

Reconsidering Parental Involvement: Chinese Parents of Infants in American Child

Development Center

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This dissertation titled
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Abstract

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Reconsidering Parental Involvement: Chinese Parents of Infants in American Child Development Center

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Although the relationship between parents and infants has been considered as a significant key for better facilitating the children's development in infancy, it has not been fully explored yet. This qualitative study determined to utilize Epstein's (2018) framework of involvement, Dewey and Bronfenbrenner's perspectives on young children's education, and qualitative methods to investigate the perspectives of Chinese parents of infants in regard to parental involvement experiences in America and take a close look at how Chinese parents, school and the community work together toward infants' development. Supposing that barriers or challenges exist that may influence the quality and quantity of parental involvement in a child's development in infancy, the purpose of this study was to examine parental involvement by deeply exploring Chinese parents' perspectives on enrolling their child in a child development center in infancy.

Two efficient methods were utilized to collect data in this qualitative study, including interviewing and reviewing related documents. A total of 11 participants were interviewed individually in regard to their experiences and perspectives of parental involvement in their child's development in infancy while they were living in America.

Six of them had enrolled their infants in an American Child Development Center, one of them chose to enroll their infant in a Chinese Child Development Center, and four of them decided to take care of their children at home in infancy. All participants were interviewed individually, and all related documents were reviewed as supplementary data.

The findings revealed that there were different perspectives of parental involvement among all participants due to their different working status, educational backgrounds, family opinions and cultural beliefs. Based on the interviews with the six Chinese parents who enrolled their infants in an American Child Development Center, five of them were satisfied with their parental experiences even though they had encountered challenges, and they believed that enrolling their child in a Child Development Center in infancy was a great way to facilitate their development and get a chance to know the American culture. Only one of them was not very satisfied with the experience and would not recommend other parents to send their babies to the center if they have time to take care of their child. Another Chinese parent who chose to enroll his infant in a Chinese Child Development Center was not satisfied with the experience, but he would like to send their second baby to a Chinese one because they want their child to learn Chinese, and additionally, the grandparents' opinions often play an important role in their decision-making process.

Moreover, according to all participants' statements, there was no evidence to indicate that any American Child Development Center particularly tried to attract the Chinese parents' attention within one community; however, some participants mentioned that some schools did encourage Chinese parents to be involved in all kinds of events and

try to implement the elements from the Chinese culture. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that some administrators and the teachers might realize that there are needs for them to welcome the diversity in the infant classroom and notice the possible barriers that may occur in the minority families in their involvement, however, not all of them.

Using the findings, the significance of parental involvement based on the collected evidence through interviews and related documents is discussed. The lack of American cultural backgrounds, language barriers and the grandparents' role all play an important role in Chinese parental involvement in their infants' appropriate development at home, in the center and within the community. The findings emphasized that it is crucial for teachers and administrators to acknowledge the possible barriers the Chinese parents and other minority groups might meet in the American education system, comprehend the importance of minority groups' parental involvement, especially in infancy, and then, make efforts in time to deal with the occurrence and influence of special needs and barriers from minority families. Hopefully, this study could eventually help all stakeholders to better facilitate young children's development in infancy and make an outstanding contribution to future research in related field.

Dedication

*To my daddy, Yuanrong Liu, my mommy, Fuxiu Wu, my husband, Xiaole Wang, and my
little baby, Arianna Wang*

Acknowledgments

I feel wonderful to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to all my committee members, friends, and family for their support throughout my overseas education experiences, especially my PhD study, including my dissertation journey. Without their care, support and encouragement, it might have been extremely tough for me to complete my dissertation and work towards all my goals as I planned.

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Preface

What can I do/prepare for my little baby if I send my baby to an American childcare center?Will those caregivers take care of my baby?.....Are those caregivers professional?.....What kind of diploma did those caregivers get?..... Can we go to the childcare center often cause I want to know what and how my baby does in the setting? Will I miss the chance to build a good relationship with my own baby? (a Chinese couple of a newborn baby in America)

I do not know if I should send my newborn son to a child care center, but I found that my neighbors and the majority of my American peers send their newborn babies to the child care center. I do not know which child care setting I should send my baby to cause I do not know anything about how to pick a suitable setting, especially I am in America. (a Chinese father of a newborn baby in America)

