., 2000). For example, in examining parental academic beliefs and values, parents were asked how important it was to the parent that the child does well in math, or how upset the parent would be if the child didn't do well in math, or how much the parent believed math would be useful for the future in general, and to the child's future specifically (Eccles-Parsons, et al., 1983). Similarly, the child's academic self-concept of ability, values, expectation for success, and achievement were operationalized to be measured within mathematics (e.g., How good at math are you; how useful is what you learn in math; compared to other activities, how important is it to be good at math; how well do you expect to do in math next year; and how much do you like math). Although the theoretical model was originally

intended to examine mathematics, researchers using expectancy-value theory have also applied it to other subjects such reading, music, and sports (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000). Additionally, the theoretical framework was developed using information and data that were collected from primarily middle class European American children and their parents.

Although different aspects of expectancy-value theory has been tested in a variety of studies using diverse samples (see Wigfield, Tonks, & Klauda, 2009), relatively few studies in this tradition have focused on minority students in the United States and non-European children across cultures (Wigfield, Tonks, & Eccles, 2004). However, the few cross-cultural studies examining students' values and expectancy beliefs have found that there are some similarities and differences in ability beliefs and their relations to achievement across different cultures. For example, researchers have used factor analysis to examine the pattern of responses in children's perception of their ability and compared the results across culture. Results showed that similar patterns of factor structure in students' self-concept of ability were found for Hong Kong students compared to Australian students (Hau, Kong, & Marsh, 2000; Marsh, 1990) using Marsh's (1989) Self-Description Questionnaire (SDQ), and Taiwanese students compared to American students (Harter, 1982; Stigeler, Smith, & Mao, 1985) using the Hater's (1982) Perceived Competence Scale. Additionally, Marsh, Hau, and Kong (2002) found that students' self-concept of ability was reciprocally related to achievement in a sample of Hong Kong high school students; these results were similar to findings reported by Marsh and Yeung (1997) in a sample of Australian students, suggesting that relationships between one's self-concept of

ability and achievement may be universally reciprocal. However, differences were found in mean levels of students' expectation for success across cultures, such that Asian students tend to rate themselves lower on their self-concept of ability than American students even though Asian students tend to perform better than American students (Stevenson & Lee, 1990; Zusho & Pintrich, 2003). These results suggest that perhaps European American students tend to self-enhance their perceptions of ability whereas Asian students tend to be more modest in their self-concept of ability and teachers aiming to help to motivate students can so knowing that there are cultural differences in students' self-concept of ability. These mixed findings suggest that further investigations should be conducted to understand the nature and relationships of students' motivation and achievement in non-European American samples and possibility how students from different cultures construct and calibrate self-concept ability and achievement. These constructs would be important to understand so that teachers and administrators can help struggling students using strategies that are culturally appropriate.

Compared to studies of students' self-concept of ability, there has been less cross cultural examination of students' task values (Wigfield et al., 2009). It should be noted that there have not been any cross-cultural studies on students' task value in the way that Eccles and colleagues have defined the concept for expectancy-value theory. However, research on students' interest, a component of task value, have shown mixed results in cross-cultural studies. Stevenson and colleagues (1990) found that higher percentages of Chinese children reported liking math than American children but percentages were similarly high (85% vs. 72%, respectively). However,

Henderson Marx, and Kim (1999) found that there were no differences between Asian and American students' interest in math. Additionally, Randel, Stevenson, and Witruk (2000) found that German students reported liking math more than Japanese students. Finally, similar to research that have shown in the U.S. that students' task values and academic interest decrease over time (Eccles, Wigfield, & Schiefele, 1998; Wigfield & Cambria, 2012), research by Henderson and colleagues (1999) found that Japanese and Korean students' academic interests (learning numbers and words) also declined over time from second grade to fifth grade. I review studies of cultural differences found in the socialization process of children's motivations later in the chapter.

Taken together, these results from cross-cultural research regarding children's expectancies, values, and other achievement beliefs show mixed results as described above. It is possible that these measures of students' self-concept of ability, values, and expectancy beliefs were all originally developed to assess students within the United States, and most of the students at that time in the United States were European Americans. Eaton and Dembo (1997) showed that at least for Asian students, self-efficacy, or self-concept of ability was not as predictive of their achievement as their fear-of-failure (fear of not meeting parents' educational expectations or negative consequences following academic failure). However, for European American students, self-efficacy was found to be predictive of their achievement, just as expectancy-value theory suggests. Thus cultural sensitivity in measuring and examining students' motivation is vital to truly understanding motivation in all context and especially for non-European American students.

The developmental and educational niche theories and expectancy-value theory all highlight the importance of socializing agents (i.e., parents) as essential to the socialization processes, which influence children's developmental outcomes (e.g. academic achievement). While developmental niche theory places much emphasis on the role of the caregivers' beliefs and practices, and the child's contextual environment (e.g., home and school environments, relationships with peers), in examining outcomes specific to children's educational experiences, such as their academic achievement, the theoretical framework does not account for children's own beliefs and motivations that affect children's achievement outcomes (Super & Harkness, 1986).

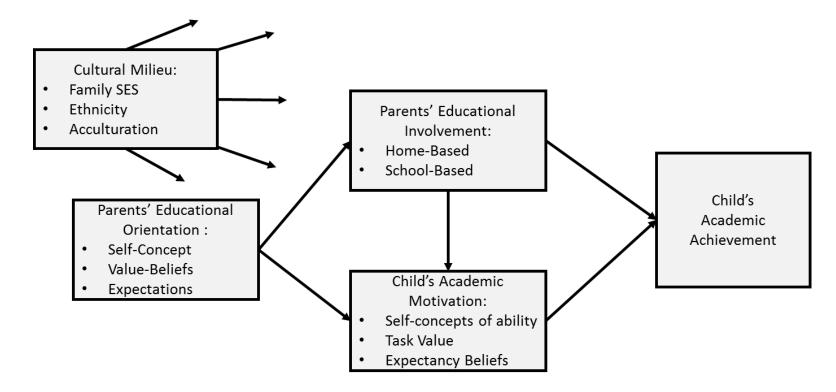
Expectancy-value theory includes consideration of how culture influences the ways in which on parents interact with their children and influence their children's academic outcomes as well as how children's own beliefs and values impact their motivation and achievement (Wigfield, Eccles, Fredricks, Simpkins, Roeser, & Schiefele, 2015). However, while expectancy-value theory does consider cultural factors as important predictors of children's motivation and achievement, it places less emphasis on the cultural orientation of the socializers' practices and beliefs within socialization process than developmental niche theory or educational niche theory. That is, Eccles and colleagues' (Eccles et al., 1998; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000) expectancy-value theory has cultural and socialization factors as factors that can influence the child's achievement. However, developmental niche theory takes it a step further and places culture as a central part of parents' practices, beliefs, expectations, and attitudes, which in turn affect children's understanding of the

importance of these beliefs and practices, which ultimately influence children's own outcomes, such as their motivation and achievement.

The model below depicts an abridged and revised version of the modern expectancy-value theory to include important cultural aspects of developmental niche theory. The model focuses on the socialization processes of parents' educational orientation and parents' involvement that influence children's motivations and achievement. The model was revised to include more components of cultural factors such as acculturation and ethnic identity, and considers parents' socialization processes to be culturally sensitive. Additionally, past research on children's selfconcept of ability, task value, and expectancy beliefs shows that they are related to one another (Wigfield et al., 2006), thus these concepts are conceptualized as children's overall motivation. In this model, students' academic achievement is influenced by their own motivations and their parents' educational involvement. Children's motivations are influenced by their previous achievement (not pictured), parents' educational value beliefs, parents' educational expectations, and parents' educational involvement (home-based and school-based involvement). Finally, parents' educational involvement is determined by their educational value beliefs and expectation towards. The cultural and contextual factors such as acculturation (extent to which an individual adopts the attitudes, values, and beliefs of another culture) and family socioeconomic status impact each of the relationships described above. The cultural and contextual factors are important to consider when the child is not part of the majority group within a given culture, as the socialization processes might differ

for different cultural groups (Wigfield, Eccles, Fredricks, Simpkins, Roeser, & Schiefele, 2015).

Figure 1. Theoretical Framework for the Current Study



#### **Literature Review**

This literature review focuses on studies based in the theoretical frameworks presented in the previous sections, with a focus on the components and relationships of variables presented in the model shown above and any relevant cross cultural differences found within these relationships or topics. Studies presented in this review were identified by searching the following terms in EBSCOHOST: parents, parental involvement, parental beliefs, father, father involvement, Asian, Asian American, motivation, value, and academic achievement. Studies included in this review were limited to academic motivation and achievement outcomes from kindergarten through high school. Before presenting findings from the parental involvement literature, I provide a summary of how parental involvement is defined and measured.

#### **Defining and Measuring Parental Involvement**

Parental involvement has been defined and measured in a variety of ways.

Some studies have focused on parents' involvement at school such volunteering at school, attending school activities and functions, meeting with teachers., etc. (Epstein & Sanders, 2002; Izzo, 1999; Marchant, Paulson, & Rothlisberg, 2001). Other studies focus on parents' involvement with their children at home, such as helping with homework, monitoring children's progress in school, rewarding or punishing children's performance and efforts, helping select school courses, and so on (Ginsburg & Bornstein, 1993; Gottfried, Marcoulides, Gottfried, & Oliver, 2009; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Hoover-Dempsey, Battiato, Walker, Reed, DeJong, & Jones, 2001; Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, & Darling, 1992). While most studies only focus on one type of parental involvement (i.e., school-based involvement or

home-based involvement), some studies do include both aspects of parent involvement in examining parental involvement. It should be noted that studies of parental involvement have generally included mostly mothers, all mothers, or the combination of mothers and fathers (but do not differentiate or compare mothers and fathers in the analyses), thus in this review, the term "parents" or "parental involvement" reflect work on mothers or mothers and fathers as a way to understand "parents" involvement. A separate section will focus on the work that has examined father involvement or when fathers and mothers were analyzed separately in a given research study.

Theorists whose research focuses directly on parent involvement describe parents' involvement as being multidimensional and include both home-based and school-based involvement as well as community-based and other psychological-based involvement in their frameworks on parental involvement and its effects. For example, Epstein and colleagues' (1987; Sanders, 1996; Epstein & Sanders, 2002) framework for examining parental involvement include six types of parental involvement: 1) parenting; 2) communicating; 3) volunteering; 4) learning at home; 5) decision making; and 6) collaborating with community. The first type of involvement, parenting, is a home-based type of parental involvement, and is defined as parents' establishment of the home environment to support their children as students (e.g., allotting time for homework). The second type of involvement, communicating, is defined as parents' communication with school administrators about their children's progress (e.g., parent-teacher conferences, phone calls, etc.).

The third type of involvement, volunteering, is a school-based involvement, and is

defined as parents' help and support of school goals and programs (e.g., tutoring during afterschool programs, baking for school's fundraising efforts). The fourth involvement, learning at home, is a home-based involvement and is defined as parents' help with their child's homework and other school tasks, decisions, and planning (e.g., help with homework, encouraging, discussing, guiding, and monitoring progress in various curriculum-related tasks). The fifth type of involvement, decision making, is a school-based involvement and defined as parents' help in making decisions for school-related policies (e.g., help with decision making regarding school's curriculum, safety regulations, and personnel staff). The sixth type of involvement, collaborating with community, is defined as parents' involvement in the community that help strengthen school programs and children's learning (e.g., participation in local community-based cultural activities and events, services to school-and-community programs through mentoring and business partnerships).

Another framework that has been used to guide studies of parental involvement is that of Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994). They conceptualized parental involvement as "the dedication of resources by the parent to the child within a given domain" (p 238). Within this framework, parental involvement is multidimensional. There are three dimensions of involvement: 1) behavioral involvement; 2) personal involvement; and 3) cognitive-intellectual involvement. First, behavioral involvement is described as parents' interaction with the school (e.g., going to open house night, contacting teachers). By behaviorally being involved at home and at school, parents are modeling the importance of schooling to their children. Second, personal involvement is conceptualized as parents' involvement through monitoring and

providing messages of positive affect about school (e.g., keeping track of school progress; asking about what child does at school). These messages help children internalize the importance and value parents place on school. Third, cognitive-intellectual involvement is concerned with parents' stimulating children's cognitive development through cognitive and intellectual activities (e.g., reading to the child; talking about current events). Through parents' cognitive-intellectual involvement, children can practice their skills and develop better learning strategies for school. Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) found (in studies of European American families) that these different types of involvement have positive effects on children's academic motivation and achievement.

In general, studies measuring parents' involvement as helping with homework, attending school programs, watching extracurricular activities, helping with school course selection, and keeping abreast of their child's progress in school, have demonstrated that parental involvement was positively related to and predictive of students' motivation to learn and succeed in school, and academic achievement. That is, when students perceived their parents to be more involved in school, students were more oriented to be intrinsically motivated and master their tasks, and showed more engagement through their effort, concentration, attention, and less frequency of mind wandering (Gonzalez, Doan Holbein, & Quilter, 2002; Steinberg, et al., 1992). Several studies reviewed below include at least one or two aspects of Grolnick and collegues' and Epstein and colleagues' framework on parental involvement.

Measurements of parental involvement have also comprised both positive and negative aspects of parental involvement, such as autonomy-support (support from

parents that bolster students' sense of self in their learning and decision making), parental control (parents' controlling decisions regarding students' course, college, career choices, and so on), parental practices focused on intrinsic or extrinsic motivation in general, such as parents' use of punishment and criticism, encouragement, and external rewards in reactions to students' grades (Ginsburg & Bornstein, 1993; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Gottfried et al., 2009; Steinberg, et al., 1992). These studies showed that parental involvement as characterized with providing children with more autonomy, decision making, positive encouragement, and encouragement that promote learning were positively related to students' interests, mastery, competence, effort, and concentration in elementary, middle, and high school.

For example, Gottfried, Fleming, and Gottfried's study (1994) of the role of parental motivational practices in relation to students' academic intrinsic motivation demonstrated that when parents facilitate a more task-endogenous motivational practice (encouragement of persistence, curiosity, and mastery), they help to foster children's academic intrinsic motivation and positively impact children's academic achievement. It was also shown that when parents encouraged their children by using extrinsic practices, such as rewarding or removing a privilege in response to children's good or poor academic performances, this was negatively related to children's intrinsic motivation and achievement. This study included middle-class European American parents and their elementary school children (9- and 10- years old).

Taken together these studies show that parental involvement is not a single dimension; it is not whether parents are involved at school or at home, or whether their parental involvement practices are positive or negative. Parents are involved in their children's education in multifaceted ways. These studies provide a foundation for understanding how parents' involvement can affect students' academic motivation. It should be noted that most of these seminal studies of parental involvement were originally conceptualized, defined, measured, and assessed in predominantly middle-class Caucasian samples. Additionally, beyond the understanding that parental involvement is important for children's motivation and achievement in school, it is also important to examine the factors and characteristics within parents influence parents' involvement.

## Research on Parents' Ethnotheories and Parental Involvement

According to developmental niche theory, parents' 'ethnotheories' are the psychological aspects and personal characteristics (e.g., values, beliefs, attitudes, expectations, acculturation) of the parents that influence parental involvement with their children and other childrearing practices (Super & Harkness, 1996). Within education, parents' ethnotheories are parents' educational characteristics/orientation, such as their beliefs, attitudes, and values regarding education that inform and influence their involvement with their children's schooling. While many research studies have shown that parental involvement affects children's academic motivation and achievement, less is known about what factors influence parents' involvement such as their educational beliefs, educational self-concept, educational expectations,

acculturation, and socioeconomic status. These factors have been shown to be associated with parental involvement.

**Acculturation and SES.** Research on parental involvement across various ethnic groups and socioeconomic status have shown that acculturation (the extent to which an individual adopts the attitudes, values, and beliefs of another culture) and SES are related to parents' involvement (Davis-Kean, 2005; Jain & Belsky, 1997; Kim & Wong, 2002; Phillipson, 2009; Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007). These studies tend to show that parents with lower SES are likely to be less involved at school. However, other studies have shown that when parental involvement was examined using home-based involvement measures, there were no significant relationships between SES and parental involvement (Sui-Chu & Willms, 1996). Regarding acculturation, these studies have shown that parents who are less acculturated to American culture may also be less likely to attend school functions or be involved with parent teacher associations (PTA). For example, Asian American parents with stronger ties to their own Asian culture and weaker ties to American culture may be less likely to engage in activities at schools perhaps because of their lack of familiarity with the American school system and limited English language proficiency limit their ability to effectively communicate with teachers and administrators (Garcia Coll, Akiba, Palacios, Bailey, Silver, DiMartino, & Chin, 2002; Hwa-Froelich & Westby, 2003; Huss-Kessler, 1997). Additionally, it is suggested that perhaps within the Asian culture, there is strong respect for school authority and thus parents believe their role in helping their children's learning at home rather than being involved at school. This would suggest that cultural milieus,

including acculturation and SES are likely to have different relationships with different aspects of parental involvement.

**Parents' educational beliefs.** Parents' educational beliefs is best described as the cognitive and non-behavioral aspects of the socialization process in children's academic development. They include beliefs about the importance of education, importance of doing well in school, the value of education, and the importance of hard work and effort in educational success (Chao, 1996; Spera, 2005). These beliefs can be communicated and modeled by parents in ways that help children to internalize the importance and values parents place on their academic achievement. Previous research suggest that parental involvement is often guided by parents' beliefs or values for their children's education (Spera, 2005; Sy, 2005). For example, parents' educational beliefs about the importance of their children's academic achievement may influence parenting behaviors that encourage and shape children's academic success. Spera (2006) demonstrated in his study that adolescents' perceptions of parental goals and values for their education were positively related to their reports of their parents' educational involvement, which in turn had a positive relationship with children's own interest and engagement in school.

Cross-cultural studies have found that there are cultural differences in the mean level of parents' beliefs about the importance of educational success and different types of parental involvement (Sy & Schulenberg, 2005). More specifically, Sy and Schulenberg, using data from the ECLS-K national dataset study of Asian American and European American kindergarteners, found that Asian American parents were more likely to have higher beliefs about the importance of learning early

academic skills than European American parents; Asian American parents were also more involved in home-based activities such as setting rules setting for children's watching television, telling stories to child, and non-school-based activities (taking child to zoo, library, museums...etc), whereas European American parents were more involved in school-based activities such as volunteering at school, attending open house, attending school events. In a similar study also using the ECLS-K data focusing on Asian American and European American families, Sy, Rowley, and Schulenberg (2007) found that for the European American part of the sample parents' beliefs about the importance of early academic skills were positively related to their provision of television rules (e.g., parents' rule setting about how which programs, and many hours of television their child may watch), activity involvement (e.g., parents' engagement in activities such as playing puzzles, building things, and discussing nature or science projects with the child), and literacy involvement (e.g., parents' engagement in reading or telling stories to the child), but negatively related to their school participation (e.g., attending open house) and parent-teacher conference attendance. However, for the Asian American sample, parents' beliefs positively predicted parents' activity involvement and literacy involvement, and negatively related to parent-teacher conference attendance, again suggesting that perhaps for Asian American parents who believe early academic skills are important, they are more likely to be involved at home and less involved at school because of their deference for school authority.

Based within the developmental niche theory, these results from Sy and colleagues' (2005, 2007) studies suggest that there are cultural differences in parents'

ethnotheories and parental involvement that affect children's academic achievement. These findings also show that while Asian American and European American parents' involvement are similarly influenced by their beliefs about the importance of children's academic competence, the specific pathways in which these relationships operate for the two groups are somewhat different. However, it is still important to note that overall the results of the different studies showed that when parents believe in the importance of academic success, they prioritize their home involvement and structure their children's activities in ways that foster positive learning environments regardless of ethnic background, at least in the case of Asian Americans and European Americans. Nevertheless, these studies show how parents' educational beliefs about the importance of their children's academic achievement can influence the way they encourage or become involved in their children's academic success. Although parents' educational beliefs and expectations are important predictors of parental involvement, parents' educational self-concept is also an important factor to consider in examining the influence of parental involvement.

Parents' educational expectations. There are studies of a variety of cultural groups that have shown that parents' educational expectations, or beliefs about how much education they think their child will achieve, are important predictors of children's academic achievement (Fan & Chen, 2001; Halle, Kurtz-Costes, & Mahoney, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Jeynes, 2010). There is also research suggesting that parents' educational expectations are related to children's academic achievement though parents' behavioral involvement such that parents' higher academic expectations are associated with more educational involvement with

their children in the home and at school, which in turn relates to children's achievement in school. For example, in a study of low-income African American elementary school children and their parents, Halle, Kurtz-Costes, and Mahoney (1997) found that parents' expectations of their children's academic competence and educational attainment were positively related to their involvement (e.g., speaking with their children about the correct pronunciation of words, discussions of numbers), which was subsequently related to children's achievement. Similarly, in a study of primarily low-income Caucasian elementary school children and their mothers, Englund, Luckner, Whaley, and Egeland (2004) found that parents' expectations of their children's educational attainment was related to parent' school-based involvement (e.g., attending parent-teacher conference), which was subsequently related to children's achievement.

For Asian American families, Fan (2001) found that parents' involvement as reported by students and parents was related to children's initial academic achievement in 8<sup>th</sup> grade but also their achievement over time (10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> grade). More specifically, he found that for Asian American families, parents' educational aspirations (as reported by students) was related to students' initial reading and math achievement but only the growth for math achievement over time. However, when measuring parent's involvement via parents' reports, students' initial and growth achievement in both math and reading were positively related to parents' education aspiration for their child. These patterns of association might suggest that Asian American students' perceptions of their parents' educational expectations are more enduring and salient for math achievement over time than for reading achievement

but that parents' actual involvement mattered more for students' achievement in reading over time.

The relationships between parents' educational expectations, parental involvement, and children's academic achievement have been shown to operate differently for different ethnic groups. For example, Davis-Kean (2005) found that parents' home-based involvement (e.g., reading with child, playing games and puzzle with child) was influenced by their expectations of their children's future educational attainment (e.g., graduating high school, completing graduate school) in a sample comprising of predominantly European American and African American elementary school students from a wide SES range. They also found that parents' educational expectations were directly and indirectly related to children's academic achievement through parents' involvement for the European American sample. However, for the African American sample, parents' educational expectations were only indirectly related to children' academic achievement through parents' involvement. In a study focusing on Asian Americans and European Americans, Sy and Schulenberg (2005) found that Asian American parents with high educational expectations were less likely to be involved at school, whereas European American parents with high educational expectations were more like to be involved at school. The sample for this study included Asian American and European American kindergarteners and their parents from a wide range of SES backgrounds from the ECLS-K dataset. Additionally, in a study of elementary school students from Hong Kong, Phillipson (2009) found that parental expectations of academic success was related to parental involvement at home but not at school. The researchers suggest that Asian American

parents have strong respect for school authority and believe their role in helping their children's learning is through activities at home, thus they are less likely to be involved at school.

The results of these studies suggest that parents' educational expectations are related to parents' involvement in different ways and may be operating differently for different ethnic groups. That is, parents' expectations were found to be related to parental home-based and school-based involvement for European American and African American children. However, parents' expectations were not related to parents' school-based involvement for Asian and Asian American children. Perhaps Asian and Asian American parents are less involved at school perhaps because they feel school involvement is less important than home involvement for children's academic success. Additionally, parents' expectations were found to be directly and indirectly (through parental involvement) related to children's achievement for European American students, but only indirectly related to children's achievement for African American students. Perhaps for African American students, their parents' involvement bolsters the expectations set out for them and hence helps them to succeed in school. Again, these results point to the importance of examining the possible differentiation in mechanisms and pathways that may influence children's motivation and achievement in different ethnic groups.

**Parents' educational self-efficacy.** Parents' educational self-efficacy can be described as their perceived competence to help their children in educational-related tasks. Eccles and Harold (1993) describe parents' self-efficacy as, "parents' confidence that they can help their child with schoolwork" (p.570). Parents'

educational self-efficacy and educational attainment have been shown to be associated with one another and with parents' involvement (Eccles & Harold 1993; Grolnick, Benjet, Kurowski, & Apostoleris, 1997; Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Keith & Lichtman, 1994; Shumow & Lomax, 2002; Sy & Schulenberg, 2005; Sy et al., 2007). Few studies have investigated parents' educational attainment and selfefficacy together as inter-related predictors of parental involvement. However, in one study of elementary school students and their mothers from a wide range of SES, Hoover-Dempsey, Bassler, and Brissie (1992) found that parents' reported selfefficacy varied by level of educational attainment. That is, parents with less than a college education reported a lower sense of self-efficacy in helping their children's school learning than parents who had some college education or beyond. Further, this study found that parents with higher self-efficacy were more involved in their children's schooling (volunteered at child's school, engaged in educational activities with child) than parents with lower self-efficacy. Although these studies were conducted on predominantly European-American families, other studies have found ethnic differences in parents' educational self-efficacy and educational attainment and its association with parental involvement.

Okagaki and Frensch (1998) examined ethnic differences in parents' self-efficacy and parents' involvement. The sample included European American, Latino, and Asian American elementary school children and their parents from a wide range of SES. Results showed that European American parents reported a higher sense of self-efficacy to help their children in school than did Latino or Asian American parents, however, there were no ethnic/racial group differences in level of parents'

involvement. Similar to previous research, this study also found that parents' homebased involvement (e.g., reading to the child, encouraging the child's reading, discussion of current events with child) was related to children's academic achievement, but this was only true within the European American sample. Finally, for Asian American students, it was parents' educational expectation that was the best predictor of their academic achievement. Compared to other parents, Asian American parents had the highest educational expectations by setting higher standards for their children (e.g., minimum educational attainment that is acceptable, less satisfied with lower than "A" grades) than European American and Latino parents. As such, these higher standards were related to children's academic achievement. These results suggest that there may be cultural differences among different cultural groups in that perhaps for some minority parents, involvement takes place regardless of sense of self-efficacy and that different aspects of parental involvement are related to children's academic achievement for different ethnic/racial groups. Okagaki and Frensch suggest that Asian American parents often believe that school achievement is based on effort rather than ability so their expectations and involvement are not dependent on their perceptions of their children's ability to do well, but that their children can do well with effort.

Shumow and Lomax (2002) found racial/ethnic group differences in the relationship between parents' self-efficacy and parents' involvement in a sample of European American, African American, and Latin American adolescents and their parents from a wide range of SES backgrounds. Results indicated that parents' reported self-efficacy was related to parents' school-based involvement (e.g.,

attending parent-meetings at school), home-based involvement (e.g., monitoring children's whereabouts), and parent-child communication (engaging in conversation with child about school work, family, values, etc.) for European American families. However, for the African American and Latin American families, parents' self-efficacy was related to parents' home- and school-based involvement, but was not related to parent-child communication. These results suggest that parents from different ethnic/racial backgrounds may be involved in their children's education in different ways and that different aspects of parents' self-concept will influence involvement differently for different groups. Similar to the mixed results found in investigations of parents' self-efficacy for different racial/ethnic groups, mixed results were also found in investigations of parents' educational attainment and its relationship to parents' involvement across different racial/ethnic groups.

Suizzo and Stapleton (2007) examined the effects of maternal educational attainment and its relation to their involvement (verbal activities such reading and story-telling, playing games, visiting the library) and young children's education using data from ECLS-K dataset. The sample included European American, African American, Latino American, and Asian American families from a wide range of SES backgrounds. Findings demonstrated that parents' educational attainment was predictive of their involvement with their children. However, the results did not show significant differences across the four racial/ethnic groups. Also using data from the ECLS-K dataset, Davis-Kean and Sexton (2009) studied the relationships between parents' educational attainment, parental involvement, and elementary school children's academic achievement across different racial/ethnic groups (European

American, African American, Hispanic American, Asian American) from a wide range of SES. Results showed that parents' educational attainment had a significant direct effect of their home-based (e.g., reading to the child) and school-based involvement (attending open house, attending parent-teacher conference, volunteering at school). Subsequently, parents' involvement was directly related to children's achievement. These results were consistent across all racial/ethnic groups, including Asian Americans. While previous findings show that there are racial/ethnic group differences in the mean level of parental involvement and its relationship to children's academic achievement, this particular study showed that when parents' educational attainment is considered, parents' involvement was predictive of children's achievement across groups, suggesting that perhaps there are more similarities across racial/ethnic groups with high educational backgrounds than differences. These complex patterns of results warrant further investigation.

These studies highlight the importance of parents' educational self-efficacy and parents' educational attainment on their home and school involvement, as it has been shown that parents' self-efficacy and parents' education directly predict parents' involvement. Perhaps parents with high levels of educational attainment have the skills, knowledge, and strategies that were instrumental to achieving their own educational attainment, which enhances their educational self-efficacy. When parents feel competent to help their children's learning in school, they are engaged and involved in their children's learning, which subsequently, help children to achieve in school. Therefore, it is essential to consider parents' educational self-efficacy and educational attainment as an important predictor of parental involvement. Taken

together these studies show that parental involvement is influenced by parents' own expectations of their children's educational achievement, parents' beliefs about the importance and value of school, and parents' self-efficacy and educational attainment. Some may argue that parents with high educational attainment would be expected to have high educational beliefs and high expectation of their children's schooling, so it may not be necessary to include these latter factors in examining influences of parental involvement. However, future studies should continue to investigate these relationships further.

## Research on Parents' Involvement and Children's Academic Motivation

While a plethora of research has investigated the relationship between parental involvement and children's academic achievement, less is known about the relationship between parents' involvement and children's academic motivation (Pomerantz, 2007; Spera, 2005; Jeynes, 2007; Hill & Tyson, 2009). This section of the review will focus on the links between parental involvement and children's academic motivation. How parents help foster and bolster children's academic motivation is important to consider in order to understand the development and influences of children's motivation, and subsequently, their academic achievement. Through parental involvement, parents help to shape their children's motivation to learn and succeed in school. Many research studies have shown that parental involvement is linked to children's academic motivation such as their values, goals, self-concepts, and expectation for success, and achievement (Fagan & Iglesias, 1999; Flouri & Buchanan, 2004; Gottfried et al., 1994; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; NICHD Early Child Care Research Network, 2008).

For example, Gonzalez, Doan Holbein, and Quilter (2002) examined the relationship between parental involvement and students' academic motivation in the form of their achievement goals. More specifically, they investigated students' perception of parental involvement and their academic motivational orientation. Here, parental involvement was defined as the behavioral support at home (helping with homework and selecting courses) and in school (attending school programs and extracurricular events), as well as psychological support (awareness of child's progress in school). Mastery orientation or goal was defined as having task-involved learning goals, where students seek challenges, persist when faced with difficulty, are interested in learning new skills to enhance understanding, and are more intrinsically motivated. Performance orientation was defined as the avoidance of challenging tasks to enhance others' perception of one's ability and competence, and with this orientation, students are less likely to be intrinsically motivated.

The sample included 196 high school students in 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> grade, and the sample included diverse ethnic backgrounds, socioeconomic status, and family patterns, which included European American (57%), African American (25%), Hispanic (10%), Asian American (2%), and mixed ethnicity (5%) students. With regards to family patterns and socioeconomic status, approximately 47% of the students came from single parent households, and approximately 52% of mothers and 44% of fathers completed 12<sup>th</sup> grade or lower, respectively. In preliminary correlational analyses, results showed that each of the five perceived parental involvement items (helping with homework, attending school programs, attending extracurricular events, helping choose courses, and awareness of student's progress)

was significantly and positively related to students' mastery orientation, a motivational orientation that is similar to intrinsic motivation. Additionally, the researchers found that the composite of parental involvement (summed scored of the five parental involvement items) was a significant and positive predictor of students' mastery orientation. That is, when students perceived their parents to be more involved in their schooling, students were more motivated to master their tasks in school, rather than just perform well in school. This study provide insight into how both singular and multiple aspects of students' perceptions of their parental involvement are related and predictive of students' motivation to learn. Separate regression analyses were completed for the African American and European American sample because of adequate sample size. Results showed similar findings for both groups such that parental involvement was predictive of mastery orientation. When students perceived their parents to be highly involved, they had higher mastery orientation scores.

Gottfried, Marcoulides, Gottfried, and Oliver (2009) examined the effects of parental motivational practices on the development of students' academic intrinsic motivation in mathematics and science over the period of childhood through adolescence. The participants were part of the Fullerton Longitudinal Study (FLS), which began with a sample of 130 participants who were free of visual and neurological abnormalities. The sample consisted of predominantly European American middle-class families. The study examined data from the 9, 10, 13, 16, and 17 year assessments. The researchers defined parental motivational practices as parents' facilitation of academic encouragement that occur in the home. These

practices can either promote children's intrinsic motivation for learning, or are characterized by use of extrinsic means in motivating children to do well in school. Parental motivational practice was measured using a researcher-developed Parental Motivational Practices Survey (Gottfried et al., 1994) which consists of two subscales: parental intrinsic motivational practices, and the parental extrinsic motivational practices. These scales were completed by parents (majority mothers) and were given when children were 9 years old.

Using a latent curve modeling analysis, Gottfried et al. (2009) found that parental motivational practices, both intrinsic and extrinsic practices, were related to children's initial level of academic intrinsic motivation in math and science. More specifically, parents' intrinsic motivational practices were positively related, while parents' extrinsic practices were negatively related to children's beginning level of academic intrinsic motivation. For example, when parents used more task-intrinsic motivational strategies to encourage their children, the child's initial academic intrinsic motivation was higher, and when parents used more extrinsic strategies, children's initial motivation was lower. Additionally, the researchers also found that when parents used more intrinsic motivational practices, there was a slower rate of decline in students' academic intrinsic motivation in math and science. This study suggested that early parental involvement in elementary school can impact developmental change in children's later academic motivation through high school.

In an investigation of elementary school students, Marchant, Paulson, and Rothlisberg (2001) examined the relationships among parents' educational value beliefs, parents' involvement, children's academic competence, and academic

achievement. The sample included a majority (92%) of European Americans and about fifty-percent were middle class. Children reported about their parents' values (e.g., parents think that succeeding in life is important, parents try to get me to do my best), parental involvement in school (e.g., parents attending school activities, involved in school programs), as well as their own competence for school (e.g., "I think I am smart enough to do well in school"), and achievement in school (school grades). Results showed that students' perception of parents' involvement was significantly correlated with children's self-concept of ability and academic achievement. The researchers also found that parents' educational values, but not parents' school involvement, positively predicted children's perception of their parents' involvement in school and children's own academic competence, which subsequently predicted children's academic achievement in a path model analysis.

Additionally, in the study mentioned earlier, Fan and Williams (2010) found that parents' home-based and school-based involvement as well as parents' educational expectations related to students' intrinsic motivation and self-efficacy in math and English (as described earlier, intrinsic motivation is a component of task values, and self-efficacy is similar to self-concept of ability within children's motivation) in a study using ECLS data of 2002. The sample included 10<sup>th</sup>-grade students and their parents from a majority sample of European Americans. Results showed that parents' rule setting for watching television was positively correlated with children's intrinsic motivation in English and math; parents' rule setting for homework was positively correlated with intrinsic motivation in math, while parents' participation in school functions was positively correlated with children's self-

efficacy in math and English. Additionally, parents' expectations for child to attend college was positively correlated with both self-efficacy and intrinsic motivation in math and English. Multiple regression analyses revealed that parents' participation in school functions was predictive of math self-efficacy, while parents' rules setting watching television was predictive of math and English intrinsic motivation, and parents' educational expectations was predictive of both math and English self-efficacy and intrinsic motivation. That is, as parents set more limits of watching television, students reported to have more math and English interest. The researchers suggest that perhaps when students are not watching television, they spend more time engaging in activities that enhance their ability and interest in math and English. Similarly, they also suggest that perhaps when parents are more involved at school, parents demonstrate their value for school, and thus children might set higher expectations for themselves and feel more competent when they do so.

Overall, findings from this work show that when parents are more involved and provide more supportive environments for children's schooling, children show higher academic achievement and improvement in achievement scores. More specifically, when parents are involved in a manner that encourages persistence and effort, children reported being more intrinsically motivated, and have higher academic achievement (Dweck, 1999; Gottfried et al., 1994; Henderlong & Lepper, 2002). Additionally, students and parents' report of higher rates of parental involvement were related to students' academic motivation. Conversely, negative aspects of parental involvement were related to students' lower academic motivation, while more positive characteristics of parental involvement was related to students'

higher academic motivation, and these motivational orientation tended to be more intrinsic and challenge seeking orientations.

Although there have been a great number of studies examining the effects of parental involvement on children's development, as noted earlier many of these studies have included only mothers or the majority of "parents" in the studies were mothers (Cabrera 2013; Lamb, 1998). The role of fathers and the effects of father involvement on children's motivation and achievement are less known. However, a few studies that have included fathers suggest that fathers' involvement also play an important and critical role in children's motivation and achievement. Research on father involvement is discussed in the next section.

## A Focus on Father Involvement

Early investigations of father involvement examined whether father involvement even mattered, and if so, in what ways fathers mattered for children's developmental outcomes. These studies have focused on three aspects of fathering for young children: 1) interaction with the child; 2) time spent with the child; 3) and providing care giving for the child (Cabrera, 2013; Cabrera, Tamis-LeMonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb, 2000; oltrane, Park, & Adams 2004; Lamb, Pleck, Charnow, & Levine, 1987). These studies found that fathers do matter, such that when fathers spend more time with the child, provide care giving (e.g., diapering, feeding, and bathing), and have positive and constructive interactions, children have more positive outcomes such as social competence, cognitive competence, and emotional well-being (Cabrera, Shanon, & Tamis-LeMonda, 2004). More recently, more studies of father involvement have begun to examine the effects of father

involvement within the realm of children's cognitive development such as language skills, literacy skills, and numerical skills (Clark, 2005; Coley, Lewin-Bizan, & Carrano, 2011; Cooksey & Fondell, 1996; Lamb, 1997; Fagan & Iglesias, 1999; Tamis-LeMonda, Shannon, Cabrera, & Lamb, 2004; Clark, 2009; Connor, Knight, & Cross, 1997; Lamb, 1998). These studies show that in general, father involvement shows positive associations with children's early cognitive skills and later academic achievement. Therefore, as children continue to grow and develop their cognitive skills at school, it is important to continue to investigate how fathers' involvement is associated with children's schooling success. Some research studies have shown that there similarities and differences in the amount and type of educational involvement mothers and fathers engage in; these findings are discussed later.

Predictors of father involvement. Prior research studies point to a positive association between father involvement and children's academic achievement, such that the more fathers are involved in their children's academic lives, their children tend to have higher achievement in school (Flouri & Buchanan, 2004; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Tan & Goldberg, 2009). But what are some characteristics and social contexts that predict father involvement and how does it affect their children's school performance? Fathers' characteristics such as age and education have been shown to be related to their involvement such that that fathers who are more educated and older in age tend to be more involved with their children (Bogenschineider, 1997; King, Harris, & Heard, 2004; Landale & Oropesa, 2001; Lerman & Sorensen, 2000).

Acock and Demo (1994) found that fathers were more likely to be involved in their child's schooling within first married families and children's academic

achievement was higher within these families than children within re-married families. Other studies have shown that social context such as residency in the home matter for predicting father involvement in general. That is, fathers who live with their children are more likely to be involved than fathers who do not live with their children (Castillo, 2011; Coley, 2006). When other characteristics such as race/ethnicity are considered, Cabrera, Ryan, Mitchell, Shannon, and Tamis-LeMonda (2008) found that non-resident Latino and African American fathers were more involved with their children than White non-resident fathers when mother-father relationship and re-partnering were considered. That is, compared to Latino and African American parents, White mothers and fathers were more likely to re-partner and less likely to remain romantic with each other, which negatively affected the fathers' involvement with their children.

Father involvement and children's schooling. The mere presence of fathers has been shown to affect children's academic achievement. Using data from the Parent and Family Involvement in Education Survey of National Household Education Surveys Program of 2003, DeBell (2008) investigated father residence status and its effect on children's educational well-being. The sample included White, Hispanic, and Black families from a wide range of SES. It was found that there was a difference in children's school grades when comparing children who lived with their father (resident fathers) and children whose father did not live in the home (non-resident fathers). The results were statistically significant even after controlling for household income, parental education attainment, and mothers' age at child's birth. It was found that fathers' non-residence status was associated with children's lowered

grades such that children of non-resident fathers had grades that were half a grade lower than children of resident fathers (e.g. B- vs. B). This result suggests that perhaps fathers provide additional support for children's learning when they are present and live at home with their children. In this respect, they can provide more intellectual resource from their own educational background, and more support and involvement that would help to children do well in school.

**Mother vs. fathers' involvement.** Some studies have also shown that fathers are less involved in children's schooling than mothers (Deslandes & Cloutier, 2000 as cited in Deslandes & Bertrand, 2005), and other studies suggest that only mothers' involvement is related to children's academic achievement, but not fathers' involvement (Hsu, Zhang, Kwok, Li, & Ju, 2011). In addition, Balli (1998) found that more students (62%) reported that their mothers helped them with their assignments while less students (26%) reported that their fathers helped them with their mathematics homework in a study of parental involvement with sixth graders' math homework within a predominantly White middle class sample. Further, a study done by the U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (1998) found that there were higher percentages of students who had highly involved mothers compared to students who had highly involved fathers, and that these percentages of father involvement decreased with children's age. Parents' involvement was measured by asking mothers and fathers whether they had attended a: school meeting, parent-teacher conference, school event, or volunteered at school. Parents who attended at least three of the four activities were categorized as highly involved parents (in school-based involvement); mothers were more likely than

fathers to be categorized as highly involved. Further, when parents' home-based involvement, such as telling the child a story, or working on project with the child, or taking the child to the library or museum, were considered, results showed that there were higher percentages of children with fathers who were highly involved compared to mothers who were highly involved for each of the home-based involvement items. This finding suggests that fathers are more likely to also be involved with home-based activities with their children than mothers.

Some studies suggest that mothers and fathers' involvement both contribute to children's academic achievement in similar ways, while others suggest that mothers' and fathers' involvement have differential effects on children's academic achievement (Tan & Goldberg, 2009; NICHD, 2008). For example, in an investigation of predominantly European American adolescents from middle class families, Grolnick and Slowiaczek (1994) examined the relationship among adolescents' perceptions of mothers and father involvement, students' academic motivation, and achievement. Students completed the measures on parental involvement and questionnaires on their self-perceptions of competence, selfregulation style (e.g., doing homework for enjoyment reasons, to obtain adult approval, to avoid consequences, etc.), and control understanding (e.g., understanding of the source of success and failures); grades were used as indicator of achievement. Parental involvement consisted of three categories: behavioral (e.g., going to open house night, contacting teachers), personal (e.g., keeping track of school progress; asking about what child does at school), and intellectual/cognitive (e.g., reading to the child; talking about current events). Results showed that perception of mothers'

behavioral involvement was related to perceived competence, control understanding, and school grades, whereas perceptions of mothers' personal and intellectual/cognitive involvement were only related to self-regulation and perceived competence, respectively. For fathers, a similar yet slightly different pattern of relationships were seen such that perceptions of fathers' behavioral involvement was related to self-regulation and perceived competence, while fathers' intellectual/cognitive involvement was only related to perceived competence. Perceptions of fathers' personal involvement was not related to any academic motivation or achievement variables. This study highlights the importance of including more than one dimension of parental involvement in students examining the effects of parents on children's academic achievement in order to capture a more defined and encompassing picture of parent involvement effects on children's school performance and academic motivation. Second, the study shows that when multiple dimensions are examined, the pathways in which parental involvement affects motivation and achievement differ for mothers and fathers. Thus it important to further examine the influence of mothers and fathers separately on children's motivation and achievement in school in order to fully understand the mechanisms and socialization pathways that can help students persist and achieve in school.

In a longitudinal study, Flouri and Buchanan (2004) investigated the role of mothers and fathers' early involvement on children's later academic motivation and educational achievement using data from the National Child Development Study (NCDS), which included families from England, Scotland, and Wales. Mothers and fathers' educational involvement included such items as, reading to child, taking child

on outings, interest in child's education, and managing the child. Parents completed these items when the child was 7 years old. The researchers also examined children's academic motivation (e.g., not liking school, feeling school is a waste of time, thinking homework is a bore) at age 16 years old, and educational attainment (level of achievement on national education examinations) at age 20 years old. Results from hierarchal regression analyses showed that father involvement as well as mother involvement at age 7 each significantly and positively predicted children's later educational attainment at age 20 while controlling for a number of demographic variables (e.g., parental education, child's gender, family SES, child's academic motivation and previous achievement). Additionally, it was found that the relationship between father involvement and educational achievement did not differ by child's gender, nor level of mothers' involvement. Further, results showed that father involvement at age 7 was related to children's academic motivation at age 16 and that academic motivation did not mediate the relationship between father involvement and children's later educational attainment, suggesting that father involvement uniquely contribute to children's motivation and achievement in school. This study shed light on the importance of early mother and father involvement in children's education. When parents spend time with their children in educational ways, they help them to learn and increase their motivation and achievement over time. Additionally, this study shows that fathers make important contributions to children's education above and beyond mothers' involvement.

Tan and Goldberg (2009) investigated mothers' and fathers' involvement in elementary school children's education in a sample of majority European American

middle-class families. Parents' home-based (e.g., help with homework ((homework involvement)), engaging in reading aloud and talking about problems (interpersonal involvement), engaging in extracurricular activities with child such as sports (extracurricular involvement) and school-based involvement (e.g., attending PTA meetings, attending parent-teacher meetings, communicating with child's teacher ((direct involvement)) were related to children's enjoyment for school and academic achievement in different ways. Children's enjoyment for school was found to be correlated with mothers' homework involvement and interpersonal involvement, and fathers' direct involvement and interpersonal involvement. However, children's academic achievement was found to be negatively correlated with fathers' schoolbased involvement. Further, multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) tested mean level differences of mothers' and fathers' involvement while controlling for demographic variables (e.g., parents' age, family income, mothers' work hours, child's age) and results showed that mothers had higher levels of involvement for each of the four involvement described above. The researchers suggest that parents' employment status can provide an explanation for the mean differences found in mothers' and fathers' involvement. Over 90% of fathers compared to about 36% percent of mothers in the sample worked full-time, as such, due to time constraints from work, fathers are less available to be involved compared to mothers in this sample. Finally, regression analyses revealed that fathers' involvement made independent contributions to children's school enjoyment above and beyond mothers' involvement. Specifically, fathers' interpersonal involvement was a significant predictor of children's enjoyment for school. However, fathers' school-based

involvement was a negative predictor for children's academic achievement. Similar results for mothers' involvement, while controlling for fathers' involvement such that mothers' school-based involvement was a negative predictor while mothers' interpersonal involvement was a positive predictor of children's school enjoyment. The negative association between parents' school-based involvement and children's enjoyment for school and academic achievement may be due to some parents having to get more involved in school due to problems the child is having at school and thus parents have to communicate more with the child's teacher or attend more parent-teacher conferences.