The preceding comments are a reflection of the many inquiries and worries from Chinese parents of infants who are living in America in regard to “American child development centers.” The style of Chinese parents regarding child-rearing is authoritarian, which includes setting high standards and being very controlling about their children’s development. Thus, Chinese parents always focus on their children’s achievements (Baumrind, 1966). Though these parents are interested in and willing to be involved in their children’s development, their involvement is confined by some barriers or challenges that may exist in their perceptions and interactions with a child development center, family and their community. Based on the previous research, I sought to explore whether there exists certain barriers or challenges that restrict Chinese parents’ involvement in their child’s development in America. Based on my knowledge of the significance of parental involvement in the development and education of their infant children and my own parenting experiences, my curiosity motivated me to explore the Chinese parental involvement experiences in an American Child Development Center setting.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Parental involvement has been explored by an increasing number of scholars over the past few decades, thereby, it is no longer new to most of us. Based on these researchers, the majority of them believed that parents play a significant role throughout their children's education and life, and their involvement has a positive influence on children's homework, school performance, behaviors, self-confidence, academic achievement, and attitudes towards learning at any grade level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018; Faires et al., 2000; Kotia et al., 2014; Steinberg et al., 1992; Van Roekel, 2008), even in the infancy period (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2020; Martin & Berke, 2007; Wan et al., 2012). Thus, a growing number of scholars highly recommend that parental involvement should play a critical and essential role in their children's education (Baker & Scher, 2002; Boethel, 2003; Bogenschneider et al., 2004; Carroll, 2013; De Carvalho, 2000; Epstein, 2018; Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2020; Martin & Berke, 2007; Milly, 2010; Robinson & Volpe, 2015; Wan et al., 2012).

In the 1960s, there was a strong emphasis placed in federal policies on the importance of parental involvement in the development of children including policies such as the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 that included the Head Start Project and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Since 2000 policy actions such as the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) and the subsequent Every Student Succeeds Act have reinforced these ideas on parental involvement. The NCLB Act in particular urged schools to take action to support "parental involvement," and encourage the consideration

of parents as “full partners” throughout their children’s development (Robinson & Volpe, 2015). As “full partners” parents could collaborate with schools to share insights about the development of their children and to support student advancement. Especially for Chinese populations in America, previous research indicated that teachers in America are lacking the extensive understandings about educating Chinese students or communicating with parents of Chinese students (Camarota, 2005). Scholars such as Robinson and Volpe (2015) have recommended that educators take into account all the possible challenges and limitations regarding the diverse cultural backgrounds of students and their families from all circumstances, and they suggest that it will have a substantial influence on students’ achievement and performance. Thus, parental involvement for those parents who come from various cultural backgrounds has been continually considered as a challenging task for all stakeholders throughout the United States.

Infancy has been considered as a significant period because of what children experience, shape and gain at this stage, and this can be influential in their later development throughout their life span (Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Freud & Rue, 1989; Bagdi & Vacca, 2005; Feeney et al., 2016; Jung, 2008; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007). Researchers stated that the earliest years of children’s experience are critical for children to develop their abilities from birth until the emergence of the first words occur, and “parental involvement” is indicated to be the most influential factor to support infant growth (Lamb et al., 2002). More and more educators from early childhood education started to believe the parental involvement has a significant influence on student performance and achievement in their early childhood experiences.

However, although the positive benefits of parental involvement have been championed by a large number of researchers, there are really only a few scholars that focus on the influence of parental involvement in the development in infants, especially for the minority families, such as Chinese families. Thus, this study's main focus is on the parental involvement of Chinese parents of infants in America.

This study re-examined the importance of parental involvement by exploring the unique experiences and perspectives of Chinese parents of infants. It explored Chinese parents' perspectives regarding their involvement in their child's development in infancy, their views about enrolling their child in an American child development center, and eventually finding ways to support Chinese parental involvement in infancy in America. This study also conducted a deep investigation of Chinese parents' perspectives of their encounters with two distinct cultural beliefs regarding the parental involvement practice of Chinese families in an American child development center, thereby possibly contributing to the field.