Ethnic differences in father involvement. Some researchers have examined father involvement in diverse groups of students. In a study of White, Asian American, African American, and Hispanic American families from diverse SES backgrounds, Bogenschneider (1997) found differential effects of mothers' and fathers' involvement on adolescents' academic achievement in high school. Parental involvement was assessed using a 5-item measure that asked students about whether their parents attended school programs, attended students' sports and activities, helped choose students' courses, help with students' homework, and monitor students' school progress. Students' school grades were used to calculate grade point averages, which were used as an index of students' academic achievement. There were several important results. First, for White families, on average, mothers had higher mean level of school involvement than fathers; mothers were more involved with their daughter's schooling than son's, while fathers were equally involved regardless of the child's gender, even when controlling for parents' education and

child's year in high school. One important implication of this finding is that fathers do not differentiate their involvement as mothers do based on the child's gender, which shows an aspect of how mothers and fathers' involvement is different. Second, parents' education significantly predicted both mothers and fathers' level of involvement such that parents with high levels of education were more involved than parents with moderate or low levels of education. Third, when comparing mothers and fathers' involvement across various ethnicities, parents' involvement was positively related to students' academic achievement for all ethnicities with a few exceptions. Fathers' involvement was not related to their daughter's school grades within low education White families. Fathers' involvement was related to children's grades, but not mothers' involvement within African American families. Asian mothers were less involved in children's schooling than White, Hispanic, and African American mothers. Within Asian families, the mean level of involvement were nearly equal for mothers (9.92) and fathers (9.90) but in regression analyses, results showed that the strength of the association for students' academic achievement was stronger for fathers' involvement than mothers' involvement (beta=.16 and .10, respectively), while controlling for parent's education and child's gender. This finding suggests that perhaps fathers may be more influential in children's schooling than mothers within Asian American families regardless of parents' educational level and children's gender.

Additionally, other studies suggest that fathers may be more influential and more involved in children's schooling within Asian American families than has been shown in previous research. For example, in Okagaki and Frensch's (1998) study on

ethnic differences in parental beliefs and parental involvement in children's schooling, the researchers noted that while mothers tended to complete the parentquestionnaires for European American and Latino families, it was fathers or both mothers and fathers who tended to complete the parent-measures within Asian American families. In another study examining Vietnamese American adolescents' perceptions of their parents' parenting style (responsiveness and demandingness of parenting practices), Nguyen and Cheung (2009) noted that the majority of respondents chose to complete the questionnaires about their fathers. That is, when adolescents were asked to complete the questionnaire about their parents (mother or father), eighty-three percent (83%) of the adolescents chose to answer the questions based on their fathers' parenting styles while only seven percent (7%) of the sample completed the questionnaire regarding their mother. The researchers suggest that within Asian cultures, fathers are viewed as the head-of-the-household and thus the major decision-maker within the family, and so it is not surprising that fathers "overrepresented" the sample of parents in these studies. The adolescents may have chosen their father as the reference as a reflection of their ethnic value on the important role that parents hold in the family, and specifically fathers because he represents the family as the figurehead of the family. However, another study show that Asian mothers may be more involved than fathers.

In a study focusing on Asian mothers and fathers, Hsu, Zhang, Kwok, Li, and Ju (2011) investigated Taiwanese seventh graders' perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' educational involvement in relation to students' academic achievement.

Parents' involvement was measured separately for mothers and fathers and included

items regarding home-based (e.g., career planning discussions, listening to child's thoughts, monitoring school progress) and school-based involvement (e.g., participate in school activities). Correlations showed that perceptions of fathers' and mothers' involvement were related to each other, and that each involvement was positively correlated with adolescents' academic achievement. Through structural equation modeling, the researchers found that mothers' involvement was higher than fathers' involvement and that only mothers' (not father) involvement was a significant predictor adolescents' academic achievement. The researchers suggest that these results are not surprising as it reflect Chinese cultural practices that fathers assume the responsibility of providing the family income, and mother assume more parenting responsibilities even if she holds a job. As such, adolescents may perceive their mothers to be more involved in their schooling. Although these results are not consistent with existing literature regarding mothers' and fathers' involvement on children's education, the researchers suggest it may be due to cultural differences and merits further investigation.

In a qualitative study focused on Taiwanese father, Ho, Tran, Ko, Phillips, Boutin-Martinez, Dixon, and Chen (2011) investigated the shifting roles and responsibilities of fathers in the context of contemporary Taiwanese society. Fathers in the study included lower those with high school through graduate education and were between the ages of 30-61 years old. Results from the study showed that being a positive role model for his children was an important aspect of being a father, which meant taking on a 'protector role' through various sub-roles, such as, taking on the role of a chauffeur, being the disciplinarian, being the emotional support, decision

maker, financial provider, caretaker, and handyman. These roles and sub-roles suggest there are a range of roles and responsibilities that parents, and particularly fathers, take on in relationship to their children. Further, results showed that fathers believed that education was an important pathway for their children's upward socioeconomic advancement. As such, in their roles, father socialize and engage their children in a way that aligns with this belief and goal of having their children lead successful lives in the future.

Father involvement over time. Father involvement during later childhood and adolescence has been investigated much less frequently compared to studies examining father involvement during children's early childhood. This may be due to the reported decline in parental involvement overall (Hill & Tyson, 2009). That is, many of the studies reviewed on parental involvement have shown that parents report less involvement in their children's lives over time, but it should be noted that the majority of these studies only included mothers. However, some studies that did include both mothers and fathers found that both parents report less parental involvement over time (Epstein & Sanders, 2002). As children get older and rely less on parents for primary care giving, social support, and academic guidance; thus parents' involvement decline over time.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to review research studies that investigated the relationships between parental involvement and students' academic motivation and achievement. In this review I examined the extent to which parents' involvement is associated with children's academic motivation and achievement and the predictors

of parental involvement, such as parents' educational value beliefs, educational self-concepts, and expectations for their children's educational achievement. The chapter also reviewed studies that included comparisons among various racial/ethnic groups in order to examine possible mean level differences in parental involvement and predictors of involvement and how each aspect contributes to children's achievement and motivation for different groups. Finally, this chapter examined the role of fathers in the parental involvement literature and how fathers influence children's academic motivation and achievement. Here concluding comments with some suggestions regarding future research are presented.

The studies reviewed on parental involvement contribute a great deal of information and extend our understanding of the relationship between parent involvement and children's educational outcomes even after considering the limitations within the studies. Several studies included one or two dimensions of Grolnick and colleagues' (1994) or Epstein and colleagues' (1987, 2002) conception of parental involvement, and fewer studies included multiple informants of parental involvement. Most asked either the child, or mothers and sometimes mothers and fathers to report on parents' involvement. The majority of studies reviewed measured parents' involvement as home-based involvement or school based involvement. Parental involvement during childhood and adolescence should have different characteristics but few studies have investigated the nuanced differences in the way parents become or stay involved in children's school over time.

Overall, findings showed that when parents believed in the importance of education, valued educational success, had high educational attainment and self-

efficacy to help their child's learning, had high expectations for their child's academic achievement and attainment, parents were more likely to be involved with children's schooling. And when parents are more involved and provide more supportive environments for children's schooling, children show higher academic achievement and improvement in achievement scores. More specifically, when parents are involved in a manner that encourages persistence and effort, children reported being more intrinsically motivated, and have higher academic achievement. Additionally, students' and parents' report of higher rates of parental involvement were related to students' academic motivation and achievement.

Cross cultural research studies on parental involvement revealed that there were several mean level differences in parents' educational value beliefs and expectation and involvement in that Asian and Asian American parents tended to have higher means in parents' beliefs about the importance of education, academic success, and learning academic skills as early as kindergarten than parents from other ethnic backgrounds. Asian and Asian American parents were also more likely to hold high academic standards and expectations for their children than parents from other ethnic groups, such that they tended to expect their children to complete college or graduate schooling, and they were also more dissatisfied with grades that were lower than and "A". For self-efficacy and educational attainment, cross-cultural studies showed that European American parents tended to report the highest self-efficacy for helping with their children's schooling and European American parents also tended to have the highest education level. And these higher self-efficacy and education levels led European American parents to be more involved at home and at school.

While some studies showed that there are racial/ethnic group differences in the mean level of parental involvement and its relationship to children's academic achievement, other studies showed that when parents' educational attainment is considered, parents' involvement was predictive of children's achievement across groups, suggesting that perhaps there are more similarities across racial/ethnic groups with high educational backgrounds than differences. Taken together, these studies show that parental involvement is influenced by parents' own expectations of their children's educational achievement, parents' beliefs about the importance and value of school, and parents' self-efficacy and educational attainment. Additionally, Grusec and Davidov (2010) suggests that parents' parenting practices and approach exist within various domains of the socialization process. The approach and parenting practices that parents take on within these studies are closely tied to the teaching, scaffolding, or guided learning domain. Within this domain, parents act as a teacher and provide guidance or scaffolding to their children, the student, at a pace and level that is appropriate for his or her developmental learning progress. In this sense, parents act as a teacher within the guided learning domain of parental involvement in their children's education. The specificity of domain-specific teaching or guidance within the teaching and scaffolding domain has not been examined in the current literature.

Results from studies that included separate analyses for fathers or focused on just fathers showed similar results such that when fathers are present in the child's home, when they are involved with children's schooling, children were more motivated and had higher achievement in school (DeBell, 2008). However other

studies have also shown that fathers are less involved in children's schooling compared to mothers and that mothers' involvement was related children's achievement and motivation in school; while fathers' involvement was not significantly related to children's schooling (Deslandes & Cloutier, 2000; Hsu, Zhang, Kwok, Li, & Ju, 2011). Cross cultural research on fathers' involvement suggest that for Asian American families, fathers may be more involved or more influential in children's education than mothers (Bogenschneider, 1997; Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Nguyen & Cheung, 2009). Additionally, Asian fathers take on different roles at home with their children to help them achieve the goals they have for their children, namely to be financially successful. The roles and responsibilities include various aspects of teaching, training, encouraging, and monitoring educational progress. Although these role have been identified in the Ho et al., (2011) study as an overall 'role model' role, other models of roles parents play in the home with respect to children's education may exist. There is still very little research in this area and the current research will address this issue.

While many findings regarding the positive relationship between parental involvement and children's academic achievement have contributed to the understanding of the role of both mothers and fathers in children's academic development, as noted earlier, there are several limitations to the studies examined to this point. First, the majority of these studies included predominantly include children and families from middle class, and European American or European samples without much inclusion of underrepresented and underprivileged children. Second, almost all of the studies were conducted in the United States, and did not include any non-

European samples. Third, these studies lacked examination of parental involvement during later ages, especially during middle and high school. Fourth, the majority of studies are cross-sectional and few used longitudinal methodologies.

The realm of research on parental involvement lacks studies of father involvement and lacks information about fathers' perspectives on their involvement in their children's education. Many studies examining parental involvement that included a diverse sample did not include measures that were adapted to reflect the cultural variation in the way parents are involved in students' schooling. Additionally, the majority of studies reviewed here included self-report measures rather than observational measures, which could be biased.

The current study addresses a number of the limitations of the studies reviewed in this chapter in order to add important information to the literature on Asian American parental and fathers' involvement in their children's education. There is lack of studies focusing on Asian American, and more specifically, Vietnamese American fathers' involvement in children's education, therefore this study will explore the experiences, roles, and responsibilities of these fathers.

# **Chapter 3: Method**

This study was a mixed methods study which employed quantitative and qualitative methods to answer the research questions below. The qualitative data was collected from in-depth interviews and quantitative data was from questionnaires. The overarching goal of this study was to understand the nature of and processes by which Vietnamese American fathers are involved with their children's education. More specifically, the study's aims are to 1) explore and describe how fathers are involved with their children's education, 2) how their culture shapes their involvement, and how their identity, acculturation, involvement and educational beliefs relate to each other and their children's motivation and achievement.

### **Research Questions**

- 1. What are the roles and responsibilities of Vietnamese American fathers with respect to their children's education?
- 2. How does Vietnamese American fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation affect their parenting or parental involvement in their children's education?
- 3. How do fathers' ethnic identity, acculturation, parental involvement, and educational characteristics relate to one another and their children's motivation and achievement?

The goal of the study is to gain a deeper understanding of the processes by which Vietnamese American fathers are involved with their children's education.

Thus, this study 1) investigated the perceived roles and responsibilities of Vietnamese American fathers with respect to their children's education; 2) explored how fathers'

ethnic identity and acculturation affect their parenting or parental involvement; and 3) examined how these processes relate to one another and their children's motivation and achievement. This design allows for the use of established scales from the parental involvement, acculturation, and ethnic identity literatures, but also use openended interview questions to explore the role, responsibilities, and educational involvement experiences of Vietnamese American fathers. The mixed methods design includes two phases. In the first phase of the study I collected qualitative interviews data of fathers. The second phase uses data from questionnaires provided to fathers, mothers, and one child in the family; information gathered from these two phases of the study were used to answer research questions 1, 2, and 3.

A mixed methods design allows the researcher to collect, analyze, and interpret both qualitative and quantitative data. This method allows for the researcher to simultaneously conduct exploratory and confirmation research, such as comparing results back to established theories (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2003). This is especially pertinent for the present study because while there are many parental involvement studies in the current literature, there are few studies that have included and focused on fathers of Vietnamese descent.

There are four main types of mixed methods designs: 1) convergent, 2) explanatory, 3) exploratory, and 4) embedded (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007; Creswell, Plano-Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). The convergent parallel design is the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data simultaneously and the analysis and interpretation are also done simultaneously at the end. This allows the researcher to compare and contrast the data from both methods

and examine the research questions from multiple perspectives and methods. When the findings are similar across methods, one can find confidence in the results. Differences in the findings could indicate a divergence from existing theory and perhaps can bring new insight to existing knowledge on the topic (Cohen, Mannion, & Morrison, 2011). Explanatory design has a sequential procedure such that the collection and analysis of quantitative data is followed-up with the collection and analysis of qualitative data. The results of the qualitative data are interpreted to explain the results of the quantitative data. The explanatory design can be used to gain a better understanding of unexpected results found in the quantitative study such as interviewing high achieving students from low SES families. Exploratory design uses a sequential procedure such that the collection and analysis of qualitative data is followed by a quantitative study built from the results of the qualitative study; the results are then interpreted to describe how the quantitative results build on to the qualitative result. The exploratory design is usually seen in instrument development studies (Creswell & Plano-Clark, 2007).

The embedded design is a flexible combination of the convergent, explanatory, and exploratory designs. It focuses on one method, either quantitative or qualitative, but a supplemental study of the other method is embedded into the main study. For example, the main study can implement a quantitative design which is then supplemented by a qualitative study, or the main study can be a qualitative study that is supplemented by a quantitative study, thus the emphasis can be placed on the quantitative study or the qualitative study. (Creswell, 1998). Data collection and analysis of the supplemental study can occur before, during, or after the main study,

thus the timing of the studies can be concurrent or sequential. The embedded design is appropriate in studies when a single method is not sufficient to answer the different research questions of the study. For example, a main quantitative study may investigate students' performance during a timed math exam can be supplemented by a qualitative study that interviews students about how they felt when taking the exam to investigate anxiety effects during high stakes exams.

For the current study, an embedded design was used, where the major focus was a qualitative study that investigated the roles, responsibilities, and experiences of Vietnamese American fathers through interviews, with a supplemental quantitative study that examined Vietnamese American mothers and fathers' involvement and children's motivation and achievement using traditional surveys. As such, a concurrent procedure was used, where collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data were conducted simultaneously. This allowed for quantitative data gathered to be analyzed to enhance the understanding of Vietnamese American fathers' involvement in their children's education. The qualitative study used a grounded theory approach (Stauss & Corbin, 1990) for analyses and interpretation (see the methods section for detailed description of the use of this approach in the current study), while the supplemental quantitative data was analyzed using descriptive statistics.

Eighteen fathers who self-identify as Vietnamese American and have lived in the United States for at least one year were recruited to participate in this study.

Fathers completed self-report questionnaires and then were interviewed. Within each family, one child and the mother of the child also completed self-report

questionnaires. Drawing from the parental involvement, father involvement, and achievement motivation literatures (e.g., Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Ho, Tran, Ko, Phillips, Boutin-Martinez, Dixon, & Chen, 2011; Wigfield & Eccles, 2000), well established measures of parental involvement were used and semi-structured interview questions were developed.

# **Participants**

The participants were recruited from two Vietnamese Language schools in the Northern Virginia and Maryland area. The Vietnamese Language schools are attended by students on the weekend (Saturday at one school and Sunday at the other school) with classes that range from kindergarten through 12<sup>th</sup> grade at both schools (some grades are combined), usually from 9am to 1pm. The curriculum of each school includes lessons in speaking, writing, and reading in Vietnamese (students are placed in grades matching their skill level, not simply by age like traditional schools), and history and cultural aspects of Vietnam. One school runs on a semester-based (from September through December (Fall Semester) and January through June (Spring Semester)) schedule, and the other school is a year-long program from September through August. These schools are non-profit organizations but parents pay a tuition fee for each child to attend. Like traditional school, these language schools assign homework and have projects, quizzes, and exams for students. The teachers are volunteers, typically a parent of a child attending the school, or a volunteer from the local community, so there are some turn-over each year. One school holds their classroom program at a local church school on Saturday, and the other school holds their classroom program at a local high school on Sunday. There

were about 8-10 classrooms in each language school, with about 20-25 students in each class.

Parents of students were able to speak both English and Vietnamese comfortably. Participating families included the father, mother, and student in elementary, middle, or high school. The eligibility criterion of the study required fathers to be of Vietnamese decent and has a child in any grade first through twelfth grade. The sample included 18 families; the targeted number of participants recommended to reach saturation for in-depth interviews is between 10-20 (Creswell, 1998; Dey, 1999; Patton, 2001). Although the participants were recruited from Vietnamese language schools, the fathers did not have to speak Vietnamese to participate in the study. The father, mother, and one school-age child of each family completed questionnaires, in addition, the father participated in the semi-structured open-ended interview.

Participants included 18 families with 18 fathers, 18 mothers, and 18 children, one father, one mother, and one child from each family. Fathers' highest level of education ranged from "some college", "college", bachelor's, master's, or Ph.D. in history, computer science, engineering, and architecture, who were employed as engineer technician, electrical engineer, patent examiner, security engineer. All fathers indicated they were married and living with their spouse, the mother of their child, and their participating child. All fathers were born in Vietnam and immigrated to the United States with some educational experiences in Vietnam and in the U.S., and indicated they could understand, speak, read, and write in English pretty well or very well. To assess families' SES, fathers were asked to indicate on the background

questionnaire whether their child received free or reduced lunch at their school. All fathers indicated "No" and 5 did not answer the question. The average age of fathers in this study was 48 years old, the average age of mothers was 47 years old, and the average age of children was 13 years old. There were 7 male children (ranging from 3<sup>rd</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> grade) and 11 female children (ranging from 1<sup>st</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> grade) included in the study, with 7 children in elementary school (1<sup>st</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> grade), 1 in middle school (6<sup>th</sup> grade), and 10 in high school (9<sup>th</sup>-12<sup>th</sup> grade).

Regarding the father's background, all 18 fathers were born in Vietnam and immigrated to the United States about 30 years ago, arriving in the U.S. between 1975 and 1998. All fathers self-identified as Asian or Vietnamese, and spoke Vietnamese as their first language. Most indicated they could understand, speak, read, and write Vietnamese and English well to very well. Fathers' level of education included "some college", "some graduate", bachelor's degree, master's degree, and Ph.D., with the majority having a master's degree (44%). The subject areas of the degrees included architecture, biological or biomedical science, computer science, engineering (electrical, chemical, mechanical), history, and management information systems, with the majority having studied engineering (61%). All fathers reported being employed at the time of the interview, and a majority in the field of Information Technology (I.T.) as an engineer (56%). Fathers also indicated they had some schooling in Vietnam and in the U.S.

Regarding the families, fathers indicated they were married and living with their wife and children; the average family size was 4 people in the household (father, mother, and 2 children). A few families had extended family members living with

them. When fathers indicated they had more than one child who was eligible to participate in the study, the eldest child was preferred to complete the surveys and referred to in the interview because it allows the fathers to provide more information about the various experiences of being involved their child's education rather than a limited time of only a few years of school. For example, in an interview with a father of a 1<sup>st</sup> grader, it was difficult for the father to elaborate more on his involvement or reaction to grades because the child didn't receive grades in first grade and didn't have a lot of assignments from school. As such families with children in middle and high school were over-sampled to gain more information about the fathers' roles and responsibilities throughout the years.

# **Overall Study Procedure**

After identifying and recruiting families interested in participating in the study, appointments were made to interview the father; questionnaire completion were typically completed prior to the interview. Fathers participated in an in-depth individual interview to explore their day-to-day role and responsibilities in their children's education and how their ethnic identity and acculturation impact these aspects of his life. The interview was semi-structured so that it allows for follow up questions. The measures (all of which have been validated in previous research and are described in more detail below) include ethnic identity (Phinney, 1992) and acculturation (Chung, 2004), fathers' educational orientation (parent education level, expectations, and self-concept and beliefs about mathematics) (Wigfield & Eccles, 2000), fathers' involvement (at home and in school, Epstein & Sanders, 2002; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Mau, 1997). Additionally, a demographic and

background questionnaire was completed by fathers, which included items regarding their child's participation in a free/reduce price lunch program as an indicator of SES, ethnic background, years in U.S., language spoken at home, family composition, and other background information. Findings from interview data were used to answer research questions 1 and 2 in order to examine the process of father involvement in children's education and how ethnic identity and acculturation affect these processes. Data from the questionnaires were coded and used for descriptive analyses to answer question 3.

# **Phase 1: Qualitative Study**

#### **Procedure**

The interview was designed to be completed in about one hour. Each interview was taped via audio recording, which was then transcribed and coded into concepts, categories, and themes using Strauss and Corbin's (1998) coding system for Grounded Theory approach. The interview occurred one-on-one with each father, typically occurring in a separate room of the school or the home of the family.

#### Measures

Interview questions asked fathers about their influence on children's education through 3 types of questions: 1) involvement through behavior, 2) beliefs about education (beliefs and self-perceptions), and 3) ethnic identity and acculturation. Questions about involvement through behavior asked how fathers are involved with their children's education at home and at school such as, "Could you describe your day-to-day involvement with your child's schooling," and "How are you involved with your child's school?" Questions regarding beliefs about education

comprise fathers' general beliefs about education, its values, and his confidence in being able to help his child in school. Finally, a set of questions about fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation and how it shaped his parental educational involvement were asked, such as, "Do you feel you are more Asian or more American? How does it affect your parenting and educational involvement?" Selection of interview questions were based on the measures and questions from studies reviewed in the previous chapter. All questions were open-ended questions so that prior theories and notions of fathers' involvement don't influence fathers' responses. Questions and probes were adapted and elaborated with later interviews based on the answers of previous interviews. For example, questions and probes were added regarding whether fathers wanted to their child to pursue a specific career after initial interviews showed that fathers had a preference for their children's career field. Answers from initial interviews were provided as examples during probing to help fathers think further and reflected on their own experience regarding their goals, expectations, responsibilities, distribution of roles. All items were piloted on two fathers who were able to answer the questions comfortably.

## Plan of Analysis

Grounded theory is a research approach where inductive data processing helps to explain a phenomenon and generate a new theory or provide recommendation for refining theoretical frameworks (Creswell, 1998; Stauss & Corbin, 1990). Unlike other approaches where hypotheses are tested based on the theory that frames the study, grounded theory has the goal of creating new or refining a theory based on information and data gathered from the study when there is no theory on the topic. In

essence, the new theory or refined theory is grounded in the data; the approach is a bottom-up approach rather than a top-down approach. As such, data is first collected, then analyzed and interpreted, then a new theory is proposed. Data is typically collected in the form of in-depth interviews in which 10-20 participants is recommended in order to reach saturation (agreement or alignment of data gathered and more data is not expected to add new information to the topic of study) (Creswell, 1998; Dey, 1999; Patton, 2001). In previous research on parental involvement using qualitative interviews, the average number of participants was 15 (Cardona, Jain, & Canfield-Davis, 2012; Chao, 1996; Hilado, Kallemeyn, & Phillips, 2013; Ho, et al., 2011).

There are two approaches that can be used to analyze data within the grounded theory method. The first approach was originally conceptualized by Glaser and Strauss (1967) in which the procedure takes a totally inductive approach. For this method, interviews are not recorded or transcribed and the researcher takes notes of everything during the interview, including observations of behaviors; the literature review is conducted after the data has been collected, and the theory is proposed after the data has been analyzed and written (this helps to reduce biased influence from existing theories) (Glaser, 1998). The second approach Strauss and Corbin (1990) proposed is more systematic, and requires the coding system to be well defined. This study follows the Strauss and Corbin (1990) method for coding the data because of its systematic procedure.

The coding procedure for this study based in Strauss and Corbin's (1990) approach includes the following steps. The first step in coding the data is the initial

scanning, examining, comparing, and categorizing of data called open coding. Through open coding, concepts are identified (information that conceptualizes the data). These *concepts* describe broad themes that may arise and capture several instances of a phenomenon. For example, the concept "informal involvement" may describe instances where fathers are involved in informal ways with their children's education. Next, the concepts are then categorized. Multiple categories are similar such that it fits under a given concept but are also have distinctive features from each other. Subcategories are identified as necessary. These categories are usually noted in the margins of the transcripts. Next, *properties* are identified within each category. Properties are the defining attributes and characteristics of each category. Finally, dimensions of property can be established when necessary. The dimension is a continuum of the property and the location on that continuum. For example, a category could be "home involvement" and a subcategory is "monitoring of school performance", and the property is "reaction to report card grades", and the dimensions could range from positive (enthusiasm and excitement), to neutral (no reaction, does nothing), to negative (angry and disappointed).

These steps are recorded through *open notes*, which are notes of the data as transcripts are analyzed. Once the categories have been documented in the open notes, the relationships between the subcategories and categories are established (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Similarly, the distinctions between categories are also established. This process is repeated for each transcript of an interview. This process is called axial coding. Once data from all transcripts have been analyzed, modifications and refinement of categories are made when appropriate. Through an

iterative process of inductive and deductive thinking about the categories, the researcher notes these thoughts and record them in the *theoretical notes*.

Validity. To establish validity for the qualitative data analyses, Cresswell (1998) recommends employing several procedures, including addressing researcher bias through critical subjectivity, engaging in peer review, and providing rich, thick description of the study's findings. Within qualitative research, a serious threat to the validity of the study is the researcher's bias. This bias may hinder the researcher to clearly interpret the data that is reflective of the participants' experiences and influences that are important to the roles and responsibilities of Vietnamese fathers. In order to address this threat, critical subjectivity is used to check the bias, which requires a heightened state of self-awareness about one's biases to make more sound judgements and evaluation of the data. This process allows the researcher to clarify his or her biases rather than ignore it or suppress it. For example, my bias at the beginning of this study is that I believed Vietnamese fathers might be very strict in their parenting practices and have narrow views about his expectation for his child's success and that grades and academic achievement are the most important factors in determining success. However, I believed it was this narrowed definition of educational success that contributed to children's success in school as children learn to define their own educational success very narrowly too (i.e., getting mostly A's instead of B's or C's), and thus internalize the messages and expectations to do well in school and work hard to do so. These biases could skew my perception of the participants' actual experience. The process is further supported by a peer review process.

The peer review process is a verification process used in qualitative research to assess quality and consistency during data processing, similar to interrater reliability checks in quantitative research (Creswell, 1998). For example, the coded categories are verified through a peer review process and this process is repeated until there is theoretical saturation. Several peer reviewers read and coded the data. I then considered all codes that I did not previously code and make modifications as necessary. The peer review process consisted of meetings with the peer reviewer to discuss the data, the coding, and the results in order to ensure that interpretations and conclusions made by the researcher were reflective of the data. Agreements in themes found were discussed and if there were disagreements in themes found, more discussions were made to justify why a theme exists and should be coded or why it should not be coded because it reflects a different theme. This was an iterative process to ensure the data was coded reliably and consistently.

It should be noted that one of the validation methods within the ground theory approach is to return coded interview data back to interviewees for their reaction and validation to the coded themes. However, interviewees did not express interest in this information when offered; instead, a few stated being interested in seeing the final published report. They cited their busy schedules and lack of time for the interviewer to return or to review their coded interviews. Their interest in participating in the study was to help the researcher collect data and publish information on Vietnamese families to contribute to the scientific knowledge. Thus, coded interview data were not returned to interviewees.

Finally, rich thick descriptions in the form of verbatim quotes from interview transcripts are recommended as part of the validation process in qualitative studies involving interviews. This help readers fully capture the experiences of the participants and allow readers to make their own evaluations of the study's findings rather than rely solely on the summaries or notes of the researcher on what he or she perceived to be major themes or concepts in the study (Maxwell, 1996). In this study, rich thick descriptions through quotes from the participants will be provided in the Results section along with the coded themes and concepts in the results section. This will allow readers to make their own determination about the validity of the findings.

# **Phase 2: Quantitative Study**

#### **Procedure**

Questionnaire data were collected to provide descriptive information on the family regarding fathers' ethnic identity, fathers' acculturation, mother and fathers' involvement, mother and fathers' educational orientation, and children's motivation and achievement. Fathers completed a questionnaire about their educational characteristics, involvement at home and in the school, and his child's motivation and achievement. Fathers also participated in an in-depth interview to explore his day-to-day role and responsibilities in his children's education and how his ethnic identity and cultural background impact these aspects of his life. The measures were selected based on the theoretical frameworks and review of the literature on parental involvement in children's education.

#### Measures

Fathers, mothers, and one child in the family each completed questionnaires; all of the questionnaire measures consisted of well-developed and validated measures. Fathers completed the following questionnaires: 1) Background Information, 2) Parent's Involvement Questionnaire, 3) Parents' Educational Background and Views, 4) Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale, and 5) Ethnic Identity Measure. Mothers completed the following questionnaires: 1) Parent's Involvement Questionnaire, and 2) Parents' Educational Background and Views. Each child completed the following questionnaires: 1) Parent's Involvement Measure, and 2) Students' Academic Motivation and Achievement. The questionnaires assessed the following parent and child variables: fathers and mothers' educational orientation (expectations for child, and fathers' self-concept and beliefs about school), fathers and mothers' parental involvement (self-report), fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation, students' perception of parental involvement (at home and in school), and students' academic motivation and achievement. When children were too young (in grades 3 or lower), the researcher read the questions aloud to the child and clarified the meaning of words when there were comprehension issues. For example, a student in first grade asked what 'often' meant, and the researcher clarified that it meant 'how many times something happened, like every day or only sometimes...etc) and giving examples to further clarify the word. Additionally, a demographic measure was completed by the father, which includes items regarding family income as an indicator of SES, ethnic background, years in U.S., language spoken at home, family composition, and other background information to help assess and control for

acculturation and other contextual influences. These will help to describe the sample of participants in the study.

Parents' educational beliefs and expectations. Fathers' educational attainment, self-concept, value beliefs, and expectation for his child's schooling were measured using an adapted parallel form of students' self-concept and beliefs about mathematics based on Wigfield and Eccles's (2000) expectancy-value model of achievement motivation. Items tap fathers' beliefs about the usefulness, importance, and interest, as well as their beliefs about his own abilities in several school subjects (math, English, science). For example, one item asked, "How good in math are you?" Fathers rated their response on a 7-point Likert scale for each item; ratings range from (1) not at all good to (7) very good, with the most positive rating being the highest. Similarly, another item stated, "Being good in math is," with responses ranging from (1) not at all important to (7) very important. Fathers' educational expectations was be measured using a self-report measure of items that asked about his expectations for their children's academic achievement. Items included such statements as, "I expect my child to go on to college," or "I expect my child to complete at least his or her high school degree." A 5-point Likert scale followed each statement and asked fathers to rate each statement, which ranges from (1) strong disagree to (5) strongly agree. Fathers' educational attainment was measured using items from the background questionnaire that asked fathers through an open-ended question to indicate his highest level of education and the subject of the degree. Mothers also completed this questionnaire to provide background information on mothers' educational orientation.

Parents' involvement. Three aspects of parent involvement were measured: interaction with school, involvement at home, and intellectual/cognitive involvement (Epstein, 2001; Fan 2010; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994: Mau, 1997). Parents' involvement in school was assessed by an adapted versions of the Parent-School Interaction Questionnaire (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994) in which parents were asked about the frequency of their attendance at school activities and events, parent-teacher conferences, open school night, volunteer or attend parent-teacher organization/associations, and contact teachers. Ratings range from (1) *never* to (6) *all the time*.

Involvement at home was assessed with an adapted version of items measuring parental involvement from the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NELS: 88) as cited in Mau (1997). The items ask parents the extent of their involvement at home. Examples of these items asked parents how often they gave special privileges to their children because of good grades, require work or chores around the house, allot time for homework, help with homework, limit video games/play time, purchase books or materials for school. Ratings range from (1) never to (6) all the time.

Parents' intellectual/cognitive involvement at home was assessed by an adapted versions of the Parent-School Interaction Questionnaire (Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994). Items measured with a set of items that asked parents to rate how often they engage in specific cognitive or intellectual activities with their child, such encouraging their child to do well in school, discussing school work, monitoring progress of school related tasks, helping plan for course taking, keeping track of

grades, discussing community, national, or world events, helping plan for college.

These items were from the Ratings ranged from (1) *never* to (6) *all the time*. Mothers also completed this questionnaire to provide background information on mothers' educational involvement.

Fathers' acculturation. The Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS) (Chung, Kim, & Abreu, 2004) was used to measure fathers' acculturation. The measure is comprised of questions that ask respondents to rate items based on their own culture of origin, other Asian Americans, and European Americans, as such, there are three scales in this measure. The items assess four domains: cultural behavior such as language and food consumption (10 items), cultural identity (3 items), and cultural knowledge (2 items). There are a total of 15 items for each scale, each item rated on a 6-point scale from (1) *not very much* to (6) *very much*. For example, one item asks respondents to rate the following statement, "How well do you speak the language of – (a. your own Asian culture of origin, b. other Asian groups in America, c. English).

Fathers' ethnic identity. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992) was used to assess fathers' ethnic identity. The measure consists of 12 items tapping respondents' behaviors in searching for their identity (5 items), and feelings toward their ethnic group (affirmation, belonging, commitment, 7 items). For example, an identity search item asks respondents to rate how much they agree with the statement, "I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group such as its history, traditions, and customs." Responses are on a 4-point scale and range from (1) *strongly disagree* to (4) *strongly agree*.

Students' perception of parents' involvement. A parallel questionnaire of the parental involvement questionnaire (described above) was used to measure students' perception of their mother and fathers' educational involvement. The questionnaire included 25 items that asked students to rate how often their mother and father were involved in several aspects of their education including, such as giving special privileges because of good grades, help with homework, purchase school books or materials, keep track of grades, help plan for college, attend parent-teacher conferences. Students rated their response on a 6-point scale for each item; ratings ranged from (1) *never* to (6) *all the time*.

Students' self-concepts of ability and achievement values. Students' self-concept and value beliefs about English, math, and science (the three basic subjects that are taught in K-12) was measured using a measure based on Eccles and Wigfield's (2000) expectancy-value model of achievement motivation. Items tap students' beliefs about the usefulness, importance, and interest in math, as well as their beliefs about their own abilities in math. For example, one item includes, "How good in math are you?" Students rated their response on a 7-point Likert scale for each item; ratings range from (1) *not at all good* to (7) *very good*, with the most positive rating being the highest. Similarly, another item states, "Being good in math is," with responses ranging from (1) *not at all important* to (7) *very important*.

**Students' academic achievement.** Students reported their grades on math, science, and English for the previous and current school year.

### Plan of Analysis

Responses from the surveys were entered and coded into SPSS. Descriptive statistics and correlation analyses were conducted on the items to answer research question 6. This allowed for the examination of the relationships between Asian American fathers' ethnic identity, acculturation, parental involvement, and educational orientation

The data from the survey serves as supplemental data helping to provide additional information that may lack from the interview. For example, perhaps respondents are shy about discussing their family life with another person but are more apt to respond to surveys, then the information from the survey would be more helpful in providing a more complete picture of the participant's educational involvement experiences with their children. Additionally, the survey data can help to provide a better understanding of how various aspects of parental involvement and educational characteristics explored in the qualitative study are related to one another. By evaluating these relationships and interpreting it along with the results found in the qualitative study, we can get a better understanding of not only the processes and factors affecting involved in fathers' educational involvement, but also the relationships to one another. Finally, new information that emerges from the interviews that questionnaires did not capture can inform the current literature on Asian American fathers' involvement, which could ultimately lead to new questionnaire measures or modifications of existing ones, and develop new theories regarding Asian American fathers' involvement.

# **Chapter 4: Results**

The current study used a mixed methods approach to gain a deeper understanding of the educational involvement experiences of Vietnamese American fathers. This chapter will address the three research questions below. First the qualitative interview data regarding fathers' roles and responsibilities and perceptions of ethnic identity will be discussed to answer the first two research questions regarding these issues. I will describe the basic codes that emerged, and present quotes from different fathers that illustrate them. Further, the various processes by which fathers are involved with their children's education are described in detail, including their expectations, beliefs about educational success, parenting practices, and behavioral involvement. Fathers' perceptions of their ethnic identity will be explored and their perception of how they may shape their involvement will be described. Finally, descriptive statistics and other results from the questionnaire data will be presented to answer the third research question.

### **Research Questions**

- 1. What are the roles and responsibilities of fathers with respect to their children's education?
- 2. What are fathers' beliefs about how ethnic identity and acculturation shape parenting practices or children's education?
- 3. How do fathers' ethnic identity, acculturation, parental involvement, and educational characteristics relate to one another and their children's motivation and achievement?

# **Results for Research Question 1**

# **Roles and Responsibilities of Vietnamese American Fathers**

The purpose of the first research question is twofold: 1) to understand the role and responsibilities of Vietnamese American fathers in the context of his children's education, and 2) to describe in detail what those responsibilities are through his educational involvement with his children. Because involvement is multifaceted, which does not just include behavioral involvement, but also psychological, fathers' goals for their child will be included in the description. As described in the literature review (see Chapter 2), there are many studies of parental involvement that have measured these concepts in a sample of mothers or mostly mothers. Few studies have focused on understanding the role and responsibilities of fathers and even fewer have focused on Vietnamese Americans, who are underrepresented in the parental involvement literature. Therefore, it is important to understand these aspects of parental involvement not just from the mother's perspective but also the father's perceptive and give voice to fathers' educational involvement within this population.

The following questions were asked but may vary from father to father depending on their explanation of the initial question about their involvement.

Additional follow-up questions and probing questions are listed in Appendix A. The first question aimed to identify fathers' goals for their children; the second set of questions aimed to identify the processes that occur and the responsibilities fathers take on concerning their involvement with their children's education.

1. What are some of your goals for your child's education or career?

- What do you say or do when he/she gets good grades? What do you say or do when he/she gets bad grades?
- What do you consider good grades and bad grades?
- 2. Can you tell me about how you are involved in your child's education?
  - Are there activities or things you do with your child at home that are school related?
  - When do you talk to your child about school
  - Do you feel confident that you can help your child with his/her schoolwork?
  - How do you think your involvement in your child's schooling is different than the child's mother?

The roles and responsibilities that Vietnamese American fathers take on emerged from fathers' responses to interview question about his day-to-day involvement with his child, and his goals and expectations for academic achievement. Results from my coding of the interviews and peer discussions with the second coder showed that fathers hold two main roles in their child's education, including the role of a teacher/tutor and a principal. As such, the types of responsibilities fathers included: acting as an additional teacher at home for child by teaching the child about concepts learned in class to supplement explanations or clarify questions, by seeking out and provide extra educational activities or enrichment programs for child, by monitoring progress of assignments and homework to ensure it is completed correctly and on time, by monitoring the child's grades, by assessing the child's interests and abilities to tailor involvement accordingly. In their role as a principal in the home,

fathers provide big picture goals for child, sets expectations for child's performance standards, manages financial resources to support educational expectations of child, and enforces rules to help child with time management skills.

The responsibilities that fathers indicated they take on in their involvement with their children's education are similar to the responsibilities that teachers and principals take on in their profession at the school. According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), principals are typically responsible for the following at school: setting the academic vision and goals for students; implementing performance standards, observing and evaluating teachers, creating a positive learning environment, and managing data and processes and taking appropriate actions when necessary (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016). Teachers take on more of the day-to-day student level responsibilities: creating and teaching lessons to students on a given subject or a variety of subjects; observing and evaluating students' abilities, strengths, and weaknesses; providing feedback to students on their assignments and assessments; preparing students for standardized tests; and developing and enforcing classroom rules (BLS, 2016a). Although teachers and principals have the responsibility of overseeing and teaching many students in a classroom or a school, fathers take on similar responsibilities on a smaller scale with their own children. As such, the labels of teacher and principal were chosen to describe the roles in which fathers (and mothers) assume to carry out the responsibilities they have at home with respect to their children's education. The principal role best summarizes and conceptualize what fathers are doing more broadly and that is what drives their daily involvement. There is already literature on the teacher role, but the current research

has not made the connection of parents' involvement to the principal role. The characteristics and roles are not unique to this higher educated sample, but the extent to which these roles and responsibilities are taken on by parents at home, I expect, will vary across SES groups. For example, parents from lower SES families may have less specific goals for their children or more flexible goals from their children than parents from higher SES, partly because having higher income allows you to assume that you can financially support the more specific goals, and having higher education allows you to believe that you have the ability to help your children with homework and assignments to help them achieve the specific goals you have for them. Parents from lower SES may feel limited by their financial status and their abilities to help their children and thus may have more flexible goals or less specific goals for their children.

Table 1 presents the results of the major themes found after gathering all of the interview data and identifying the responsibilities discussed by fathers and labeling the roles that best capture these responsibilities. This table summarizes the major findings and major themes while the analyses of the interviews provide examples of more nuanced results not captured in the table. For example, a few fathers indicated that they rewarded their children by providing positive encouragement or by providing extrinsic rewards such as toys or games or special privileges while other fathers did not mention they provided any reward, thus providing contradictory findings negates it from being included in the table of major themes found throughout the interviews amongst fathers. Instead, the points will be discussed within the text below.

Table 1. Roles and Responsibilities and Sample Quotes of Vietnamese American Fathers

Role	Responsibility
Principal	Act as an additional principal at home for child
	Provides goals for child
	- My hope is that she will go to a really good school, that I
	wouldn't have the opportunity to go to when I came here. So I
	was hoping um, there is any chance of getting into an Ivy
	League college for her. College, and then I think I want her to
	have a successful career, not very technical oriented like
	myself, but more business oriented and kind of leverage her
	communication skills, versus the analytical, technical skill
	Peter
	- Uh, my goal is to let him pick whatever he want to be. I want
	him to at least complete the 4 years in college, at least that.
	Especially, I'm an engineer so I'm biased to engineer but he's
	been switching between uh computer science and uh medical,
	so it's up to him Linh
	Sets expectations
	- I say "Good grade is the standard. Bad grade is the problem.
	Well for me, frankly good grades not that important. It's more
	about what you've learned and what you don't learn. I mean
	if you have good grades just because, maybe yours students or
	your peer are not that good and that's why you get good
	grades, that doesn't mean that you learn much. So that's what
	I tell them. I tell them don't worry about the grades, just make
	sure that you learn and that you understand what you are
	learning and why you are learning Thanh
	- It's an expectation that it's their duty they—they it's like the
	parents they work, it's their duty to work and to raise the

family and the kids is they do is to study. It's not encouragement; it's do or die, that's it. Straight 'A's [are considered good grades]. Anything but [straight 'A's are considered bad grades]. - Jerry

## Manages financial resources

- We try to work hard and to get the financial part to provide for her education, that important. Because when she grows up the time we have for her is very limited. So besides, homework, there's a lot. Because she take the AP class from 9th grade so she very busy. So not only at school, you know she have a lot of activity outside so we have to spend on that.
- Thinh

#### Enforces rules

- I always help her and look up at what she's doing after school and try to keep her up with the school schedule. Just every day after she comes home from school, I always encourage her to do her homework and finish everything for that day. And not let it expand to another day without finishing the task. And do all her homework. Yesterday we had a homework sheet. Besides reading, math, and I tried to help her finish everything on the first day of the week and have the reading after that. Lien
- Manager her time, um, effectively. Go home, do homework first, right, okay. And after you finish your homework then you can do anything you want. But mainly focus on the rule number one, come home, do homework. Be good at, um, what you study. And know your subject. And after that, then you can do whatever you can do. Andy

Teacher

Act as an additional teacher at home for child Teaches concepts

Let's say that she doesn't understand something in the lecture that she has for the day. I can give her a lecture on that topic or go over the notes that she has and make sure she understands everything that she wrote out, that she mis-wrote down, that's happened some times. Because I don't forget math. When it comes to those topics, I just still have them all in my head so when I look at it, I can tell whether she made a mistake or not. So with that, I can correct that, or if she doesn't understand, then I can explain. Because sometimes the teacher doesn't have enough time and doesn't go deep in to the topic. If it's very difficult then I have to explain it in various ways that she can see it more. - Hai

#### Provides enrichment materials

- They come home with school work so they have to get that done and [then] I have my own set of homework that I help them do to improve so they can do better in school. I [also] just started to set up a class to teach the besides school. So I teach them science, the concept of science, some hands on stuff, how to build stuff, how to build a bug, robot, and then programming. I teach them programming. Tam
- If there's time where I'm researching material that I think I can teach to her independently from the school material.

  Sometimes school material, she does on her own so we have to look it over or we don't. And on the way there, we ask questions but also find material I think might be interesting and help her along the way with her schoolwork later on or in other aspects, you know. So try to do and find other material to teach her. Duy

### Monitors assignments and homework

The first thing we do with them when we come home is I talk to them, see what kind of homework they have and I ask them

to do it. And if they have any questions at all they can ask me. And after they're done with the homework I can check to see if they do it correctly or not. ...my wife will go more in to detail. What my wife does is every day is that she looks at their homework very carefully and if they make mistakes she asks them to do it over and over again until they get it. -Loc

### Monitors grades

- I follow, I keep track on her record everyday. I go to Edline because they have a website with everything. I follow, I go there and I check on my grade, my daughter grade every few day, not everyday. Every few day of a week at least a week and I check and follow and keep track on and every time she get a bad grade I call her right away and ask her what happened. And she explain to me, for example, she forgot to do to submit the homework or she for some reason. You know, I-I understand that. When I, after listening to her, I just tell her, 'Ok next time you have to read careful, more carefully. Don't forget to do that.' Basically that because the ones uh one grade, you know, for homework or something like that not affect the whole process. So for whole thing okay. -Thinh

#### Tailors involvement

- I don't believe in pushing him... If he can handle it, and I can see that, then I'm going to try to encourage him, give him harder math problems, right? And he can do that, and improve. You know, some people really good in music, right? Some people good in science, for whatever reason. Some people just physical gift and they good in P.E. Um, he's not good in P.E. cause, you know, his size and everything, but he's improving in that. And like I said, writing English is not our first language, so that for, we can't really help him with that. - Hung

The role of the teacher can further be divided into two stages where fathers provide more *direct daily involvement* when children are young (in elementary school) and more *indirect infrequent involvement* when children are older (in middle and high school). For example, fathers who sought out and provided extra educational activities or enrichment programs for their child was described much more in fathers of younger children than in fathers of older children. Although these roles can be divided into two stages, it should be noted that all of these roles continue throughout the child's development; it is just more prominent during certain stages of a child's education (i.e., while the child is in primary school vs. secondary school).

While the principal and teacher roles have been identified from the interviews with fathers, coding showed that some these roles were identified as mainly their own, shared with their wife, or mainly the role of their wife, to describe the distribution of their roles and responsibilities. As such, the dimension of these roles and responsibilities can range from a *mostly father-role*, a *mostly mother-role*, or a *shared-role*. The term 'distribution of roles' is used to describe how fathers and mothers of the interviewed families view how they share their roles and responsibilities rather than how they divide their responsibilities. While research on the topic of 'division of labor' between mothers and fathers have shown that parents divide tasks in the household to make their parenting responsibility more efficient, the term is task specific (e.g., feeding, changing diapers, cleaning...etc) (Coltrane, 2000). The term distribution of roles and responsibilities infers sharing of responsibilities rather than separation of tasks. One example of how responsibilities are shared rather than separated or divided is when fathers say that one parent (either themselves or

their wife) will try to help their child solve a problem on a homework assignment and if the problem isn't solved or if there's still uncertainty, then the next parent with more expertise in the subject will step in to help. The term 'division of labor' is not the best fitting term here because these parents see themselves as sharing the responsibilities in involvement with their children's education rather than dividing or separating it. As such I will use the term distribution of roles and responsibility rather than the known term used in the literature of 'division of labor'.

The roles and responsibilities will be described next, with all participants and family members' names having been assigned a pseudonyms to protect their identities. First, fathers' role and responsibilities of a principal will be described then fathers' role and responsibilities of a teacher will be examined.

## **Fathers Acting as a Principal and Teacher at Home**

Principal Role. Fathers in the study take on the role of the principal or chief executive officer for their children at home. In this role they set the goals, expectations, and priorities for their children, manage financial resources to support their educational goals for their children, and enforce rules that align with the goals they have for children's development, just as principals do for the teachers and students in their schools. Two dimensions emerged from this role, which are, the extent to which fathers have flexible or inflexible and specific or broad goals, expectations, and rule enforcement for their children's education. Unlike a teacher who only has a student in their classroom for about a year, a principal oversee students over many years. As such, in their role as a principal, fathers set short and long term goals for their children. Fathers in the study were able to articulate their

goals for their children's education and career, with most fathers stating that they expect their children to go to college and complete a Bachelor's degree at a minimum and graduate school if their field of study requires it. Some fathers had broad goals for their children's education, career, and well-being with some degree of flexibility in their expectations and rule settings while other fathers had more specific goals for their children (e.g., pursuit in a science related career) with little flexibility in terms of expectations for performance standards, considering only A's as good grades... Fathers then set expectations and priorities to accomplish the goals accordingly. For example, fathers who set goals for their children to complete college and go on to graduate school tended to also have high expectations of their children's grades, set time and space aside for their children to complete their homework, they put scholastic activities and achievement as a priority and above other activities that their children are involved in. They help manage the family's financial resources to provide tutors for their children as well as other materials and extracurricular activities. Father also maintain rules about chores, playing games, and other activities to help develop their children's time management skills, and other important skills to be successful outside of school. They are interested in developing their children for achievement in the workforce, and not just in school. It is important to fathers that they help their children become independent, self-sufficient, and independent thinkers. They believe academic achievement is just one part of the equation for being successful; they believe it is important to also have strong social and communication skills to be able to lead a team of workers in the future. This belief was highly influenced by their own personal experience at work.

Teacher Role. The role of being a teacher allows fathers to act as an additional teacher at home for their child. Similar to being a teacher at school, fathers take on the role of a teacher at home by teaching his child about concepts learned in class to supplement explanations or clarify questions; seeking out curriculum, materials and programs to guide, support, and enrich their children's understanding of the subject(s) being taught at school; by monitoring the child's progress of assignments and homework to ensure it is completed correctly and on time; by monitoring the child's grades; and by assessing the child's interests and abilities to tailor his involvement accordingly. In the descriptions below, fathers describe their day-to-day interaction or educational involvement with their child, which clearly show that fathers take on the role of a teacher and principal and their responsibilities reflect these roles.

### **Interview Analysis**

Tam is in his mid-40s, he has a Master's of Science in Electrical Engineering and he is an electrical engineer by occupation. He is married and has two children. His wife is in her early 40's and the focal child is male and in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being more involved at home (5.40) and with cognitive discussions (5.30) than at school (5.00), which were higher than the mean ratings within the study. In his principal role, Tam describes his involvement with his son through goals that he has for his son. He provides a foundation for his son and wants his son to eventually become independent. Similar to being a principal at a school, being a principal at home allows fathers to set goals, expectations, and priorities for their children.

Tam further describes how his involvement is different from his wife in that he expects more structure in the way his children learn and study. Using his background as an engineer at work, he carries that mind set into the home and used a more structured, systematic, and scientific approach to setting expectations for his son's learning.

Principal Role (Goals for child). I just try to help them out and give them the path. Some basic foundation... I just want to build the foundation for him and he can take it and go by himself. So that's what I've been doing. I think that is important role of parents is give them support and opportunities and that's what I try to do.

He sets his expectations around the studying habits and discipline. He believes doing well in school starts with having proper studying habits and having structure and discipline for studying. Compared to his wife, Tam says that he expects more structure and discipline than his wife. In the *distribution of roles*, the principal and teacher roles are taken on by Tam rather than his wife. He *enforces rules* that are strict and centers around proper studying behaviors and habits. Using his background as an engineer at work, he carries that mind set into the home and used a more structured, systematic, and scientific approach to setting expectations for his son's learning.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations; Enforcing Rules). When they study I have them sit at the table, in the chair, not laying down, not even reading the book. So that's what I do. Everything is sit down at the table properly. If they don't do it then don't do it but if they do it they're gonna do it that way. So

that's one example of the differences. Um I am more structured, the systematic way, the scientific way, so I do it with the procedure, I do it with writing, and that's another... What you think, you start to write down and transfer information to the paper, it gives you a different perspective toward it. So what else... yea, that's probably it. I am more on seeing and believing so I have them write it down on a board. But communication is important to. I give them the opportunity to explain something with writing on the board. And make sure the information comes through in the speaking.

The level of *specificity* of Tam's goals are broad yet the level of the *flexibility* in his rules are strict and the expectations for achievement are high. Information from the questionnaire data suggest that he has very high expectations for his son, wanting all A's in math, science, and English and he indicated that it is important for his son to do well in all of these subjects. These goals and expectations set the tone for how he approaches involvement in his role as teacher to his children.

In his teacher role, Tam describes his daily involvement with his child as an additional teacher or tutor. He monitors his child's homework closely every day, provides extra set of his own homework for the child to improve on their learning, and attends all extracurricular activities to take note of the lessons being taught so that we can reinforce it at home. The *directness* of Tam's involvement is more *direct*, and the *frequency* of his involvement is *frequent and daily*.

*Teacher Role (Teaching)*. I take them to the [piano] class, everywhere they go. And I sit there and listen to the teacher explain so that I can learn it and help him at home too. There is a difference for example, if I take my son there and

then I leave and come back later, there is a difference when you're there and you listen to the teacher explain and you know what is taught during the session so when I'm home I make sure I reinforce that but if I don't have that and then I don't know and if I ask him, he may just say "who knows what they said". I [also] just started to set up a class to teach the besides school. So I teach them science, the concept of science, some hands on stuff, how to build stuff, how to build a bug, robot, and then programming. I teach them programming.

Teacher Role (Monitoring Homework). I follow them and monitor them very closely. I make sure their homework is done and then after that I look over assignments that I have them do for math and language arts everyday.

Teacher Role (Extra Education). Yea, they come home with school work so they have to get that done and I have my own set of homework that I help them do to improve so they can do better in school. So I do have my math and language arts. So now I have my son learning music, piano, I have him play and learning tennis, and I have him learning Vietnamese martial arts.

Overall, Tam has broad but strict goals for his son. He believes it is *valuable* and *important* for his son to do well in school, and expects his son to be getting all A's. He describes his involvement with his child as one of an additional teacher or tutor. He monitors homework and provides extra set of his own homework for the child to improve on their learning. His *direct* and *daily* involvement is related to his strict goals and high expectations for his son. He rated being *okay* in his ability in math (4.67), English (4.00), and science (4.67), and rated these subjects as *very valuable* 

(6.67 for each subject). His son rated being somewhat good at math (6.00) and science (6.50), and somewhat okay in English (3.67), while rating these subjects as somewhat valuable for math (4.86) and English (4.86) and valuable for science (6.50). His son received A's in math, an A and B in English, and A and B in science. Taken together, these results suggest that Tam's role as principal and teacher and his own abilities help foster his son's beliefs, abilities, and performance in school.

Thanh is in his early 40's, he has a college degree in History and is an infrastructure analyst by occupation. He is married and has two children. His wife is in her early 40's and the focal child is male and in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being more involved at school (5.40) and with cognitive discussions (5.20) than at home (4.80), which were all above the mean ratings in study. His wife rated being more involved at home (4.10) and with cognitive discussions (3.60) than at school (1.20), which were all below the mean ratings within the study. Thanh's goals for his children is for them to become self-sufficient. He states that his goals are shared goals with his wife, although he takes the lead role. In his shared-role as a principal, he sees education as a vehicle for helping his children to become self-sufficient and successful. He has high standards for his children's educational performance and expects them to get good grades even at a young age but stresses learning more than grades.

Principal Role (Goals for child). So my goal is to teach my children to be self-sufficient and I think, for me, the best way is to provide them a good education. I just try to help them out and give them the path. Some basic foundation... I just want to build the foundation for him and he can take it and go by himself. So that's what I've been doing.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). I tell them don't worry about the grades, just make sure that you learn and that you understand what you are learning and why you are learning. But I guess by the standard they get A or B, that's what would be a good grade.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations; Enforcing Rules). I say "Good grade is the standard. Bad grade is the problem." So I don't really.. I just say good job. I don't really do anything extra. But they know that if they don't get good grades then... they have bad grades then some of their privileges, playing time, gets taken away. No computer, no ipad, no video game, no friends come over. [Q: What do you consider bad grades?] Well for me, frankly good grades not that important. It's more about what you've learned and what you don't learn. I mean if you have good grades just because, maybe yours students or your peer are not that good and that's why you get good grades, that doesn't mean that you learn much. So that's what I tell them. I tell them don't worry about the grades, just make sure that you learn and that you understand what you are learning and why you are learning. Alright, then focus on getting on the highest grade, whatever. Always people will be smarter than you and there are always people who are not as smart. But I guess by the standard they get A or B, that's what would be a good grade. Right? At least they don't get any punishment if they get that grade [laughter]. [Q: Are the reactions from your wife the same if they get good grades and bad grades?] Uh, she doesn't do hardly.. most of the time I'm the one that decides whether they get reward or punished, really.

He and his wife differ on their views about what is expected of their children's education. While she believes that the children will eventually learn, he believes that children have more free time when they are young so they should learn as much as possible.

My wife is different. so in this area my wife and I are not the same. Not on the same page. My wife always thinks "Well they learn" well they eventually will learn and that I push them too much. And you make them learn this and learn that and do all this different school. My philosophy is that they are young, they have a lot of free time, they should do it. Later on, when they are older they have more activities they have friends, and it'll be harder to find time and learn these things. So I let them now and if they like it they can expand more and if not at least you have the foundation. Some Vietnamese they don't need to teach them but I want them to learn who they are.

The level of *specificity* of Thanh's goals are broad yet the level of the *flexibility* in his expectations for achievement are high in that he believes getting good grades is standard and provides little praise for meeting expectations. Information from the questionnaire data suggest that he has very high expectations for his son, wanting mostly A's in math, science, and English and he indicated that it is important for his son to do well in all of these subjects. These goals and expectations set the tone for how he approaches involvement in his role as teacher to his children.

In his role as a teacher, Thanh's involvement is *direct* but *not daily*. He explains that he monitors his children's grades when the report card comes home and adjust his involvement from there. If his children aren't doing as well as he expects

them to, then he adjust his involvement accordingly just as a teacher would adjust his or her teaching method and curriculum based on the students' learning. And in his role as a teacher he also provides them with online computer programs to aid with their learning in English and math.

Teacher Role (Monitors Homework Completion). Mostly when I come home from work I just ask them have they done their homework, you know, I check and I half the time they don't, they haven't done it so I make sure they sit down and finish their homework. Beside that I don't really have time to check their homework that much.

Teacher Role (Monitors Grades). I do check their report cards so if their report comes back every quarter or every two months, if any area that they feel is not as good, then we work on those.

Teacher Role (Provides Enrichment Programs). We also have a computer learning program online program that they can do to practice on their own in English and math and it does have a report so you can monitor your children and how much time they spend in each area, when they do good enough, and sometimes I look at that and if I see something that they are not good at then I tell them work on it.

Teacher Role (Tailors Involvement) So far I think my children are pretty good so I don't spend too much time supervising them or follow them step by step and make sure "okay you do your homework? Then you play".

Overall, Thanh's goals are broad and flexible but he has high expectations for his children to do well in school. As such, his involvement is *direct* but *infrequent* in that

he is directly involved in teaching and checking homework but only when his children aren't performing at the level of his expectations. This allows him to be involved without being too intrusive. He rated math (6.67), English (7.00) and science (6.67) as *very valuable* and very *important* for his son to do well in those subjects, and expect him to be getting mostly A's. Thanh rated being *good* in his ability in math (5.67), *okay* in English (4.33), and science (4.00). His son rated being *good* in math (6.00), *somewhat okay* in English (3.67), and *good* in science (6.50). He rated math (4.86), English (4.86) as *somewhat valuable*, and science (5.71) as *valuable*, He received A's in math, an A and B in English, and B's in science in the current and previous year, respectively. Taken together, these results suggest that Thanh's role as a principal and teacher help set the standard for his son's own motivation and achievement in school.

Lien is in his early 40s, he has a Master's degree in Computer Science and he is a programmer by occupation. He is married and has two children. His wife is in her mid-30's and the focal child is female and in the 1st grade. He rated being more involved at home (4.20) and with cognitive discussions (3.80) than at school (3.00), each of which, was lower than the mean within the study. His wife rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (4.00) than at home (3.40) and at school (3.40), which were also lower than the mean ratings within the study.

Lien already has a long term goal for his daughter to finish high school and then attend college even though she is just in first grade. In order to achieve this goal, he acts as an additional teacher at home and is directly involved with his daughter's education on a daily basis. He and his wife expect their children to get mostly A's in school (math, science, and English). He shares this goal with his wife.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Just right now, I want her to stay as comfortable as she can. Keeping up with the homework from school. No specific goal yet, because she's too young for that. I want her to finish high school and comfortably set up for college and university leader. [Q: Are these goals the same as your wife?] I think they're just the same.

He describes his direct daily involvement as the role of a teacher by monitoring his daughter's assignment schedule and helping her to complete it before it is due. He also describes the supplemental online reading program that he provides to her to help her improve her reading in addition to reading with him. He explains that his teacher role is a *mostly father-role* because he spends more time with the children after school so he is able to help with school work.

Teacher Role (Monitors Homework; Encourages Time Management). I always help her and look up at what she's doing after school and try to keep her up with the school schedule. Just every day after she comes home from school, I always encourage her to do her homework and finish everything for that day. And not let it expand to another day without finishing the task. Very often, right now because she's just in first grade. Every day she has to read with someone at least 20 minutes and they always encourage to read at least 20 minutes or more. And do all her homework. Yesterday we had a homework sheet. Besides reading, math, and I tried to help her finish everything on the first day of the week and have the reading after that. That's every day.

Teacher Role (Provides Enrichment Programs). Usually she reads with me but we have a program online program that's reading books and they start from the low level to the high level. They start from ABC to the alphabet and right now she's in the middle of level n. This book can be the same book as the previous book but it's longer. After you finish the book there's a quiz question for the book.

Distribution of Role. My involvement is more because I have more time. Like I pick her up from school every day and have the rest of the afternoon while my wife is still at work. Mainly that's most of the time. Because in the morning she sends them to school and I'm going to work early so I can pick them up in the afternoon. She's involved more in the PTA and the parent teacher conference. All in the morning. Then she passes it to me and I take it from there.

Lien is particularly invested in seeing his daughter graduate high school and go to college and he and wife have shared goals for their daughter to do well in school. In his principal role, his goals are *somewhat specific*, in that he knows he wants his child to attend college. As such, his involvement is *direct and daily*; he makes sure his daughter's assignments are completed every day and help foster good time management skills, even in first grade. He rated math (6.67), English (6.67) and science (6.67) as *very valuable*, and expects her to be getting mostly A's. Lien rated being *okay* in his ability in math (4.33), English (4.00), and science (4.33). His daughter rated being *okay* in math (3.00), *good* in English (6.00), and *not good* in science (2.00). She rated math (4.50) as *somewhat valuable*, and English (5.71) and

science (5.71) as *valuable*. She received A's in all subjects. Taken together, these results suggest that Lien's beliefs and role as a principal and teacher has helped his daughter develop her abilities and performance in school.

Khang is in his mid-40's, has some college education in Architecture, and is an engineer technician by occupation. He is married and has two children. His wife is in her mid-40's and the focal child is female and in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (5.50) than at home (5.00) or at school (5.00). His wife rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (5.20) and at home (5.20) than at school (5.00). Both Khang and his wife's involvement ratings were above the mean in each category. In his principal role, shares the role with his wife in setting goals for their children. He considers getting B's as good grades and D's and E's as bad grades. His wife has higher standards for their daughter's academic achievement than Khang. His wife considers A's as good grades and B's are bad grades. He also enforces rules at home to help his daughter with time management in doing homework and sleep and wake time.

Principal Role (Goals for Child). We hoping she gets at least a four year degree in college. [Q: Is this goal the same as your wife's goal for your daughter?] It's about the same, I believe, yeah.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). Good grades to me is B. Bad grades to me is like a D or a E. When she comes home with bad grades, I normally talk to her. I try to figure out why she has a bad grade on that subject or that test, or that quiz and maybe I can open her up to have.. to see if you can do better the next time.

[Q: Does your wife do anything different with good grades or bad grades?] Yes, my wife she's an honor roll student her entire life and she do a lot of different and... a good grade is A+ and her bad grade a B. So if she come home.. if Thi comes home with a B or a C and she kind of like "You need to do better" or "You need to get an A+" or something like that.

Principal Role (Enforces Rules). At home, I'm pretty much an enforcer. So I tell her when it's time to do her homework, how long she needs to be on her homework, and what time she needs to go to bed and get ready for school and wake up early in the morning for school. My thing is, I always tell her: be on time. On time for school, on time for class, on time for everything. Ahead of it. Prepare everything. Prepare everything. Ahead of everybody. Be ahead of her class. For example if the teacher asks her to read ten pages of this book, why not, if you have time, read extra ten pages.

The level of *specificity* of Kang's goals are somewhat specific and the level of the *flexibility* in his expectations for achievement are somewhat high. For example, He wants his daughter to be getting mostly B's in math, and all A's in English and science. He rated his ability in science this highest (5.67) compared to his ability ratings in math (2.67) and English (2.33), which were lower than the mean within the study. However, his value ratings for these subjects were higher than his ability ratings in math (3.67) and English (3.67). This perhaps suggests that although he believes these subjects are important and valuable, his ability in these subjects may limits him from being able to help his daughter more directly in these subjects.

His involvement as a teacher is an example of *indirect infrequent involvement*.

Because his abilities are limited in certain subject areas, his wife takes on the main responsibilities of the teacher role. When he does get involved in his child's schoolwork, it is focused on history or science because he feels he is not good at math.

Teacher Role (Teaches Concepts). For her school work, mostly, I don't help her with math at all. Because I'm pretty poorly in math. And that subject is normally for my wife. And I normally tutor her either in history or science. And those subjects I'm pretty good at and I just go to school, my wife also graduate from school, but I think I've been here longer and my English is probably much better. I mean like, not in writing, in reading, but in understanding. Yes, so when she has any problems I can talk with her much better.

Overall, Kang's goals are *somewhat specific* and *somewhat flexible*. He feels he is not good in math, so focuses his involvement in science or social studies, when his involvement is needed. His expectations for his daughter to do well is driven by his perception of his own abilities. As such, his expectations for her to do well in math is lower than his expectations for her to do well in science. His involvement is also limited by this self-perception, so his involvement is *indirect* and *infrequent*, leaving most of the teacher role responsibilities to his wife. Similar to Kang's own ability and value ratings, his daughter also had higher ability and value rating in science (6.33, 6.00, respectively) and English (6.33, 5.86, respectively) than math (3.67, 4.43, respectively). She received C's in math, an A's in English, and a B and an A in

science in the current and previous year, respectively. Taken together, these results suggest that Kang's goals and expectations taken on in his role as a principal and his ability and value beliefs affected the extent of his involvement as a teacher in his daughter's education. Her motivation and academic achievements reflect the extent of her father's roles and beliefs.

Loc is in his early 50's, he has a Bachelor's degree in electrical engineering and is a patent examiner by occupation. He is married and has two children. His wife is in her late 40's and the focal child is female and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. He rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (4.50) and at home (4.20) than at school (3.40), and these ratings were below the mean. His wife rated being more involved at home (5.00) than at school (4.20) or with cognitive discussions (4.50). Loc's goals for his children is for them to go to college and have a good career. His goals are somewhat specific but is flexible because he does not want to push his goals on his children and want them to decide what they want to do for themselves. He expects his children to stay on par with their peers and not fall behind in their academic achievement. He believes that education is the key to success. He states that his goals are shared goals with his wife.

Principal Role (Setting Goals for Child). Our goal for Heather and Mindy are to get a good education so they'll be able to get a good career, like I and my wife have. Yea, we would like for them to go to college but it all depends on how they feel. You cannot push people. [Q: When you say you want them to go to college, do want them to be in a certain major or do you want them to go to certain colleges?] That's a very hard question for me to answer because

it all depends on how they feel. I am very liberal so I don't want to put people in to a difficult situation so it depends on how they feel when they grow up.

[Q: Is this goal the same as your wife's goal for your daughters?] I think we do have the same goal.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). I ask them to keep on level with their peers at school. And try to be on the same level of the rest of the students in the school. Because if they can keep up with their peers in school, I think they'll be able to learn more if they keep up with the standard education. I keep telling them that education is the only way you can get to where I am today. Because I told them when I get to the USA, I have nothing. I have good career all because of education. I have everything in my life because of education.

In his role as a teacher, his involvement is *direct* but *infrequent*. He shares the responsibilities of the teacher role with his wife, although it can be described more as a mostly wife-role as she is more *directly* involved on a more *daily* basis than Loc. Loc describes his wife's role as a teacher as more detailed oriented and the one who assesses the children's learning to push them further in their learning, whereas Loc monitors them from an overall perspective. When he is involved, he focuses on math and science subjects because these subjects are within the realm of his expertise.

Teacher Role (Monitors Assignment Completion). The first thing we do with them when we come home is I talk to them, see what kind of homework they have and I ask them to do it. And if they have any questions at all they can ask me. And after they're done with the homework I can check to see if they do it

correctly or not. ...my wife will go more in to detail. What my wife does is every day is that she looks at their homework very carefully and if they make mistakes she asks them to do it over and over again until they get it.

Teacher Role (Tailors Involvement). She'll put the strong emphasis on how much they can do. She can push them to do as much as they can so they can do the best. She pushes them a little bit more than I do. I think the more we ask Mindy to do things, the better she gets at it. If you push her to her limit she will do very well but you have to push her to her limit.

Teacher Role (Teaches Concepts). Occasionally I will help them with their homework. My special subject is math and science. [This is what] what I do for a living, I have a strong background in engineering and math so I think I'll be able to guide them out with the math and science. One subject I try to avoid, because when they ask me to read something, of course when I read it, very different from what they hear from the teacher. So I think they don't want to learn from...That's the one thing in the English language, due to our accent, we don't do that much to help them.

Teacher Role (Seeks Enrichment Activities). We've been trying to get them to do extra homework, extra math, extra science, extra writing, reading. I ask them to go above the level, just a little bit. I think by doing that we will get them ready for the next level.

Overall, Loc's goals are somewhat specific and flexible but he has high expectations for his children to do well in school. As such, his involvement is *direct* but *infrequent* because the teacher role, although shared, is mostly taken on by his wife. Although

his ability ratings were lower than the mean (2.67 math, 3.33 science, 3.00 English), he stated he feels confident in his abilities in math and science to be able to help his daughters in these subjects. However, his value ratings in these subjects were higher than this ability ratings (3.33 math, 5.33 science, and 5.33 English). He expects his daughter to be getting mostly A's in math, and mostly B's in English and science. Similar to his own ability and value ratings, his daughter had higher ability ratings in science (5.00) and English (5.33) than math (4.33); and her value ratings were slightly higher in these subjects (5.00 science, 5.43 English, and 6.00 math). She received A's and B's in math, A's in English, and B's and A's in science in the current and previous year, respectively. Taken together, these results suggest that Loc's specific yet flexible goals paired with his high expectations and shared role of a teacher help set the standard for his daughter's own motivation and achievement in school. The similarity between his ratings and his daughter's ratings suggests that his involvement is manifested from his beliefs, goals, and expectations.

Duy, he has a Master's degree in computer science and is an engineer by occupation. He is married and has one child. His wife is in her early 50's and the focal child is female and in the 5<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (5.10) and at home (4.20) than at school (3.40). His wife rated being more involved at home (5.20) and with cognitive discussions (5.10) than at school (4.80). Duy's goal for his daughter to attend college or beyond. His goal is somewhat *specific* but is *flexible* in how far she wants to go beyond college. He shares this goal with his wife. In his shared-role as a principal, he believes the college

education will allow his daughter to have financial resources for her to become independent and live a comfortable life, as he and his wife do.

Principal Role (Setting Goals for Child). Minimally, I want her to be able to finish school, preferably college, and be able to support herself. That's the goal. Minimally she can support herself. Be independent but at least support herself. Honestly, if she gets a college degree, I'm happy with that. Whatever else she can go I wouldn't dictate her or push her one way or the other but that's up to her to decide. I really, really encourage and nurture her a little bit so at least minimally she can get a college degree. A four-year college degree. Principal Role (Shared-Role). Yes, similarly. I know that we talk about it and I know that we set aside and that we get her to college. Now if my wife wants her to go further than that, I don't know but I think we both have the minimal goal and we both want her to support herself and that we talk a lot about it but beyond that it's just like gravy. Whatever else she can do, that's up to her. I mean, we wouldn't push her one way or the other. We definitely strongly encourage her to get through college. [Q: And when you say support herself, what do you mean by that?] Well, she'll be able to come out and get a job and do the things that she likes. Just like we're able to do. Go to eat, go to vacation, do it herself, get a decent house, get your own car, you know. Find your own place to live and maybe later on when you get married, stuff like that, take care of your kids. Those all require money. You know, in some fashion or form so minimally, she needs to be able to do that.

Principal Role (Enforces rules). Sometimes I, when they come home to play the game, they play forever. And sometimes you tell them that is a struggle, and then it's unpleasant. They always say "Five more minutes dad, five more minutes." I get that but sometimes you have to communicate outside of your expectations and say "No games." Then I just lock all the games. I go and turn off the computer. But you have to communicate upfront. You have to be consistent. If you tell them on this day, you finish all of your homework, you finish all of your piano, you finish all your chores, if you still have some time left, I'll let you play half an hour. But you have to go to sleep for the next day. But if you don't do all those things and you keep playing, I will block whatever game and I know the games in the computer so I know whenever she's online and does something, I know. So whatever it is sometimes she's happy and sometimes she's not happy but we have to be consistent. Because otherwise, it's not going to work. Now, you have to communicate upfront. You have to be fair because, if you just never talk to her and just pull everything out, it's going to be a huge issue. And actually, it's an issue with many, many families. Kids nowadays are very hooked on to computers and gadgets, TV, those are two really bad things, you know. We live in society and we have to accept that, there's a lot of good and there's some bad so you gotta figure out how to maximize the good and minimize the bad.

Information from the questionnaire data suggest that Duy has very high expectations for his daughter, wanting mostly A's in math, science, and English. His ability ratings were higher than the mean (6.33 math, 4.33 English, 6.33 science), and his value

ratings in these subjects were also higher than the mean (6.33 math, 6.00 English, 6.00 science), suggesting he highly values these subjects and feel confident in his abilities in these subjects. His specific goal of wanting his daughter to go to college along with his values, abilities, and expectations for his daughter's achievements, influences how he approaches involvement in his role as teacher to his child. In his role as the teacher, Duy takes on the responsibility of direct daily involvement, just as a teacher would do every day, he describes how he seeks out and provide extra educational activities for his daughter, monitors her schedule and progress by making sure she isn't spending too much time on computer games. But more importantly, he assesses his daughter's interests and tailor his involvement accordingly. These responsibilities reflect some of the responsibilities teachers take on with managing students in the classroom, providing additional materials to supplement the lesson, and engaging students' interests in the curriculum. He recognizes that students' learning is changing. He pushes beyond the typical academic subjects of math, science, and reading by teaching her more about computers. He encourages his daughter to overcome setbacks and provide her with more guidance and resources when need she faces challenges. He further explains that the daily responsibilities of a teacher is mostly his responsibility, his wife shared this responsibilities when their daughter was younger, but the father has continued to carry out these responsibilities as the child go through school. His goal as a principal and a teacher are to identify his daughter's weak points and try to improve on them and set goals that are appropriate for her abilities.

Teacher Role (Monitors Progress). Well every day, I'm the one picks her up every day from school. At the end of the day, I try to make sure she does her homework and be there for her when she asks questions, I encourage her, I provide for her. Give her guidance, what she can do for more research, you know, Internet and stuff like that. [...]

Teacher Role (Tailors involvement). Kids nowadays, in order to do something they have to be able to have fun. It's not like the way that we learned before when people just tell you "Hey, you have to this, this," you know. And if you don't do this... Nowadays you have to make it fun, you try to make them want to learn it instead of forcing them to learn it. It's very hard for kids nowadays. They have so many different interests and stuff like that. And especially computers and gadgets and stuff like that, they want to do that. So you have to encourage them and make it as fun as possible. That means that you have to spend more time figuring out what is available, not only just the material, but the material that you think she going to be involved with. Teacher Role (Tailors Involvement). So when she was younger, I would sit next to her. But now she's somewhat independent, all her work is on the computer. She wants her own, privacy, right? So I gotta be there to make sure she doesn't play games and stuff like that but also it's just what she asks for, and at the end you look over some of the stuff, and then make sure some of the things that she does is... you know. And make sure you're there for them for what they ask for and also we have to guide them for something.

Teacher Role (Teaches Child). If there's time where I'm researching material that I think I can teach to her independently from the school material.

Sometimes school material, she does on her own so we have to look it over or we don't. And on the way there, we ask questions but also find material I think might be interesting and help her along the way with her schoolwork later on or in other aspects, you know. So try to do and find other material to teach her.

Teacher Role (Seeks Enrichment Materials). Younger, I tried to help her with everything abc's to video, learn something, you know, DVD, anything learning, stimulating, I tried to find those things, you know that thing I can help her. And not only learning is also just trying to... any time that I get a chance to teach her life in general and lessons in life and things like that, I try to do that every day. Learning in terms of academics, then just more science and math, and now a little bit more on computers. I try to show her how to use computers. She gets savvy, you know, and they learn it in school too. So learn something with the new gadgets and toys and some of those things, you know. Teacher Role (Shared Roles). Um, in the beginning my wife, she was involved a lot in terms of English, writing, but even now she cannot, her time is... she works a lot so it's harder. She still looks over things and makes sure, we both review report cards but on the day to day, I'm more involved. But she in terms of direction, she plans all the outlines, all the things she wants her to do and I'm the one who executes. She's a planner, the mastermind, plan out everything and I'm kind of like day to day you know. But the important stuff,

she makes the decisions. She goes to all the meetings and all the important things, PTA, she review all the report cards and stuff like that. We look at it both together, but sometimes we go over and she the one who did most of that.

Overall, Duy's goals are specific and he has high expectations for his daughter to do well in school. As such, his involvement is *direct* and daily in that he is directly involved in teaching and checking homework, finding new materials to enrich her learning, and tailors his involvement so that it will help keep his daughter interested in learning. His daughter rated her ability in math the highest (6.00) compared to her ability ratings in English (4.67) and science (3.33) but had higher value ratings in English (5.43) than math (4.00) and science (3.86). She received B's in math, a B and C in English, and C's in science in the current and previous year, respectively.

Nam is in his early 40's, he has a graduate degree in electrical engineering and is a division chief by occupation. He is married and has two children. The focal child is male and in the 3<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being equally involved at school (6.00), at home (6.00), and with cognitive discussions (6.00). His wife rated being slightly more involved at home (5.50) than at school (5.20) or with cognitive discussions (5.40). Nam's goals for his children is for them to obtain advanced degrees in school so that it will provide them more opportunities for success. He states that his goals are shared goals with his wife, although he takes the lead role. In the *distribution of roles*, the principal and teacher roles are taken on by Nam rather than his wife. In his role as a principal, he sees education being strongly correlated with achievement in life. He has high standards for his children's educational performance and expects them to get

good grades even at a young age but stresses understanding what is being taught more than grades because understanding the material at a young age helps to set the foundation for later success in more advanced courses. In his role of a principal, Nam sets the standard for what he expects of his son in terms of educational goals. His goals are somewhat *specific* and somewhat *flexible*. He and his wife have backgrounds in information technology and engineering so they try to shape their son's activities around the areas of math and science. In comparison to his wife, Nam is less *flexible* about his expectation for his children's education. He understands how tough it can be on the journey to obtaining higher education, so he wants to help prepare his son by setting high standards and maintaining that standard.

Principal Role (Goals for child). So as a father, just like any other Asian father, bring the best for the kid. What I try to do is present all the great possibilities for him so later on when he has options to pick, then he can pick whatever he wants. Of course, as an Asian father, Asian parents, we're sort of biased in a couple of areas like math and science and other things like that. I have to admit that we are like any other people. We send our kids to some of the additional activities to learn those more, in the past. But recently we haven't because we signed them up for more physical activities like soccer and other things that prevent them from focusing a lot on math and science. But we do encourage them on those two areas quite a bit because both my wife and I are in the science fields. My wife got a masters in IT, information technology, and I have a Ph.D. in electrical engineering. So we have

pretty important for the kids as well to know math, to know science, and to know what's really around them when they grow up. Needless to say we really encourage them in those areas, we understand that they have their own growth behaviors and things that they're interested in as well. So although we really concentrate them on these math and science areas, we do pay attention to what their interests are as well. And we've noticed that they do like things like music so we do encourage them on that side as well. And not just spending a lot of time on math and science.

Principal Role (Goals for child). In the future of course, I understand, living in a more advanced society, people say there is a correlation between education and your career growth, I do believe otherwise. I do believe there is a great correlation between the level of education that you have and your achievement later on in life. So I will continue to encourage my sons to go as high as they can regarding getting their advanced degrees. That would not promise them a successful career in life but it will present them with more options.

Distribution of Roles. My wife.. I'm the bad person in the house. I'm more strict, I walk them through, I guide them through things very specifically, and I have very high expectations for them. My wife, as a mother, she's more flexible, she's more loving and so she's probably not as strict as me regarding pursuit of the kids to high education and going through the tough road of getting there. For me it's: you have to obtain the goal, you have to get there. But my wife is more flexible regarding that. If you don't get there it's fine as

long as you're happy. So we have the same goal that we're marching to, it's the difference in the behavior of the two, regarding how strict one is to get there.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). I told them that four areas, like four point areas, are English, math, science, those kinds of areas, we would like them to get fours. Even with math, at this age, they don't have one grade for math. For math it will be like math contributions, math inputs, math worksheets, they have a good ten or twelve things for math. So I said for any of these subject areas, you need to get mostly fours. I would like to see more fours in English, in math, and in science. They're not doing too well with physical education, so I encourage them to do better but I wouldn't dig them too much on that. [Q: Are these expectations the same as your wife?] Oh, it's the same as my wife. My wife tends to be a little easier so if I offer them one day for sleepover, my wife will toss in another one and make it two. If I give them an hour to play games, my wife will say an hour and a half or two. And from that sense I'm a little... I give them less privileges but my wife gives them more. So they know, and they realize it. The kids are smart, they realize it. So when it comes to time, they know I have to see their grades, they know that about it. But when it comes time to negotiate privileges, they don't go to me, they go to my wife. And of course they usually get what they want. *Principal Role (Setting Expectations).* They're starting to have long term projects and that kind of thing as well, doing bits and pieces each day. So I don't expect them to complete the project, but I expect them to think about

when to work on the project and start working on the project early. Just to get that habit established. It used to be a little harder because I had to get them used to the whole routine and process, but now, they get to the point where they look at their daily planner and see what homework they have for that day, what projects and activities that they have to prepare for, for the upcoming days for the week. So, I tell them all their priorities, they have to do their homework for the next day first. So they will look through the list and see three or four items, regarding math, science, and history or whatever they have to study and they will do those first, without me. And I have gotten to the point where they could be on their own and be responsible for what they have to do. What I do, and then they have to read for half an hour every day. If they don't have lots of energy we put them to sleep. But if they do have a lot we get them to think about what's coming for the next days so that they can start studying for the next day as well. So if they have a vocabulary quiz in two days, we prefer that they start studying their words now and not the night before. We try to get them to the right routine. After dinner, we have another half an hour and we don't want them to go to sleep right away. We want their food to digest so we give them a little time. And in the end I do sit down with them, either me or my wife, and we do go over every activity, one by one, and they would have to tell me- before they used to think it was my responsibility to check and go through these and make sure they do the homework. It took a while for me, a good six months, but I think they understand that now academics is their responsibility and it's not mine. I'm

only here to help and if they need anything, they would have to come to me for help and not monitoring them. It really took me a while to get that to them. *Principal Role (Enforcing Rules)*. Limiting video games, there are things that they love a lot and as a parent, you have to balance that out. You don't want to go to any extremes. They have their cousins that love games, they have their friends that love their video games on iPads and everything so they love the games too. They love to watch TV, Sponge Bob, and we want their minds to grow very naturally and strongly and we don't any extremes that we do to distract that. At the same time we understand that much of anything is a distraction. They could constantly play game for hours so we know that is what they love and we try other techniques too.

Information from the questionnaire data suggest that Nam has very high expectations for his son, wanting mostly A's in math, science, and English. Nam's ability ratings were higher than the mean (6.67 math, 6.67 English, 6.67 science), and his value ratings in these subjects were also higher than the mean (7.00 math, 6.67 English, 6.67 science), suggesting he highly values these subjects and feel confident in his abilities in these subjects. His specific goal of wanting his son to get advanced degrees in the field of science along with his values, abilities, and expectations for his son's achievements, influence how he approaches involvement in his role as teacher to his child. Nam's role as a principal sets the stage for how he is involved in his son's education. His goals, expectations, and enforcements of rules are all aligned, such that his goals are specific, and his expectations align with the specific goals he has set out for his son to achieve, and his rules reinforce his goals and expectations.

His role as a teacher are also aligned well with his role as a principal. In his role as the teacher, Nam takes on the responsibility of direct daily involvement. He and his wife provide rewards for good performance and take away privileges when performance standards are not met. Nam also take the time to lecture his son about the implications of not getting 4's (A's). He equates not getting A's to not fully understanding the material or concepts being taught. So he believes that by reiterating the message of short and long term implications of not fully understanding a concept or subject, his son will eventually internalize it and make strides toward mastering his understanding. Compared to his wife, he gives less rewards when their kids perform well in school. In addition, Nam recognizes the fierce competition that is placed on students in the schools of the county, so he wants to make sure his son's grades are competitive for college. They describe their daily routine as managing their sons' scheduling, making sure there's time set aside for homework, time to check homework, and helping them set early habits about managing their time for school planning and completing school projects.

Teacher Role (Monitoring Homework). For this year, my wife and I took time to prepare our kids in the morning. So we get them up, feed them, all that. Sometimes looks over the homework and set aside 15 minutes for that.

Teacher Role (Monitoring Homework). Sometimes they have physical afterschool activities like soccer and other things they do. But then after that, we would have them start doing homework for the next day for an hour and half, two hours, and then we let them have dinner. Then after dinner we review the work for them that they've done. That's basically our daily routine.

Sometimes it takes a little more than one hour to finish their homework, so I will ask them where they are in terms of progress and they will present to me a list of things their supposed to do for tomorrow and walk me through what they've done so far. Then usually, they'll work for another half an hour to 45 minutes.

Teacher Role (Monitoring Homework). Almost on a daily basis. He recently got advanced in to this program, advanced economics program, so he got advanced in to a different school. And so that means I have to pay more attention to get him acquainted with to the new environment, new teachers, new students. They have to learn more on an accelerated pace and so I pay attention. I review his work every day. I don't do his work for him but I review it every day. I monitor his progress along the way and one of the most important things I have to do is make sure anything that deviates from his path of learning or distracts him from learning, makes me work with his teachers to identify it so that we can have a course of correction for that.

Nam and his wife also help their sons with presentation skills by asking them to practice their presentation in front of them so that they can have it fresh in their memory for the actual presentation at school the next day. This is the additional practice and support that teachers would provide to students, and here Nam and his wife are additional teachers at home.

*Teacher role (Teaching child)*. So for example, if they have a story telling event, if they have to do a presentation, most of the time 15 minutes is not a lot for them to do anything major, but mostly just to review what they have

done yesterday. So say "Can you do the presentation for us" and then usually the presentation is only five minutes for them to do so he would practice that. And you know with these kids, after they go to sleep they forget everything that was worked on yesterday. So that activity will help trigger their brain early in the morning so that when they have to do these things, later in the day, they don't have to start on that first thing. Their brain started working already.

Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). Technology is not being taught in school, not official, so I had to teach him alongside. So for example, playing games to me is a distraction. But he still needs to keep up somehow so he can play with his friends. But, learning in games is a totally different thing. He could learn how to program, or to code in game. And there are some really good instructions, there are really good ways for him to learn that. Through these Google videos, Google programs, they actually teach the kids how to code.

Teacher Role (Monitoring grades). Once we get the report card, we review them and analyze them and everything, we start to see how they did.

Teacher Role (Tailoring involvement). He might not be organized in class or might not listen well in class. Once or twice is okay but if that behavior continues, then I need to know from the teacher and that's why I work very closely with her and if she sees that if he's not being organized in class and throws things around, then that's one of the key things to be successful, you have to be organized. So I'll get that right away and we'll work with the

teacher to find a way to help him do that. This past year we worked on that quite a bit. Getting him a planner so he can follow a schedule, looking at things he has to do today, the next day, for the week, things like that. Get used to that at a young age. When I was at a young age, I didn't know what a schedule or a planner looked like, but now he knows. So that's good. Several years ago, up until six months ago, I used to check on their own homework every single time before they do the homework. Just to check on the level of difficulty, whether they can actually do these or not, and estimating how long it should take them to do it. Because I want them to sit down, I really want them to focus on doing this and not being distracted by other external factors. I used to do it very detailed, as to helping them every topic, whether it's history, math science, anything like that. But then I realized if I keep doing it, they will never do it. They will always think it's daddy's or mommy's responsibility to make sure they get things done and I didn't like that. So I had to sort of think about a way to get them to think and know that academics and homework and other things they need to do, is really their responsibility and really not mommy and daddy. We're here to help, we're here to advise, we're not here to do the work for them. Up till six months ago, they have the homework, they bring it back, I'll ask if they have a lot of homework today, and most of the time now, he's pretty good so he'll say, I have a math worksheet, I have a history about Indians, I have word study, that kind of thing. Before they couldn't do that, they thought it was my job. Now that they know that it's their job to do it, they can do it pretty fast. So they

would go off and do it and while they're doing it, I usually don't help them. Before I used to help them through every homework assignment, almost line by line, but now, they're pretty good at the routine. They go off to a quiet space. Before, I had to separate them because they would talk each other a lot and could not stop regardless of what I did. So before they used to study upstairs in the quiet space. One kid would have a place for himself to study. After a while, even though they don't talk, I realized they still get distracted because they're on their own and they know if I don't monitor them, their mind will wander. Kids' minds wander. Right, so eventually, I got them to the point where they don't talk to each other anymore and they understood that they need to focus, so now they're focus level is pretty high and that's what I like to see. I have both of them study in one room now and most of the time they don't talk. So they will go through all their homework assignments, do them, and they present to me what they have done. I really try to get them to this mode and I think I'm really getting close to that. Because I think the economics is a good thing for them to do and they need to be responsible for that kind of thing. Because what happens is, even at school, in the past, they thought that it was the teacher's responsibility to make sure they understand stuff. And if they don't understand, they would not ask the questions because they thought that it was the teacher's job to make sure they understand these things but they don't. So I told them it is the teacher's job to really teach them but if you don't understand that it really is your responsibility in the end, to make sure you understand. So again the responsibility is on you, not on the

teacher or on the parents. We're here to help, we're here to guide, not do things for you. Like I said, it took us a while. It took us a really long while but I think we're getting there with them.

When I teach whatever I do, I make sure that it's progressing naturally with their understanding, with them being old enough to understand and appreciate what I say. Actually, they don't appreciate it now but, you know, they understand. Years ago they were just way too young. Even now, they're seven years old. Two years ago they were just too young to understand that even though I kept saying it. It didn't mean much to them. But I think with these kids, you have to be patient and keep saying it. Eventually, they'll start to get it and I think just at six months, it wasn't an abrupt change. Six months ago, this is what happened, it's more of a progress from several years but I'm starting to notice the change in behavior six months ago but it changes slowly. It's very slowly.

Overall, Nam's goals are specific and not so flexible. He has high expectations for his sons to do well in school. As such, his involvement is *direct* and *daily*. In his teacher role, he takes on the responsibility of teaching, providing enrichment materials when the school does not provide it, he prepares his son by quizzing and practicing skills required for doing well in school (e.g., presentation skills), he monitors homework completion and progress by analyzing his son's report card grades. He has tailored his involvement over time to fit the needs of his son's growing independence and his own belief that his son needs to take on more responsibility for ensuring academic achievement. His son rated his ability in English the highest (6.67) compared to his

ability ratings in math (5.00) and science (6.00) but rated science as being most valuable (7.00) compared to math (6.00) and English (6.43). He received A's in all subjects (math, English, and science) in the current and previous year.