Background

Despite the significant role of parents in children's academic achievement, an undeniable fact is that foreign families are still facing challenges of being involved in their children's education in America. Driven by rapid globalization, the population of the Chinese immigrants in America has already ranked in the top three populations in the U.S., only after the Mexican and Indian populations (Hooper & Batalova, 2015), and Chinese are considered as the most common international students throughout American universities (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2015). According to Allen-Ebrahimian's (2015) report,

there are more than 300,000 Chinese students who are studying in America. Further, as Macleod (2015) reveals, many Chinese students are raising children while they are in the U.S. Therefore, there is an inevitable tendency for educators to be challenged by the cultural diversity across all levels of education in American schools (Taylor & Sobel, 2001).

In response to this situation in educational environments, many researchers have already pointed out the critical role of cultural backgrounds in children's education (Epstein, 2018; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Silverman, 2010). Parents have always been considered significant in helping children understand their cultural backgrounds by providing them environments in the period of infancy, as well as helping to strengthen a child's foundation for the future development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007). For a long time, "parental involvement" has been used to describe how parents are involved in their children's education, and an increasing number of scholars have theorized that its influence has been profound in children's development (Bogenschneider et al., 2004; Eccles & Harold, 1993; Henderson & Berla, 1994; Iowa School Boards Foundation, 2007; Reynolds, 2006), even in the development in infancy (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007; Coleman, 2003).

More specifically, dominated by the "traditional" perspectives about infancy, it has been noted that infants have limited capabilities to deal with things by themselves. Thus, there is less research mainly focused on the development in infancy than in other age groups. However, infancy has been considered to be a critical period because of what

children experience and gain, and how this period can shape infants at this stage can be influential in their later development throughout their life span since the last decade (Bagdi & Vacca, 2005; Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Feeney et al., 2016; Freud & Rue, 1989; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007). Researchers theorized that the earliest years of children's experience are critical for children as they develop their abilities from birth until the emergence of the first words (Lamb et al., 2002). These authors noted that "parental involvement" is believed to be the most influential factor that supports infant growth during the development of children in the earliest years.

According to early childhood scholars, there are three main environmental settings in a young child's life: home, school and community (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lamb et al., 2002; McKenzie, 2015). Home has been considered as the most significant one among these three settings in children's early development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lamb et al., 2002; McKenzie, 2015). Moreover, infancy is a unique period which they cannot use verbal languages to communicate with others, and they need extra time to gain this skill (Piaget, 2013). Though infants have their own methods to express feelings and share thoughts (Lamb et al., 2002; Piaget, 2013), it is still hard for infants to survive without others' help and support due to their limited ability to take care of themselves (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007;). As they grow, they may feel more comfortable spending most of their time with someone whom they get more support from or with whom they are familiar, such as parents, and then forming attachments to them (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007). Educators found that parents are encouraged to be actively involved in all kinds of school events (Feeney et al.,

2016). Thus, parents have been considered to play a major role in the lives of infants, and it is reasonable to believe that the influence of parental involvement can best facilitate infant growth and development (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2020; Martin & Berke, 2007).

Numerous scholars have indicated that we should engage students' parents in school and encourage educators to be aware of the significance of parental involvement in education, especially in early childhood education. In fact, less literature pays attention to the education of Chinese populations in American schools and even less on the development of infants in Chinese American families. Consequently, it highlights the urgent need for studies to hear the voices from Chinese parents of infants in regard to their parental involvement experiences enrolling their children in an American child development center, understanding their struggling moments, and eventually, supporting the development of infants in Chinese American families.

Statement of the Problem

In order to help all stakeholders to work together toward a child's development in infancy by involving Chinese parents of infants in America, this study explored the perceptions and experiences of Chinese parents of infants. This research also considered whether or not these parents enrolled their children in an American child development center in infancy. More and more educators consider implementing parental involvement as a useful strategy to improve children's academic achievement (De Carvalho, 2000; Henderson & Mapp, 2002; Feeney et al., 2016; Martin & Berke, 2007; Milly, 2010; Stanovich, 1986; Wan et al., 2012). Despite the increasing awareness of the significance

of parental involvement, parents sometimes still felt like an “outsider” in their children’s education (Swap, 1993). When it happens with the minority groups, such as Chinese families in an American school setting, this gap becomes more obvious. Chinese parents are considered to aim for “perfectionism” as they always distinguish between good students and bad students by test scores (Tan, 2017). For example, children who can get full marks on an exam will be considered as good. However, how Chinese parents are involved in their child’s development in infancy in an American educational setting, how they facilitate infants through their involvement, how their cultural differences influence the level of their involvement, and then influence the development of infants have not been fully explored. Despite the increasing attention to the importance of parental involvement, it seems that Chinese parents of infants, teachers, directors and all possible stakeholders do not have useful sources to cooperate with each other toward Chinese children’s achievement, especially in the development in infancy.