Hai is in his early 50's, he has a Master's degree in electrical engineering and is a system architect by occupation. He is married and has three children. The focal child is female and in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being much more involved in cognitive discussions (5.60), than at home (4.30), or at school (2.00). His wife rated being slightly more involved at school (4.80) than Hai, but similarly involved with cognitive discussion (5.30) and at home (4.30). Hai's goals for his children is for them to attend graduate school and obtain graduate degree in order to be competitive in the work industry. In his role of a principal, Hai has somewhat *specific* and *inflexible* goals for his daughter. He understands that there is an inflation in educational degrees so he expects his children to get their graduate degrees. He doesn't have specific goals for what career or major his daughter should focus on but he does waiver in his goal for his children to obtain a graduate education. With this vision, he is sets the bar high for his daughter to do well not just currently in high school, but also in college so that she can go on to attend graduate school.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Basically we have the same expectation or guidance. For all the kids, the same way. We expect them to go to some kind of grad school, because nowadays, having a B.S., B.A. Degree seems like it's not enough anymore. So the first three seem to be on their way to go to grad school. For Natalie's... when you have siblings doing it that way, then it's easier for her to say "Oh, yes, that's what I want to do." Career wise she

doesn't know exactly what field she wants to be in. She's a little bit strong on the art side but arts is very hard when it comes to career wise so right now she's debating what to learn. But I think right now she believes that she'll go to some kind of grad school, whatever field that she's in.

Information from the questionnaire data suggest that Hai has very high expectations for his daughter, wanting mostly A's in math, science, and English. Hai's ability ratings was highest for math (7.00) and science (7.00) but lower for English (4.00) and his value ratings in these subjects were consistently higher than the mean (6.00 math, 7.00 English, 6.00 science), suggesting that while he highly values these subjects and feels more confident in his abilities math and science than English. Hai's standard of performance is higher than his wife's standards. He considers A's as good grades, and B's as bad grades but bad in the sense that he attributes it to not fully understanding the topic or not developing good study skills to demonstrate that one has mastered the topic. He sets expectations and enforces rules in order to support his goals for his daughter's future of completing graduate education.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). [Q: What do you consider as good grades?] A's. It has to be A's. [Q: What do you consider as bad grades?] B's. [Q: And are those the same as your wife?] I think so. Maybe my wife is more.... B's are probably acceptable more for me. [Q: Why is that?] I think, to me, it's the absolute. If it's B, means that you don't understand the topic well enough. My wife, in terms of.... She sees the longer terms of whole life, B doesn't make any difference. That's her approach more than I am. For me,

if you study you should get an A. If you don't get A's, means you don't study well enough yet. That's all.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). So I tell her my expectation from her and in turn she'll try to meet or arrange all her activity to make sure that she can get there so I think in the long run it's better. The other kids, we don't do that until they get to college or senior year but for her, I think it's earlier. She's only in tenth grade right now. So we already start doing that. Principal Role (Enforcing Rules). It's a lot of trial and process involved. I say, okay I need you to do your work, this and that, then I watch how she's doing that. And if she still gets sidetracked during the day, I wouldn't yell at her because I don't jump right in the middle but at the end of the day or the next day, I will say, okay, I can see that you're not that efficient in the way that you arranged your time and then we'll bring up various examples of how you can make your time more efficient. And suggest some methods she can follow so she can track her own time. She'll try some, she won't completely do everything, but she'll try various ways so that she can make her own time better. So I tell about myself a story about when I was in college and what I can do to make sure I can be more efficient and she'll try some of that on her way to see, and she'll realize that she gets sidetrack and find the best way to cut things down so there's a lot of back and forth, discuss about various methods to make it better. When you sit down and actually study, you can sit there for five hours. How many hours do you actually study? Because during that time, your phone call comes in, your chat screen window pops up. If you

actually have a timer and sit down totally focused, on the study, you start the timer. And when you stop studying and do something, stop the timer. And at the end of the five hours, you will see exactly how many hours you studied. And you'd be surprised, maybe it's only one or two. And that's the real time that you actually study it. So it's better that you just focus and study for 2, 3 hours, and have the actual two hours and do something else. Chit chat with friends, talking on the phone, or something like that. But don't just do halfway and feel like you sit there and study for five hours.

Hai's goals of wanting his daughter to attend graduate school along with this high expectations for her to get mostly A's in school paired with his high ability and values for math and science suggest that he will likely take on a more active role as a teacher to his daughter. Hai states that his goals are shared goals with his wife. In the distribution of roles, Hai specializes in the math and science oriented subjects while his wife specializes in the English subject in terms of their responsibilities. His wife is much more involved in the interaction and communication with the school than Hai. Because he has three other older children and because his daughter is in tenth grade, his approach in his educational involvement with Natalie has evolved over time. He describes her day and his involvement with her schooling and how his involvement and how he has tailored his involvement to fit her developmental needs.

Teacher Role (Tailoring involvement). I'm always available for her for any kinds of questions but I recently I started to take a more laid back role. I used to be more aggressive in terms of checking them very often and making sure they're up to their grades and homework. But I think as they get older. And

now she's already in tenth grade so I start to take the lesser strict and start to back out and let her take over her own responsibility in making sure that what she needs to do and all the homework. I'm there to help her with any questions that need to be explained or if she needs to do some kind of research, or paperwork, or books that she needs to use for her work, then I make sure that she has everything that she needs to do her work but I take a more laidback role than before now. I think it's about the beginning of this year. At the beginning of this year I started to take a step back and let her take more of her own responsibility. I was stricter with the other three. Up until senior year but I guess, each kid is different. And for her, for Natalie specifically, I think it works better for her to take her own responsibility. And I think she likes it that way more. I think it works that way, better for her that way. And of course, less work for me.

He goes on to describe what the process looks like when he does get directly involved. When he is involved in terms of helping with homework, it is detailed oriented. He can review his daughter's notes and see where she might have incorrectly written her notes. This is another example of what teachers do in correcting their students' work at school, and in his role as an additional teacher at home, he also corrects his daughter's work.

Teacher role (Teaching child). I would try to figure out where they don't understand because sometimes it's just like... say because you don't understand something, it's not because you don't understand it. You have a hole [in your] knowledge. The foundation that cause that not understanding of

the certain topic. So what I'm trying to do is fill the holes of what they missed, to make sure they have a stronger foundation and then from there, they can learn the current topic. And then give them additional exercise to ensure they understand it.

Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). Yea, there's a lot of websites that provide additional homework for the kids. So whether the teacher recommend the link for those websites or there's the one I like the best right now, that's IXL.com. It has all different kinds of homework in there, various topics. [Q: that's additional to their own homework that you try to pull from?] Yes.

Teacher role (Teaching child). Let's say that she doesn't understand something in the lecture that she has for the day. I can give her a lecture on that topic or go over the notes that she has and make sure she understands everything that she wrote out, that she mis-wrote down, that's happened some times. [Q: How do you know that she miswrote something?] Because I don't forget math. When it comes to those topics, I just still have them all in my head so when I look at it, I can tell whether she made a mistake or not. So with that, I can correct that, or if she doesn't understand, then I can explain. Because sometimes the teacher doesn't have enough time and doesn't go deep in to the topic. If it's very difficult then I have to explain it in various ways that she can see it more. That's all.

Overall, Hai's goals are not specific but inflexible. In his role as principal of providing big picture goals and setting expectations, Hai expects his daughter to go

on to graduate school but does not have a specific field in mind for her. Thus, he expects high grades from her. He supports his goals and expectations by being actively involved with his daughter's education. Although he isn't constantly monitoring her homework or grade progress, he does actively teach her concepts she doesn't understand from class, and further provides her with guidance when he sees opportunities to gain efficiencies in studying habits. In his teacher role, he takes on the responsibility of teaching, and providing enrichment materials. He has tailored his involvement over time to fit the daughter's personality and need for autonomy over time. His daughter rated her ability in science the highest (6.00) compared to her ability ratings in math (4.67) and English (3.33) and rated science as being most valuable (6.00) compared to math (5.86) and English (3.14). She received an A in math in the current year and received a B in math the previous year. She received an A in English in the both the current and previous year. She receive a B in science in both the current and previous year.

Vinh is in his early 50's, he has a bachelor's degree in chemical engineering and is a chemical engineer by occupation. He is married and has one child. The focal child is male and in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being involved more involved at home (3.50) than at school (2.00), or with cognitive discussions (2.70). His wife rated being slightly less involved than him a home (3.10) but more involved than him at school (3.10) and with cognitive discussions (4.10). Compared with other fathers in the study, Vinh's involvement ratings are lower than the average. Vinh's goal is for his son to go on to complete at least a bachelor's degree in college and perhaps some graduate schooling. He shares this goal with his wife. In the *distribution of roles*,

Vinh states that his wife takes on more of the teacher role at home and that they share the principal roles and responsibilities of providing long term goals and setting expectations for their son. In his *shared-role* as principal, his goals are specific yet flexible in that he is specific about the level of education he expects for his son to achieve, but flexible in what field his son chooses to study. Achieving this goal would help his son pursue further education and later on and gives his son a competitive edge in the labor market. Additionally, he believes that it is important for his son to become an independent thinker to prepare him for the real world of working. His broad goals for his son are focused on learning, whether it is school related for non-school related, he wants his son to always be learning. He sets and enforces rules about his son playing video games so that his son can accomplish the goals he has set for him.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Nhat's education has to be at least bachelors. At least. Whatever the field that he wants to choose, or whatever the career that he wants to do is fine. But he has to have at least 4 years education. Otherwise, it just, the work is more competition right now. But more than that, the education, four years, it's just a starting point for his life later on. With the background, in terms of education, and later on when he steps into the real world, he can change whatever direction that he wants. So, the career, to me in terms of the bachelor's, the four year college, is just a background. So building up right there, you can go up further, graduate, or PhD. Or he can go out, work, but with the four year background he can go up more. [Q: Is this goal the same as your wife's goal for your son?] Same.

Principal Role (Goals for child). It's very important to me because that's the way that I live, or that's the way I grew up. But more than that, because I want him to be independent. Because when you step into the real world, a lot of things that you have to be independent. You have to do it yourself, think of yourself, but not become reliant on the other people to tell you what to do. Principal Role (Goals for child). I encourage him everything, not just like school only. Let's say if he wants to play wrestling right now, he play wrestling, so [I] let him do it. Just some advice, but not just like push him to have to do this or do that. I encourage him to let's go, just like go fishing, or bicycle, or learning just something that he has to learn. I mean, basically that's it. Because our goal is still at least the 4 years college, so that's we have already goal. But in terms of that, I don't want him just like, everyday just like looking at the paper and study, that's not good. And that's not the way I want. It have to some activity outside, inside, level of your mind, but the priority is still learning. I mean, that's, has to be 4 years.

Principal Role (Enforcing Rules). I told him "At least, you have to spend 2 hours a day for homework but after you finish that, you can do whatever you want."

Information from the questionnaire data suggest that Vinh has extremely high performance standards for his son, wanting and expecting all A's in math, science, and English. However, Vinh's performance standards for his son's education is slightly lower than that of his wife. His wife expects their son to get A's and sees a B grade as bad. He and his wife both contribute to setting a high yet flexible standards

of performance for their son. Vinh's ability ratings were higher than the mean for math (6.00) and science (6.67) but lower than the mean for English (3.67). His value ratings were high across all subjects (6.67 math, 6.67 English, 6.67 science). These ratings suggest that while he equally values the importance of math, English, and science, he feels very confident in his math and science skills but does not feel confident in his English abilities. This will affect his approach in his role as a teacher, which will be discussed later.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). [Q: What do you consider good grades?] Yeah, B is good. B. A is a lot better. Nothing can compare to A, right? But don't push so hard. B is not that bad. It's just that sometimes you make mistake, or sometimes your mind is not there. You make mistakes, always make mistakes, so it just means, that's fine. Yeah. [Q: What do you consider bad grades?] C. C is starting. Starting for the bad grades. And then you get C, D, "Oh, that's bad!" [Q: What does your wife consider as good grades?] She's more.. She's always, A is good, B is bad.

Taken together, Vinh takes an active approach to his principal role and has several big picture goals for his son to learn in and outside of school activities, be an independent thinker, and to earn a college degree. His ratings and interview suggest that he is limited in his English ability but confident in his math and science abilities. As such, his approach in his teacher role will be limited in this respect. In his role as a teacher, Vinh's educational involvement with his son as *indirect* and *infrequent* because the role of the teacher is mostly a mother-role, where his wife is mainly the one involved in the daily tasks of teaching and monitoring their son's progress in

school. Vinh's role is less involved than his wife but he still provides guidance to their son when he needs it. Just as teachers strive to do for students in high school, Vinh strives to scaffold his son to become an independent thinker rather than micromanage his tasks. His approach of scaffolding aligns with his goal to help his son become an independent thinker.

Teacher role (Teaching child). About for him, education, I mainly let my wife handle it. Because she, the background is the teacher. So, hopefully she can handle that a lot better. But also in terms of teaching, the mom is more patient than the father in terms of the teaching. But for the father, in terms of my role, then, whatever he needs. I guide him. But never just like, "Oh yes, you should do this or do that," but just guide him so that he can have independent thinking, become independent in action too, so it's not just like, everything has to be by himself, promote whatever the thinking that he has. Not just like "Ok, you should do this or you should do that." So, so I never do it. I never do it. Just like, for example, in math, I show him how to solve a problem. But not just like "Ok, do step by step," but rather than just like, "Go to the goal" and how to reach that goal. How many ways to go there. So it's not just like, "Ok, do this or do that." Usually that's the way I do it. Not just like, "Okay, do this. Or, that's the direction to go." No. But I want him to expand more, way to go with that same goal. Most of them, it's the physics or math. English, [sighs] not that good, but my wife is good at that so she can help. Math, science, some kind politics. Math. Usually math, where he's kind of, just like don't understand it, or doesn't know how to solve the problem. That is where I step

in. Or maybe it's to relate to physics, because that physics is sometimes too hard for him to understand. So I just explain, not guide him on the homework, but explain so that he can understand the basics. But not solving the problem. Distribution of roles. [He goes to his mom for] English, literature, vocabulary. [Q: Does he ever ask her about math and science?] Yeah. That's uh... well, if she can't handle it then I'll step in. Uh, that is usually my wife take care of it. Because she usually looks at his score. His homework. So if any problem come up or anything I can help, then yes I will help. But usually it's his mom.

Overall, Vinh's goals are specific yet flexible. He has high expectations for his son to do well in school. He take a more active approach in his principal role but a more passive approach with his teacher role because his wife takes on the majority of the teacher related responsibilities. Although he still shares the responsibility with his wife, she has a more prominent role in teacher their son. Vinh still steps in to help when his wife cannot provide the help. As such, Vinh takes a more *indirect* and *infrequent* approach to the teacher role. When he is involved, he usually helps with providing explanation or guidance to solving math, science, or physics homework prohlems because he is confident in his abilities in these subject areas. His son rated having high ability in math (6.33) and science (6.67) than English (5.67). He rated science as being most valuable (6.86) compared to math (4.71) and English (3.57). He received A's in every subject in the current and previous year, except for science in the previous year, he received a B grade.

Coung is in his late 50's, he has a graduate degree in architecture and his an senior architect by occupation. He is married and has two children. The focal child is

female and is in 12<sup>th</sup> graded. He rated being most involved with cognitive discussions (6.00) than being involved at home (4.80) or at school (2.60). His wife rated slightly more involved with cognitive discussions (5.90) and at home (5.30) than at school (4.20). Cuong's goal for his daughter is obtain a bachelor's degree and go on to pursue graduate education. In his role as a principal he is thinking about the future for his daughter and wants her to thrive in an ever changing and competitive environment so he sets his expectation high. He wants her to be able to be competitive in the job market and eventually find happiness. He doesn't expect a particular outcome with her career but he expects her to work hard, and this is part of the big picture goals that he provides to his child and guides her accordingly. He goals are *specific* yet *flexible*; he expects his daughter to attain a certain level of education but is flexible in the type of field she chooses. He shares this role of the principal with his wife. In the *distribution of roles*, he equally shares the roles and responsibilities of a principal and a teacher with his wife.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Yeah my goal for education and career is the ultimate happiness. So I think wherever they find happiness in doing that is important. And also happiness include the financial status of her own family later on but we don't feel that is very very... It's important somewhat important but not that very important. So for us you may find a little bit different from other families that we do not put a lot of emphasis on the financial part of the career or whatsoever even though we strongly..the children to look at career in terms of compensation as a mean of happiness not the ultimate goal. So that's why the older daughter is doing international

relation major in government where's the.. you can tell it is not a very well paid job but we do encourage her and we just let it happen. And Mary is have a good sense of medical so she is going to push herself for medical school later on. But then again this is very strengthen within the Vietnamese community. When people know Mary is going toward medical school and they say "are you pushing it?" No that's not my type. That's not the way it happen in this family. It just happen naturally. And I even advise Mary to think about that because that requires a lot of work hard work, long hours. But if during the process and if Mary think she's does not have the capacity to... capacity I mean for her mostly have issue.. to pursue the medical career and then she want to do something else it's fine with us we have no problem with that. [Q: So specifically for Mary, do you have expectations for her to do a certain amount of schooling or at least graduate high school or graduate college?] Oh yes yes yes of course. Because I got a master's degree. And we look at the job market and you can tell B.S. degree is hardly do anything now a day. And especially for Sarah who is majoring in politics. Government international relations that definitely a B.S. degree will do nothing for her. So we always prepare her to go to graduate school. That is what she is doing now and of course for Mary we also prepare... digging some information about medical school so that way we can prepare her for four year college a little bit better. No we hope but not expect. And we have and we will be providing best for my children to do whatever they want to do. And we... what we expect is not to become this to become that but we expect you know to be active. Don't

just stay there and do nothing. Just do something that make your life meaningful. We don't expect any outcome at all. Whatever is come is come. But make sure that you already do your best.

Distribution of roles. I think we have very much the same...in the way we want our daughter to be and the way we teach them we guide them.

Aligned with his goal for his daughter's education and career, he expects her to get strong grades, where A's are considered good grades and C's are bad grade. These performance standards align with his goals for his daughter's future. Information from the questionnaire show similar sentiments; he expects his daughter to get mostly A's in all the subjects (math, English, and science).

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). Of course "A" is good grade. "C" is a bad grade. We express our unhappiness about that and we just tell her that if she keep a good grade and then the road you know in front of her is more open. That's that's it. Ah it's about her future. It's not for us. We are not here forever for her. So she better take care of herself by starting doing good grades now.

Coung rated having high ratings in math (5.33), English (5.33), and science (5.33), and similarly high rating about the value of these subjects (5.00 math, 7.00 English, and 4.00 science). These ratings suggest he is confident in his skills and ability to take on the role and responsibility of a teacher for his children in order to help achieve the goals he has for his daughter. However, in his role as a teacher, Cuong takes on a more passive role such that his involvement is more indirect and infrequent because it is a shared-role that is shared with his wife and because his daughter's assignments

have become more advanced than his own abilities. They both check on their daughter's progress in school but not every day. He describes how he is less involved over time in part because the subject and curriculum is more advanced, so it is beyond his capabilities to help with homework. Instead, his daughter has a tutor available to help with math. And while he is less involved with the teaching aspect of the teacher role in the traditional sense, he is more involved with providing guidance for his daughter to help her with college applications and course taking planning, in order to learn balance within their limitations.

Teacher role (Teaching child). We are quite involved in taking care of the need of the children for them to do, to perform better in school whatever we can do. But in term of homework, yeah when they was in elementary school, junior high school we do get involve in helping with the homework but when they're in high school they pretty much on their own. First of all because even though I'm good at math and science but I mean we learn that in Vietnam and the way you know the courses taught here is different so and we just need to make sure they finish their homework and just by asking questions. yeah in some subjects and in some-sometimes we do have a tutor to come...to help with math basically with math. Basically only math

Teacher Role (Monitoring homework). Conversations about school basi- very basic question. Have you finished your homework? When she has a test and the question how well you do on the test. Something like that. Things in that nature. Just checking. Not overlooking but just make sure things run smoothly and make sure that if she need help we always be there. The school have a

system online where you can login and see the grade and then you can go in and see what today homework assessment is- something like that.. we monitor the school work. yeah every couple days. And they do when there's something new they always email us... They say okay there is a report. Or there is something and you can just log in and see it.

*Teacher role (Teaching child)*. Yeah planning for college. Yeah we do get involved quite a bit in that because- anyway yeah.. yeah I think that's a very complicated process so we just get involved a bit and then what school to go something like that.

Teacher role (Teaching child). For Mary we always advise not to take many AP courses because it would tire her. we advise her the other way (laughter). We do encourage- we do encourage to take AP course but we always emphasize balance because if you take too many course- hard course and you cannot perform. That's very simple. I mean- we do not ask our children to be a superman..superwomen. We- all we ask them to know the limitation of themselves and just act according to that.

Overall, Coung's goals are specific yet flexible. He has high expectations for his daughter to well in school but because his daughter is older and needs more autonomy and has more advanced classes, he takes on a more passive approach in his teacher role. His involvement is indirect and infrequent. In his teacher role, he provides guidance and recommendation on course taking planning and college application preparation rather than the tradition sense of teacher concepts. He and his wife still monitor their daughter's homework via an online school system available to parents

to track the students' progress. This allows them to continue to monitor their daughter's progress but in a more indirect approach, giving their daughter more autonomy. Coung's daughter had high ability and value in math (6.00 and 6.29, respectively) and science (6.00 and 6.29, respectively), but her ability and value ratings for English were below the mean (4.00 and 4.43, respectively). She received A's in math and science, and B's in English in the current and previous year.

Peter is in his early 50's and has a bachelor's degree in mechanical engineering and is an IT architect by occupation. He is married and has two children. The focal child is female and in the 6<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (5.10) and at home (4.89) than at school (2.40). His wife indicated being more involved than Peter across all three areas (5.80 school, 4.56 home, 5.60 cognitive discussions). In the *distribution of roles*, he shares the principal role with his wife but he tend to give less leeway for deviation from his expectations than his wife. He has *specific* goals for his daughter to attend not just college, but a highly selective college. Additionally, he has *somewhat flexible* goals for his daughter to be able to have a range of skills, including strong communication skills in addition to strong technical and analytical skills so that she can have a successful career. These big picture goals allow him to set standards and expectations accordingly for his daughter. With these clear goals in mind, he can allocate the necessary resources and provide support for his daughter to reach these goals.

*Principal Role* (*Goals for child*). My hope is that she will go to a really good school, that I wouldn't have the opportunity to go to when I came here. So I was hoping um, there is any chance of getting into an Ivy League college for

her. College, and then I think I want her to have a successful career, not very technical oriented like myself, but more business oriented and kind of leverage her communication skills, versus the analytical, technical skill. I think it's hard, it's a little tougher to do technical work. I think if you're able to articulate and use the language better, you can actually be more successful from a career standpoint. But I mean I want her to have both, leverage her skills in math and science, her analytical skills, but be strong and be able to articulate well. I think my wife's a little different. I think she let the kids have a little more leeway in terms of what they decide. I think I have more thoughts about what I want, versus her.

Principal Role (Goals for child). I think that we provide, kind of a vision. You know, for cases of failures in the past, you know, when you're distracted, you get strayed the path, things like that. I want to make sure I tell them that traps can happen, so they don't have failures. Um, and then failures always education, so that's important thing to articulate too. But kind of like the vision of, like, you know, stay in school, study hard, you know, get a good education. And then you can have a good career and be successful. And I think I articulate that multiple times.

Peter sets high performance standards for his daughter and expects her to get all A's in math and English and mostly A's in science, according to information from the questionnaire data. This aligns with his goal for her to attend an Ivy League college, where admission is highly selective. His wife is more lenient on her expectations of grades. While he and his wife have similar expectations and performance standards,

their focus or subject-specific priorities are different. Peter is more focused on making sure his daughter performs at a high level in math, which means getting A's, because he believes she has the ability to do so.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). I think it has to be an A. I'm not sure I can accept a B. Good is an A. B's or C's [is bad grade]. More towards B. If it hits a B it's a problem. On certain topics I understand the capability, if they can't do it and they try their best, it's okay. But if they the capability and capacity to do it, then I think it's bad. I don't think they ever got a B. But, for example, let's say they compromise on let's say, English, right. Then I would be okay with that. But I would focus to get that back to an A. [Q: What's not compromise-able? Math? No, it's based on their capability. Cause she's naturally good in math and I would expect that to be an A for her. Because she's naturally good in math. Um, she's improving in her English now, so. And I didn't expect that. But she does and it's great that she did that. I think [my wife's a little more understanding on the grades. But expectations increased, toughness. Sometimes she surprised me that sometimes she's tough, tougher than me. Um, for example I think one time she said something. I forget what subject it was, either English or math. "B or A? You better get an A." And I'm like, "Really?" So some part I think she has certain subject that she's very strict on. Different set than I am. So I'm like, "She's good at math, she better get an A." But for [my wife], I was surprised that she said that. And I was like "Wow." So she has her own set of priorities and she pushes that. I think they're mostly aligned. I think the subject aligned and the expectation aligned.

I think priorities might be different. So let's say mine was like, say math and then English. Her's might be English then math. An example, but I don't think, I don't know the exact one. I know it happened one time. I was a little shocked she was pretty hard on that one.

Peter had high ability ratings in math (5.33) and science (5.00), but lower ratings in his English (3.67). However, his value ratings were higher for math (5.67) and English (6.67) than science (4.67). These ratings suggest that he feels most confident in his math and science ability but especially see the value and importance of English. He specific goals of wanting his daughter to attend a selective college in conjunction with his values, expectations, and abilities, suggest that he would take a more active approach in his teacher role with his children in order to bring his goals toward fruition. In his role as a teacher, Peter describes his involvement as *direct* and *daily*, and that the role is a shared-role with his wife. Similar to teachers at school who would adjust curriculum and activities to suit the needs of the students, here Peter and his wife are adjusting their children's activities each year as they develop their skills and interest. Because his daughter is already competent in math, he shifts his focus on English to help her improve her skills in that subject.

Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). I think the one thing that I wanna highlight too is that school ends a little bit an hour earlier but what we did was we added clubs at the end of class for like an hour. That's an optional, we sign up her up for the clubs and that gives her I guess additional education and also give us time to do our work, cause of schedule. We will be like-- I would focus more on the academic clubs like public speaking, drama, um

debate, there's some math, and there's some that you couldn't select them all. So if you have like the back-up, and the back-up will be pretty-- uh, it's like cooking and gardening, if there aren't any. But I think she was in chess club, and things like that.

Teacher Role (Tailoring involvement). I try leaning away from the math part because math and science are pretty strong, so I don't focus on that. I want to focus on the English part. I think she doesn't excel as well in English and I want to focus on that part of it. She been doing it for a couple years. 3-4 years. And every year is different. So they have a list, we put our name on-- first choice, second choice, third choice, and if the slots open then it goes. But the one I mentioned is pretty much the one she went through for the past couple years.

He goes on to describe how he helps with his daughter's homework. He also describes how his involvement is different from his wife's involvement in their shared-role of a teacher.

Teacher role (Teaching child). So I would say that, with math, because I'm strong in math, so basically she does most of her work. When she's stuck on a certain problem then I help her with it. And then, project mostly, my wife take care of it. I mean I did like one or two with her, but just on occasion, not too much. I would say like 5 percent. But mostly homework, math; English, I'll rely on my wife because she's strong in math--English. I'm strong in math so I'll take care of that. [Q: How often does this happen?] No, maybe once or twice, once a week? Twice a week? Only when she's stuck on like, one or two

problems. She's usually not stuck. She was stuck on one, and then I would like at it, or two and I'd just look through it. And a lot of it is about understanding the problem, not really the math part, it's like word problem, understanding what they're trying to ask for. And then there's some that I have to help with. I think she's much more involved from a, I guess, from planning, like what needs to be done. She knows like, the schools lunch. She have to do that every couple weeks, to purchase it, set it all up. I think activity wise, and projects, book reports, and driving them, and she's also engaged in the school from, you know like, teacher, when they have parties they have certain sponsorship she would help with those. So she's very closely engaged with the school from that perspective.

Overall in his role as a principal, Peter has set goals that are specific and somewhat flexible for his daughter. He wants her to attend a highly selective university and pursue a career that require both social and technical skills, which will help her become more successful than a career focused on just the technical skills. As such, in he sets high expectations for his daughter's academic achievement. He feels confident in his skillsets to help her prepare to accomplish these goals. In his role as a teacher, he is actively involved in her education and his involvement is direct and daily. The role and responsibilities of the role is share with his wife. He focuses his involvement in helping his daughter with her math homework if she asks questions and tailors her extracurricular activities around enhancing communication skills to fit the needs that align with his goals, which is to strike a balance between technical and social skills. His daughter rated her ability the highest in math (6.00) with lower ability ratings for

English (4.67) and science (5.00). Her value ratings followed a same pattern with math (5.57) being the highest rated compared to English (4.71) and science (3.71). She received straight A's, with "A" grades in math, English, and science in both the current and previous year.

Thinh did not provide his age; he has a bachelor's degree in the biological science and is a research associate by occupation. He is married and has two children. The focal child is female and in the 9<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (5.20) than with involvement at home (4.60) or at school (4.40). His wife indicated that she was more involved with cognitive discussions (5.30) and with involvement at school (5.00) than at home (4.60). Thinh has *specific* and *somewhat flexible* goals for this daughter, which is to complete at least a master's degree and pursue a career in the medical field. He expects the completion of the highest level of education but understands that his daughter's ability and interest play a role in accomplishing these goals. He keeps in mind his daughter's talent in music and art so he has also provided guidance in exploring these possible fields for her future career. He shares the role of a principal with his wife, which they both set expectations and standards about the level of education their daughter needs to complete and the type of career they want her to pursue.

Principal Role (Goals for child). We let her you know to pick freely to pick the major. We try to guide her into the field and let her think about that and the one who makes decision is her not us, you know? I guide her some field. First is, because we work in the medical field so first we guide her into the medical field including a medical doctor or pharmacist because I work

pharmacy in Vietnam so we guide her into that field first. The second we guide her into the music, you know, because she has learned music for 10 years already. So she's I think she has skill a lot. So that's the second one. And the third one maybe, you know, maybe she likes in the art. Make a movie. Make a film. Let's see because I think right now it's a little bit early for her. Today maybe she think, 'this is a good one' but maybe next week she change her mind. But as her parents, we have to guide her.

Principal Role (Goals for child). I think most Vietnamese parents; they expect the best for their children. I am a Vietnamese father too so my goals is to try to encourage her to get the highest level. At least you know she have to get the master's degree, you know, at least. If she has ability, she can get higher is more because we think that's better for her life. Because we came here late so we have to start over. So even though we, we are old. Because when I came to college in here I was 40 years old. So at least she has to get because she was born in here. The highest level is better for her and I expect that. But let me be fair. [Q: Are these goals the same as your wife?] Umm, yes yeah basically. Because we discuss each other.

Principal Role (Manages financial resources). We try to work hard and to get the financial part to provide for her education, that important. Because when she grows up the time we have for her is very limited. So besides, homework, there's a lot. Because she take the AP class from 9th grade so she very busy. So not only at school, you know she have a lot of activity outside so we have to spend on that.

Information from the questionnaire data suggest that Thinh has very high expectations for his daughter's academic achievement. He expects her to get all A's in math, English, and science. He indicates in the interview that a grade of B is in some situation. His wife has higher performance standards than he does but he reminds her that education is a whole process, not just one grade. Setting these high expectations for their child's performance standards in school help to reiterate their message of the bigger educational and career goal they have for their daughter.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). A good grade is a 'A' grade, you know? No 'B', Asian student should not get a 'B'. [Q: What does your wife consider as good grades?] I think the same because what we still accept 'B' grade for some situation, for example, the exam is so hard for everybody. Everybody or only one person or two people get 'A' and the rest is 'B', 'C', 'D's on that exam, so we accept it. We don't criticize her because she get 'B'. But we just say, 'try next time'. You know, I don't expect her have to get high grade by uh, 'you have to do that!' No I don't do that. I just encourage her to get basically maybe I am easier than my wife because I'm just tell her, 'okay, next time you will, you can do it' because sometimes it happens. We have to accept it. Because, it's hard. I understand that. But luckily she don't do it. Yeah, yeah, yeah. I think so. My wife expect harder than me. With her, only 'A'. Oh um, you know, to be honest sometimes she mad with her. Yeah. You know, but just at that time and after that I explain to her that's a whole process. Education is a whole process, because this one today mad with her, you know and it's not the best way to educate her so and she because

sometimes her mood at work is stress or something like that but basically we are the same, we expect the same. And we discuss to help her.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). Bad grade? Bad grade, I don't know because I don't think Asian student can get a bad grade. If they get a bad grade because they don't study. They don't spend time to learn, you know? Because I don't compare with the American, or Hispanics, or the other right, African American. But I think Asian student is very smart, they working hard. I don't think they get bad grades. Because even though when I came here I'm 40 years old I still work go back from beginning learn English from ESOL and I finished a college degree. I can do that at 30 or 40 year old. How can my daughter, how can student so young and they can't do that? Because they don't want to do that. Right? If they want to do that, they do that, they can do that. It's not difficult. Education in America is not difficult compared with to Vietnam.

Thinh's ability rating was highest for science (6.33) compared to math (5.33) and English (3.33) while his value ratings were equally high across all three subjects (7.00 math, 7.00 English, 7.00 science). These ratings suggest he feels confident and capable to help his daughter in the science and math subjects more than in English even though he thinks all three subjects are equally important and valuable. In his role as a teacher, he describes his involvement with her as *indirect* and *infrequent* because of her grade level and because of he shares the role with his wife, who takes on more of the responsibilities than him. He monitors her grades indirectly through an online school system that allows parents to monitor their children's progress and follows up

with her if there are issues. In addition to their involvement, they provide a private tutor for Jackie to help her with homework and other school assignments. Like teachers who provide additional resources or specialists to their students, Thinh and his wife provide additional a tutor to Jackie as an additional resource for her education. Because his daughter's course levels are advanced, he tailored his involvement and provided her opportunities to enhance her education by providing her with a tutor. He still helps her when she cannot solve a problem, but when he is unable to help her, she has a tutor available to her.

Teacher Role (Monitoring grades). I follow, I keep track on her record everyday. I go to Edline because they have a website with everything. I follow, I go there and I check on my grade, my daughter grade every few day, not everyday. Every few day of a week at least a week and I check and follow and keep track on and every time she get a bad grade I call her right away and ask her what happened. And she explain to me, for example, she forgot to do to submit the homework or she for some reason. You know, I-I understand that. When I, after listening to her, I just tell her, 'Ok next time you have to read careful, more carefully. Don't forget to do that.' Basically that because the ones uh one grade, you know, for homework or something like that not effect the whole process. So for whole thing okay.

Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). But basically because Jackie have a lot of private tutor so basically she can infinitely. She take business very seriously so she learn by herself, she learn from a tutor, only sometimes we just chat about life, school, everything else but school and talk to her and

guide her some advice. Basically in studying she learn from the tutor. When she were in middle school, I help her. But when she go to high school she have a lot of time to study and to do homework. But she doesn't have a lot of time to do so I let her concentrate on doing homework. [I help] only when she having trouble. First she asks me or my wife first. Because she is stay at home. If we cannot solve problem the day after she goes to school and ask the teacher. Otherwise she goes to tutor to ask for help. She have a lot of people who can help.

Overall in his role as a principal, Thinh set specific and somewhat flexible goals for this daughter. He wants her to obtain a master's degree at minimum but expects her to strive for the highest level of education. He also wants her to pursue a career in the medical field but considers her talent and interest in the arts as a possibility too. He feels confident in his abilities in math and science but his limited in his English abilities. In his role as a teacher, he shares the role and responsibilities with this wife. Given her school level and shared role, his involvement is indirect and infrequent. He monitors her grades indirectly through the school's online system and helps her occasionally when she cannot solve a math problem. He and his wife provides their daughter with the tutor to enhance her learning. His involvement as a teacher and the steps he takes through his involvement align with his goals. His daughter rated her ability the highest in English (6.00) and math (5.67) compared to science (3.67). Her value ratings was highest for English (5.71) compared to math (4.43) and science (4.43). She received straight A's in all of the subjects in the current and previous year, including A's in math, English, and science.

Hung is in his late 40's, he has a bachelor's degree in management of information systems and is a project manager by occupation. He is married and has one child. The focal child is a male and in the 4<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (5.00) and at home (4.80) than at school (3.80). His wife had similar ratings, who indicated that she was more involved with cognitive discussions (5.10) and at home (4.70) than at school (3.80). Hung has somewhat *specific* goals about how far in education he wants his son to go but very *flexible* goals about the industry or line of work he expects his son to pursue. Although he and his wife have similar goals for their son's educational attainment, they differ on the range of interests their son should pursue. He takes his son's interests into consideration of his goals for his son. In the *distribution of roles*, Hung and his wife share the roles but have differing levels of flexibility in their goals for their son.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Um, I would like to have him go as far as he has the desire to. Just like you, hopefully PhD, be a doctor in whatever. But, uh, I'm not the one that kind of push him, because I read and seen a lot of parents, kind of like, put a lot of pressure on the kids and it didn't turn out very well. So I'm sure you noticed, so. Yeah, we try to kind of, you know, encourage, find out what he's interested in, try to spend more time in those areas to get him to go further. With, uh, sports, or um, music, or just anything. Try to learn what he's interested in. And basketball, he's been playing the last 2 years. And swimming, he just got on the swim team. So, yeah, things like that. But, music, he doesn't really like it but his mom is making him do it. I'm different in that I don't believe in that. There's so many things in life that you

can do, and everybody's different, so I don't believe in forcing. [Q: Are these goals the same as your wife?] I would say about maybe 80%. Similar. The differences would be, like, the areas of interest I would say. But I think as far as the education level, I think both of us believe that, you know, if he has the opportunity he should, you know, go and get the highest level of education.

And we put aside, you know, money to help him with his education later on. In their shared principal role, Hung and his wife have set high standards for their son's performance in school. Although the school doesn't provides letter grades, a numerical scale of 1-4 is used instead with a 4 equating to an A grade, a 3 equating to a B grade, and a 2 equating to a C or D grade. Information from the questionnaire data shows that he expects his son to be getting mostly A's in all subjects, namely, math, English, and science. By setting high expectations for his son to accomplish, he is bolstering his goals and provides a rationale for his decisions made in his teacher role. Because he wants his son to have high academic achievement, he supports this goal and expectation by hiring a tutor for his son to provide him with enrichment opportunities, which, he hopes, will help his son make high academic achievement.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). Um, his rating is 1-4, the highest being the good grades. Most of the time, he gets 4, so he's already doing well. Um, 3's and 4's I should say. Yes, and rarely if I can remember it being, like 2. There were maybe once in a long time and then in just one area, not the whole, you know, it's not the whole report card that way. So in the music, it could be different things. Could be the singing, could be not participating playing one of the musical instruments, or not paying attention, you know,

things like that. But it wouldn't be, "Music is all bad." Or math is all bad, or something like that. Yeah. [Q: What does your wife consider as good and bad grades?] So I think we pretty much have the same belief.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations) and Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). With the English and the science, we of course encourage him. We get tutor for him to help him with that. Not because he get really, you know, bad grades or anything. Just, we see that he should be more in the higher end than the middle. Then we don't want him to fall behind.

That's why we try to correct that.

Hung's ability ratings were higher in math (4.33) and English (4.33) than science (3.33), while his value ratings were high across the subjects (5.33 math, 5.33 English, 5.33 science), and these ratings were below the mean in each subject. These ratings suggest that he feels more confident in his math and English skills than his science skills but the level of confidence is not at as high as other fathers in this study. In his shared role as a teacher, Hung's involvement is *direct* and *daily* but less so compared to when his son was younger. He also provides a tutor to his son as an additional resource. The role of the teacher is a shared-role with his wife, and the tutor. In his role as an additional teacher at home, he is knowledgeable about the program requirements for advance programs, he acts as a liaison between the school teacher and his son, he is observant of his son's abilities, and provides materials accordingly, and he is keen to his son's processes in task completion.

Teacher Role (Monitoring homework and grades). When he comes home I make sure that he does his homework right away, and when he was younger I

would sit next to him, making sure that he's doing everything. But now, just let him do it and I'll review it afterwards. So, and then for, he does have tutoring depends on how he does in school and different subjects. Like when we see report cards that say he's weak in science, for example, whatever areas, then English for example. Writing because we, you know, we not from here either. So we have problems writing, also it's hard for us to teach him that. But we can teach him math. You know, help him with math. He's very good in math. And as far as outside things, whatever he would like to do, we encourage him, we support him to do that. So we do set aside, you know, homework time, play time, and other after-school activities.

Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). Pretty much, I ask him, do one hour of homework. And then, because he's still very young, so there's not a lot of homework. So in one hour he can probably get the homework done, in maybe 20 minutes or less. But I would say, you know, "Go and read." The websites that the teachers give to the students, to go in and read. And then I said, since his mom wants him to practice piano, yeah, you know, so then he can play. So pretty much, he's still young, there's not a whole lot of homework and things to do. And he's not in AAP [Advanced Academic Program] yet, but he's improving. He start out at level one, which is for all of the kids. Then last year he got into level two, which is one advance subject. So there was math. Um, this year he moved up another level, level three, which is two advance subjects. Full time AAP hopefully will be next year. Yeah, they test every year on different things, and along with that they also monitor the kid's

participation in class and everything to make sure the kid is well rounded and not just good in one area. That's why they have different levels. Level one is for all students. And then level two would be for, he was good in math so they pulled him out of the regular math and have him with an advanced group. You know, so, and then like I said this year he has art and math. And then I'm hoping next year he will go into full-time Advanced Academic Program. Yeah. Same thing with the, something about arts, that he also gets to go to the advanced group. Which is good because they challenge him more, as you know. Because just like anyone, you know, they get bored if it's too easy, right? So, um, and that's why we, he's like a group grade, almost a grade above his current grade as far as math. So, and then the summer we buy books for him for the next grade level to see how much of that he can finish. Teacher Role (Tailoring involvement). Yeah. All of that. Again, I don't believe in pushing him, but we believe in, you know. If he can handle it, and I can see that, then I'm going to try to encourage him, give him harder math problems, right? And he can do that, and improve. Yeah, he does well. [Q: So why do you think math as opposed to English or science or art? Um, I'm not quite sure, it's something in him. You know, some people really good in music, right? Some people good in science, for whatever reason. Some people just physical gift and they good in P.E. Um, he's not good in P.E. cause, you know, his size and everything, but he's improving in that. And like I said, writing English is not our first language, so that for, we can't really help him with that. But even American kids, what we've learned is that when you're

young you don't have a lot of ideas and thoughts. It's hard to put all of them into words and write paragraphs or, you know, whatever, stories. And on top of that, we not able to help him so we have to find people who are good at that to tutor him. Um, because honestly, even in our workplace we, you know we're okay. But even ours, our supervisor said, "You guys can really improve on your English writing." We agree, and again it's not, we came over when we were older so it's harder to do that. But I guess to answer your question, again it's just whatever they, well not everybody's good at everything, right? So some kids are better, good at this and not so much as the other one.

Fortunately for him he's good in math, so that's good.

Teacher role (Teaching child). I still do now when, when he's doing it, and he has questions then he'll call me and I'll come over. It's not like I'm just letting him do it by himself. But I don't necessarily sit next to him and go over every single problem. To get into full-time AAP you have to have 600 score and he scores like 592 or like 582. So you can see, and his problem is not that he doesn't know, he's rushing to finish it. He wants to be the first always to finish. Maybe you can give some hinters to how to do that, but he, yeah he just sometimes doesn't read all the answers. If he see a word that could be the answer then he'll pick that right away. So he's not using the process of elimination. And so that's why he, I know when I work with him on the computer, like taking tests or whatever practice tests, I haven't even finished explaining to him and then he already click "submit." So I'm going through, "Okay, what does answer A say? Or B, and C and D. And tell me why you

would choose what answer right." Boom. Click. So um, yeah, so that's the thing that I want to work with him on. But most of the time he seems pretty smart and he doesn't need help. But I do review his homework, you know, just to make sure he doesn't, you know, miss anything.

Hung and his wife are cognizant and aware of their son's challenges and weaknesses so they sit with him to diagnose the issues but they also work to provide enrichment materials for their son and get him a tutor so that he can improve his skills beyond what they can help him with themselves.

Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). Um, the tutor, she's being a teacher herself. Um, she has the experience and, I guess, different methods of, ways of teaching. We teach him, and just, as parents just like of like, teaching the kids. But we didn't go to school to learn how to teach the people. You know what I mean, so. I mean we can correct the grammar and vocabulary and spelling, things like that. But to help improve his English writing or reading, we don't really have a whole lot of experience in it. You know, we can say, if you read and try to slow down and just not read the words. Just make sure you comprehend what you're reading. Does that make sense? Yeah. Because I think he has a tendency to just read really quickly without getting what the meaning of the words. And you know, work with him on present tense and past tense. Basically he's pretty good at those. You know, he knows like, "Go, went, gone," and all that stuff, so. Yeah, but it be things like that definitely, we try to encourage him to put his thoughts down on paper when he writes and add more details to his writing. He has a tendency to, if he say,

"I go to school." Then that's it. It's very short. So, how do you get there? How do you go to school? You know, or, when do you go to school? Maybe the date and the time. Right? So, things like that. And then, what do you, take the bus or do your parents drop you off, or whatever. Just give more details because otherwise his sentence will be really short. But yeah, that's we can help him with. Like I said, we don't have experiences to teach him different ways. I'm sure more effective ways that can be taught well.

Teacher Role (Monitoring grades). Um, we would sit down and talk with him on it. Saying, "Based on the report card, we see that you kind of struggle in this area. Do you need help or do you find that, is it true?" Or just talk about it. And either we can help him or we get together with the teacher and find out exactly, or at least I do all of that. You know, um, for the most part, like I said, that he is, that it's nothing bad yet to correct. And it would be one, for I believe, is it four quarters or three? For the school year. So maybe it's just one quarter and then the rest of them will be good.

Overall in his shared role as a principal, Hung and his wife set goals and expectations that are somewhat specific and flexible for his son to achieve. They want him to go as far as he can in terms of his education and provides him with the flexibility to choose his field of study and career path. He has high expectations for his son to have high academic achievement but feels he is only confident enough to help his son in math. For other subjects, he hired a tutor to enhance his son's educational learning. When Hung is involved with his son, he usually helps him work through problems if he has a question or he works with him to improve his test taking skills. To this end, his

involvement as a teacher helps push forward the goals he has for his son in his role as principal. His son's ability rating was highest for math (6.33) but much lower for English (3.33) and even lower for science (2.67). His value ratings followed a similar pattern, with the highest rating for math (6.43) but lower rating for English (4.14) and science (4.00). His son received A's in math in the current year, A's and B's in English and science in the current year. In the previous year, he received A's and B's in math, and A's and C's in English and science.

Linh has a master's degree in electrical engineering and is an electronics engineer by occupation. He did not provide his age. He is married and has two children. The focal child is male and in the 11<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated most involved with cognitive discussions (5.60) compared to involvement at home (3.90) or at school (4.20). His wife rated being equally involved with cognitive discussions (4.80) and at school (4.80) than at home (3.80). Linh has *specific* and somewhat *flexible* goals about his son's educational attainment for his career field. In his role as a principal, he sets for his son to complete college and pursue a career in science or math like himself. In comparing his goals with his wife's goals for their son, his wife has goals for their son to pursue a career in the medical field as a physician, like her. He sees education as vehicle to upward mobility and the knowledge gained through education as a tool for survival.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Uh, my goal is to let him pick whatever he want to be. So he's been changing his idea a few time already so what uh, just be whatever he want to be. I want him to at least complete the 4 years in college, at least that. He's good in math and science, so I like him to pick

something in science. Especially, I'm an engineer so I'm biased to engineer but he's been switching between uh computer science and uh medical, so it's up to him. My wife want him to be a physician. Since they were young we told them that education is the best way for them to advance in the society... and so to help not only to help friends also to help themselves to survive in any situation. I was a refugee and I told them my life. Imagine when you come to another country, don't know the language, don't know anything. So the best way you can go up is to survive is in your knowledge. So uh... I encourage them to learn not only from the book but things around them, like most of the [time] they can.

Linh's responsibility as a principal is to set standards that align with his goals and expectations for his son's education and career. As such, he expects his son to maintain good grades, however it is more important to him that his son learns the materials and understand the lesson rather than just get good grades. Information from the questionnaire data suggest that Linh has high expectations for his son's academic achievement. He wants his son to be getting mostly A's in math, English, and science. In support of the high standards Linh's wife expects straight A's and considers B's as bad grades. Together Linh and his wife's standards reflect both performance and mastery goals for their son's education. Linh's goals and expectations for his children are for them to learn, learning from mistakes, and having a strong foundation of knowledge. He is less concerned about the actual grade than the gaining of knowledge. However, he sees grades as a reflection of knowledge and learning from error.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). I always told my children even his sister from when we were little. I don't mind when they have bad grades—the problem wrong or they get it wrong. My dad... if they didn't figure out the right answer after that after he know that, he get a bad grade wrong answer and they want them to okay, go to teacher find out what the right answer, why he did it wrong. And they learn from that. Then then I help them. If they do that, then I have no problem if they have bad grade. As long as they understand the problem, that's all I need. Based on my experience, my experience, uhh... When you go to out, to the real world, your grades no longer important. So it's depend on how your knowledge of that. So what I want them to gain is the knowledge, not the grades. So if they get high grade but they aren't really understanding the subject, then it's useless to me. So far they are straight 'A' students, so far so when they go below that then I will find—I ask them, "What's wrong? What is wrong and they can tell oh figure out that's the problem and find out why this is wrong. If it's fine to me. Then I'm good with that, yeah.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). Well we, for me straight 'A's is great well uh—it uh I don't expect them to get straight 'A'. I just expect them to do well, they do the best they can. My wife a little bit more uh... stricter on the grades. She's a very good student herself when she was young so she have very high expectations. They always get good grades so I... Um, I think anything below 'B'. Below 'B' is a bad grade. I don't know but uh, she is, she make it seem like 'B' is a bad grade. \*laughs\*

Linh's ability ratings were highest for math (5.00) and science (5.00) compared to English (2.67). However, his values ratings were high across all subjects (6.00 math, 6.33 English, 6.67 science). These ratings suggest that while he believes these subjects are important and valuable, he is only confident in his math and science skills and this he feels limited in his English skills, which may limit his ability to help his son in this subject. His goals and perceptions of self-efficacy ratings suggest that his involvement will be more focused on math and science. In his teacher role, he describes his involvement with his son as *infrequent* and *indirect* because his son is independent. In doing so, he is tailoring is involvement to fit his son's needs and personality. He shares the role of the teacher with his wife, such that he focuses on teaching his son while his wife focuses on teaching their daughter. When Linh is involved with his son's education, he is teaching him concepts about math that his son may not understand or helping to solve a particular challenging math problem.

*Teacher Role (Tailoring involvement).* Hao is very independent, since he was little when he first go to school in his own way wanted to be independent. He wanted to do everything himself without really want us to interfere with his study.

Teacher role (Teaching child). So we only uh, for me I only, I just ask him everyday to see if he needs my help or not and uh most of the time he doesn't need my help. But once in a while he's stuck on something and then that time I can help on that, yeah. Usually, I think he go to me more than his mom. My wife usually work more with my daughter. Usually, he go to my wife for uh, like uh, when in school need to buy something, book. Usually my wife take

care of those logistic stuff. There's time that a couple months before he come to ask a question. He's very good in math and science and usually he figure out himself, most of the time. When he come to me, it's really hard problem. \*laughs\* When he come to me, it take me maybe some time up to half an hour an hour to figure out the problem and solve it. He's, he go to very high level in math now. He taking multivariable calculus, right now. So that uh will take me some time to, to figure out the problem. [Q: And is it usually like a project or homework?] Usually homework. Yeah. Project he has this um, project he usually work in the teams. So, uh. Usually they can figure out themselves when they work in a team. So I don't remember the last time that he came to me about his group project.

Overall Linh takes is active in his role as a principal in setting specific yet somewhat flexible goals for his son's future. He wants his son to at minimum obtain a college degree but preferably in the science or math field. As such, he sets high standards and expectations for learning and academic performance. He wants his son to get mostly A's in schools but is more concerned with his son developing learning skills, such as learning and finding solutions from mistakes and errors. Linh feels confident in his math and science skills but not English. He tailors his level of involvement in his role as a teacher to fit his son's personality and need for autonomy, so his involvement is infrequent. If he is involved, his typically helps his son with solving a challenging math problem on his homework assignment. His son's ability ratings were highest for math (7.00) and science (7.00) compared to English (4.33) and his value ratings followed a similar pattern with the highest rating for science (6.14) then math (5.14)

then English (2.71). He received A's in math and science and a B grade in English in the current year, and received all A's in these subjects in the previous year.

Andy is in his early 50s, he has a master's degree in engineering and is a IT manager by occupation. He is married and has two children. The focal child is a female and in the 12<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being most involved with cognitive discussions (5.80) than at school (5.20) and at home (4.70). His wife rated being highly involved in all three domains (6.00 cognitive discussions, 5.60 school involvement, 5.30 home involvement). Andy has *specific* but somewhat *flexible* goals for his daughter to attend and complete a four year college degree and to pursue a career in engineering or medicine. He believes these two fields have job protection in terms of low unemployment rates. He is flexible about the career field his daughter wants to pursue but fully expects her to complete a college degree. In his role as a principal, he has goals for himself to be able to provide the tools and financial resources to be able to help his daughter accomplish these goals that he has for her. He believes education is the foundation to success because it helps build confidence and strength for future pursuits.

Principal Role (Goals for child). My goal to provide her of the tools, money, and for her to try to accomplish whatever her goal would be. To get good education, doesn't matter what kind of education. I think school is the basic foundation for, uh, for success. It doesn't matter what you need to do in the future, but you have to have education. That's the foundation. Without your education, it's tough. It's very tough out there. Um, I believe that education

will help her to become stronger, more confident, and to pursue whatever she need to pursue. That's the foundation.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Gotta be engineering, doctor, doesn't really matter. Whatever she wants, I provide that tools and help her to get where she wants. [Q: Do you prefer her to be in a certain field?] Um, I don't. I don't expect her to be an engineer. I don't expect her to be a doctor. At least she has a four year degree, that's I'm happy. [Q: Are these goals the same as your wife?] I believe she has different idea. Okay. But, I support either one. I either support her, what Janet would be. I think we have the same thinking. To provide the best vehicle for her to get where she wants. And other than that it's really up to her to take that on. But however, we still prefer engineering and still prefer doctor, but, anyway. If she can get there she can get there, if she don't, she doesn't then that's fine. Because my background's engineer, so I'd like someone to follow me. Or be even better than what I am right now. That's what I expect from her. The medicine's a... in the past, everyone thinking of doctor, engineer. Um, I think some of that still remaining in my head. And say, "Hey, it's a good field." The medical field's a good field to be. They don't have to worry about unemployment. You can open your own practice, if you want to. I mean, that's how you run business, right? So, that's what I think. Again, there's no wrong or right. It's really up to her. But, again, the expectation would be nice for her to follow that field. If not, it's okay too.

Andy believes part of his responsibility as a parent is to make sure his daughter does well in school, that she understands the subject matter being taught, and that she is

trying her best. Information from the questionnaire data showed that he wants his daughter to get mostly A's in math and English and mostly B's in science. When his daughter doesn't get good grades, he partly blames himself because it is partly his responsibility too. The expectation is on her to do well in school, the expectation is also on him to make sure she understands the material being taught in school. In his *shared-role* as a principal, he and his wife maintain a high level of expectation for their daughter's academic performance and take an active role in trying to understand where the problem was and trying to find room for improvement if grades were not up to their standards. He and his wife have high expectations of their daughter's performance standards, where he considers A's and B's as good grades, specifically, more A's than B's.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). Um, I expect... always expecting her to try her best. And at the same time, get a good grade. If she doesn't have, doesn't get good grades, that's going to be disappointing. For me, it's going to be very disappointed, okay. Um, so I think if she didn't get good grades, part my fault too. So um, maybe I need to spend more time to make her more understand about that subject and to improve upon that subject. And I think it's not her, that it's got to be parents a part of that too.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). Good grades mean, that's a number associated with that, right? That good grade to me means B plus or A. Right? So that means good grades. Um, so that's how to... well, yeah the definition of good grades. More A's than B's, that's good grades. Um, bad grades would be, um, anything less than C.

Principal Role (Enforcing Rules). Manager her time, um, effectively. Go home, do homework first, right, okay. And after you finish your homework then you can do anything you want. But mainly focus on the rule number one, come home, do homework. Be good at, um, what you study. And know your subject. And after that, then you can do whatever you can do.

Information from the questionnaire data showed that his ability ratings were high across all three subjects (6.33 math, 6.00 English, 6.00 science) and but his value ratings were the highest for English (7.00) compared to math (6.00) and science (5.67). These ratings suggest that he values and feels confident in his abilities in all three subjects. His goals of wanting his daughter to pursue a career in science may be helped by his values and ability beliefs to be able to help his daughter achieve this goal. In his role as a teacher, Andy describes his involvement as *direct* and *daily*. He shares his role as a teacher with his wife. He is there to provide guidance to his daughter but gives her autonomy to complete her work. His involvement as a teacher includes helping his daughter with her homework and school assignments, and teacher her about concepts related to math, science, and engineering. He talk to her about how programming works on the applications she uses most, which are social media sites, and explains how math, science, and engineering has real life applications that can be fun and enjoyable. He and his wife also monitor their daughter's grades by checking her report card and troubleshooting how to improve on the grade. In addition, they provide their daughter with a tutor to advance her skills in math and science.

*Teacher Role (Monitoring Homework)*. The involvement would be to help her to do homework, look at her research paper, and help her to do every night, like science and math. Um, help her with other curriculum, I guess, we work through with her every night. One of the times in the morning, but I don't spend a lot of time in the mornings with her. At night when we all come home, usually I ask, "Do you have any questions? Do you have any concerns? Anything I can help you with?" If not, then I just leave her alone. If she has questions then we work together. Solve a problem for her. Um, only if she needs help. If she can do it by herself, then that's okay. Any questions. Regardless of homework, even social, for example. If she has questions, and if I can answer, I will answer. If I don't know the answer, basically I pass to my wife. [Laughter] But most of the homework questions, yeah, I help her out with math, social science, anything. We work together and do some research and find the answer for her. Most of the time for math come to me. Science come to me. Other subjects come to my wife. She expect... as an engineer I have, because that's math and science, and so always come to me first. *Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials).* We do have a tutor for her. Most of the time, she has a tutor, but most of her subjects really not that hard to answer so I can do that. [The tutor is focused on] I think some part of science... just math. Mainly math.

Teacher Role (Monitoring grades). When we open the report and say, "Why you get this B? Or why you get this... Why did you get C on this? Why?" The answer to her and say, "Well, I didn't like it." "What part you didn't like?"

Talk to her and understand why. And find a problem. Find a way to fix it. Um, we really focus on the negative with the C. Sometimes we just overlook the, we just didn't look on the, like, B or A. Uh, sometimes we forgot a, "Good job." We really focus on a lot of negative rather than the positive, so. Because on the positive part, the positive grade we don't have to do anything. Only focus on the negative so we can improve upon.

Teacher role (Teaching child). Well, I talk to her almost every day, and say, "Hey, um, math. You doing this math, like equations, right? Um, Geometry, Algebra, Calculus." And also talk to her about science. "What science means?" Uh, programming. Right? "Do you like to be a programmer?" This is how you do programming. Give me an example. Internet! You open a program. "How is everything work together?" Explain that to her and say, "Hey, if you build this program, you can program this talk to this program, you can imagine what happens." So that's... math at the foundation. And help her understand relate it to, math to real, uh, internet. She loves playing games, like Facebook, a lot of that's going on. Her background say, "If you know this, you know programming, you can do everything you want to." Right? You can build your own apps. So, give her a real example and how is that related to entertaining part of her life, Facebook, Twitter, yeah.

Overall in his principal role, Andy's goals for his daughter are specific and somewhat flexible. He wants her to attend college and pursue a career in engineering or medicine. He has high confidence in his math, science, and English skills. He sets high expectations for his daughter to do well in school and emphasizes learning more

than performance. In his teacher role, he is actively involved with his daughter's education by helping her with homework assignments if she asks for help and he also provides her with a tutor to help enhance her learning. He monitors her grades by reviewing her report card. He also teaches her about the application of engineering and mathematics in her social media usage. His daughter's ability ratings were highest for science (6.67) and English (6.00) compared to math (3.00) and her value ratings followed a similar pattern, with science (6.29) and English (6.14) being the highest rated and math (4.14) with a lower rating. She received a B in math, and A's in English and science in the current year. She received a C grade in math and science and an A in English in the previous year.

Vien is in his early 40s, he has some graduate level education in biomedical and electrical engineering and is an engineer by occupation. He is married and has one son who is in 9<sup>th</sup> grade and is the focal child. He rated being more involved with cognitive discussions (4.30) and at home (4.30) than at school (3.40). His wife rated being the most involved with cognitive discussions (5.70) compared to her involvement at home (4.80) and at school (2.60). In his role as a principal, Vien has *specific* goals for his son's educational attainment and somewhat *flexible* goals about the career path his son should pursue. He expects his son to complete an undergraduate degree. His overarching goal for his son is to obtain a college degree and pursue a "realistic and practical" career, such as engineering or IT, so that he can comfortably support himself in the future. He shares the role of the principal with his wife. In this role, they keep in mind both the interest and ability of their son to help guide him throughout school. While he and his wife have similar goals, they differ on

the path to achieve those goals. Whereas his wife would like their son to attend an Ivy League college, Vien does not think that attending or graduating from a "big name" school will make a difference in one's career.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Well basically we want him to go as far as he can; you know support him and right now uh... it's not clear where, which direction he's heading. But basically, in general we want to provide a support and a means for him to, you know, get as far as he can, you know, based on his ability. At least like a undergraduate degree of some sort and then um, you know go beyond from there depending on um, you know, whatever path he takes. Um, of course if he feel he want to go graduate school and that would um you know, be better for him, then yeah, sure of course.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Um... I think the one recommendation there is something that maybe more realistic and practical. We would advise him so that at least he is, would have easier to build a real career as opposed to majoring in something a little bit kind of farfetched field and he wouldn't be able to support himself of make a living. So that's all that's important. But then at the same time you don't wanna say "oh you have to, we want you to be a doctor, we want you to be a lawyer." You want to leave it up to him to find what he's passionate about or what he's interested in doing. So I think uh, on the technical side, you know something in engineering something in IT related, uh science, different disciplines in engineering and then there's also maybe the health care side. You know decide to be doctor, um if he makes it

he can make that for it, it depends on his ability. Uh what else? I mean teaching? There are all these different professions out there.

Principal Role (Goals for child). [Q: Are these goals the same as your wife?] Yeah there, yeah there's a difference I think um... Actually, she's—she doesn't have as much experience as I am in term of the school system in the U.S. because she came later and when I came I basically started from grade school, I mean from even elementary like 4th grade. I actually started in 4th grade, I kinda like gone through the whole school system from grade school all the way to college and so forth. Uh, I think most typical I hear people think almost like, it's good to have to try to get your kid to go to like an Ivy League school or a famous school but to me I don't think that's very important. The main thing is still, you know because um, I mean maybe in some cases but I think it's fine, either if it's a public school or it's a private school or you know, if you, maybe you have a little more edge, you do end up at a more well known school. But I don't think once you start a career later, it's not that important. Yeah, so. But then on her view, she says "yeah, I would prefer you to go to a really well known school if you make if you get accepted." Whereas I would actually tell him, even like the first two years, given like how expensive college tuition is right now, the first two years it's fine you even go to a community college. Because most of that is just basics math and science and um you know elective courses and it doesn't really matter if you go to a very well known school or a community college. You get kind of like those basic courses and it's only like studying your third year and after that it makes

a difference, depending on where you go. And then like in, when I was going to college because my major you, there were certain you know fewer school that have a full program in that and because of that it's kind of like you have to go to a little more specialized school than one that doesn't have. [Q: Does your wife feel like she wants him to go into a certain career path as well?

Does she have a preference for him?] Uh I don't think so at this point. I think she's open to what kind of like same as my view you know whatever maybe he uh, will figure out what he likes to do and you know?

Information from the questionnaire data showed that Vien wants his son to get mostly A's in all of the subjects, including math, English, and science. However, his goals are focused on learning and mastering the subjects for his son. He wants his son to be able to learn and understand content and concepts more than getting straight A's, even though he still expects his son to get A's. When his son doesn't get an A, he and his wife sit down with their son to figure out what went wrong or what was the issue. When their son did not meet their expectation of performing well in school, they provided him with extra help by hiring a tutor. In their shared-role as a principal, Vien and his wife set long term goals and performance standards that align with these goals. When standards were not met, they provided financial resources in terms of a tutor to get their son back on track. They continue to monitor his progress very closely until he got back to performing at the standard they expected from him.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). I'm not one of those parents who say like, "You have to get straight As, straight As." I don't think that's important, I mean to me it's still, it's about do you really learn uh-uh whatever's being

taught in school? You know the different subject area, I mean you do need to—it's not like okay if you don't I know for like how the way the school system sometime the grades are critical because it's um it's how sometime they use that as a metric to allows you to go into a you know particular field or not. You know, say for example like the competition is so so great that in order to say if you want to go into medical school, you have to get perfect GPA, 4.0 and not only on top of that, you know all these—these uh show you've done a lot of other things. So it's important in that sense that but I think at the bottom of it is that you really learn um... So um, so I don't think, I don't feel like but of course if he but it's also indicative of well do you really put the effort into it. Because if you, you're sho...come to me and you're getting 'C' or 'D', it shows me that you haven't really, you know, you haven't put enough effort in it and that's the reason why you're you know, getting bad grades. Unless you have a good reason for that, then yeah that—that's wouldn't be acceptable, in that sense.

[Q: So is that what you would consider bad grades? So 'C' and 'D's are bad grades and 'A' and 'B's are good grades?] Yeah, I think 'B' is still acceptable. Of course, you would want you know, to get all 'A's you know, if—if you always kind of always push them to say, you know put as much effort in it but if you get a B for some reason then I like wouldn't be upset but then I'd try to find out why, right and say "Well why...why the—why didn't you get an 'A' in this case?" Right, so sometimes like in a case of Larry he

say, "I don't like science. You know I have terrible science teacher." And yeah and then you say, "You know, well, yeah you still have to try."

[Q: And what do you say or do when he gets bad grades, like if he got 'C' or a 'D' on a subject?] Well that hasn't happened. I mean that—that's what happened when he first transitioned from elementary into middle school, so he got like a 'C' or 'D' at that I think he got a 'D' one time and then he was very embarrassed about it, right? But then after that then um you know and then my wife and then we pay more attention to what he was doing and then at the same time with the and she got him a tutor then and then we kind of monitor to see okay, "Is he putting more effort?" We kind of monitor him more closely, so yeah that helped him to pass that point.

Vien's ability and value ratings were high across all three subjects (5.00 and 5.33 for math, 5.33 and 6.00 for English, 5.67 and 5.67 for science, for ability and value, respectively). His goals, ability, and value will all influence his approach in his teacher role. In his role as a teacher, his involvement with his son is *indirect* and *infrequent* because he is busy and because his son seems to be doing fine. He shares the role of the teacher with his wife and a tutor.

Teacher Role (Monitoring Homework). Now he's older so sometimes if he's um he doesn't have any afterschool activity he just goes straight home and then you know, start doing his homework and stuff and then when I get home, um... sometimes he would have maybe have practice later in the evening in the afternoon then I take him to do his practice and then just asking him you know um, "Have you done your homework, you know help... you have a lot

of homework today, where are you? You need any help?" You know, things like that.

Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). In our case, uh when he first when he was in like elementary school, he was okay, fine. And then when he first got to middle school he wasn't like prepared in general so he's kind of not serious or focused so his grades like suffered right away, right? So my wife was like panicking and then she decide, "oh we should help get him a tutor", right? So that, so we had that going for a while you know and then with reinforcement telling him okay you need to pay attention, you know, you have to get your, do better grades so I think he recovered from that and um, it's been pretty steady you know with his performance so yeah that's good.

When he is involved in helping with homework, the involvement can be described as tactical, going through the problem and providing suggestions and guidance for better strategies to solve the problem.

Teacher role (Teaching child). A few times was in math, you know like uh doing math problems and then or sometimes I look at his stuff and I ask him, "Well, you know why you solving..." and I look at the way he's going through the problem and I give him some tips, "You actually uh can do it this way and it's easier and faster." Right? Or—or he's coming up with like um uh like I look at it and the answer is actually wrong or I review um like some of his like uh work that's been graded and returned and some of the problems where he didn't get it right so we would go over and then kind of explain to him and kind of try to follow his logic, "Well how did you get here?" You

know, "this answer instead of that." And then kind of give him, coach him a little bit on that. I check other homework too. So say like he says, "I have an essay or a book report due." And I—when he's done I would take a look and like just read through and see you know how—how his writing is and make some comments and some feedback. So, yeah. Not as regularly as I'd like to yeah but I do do that every now and then. Umm, more like a random. Not like every day, uh I don't... Yeah I'm so busy, I have my other things too.

Overall, in Vien's role as a principal, his goals are specific but flexible. And although he feels confident in his skills to help his son, he hired a tutor to provide his son opportunities for educational enrichment. Due to his busy schedule and his son's preference for independence, his involvement is indirect and infrequent. The tutor acts as an additional teacher for his son when he is not available to provide the help. When does get involved, his involvement includes monitoring his son's homework assignments and grades and teaching his son by strategizing better techniques for completing the math problems. His son's ability ratings were highest for math (6.33) then science (5.67) and then English (5.33). His value ratings followed a similar pattern with the highest rating for math (6.14) then English (5.86) then science (4.71). He received As in math in the current and previous year, a B and an A in English in the current and previous year, respectively, and an A and B in science in the current and previous year.

Truc is in his early 50's, he has a master's degree in electrical engineering and works for the military. He is married and has three children. The focal child is female and in the 10<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being involved with cognitive discussions (5.60) more

than home (4.80) or school (4.20) involvement. His wife rated being more involved at home (5.00) than at school 94.00) or with cognitive discussions (4.50). In his principal role, Truc has specific yet flexible expectations of his daughter's educational attainment and career pursuits. He wants her to go as far as possible in education that is necessary to be successful in the career that she chooses, which could mean graduate school such as a Ph.D. Even though he recognizes that his daughter's career pursuit is her choice, he expects her to choose a field that is realistic so that she can support herself in the future. His ultimate goal is to see her have financial security in in a field of her interest. He believes this would not be achievable through a field like art unless his daughter is gifted in it. His expectation for himself is to be able to provide a support system for her to be able to succeed in school and eventually her career. In the distribution of roles, he and his wife share the role of the principal. She prefers their daughter to into the medical profession. Regardless of the profession, both Truc and wife have specific yet flexible goals for their daughter's education and career. These goals provide a basis on how they navigate their own parental involvement with their daughter in terms of advice giving, steering the direction of and emphasis certain course taking and performance in those classes.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Well, so, my goal is to provide her a support system. We let her choose what she want to do. We press, but we like her to pursue what she like to do. Right? Uh, but we very rigorous as her school. We provide her the environment, basically. And we watch over her shoulder. We don't, but we let her kind of choose her way. So, you know, I... made her go to school at night and again, we will support them to do what they like. Then

we hope them to go to the, they have the opportunity that we don't. And we hope that they go to the maximum extent that they can. Uh, Ph.D. if that, you know, math level or if, you know, they want to do something and they don't have to pursue that kind of degree, but our hope or what we pursue is they get the right education to do what they're really good at. Yeah.

Principal Role (Goals for child). I mean, you know, we let her... the guidance. We provide guidance. You know, uh, don't pick a major that you'll be on the corner of the street with sign, like homeless. That kind of thing. Something that can support the family. Um, something that more realistic. Or something you think you're really good at. I mean, that, again... We try to provide her guidance. If she has a special gift, let's say in art. We wouldn't be against her. But if she, like, do for fun, and... we try to talk into her to be more realistic. You know, um, do something you like that the best, right? But also do something you like that can support your life. That's the second recommendation. And third thing we always teach them is to think big. Think beyond what you do for yourself. And that's what we kind of drive into the kids. So, yeah, so you know, don't look at... we basically exaggerated a little bit. You know, save the world hunger, basically. And that we kind of kid with her, but you know, routinely we sit in the car, like, "You know, we don't just want you to have a job. Use your talents. All the people out there that need you, need your talent. Whatever you can do, help the society, you know, beyond you. That's where you should focus." It's easy to make a living, but, you know, think something beyond. It's, I mean it's my philosophy. You

know, again, we don't have all the opportunity that they do. And, you know, cause we observe her. She's a smart kid. So, I mean, if she doesn't have the ability to something like that, we wouldn't press her. But she seem to be the kind of person that have the ability to learn and the ability to do something big. So we kind of encourage her. My wife is... I wouldn't encourage her to go to biology, but my wife's biologist. Um, I think she prefer her to go to medical because she's like, she's also do medical work. So, she can talk to her, right? She can, you know, she can talk biology with her and she can support her and guide her. But of course, she like computer, so that's fine. Unless, minimally, if she continue to stick with that, we know she go to graduate and be able to feed herself.

Information from the questionnaire data shows that Truc has very high expectations for his daughter, wanting all A's in all three subjects, math, English, and science. Truc's performance standards for his daughter is in line with what he expects her to accomplish in the future for her education and career. He considers A's as good grades and B's are bad grades, although his wife is more tolerant of a B grade. These expectations are set very high and are made very clear as he and wife rigorously monitor their children's grades. When parents have high expectations for their children's educational attainment, specific expectation for their career, they expect their children to perform at a high academic level that would lead to accomplishing those goals.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). A [is good grade]. B stands for bad. There's only one grade. I'm kind of playing tough, but...Bad grade is I told

them, B. Actually C. Oh, I guess, like I say, B is okay. It's just I'm act out differently. I always do perception of an expectation. Like B is not acceptable. They have not got a C yet. But I think once when he was in 8th grade or 7th grade she got one C and that was big deal. We raise hell. We took the computer away and that was major. So they learn that. We very vicious at the C's. With B we kind of harass, but yeah, inside, "You got to do much better than that." Yeah, you know, my wife is more tolerant of a B than I am, "B is bad." But you know, C is not acceptable. C is like, "You be dead." [If they get a bad grade ] we lecture independent. Actually, I don't usually hear what they say, because she would talk to them... we both associate with kids, mostly them, independently. She has more time at home so she talks to them more at home than I do. A lot by the time I get home, dinner and all that, all stressed out and tired. Usually cranky, so. They learn to avoid me when I get home pretty late. Truc is a father of two daughters, Vanessa is in tenth grade, and his involvement with his Vanessa as indirect and infrequent. He describes how his involvement has changed over time along with her age. He shares this role with his wife.

Principal Role (Enforcing Rules) and Teacher Role (Monitoring homework).

Younger age we have more rigorous on, "Where's your homework? Show me your homework. Go to bed at 9:30 for school tomorrow. And have your homework ready."

Truc's ability ratings was highest for math (6.67), then science (6.00) then English (4.00). His ability ratings were high across all three subjects but lower for math (5.67)

compared to English (6.33) and science (6.00). Although he is active in principal role with having specific goals, very high expectations, and high ability and value ratings, he is not as involved as he could be because he is busy and because he shares the role of a teacher with his wife. In their shared role, they vigorously monitor their children's grades and homework, and help with assignments when their daughter faces a challenging problem.

Teacher Role (Monitoring grades). When she got older we kind of, you kind of learn to... we just watch your grade. We rigorously, now we can go online and my wife and actually my wife is worse. Every few days, "Why you get a B?" [Laughter] That kind of thing. So, "Why you not do good on this test? We monitor more of her grade, when her reporting than, you know, "Why you not do homework yet?" We let her do that on her own when she decides to do homework. But if she doesn't hand in her homework we see it on the report and, you know, she's in trouble. Then we penalize her. We monitor their grades, good so we don't ask them. But as soon as we see it drop, more than two B, then they in big trouble. So, and I always told them, "B stand for bad." We expect A.

Teacher role (Teaching child). She's pretty much on herself. I mean, she's pretty proficient student. But she had time to time, something tricky that she doesn't. And kids nowadays, they're very resourceful. They go to web before they go to you. And that's something that they can, the web can explain it and you are the last resource. But that's why sometimes questions are difficult. So you have to go, like, but yeah, they uh, we kind of, and it depends.

Distribution of roles. [I'm involved] not often. Yeah, maybe once a month. She probably talk to her mom more. Her mom is very proficient in math too, actually. [My] math level is not that advanced, so. Her mom went to all the calculus and stuff. She pretty proficient in math and science. And, she's at home more than I am, so. Yeah, I usually go to work pretty early and come back usually pretty late.

Overall in his role as a principal, Truc has specific and somewhat flexible goals for this daughter to earn a college degree and preferably pursue a career in the engineering or biological sciences field. He shares his principal and teacher roles with his wife because his time at home is limited due to his work schedule. He is confident in his abilities in all subjects but states that his wife has more advanced skills than he does so she is more involved with their children's education. Although his involvement is indirect and infrequent, when he is involved, he typically monitors grades and homework completion and helps her with solving challenging math problems. His daughter's ability ratings were highest for science (6.00) then English (5.67) then math (4.33). Her value ratings showed the highest rating for English (5.67) then science (5.14) then math (4.86). She received A's in all three subjects (math, English, and science) in the current year, and receive B's in all of these subjects in the previous year.

Jerry is in his late 40s, he has a master's degree in electrical engineering and is a senior analyst by occupation. He is married and has two children. The focal child is a female and in 12<sup>th</sup> grade. He rated being most involved with cognitive discussions (5.80) and school involvement (5.00) compared to involvement at home (3.00). His

wife indicated that she is most involved with cognitive discussions (5.80) compared to involvement at home (4.10) or at school (4.40). In his role as a principal, Jerry has very *specific* and *inflexible* goals for his daughters to go on to medical school and become physicians. These goals were made in discussion with his wife and made very early on in their daughters' lives. In the distribution of roles, he shares the teacher and principal roles with his wife. In their shared-role as a principal, they are navigating their daughters towards a specific career path that requires specific educational attainment, preparation, and performance standards.

Principal Role (Goals for child). Um from very early on it's been discussed that we both feel that uh the only career that is a decent uh would be uh in medicine for her or for both of them and uh, more less it's in the mindset that they are gonna be doctors. Because that's what my wife is. Uh she's an OBGYN and ever since young they you know, we often go to her call room and we stay together. More less it's like engrained into them that every child wants to be like their mom or dad. I think that is the same thing here. So again it's out of other careers out there well for... mom is physician and dad is a engineer and you either are one or the other and we both feel that it's more decent to be in the medicine field.

For Jerry, his role as a principal is more about setting the expectation, having long term and big picture goals for his daughter, and setting performance standards that align with those goals. He and his wife set the expectations for their children's academic performance to be very high. They consider getting straight A's as good grades and anything that isn't straight A's is considered bad grades. These standards

align with a competitive and challenging educational attainment goal and career goal they already have for their daughter at a very young age, that is, to go to medical school and become a physician. To be able to achieve these goals, a student must have a strong academic record and Jerry and his wife understand this so they are preparing their daughter for this path. Information from the questionnaire data shows that he wants his daughter to get all A's in all subjects, including math, English, and science.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations). It's an expectation that it's their duty they—they it's like the parents they work, it's their duty to work and to raise the family and the kids is they do is to study. It's not encouragement; it's do or die, that's it. [Q: What do you consider good grades?] Straight 'A's.

[Q: And what do you consider bad grades?] Anything but [straight 'A's]

[Q: And are your wife's expectations the same?] Yup.

[Q: Straight 'A's are good grades and anything else is bad grades?] Yes yeah yeah.

Jerry's ability and value ratings were very high across all three subjects. He had equally high ratings for math (6.33), English (6.33) and science (6.33). His value ratings showed that it was highest for English (7.00) compared to math (6.33) and science (6.33). His goals, expectations, and ratings are important factors that will impact how he and his wife approach their involvement with their children's education. In his shared role as a teacher, his involvement is *indirect* and *infrequent* because the role of the teacher with mainly taken on by his wife. Although he is less involved now, he describes that he used to be more involved because he wanted to

form a strong foundation of routines, habits, and expectations for his children so much that it has become a "well-oiled machine" now. He describes how his involvement has changed over time. When he is involved, it is focused on providing guidance for ideas for projects, or to prepare for exams and quizzes.

Principal Role (Setting Expectations) and Teacher Role (Monitoring *Homework*). Um well, yeah it changed from the early years. Early years when she was in uh—I guess in uh in middle school and onward to the first two years of uh I mean the first year of high school, we were right on top of them basically every step of the way: every homework, every test, every quiz. Um knowing exactly what they do uh but ever since uh from sophomore year onward, they're on their own because I think it's been engrained into their system that they know exactly... nowadays we don't even look at anything and they know in their their root they start, they know what to do. So we don't look—we don't look over their shoulder for anything nowadays and they know that what they have to do and ever since 4th grade they've always been uh—getting straight 'A's and it's-it's uh, it doesn't change. [Q: why do you say ever since 4th grade?] Because um, no that's when they start to have the grades. Before that it's you know like perform well or not; but whatever that means.

Teacher Role (Monitoring Homework). [When we were more involved], I think well it's more of a, "Have you done your homework yet and have you?" you know and uh actually going through um and see that they actually finished the products. And uh, um often times when they have tests and they

ask us to quiz them by I guess they ask us to quiz them by asking questions and that's mostly really my wife being on top of them. Eh um like uh French, you pronounce for them they hear and that's why they do very well at anything, at everything. [Nowadays] we not involved at all. They don't need help. They don't really need help and if we give them the opportunity that if they ever need help, I think that nowadays let's take the case let's say for math, I think Sarah on calculus 3 or something which is extremely high for high school and that's already sophomore year college level. Um uh so for us to, for me to really sit down and do things like that would take some time because you know you would have to practice day-to-day so uh we don't do anymore but we allow them that if they have any problem they would go to tutor online so to uh to get answers if necessary and uh, yeah. [I help] not with homework, with test and quizzes, yeah. [Q: Why not with homework? Is she able to do it on her own?] Yeah for most of the time she's been able to do it on her own. [Q: And you're just checking?] Yeah. [Q: If she's asking you for help what is it about?] Uhh, ideas let's say for projects. For uh, let's say for science projects they do every year then they, she gives out uh three or four different ideas and see which one clicks, you know, which one is more to win the contest or whatever. So those are the ones on uh mostly we don't step into what they do we more less check on them and see if it's done or not. Teacher Role (Providing enrichment materials). Yeah let's say the main thing lately like in the last two years was SAT and then we—we push hard on SAT and that uh you know these books that they have to go through and do these

pre-SAT tests and uh and we test them on the definitions of you know of vocabs because I think English, they gotta be; they gotta do well in English. *[Q: And does she come to you or your wife for different things?]* Mainly her mom. Yeah for anything, yeah. For anything but we—we don't really touch the homework. It's for ideas.

Overall in Jerry's shared role as a principal, he and his wife set very specific and very inflexible goals for his daughter to achieve in her education and career. They have decided for their daughter very early on that she will attend medical school and become a physician in her career. Because their goals are narrow in scope and flexibility, they were much more involved in their role as a teacher when their children were younger in order to build a strong foundation in their expectations and their children's studying habits. Now they are less involved with the day to day aspect of their children's education but are more involved with providing support and ideas for school assignments and preparing their daughter for college applications. His daughters' ability ratings were highest for math (6.00) and science (6.00) followed by English (5.33). Her value ratings were slightly higher for math (5.57) and English (5.57) compared to science (5.43). She received straight A's in every subject (math, English, and science) in both the current and previous year.

As reported above, fathers in this study tend to describe their day-to-day involvement with their child or children with a tendency to be very involved and aggressively monitoring their child's grades and assignments early on in their children's education and becoming more lax and autonomous as the children get older. Many of these fathers equated grades with learning rather than interpreting

grades as just a measure of performance on a test, quiz, or assignment. They believe that when children aren't doing well in school, they are not fully understanding the material being taught at school, therefore, there is a sense of urgency and anxiety when children get bad grades. They also believe that early learning or mastery of materials and concepts will set the foundation for more difficult and complex concepts to be learned later on, so it is important to master the concepts early on. In addition, some fathers view their children's failure and success in school as a reflection of their own success and failure as a teacher and parent. They blame themselves or take part in the responsibility to educate their children and make sure they are doing their best.

Fathers of both younger and older children describe their involvement through monitoring their children's progress in school via report card grades, test grades, and assignment grades. Beyond monitoring grades, they monitor their children by observing them while they are doing the task such as homework or studying for an exam, or practicing their piano lesson. By being observant and vigilant of their children's studying and practicing habits, they are able to hone in on where their children can and need to improve in order to be successful in school. Many of these actions are the same actions teacher take in their role of a teacher at school. They monitor their students' progress, provide materials for learning, step in to help when needed, and find ways to improve where possible.

## **Summary of Results for Research Question 1**

Overall, fathers start out by setting goals and expectations early on in the children's lives but are refined over time to account and adjust for children's interest,

ability, academic performance in school, personality, and need for autonomy. To ensure that the goals and expectations will be achieved, most fathers stress the importance of creating a strong foundation for advancing through the years of schooling children go through and take an active role in educating, monitoring, and managing their children and prioritizing their children's activities to focus on building academic skills during primary school. Fathers continue to be involved but to a less extent and in more nuanced ways as their children move through middle and high school mostly because their children were doing well in school and a recognition for their need for autonomy during the teenage years. As one father puts it, "It's a well-oiled machine now, so I don't do much," likening the outcome of children's success in school to a multi-part machinery that requires figuring out how multiple parts need to work together to get it to function properly, and making adjustments and fine tuning the mechanisms over time as needed, but allowing it function and run on its own if it is working fine.

Fathers had a range of educational and career goals for their children. These goals were ranged from being non-specific to very specific. These goals were flexible for some fathers while it was not flexible for others. For example, Jerry has a very specific career and inflexible goal for his daughter, which is for her to become a physician in the future. Accordingly, his educational expectations are also very specific, which is for his daughter to prepare herself academically to go to medical school. He and his wife provide the necessary support to ensure these goals are accomplished. They provide her with tutors, help with homework in the early years, consult on school projects, and set high expectations for her achievement. As with

Jerry's example, fathers' expectations for performance standards in school are often aligned with the educational and career goals for their child. When fathers have specific career or educational goals for their children, their expectations for performance in school align with those goals such that it is also often very specific and inflexible. For example, fathers who have goals for their children to become engineers or physicians also have a clear idea of what it takes to achieve that goal. They understand that their children will then need to go to graduate school or medical school and to get there, they need to have a strong academic record from the beginning. They view schooling as a continuous process where the beginning grades and performance will influence later performance and achievement. They work hard to set the foundation for their children's learning early on in elementary school. They often equate grades with learning rather than performance so they expect their children to do well in school as an indication of their learning. While grades are important, fathers have also indicated that grades aren't the only measure of success and that ensuring a child has well-round skills, is more important or equally important as ensuring a child has good grades. Fathers believe having the skillsets to be able to work with people, collaborate with others, lead a team, be innovative in a work setting are markers of success in the "real" world after school. They want their children to have these skillsets in addition to having a strong foundation of textbook learning skills. Fathers use their experience and role in the workplace to help define their role as a father in their home. They provide insight about the skills necessary to navigate the workforce and they use this to help enhance the skills they may see lacking in their children.

Along with goals being specific or not, fathers' standards or expectations could also be subject-specific so that parental involvement efforts are focused accordingly. Fathers in this study tend to focus on math or science as their subject emphasis because they are able to provide assistance with these topics and because they believe it set a foundation for a good career, such as engineering. They tend not to expect higher grades in the subjects they are not confident in their ability to help their children. Fathers tended to say they focused on math and science and some said they expect all A's or mostly A's in these subjects. Because they feel confident in their own skills in these subjects and their ability to provide help to their children, they would feel a lower grade would be a negative reflection on themselves.

In their role as a principal, most fathers stated that they share their responsibilities of parenting with their wife. It was found that one parent is usually stricter on grades than the other, but at least one expects all A's or mostly A's in school grades. Parents jointly contribute to their children's understanding of his/her parents' goals and expectations but allow for exceptions if there are instances of falling grades. When children do not meet the expectations it is usually followed up with one parent or both parents sitting down with the child and/or teacher to figure out the points of weakness or struggles. Parents then reallocate resources (via a tutor) or focus on their parental involvement strategies on the areas needed for improvement for their child. The decision to provide their child with a tutor is often driven by whether the subject is beyond the parents' capability to help or assist the child. The other driving force is time. Even if parents feel confident in their ability to help their

child, they may not be able to do so because of lack of time available given their own job schedule.

Overall, fathers indicated they share the roles and responsibilities of a teacher and principal with their wife. As a principal, they provide big picture goals for their children, set expectations for their children's academic performance, provides financial resources to support the needs of their children's educational development, and they enforce rules to help their children with time management skills or skills that they believe will help them in the future, such as contributing to household chores. As a teacher, they teach their children concepts being learned in class to supplement or clarify questions, seek out extra activities to enrich and enhance their children's learning, and closely monitor their children's progress in school. They view their children's achievements and failures in school as part of their own achievements and failures.

## **Results for Research Question 2**

## **Ethnic identity, Acculturation, and Parental Practices**

As discussed in Chapter 2, research has suggested that ethnic identity and acculturation are related to parenting practices and parental involvement. As such, I explore this topic by asking fathers a number of questions related to culture and education and questions about their own ethnic identity and acculturation status. The following questions were asked and probed; the wording of the follow-up and probing questions may vary from father to father depending on their explanation of the initial question about ethnic differences in fatherhood.

 Do you think being an Asian father differ from being a White American father or a father of another ethnicity?"

Probe: How do you think being an Asian dad different than being a "White" or "Hispanic" or "African American" dad?

Follow-up: Do you think this affect your views on education?

This first question and probe aimed to get a sense of fathers' understanding of culture, cultural differences, and their awareness of cultural differences in the role of fatherhood. The follow-up question aimed to examine fathers' perception of whether culture affect parenting practices and parental involvement in their children's education.

- 2. How does being Asian American influence your experiences as a father?

  This question further explores how fathers perceive culture to have influences on their experiences, roles, and practices of Asian American fathers.
  - 3. Do you feel you are more Asian or more American?

Follow-up: What are some activities you do that makes you feel this way?

Follow-up: What are some beliefs you have (or things your value or think about) that makes you more [Asian or American]?

This third question explores fathers' own ethnic identity and reasons for their identification of one culture or another.

These questions aimed to examine the second research question of this study, whether and how fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation affect their parenting or parental involvement in their children's education. Results showed that some fathers were uncomfortable making comparisons with other ethnicities, citing that they did

not know enough about other cultures or other ethnicities or that they believe all fathers are the same regardless of race, that all fathers want the best for their children, or that they believe socioeconomic factors are more likely to show differences in between fathers than ethnicity. However, when fathers were able to articulate their perception of ethnic differences in father involvement, they cite more anecdotal observations or stereotypes (which they acknowledge are stenotypes because they do not have personal experience with fathers of other ethnicities), and discuss their beliefs about cultural differences in father involvement. Through these discussions fathers were able to identify how the Asian culture (and sometimes American culture) influence their parental involvement.

When asked about fathers' own ethnic identity, most fathers identified themselves more as Asian than American. Overall, fathers in the study tended to identify and connect with the Asian culture more than the American culture; this was true of 15 of the 18 fathers interviewed. When asked what makes them feel more Asian or American, many fathers in the study considered that closeness with their family is a defining characteristic of the Asian culture that they do not see in the American culture. Further, fathers indicated that the interaction and involvement in the Asian community; their value for hard work, discipline, and steadiness; non-Christian religious beliefs; understanding humor in Vietnamese conversations; celebrating Vietnamese holidays; and having respect for elders were all aspects of their lives that make them feel more Asian than American. Results showed that there were three major themes within the Asian culture that drive the beliefs, expectations, and approach to parental involvement in their children's education: Confucius

teachings that education is key to upward mobility; experience with high expectations in Vietnam; and collectivistic views highlighting the importance of familial closeness and respecting one's elders.

Table 2. Characteristics of Asian Identity and Example Quotes

# Values/Beliefs Closeness with family - I think we are more possessive to children. And we just, when I say possessive, we want to control too much, we

don't give them independence sometimes. We don't give them the opportunity to be themselves. -Tam

## Value for hard work, discipline, and steadiness

- Steady, steadiness Asians, even though they are going slowly, they are very stable. It's not like the Americans and they're adventure people and they take risks. Some of them fail, some of them more successful than other Asians. And Asians are just in the middle. - Lien

### Focus on education

- Asian American even though migrate, even in their home country they still have the social structure in Asia already say, in the old Confucian system, learning go first. You want to be successful in society, you have to learn. So that's instilled from generation and generation and we carry it over here. Thanh
- Being Asian parents, including myself, we seem to stress the kids more on the academic side, perhaps that's the only thing that we know how to do to get a life started and I think it's true at first when we're the only small minority ethnic groups around but as we can see, the Asian population started increasing quite a bit over the past decade. Maybe that shouldn't be the case anymore. Later on in life there are some social aspects that will help you with your career like network and all that. Before, when there was no one around, the only way for you to get a good job is through high education but

perhaps that's not the case anymore. You can still try to achieve a high education, but there's other social aspects, networking, other people that you know, you're not going to be the only soul on earth here. -Nam

# Non-Christian religious belief

- Our religion so we—we Buddhist so that one, one of the thing that different even though there's a lot of Catholic or Christian in the Vietnamese community. But Buddhism is one of the Asian things already and uh, so we try to preserve the Vietnamese culture. -Linh

## Language and Cultural Fluency

Well I feel more comfortable having a party with a bunch of Vietnamese maybe because the topic that we talk about, the things that we joke about, just a little bit more Vietnamese than there. So when you joke around, I feel more comfortable being with another Asian. American, we can talk, we can chit chat, it's not that kind of level of fun. Because Vietnamese always have double meaning in what you say so I think most of the joke comes from the second meaning of what you say is not what you say. And if you're not an Asian then you don't understand that second meaning. And because of that, it's vice versa. I'm not American. I did not go to high school in this country so that means that all the jokes growing up, I don't have. So that means that all the jokes growing up, I don't have. So when they talk about the second meaning in English, I don't have it, so I can't appreciate their jokes either. - Hai

### Respect for elders

- I'm an old fashioned Vietnamese so I will always listen to older people. I think I learn a lot from everyday life and from school. Yes, we always listen to old people, I
keep telling my wife, we have to respect old people.
They have something that we don't have. Real life
experience that's important to me. Real life experience. Loc

### **Behavior**

### Engagement in Asian community

- Um, well I help out more in the Vietnamese community.
Right? So I believe in that, like the summer Vietnamese school and now I'm also doing. That's when I said you to that when I go there now it's like the three hours or whatever, plus in the morning I'm there. Um, I watched more of Vietnamese show. I eat more Vietnamese food, you know. So like I said, I'm pretty much, I'm still kind of old-school. -Hung

# Celebrating specific cultural holidays

- There is a, let's say when we celebrate things within our family. Let's say we do things like uh remembrance of your ancestors, when you "cúng" that's Vietnamese, or that's Asian. Americans don't do that; it's not in their belief. That I believe is definitely Asian. There is a reason why we do that. It's bringing up the—you believe in your ancestors—and you wish from your ancestors to bring us the—the blessings. Uh but Americans actually do that in some way, some sense when you see them visiting cemetery but they bring into the house maybe the ashes, but they don't celebrate in the same way that we do. -Jerry

When asked about his experience as an Asian American father, Tam had a difficult time describing it. He didn't know how to compare himself with fathers from other ethnicities. Similar to other fathers, one of the themes of his response is that Asian culture tends to have a stronger focus on family and closer ties with nuclear and extended family and [White] American families. He believes that one of the ways Asian parents might be different from parents of other ethnicities is their "possessiveness" or their protectiveness in that Asian parents view their role as the protector of their child so they do not allow their children enough independence, and tend to want to control their children by monitoring them too closely or too often thus children don't have a chance to develop themselves naturally. Upon further probing Tam indicated that the Vietnamese culture plays an important role in his parenting practice in that his approach to his relationship with his son as brotherly relationship in addition to his role and responsibilities as a father. This approach of a brotherly role to his son allows them to have a closer bond. Tam indicated in the interview that he feels more Asian and that he views his thinking as "very Asian".