According to researchers and early childhood educators, they all theorized that the earliest three years in one person’s life is the most significant period (Lamb et al., 2002; Clarke & Clarke, 2000), and they believed that parents play a key role in this early stage (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007). Dewey (2013) also indicated that the true education process starts almost at birth, and keeps shaping powers, saturating consciousness, forming habits, training ideas, and arousing feelings and emotions of every individual. Moreover, Bronfenbrenner (1979) profoundly believed that the frequency of interactions between children and adults at home is higher than in any other setting when a child leaves home. Thus, it is undeniable that parental involvement

is crucial to children's early development, even in the development in infancy, and has a significant influence on children's future academic achievements (Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2020; Martin & Berke, 2007; Milly, 2010; Stanovich, 1986; Wan et al., 2012).

Though an extensive body of research has emphasized the positive influence of parental involvement on children's development at any grade level, the focus has not particularly been in the infant setting. Yet there is less research on the development in infancy than in any other grade level when they are trying to contribute to the early childhood education. While many studies have confirmed that parental involvement is significant in children's education (Epstein, 2018), there is less attention to its influence on the development in infancy. All evidence relevant to the positive relationship between parental involvement and children's development is based on grade level above the pre-school level, and most of these studies focused on the outcomes of parental involvement based on the comparison of the experimental data rather than why and how parents want to be involved in their children's development.

However, infancy has been considered to be a significant period because what children experience, shape and gain at this stage can be influential in their later development (Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Freud & Rue, 1989; Lamb et al., 2002; Bagdi & Vacca, 2005). Among the influences that help an infant grow and develop, parents are the most important (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2020; Martin & Berke, 2007; Wan et al., 2012). In order to explore the relationship between parental involvement and development in infancy, it is crucial to dig deeply into the reason why

parental involvement in children's development should start from the earliest years' experiences, and what kinds of challenges might happen to Chinese parents whose infant is in America.

Rationale of the Study

To deepen our understanding of how Chinese parents of infants were involved in an American school setting and better facilitate the development of infants physically and psychologically by implementing Chinese parental involvement, it is critical to dig into the perspectives of Chinese parents in regard to their parental involvement experiences in their child's development in infancy and how they are involved in their children's education in America. What these Chinese parents have experienced related to the parental involvement throughout their personal or professional lives can be influential to their knowledge about implementing parental involvement in their children's daily life. All these participants' unique experiences of implementing parental involvement in infancy may influence their perspectives of their own role in their child's development, such as how Chinese parents of infants define the term "parental involvement," how Chinese parents of infants would like to communicate with infant teachers to support their child's development, and the reason why or why not these participants enroll their child into an American child development center.

In order to support Chinese parents of infants to have a better idea of their role in children's early development, help infant facilitators gain access to know their students from different cultural backgrounds and improve their instructional skills, and rethink the significant role of parental involvement in the setting, this study would like to take a

close look at the perspectives and experiences of Chinese parents of infants in regard to the parental involvement. By exploring how these participants take the Chinese parental involvement into practice in child's development in infancy, this study may provide access to reveal how Chinese parents and child development centers work together to implement parental involvement, especially for Chinese families, and conduct a deep investigation of Chinese parents' perspectives of their encounter with two distinct cultural backgrounds.

Ultimately, this study may help all the participants deepen their awareness of the importance of parental involvement in the development in infancy, especially the parents whose cultural background was different from American and perceive it as a constant process. Deep in my heart, I hope this study can ultimately help all the stakeholders, such as infant teachers, EC teacher candidate, the director of American child development centers, the community, and other minority groups, to think critically about parental involvement and view implementing parental involvement as an important strategy in early childhood education, especially in the development in infancy.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the unique parental involvement experiences of Chinese parents of infants and investigate their individual perspectives in regard to their parental involvement experiences in their child's development in infancy. All these participants' children should meet one requirement: they spend their infancy period in America. I conducted a qualitative research to focus on the parental involvement of Chinese parents of infants in America. This study specifically focused on

the experiences and perspectives of Chinese parents of infants in regard to their involvement in their child's development at home and in an American child development center.