Value/Beliefs (Closeness with family). Well.. I don't know how to compare but uh... Its hard to compare, I don't have a reference. I never lived with an American family. I don't know how they treat their children, I really don't know. But if I had to say then it probably is different because of the culture. We are probably more possessive to children even though we love children the same or they may love more or less but there's no way to compare. But I think we are more possessive to children. And we just, when I say possessive, we want to control too much, we don't give them independence sometimes.

We don't give them the opportunity to be themselves. For example, they go out and play and we keep an eye on them and if there in a room we check on them every few minutes or so. I don't do that, I think that might be the case but other than that, I don't know. I just think I do the way I think as a father. Because the Vietnamese culture is more family based so we care to each other and that gives me an opportunity and make a relationship close to my son. Because of... usually in the Asian tradition we bicker and brother takes care of the younger brother that kind of thing. That kind of approach is still a pride to a father and son besides the responsibility of the father is to provide him basic need, love, food, shelter. More than that is the responsibility of the brother so they can get closer.

Thanh had similar difficulties answering this question about culture and its influence on parenting at first but was able to eventually develop more specific ideas about the relationship between culture and parenting. He was quick to acknowledge that socioeconomic status is closely tied to race and ethnicity in the United States, so teasing these issues apart is difficult. He believes that context and the environment of the home is an important factor in the extent of parental involvement and children's education. Yet he also recognizes that Asians tend to have prior background rooted in education before coming to the U.S. and as such, Asians tend to do better than others who do not. He believes Asians have the upper hand of matched social structures of Confucius teachings (i.e., that learning is key to success) in Asian culture and American culture.

*Value/Belief (Focus on education).* That's hard.. I don't know what other fathers are doing. I can say in general, I don't think African and Latino father are not as much involved and a couple things... And I don't blame them because their social condition. They might be busy working and might not have time for their kids or maybe they want to be involved but they can't because the environment they are in, they can't. They are busy working. So I don't think that they spend that much time and that's why you spend it, and African-American students are not doing well. And that's not just for the father, I think it goes for family as whole. Social condition, economic condition, in society.. they tend to be lower than Caucasian or Asian American, because they don't have that good foundation. That good condition. And I always equate it.. for example my friend in general, when we discuss social issues and problems. Why is Hispanic or African-American don't have.. If you're looking at African-American, they came to this country as slaves so for hundreds [of years ago] they're still catching up. They don't have that good foundation like Asian American. Asian American even though migrate, even in their home country they still have the social structure in Asia already say, in the old Confucian system, learning go first. You want to be successful in society, you have to learn. So that's instilled from generation and generation and we carry it over here. African Americans didn't have that, because they were slaves. It perpetuates. It takes time to erase that. 100 years probably not long enough. Two or three generations not long enough. That's why we have an issue with African American now. (It's been something?)

They migrate here and they are poor. A lot of them didn't come from... Vietnamese for example, right, people came and they already have good educational background from their home country so they carry that. The Spanish, they cross illegal, however, they're busy working. They don't have time for their kids and that slows down the children's progress. That's why I think parent involvement... I agree with Caucasians. Caucasians on the other hand, they've been here. Long, long ago so they have a good economic foundation so they can buy the time spend the decades and do what I do now and spend the time on extra schooling. So if you look up Asian and Caucasian they're always ahead of the curve in the classroom. Those are, I think... And I point them out to my kids, I say it doesn't mean they aren't smarter because they don't have the opportunity that's why they don't know. If you give them the equal opportunity.. let's say I adopt a Hispanic or an African American child, right, and I gave them the same conditions and the same benefits as my children now, they probably would do the same way. So another thing I noticed is that African-Americans who came from Africa and not from slavery, they tend to do very well here. Because in their home country they already have a good foundation. So they come here, that's why they do well but the African-American that were born here and their ancestors were in slavery, they don't do as well. They don't have that opportunity.

Thanh also states that a major difference between Asian culture and [White]

American culture is the closeness of the family. He sees that Asian culture have stronger family ties within the nuclear family and among the extended family

members, whereas American culture only focuses on the nuclear family because of their emphasis on independence. He recognizes the pros and cons of American and Asian cultures and tries to use the best of each in his parental practices. For Thanh, because he's been exposed to both American culture and Asian culture, he uses his knowledge from American culture and perspective of keeping an open mind in his parenting practices by moving away from asking his son about the racial background of his friends. He believes it could create a bias within his son if he did, so using the American cultural influence of keeping an open mind, he steers clear of such questions.

I think the lines getting more blurred and blurred right. Years go by. My early years in America I definitely felt very Asian and now I'm kind of in the middle. So I went to a liberal arts school. Liberal art school teaches you to open your mind you know so I'm not as concerned with it as other Asians. You can put it that way, you know, earlier, he's very conservative, he and I have many many arguments and discussions. So I'm very traditional and there are some Asian values that I think are very good, that I think that we should keep. Family, how close we are, and extended family and we keep in touch our cousins, aunts, uncles. American family tends to be nuclear, more alone. I think that's a loss. But every culture is a bit different. Independent is good, right, but independent still needs to keep in touch. American culture where they push "Be independent, be independent" and then you lose touch with your family, right, that's not good. I don't agree with that. Other Asian values, I don't agree. Like being forceful, being difficult, being close-minded, to me,

you need to value everything with an open mind. Just because we have a thousand years of tradition doesn't mean we're the best, you need to evaluate. And I think most Asians may not agree with that but that's fine. But that's mine.. I think right now I cannot really say whether I am American or Asian, but if I have to choose, I think I'm still a bit more Asian than American. So put it this way, people in this country they say I'm still Asian but when I go back to Vietnam and talk to my relatives there, they think I'm Americanized. Those values that I would say, that I would accept, they would not accept back there. For example, I think interracial marriage is fine. I have no problem if you marry outside of your ethnic group. My wife doesn't agree with that. She says "I want my children to marry Vietnamese" and I say it doesn't matter. I don't look at people based on their... well it try not to, based on their sex, their race, their education. Those are American values I think I adopted. I try to keep an open mind and address everything as a unique situation rather than trying to generalize.

[Q: And do you think that affects how you're involved in your children's education?] I think so, I teach my children the same way.

Especially my son who is at the age now where he is establishing his own identity. So sometimes, I'll give you a good example. He's what, eleven years old? And start talking about boyfriend girlfriend and trading notes. He might... like one time the girl writes him a note and he'll say I got a love letter, and my wife will be like "Who is she? Is she African-American, Hispanic" and I said don't ask, it doesn't matter because when you ask those

questions it instills a bias in to the kids mind. It doesn't matter who she is.

You know, if they go further and want to be friends, then let them be. They're too young to decide oh if she is African American if she is Spanish, no good.

Don't have any contact, no good. I think that's what my wife... in that sense, she is very Asian and very traditional. But I say no. Don't ask those kinds of questions, it doesn't matter.

Another theme that appeared in responses from respondents is that Asian culture expects respect from younger people toward older people more than American culture. In Lien's views, this expectation for respect can be limiting in that it creates distance between the older and younger person. In parenting, Lien sees that American parents tend to have a more friendly relationship with their children than Asian parents and their children. Lien indicated that he feels more Asian because he feels more comfortable spending time with Asian friends. He also points that he values steadiness, which he attributes to Asian culture. He says, "Steady, steadiness Asians, even though they are going slowly, they are very stable. It's not like the Americans and they're adventure people and they take risks. Some of them fail, some of them more successful than other Asians. And Asians are just in the middle."

Value/Beliefs (Respect for elders). [Q: Do you think being an Asian father is different from a white American father or a father of another ethnicity?] I think they're, somehow, different. Asian's more... Americans or white people, they tend to be more...to their children, it looks like they are friends. The Asian American show respect but... I think somehow strict. I think it's based on the culture of the ethics. Asian more besides that the European

American but the Asian and Americans... there's something good and not too good. If you can select the good one and mix them together, it would be perfect. Specifically, like the Asian, the children have to respect the elderly and sometimes they don't respect them, the elderly get upset or something. But in American culture, they don't worry much about that. And if the children understand that respect is good for them then they are follow that. And if American families, respect is not that important for them then later on when they grow up they are getting... if they keep like they're doing and are not respectful, then when they have children the generation after generation the social, will... they won't know where they will be. But too much respect sometimes create distance from the young and the elderly and that is also not so good either. Sometimes you want to select the good ones and mix them together. That will your experience.

Behavioral (Engagement in Asian community). [I feel] more Asian. Socialize. Sometimes I don't know much about the American socialize and...when I come here and already finish everything, all of the high school, even part of the college, I come here and try to keep up with the studies. I didn't have much to hang around with the American friends so I missed a lot of them. [Q: What are some of your beliefs that you have or things that you value, or think about, makes you more Asian or more American?] Thinking... Thinking and socializing and mostly with about culturally, I feel more comfortable with the Asian culture than the American culture. Even though I am okay with the other holidays or something like that. Or Asian food maybe foods, I can eat all

of them but I feel more comfortable with the Asian. [Q: Are there things you value more in the Asian culture that makes you more Asian or are there things that you think about more often?] Steady, steadiness Asians, even though they are going slowly, they are very stable. It's not like the Americans and they're adventure people and they take risks. Some of them fail, some of them more successful than other Asians. And Asians are just in the middle.

Loc has the perception that being Asian has its disadvantage in American culture due to lack of knowledge about the majority culture. He would feel more confident in helping his children to do better on reading and speaking if he were American. He distinguishes Asian values from American values in hard work, discipline, and respect of older people. He also feels more Asian because he spends more time with Asian people and is more involved in Asian community.

[Q: Do you think being an Asian-American father is different from being a white American father or a father of another ethnicity?] Yea, I think being an Asian parent is somewhat disadvantage. Like sometimes my kid will ask me something about American culture or how real American dad teach their kid and I am not able to do it, I'm not white American, I'm Asian. [Q: How do you think this affects your views on education? Being an Asian father and your thoughts about it being a negative thing to be an Asian parent or a disadvantage?] So I think it's if I was an American parent, I would be able to help them more with some of the things like reading or speaking.

Value/Belief (Respect for elders). [Q: How does being Asian American influence your experience as a father?] As an Asian American, I think it's

help me a lot with the getting a good career and raising my kids. [Q: Can you tell me more about that thought? I think it's interesting?] I'm an old fashioned Vietnamese so I will always listen to older people. I think I learn a lot from everyday life and from school. [Q: From being Asian-American?] Yes, we always listen to old people, I keep telling my wife, we have to respect old people. They have something that we don't have. Real life experience that's important to me. Real life experience.

Behavioral (Engagement in Asian community). [Q: Do you feel that you are more Asian or more American?] Definitely more Asian. 100% Asian. [Q: What are some things or activities that you do that make you feel this way?] All my best friends are Asian. I go to Asian events. In fact, I have Mindy and Heather go to Vietnamese school throughout the year so I mostly hang out with all Asians. [Q: What are some beliefs that you have or things that you value or think about that make you more Asian?] I value my hardworking...I believe in hard working and well-disciplined and that's it. [Q: So you think that's what makes you more Asian?] More Asian, yea.

Nam believes that Asian Americans tend to have to do more and work harder to attain the same level of achievement as people from other ethnic groups; this perception leads him to have higher expectations for his children with him expecting them to do more and work hard in order to do well in school. But he recognizes that there is more of an emphasis on academic performance within Asian culture and Asian families than in White American culture and families. White families seem to emphasize a balance between academic performance, and building social and leadership skills

whereas Asian parents only focus on academic performance. He realizes that while educational achievement is important for building a career, social and leadership skills are just as important. The emphasis on academic achievement perhaps was required when Asian families had little social network to build their future career, they believed the fastest route to a successful career was through educational achievement. Nam identifies himself as being more Asian than American; he believes his close family ties and value for hard work makes him more Asian than American.

Value/Belief (Value for hard work, discipline, and steadiness). [Q: Do you think being an Asian father is different from being a white father or a father of another ethnicity?] I always believe that Asians seem to do more to achieve the same. So it is a fact of life and in work that if you want to be successful at a certain level, you have to put in more but for Asians you tend to see them put in a lot more than the other ethnic groups. [Q: Why do you think that?] I don't know, the culture, the bamboo ceiling, you've heard about all the other aspects of it. But I think the expectation for kids, part of an Asian family, I think all of the parents expect their kids to do well and I know a lot of people that expect their kids to get all A's and everything, I expect my kids to do well but I don't focus a whole lot on having to get all A's. So I'm sort of.. I'm a little different from that perspective. I believe in more of a... that you have to try hard, that you have to strive for the best. But if they slip, I wouldn't dig them too much for a slip. If they get nine A's and one B, I wouldn't question them as to what happened to the B, why can't it be A. I'd celebrate with them for the A's that they achieved. So but I think for them growing up in a Asian

family, they do have more pressure of doing well academically, I believe than more ethnic groups. And I think probably it's easier for them to achieve more in school because a lot of Asian groups hang out with Asians and if they look around and say "Oh my gosh, all the other kids are getting A's well what's wrong with me?" That whole peer pressure automatically kicks in, maybe perhaps without the parents having to do much on it.

Value/Belief (Focus on education). [Q: How do you think being Asian, rather than being white, being Hispanic, or being black, influences your experience as a father? Do you think you do anything that's different as a father that's different from being a white father? I think you mentioned earlier that sometimes Asian fathers put more pressure for academic achievement] Yea so I believe that I ... I can't really speak for white families, but I think from my observations, all parents want their kids to do well. But from my observation from observing some of the white folks, they seem to have a more balanced... they pressure their kids too but they seem to have more of a balanced approach. They stress on academics, yes, but they stress on the social aspect of it too. And the social aspect include hanging out with friends, participating in sports activities, learning leadership roles in boy scouts, you know, social activities. So they seem to be able to balance between the two. Being Asian parents, including myself, we seem to stress the kids more on the academic side, perhaps that's the only thing that we know how to do to get a life started and I think it's true at first when we're the only small minority ethnic groups around but as we can see, the Asian population started increasing quite a bit

over the past decade. Maybe that shouldn't be the case anymore. Later on in life there are some social aspects that will help you with your career like network and all that. Before, when there was no one around, the only way for you to get a good job is through high education but perhaps that's not the case anymore. You can still try to achieve a high education, but there's other social aspects, networking, other people that you know, you're not going to be the only soul on earth here. There are other aspects too that will help you in life by the way so perhaps we may not need to stress our kids way too much on academics that we become, you know, the gurus on science and everything, but when it comes to working together and communicating, and being part of a bigger thing... you can be great and intelligent on something whatever you achieve is the best on whatever you can achieve but if you're part of a bigger team making a bigger effort, a bigger endeavor, and other people also believe in the mission, whatever you achieve is a lot more. And Asian's as I observe, while they can achieve so much independently, individually, that aspect of translating, converting their intelligence, their contributions, their individual success, hasn't really translated well in to team efforts. And so that whole social aspect has to be emphasized a lot in, for the growth of the next generation as well and that is one aspect that I really want to emphasize and I have been emphasizing with my kids, because later on they will have Asian friends in the workforce, in the work environment and everything that they can help along the way. I have to tell you, I used to think grades were important, I got 3.8 GPA, I got a 3.9 GPA for masters, and a 4.0 for PhD and I was so proud of myself, listing all those things in my resume. Yes, it mattered a lot for the first five years. And then, after a while, my resume for education, I have a three page resume, you should see my resume, it's three lines, bachelors, masters, PhD, three lines out of my 3 page resume. And the education is on the bottom of my resume. So just think about that a little bit, you know?

Behavior (Engagement in Asian community). [Q: Do you feel more Asian or more American?] I would say, I'm the second- My dad was the first generation Vietnamese here, right. So I'm a second generation. I still speak Vietnamese and everything, I learned Vietnamese as a first language. My time in Vietnam was only 13 or 15 years and I've been in the US for more than 25 years already, so I've been more here. But even though that's the case, I still feel I'm more Vietnamese than I am American. Although, I have ton of American friends and tons of Vietnamese friends and Asian friends and all that but somehow I still feel like that Asian culture, that social ethnic group that's attracting me more. [Are there activities that you do that makes you feel this way? That makes you feel that you're more Vietnamese?] I think that it's the family ties. I go to way too many of these little birthdays so we hang out a lot in the family and we do have, and I participate in a lot of these Asianbecause we spend a lot of time in our life sort of taking. We want to have this education, we take. To a certain point you say, you keep taking, you lose the meaning of life. So you start giving. For the past couple of years I've been participating actively in a lot of the mentoring groups. Asian leadership

groups and those things, just so I can contribute back. And because of that affiliation with a lot of these Asian groups, I feel like I'm just somehow attached more with the Asian community. [Q: Are there beliefs that you have or things that you value or things that you think about that make you feel more Asian? Like just any type of beliefs or values or thoughts?] I believe that you have to really put in- so in order for you to become successful, you just have to really put in the effort and you need to have a passion and a drive to get it. And I believe wholeheartedly that the Asian groups seem to be doing pretty well with this. They're always willing to put in the extra efforts on almost anything, that they do and they're not shy of volunteering for anything you want to volunteer. So the value of hardworking is something that is in every Asian person. Now, I think that is the one that is reflecting most upon the

Similar to what other fathers have said, Hai believes that Asians are held to a higher standard than other ethnic groups in terms of their educational achievement. This high standard for Asians within their own group is a result of the experiences immigrant parents take with them from their homeland in which pursuit of higher education is limited to those who are top performers because of the limited number of higher educational institutions available and limited space within those institutions. The pressure to do well prior to college stems from the competitiveness to earn a spot in a college in many countries in Asia. As such, Asian parents carry this experience with them as immigrants to the U.S. and press their children to perform well in school in order to be a competitive candidate for college even though there are more options

and more opportunities for college admittance in the U.S. without being a top performer in school. Hai believes that his non-Christian religion, close ties with his immediate and extended family, and his understanding of jokes and double meanings in Vietnamese conversations (more than the jokes and double meanings within English conversations) make him feel more Asian than American.

Value/Belief (Focus on education). [Q: Do you think being an Asian American father is different from being a white American father or a father of another ethnicity?] Number one, I can't compare with them because I'm not white. I just know what I know because I'm Asian. And we always have high expectations when it comes to education and I think even in this county the kids also feel that way. If you're Asian the expectation for what you can do in school is always high. They have a lot of jokes about those things too but that's how the kids see themselves. So it's not just us as being an Asian parent. They identify themselves as Asian American and therefore, by default, they have higher expectation. So different way is whatever the way were brought up with, that's how I know how American father would do, so I can't compare them. [Q: You mentioned there are these jokes about being Asian] Yeah, it's like.. as an Asian student, A is okay, B is already bad and C is failing. They already have that and it's part of their expectation in high school already. [Q: Do you think being Asian affects your views on education besides having that high expectation, where do you think that high expectation comes from?] I think it's not because of the Asian way but because of the more like a family way than the Asian way. It could happen more in Asia because I think

it's more challenging in Asia to go to college. Because we when grew up there's not enough space in college for everybody. So only the very limited number can attend so you have to be on top to be able to go to college. So I think we carry that mentality over here because of that. But expect about kids' education, I think it's the same for American parents too, they expect the kids to do well, we just carry that thing over because it's harder in Asia for us. That's all.

[Q: How do you think being Asian or Asian American influenced your experience as a father?] I always expect a little bit more of everything. I believe that whatever you do, you do well, otherwise, don't do it. So if you play sports you have to practice hard. You have to learn so that you'll be a better player. If you study, you have to make sure you know all the topics you need to study and do well and not just know the topic, you really have to master the topic to do well. So in general, in life whatever you do, be the best that you can be. And if you want to be the best then you have to put in hard work. There's no easy way in. That's all.

[Q: Do you feel more Asian or more American?] Asian, definitely.

Behavior (Engagement in Asian community and Language and Cultural

Fluency). [Q: What are some activities that you do that makes you feel this

way?] Well I feel more comfortable having a party with a bunch of

Vietnamese maybe because the topic that we talk about, the things that we

joke about, just a little bit more Vietnamese than there. So when you joke

around, I feel more comfortable being with another Asian. American, we can

talk, we can chit chat, it's not that kind of level of fun. [Q: what are some of the topics you feel more comfortable talking about with your Vietnamese friends that you think aren't as fun talking about them with your American friends?] Because Vietnamese always have double meaning in what you say so I think most of the joke comes from the second meaning of what you say is not what you say. And if you're not an Asian then you don't understand that second meaning. And because of that, it's vice versa. I'm not American. I did not go to high school in this country so that means that all the jokes growing up, I don't have. So when they talk about the second meaning in English, I don't have it, so I can't appreciate their jokes either.

Value/Beliefs (Non-Christian religious belief). [Q: What are some beliefs that you have or things that you value that you feel makes you more Asian, like just some general beliefs or values that you have.] Number one, we're Buddhist. Besides Buddhist, we always believe in the family, extended family, the closeness of the family. So family is very important, that's one. As a Buddhist person, we believe in consequences of what you do. You don't do bad things because it will come back to you. If not in this time, in the next life time so that's all.

Peter describes one of the ways in which being Asian has influenced his parenting practices. Priorities are made around education above all else for his children; he's strict and sets high expectations for his children's academic achievement. He believes the priorities that parents set for their children's education are what distinguishes

Asian parents from parents of other ethnicities. He provides an example of observations of White American parents pulling their children out of school to attend sporting events or competitions, which removes the student from their schoolwork and from the school environment. He believes this is one explanation for why Caucasian children's lower academic achievement than Asian students. However, he does recognize that the level of parental involvement and expectations are likely also associated with family income such that a family with more money are more likely to provide resources and have higher expectations for their children's academic achievement. Peter identifies himself as more Asian in some ways and more American in other. For example, he sees himself as more American in that he engages his children in martial arts, an activity outside of academics that is more balanced and more in line with American culture but he still feels more Asian when he thinks about the closeness of his family. Adding to a major theme of what fathers in this study have stated, the closeness of the family and the connection between the parent and the child is often closer in Asian families than in American families.

[Q: Do you think being an Asian father is being different than being a father of another ethnicity, like a White American father?] Yeah, I think so. I think they have different priorities. So I think, like, um, one thing that we got, and I don't know how we came about, but that's just how it came about, was, I don't know how it got into me, but I think we value education a lot. So automatically that's a given. That's like inherent into our DNA. So that's what my expectation is. I think the kids absorb or glean off that. So that's their thoughts too, as well, regarding education. [Q: Why do you think Asian

Americans have that higher value for education, compared to others?] I think Caucasian, or American, they value, like, sports somewhat. I mean, I see an occasion where, I mean even our school, which is a really expensive school, a private school, sometime they would take a kid out. Like, a whole week. They would go to sport something. Or, like, I remember, like, some martial arts kids that we compete against. The parents would take them to California for like two weeks. They call that, what is that called? They call it, "Educational Trip," or whatever they call it. I don't know what they call it. Based on that ground, they took the kids to a tournament in California, and stay at a gym for two weeks. So their priority is totally different. Um, some even, the extreme one, would take the kid out of school and do home-school. Um, sports, I mean, I just couldn't imagine for sports that you would take kids out of school or leave a day. They would leave, like, let's say Friday. Or they would take like, 3-4 days off to do a baseball, or whatever they do. I think priorities are really different. Some. I think there are some that, because our school has a lot of Indians. So their priorities is pretty high, in terms of education. And I think that helped me a little bit. I think that made that part of the norm as well, because they focus quite a bit. I don't expect, I mean I know they push really hard. So I never would want my kid to be grinded to that level. I'll just keep them in the middle. Um, but middle is still high compared to out of school because they're like, in that, part, you know, part of the school. It does. It does because education always, for me, it's not even like a thought. It's a given. It's that simple. [Q: And you think other fathers of other ethnicity might not have

that same priorities?] Um, I'm going to stereotype. I would say, on average, yes. I think that Indian have really high expectation, and education's the highest level. I think Asian is probably a little low that, uh, like Oriental Asian. And then Caucasian was, uh, below that. And then, African American would be below that as well, so. And also based on, um, also, based on, I don't know what it's called. Um, the classes? Like in terms of incomes? I think that makes a huge difference as well. I think that, you know, if you don't stereotype, then you can say, like, the high income family value education much more regardless of ethnic background. [Q: Why do you say that?] Because we see it in school. We see, like, Caucasian, where they focus much more than we do, in terms of education. I mean, Becky was pretty high up there. They're kids are in the fifth grade. They're in the same class as Becky. And there was exceptionally well. And when they come home, the mother, a stays home mom, take care of them. Um, and they also take online, like Hopkins education or something like that. So they're really well brought up. There's, um, if they from, an then, another family way down this way, so a lot of family, when they have a lot of income, it seems like they focus on education a lot more.

[Q: Do you think your views about the fact that there are differences in being an Asian father, Caucasian father, African American father, do you think that affects your views on education?] No, I think it does affect me.

Cause I think, like, without seeing the other side of things, I think I would be much harder on our kid's education. I think that I say, "Wow." You know, um,

I think that if I was very myopic and looking and not seeing everything else, I think I would push my kid to go to a TJ [Thomas Jefferson High School], right? Or like Kumon. You know Kumon at all? So, then, and then I say, "Well, I want to take a, kind of, middle ground." The first thing we do is, we don't want them to go to Kumon. We don't grind them with all these repetitions, books, right? Even though I'm sure it's very effective, and I've seen the effectiveness of multiple places but I don't want to do that. Um, TJ's another one. I don't want to go there because that's not what I want to do for our kids. So, if it wasn't for, like, seeing others, I think I would push them straight to TJ. I would imagine.

[Q: How does being an Asian American influence your experience as a father?] I think I'm strict. I think I'm more strict. And maybe, I'm generalizing. I'm assuming that because my father's very strict so I think I was brought up strict. And I think I'm not as strict, but, certain ways, I want things done certain ways. Like, you know, I expect them to do certain things, at certain time, get certain grades.

[Q: Do you feel you are more Asian or more American?] It depends what part you're looking at. So, you know, if it's like communication, if it's like culture, talking, I think I'm more Americanized. I think that there's certain aspect, for example, etiquette. Like, when I see elders, and stuff like that, I'm much more respectful. Um, and I think that that came from my Asian background. Um, I think education, like prioritizing that, being a little higher,

comes from the Asian side. So there's aspect of things. Different for what the topic is.

[Q: What are some activities that you do that makes you feel that you're more Asian in some areas and more American in some areas?] I think that the friends that I hang out with, um, [pause]. Well I think that the food that we eat is more Asian. I think that our day-to-day life is very comparable to American because it's very, um, [pause] it's different because we push more activities. I think Asian tends to be a little more educational focus. So I think in that respect I kind of balance off, maybe overly balanced on the martial arts side, which is an activities. Whether it's martial arts, baseball, football, whatever it is. I think that came from the other side. Cause I think Americans have kind of, has a higher value, a little higher value than I typically do on sports. So then, that's something that bleed over. [Q: Are there any beliefs that you have, or things that you value or things that you think of that make you feel more Asian or more American?] My personal feeling is, um, being very closer within the family. I think, like, you know, the kids and us are very close. Um, and you know, it could happen with other families as well, American family. But I think we, uh, I think if you stereotype and take an average, I think that being Asian makes you close to your kids, as a family unit. [Q: Why do you say that?] Um, I think we were closer, we talk with them. We're more emotional about it. Um, I think the way that American communicates, they still have the emotional aspect but they communicate in a different way. I think the way that we communicate is very closely Asian

related. Not the words, but just the way that we communicate. Even though, you know, like, the feeling for the parents to the kids or the kids to the parents is still the same level within every family. But I think the way we communicate is different and therefore makes us feel much closer. I think American is much more, they're allowed a lot more independence. And the thought might be a little more independent. I think we tend to be less independent.

Hung explains that having lived in two different countries and being exposed to two different cultures has influenced his parenting practices in that it has allowed him to provide dual perspectives to his son in terms of personal experience of being Vietnamese and being American but also in terms of educational experiences in both Vietnam and America. Being able to relate to his son's dual identity and helping his son navigate through his ethnic identity development is one of the ways Hung's own ethnic identity and acculturation has impacted his parental practices. He helps to explain why his son is not just American but also Vietnamese. He supports his son's ethnic identity development by providing him with cultural experiences in Vietnamese culture such as enrolling him in Vietnamese school and engaging in other Vietnamese community events. While Hung considers himself to be more Asian than American, he still employs a somewhat more American approach of giving his son a choice to pursue school to the extent he desires rather than expect it.

[Q: How would you say being Asian American has influenced your experience as a father?] Um, so I consider Nick kind of Asian American because he's born here. I consider myself more Vietnamese because I was not

born here. Um, but I have somewhat been influenced by the Western culture. Um, and I believe that having that is important. Cause he, the kids are born here, they already, kind of like you say, Asian American. Right, so they have. In fact, you talk to him, he does not consider himself Vietnamese. Seriously. He say, "I'm American." Of course, he was born here. Right. That's like, honey, when you look at yourself, "American." You don't have blonde hair, or whatever, blue eyes, so forth... But um, I believe that the advantage I have for Nick is that I bring both, or I can share both the experiences with him, right. My experiences when I, you know, was in Vietnam or came over here. And everything else, and. But also having been here like thirty-some years, I have that and I have gone to school here, get my college education here. I think I can relate to him and I can share with him that. Compared to older parents or whatever that come over here, they don't necessarily have that. Does that make sense? So it's easier to relate and we can understand, you know, where as I would just say the third generation or the generation before me would probably, you know, have a hard time. You know, greeting, or relate to what Nick's going through right now. And that's why I say with his next generation, his kids, I don't know how that's going to be, to be honest. Right? I mean, yeah, right now we still believe in him learning Vietnamese. That's why he's going to Vietnamese school. But I don't know, you know, when he has kids and everything, whether he wants them to have that. Does that make sense? I mean, I don't know how much. We're doing our best to make sure he doesn't lose that, but I don't know if he's going to do the same thing to his kids.

[Q: What are some of those experiences or what are the things that you can relate with your son about? Um, I would say, um, as far as education, what I went through. Right, how difficult that was. Um, and that was also a good example of how in America you can do that. In Vietnam, unfortunately you don't have that opportunity or the money. You know, here, as long as you have the will, the desire, then you can take out loans. Loans everywhere. And so that would be the differences. Here, there is called the land of opportunities, right? And so, like you, you're going for your PhD, and so forth. And so if he wants it, he can go as far as he wants after, right? Nothing is going to stop him from doing that. Um, so and just by growing up here, not knowing the American culture. And this area is not that difficult because we have a diversity, right, with so many different countries and people living here and so forth. But I would say sharing those values. And some of those values that here in America, I'm sure you'll agree too, that's very good. And the Vietnamese values. When you, you know, there's always good and bad with any culture, any country. Good people, bad people, same beliefs, you know, so. But I believe in, like I said, um, yeah he can choose not to go to school. He can do that. But I can talk to him about how doing that ten years, yeah, I thought I was happy. You know, but, no. When I went back to school then I found I was even more happy. Right, and even believe that that was the best for me. And so I believe that's the best for him now. But whether or not he agrees with me later on... I do believe that if you do that and you keep talking to him, yeah he sees other. If we can continue being, you know,

fortunate to live and have him keep going to a good school. I definitely believe he will go to college and maybe even more. So.

[Q: You said earlier that you feel more Asian than American? What are some of the activities that you do that make you feel this way?] Um, well I help out more in the Vietnamese community. Right? So I believe in that, like the summer Vietnamese school and now I'm also doing. That's when I said you to that when I go there now it's like the three hours or whatever, plus in the morning I'm there. They want me to... right now, I'm like a teacher's assistant, whatever you call it. But they want me to feel comfortable so I can fill in when the instructor's sick or whatever, they cannot come that weekend. Right, so I can fill in and be comfortable. Um, I watched more of Vietnamese show. I eat more Vietnamese food, you know. So like I said, I'm pretty much, I'm still kind of old-school. Even though I know the American culture, pretty much and everything, things that I said. I believe in marriage. I don't believe in living, you know, together without, you know, getting married. Have kids without, you know, having a wedding and everything before that. Things like that. Whether it's Vietnamese or not, or whether Asian, you know, but I'm like that. I'm more conservative that way. Not that I don't understand the other one, I don't necessarily believe in it, right, so. But whether it's boy scouts, we have Vietnamese boy scout and girl scout, just like here in American you have that too. But if I have to choose... I just found out, I have to see if I have to sign up for it or not. Swim team, that all Vietnamese on Sunday at George Mason University. He was on the swim team but more for Americans. But now that

I'm kind of more involved in the Vietnamese community and I'm learning and finding out more things that he can suddenly go to. And I believe if he's surrounded by more Vietnamese, granted they're going to be speaking English more, but. You know what I mean. It's, he's going to understand more about our culture and hopefully retain as much of his Vietnamese as possible.

Because it's very easy to not. Being so young and born here. So that's what I meant by being... yeah, where unfortunately some of the other people they don't necessarily want to, even though they look and they talk and have an accent. You know, they just want to believe they're American. I'm sure you have seen or heard of that, right? Yeah, so. I'm proud of who [I am].

Similar to other fathers, Linh believes that the extent to which fathers or parents are assimilated to the American culture will impact their parental practices. He provides the example that Asian parents or parents who identify themselves as more Asian are more likely focus on education and set education as a priority in their parental practices than parents who don't identify themselves as being more Asian. Setting education as a priority and doing things to make sure that their children advance in education is what Linh believes distinguishes Asian parents from non-Asian parents (who may emphasize or prioritize achievement in sports rather than education). Linh also reiterates what other fathers in this study have previously stated, that education is about learning rather than about performance, and that grades should reflect one's learning and understanding rather than simply reflect one's performance on a test or class that isn't suited for one's ability. For example, a good grade in a class that is lower than your capabilities will not help you learn something new. The point of

education is learn, not to perform. Linh identifies himself as being more Asian because of his religious belief, his reading choices (Vietnamese newspapers and books), and his involvement in the Vietnamese community more than the American community.

[Q: Do you think being an Asian father is different from being a White-American father, or a Latino father, or an African American father?] Yeah, much much different. Because it depend on how assimilate the parent to the society. For us, we still preserve a lot of Vietnamese culture. We want to do that, we want to preserve with, we want our kids to be Vietnamese-American, not American. So we send them to Vietnamese school to learn our Vietnamese culture, so they both can read and write in Vietnamese. Yeah. So um, by doing that this advantage is we not as American as other American family. So that there's some cultural boundary there. So uh, my wife is um, my wife have more American friend than I do so she more uh, feel more comfortable when we got to this school environment. For me, depend, depend on the person I talk to, whoever that—sometime I feel no problem, sometimes okay, I don't understand what he or she talking about so. Yeah, because different culture, so we like thing that more Asian-like, like soccer instead of football or basketball. I never watch a baseball game okay so and I know a lot of my American colleague they are football and baseball coach. So that the difference, because I am sure that my kid don't know much about football and baseball, but they know more about soccer, or tennis, or about table tennis. So that's a little bit different. I cannot talk about Asian. I talk about more like

Vietnamese. In our Vietnam culture, we put education very top priority, so uh, we tend to uh to do things so that our kids can advance much via the education way. Some other family, I know like uh, it's not stereotype here, for some other culture they don't put education as high; so they focus on other thing. So uh, they good at those, but they not in studying, but they good at sport or things like that, so it depend. So it's not just Asian, I think uh, even within the field Vietnamese culture, I think it depend on the background of family as well. But overall, we Vietnamese focus more on education than uh... Chinese, actually Chinese, Vietnamese, Korean, Japan those focus and Indian, yup focus more about education. Some other race, I think uh, they have different priorities I guess.

[Q: Do you feel that you are more Asian or American?] I think more Asian.

[Q: What are some of the activities that you do that make you feel this way?] Yeah, yeah. Right, yup. I help out a lot with the Vietnamese community around here.

Value/Beliefs (Non-Christian religious belief). [Q: What are some beliefs or things that you think about or value that makes you more Asian?] Just the things that I try to uh, do here, preserving the Vietnamese culture. So that is done only by us to spare—take a lot of thing already. Um, so um, our religion so we—we Buddhist so that one, one of the thing that different even though there's a lot of Catholic or Christian in the Vietnamese community. But Buddhism is one of the Asian things already and uh, so we try to preserve the

Vietnamese culture, so we actually—I have newspaper or mostly, I read

Vietnamese newspaper more than I read the American newspaper. But I listen
to the news by radio and TV but I do read newspaper weekly. But I have a lot
of books in Vietnamese.

[Q: I wanted to follow up on a question, on a comment you made earlier...you think that it's not just the Vietnamese culture but also like it depends on the family too that influences um, your views on education. What do you mean by that? You said even in the Vietnamese community, you know, certain families might not think the same way.] Yeah, because uh... let me see how we say that...the um, the way that um, I said that I don't believe in just getting good grades is good enough, and believe in building the knowledge. So some families they only focus on the grades, don't care do it the easy way. Take this easy class; you get straight 'A'. You don't have to study that hard or take that advanced class. Keep your good grade things like that. I believe in knowledge so, maybe if you take harder class, you learn more but you remain get lower grade, so depend on that. But to me knowledge is more important. [So, you're saying in some families it's just the focus on grades rather than the education...] Really learn thing—new thing.

Andy sees himself as being both Asian and American in his ethnic identification. He feels more Asian in his role as a father and husband at home but tends to take on more American thinking and behavior at the work place. His parenting practices reflect a mixture of the two cultures. He believes that there are stereotypes that come with being Asian, such as doing well in school and more specifically being good at math

and science. As such, as an Asian father, Andy expects his children to be good at math and science. But he expects his children to also be creative and innovative in order to go above and beyond the stereotype, feeding into the more American expectations and influence. While at work he engages in open dialogue, he does not necessary allow that at home between him and his children. He believes there is a level of respect that is expected within the Asian culture from the younger to the elders in the community that is not expected of people within the American community.

[Q: Do you think being Asian has an influence your experience as a father?] Yes, I think being Asian is, have much to do. Because I have a lot of pressure, for example, at the, maybe sometimes stereotype, make you, force you to be at your school. Asian only school. So that's one thing. You are Asian. I expect you to be a stereotype. That's a good stereotype. I don't want to be that. But you got to prove it. That's... You're Asian, you have, everyone expect you to be good school, you need to do good in school. Okay, that's, yeah. [Q: Do you think it has influence how you give advice or make rules or do things as a father in terms of helping your children in school? In terms of being Asian?] I don't put it that way. I don't make rules for her, except one rule would be maybe because you're Asian I expect you go to school. But that's...You're Asian, you gotta be good in school. At least you have to be good at math. Right? Because you're Asian. Obviously. You have a good assigned. But now, I expect you to be creative. That's the, we good at math, we good at science, but what we lack of? Creativity, and innovation. That two part that we need to be in order to be good, beyond good, that what we need.

For her, that's what I. Invent something. Do something. You don't have to follow whatever you need to. Um, don't follow the people. People do this way, you can do different way you want to.

[Q: Do you feel you are more Asian or more American?] That's a question I struggle everyday. Um, when I come to work I tend to be more mainstream White. When I'm home I tend to change my thinking more Asian. Um, so I'm kind of switch back and forth. And at work, yeah it's really strict business. Yep. And when I leave work, come home, just strictly Asian. The, at work tend to be, um, straightforward, on time, basically because the time when you say time discipline. Uh, straightforward when you talk in certain subject, you got to talk directly. Right? Get result immediately. Tend to be more, um, results oriented rather than to weaker around. So that's more like business, how we do day to day function in business. So, um, meeting, talk to people. It's different, we don't have a social structure, like my boss, "I respect you." At work that's not going to be the case. When you sit at home I expect your daughter has respect me, talk to me, various, "Give me some respect." That is back and forth. Um, at work I really don't care whether they not respect me or not, I really don't care. Um, I expect result. That's what it means. At home, totally different, I change. My son cannot talk to me in do disrespecting voice or something, like that's totally different.

I think that the culture we, time, that's more like American culture.

That's the expects results. Efficiency. Time. Fairness and all of that go along

with that. Talk to people not in certain class. Everyone have different thinking, opinions and say what they need to say. Um, that the culture. Home, there's a difference. I just go back and forth. Sometimes I allow her to say something but sometimes I don't, "You cannot say that to me." Okay?

[Q: What are some beliefs that you have or things you value or things that you do that you feel make you more Asian or more American?] Um, I think that depend on situation I could become more White, to mainstream rather than. It really depends on situation. Sometimes it's a, for dealing social life with Asian folk and other community, more like Caucasian at first. Just talking, nothing too emotional about. You know, more like that part. And switch up. You disconnect and everything gone. Everything disconnect. Um, so that part I just. And sometimes I just don't know, and switch to Asian, that mean more like, I want to know a little more about you and yeah. Like you're this sort of person, I respect you, and I talk to you differently because you're older than me. That's how I, okay. So I, yeah, don't know.

Similar to what other fathers have stated, Vien believes that there are differences in parental practices between Asian fathers and father of other ethnicities such that Asian fathers emphasize and focus more on education and prioritize their children's activities and interests accordingly. Injecting realistic goals for their children's interest outside of academia is one of the ways Asian fathers help to curb appeal for non-scholastic activities or anything that might deviate from their educational goals for their children. Because Vien identifies himself as "in-between" Asian and American, he is able to navigate parenthood using both his Asian cultural influence

and American cultural influence as a father. Although he expects his son to focus on academic achievement in school, he doesn't encourage his son's pursuit in basketball because he believes the chance of his son becoming a professional are slim based on his rankings and abilities in the sport compared to his peers. The Asian influence is to keep his focused on school but the American influence allows for his son to explore his own interests outside of school. This balance between Asian and American is an example one's ethnic identity can influence one's parental practices. Similar to other fathers, Vien states that his interaction and engagement in the Asian community is what makes him feel more Asian while his celebration for American holidays and interaction with peers at work makes him feel more American.

[Q: Do you think being an Asian father is different from being a Latino father or African American father?] I would think—think so, because um you have—I would think you have different influences, right? From your uh because of your association also, right? Um, so um yeah it's—it's you have different cultural backgrounds, you have different experiences, so I think it would influence and on your view of—of different things. I think maybe just the maybe different emphasis on education, you know? Or um yeah because I think Asians in a way may be stereotype that we place a lot of emphasis maybe on education as the way to be successful, you know later? Um you know some—something like that.

[Q: This difference in on emphasis on education, how do you think it affects the way that you parent Larry?] Uh yeah so I think it—you and you know that it's, you know um education is important right so of course you I

think you I can't speak about how the other ethnic groups view that, but I think yeah of course you would um put emphasis for him to make for him to make sure, well you may have other interests in things but you still kind of like at the core of it, you still need to have a strong education great, so yeah.

[Q: How do you think being an Asian American influence your experience as a father?] Um, I guess you, yes of course your living experience gonna be tied a lot to being Asian, right? So because of that you would be, I guess gonna answer it in a kind of roundabout, but yeah so—so you have Asian views may be different in terms of edu—you know in the area of education, may be different in some way. Maybe not as liberal as compared to some other group where they maybe view well, "I'm not gonna push my child too much" or "I would let my children do whatever they like, you know be more open to whatever they choose." You know, whereas an Asian parent may strongly advise their kid, "Oh you know don't go into theater performance or something" or don't because you know that's where or you be monitoring them more closely or when you say, "I wanna become a," like in the case of Larry, "I maybe I wanna be play pro basketball, one day." But then and you say, "Well look at where you are right now, right? How do you rank yourself, compare yourself just within your county or your school district? Are you in the top five, top ten and if you are not even at the level, then you, you know say, well you have to um, 'what's the chance of...' you know as you even move up it's gonna be even more—more difficult." So you kind of let him be—kind of let him know. It's not like, well I'm not gonna say, "Don't do it completely, but be realistic." Because sometime children they don't—they don't know so they just think, "Oh, I can do anything." But at some point you kinda need to have that reality in mind also.

[Q: Do you feel more Asian or more American?] Um pretty well inbetween because given how long I've been here and actually for the most of my life it's been here in the U.S. But I am different in a way that I also retain my ethnic group pretty well, because um because I—I enjoy actually having both backgrounds, right? I—I 'cause I was I guess for most even my cousins or who came about the same time they, I think they would be a little bit more Americanized than I am. But I as a kid I like reading a lot, right, so because of that um I think understand the culture and expose quite a bit you know on the my ethnic side, but at the same time I also see the important of to be as uh—uh you know Americanized as much also, because of you know living here, assimilating, you know the um-um the uh, what's the word? Just—just living here and working, because even in the work environment, yeah you need to have a balance, so yeah.

[Q: Are there any beliefs that you value or think about that makes you Asian and makes you American?] Oh so—so for example it's uh maybe uh—uh keeping up with the shows, TV shows, or the what's going on in sports. You know, that's certainly more Americanized. That's topic people like to talk about. Um—uh and then I guess, well from I guess the uh food you eat the way how you uh yeah the—the interaction you still have quite a bit with the Asian community uh be—and then your family and extended family. It's

also mostly Asian so you—and—and they and friends also um maybe you have kind of because of you may have, like in my case maybe forty percent you know non-Asian and the rest are kind of like Asian, right? And then they and then it's like within the Asian, it's people from different uh who come to this state from different time period, right? So you have like us who some who kind of even though you're Asian you're born and grow up here. There's some who come in much later or maybe like the past five, ten years and they you know, they think and uh have different you know views of different things. So you get, you see all of that. Yup.

[Q: Are there certain activities that you do that make you feel more
Asian or more American?] So I guess uh... No I think, I don't think so. I
mean it's kind of like um you do the things like you go say for example you
go on vacations here. Oh I guess maybe one thing. So we tend to maybe have
more kind of like bigger family gathering. I think that's maybe more typical
right of Asians. So where maybe one family cooks and then everybody get
together as a bigger group or you have a holiday... well, eh that's kind of the
same both ways, with Thanksgiving, for example. I guess there's and it also
depends, maybe yeah so in our family that tends to be the case where because
I guess the siblings and everybody are getting along well, so we tend to get
together more often, whereas maybe some other family if there's a conflicts or
something people kind of do their own thing.

Truc states that he identifies himself more as Asian than American. One of the ways in which he employs more Asian influence with his children's education is through his parenting style. He expects his children to listen to him without questioning his authority. He believes that at home, within the family, as a father he expects "complete dominance" in which he is the dictator and there is no democracy. He believes that parents tend to be more assertive with their children and do not allow for a lot of leeway for casual interaction; there is more formality between the parent-child relationship than in White American families. The closeness among family members and the respect for elders are the Asian values Truc instills in his children.

[Q: Do you think there are cultural differences in Vietnamese, in being a Vietnamese family? Or an American family? Yeah. I, like I say, I probably, I'm in a mixed case. So I'm a heavily Western influence. Yeah, so the way I'm thinking, by my kids give them the...of freedom, that's not how Vietnamese usually think. Right? And I tend to be more Westernized in that way. And I don't think of the, the way I think the two culture are different. They all have their uniqueness. Yeah, so. [Q: How do you think they're different?] Well Western culture and Eastern culture are different. Just... [Pause] um, you know, the way, the expectation of your, you know. The Asian culture, the male expect complete dominance. Right? Your kid don't, actually I'm still doing that. Don't get me wrong. But kind of change that. I told them, you know, that this is Vietnamese family. There's no democracy. I'm a dictator in this house. Right? When I say something, you guys, don't argue, don't ask question. You guys don't fight back. Right? And, you know, you guys not supposed to contradict what I say. Right? And always take command. Whatever I said in the house is not a request. It's a command. That's what I. So that's the difference between an Asian and a, the Western cultures tend to be more a.... [Pause] a small freedom to the kid or it's... more hand off. I mean you observe. Like I said, I'm more mix than, not quiet Vietnamese, not quite Western. White culture, but I do, there's value in there. How not to oppress your kid. You know, that kind of thing. That's distinctly Western culture. And I do use that. Even though I'm always telling them that, you know, in this house there's no democracy in this house.

I think it's good. I think, because, you know, like, I tell my kids, "Parent is God." It's not... They get scold if sometimes, they like, joking around with me. And, "Hey you guy." That thing, oh, they get killed. And in American culture you can see a lot of that, right? But, uh, you know, we expect the respect of the parents, so that they have Asian that I have. And my kids get scold very bad if they say, time to time in the car. Say, "Hey, you guy!" You know, "Do this for the day." And I, Oh... I think she's low on doing that. So, that kinds of things. So, to answer your question is, yeah there is some family, yeah. That the difference. We kind of have more assertive kid than the...[pause]. So, just the technique is different. I think the White family here, how they spend time with their kid, than us but, you know, the Asian technique is kind of different. And, um, if the White kid here are less disrespectful than my kid, no I don't think so. I think they are pretty similar. But because they kind of well-groomed kid. So our kid is similar. Even though of technical difference, behavior is kind of similar. Um, so with Asian,

do have over advantage than the White? No, I don't think so. But the technique is different.

[Q: Do you feel more Asian or more American?] Asian. Number one, I'm Asian. Uh, number two, I have Vietnamese food every day. And my kids, they're kind of the same way. I mean, they're kind of, we grew up, I mean they like to participate in Vietnamese event. [Q: What are some beliefs that you have or things that you value or think about that makes you more Asian or more Vietnamese? Yeah, I thought about it time to time, but like, you know, I came here at 14. And I grew up with the society here. And I don't look at the, don't differentiate between the. I think I'm Asian. I'm Vietnamese background, Asian, but I don't look at it as a. Yet, to me, is it just culturally different. Culturally, you have something different. Or you have a culture that the other people don't experience. And you experience, you know, the Western American culture. You've adopted it yours, but I don't day to day think any there's different between the two. That family value is different. Right? Uh, so I taught some kids, especially Vanessa, on the Asian values. How to respect the family, the elderly and all that, right? And the American culture seem to be more equal. Their parents, sometimes parents' kids sometime they call names. Some call the parents with the first name. You know, and, that the difference. I completely seed in their head that the Asian culture, that's what I expect them to lead more toward, Asian culture. Yeah. So beside that, I don't see any additional, you know, uh. Being respectful, that kind of thing. It's more stringent in Asian, than you know, respectful to others, to the elderly and all that. That the Asian thing that I continually seed in their head. That, otherwise, there are additional benefits from it? I don't know. I mean, the kids in this neighborhood, the White kids, grew up to be pretty good kid. I mean, you know, they must not be taught Asian. So, um, I can't see the difference. Just like I say, different technique. Yeah, same result, different technique, yeah. That the way I put it.

When Jerry thinks about parental practices that might differ between Asian parents and non-Asian parents, he thinks about the disadvantages Asians students face when applying for college and the how he as a parent must be instrumental in preparing his children for that reality. That is, Asian students face higher expectations for higher scores and academic performance than students of other ethnicities because universities may have quotas for admitting Asian students to help balance ethnic diversity among admitted students. As such, Jerry socializes his daughters to understand where they stand academically compared to other Asian students rather than other ethnic minorities in the U.S. and perform accordingly to be a competitive candidate for college. Jerry states that he identities with both American and Asian cultures. His parenting practices related to his children's education reflect a combination of having very high expectations for his daughter's academic achievement but also taking his daughter to a more American based church rather than a Vietnamese based church. He dually exposes his children to the Vietnamese culture through interactions between family and friends and to the American community through their church involvement.

[Q: Do you think being an Asian father is different from being a White American father or a father of another ethnicity?] Definitely. Uh... uh... I think it has to do with family, how close we are. Uh I think—well definitely we are, I am very—both my wife and I are very proud of our ethnicity. Being an Asian American, I think it's there are advantages and there are disadvantages. The advantages is that we tell our kids that, "you know we are different, but you have to be—you have to hone in and make it an advantage." You know um, the disadvantages of being Asian American is, for instance in applying for colleges. We are not minorities, considered minorities anymore. We are considered more or less than being—when you say Asian American you're not being compared to Hispanic, Blacks, even White Americans, right? Uh because you are that you are Asian American they know that you do well in more or less...and that you are being set aside. You have to get higher scores. You have to do higher SATs in the scores. It's more expected and another level higher to be considered. So that's a big negative, you know, for applications for being recognized, okay? But the positive is uh is that we are in that subset, right? So they know, it's a message to them that they gotta do well because if you don't do well you're really out of the norm and who wants to be out of the norm? So, so there is a positive and a negative as you can see there. But we are proud because more less you see you almost see every Asian American family, they uh they adjust, meaning that they—they um they do well, job wise or um—um most of, most of them are more less well educated, um most of them most of—most of their children uh resemble their or you

know they escalate to the same or even better education wise. And uh, um yeah you look around and you say, you see that the expectation from a, not I wouldn't say expectation but you see that their success levels are quite amazing. Yeah, so... does that answer your question?

So I think that it does have a lot of difference. I keep on reminding my kids that for us as a first generation coming to the U.S., we had it hard. And in a sense since we don't want our kids to go through the same level of hardships, that's why in return okay we give you we put you on a platform almost like with a things that come on a silver platter but in return you have to do well and that's your only more less responsibility you know in return for our giving, okay? And I think uh, whereas—whereas White American parents or fathers they've been here ever since you know and not that I don't think they have it easy, I cannot say that but—but—but—but uh but certainly they—they their background or I would say their hardship would not be comparable to what the first generation had to go through. Now, the first generation Italians and you know others would be in the same boat as us, yes, because again it's uh and you know again that's why I think the firstgeneration always strive to do well, because they think of their—for their families. The second generation uh they may do well but the third maybe they slack of. I don't know. But—but I think that uh now there's a difference between Asian American dads and Hispanic dads, I think it could be because the Hispanic first-generation dads, they work; they have it hard. But I think that could be a difference because I think that could be a difference because I

think it's uh more of a either a community thing, that—that seems to be the formula. That formula does not seem to work well with Hispanic families because uh when you look around, and I think it's more of a cultural thing where...When—when you compare you take an Asian American family, you compare it with the moms and dads even though they are first-generation but you see like, PhD, doctorate level, doctors, engineers, whereas you look at overall the average Hispanic families you see day labor, you see menial jobs. So and is it a question that do they have—not have the same equal opportunity? No, it's not that. If they work there's no really in this land in the U.S. if they work hard there is, it's all open for them and especially for their kids when they apply for colleges and it's Hispanic you get twenty points higher automatically for your admission, okay and you get all the um all the scholarships, automatically. Okay? If they want to go to Harvard, it's all there; it's all available for them. "Can they keep up?" is another question. Okay? But—but it's all the them being embraced whereas being for Asian American it's more like a weed out program it's uh but any case you know it's more, I believe that when there's something there for Asian American versus, comparing to an Hispanic, one is, when you compare it's like comparing apples and oranges; it's totally lopsided. Uh do you know, I mean I think if in the Asian American culture, they are always very very close and very close and tight and honing in on, "Have you studied? Have you—?" You know the education and uh more less the expectation. I mean the expectation level is very high and I think that uh a lot of times it's good but I think there's some

cases where it's not very good. It's when they go cross the boundary of being dangerously too much pressure for the kids it can work negatively as well, but I think uh from a cultural, there's got to be something missing from a Hispanic family.

[Q: What do you think it is?] Uh I think it's uh how they get brought up in the family and uh you know there's a saying um, "It takes a village to raise a child—to bring up a child." I think it's very true because it's not just the family itself it's also the community around. When the whole community being suffered by when let's say when, church-goers... I'm a Catholic and we go to church. For us a little bit different because we don't go to a Vietnamese church we go to an American church locally here, more because where we live anyway. But, for those members for those who go to a Vietnamese church you see the next person over oh that's a doctor, that's an engineer, that's a you know well-educated family and you look all around, the whole community they're pretty well um... how do you? Well... it's not the right word, well conformed to well adjusted to you know to the to uh to the standards, okay? Um and then when they are being brought up in that environment it's like, I wouldn't say it's an expectation to do—be somebody with that caliber but yes it is. But you think about it, it is. Because they ask, "What are your kids doing?" Um, "Which colleges are they going after, I mean are they applying to?" It's instant. It's expectation. It's uh it's the next step. It's automatic. Okay? There is no other choices. Now I'm only guessing, in the Hispanic community but right when again it's not like they don't have opportunities,

there is always opportunities. But there is something there that always holds them back. When and I know a lot of Hispanic families because but anyway let's just say I know because I do... The next family over is a painter. The next one over is only doing day-to-day jobs where they stand in the 7-Eleven to get the next day's meal and next is a cleaning ladies. You know it's—it's the kids when they grow up what do they, what opportunity do they have? Do these parents even know that they have lots of opportunities out there for the kids? Does—is there anyone reminding them, hey that there are opportunities out there for them? Okay? Uh at school, do they get—does someone remind them? So I think that the messages somehow get lost. Whereas American and Asian American families they get reminded, not by just by the community but it's just like an expectation level—that is a message for them. But more like from the parents always that from every single day of their life is like, "How are you doing in uh?" But I think uh comparing the two when you look at from a distance, world of difference. Okay?

[Q: Do you feel more Asian or more American?] Uh, I would say 60/40, is uh American...60; 40 percent Asian. I would say yes, even though that is the case, yes we are proud of being Asian American but we are not in the elite. We don't consider ourselves in the elite level. Those who have been here from the you know 1920s where their grandparents are among the uh what I can say the elite class, you know "the Kennedy's" those who have been uh you know the, "the Vanderbilt's" all the big where the 1920s where they built the businesses and they passed down to their children um and then their

children nowadays it's uh you know for those families, especially the Kennedys, you always see that someone is at the very very top of the food chain. You know the woman, who is that, what is her name? But—but overseeing how they kids grow, right? There is always father figure but thi—in this case the mother of the Kennedys, but any case they—they do see that how the kids progress. Of course the kids become the senators and thing.

Those I believe are the elite class. Now, why is it that Asian Americans don't get to be at that level. I think there is something in—in the class of being Asian American. I think we are more inert—we are more—maybe this is too deep but we are more, we are not out as outgoing uh types; but uh we strive within to excel you know our family you know within ourselves, whereas Asian, whereas Americans they do cross that boundary and they excel at reaching out, we don't tend to—to do that.

it's within our nature. Look around, do you see any Asian um Asian American politicians? How many are in Congress? I think that's just uh one? Maybe—maybe it's just time. Uh—uh the Koreans have been here much longer than Vietnamese, do you see any Korean Congressmen? I don't. Uh yeah I think maybe just time, but time is the easy answer to everything so that's not—that's not fair answer. Do you seen any Blacks, Black Americans? Of course, yes. So uh so I don't know. But—but you see where I'm driving at. When you compare like that, there's gotta be more. I think uh Asians tend to be more of an introvert rather than more outgoing and you know... I don't know. There's

a lot more than what we see here; there's a lot more. [Q: What are some activities that you do that makes you feel more American or what are some activities that you do that makes you feel more Asian? Yeah uh... I think it has, the answer I think it has to do with uh the people you grow up with and do activity. I mean if you go to a football game, that's more American than anything. And then you know what I mean, when you go to your children's activities, when you go to a cheer competition, that's American. When you to that festival but you see all Asians around, what is that considered Asian? That's not a fair question. That's not, that should not even be a question, the way I see it. Because it's people who you hang out with, if the people you hang out with in a restaurant happens to be a Asian, Vietnamese restaurant, is that Asian or is that American or is that Asian? That's not a right question. You see? I think it's just a group that you grow with, if you hang out with and if it happens to be big like a football game and the people around are Americans, oh yes that's American. Otherwise if you go to a football game or a soccer game where it's all Asians, that's considered Asian. I don't see how I can answer better.

Behavior (Celebrating specific cultural holidays). [Q: Are there things that you think about or beliefs that you have or things that you value that you think makes you more Asian or more American?] Now, yes. Now, it makes a difference when I say that when I say there is a, let's say when we celebrate things within our family. Let's say we do things like uh remembrance of your ancestors, when you "cúng" that's Vietnamese, or that's Asian. Americans

don't do that; it's not in their belief. That I believe is definitely Asian. There is a reason why we do that. It's bringing up the—you believe in your ancestors—and you wish from your ancestors to bring us the—the blessings. Uh but Americans actually do that in some way, some sense when you see them visiting cemetery but they bring into the house maybe the ashes, but they don't celebrate in the same way that we do. So I think it's more of an expressive way of how Asian American do it from their you know from the cultural pass downs. Uh but, I think the way that we do it has a lot of meaning. You know, I think uh and I hope that those traditions don't pass over the years. But uh—but uh, if I can say anything, that's one of the examples that I can say is Asian versus American. Uh I won't say on the daily, but I think on occasion, special occasions again like the feastive—I think a lot has to do with certain—certain ways of tradition that we try to uphold, like doing things like "Têt" always when you think about Asian culture, it's how the family comes together. And every single time the family comes together uh you know the head of the family could be the granddad or grandma saying that you know, remember the—the reason why we here or—or let's say back in the day we just came to the U.S. how we grew up. You know, they bring up stories like that and the children would listen and the grandchildren would also listen and understand that they uh, they see the... I don't know if they see the hardship. I don't think that they understand the hardship—what their parents or grandparents go through. But they as long as they hear the message, I think

that uh, that's important. So I that's uh more of a–I cannot say for everybody else like that, but it's a tradition in our family.

#### **Summary of Results for Research Question 2**

Fathers had a difficult time comparing themselves to fathers of other ethnicities to discuss how culture might influence parental involvement for different ethnicities, but fathers were able to articulate their own ethnic identity, why they identified this way (i.e., their values, beliefs, behaviors), and how their culture influence their parental involvement, how their Asian influence their approach to parental involvement and practices. First, results from the interviews showed that most fathers (15 out of 18 fathers) in the study indicated that they feel more Asian than more American and a few fathers (3 out of 18 fathers) indicated that they feel both Asian and American. Second, fathers indicated that the most distinctive feature of the Asian culture (compared to White American culture) is closeness of the family. They also indicated that the interaction and time spent with other Asian people; involvement in the Asian community; value for hard work, discipline, and steadiness; Buddhist religious affiliation; understanding humor in Vietnamese conversations; reading choices; holiday celebrations; and respect for elders were all aspects of their lives that make them feel more Asian than American. Finally, results showed that there were three major themes within the Asian culture that drive the beliefs, expectations, and approach to parental involvement in their children's education: Confucius teachings that education is key to upward mobility; experience with high expectations in Vietnam; and collectivistic views highlighting the importance of familial closeness and respecting one's elders. The combination of these

characteristics of Asian culture impact their belief that academic achievement sets the foundation for their children's future and as such, prioritize their children's activities around this belief, the expectation that their children (or all Asian students) should be good at math and as such, are more involved to ensure their children do well in math (helping with homework, getting a tutor, purchasing materials specifically in math), the structure and approach to parenting such that children must respect parents' position and authority in the household because decisions from parents are made for the good of the family and the outcome of children's behaviors reflect on the family and community too.

## **Results for Research Question 3**

# Fathers' Ethnic Identity, Acculturation, Parental Beliefs and Involvement, and Children's Motivation and Achievement.

To answer the third research question and supplement the qualitative study, here, I present information using quantitative data collected from the same participants in the study. This provided more information on characteristics of the sample and relations among fathers' involvement, fathers' educational characteristics, ethnic identity and acculturation, and children's academic motivation and achievement. As described in more detail in Chapter 3, the following survey-based data were collected on the following variables: fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation, fathers' educational characteristics in math, reading, and science, fathers' cognitive/intellectual, home, and school involvement, mothers' fathers' cognitive/intellectual, home, and school involvement, involvement, mothers' educational characteristics in math, reading, and science, children's perception of

mother and fathers' involvement, children's academic motivation in math, English, and science, and children's academic achievement in math, English, and science. It should be noted that descriptive statistics will be reported for fathers, mothers, and children to provide a fuller picture of the family on these items from all three informants within the family.

Descriptive Statistics. Regarding ethnic identity and acculturation, fathers had a mean score of 3.15 on the ethnic identity search scale and a mean score of 3.48 on the ethnic identity affirmation scale, suggesting that fathers in the study tended to report more affirmation for their ethnic identity than to be in the searching stage of their identity. Second, fathers had a mean score of 5.26 on the acculturation scale for Vietnamese culture, 3.15 on the Asian American acculturation scale, and 4.25 on the European American acculturation scale, which suggest that fathers in the study are likely to identify with more Vietnamese and American cultures or identifying as Vietnamese American than Asian American, although the higher score on the Vietnamese culture scale would suggest fathers are most connected with the Vietnamese than Asian American or European American cultures.

Fathers reported their involvement at home, at school, and through cognitive/intellectual activities on a 6-point Likert scale. Results showed that fathers and mothers were most involved through their cognitive/intellectual activities with their children such that the mean score on school involvement was 3.91, the mean score on home involvement was 4.51, and the mean score on cognitive/intellectual involvement was 5.12. Mothers reported similar mean scores for their involvement with their children: 4.27 for school involvement, 4.59 for home involvement, and

5.06 for cognitive involvement. Fathers' educational characteristics, which included his reported ability beliefs, expectancy beliefs, and value beliefs in math, English, and science, were rated on a 7-point Likert scale. Results showed that fathers' ability beliefs, expectancy beliefs, and value beliefs were highest for science with mean scores of 5.43, 5.47, and 5.94, respectively. Fathers' ability, expectancy, and value beliefs for math were similarly high with mean scores of 5.31, 5.47, and 5.83. Fathers' mean scores for English were 4.29 for ability beliefs, 4.56 for expectancy beliefs, and 6.35 for value beliefs. Although fathers felt they did not have strong skills in English, they still felt that it was useful and that it was important to be good in English.

Children reported their perception of their mother and father's involvement at home, at school, and through cognitive/intellectual activities on a 6-point Likert scale. Similar to what fathers reported, results showed that children perceived that their fathers were most involved through their cognitive/intellectual activities with their children. The mean score of children's perception of fathers' school involvement was 2.83, the mean score on home involvement was 3.76, and the mean score on cognitive/intellectual involvement was 4.33. Similar to what children reported about their fathers' involvement, children perceived that their mothers were most involved through their cognitive and intellectual activities. The mean score of children's perception of mothers' school involvement was 3.13, the mean score on home involvement was 3.58, and the mean score on cognitive/intellectual involvement was 4.55.

Fathers' expectation for children's academic achievement were two separate items for each subject (math, English, and science) that asked fathers how important it was for their child to do well and what kind of grades they wanted their child to get. These questions were rated on a 7-point scale. Fathers' mean scores for importance of doing well were as follows: 6.78 for math, 6.83 for English, and 6.50 for science. This translates to fathers rating that it was important or very important for their children to do well in each of these subjects. Fathers' mean scores for the kind of grades preferred for their child were as follows: 6.22 in math, 6.28 in English, and 6.17 in science. This translates to fathers expecting their children to obtain mostly A's in each of these subjects. This finding supports what fathers expressed during their interview that they consider A's to be good grades and anything less than an A is considered bad grade, while recognizing that they don't always expect straight A's from their children if they perceive their children to not have strong ability in a given subject or if fathers themselves feel they do not have strong ability in a given subject to be able to help their children earn high grades in the subject. This explanation from fathers' interview may elucidate the different relationships found between fathers' ability beliefs and their expectations.

Table 3. Means and Standard Deviations

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Ethnic Identity Search	3.15	0.59	18
Ethnic Identity Affirmation	3.48	0.50	18
Acculturation – Country of Origin	5.26	0.63	18
Acculturation – Asian American	3.15	0.83	18
Acculturation – European American	4.25	0.74	18
Father School Involvement	3.91	1.22	18
Father Home Involvement	4.52	0.67	18
Father Cognitive/Intellectual Involvement	5.12	0.84	18
Father Ability Beliefs in Math	5.31	1.25	18
Father Expectancy Beliefs in Math	5.47	1.06	18
Father Value Beliefs in Math	5.83	1.02	18
Father Expectation for Child Doing Well in Math	6.78	0.43	18
Father Expectation for Child Getting Good Grade in Math	6.22	0.55	18
Father Ability Beliefs in English	4.30	1.21	18
Father Expectancy Beliefs in English	4.56	1.07	18
Father Value Beliefs in English	6.35	0.86	18
Father Expectation for Child Doing Well in English	6.83	0.38	18
Father Expectation for Child Getting Good Grade in English	6.28	0.57	18
Father Ability Beliefs in Science	5.43	1.13	18
Father Expectancy Beliefs in Science	5.47	1.22	18
Father Value Beliefs in Science	5.94	0.83	18
Father Expectation for Child Doing Well in Science	6.50	0.79	18
Father Expectation for Child Getting Good Grade in Science	6.17	0.62	18
Child's Perception of Father's School Involvement	2.83	1.13	18
Child's Perception of Father's Cog/Intel Involvement	4.33	0.91	18
Child's Perception of Father's Home Involvement	3.76	0.89	18
Child Ability Beliefs in Math	5.31	1.21	18
Child Expectancy Beliefs in Math	5.32	0.80	18
Child Value Beliefs in Math	5.29	0.82	18
Child Ability Beliefs in English	5.07	1.02	18
Child Expectancy Beliefs in English	5.14	0.91	18
Child Value Beliefs in English	4.95	1.08	18
Child Ability Beliefs in Science	5.27	1.48	18
Child Expectancy Beliefs in Science	5.34	0.86	18
Child Value Beliefs in Science	5.39	1.00	18
Child's Current Year Grade in Math	3.72	0.57	18
Child's Current Year Grade in English	3.67	0.49	18
Child's Current Year Grade in Science	3.61	0.61	18
Child's Previous Year Grade in Math	3.50	0.71	18
Child's Previous Year Grade in English	3.67	0.69	18
Child's Previous Year Grade in Science	3.28	0.75	18

## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to examine the nature and processes of Vietnamese American fathers' involvement within their children's education. More specifically, the goal was to gain a deeper understanding of the educational involvement experiences of Vietnamese American fathers by exploring and describing how Vietnamese American fathers are involved in their children's education and how culture shapes their involvement. A qualitative semi-structured interview methodology was the primary method used for this study because the current literature on parental involvement lacks rich qualitative data on the experiences and perspectives of fathers, and more specifically, Asian American fathers. Qualitative data gathered from the interviews can give insight into whether there are gaps in the current theoretical frameworks of parental involvement or if our understanding and models of parental involvement should be refined and tailored to fit the experience of Vietnamese American fathers.

This study investigated the following research questions: 1) what are the roles and responsibilities of Vietnamese American fathers with respect to their children's education, 2) how do Vietnamese American fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation shape their parenting or parental involvement in their children's education, and 3) how do fathers' ethnic identity, acculturation, parental involvement, and educational characteristics relate to one another and to their children's motivation and achievement? The first two research questions were explored using qualitative data from interviews with fathers and the third research question was examined using

survey data gathered from questionnaires provided to the father, a school aged child, and the mother of the child.

Many of the questions that still remain in the parental involvement literature regarding children's academic outcomes are *how much* parents should be involved, what type of involvement work best, how and when parents should be involved, and who should involved and in what ways in order to help children become successful in school (Hill & Taylor, 2004; Jeynes, 2007; Pomerantz; 2007; Spera, 2005). This study attempts to answer some of these questions using qualitative and quantitative data. Specifically, it begins to address the calls that researchers have made for further research on fathers' involvement in their children's education by including fathers as the main informant of the qualitative data. Additionally, this study is one of the few studies that focused on fathers' involvement of school-aged children. As discussed in chapter 2, most studies that have focused on fathers as the main unit of analysis or main sample of the study have mainly studied father as caregivers of infants or toddlers or young children before they enter first grade (Cabrera, et al., 2000; Cabrera, 2013; Coltrane, Park, & Adams 2004; Lamb, et al., 1987). Moreover, this study focused on Vietnamese American fathers who are all first generation immigrants and have had experience in straddling the Vietnamese and American cultures. While Vietnamese Americans represent the fourth largest Asian American group and the sixth largest immigrant group in the United States, few studies of parental involvement or students' academic achievement or motivation studies have included this population. Less than a handful of studies have included or even focused on these men in the United States (Nguyen & Cheung, 2009; Okagaki & Frensch,

1998). The studies that have included Asian American fathers or Vietnamese American fathers in the sample have found that these fathers tend to be as be equally involved as mothers, have higher expectations than mothers, and that children perceived their fathers as an important figure in their lives (Bogenschneider, 1997; Hsu et al., 2011). Thus this study contributes to the literature on parental involvement and expand it to focus on first generation Vietnamese American fathers and their roles and responsibilities in their children's education. Further, this study explored how culture and ethnic identity play a part in fathers' beliefs and practices regarding children's education. Finally, this study is one of the first studies to examine parallel motivational constructs between fathers and children to understand the relationship between parental beliefs and involvement and children's beliefs and academic achievement.

Two theoretical frameworks guided this study in examining parental involvement: developmental and educational niche theory, and the expectancy-value theory of achievement motivation. Both theories highlight the importance of socializing agents (i.e., parents) as essential to the socialization processes, which influence children's developmental outcomes (e.g. academic achievement). While the former focuses on culture, the child's caregiver, and the child's environment, the latter focuses on the child's own thinking, attitudes, and behaviors (Chao, 2000; Eccles-Parsons et al., 1983; Super & Harkness, 1986) These theories were chosen because they attempt to explain children's academic achievement outcomes through both social factors such as the child's home environment, family socioeconomic status, parents' involvement, and individual factors such as the child's own

perceptions of these social factor, and their own interests, goals, values, beliefs, and expectations for success. Although these theoretical frameworks have been used to study people from various ethnic and racial backgrounds, these frameworks were originally developed using information from European Americans, which may be more relevant and reflective of this population but may not exactly fit or capture the experience of non-European Americans due the influence of culture and ethnic backgrounds.

Before discussing the important findings within this study, the unique characteristics of the sample should be noted. First, fathers in this study were recruited from language programs that their children attended on the weekends. Participation in such programs educational programs outside of regular school time may suggest that these fathers place more emphasis on the importance of education compared to fathers who do not enroll their children in extra educational programs on the weekend. Second, because these were Vietnamese language programs, fathers in this study may be especially sensitive to their culture, thus likely to have more Asian or Vietnamese perspectives than the fathers who do not enroll their children in such cultural programs. Third, these language programs have tuition fees so parents enrolling their children in these program are more likely to have the economic means to provide their children with more resources to further their children's education compared to fathers who may not have the economic means to enroll their children in such educational programs. Third, while not part of the recruitment, most fathers in the study had a background in the STEM field, with most (16 out of 18 fathers) having a degree or occupation in Engineering, thus results found in this study may be

skewed by these fathers' experiences and perspectives based on their educational and occupational backgrounds. Finally, it should be noted that all of the fathers in this study are first generation who were born in Vietnam and immigrated to the United States, while most of the children were born in the United States and considered second generation. The generational differences between the parents and children can become a point of contention or a barrier in parents' involvement if parents do not understand the educational system or the cultural nuances that surround the educational system within the United States. However, most of the fathers in the study have attended school in the U.S. to some extent and have knowledge on the structure and expectations of the educational system.

### **Key Roles and Responsibilities in Fathers' Involvement**

Overall, the findings from this study suggests that Vietnamese fathers are involved in their children's educational in broad and specific ways. They are involved with their children early on in their children's schooling and adjust their involvement based on the child's needs as necessary. More specifically the findings indicated that fathers' expectations, beliefs, and involvement are subject specific and that this level of specificity lends itself to children's academic achievement that are also subject specific. Fathers also indicated that they are more involved at home with their children's education than involved at school. Further, the findings from this study also suggested that culture and ethnic identity played a key role in fathers' beliefs, perceptions, expectations, and involvement in their children's education. Most fathers identified themselves as Vietnamese or Vietnamese American. Some indicated they feel more American at work but feel more Asian at home. Many of the characteristics

that fathers indicated that make them feel more Asian aligned with what have been found in the literature but a number of new characteristics were also found.

The goal of the first research question was to identify key roles and responsibilities that are a part of the educational involvement experience of Vietnamese American fathers. The coding of the interview data and peer discussion of them revealed several major roles and responsibilities that fathers expressed. One of the roles that emerged from the interviews is that fathers take on the role of a principal in their home involvement with their children's education. In this role, fathers take on a number of responsibilities, including setting big picture goals, setting expectations for performance standards, managing financial resources to support educational expectations of child, and enforces rules to help child with time management skills. Another role that emerged from the interviews is that fathers take on the role of an additional teacher at home for their child. Similar to being a teacher at school, fathers take on the role of a teacher at home by teaching his child about concepts learned in class to supplement explanations or clarify questions; seeking out curriculum, materials and programs to guide, support, and enrich their children's understanding of the subject(s) being taught at school; by monitoring the child's progress of assignments and homework to ensure it is completed correctly and on time; by monitoring the child's grades; and by assessing the child's interests and abilities to tailor his involvement accordingly. These results suggest that fathers are taking on these roles at home and perhaps see their home as an extension of the school. That is, where the responsibilities of the principal and the teacher begin and end at school, fathers indicate that they take on these roles at home (sometimes along

with their wife). In a sense, they pick up these responsibilities where it is left off at school from the principal and teacher. These roles are extended into the children's lives at home so that there is continuity in what is expected of them at school and at home, from their principal and teacher at school to their mother and father at home.

Grusec and Davidov (2010) suggest that parents' involvement can be conceptualized as existing within various domains. One of these domains is the teaching and scaffolding domain, whether parents take on the role of the teacher and help guide and teach their children concepts that are developmentally appropriate. However, there are no domains suggested by these researchers that captures management of the household as an indirect but important approach to parenting. Other theoretical frameworks on parental involvement often divide parents' involvement into two spheres: school involvement (how parents get involved at school) and home involvement (how parents get involved at home) (Hoover-Dempsey & Sandler, 1997; Izzo et al., 1999). Some frameworks have considered a third sphere, parents' psychological perspective (beliefs, expectations, and goals), in measuring components of parental involvement (Grolnick et al., 1994; Jeynes, 2007; Pomerantz, 2007; Spera, 2005). Still, other frameworks divide parents' involvement even more spheres, with up to six spheres (Epstein, 1987, Epstein & Sanders, 2002). Findings from this study expands on the home involvement sphere, by further dividing home involvement into two components, represented by the two roles and the respective responsibilities that were found in coding the interviews. Within each of these roles are different dimensions that should be considered, including flexibility and

specificity, and directness and frequency. The distribution of these roles should also be considered.

Findings regarding parents' responsibilities are similar to what have been identified as aspects of parents' home involvement in the current literature, such as communicating expectations, dedicating and allocating resources, setting rules, planning, supporting, guiding, and monitoring their children's academic progress (Chao, 2000; Fan & Williams, 2010; Grolnick & Slowiaczek, 1994; Spera, 2006; Sy & Schulenberg, 2005). While the responsibilities of parents' involvement are similar to what the literature has found, the roles are a unique contribution to the literature. No study to date has found the link these fathers expressed between these known responsibilities that parents take on in their educational involvement and the responsibilities that teachers and principals have to their students at school. The parallels between what teachers do and what parents do as an extension of their responsibility to their children's education has not been drawn before and similarly, the parallels between what parents do and what principals do have not been drawn in the literature. Theoretical frameworks of students' academic outcomes such as the expectancy-value theory, suggests that students' academic outcomes can be explained in part by parents' involvement, beliefs, and expectations and other cultural milieu (Wigfield et al., 2015) but it does not account for parents' perception of their role in their children's education. Similarly, research using the developmental niche model focus on examining children's developmental outcomes (e.g., academic achievement) through the socialization process (beliefs, practices, context) of the socialization agents (e.g., parents) (Super & Harkness, 1986) but no research using this model has

examined the roles that are taken on by parents to examine children's outcomes. Additionally, research on parental involvement have not shown how parents' involvement may be domain-specific with the teaching domain of Grusec and Davidov's (2010) conceptualization.

Most studies on parents' involvement have measured and defined involvement through one dimension of involvement, which is the *frequency* of involvement, by asking parents how often they did something (Ginsburg & Bornstein, 1993; Grolnick, Ryan, & Deci, 1991; Hoover-Dempsey, et al., 2001; Pomerantz, 2007; Spera, 2005; for further discussion, see Chapter 2). Studies on parental involvement have not considered other dimensions of parental involvement and findings from this study suggest there are other dimensions that should be considered. Within the role and responsibilities of the principal, two dimensions were found, the level of *flexibility* and the level of *specificity*. The level of flexibility and specificity in parents' goals, expectations, rules, resource allocation can determine how parents get involved in their children's education. Some research models of parental involvement in children's education suggest that the relationship between parents and children influence each other through a reciprocal and cyclical relationship over time (Zhang, Haddad, Torres, & Chen, 2011) and that these reciprocal relationships are domain specific (Hong, Yoo, You, & Wu, 2010). The reciprocity of relationships between parents and children perhaps underlie the concept parents' flexibility and specificity. For example, parents may be keen to children's interest, abilities, and challenges and adjust their goals, expectations, and rules in a way that match with their children's goals, expectations, and achievement over time, and this process is subject specific.

The role and responsibilities of the parent acting as a teacher can be divided into dimensions: directness and frequency, For example, fathers can provide more direct daily involvement when children are young (in elementary school) and more indirect infrequent involvement when children are older (in middle and high school). Although research on parents' involvement have indicated that there is a decline in frequency of involvement over time as children move through schooling, with particular decline in involvement seen in high school (Pomerantz, 2007), the current study found that there are aspects within parents' involvement that go beyond frequency. Within the role and responsibilities of a teacher, the findings highlight the importance of considering the directness of involvement as well as the frequency of involvement to better understand how parents perceive they should be involved, how often parents perceive they should be involved. Many studies on parents' involvement have measured the frequency of parents' direct involvement (by asking parents how often they check homework or help with homework, etc.) but fewer have measured the directness of parents' involvement (e.g., giving advice vs. working through a problem on homework together; suggesting how to communicate with teachers vs contacting teachers themselves, encouragement and critique vs reward and punishment). Measuring parents' directness in involvement can help show that parents can still be frequently involved with their children's education but in more indirect ways that can be helpful to children's academic motivation and achievement.

Although roles of the principal and teacher have been identified from the interviews of fathers, coding showed that some these roles were identified as mainly their own, shared with their wife, or mainly the role of their wife. As such, the

dimension of these roles and responsibilities can range from a mostly father-role, a mostly mother-role, or a shared-role. Mother and fathers' shared roles and responsibilities are often examined in the context of providing care, also known care taking, during infancy or early childhood (Clark, 2009; McBride & Mills, 1993; Lamb, 2008), but much less is known about mother and fathers contributions to children's education with school-age children. In their study of Malaysian mother and fathers' contribution to children's education Han & Jun (2013) found that mothers were more involved in expressive or emotional development of their children than fathers and more involved in mentoring and advising their children than fathers. However, no differences were found in mothers and fathers' instrumental involvement, such as helping their children develop discipline, responsibility, independence, and moral and career development. Other research on the contribution of mothers and fathers' involvement to children's education has examined whether having at least one, both, or no highly involved parents were related to children's grades and enjoyment in school and found that having at least one highly involved parent was related to children's school enjoyment (Tan & Goldberg, 2009).

With respect to differences in educational expectations for their children, fathers from this study indicated that at least one parent had higher expectations for grades, or was less flexible on goals and expectations for the child such that mothers and fathers may not always have the same expectations, but at least one parent had high expectation or stricter enforcement of rules while the other parents have less strict expectations or rule enforcement. This seems to suggest that having balance between parents is also important to consider. Rather than focusing on level of

involvement through measures of frequency of involvement, future research should also investigate the flexibility of parents' goals, beliefs, expectations, and rule enforcement to understand how each parent may contribute individually and collectively to children's motivation and achievement in school.

Additionally, research on the contribution of mother and fathers' involvement to children's education often examine whether fathers' involvement contribute to children's education above and beyond mothers' contribution (Lamb, 2008). This line of research therefore assumes that mothers take precedence or take a leading role in children's education. However, this may not be the case for Vietnamese families as shown in a small number of research that included Vietnamese families (Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Nguyen & Cheung, 2009). Fathers may be taking the lead when level of specificity is considered in parents' involvement such that fathers may be more involved with math and science subjects while mothers may be more involved with English subjects or more involved in the school. In fact, fathers in this study indicated that they often have higher expectations or equally high expectations for their children compared to their wife, and they are often more involved at home than at school compared to their wife, and their involvement is more focused on math and science subjects than other subjects. Extending this dimension of involvement into children's schooling is important to consider to understand who should be involved and in *what ways* to help children become successful in school.

As can be seen in the interview data, the fathers in this sample stated that the role as a principal can begin as early childhood, in which fathers are setting big picture goals and long term goals for his children. Fathers begin to think about the

type of fields and professions they want their children to pursue in the future and the skillsets they expect their children to acquire and hone overtime to prepare themselves for these professions. For example, a number of fathers indicated that they would like for their children to pursue a career in the sciences, to study engineering or medicine, some indicated that they made this decision with their wife early on in their child's life. To this end, fathers are setting long term goals not only for their children, but also for themselves as parents and the extent to which they feel they need to be involved in their children's education to help them prepare for such a college and career. Research on parental expectations have found that parents' educational involvement is often determined by their expectations for their children, and these expectations are also related to children's academic achievement (Okagaki & Frensch, 1998; Phillipson, 2009; Sy & Schulenberg, 2005; Wigfield et al., 2015). Spera (2006) demonstrated in his study that adolescents' perceptions of parental goals and values for their education were positively related to their reports of their parents' educational involvement, which in turn had a positive relationship with children's own interest and engagement in school.

Adding to the current literature, findings from this study indicate that fathers have both global and specific goals and expectations for their children. The specificity of goals and expectations are important to consider in examining parents' role as principal. Fathers indicated that the overarching goal for their children is for their children to have both the hard skills and soft skills needed to be succeed in any field. Ultimately, they stated that their goal is for their children to obtain a career that is stable and can provide them the means to live a comfortable life, thus avoiding less

stable career avenues or one that may not afford them a comfortable life style. Their goals are often driven by their own experience of trying to achieve a stable and comfortable life for themselves, and thus they want their children to have these same aspirations. Additionally, identifying a specific career field in which they want their children to pursue helps fathers focus their attention to and prioritize their involvement and expectations to specific subject matter or extra-curricular activities that fathers believe would help their children prepare for that particular career. This suggests that parents' goals and actions can be domain-specific within the teaching domain, which has not been captured within the research literature (Grusec & Davidov, 2010). The explanations that fathers gave about their goals for their children help us begin to reveal the processes that take place and the relationship that would begin to form in the relationship between parents' goals and parents' involvement and children's achievement. In fact, parents' educational aspirations and goals have been found to be related to parents' involvement and children's achievement (Davis-Kean, 2005; Fan, 2001), and the findings in this study shed light on how these relationships may be operating and when it began. These results highlight the importance of specificity in examining parental involvement and children's educational outcomes.

From the big picture long term goals, fathers began to take an active role in setting their expectation for their children's academic performance. These expectations are very high; most fathers stated that they consider A's as good grades, and B's as bad grades, although most also stated that they don't necessarily expect straight A's. This is similar to what has been found in other studies of Asian parents; this group of, parents have the highest expectation for their children's academic

achievement compared to parents of other ethnicities and that they expect mostly A's from their children in terms of performance (Okagaki & Frensch, 1998) This is the first study to show this in Vietnamese fathers. Results from this study's interviews can give some insights into the previous findings. Fathers gave two main reasons for not expecting straight A's. First, fathers believed grades are an important indicator of mastery, or understanding, rather than just performance, thus they are more concerned about their children's efforts to learn, understand, and master a given subject rather than get straight A's in something that doesn't contribute to their foundational learning and potential growth and understanding. Previous research on parental involvement has shown that parents' involvement is related to children's goals to master what they learn in school rather than focusing only on getting good grades (Gonzalez et al, 2002; Gonzalez-DeHass, Willems, & Holbein, 2005), results from this study indicated that fathers hope their children not only get good grades but also master the material. This finding suggests that fathers' motivational goals for their children may be communicated through their involvement or discussions with their children (see Grolnick, Friendly, & Bellas, 2009, for discussion of how parents socialize their students' motivation for school). Fathers were especially keen to their children's understanding and mastery in math (and literacy for younger children) because mastery of more advance math in later and future years requires a strong understanding and foundation in early learning of mathematics. Fan (2001) found that for Asian American families, parents' educational aspiration, or goals, were related to children's initial and growth achievement in math but not reading. Again, this suggests that Asian American parents, and perhaps fathers especially, stress the

importance of learning and understanding math, thus this becomes one way parents help their children achieve in mathematics.

Third, fathers in the study indicated that although they expect mostly A's from their children, they believe that grades in school is just one part of the larger equation in being successful in life. Research on fathers' involvement often cite fathers' employment as a rationale for lower involvement compared to mothers (Tan & Goldberg, 2009) but this finding suggests that fathers use their employment as a point of reference to guide their children's efforts rather than just performance. For example, fathers in the study indicated that learning, understanding, and mastering skills in math and engineering were important to building their career but it took more social skills to further their careers, so non-academic skills were just as important or more important in the later stages of career building.

In order to support the long term goals and expectations for academic achievement from their children, fathers also said they take on the responsibility of providing financial support for their children's schooling materials, schooling activities, extra-curricular activities that would enhance college or career preparation, academic support or enrichment programs and services, and college savings. Many fathers indicated that they have purchased programs, hired tutoring services, or paid for their children's enrollment in clubs, sports, or other extra-curricular activities in order to support and enhance their children's learning and skill building. By financially supporting children's activities in and outside of school, children can maintain or gain an edge over their peers in their academic endeavors while keeping in mind the long term goal that this is meant to help children prepare for competitive

college applications. Research have shown that students from higher income families tend to do better in school from lower income families (Davis-Kean, 2005; Jain & Belsky, 1997; Kim & Wong, 2002; Phillipson, 2009; Suizzo & Stapleton, 2007). These findings can be explained in part through parents' financial ability to investment in their children's education in and outside of school.

Fathers' efforts in setting goals and expectations and providing funding to support those goals and expectations would be remiss if fathers did not also set and enforce rules to help build a structure for children's educational routines and habits (Fan & Chen, 2001; Jeynes, 2003, 2007). Fathers indicated that they especially focus on helping their children learn to manage their time around studying and completing assignments. Making sure time is allotted for their children to complete homework assignments and projects is just one example of what these responsibilities might entail. Setting rules about wake-up time and bedtime also help children maintain a steady study and sleep schedule for school. Limiting play time or visit time with friends during school nights is a part of this responsibility. Managing time commitments and competing priorities between academic and non-academic activities is another facet of this responsibility. Observing their children's studying, doing homework, and test taking habits in terms of frequency, duration, and speed and then providing feedback on how to manage their time better for each scenario are a part of this responsibility. Generally, research has found that parents set rules around play time and allot time for children to do homework (Grolnick, 1994; Pomerantz, 2007)., but few have examined how parents help children manage their time with competing priorities or improve on studying strategies This level of nuance in fathers'

involvement in children's education by helping their children manage their time can help explain how and why parents' involvement can help children become successful in school.

In addition to the role of a principal, fathers often take on the role of an additional teacher at home for their children by teaching their children about concepts learned in class to supplement explanations or clarify questions, by seeking out and providing extra educational activities or enrichment programs for child, by monitoring progress of assignments and homework to ensure it is completed correctly and on time, by monitoring the child's grades, and by assessing the child's interests and abilities to tailor their involvement accordingly. These teaching responsibilities are taken on and carried out in order to make strides toward the goals fathers set in their principalship role. While the role of the principal is more hands off and less direct in the daily the involvement of fathers with their children, fathers' role as a teacher is more hands on and occurs more frequently (albeit less frequently as children become more independent with age).