Research Questions

In an attempt to explore Chinese parents of infants' perspectives and experiences regarding parental involvement in depth, the following research questions were used to guide my data collection process and will be answered in this study:

1. How do these Chinese parents view their role in an American development center setting?
2. From Chinese parents of infants' perspectives: what ways do infant teachers and directors like to involve Chinese infants' parents in their classrooms, and do they think highly of parental involvement?
3. Is there any barrier or challenging time for Chinese infants' parents to be involved in the development of their infants? If so, how do they deal with these difficulties?
4. Are they satisfied with their experiences in the center? Would they recommend other Chinese parents of infants to enroll their child in the center in infancy?

All these research questions served as guidance in the process of the data collection and analysis process.

Definitions of Terms

The terms such as parental involvement, infancy, infant teachers, EC teacher candidates, infant classrooms and literacy have carried different meanings for different

researchers. For the present study, it seems essential to provide a clear definition of each term throughout this study.

Parental Involvement

Despite the fact that numerous scholars have focused on parental involvement, it is hard to find out what parental involvement means to the development of infants.

Therefore, it is essential for this study to set a clear definition of parental involvement for this study. Some of them considered the involvement of the whole family as an important tool to promote the student's learning. In a study of Bang (2009), it indicated that the meanings of these terms are too broad to explore the specific aspects. Her study used "family involvement" to define all relevant activities that family members engaged in a child's education. Other researchers would like to use "parental involvement" (Chuo, 2012; Hill & Tyson, 2009; Jeynes, 2007), however, Bang (2009) believed this term can be limited by only focusing on the role of parents. For example, some of the researchers prefer to use the following definitions:

- Family involvement - the communications between parents and schools (Bowen, 2003; Bae, 2002; Fantuzzo, 2000; Martin & Berke, 2007).
- Family-school partnerships - the process of building relationships between family and school (Christenson, 2004; Epstein, 1995; Epstein, 2018; Henderson et al., 2007; Swap, 1993).

However, based on what I want to explore through this study, I chose to use the term "parental involvement." I investigated all participants' roles in 'parental involvement', which were defined by the stakeholders' participating experiences in this

study. Since the purpose of this study is to explore the perspectives Chinese parents of infants regarding their parental involvement, it should be a rational decision to follow their own perspectives of parental involvement, explore their experiences, and investigate how they think about their experience of parental involvement. Consequently, I used the term “parental involvement” to describe all relevant activities that parents take part in their child’s school events, and it is in line with Hill and Tyson’s (2009) perceptions of parental involvement.

Infancy

There always exists an argument for the definition of infancy. Some educators viewed 0 to 1 year as the infancy period and considered 1 to 3 years as the toddler period. Some educators always mention the infancy stage and toddlerhood together. For example, in a study of Schickedanz, Schickedanz, Forsyth and Forsyth (2001), they indicated that the period from 0 to 2 ½ years throughout one person’s life span as infancy and toddlerhood together. In spite of the definitions that I mentioned above, I also found that some educators had the same idea and defined the Infancy – the period from 0 to 2 years old throughout one person’s life span as infancy (Lamb et al., 2002; Liu et al., 2020; Jung, 2008). Researchers considered infancy as the period between 0 to 2 years old because they found that infants begin to develop their language skills and considered the emergency of language as a boundary for defining the infancy period (Lamb et al., 2002). Though there are different opinions on defining the period of “infancy,” I would like to set a clear definition of “infancy” which is consistent with Lamb et al., (2002): the period of infancy is between 0 to 2 years old throughout one person’s life span.

Infant Teacher

From ancient times till today, people who work with infants in a child care center have always been considered as “*caregivers*,” or “*babysitters*.” The majority of parents would like to send their babies to a child care center because their time is limited. Under such cases, parents prefer to view people who work with infants as a ‘*caregiver*’ or ‘*babysitter*’ rather than ‘infant teacher’. However, based on the literature, an increasing number of researchers and educators started to use the term ‘*infant teachers*’ instead of ‘*caregivers*’ or ‘*babysitters*’ in different studies. The expression of these three terms can be understood in slightly different ways.