Fathers in the study indicated that they actively take part in discussing, explaining, and re-teaching concepts that their children have learned in class in order to help clarify or supplement explanations provided by their teachers. Research on scaffolding, a learning process whereby novices are guided by others who are more advanced (e.g., children being guided by their parents), have shown that students performed better on tests and other cognitive activities when they receive scaffolding through a tutor than students who did not receive scaffolding (van de Pol, Volman, & Beishuizen, 2010). The approach described by fathers in this study is similar to them

providing scaffolding to their children, which can mean that fathers are helping to reinforce what teachers are teaching at school and providing the necessary support to advance children's learning and understanding of concepts. Within this responsibility of teaching their children, fathers' involvement tend to be subject specific. Like teachers at school, fathers focus their teaching responsibilities on the subjects they have expertise in, which includes math, science, and social studies. Most fathers indicated that when their children need help with English, reading, or writing, the children go to their mothers for help. However, one of the challenges fathers face in teaching their children is that their knowledge is based on a different methodology for learning the concepts so they did not want to interfere or contradict the current teaching and learning method their children are experiencing in their school. For example, fathers indicated that while they know and understand math very well and can arrive at the same expected answer for a given problem, they have a difficult time helping their children explain every step and how they arrived at their answer and to justify their answer. This was not how fathers in the study learned mathematical concepts, thus there is a generational learning gap. The concept of parents teaching their children has not been greatly explored in the current literature on parental involvement, yet some research suggest that for Asian American parents, teaching their children is an important aspect of their involvement (Chao, 2000), while other studies on Asian fathers' involvement indicate that fathers may not be as involved as mothers in the daily involvement with their children because of the sociallyacceptable roles and responsibilities for fathers within Asian culture, which assumes that fathers are do not take on domestic responsibilities, including being closely

involved with their children's education (Ho et al, 2011; Shwalb, Nakazazva, Yamamoto, & Hyun, 2010). The different methods in which fathers teach their children or get involved through teaching and the reasons for involvement (or lack thereof) would be important to measure in future research, especially for Asian American parents.

Another responsibility fathers said they take on is to seek out and provide extra educational activities or enrichment programs for child. This is often done in response to the monitoring of their children's grades and progress in school. If fathers observe that their children are doing well or if the subject is coming too easily for their children then fathers would seek out enrichment programs to help bolster their child's ability and prevent lack of interest if the pace of the curriculum at school is too slow their child. Fathers would find curriculum or educational activities to move on to more advanced topics. These extra curricula may come from resources provided by the school or it may be something fathers find on their own. For example, if fathers perceive that their children are doing well in math without much trouble, they may find and provide additional workbooks, work problems, or online/computer programs that will provide more advanced lessons in mathematics to their children to maintain their interest and ability on the subject. Likewise, if fathers perceive that their children are not doing well in a particular subject and fathers cannot provide the help themselves, fathers will seek out educational programs or a tutoring service to help to prevent their children from failing and get back on track with their peers in learning the subject. Further, if fathers perceive that a certain topic or subject isn't being adequately taught in school, they will seek out additional programs and

activities for their children to gain more experience in, such as engineering. A number of fathers indicated that while engineering was not being offered at their child's school in that grade (elementary school) or that it was offered but felt the curriculum was not up to par with their own expectations and goals for their children's learning, they sought out other vehicles and programs for their children to learn engineering concepts, with some forming their own group to educate their children on the concepts outside of school. These findings are in line with previous research showing that Asian parents tend to be much more involved at home through assigning extra homework, purchasing extra workbooks or activities, enrolling children in academic programs or activities, hiring a tutor, or saving money for college (Chao, 2002). This granular level of involvement at home has not been measured in the typical assessments of parental involvement but should be considered in future research, particularly with Asian American parents.

In line with what other researchers (e.g, Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001; Jeynes, 2007; Pomerantz, 2007; Spera, 2005) have characterized as a component of parental involvement is the responsibilities of monitoring their children's homework completion and monitoring grades. However, fathers in the study indicated that they not only check whether homework is completed, they check whether the answers are correct, whether arriving at the correct answer makes sense, whether there are patterns of mistakes or errors made, and provide feedback on where improvements may be made. Additionally, fathers review exams with their children to further understand where there may be patterns of mistakes made or lack of understanding or to find more efficient ways of completing a problem or finding an answer. This is

how fathers feel they can help their children close the gap on the grade that their children receive and the grade that they expect and want their children to receive.

This is done to the extent father feel they have the capability of doing so in a given subject area. Again, fathers do this mostly with math, history, and science subjects.

These additional steps are often not distinguished or included in the current parental involvement literature but can be important in understanding how level in granularity of involvement can help children make achievements in their everyday learning before making achievements on exams or higher stakes tests.

Level of education might be a good start for predicting students' achievement, or even parental involvement. But parents' level of education assumes value, competency, and efficacy to help their children, but few studies have examined parents' self-efficacy in school related subjects or their perception of their ability to teach their children school subjects. There is literature on parents' value and parents' efficacy (this was reviewed in Chapter 2) relating to parents' involvement and children's educational outcomes. However, not much is known about parents' report of their own ability beliefs in specific subject matter to be able to help their children. The current literature falls on the crutches of parents' level of education to explain the relationship between parents' beliefs or characteristics and children's outcomes, even though it is possible for parents to have a college degree or graduate degree but not feel confident in their math abilities or science abilities or English abilities (as fathers in this study have expressed, that they do not have strong ability in English, even though all fathers indicated they have a college education or higher). Findings from this study suggests that while level of education is still important to consider in this

line of research, parents' self-reported ability beliefs are important too, and perhaps even more important when examining subject specific relationships to children's educational outcomes such as motivation and achievement. Lack of competency or ability in a specific subject may preclude parents from being able to help their children in these subjects, so they focus on the subjects they have ability in.

Throughout the interviews fathers were careful to cite their children's interest, ability, and personality as important indicators for how often, how much, and how fathers get involved in their children's education. That is, fathers believe that they should not and often do not get involved through close monitoring, checking, or intervening in their children's education if they perceive that their children are interested, self-motivated, proactive to seek out help, and have the ability to do well in school on their own (with little help from parents). Fathers often said, "every kid is different and you have to adjust your involvement to that kid." Keeping this in mind, fathers indicated how they had to adjust their involvement to complement the working and learning style of their children. With younger children, fathers tended to indicate that they were involved with their children regardless of ability because they want their children to be prepared for more advanced curriculum in the future, but fathers of older children in middle and high school often indicated that they preferred to not intervene unless necessary given teenagers' need for autonomy and independence during this developmental stage. Previous research have shown that parents' involvement is also dependent on children's invitation to be involved (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001). Additionally, as discussed earlier, some researchers studying parental involvement in children's education have shown that the

relationship between parents and children influence each other through a reciprocal and cyclical relationship over time (Zhang, Haddad, Torres, & Chen, 2011) and that these reciprocal relationships are domain specific (Hong, Yoo, You, & Wu, 2010). The reciprocity of relationships between parents and children perhaps underlie the concept parents' flexibility and specificity. For example, parents may be keen to children's interest, abilities, and challenges and adjust their goals, expectations, and rules in a way that match with their children's goals, expectations, and achievement over time, and this process is subject specific.

#### Ethnic Identity, Culture, and Fathers' Involvement

Regarding acculturation and ethnic identity, research in these areas have shown that parents who are less acculturated to American culture may also be less likely to attend school functions or be involved with parent teacher associations (PTA). For example, Asian American parents with stronger ties to their own Asian culture and weaker ties to American culture may be less likely to engage in activities at schools perhaps because of their lack of familiarity with the American school system and limited English language proficiency limit their ability to effectively communicate with teachers and administrators (Garcia Coll, Akiba, Palacios, Bailey, Silver, DiMartino, & Chin, 2002; Hwa-Froelich & Westby, 2003; Huss-Kessler, 1997).. In addition, compared to other ethnic groups there is not as much work on Asian American identity, or whether Asian Americans (especially first generation Asian Americans) identify more with their country of origin, or being American. Therefore, fathers were asked about their ethnic identity and whether they felt more "American" or "Asian".

Although some fathers had a difficult time and some felt uncomfortable comparing themselves to fathers from other ethnic backgrounds, they were able to discuss what it meant for them to be Asian and often compared Asian values to American (White) values. Findings from the interviews showed that most fathers (15 out of 18 fathers) in the study indicated that they feel more Asian than more American and a few fathers (3 out of 18 fathers) indicated that they feel both Asian and American. Almost every father in the study considered that closeness with their family is what makes them feel more Asian than American or that it is a defining characteristic of the Asian culture that is not seen in the American culture. Further, fathers indicated that the interaction and time spent with other Asian people; involvement in the Asian community; value for hard work, discipline, and steadiness; non-Christian religious beliefs; understanding humor in Vietnamese conversations; reading choices; holiday celebrations; and respect for elders were all aspects of their lives that make them feel more Asian than American, some of which are in line with what previous research on ethnic identity and acculturation have found (Chung, Kim, & Abreu, 2004; Phinney, 1992). With an understanding that most fathers in the study consider themselves to have a more Asian ethnic identity or orientation toward Asian culture, I examined how the Asian culture may influence their parental practices and involvement in their children's education. Here, I am interested in the approach they take and the perspective they have with respect to their involvement in their children's lives.

A number of themes emerged to highlight how the culture and traditions influence fathers' expectations, beliefs, and approaches to involvement in their

children's education. First, fathers' beliefs about the importance of education stems from Confucius teachings that education is key to upward mobility, and these teachings are seen more within the Asian culture than American culture. This belief in what education can do to empower one's life and lift it out of poverty is a strong influence in the way Asian parents prioritize their children's education and educational goals. This belief that education is the main vehicle to financial and personal success is what drives fathers' involvement. Second, parents' pressure for their children to do well prior to college stems from the competitiveness to earn a spot in a college admission in many countries in Asia. As such, Asian parents carry this experience with them as immigrants to the U.S. and expect their children to perform well in primary and secondary school in order to be a competitive candidate for college even though there are more options and more opportunities for college admittance in the U.S. Other research studies on Asian American parents and their parenting practices noted similar beliefs about Confucius teachings and experiences from the country of origin that help to explain why these parents place a strong emphasis on education (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

The inherent collectivistic view of Asian culture highlights (Hui, 1988, Kim & Choi, 1994; Markus & Kitayama, 1991) the importance of respecting one's elders through active obedience or agreement without questions because doing so reiterates your place within the collective group and your acquiescence is seen as a benefit for the group because the elder has spoken. For example, children are expected to show respect to their parents without questioning their authority and accepting whatever they are being told. This is seen as benefiting the group because it is thought that the

parent is making decisions and providing guidance that will benefit the whole family. Fathers in the study described this phenomenon as a closeness that is family focused rather than individual focused. This feeling of closeness in turn influences their belief in what their role is as parent and what their responsibilities are to their children. Fathers describe that this feeling of closeness could in turn lead them to want to take on a more protective role as a parent, and shield them from harm and avoid possible failures. The responsibilities of this role then manifests itself in setting strict rules or having high expectations of little to no failures or in close monitoring of children's behavior so that the child and the family can be protected from harm or perceptions of failures. An indication of the child failing and thereby the family failing is through children's performance in school. Children's academic achievement is seen as a collective achievement not only for the child but for the parents and the family as a whole. Likewise, children's lower performance in school can be viewed as a collective failure by the child, by the parents, and the family as a whole.

Although most fathers expressed that they felt more Asian than American, all of the fathers have lived in the U.S. for long time and have gone through both the U.S. schooling system and Vietnamese schooling system. Fathers recognize that while the traditional method of teaching in Vietnam is by rote memorization and the strategy for educational success is to have high academic achievement, these methods and strategies do not necessarily translate to success in the U.S. Fathers' schooling and work experience in the U.S. help them realize that straight A's and high grades are not the only factor in determining success in the workforce. In fact, fathers stated that innovation, leadership, collaboration, networking, and other soft skills are

required for successful career in the U.S. One's educational achievement is important for setting the foundation to carrying out the basis work, but it is the soft skills that is needed to carry out successful projects and endeavors. Fathers use their experience as professionals in the workforce in the U.S. to help them find balance in providing guidance for developing the skill sets necessary for their children's future success. This is an example of how the American culture's value of soft skills along with hard skills that influence fathers' approach to parenting and parental involvement. Fathers of older children were also keener to the imbalance of competitiveness and preferential treatment of college applicants based on ethnicity in the U.S. At the time of the interview, fathers indicated that Asian students were competing amongst themselves rather with other ethnic minorities or with all other students. Because Asian American students tend to have higher academic achievement than students of other ethnic groups (Department of Education, 2016), parents have perceived that colleges tend to have a quota for admitting Asian American students in order to diversify the student body (Belkin, 2016; Wu, 2016). In effect, fathers perceive that their children (because they are Asian American) must work harder and obtain higher grades in order to compete with other Asian American students, who already tend to have higher grades, to gain admission to college. This perception of an imbalanced policy for college admission also adds pressure for parents to prepare their Asian children to compete amongst the highest performers rather than all other performers.

# Relations among Culture, Involvement, Beliefs, and Children's Educational Outcomes

I also collected questionnaire data from parents and their children regarding fathers' ethnic identity and acculturation, mother and fathers' educational characteristics, and involvement, children's perception of mother and fathers' involvement, children's academic motivation in order to provide more background information on characteristics of the sample and relations among fathers' involvement, fathers' educational characteristics, ethnic identity and acculturation, and children's academic motivation and achievement. Findings from the quantitative data were similar to what fathers described in the interview. First, both the quantitative and qualitative data indicated that fathers' tend to identify with the Vietnamese culture and ethnic identity than the majority European American culture and ethnic identity. Second, data from the interview and the questionnaires showed that fathers are more involved with their children's education at home than in school and that they were mostly involved through cognitive and intellectual discussions, but the quantitative data did not capture the nuanced way in which fathers are involved at home and through cognitive discussions and in the roles and responsibilities fathers take on that were captured in the interviews. Additionally, the quantitative data showed that children's perception of their fathers' involvement were similar to what fathers had reported in the interview and questionnaire and that responses from children and fathers were associated with each other. Fourth, children's perception of their mothers' involvement were similar to what fathers had described in the interview in that mothers were more involved at school than fathers, less involved at

home, but children reported that their mothers were more cognitively involved with intellectual discussions. Again, this may suggest that the current parental involvement questionnaire items have not been developed enough with fathers as respondents to capture how they are more involved at home and how their cognitive and intellectual involvement might differ from mothers' cognitive involvement.

Although the quantitative data from this study indicated that fathers are involved in all three spheres, at home, at school, and through cognitive and intellectual discussions, the qualitative data suggest that much of fathers' roles and responsibilities to their children's education take place at home or away from school. Fathers indicated in the interviews that they are far less involved in the school because of a number of reasons. From the interviews, fathers indicated that lack of time, lack of language command, and lack of connection to other parents of other ethnicities are barriers to their involvement at school; thus they focus on their involvement at home. Results from the quantitative data suggested there was a limited relationship between fathers' ethnic identity and fathers' involvement. For example, fathers' ethnic identity affirmation was related to fathers' school and cognitive involvement. That is, when fathers identified more with his Vietnamese ethnicity, the more fathers reported that they were involved in their children's school and through cognitive discussions. Further, the relationships in the quantitative data between fathers' ethnic identity affirmation and children's perception of their fathers' involvement show that the more fathers indicated that they identified more with their Vietnamese heritage, the more children reported that their fathers were involved at home and through cognitive discussions. These results suggest that identification with

the Vietnamese American ethnicity is related to both fathers and children's report of involvement.

Similarly, fathers indicated in the interview that several aspects of the Asian culture drive their involvement in their children's education. For example, the focus on education within Asian culture help parents prioritize their children's activities around this belief. The value for hard work, discipline, and steadiness within Asian culture lead parents to set high expectations and set rules for their children to work toward having high achievements. Respect for elder and closeness with family as a tenet of Asian culture lead parents to expect that their children respect parents' position and authority in the household because decisions from parents are made for the good of the family and the outcome of children's behaviors reflect on the family and community too. Taken together, these results suggest that culture in general influences parents' involvement and that ethnic identification more specifically is related to different aspects of fathers' involvement, particularly their cognitive/intellectual involvement.

Results from the interviews suggested that fathers' perception of their own abilities in certain subject areas are related to their expectations and involvement in those subjects. Similar to the qualitative interviews, the questionnaire responses showed that fathers had high educational value beliefs. In fact, fathers' value beliefs in math, English, and science were all related to each other. Additionally, these value beliefs are related to children's academic achievement. Perhaps these educational beliefs are being communicated through fathers' expectations for their children's academic achievement, and as such, these correlations were explored. Again, similar

to what fathers indicated in the interviews, fathers reported they had high expectations for their children's academic achievement in the questionnaire. But something made clear in the interview data that is not apparent in the survey data was the fact that fathers take into account their perception of their child's ability when considering how well their child should do in a specific subject area. For example, if fathers believe their child has the ability to do well in math, their expectation for their child to do well is also high. However, if they believe their child struggles in English and does not grasp the subject as fast then fathers allow for exceptions to be made in their high expectations granted if the child shows effort and diligence in learning and studying for the subject. But it is perhaps that it is fathers' own ability in these subjects that are related to their expectations, and the quantitative data showed that relationship. For example, fathers' higher ability in math and English were related to fathers' expectations of higher grades in math for their children.

Positive relationships were found between children's perception of their fathers' cognitive involvement and their academic motivation in science. These positive relationships perhaps shed light on the discussion or activities that fathers focus on (i.e., science) when they are cognitively involved with their children. Given that the majority of fathers in this study were studied engineering or has an occupation in the engineering field, it is likely that the cognitive and intellectual discussions and involvement activities will tend to have a focus or emphasis on science.

#### **Limitations and Future Directions**

The current study contributes to the parental involvement literature in new ways, but there are limitations to the study that should be considered and directions for future research are suggested. One of the limitations of this study is that it only included fathers of Vietnamese decent. Further, these fathers are first generation immigrants in the United States with personal experience living in Vietnam and in the U.S. Although focusing on a group of fathers from one ethnic background to study the influence of culture on parental involvement can provide a clearer picture for that ethnicity, the findings cannot be generalized to other ethnicities or perhaps even to non-first-generation immigrant fathers of the same ethnicity. Perhaps the findings in this study are unique to the experience of first-generation Vietnamese American fathers. Future research can expand on this study by including non-Vietnamese American fathers in the sample. For example, it would be interesting to conduct this research on fathers from other Asian ethnicities (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Thai, Pilipino, Indian, Korean) or on Latino fathers or African American fathers and determine whether it yields similar findings. Fathers from other ethnic background may have similar parental involvement behaviors but when, how, why, and to what extent they are involved in their children's education may be different based on cultural norms or cultural influences. Perhaps there are other aspects of parental involvement that have not been captured in this study that would be illuminated in studies including fathers of other ethnicities. Additionally, there may be important similarities in parents' involvement across Asian ethnicities that have not be documented in the current literature on parental involvement. And perhaps there are

important differences that differentiate Asian parents from parents of other ethnicities that would inform the way parental involvement is studied and measured for Asian parents. This study began to investigate that by focusing on Vietnamese American fathers and their family.

Another limitation is that fathers in the study had very similar educational backgrounds (i.e., mostly college educated engineering backgrounds), work background, and income level, thus limiting the generalizability of the findings to Vietnamese fathers with these characteristics. While attempts were made to include families from diverse SES backgrounds, including offering incentives to families who indicate that their child participated in the free or reduced lunch program at school, but only fathers with at least some college education volunteered to participate. As a result, many fathers in the study indicated in the interview that they felt confident in their math and science abilities to help and be involved with their children in these subjects because of their educational and professional background. Parents' level of education or income are traditionally used to predict parental involvement and children's educational outcomes (see Chapter 2) but results from the quantitative data did not show that relationship. In fact, the quantitative data showed that it was fathers' self-perception of ability and value beliefs in specific subject areas, and not fathers' level of education, that were related to their children's academic outcome, namely self-reported grades in math. No study to date has explored this level of detail with respect to subject specific involvement or subject specific beliefs or selfperceptions of ability among fathers or mothers using quantitative or qualitative methods. I believe that research on parental involvement can be greatly expanded and

enriched by asking parents more about subject specific beliefs and behaviors with respect to their involvement with their children's education. This is especially important for investigating first generation immigrant parents who may not indicate that they have a high level of education on questionnaires because their highest level of education was completed in their home country, which may be perceived as not being equivalent to the same level of education in the U.S. so they indicate a lower level of educational attainment on questionnaires. Yet these parents may feel confident in the skills that they have obtained through their educational training or through their previous profession in their home country would still be useful in helping their children do well in school. Further, even if parents reported high levels of education in U.S., they may not feel confident in certain subject areas that hinders them from being able to help their children, and thus may excuse lower performance from their children in those subjects. For example, fathers in this study were mostly college educated with backgrounds in math and science, and reported feeling confident in these subjects but indicated that they felt least confident in their English abilities in both the qualitative and quantitative data. This greater detail about fathers' perception of their own ability in math, rather than level of education, was what showed significant associations with children's academic achievement math over time. I believe that a larger, broader, and more diverse sample of fathers will show a relationship in other subjects as well, perhaps European American fathers may indicate that they have stronger abilities in English than math and this would be related to their children's academic achievement in English.

The sampling technique used for this study was one of convenience. Fathers and their families were recruited from two Vietnamese language programs that were held on the weekends and required tuition for enrollment. Recruiting fathers who whose child attend these programs inherently introduces bias in the sample as the characteristics of these fathers may differ from fathers and children who do not attend these extra-curricular programs. Fathers who enroll their children in these programs may already have levels of involvement in their children's education. Additionally, since this study was based on voluntary participation, those who volunteered may also have inherently different characteristics than those who declined to participate in the study. Future research would benefit from including fathers outside of language programs whose involvement may be lower than fathers with children enrolled in language programs.

While this study relied on fathers to account for their educational involvement, it is the children who ultimately will be affected by their parents' involvement. As such, future research should include children as an important informant of their parents' involvement, including information about their mother's involvement and their father's involvement. Additionally, fathers in the study often asked why their wife will not be interviewed for the study because they perceived that she plays an important role in their children's education. Future research could benefit from having the mother's perspective as well within the same family in order to get a fuller picture of the roles and responsibilities both parents play in their children's education. Additionally, all fathers in the study indicated that they were married and living with their wife and children. Future research should look to

investigate the roles and responsibilities of non-married and non-resident fathers to their children's education. Past research on non-resident fathers have only included White, Latino, and African American fathers (Cabrera et al., 2008; DeBell, 2008). No research has examined non-resident Asian fathers and how these fathers are involved with their children.

As discussed in the section above, this study found new themes that should be considered for future research in the field of ethnic identity, acculturation, and parental involvement. Closeness with one's family and understanding the jokes within the language one is more familiar with and being comfortable around people who are from one's culture, and value of steadiness are all concepts that emerged from this study that have not been captured in the current research on ethnic identity and acculturation. These new concepts can help future identify the degree to which Asian Americans and Vietnamese American feel more acculturated with one culture or another or lean toward identifying with one ethnic identity more than another. Additionally future studies should measure more non-behavioral aspects of involvement such as perception of ability, expectancy, and value for individual subjects. And measurement of behavioral involvement should be broken out into specific subjects. Future studies should also seek to measure children's perception of their mother and fathers' abilities to have a better understanding of how this might influence their invitation for help or help seeking behaviors with their parents.

The qualitative findings presented in this dissertation were based on coding interview data that was completed in an iterative process with peer discussions to ensure the codes are complete and have reached saturation. However, it may be

possible there are more than the two main roles regarding fathers' involvement in their children's education found in this study; other roles may not have emerged because they may not have been salient to the fathers in this study. Therefore, a separate validation study should be conducted in the future to examine whether fathers agree that the major themes found in this study are an accurate depiction of their experiences in their involvement with their children's education. Additionally, future research should seek to explore whether there are other roles and responsibilities that fathers believe they take on in their involvement with their children's education.

#### Conclusion

Research in the field of parental involvement is important to identify way to help support children's academic achievement outside of school. This study extended the literature by examining father involvement within a sample of Vietnamese American fathers and identifying two roles that fathers take on in their home involvement, the role of the principal and the role of teacher. The study also identified five dimensions to be considered in examining the roles and responsibilities of parents: distribution of roles, flexibility and specificity in the responsibilities of the principal role, and directness and frequency in the responsibilities of the teacher role. Furthermore, this study found that culture and ethnic identity have influences on fathers' beliefs, expectations, and practices. This study provides rich information on the breadth and depth of fathers' involvement and the process involved in helping their children succeed in school that has not been examined at this level of granularity in the current literature.

# **Appendices**

# **Appendix A: Family Descriptive Statistics**

V1	AGE	EEDU	CGD	CSX	FSI	FHI	FCD	FAM	FAE	FAS	FVM	FVE	FVS	MSI	MHI	MCD	CAM	CAE	CAS	CVM	CVE	CVS
Fam 1	40s	Master	$4^{th}$	M	5.00	5.30	5.40	4.67	4.00	4.67	6.67	6.67	6.67				6.00	3.67	6.50	4.86	4.86	5.71
Fam 2	40s	College	5 <sup>th</sup>	M	5.40	4.80	5.20	5.67	4.33	4.00	6.67	7.00	6.67	1.20	4.10	3.60	6.00	5.00	4.33	6.29	5.57	5.71
Fam 3	40s	Master	$1^{st}$	F	3.00	4.20	3.80	4.33	4.00	4.33	6.67	6.67	6.67	3.40	3.40	4.00	3.00	6.00	2.00	4.50	5.71	4.86
		Some																				
Fam 4	40s	College	$11^{th}$	F	5.00	5.00	5.50	2.67	2.33	5.67	3.67	3.67	5.00	5.00	5.20	5.20	3.67	6.33	6.33	4.43	5.86	6.00
Fam 5	50s	BS	$3^{rd}$	F	3.40	4.20	4.50	2.67	3.00	3.33	3.33	5.33	5.33	4.20	5.00	4.50	4.33	5.33	5.00	6.00	5.43	4.86
Fam 6		MS	$5^{th}$	F	3.40	4.20	5.10	6.33	4.33	6.33	6.33	6.00	6.00	4.80	5.20	5.10	6.00	4.67	3.33	4.00	5.43	3.86
Fam 7	40s	Ph.D.	$3^{rd}$	M	6.00	6.00	6.00	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	5.20	5.50	5.40	5.00	6.67	6.00	6.00	6.43	7.00
Fam 8	50s	Master	$10^{th}$	F	2.00	4.30	5.60	7.00	4.00	7.00	6.00	7.00	6.00	4.80	4.30	5.40	4.67	3.33	6.00	5.86	3.14	6.00
Fam 9	50s	B.S.	$10^{th}$	M	2.00	3.50	2.70	6.00	3.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	6.67	3.80	3.10	4.10	6.33	5.67	6.67	4.71	3.57	6.86
Fam 10	50s	Grad	$12^{th}$	F	2.60	4.80	6.00	5.33	5.33	5.33	5.00	7.00	4.00	4.20	5.30	5.90	6.00	4.00	6.00	6.29	4.43	6.29
Fam 11	50s	BS	$6^{th}$	F	2.40	4.89	5.10	5.33	3.67	5.00	5.67	6.67	4.67	5.80	4.56	5.60	6.00	4.67	5.00	5.57	4.71	3.71
Fam 12		BS	$9^{th}$	F	4.40	4.60	5.20	5.33	3.33	6.33	7.00	7.00	7.00	5.00	4.60	5.30	5.67	6.00	3.67	4.43	5.71	4.43
Fam 13	40s	BS	$4^{th}$	M	3.80	4.80	5.00	4.33	4.33	3.33	5.33	5.33	5.33	3.80	4.70	5.10	6.33	3.33	2.67	6.43	4.14	4.00
Fam 14		MS	$11^{\text{th}}$	M	4.20	3.90	5.60	5.00	2.67	5.00	6.00	6.33	6.67	4.80	3.80	4.80	7.00	4.33	7.00	5.14	2.71	6.14
Fam 15	50s	MS	$12^{th}$	F	5.20	4.70	5.80	6.33	6.00	6.00	6.00	7.00	5.67	5.60	5.30	6.00	3.00	6.00	6.67	4.14	6.14	6.29
		Some																				
Fam 16	40s	Grad	$9^{th}$	M	3.40	4.30	4.30	5.00	5.33	5.67	5.33	6.00	5.67	2.60	4.80	5.70	6.33	5.33	5.67	6.14	5.86	4.71
Fam 17	50s	MS	$10^{th}$	F	4.20	4.80	5.60	6.67	4.00	6.00	5.67	6.33	6.00	4.00	5.00	4.50	4.33	5.67	6.00	4.86	3.86	5.14
Fam 18	40s	Masters	$12^{th}$	F	5.00	3.00	5.80	6.33	6.33	6.33	6.33	7.00	6.33	4.40	4.10	5.80	6.00	5.33	6.00	5.57	5.57	5.43
Mean					3.91	4.52	5.12	5.31	4.30	5.43	5.83	6.35	5.94	4.27	4.59	5.06	5.31	5.07	5.27	5.29	4.95	5.39

Note: Age = Father's age; EDU = Father's Education; CGD = Child's grade; CSX = Child's Sex/Gender; FSI = Father's School Involvement; FHI = Father's Home Involvement; FCD = Father's Cognitive Discussions; FAM = Father's Ability in Math; FAE = Father's Ability in English; FAS = Father's Ability in Science; FVM = Father's Value for Math; FVE = Father's Value for English; FVS = Father's Value for Science; MSI = Mother's School Involvement; MHI = Mother's Home Involvement; MCD = Mother's Cognitive Discussions; CAM = Child's Ability in Math; CAE = Child's Ability in English; CAS = Child's Ability in Science; CVM = Child's Value for Math; CVE = Child's Value for English; CVS = Child's Value for Science

### **Appendix B: Father's Interview Questions**

For this interview, we are interested in learning more about your role and responsibility to your child's education as well as your views about how your cultural background affect your parenting and parental involvement.

- 3. Tell me about your family (number and age of children, marital status, length of marriage, residency)
- 4. What are some of your goals for your child's education or career? Are they the same as your partner/wife?
- 5. Can you tell me about how you are involved in your child's education?
- 6. Could you describe your day-to-day involvement with child's education and schooling?

(at home & at school)

7. Do you help your child with school work?

Follow-up: If so, how often and in what subjects?

Follow-up: If you do not, who helps?

Follow-up: Are there rules that you set or things that you do that you think are helpful for your child's education?

8. Do you attend your child's school functions or activities

Follow-up: If so, what kinds of activities and how often?

Follow-up: If not, why not? What are the barriers?

9. Do you encourage your child with regard to school?

Follow-up: If so, how? When? How often?

- 10. What do you say or do when he/she gets good grades?
- 11. What do you say or do when he/she gets bad grades?
- 12. When do you talk to your child about school

Follow-up: What kinds of things do you talk about?

Follow-up: How often do you talk about these things?

Follow-up: Where does it usually take place?

13. When do you feel you can help your child do well in school?

Follow-up: If so, how? In what ways?

Follow-up: If not, are there other family members or other people who feel can help your child in school? Why? What do they do?

- 14. Can you tell me about an experience when you could not help your child in school?
- 15. What are some important things you think children needs to do or have in order to be successful school?

Follow-up: What are some things you think YOUR CHILD needs to do in order to be successful in school?

16. How do you think your involvement in your child's schooling is different than the child's mother?

Probe: In what ways are you involved in your child's schooling and in what ways is the child's mother involved in your child's schooling?

Follow-up: Could you tell me more about how the child's mother is involved in your child's schooling?

17. Do you ever feel you should not be involved in your child's schooling?

Follow-up: If so, when and why?

Follow-up: What do you think are schools' responsibilities for children's education?

Follow-up: What do you think are parents' responsibilities for children's education?

- 18. Are there activities or things you do with your child at home that are school related?
- 19. Do you think how well your child does in school impact how much you are involved with their schooling?
- 20. Do you feel confident that you can help your child with his/her schoolwork?

Follow-up: If not, do you do anything extra or special to help them in other ways?

Follow-up: What are some things you feel you CAN do to help your child in school?

21. Do you keep in contact with the school?

Probe: If so, how? via phone? Email? In person?

Follow-up: When or how often do you contact the school?

Follow-up: Do you know your child's teacher's name?

22. Who do you have contact with at your child's school?

Follow-up: When you contact your child's school, what is it concerning?

- 23. Do you know the name of your child's teacher?
- 24. Can you tell me about your own educational experiences?

Probe: Were they positive or negative?

25. Do you think being an Asian father differ from being a White American father or a father of another ethnicity?

Probe: How do you think being an Asian dad different than being a "White" or "Hispanic" or "African American" dad?

Follow-up: Do you think this affect your views on education?

- 26. How does being Asian American influence your experiences as a father?
- 27. Do you feel you are more Asian or more American?

Follow-up: What are some activities you do that makes you feel this way?

Follow-up: What are some beliefs you have (or things your value or think about) that makes you more [Asian or American]?

# **Appendix C: Questionnaires**

# **Background Information**

Name:					
Age:		Gen	der (circle one):	Male	Female
Address:					
Home Phone Number:					
Mobile Phone Number:					
Email:					
Highest level of education:					
Degree Subject:					
Work status (circle one):		Employed	No	t Currently E	Employed
Job title and Industry:					
			Living with		Widowed/
Marital Status: (circle one)	Single	Married	Partner	Divorced	Separated
Please list all the people who live in your household full-time:	Name		Age	Relation	ship to you
1.					
2.					
3.					

4.					
5.					
6.					
What is your race/ethnicity:					
Where were you born?					
How long have you lived in the United States?		Sin yea	ce what ar:		
What is your native language?					
How well do you do the following in your <u>native</u> <u>language</u> ?	Not at all Well	Not very Well	well	Pretty Well	Very Well
Understand	1	2	3	4	5
Speak	1	2	3	4	5
Read	1	2	3	4	5
Write	1	2	3	4	5
How well do you do the following in English?	Not at all Well	Not very Well	well	Pretty Well	Very Well
Understand	1	2	3	4	5
Speak	1	2	3	4	5
Read	1	2	3	4	5
Write	1	2	3	4	5

nch?

### **Parent's Involvement Questionnaire**

Instructions: Please use the scale below to indicate how often you do the activities listed below. Please circle ONE number on the scale (from 1 to 6) for each item.

# How often do you...

		Never		Some	times		All the time
1.	Attend parent-teacher conferences	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	Attend open school night	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	Attend or volunteer at school activities or events	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	Attend or volunteer at parent- teacher	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	Contact teachers	1	2	3	4	5	6

# How often do you...

	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Never		Some	times		All the time
6.	Give special privileges because of good grades	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	Limit privileges because of poor grades	1	2	3	4	5	6
8.	Require work or chores around the house	1	2	3	4	5	6
9.	Limit the amount for watching TV	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	Check whether homework is completed	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	Allot time for homework	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	Help with homework	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Limit video games/play time	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	Limit the amount of time spent with friends on school nights	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	Purchase books or materials for school	1	2	3	4	5	6

Instructions: Please use the scale below to indicate how often you do the activities listed below. Please circle ONE number on the scale (from 1 to 6) for each item.

# How often do you...

		Never		Some	times		All the time
16.	Encourage your child to do well in school	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	Discuss school work with your child	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	Monitor your child's progress of school-related tasks	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Help plan for what classes your child should take	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	Keep track of your child's grades	1	2	3	4	5	6
21.	Discuss school grades with your	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	Discuss with your child about school activities or things he/she studied in	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	Discuss community, national, or world events with your	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	Discuss future plans for high school or college with your child	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	Help plan for college with your child	1	2	3	4	5	6

#### **Parents' Educational Background and Views**

We are interested in learning about your views on education and your child's education.

Instructions: Please circle the number that best represents your view on each item below.

#### 1. How good are you at...

	Not at all good			Okay	Very good			
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

### 2. <u>Compared to other activities</u>, how good are you at...

	Not as			About the			A lot
	good as			same			better
	other						than other
	activities						activities
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

#### 3. Compared to others where would you put <u>yourself</u> in...

	One of the worst			In the middle		The best			
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

#### 4. How well do you expect to do if you were to take a test in...

	Not at all good			Okay			Very good
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

#### 5. How good would you be at <u>learning something new in...</u>

	Not at all good			Okay		Very good		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

6.	In general,	how <u>usefu</u>	<u>l</u> is							
		Not at all			Somewhat			Very		
		useful			useful			useful		
	Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
7.	For your child, how useful is									
		Not at all			About the			A lot more		
		useful			same			useful		
	Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
8.	For me, <u>be</u>	ing good at	<u>i</u> s	i						
	Not at all Somewhat									
		iimportant			important			Very important		
	Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
9.	Compared to other activities, how important is it to you to be good at									
		Not as			About the			A lot more		
		iimportant as			same as		important			
		other			other			than other		
		subjects			subjects			subjects		
	Math	/activities 1	2	2	/activities 4	5	6	/activities 7		
	English	1	2	3 3	4	5	6	7		
	•	1	2	3 3	4	5 5	6	, 7		
	Science	1	2	3	4	3	O	,		
10.	How impor	rtant it is th	at <u>your (</u>	<u>child does</u>	<u>well</u> in					
		Not at all			Somewhat			Very		
		iimportant			important			important		
	Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
	Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

## 11. How far in school do you <u>expect your child</u> to go?

Not very far				Somewhat far		Very far	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. What kinds of grades do you want your child to get in school?

	Any grade	Mostly Fs	Mostly Ds	Mostly Cs	Mostly Bs	Mostly As	All As
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. How upset would you be <u>if your child didn't do as well</u> as you thought in...

Not at all upset				Somewhat upset		Very upset	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. How well do you think your child will do on the next test in...

	Poorly			Okay			Excellent
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. <u>Compared to other students</u>, how good do you think your child is in...

	Not as good as compared to other students			About same as other students			Better than other students
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. How well do you think <u>your child will do next year in a course on...</u>

	Poorly			Okay			Excellent
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17. How well do you think your child will do in an advanced course in...

	Not so well			Okay		Very well	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. How good do you think your <u>child would be in a career</u> requiring skills in...

	Not at all good			Okay	Very god		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## **Asian American Multidimensional Acculturation Scale (AAMAS)**

*Instructions*: Use the scale below to answer the following questions. Please circle the number that best represents your view on each item.

		Not Very Well		Som	ewhat		Very Well
1.	How well do <i>speak</i> the language of –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. English?	1	2	3	4	5	6
2.	How well do you understand the language	e of –					
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. English?	1	2	3	4	5	6
3.	How well do you read and write in						
٥.	the language of –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. English?	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.	How often do you listen to music or look at						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.	How much do you <i>like</i> the food of –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
6.	How often do you <i>eat</i> the food of –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
7.	How knowledgeable are you about the						
	history of – a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	How knowledgeable are you about the	_	_	5	<b>-</b> T	5	O
8.	culture and traditions of –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6

*Instructions*: Use the scale below to answer the following questions. Please circle the number that best represents your view on each item.

		Not Very Well		Some	ewhat		Very Well
9.	How much do you <i>practice</i> the						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian American cultures?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream culture?	1	2	3	4	5	6
10.	How much do you identify with –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
11.	How much do you feel <i>you have in</i> common with people from—						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	How much do you interact and associate with						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	How much would you like to interact and associate with people from –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	How <i>proud are you</i> to be part of –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	How <i>negative</i> do you feel about people from –						
	a. your own Asian culture of origin?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	b. other Asian groups in America?	1	2	3	4	5	6
	c. the White mainstream groups?	1	2	3	4	5	6

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#### **Ethnic Identity Measure**

In this country, people come from many different countries and cultures, and there are many different words to describe the different backgrounds or <a href="ethnic groups">ethnic groups</a> that people come from. Some examples of the names of ethnic groups are Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American, Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, American Indian, Mexican American, Caucasian or White, Italian American, and many others.

These questions are about your ethnicity or your ethnic group and how you feel about it or react to it.

In terms of ethnic group, I consider	
myself to be (please write in):	

Please circle one number for each statement regarding how much you agree with each statement.

Stati	ement.	Strongly Disagree	Disagre e	Agre e	Strongl Y Agree
1.	I have spent time trying to find out more about my ethnic group, such as its history, traditions, and customs.	1	2	3	4
2.	I am active in organizations or social groups that include mostly members of my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
3.	I have a clear sense of my ethnic background and what it means for me.	1	2	3	4
4.	I think a lot about how my life will be affected by my ethnic group membership.	1	2	3	4
5.	I am happy that I am a member of the group I belong to.	1	2	3	4
6.	I have a strong sense of belonging to my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
7.	I understand pretty well what my ethnic group membership means to me.	1	2	3	4
8.	In order to learn more about my ethnic background, I have often talked to other people about my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
9.	I have a lot of pride in my ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
10.	I participate in cultural practices of my own group, such as special food, music, or customs.	1	2	3	4
11.	I feel a strong attachment towards my own ethnic group.	1	2	3	4
12.	I feel good about my cultural or ethnic background.	1	2	3	4

## **Ethnic Identity Measure**

Please circle one number for the statement below.

13.	My ethnicity is	1)	Asian or Asian American, including Chinese, Japanese, and others
		,	Black or African American Hispanic or Latino, including Mexican American, Central American, and others
		4)	White, Caucasian, Anglo, European American; not Hispanic
		5)	American Indian/Native American
		6)	Mixed; Parents are from two different groups
		7)	Other (write in):
14.	My father's ethni	~itv	is (use numbers above):
14.	iviy <u>idener s</u> eemin	city	
15.	My <u>mother's</u> ethr	nicit	y is (use numbers above):

### Parent's Involvement Measure - Student

We are interested in learning about your views on your parents' involvement with your school and education. Instructions: Please circle the number that best represents your view on each item of your mother and your father.

How often does your mother and father...

1.   Give you special privileges because of good grades			Never Some			Some	times	All the time	
2.   Limit your privileges because of poor grades   Father   1   2   3   4   5   6     Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6     3.   Require you work or chores around the house   Father   1   2   3   4   5   6     Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6     Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6     Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6     Limit the amount of TV you can watch   Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6     5.   Check whether your homework is   Father   1   2   3   4   5   6     6.   Allot time for you to do homework   Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6     7.   Help you with your homework   Father   1   2   3   4   5   6     8.   Limit your video games/play time   Father   1   2   3   4   5   6     9.   Limit the amount of time you can spend with friends on school nights   Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6     10.   Purchase school books or materials for you materials for you are spend with friends on materials for you with your materials for your with you	1.	Give you special privileges because of good grades	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nother   1   2   3   4   5   6			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
Require you work or chores around the house	2.		Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
Chores around the house			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
4.       Limit the amount of TV you can watch       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         5.       Check whether your homework is       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         6.       Allot time for you to do homework       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         7.       Help you with your homework       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         8.       Limit your video games/play time       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         9.       Limit the amount of time you can spend with friends on school nights       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         10.       Purchase school books or materials for you       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6	3.		Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
Father   1			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
5.       Check whether your homework is       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         Mother       1       2       3       4       5       6         Allot time for you to do homework       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         Mother       1       2       3       4       5       6         7.       Help you with your homework       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         8.       Limit your video games/play time       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         9.       Limit the amount of time you can spend with friends on school nights       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6         10.       Purchase school books or materials for you       Father       1       2       3       4       5       6	4.		Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nother   1   2   3   4   5   6			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
6. Allot time for you to do homework    Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6	5.	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mother   1   2   3   4   5   6			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
7. Help you with your homework    Father   1   2   3   4   5   6	6.	•	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
Nother   1   2   3   4   5   6			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
8. Limit your video games/play time  Father 1 2 3 4 5 6  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  9. Limit the amount of time you can spend with friends on school nights  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  10. Purchase school books or materials for you	7.	• • •	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
games/play time  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  9. Limit the amount of time you can spend with friends on school nights  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  10. Purchase school books or materials for you			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
9. Limit the amount of time you can spend with friends on school nights  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  10. Purchase school books or Father 1 2 3 4 5 6  materials for you	8.		Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
you can spend with friends on school nights  Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6  10. Purchase school books or materials for you			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
10. Purchase school books or Father 1 2 3 4 5 6 materials for you	9.	you can spend with friends	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
materials for you			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
Mother 1 2 3 4 5 6	10.		Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
			Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6

Please circle the number that best represents your view on each item of your mother and your father

How often does your mother and father...

	mother and father		Never		Some	times		All the time
11.	Encourage you to do well in school	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
12.	Discuss school work with you	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
13.	Monitor your progress of school-related tasks	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
14.	Help plan for what classes your should take in the future	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
15.	Keep track of your grades	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
16.	Discuss your school grades with you	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
17.	Discuss with you about school activities or things you've studied in class	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
18.	Discuss community, national, or world events with you	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
	, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
19.	Discuss future plans for high school or college with you	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
	solves or conege than you	Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
20.	Help plan for college with you	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6

# How often does your mother and father...

	mother and rather		Never		Some	times		All the time
21.	Attend parent-teacher conferences	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
22.	Attend open school night	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
23.	Attend or volunteer at school activities or events	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
24.	Attend or volunteer at parent- teacher	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6
25.	Contact your teachers	Father	1	2	3	4	5	6
		Mother	1	2	3	4	5	6

#### **Students' Academic Motivation and Achievement**

We are interested in learning about your interests, ability, expectations, values, and achievement in school.

*Instructions:* Please circle the number that best represents your view on each item below.

1. How good are you at...

	Not at all good				Very good		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Some students find that they are better at one subject or activity than another. <u>Compared to most of your other activities</u>, how good are you at...

	Not as			About the		A lot		
	good as			same		better		
	other						than other	
	activities						activities	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

3. If you were to list all the students in your grade from the worst to the best, where would you put <u>yourself</u> in...?

	One of			In the		The best		
	the worst			middle				
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

4. How well do you <u>expect</u> to do in next year in...

	Not at all good			Okay	Very good		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

5. How good would you be at <u>learning something new in...</u>

	Not at all good		Okay						
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		

6. In general, how <u>useful</u> is what you learn in...

	Not at all			Somewhat		Very	
	useful			useful		useful	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

7. Some students find what they learn in one subject or activity more useful than what they learn in another. <u>Compared to most of your other activities</u>, how <u>useful</u> is what you learn in ...

·	Not at all useful			About the same		A lot more useful	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

8. For me, being good at is ...

	Not at all			Somewhat		Very		
	important		important				important	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

9. Some students believe that it is more important to be better at one subject or activity than another. <u>Compared to most of your other activities</u>, how <u>important</u> is it to you <u>to be good</u> at....

	Not as important as other			About the same as other		A lot more important than other		
	subjects /activities			subjects /activities			subjects /activities	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

10. How much do you <u>like doing...</u>

Very little			Somewhat			A lot		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

11. Some students find that they like one subject or activity much more than another. Compared to most of your other activities, how much do you like ...

	Not as much as other subjects /activities				A lot more than other activities		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12. In general, you find working on assignments in...

	Very boring		Very interesting				
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

13. How often do you wish you were doing something else when you're doing...

	Never			Sometimes		Almost everyday	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

14. How well do you think you will do on your next test in...

	Poorly				Excellent		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

15. Compared to other students, how well do you expect to do this year in...

	Not as good as compared to other students			About same as other students		Better than other students	
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. How well do you think you'll do in your course next year in...

	Poorly			Okay			Excellent
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

17.	How well do you think you will do in an advanced course in

	Not so well			Very well			
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

18. How good do you think you would be in a career requiring skills in...

	Not at all good				Very good		
Math	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
English	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Science	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. What is your grade this year in (please provide a letter grade)...

Math	
English	
Science	

20. What was your grade <u>last year</u> in (please provide a letter grade)...

Math	
English	
Science	

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