Based on the previous literature, it is obvious that the term ‘*caregiver*’ is one of the most commonly used. Caregiver – a ‘*caregiver*’ should be capable of meeting the basic needs of a child, including physical, emotional, intellectual, and social needs because infancy has been considered as a critical period to develop in these areas (World Health Organization, 2004). Lamb et al., (2002) had highlighted the importance of the role of ‘*caregivers*’ in helping infants grow, meeting their basic needs, and facilitating their growth. However, the more I read, the more I found that the main focus of the term ‘*caregiver*’ is how to facilitate infants’ growth by meeting their basic needs, and very few ‘*caregivers*’ are considered as professional. For this present study, the term ‘*caregiver*’ is not enough to convey what I want to reveal, let alone to use the term ‘*baby-sitter*’.

Hence, it seems that the term ‘*infant teacher*’ is more suitable for this study because it appears to illuminate some latent abilities of a caregiver such as facilitating

infants' cognitive, sensorimotor, and intelligence development through a knowledge-based method.

After a meticulous consideration of which term to use in this study, I decided to choose '*infant teacher*'. The term '*infant teacher*' will not only focus on one or two kinds of development but all kinds of development in infancy. As far as I am concerned, the term '*teacher*' gives people a much more professional image than the term '*caregiver*' or '*baby-sitter*'. Though this study, I hope it can help more people to become aware of the important role of a '*caregiver*' or '*baby-sitter*' eventually, and I hope people who work with infants can be proud of what they are doing by knowing how important the role they can play in the development in infancy.

EC Teacher Candidates

Since I chose '*infant teachers*' to be a professional term to describe the people who work with infants, it is necessary for me to set a clear definition of the people who'd like to devote their time to work in the early childhood education in the future. Among teacher preparation programs, the majority of researchers considered "teacher candidates" or "pre-service teachers" as a good term to define the people who are in such programs (Adams & Wolf, 2008; Autry et al., 2009; Kagan, 1992; Morrell, 2010). However, according to Adams and Wolf (2008), '*teacher candidates*' is more professional than pre-service teachers who will complete the teacher preparation program for three age levels, which include the infancy period. Then, '*early childhood*' is shortened to two capital words' combination: '*EC*'. Thus, in this study, I used "*EC teacher candidates*" to

describe the people who will work with infants in the future or have their internship experiences in a child development center.

Infant Classroom

To most people, the place where other adults take care of the infants is called “infant rooms.” However, parents would like to consider the room that they prepare for their infant as “infant room.” Since I selected the setting in American child development center, it is essential to make a clear definition of the place where infants stay in the center. In my point of view, the term “*infant classroom*” shall make a professional sense to people. Since the infancy period is critical, I hope people can consider infant classroom as a professional place to facilitate their infants’ development. Thus, I determined to use “infant classroom” in this study.

Literacy

Literacy - “reading, writing, speaking, and listening,” and all activities related to language in children’s early years (Morrison & Wilcox, 2012; Morrow, 2001; Owens Jr, 2016; Sadik & Badr, 2012). It is hard to find a clear definition of what literacy means to infants. Instead of setting a clear definition of literacy in infancy, researchers categorize signs or types according to what is observable in infants’ emergence of verbal or body language. Evidence from research indicated that young babies are capable of acquiring language as early as 2 months and found that they can add, repeat and mimic other human beings’ speech around 6 months (Kuhl et al., 1992). For example, Lamb et al., (2002) found that if a parent says “I’m gonna get you a cup,” and repeat it with action, then, infants would like to isolate the word “cup.” It is reasonable to believe that children

in infancy have already gained the ability to store every percept in their sense in memory, such as what they are seeing, hearing, tasting, and so on. Infants would probably grab the word quickly when parents repeat a word several times in a specific context-related occasion (Lamb et al., 2002). Lamb et al., (2002) also considered any signs of infants' verbal or non-verbal behaviors as the emerge of language.

However, in this study, I would not define "literacy" through my own opinion. Instead of defining it, I would like to explore how all participants' roles in "literacy," thus, it was defined by all participants in this study. In order to explore the relationship between the parental involvement and literacy development in infancy among all stakeholders, it is reasonable to explore all participants' definitions of literacy in infancy.

Positionality

My interest in this topic stems from being a Chinese parent with a 1-year-old daughter while completing a PhD program in America. My experiences and concerns excited my curiosity to search all related information about young babies before my daughter was born. I registered my daughter for a child development center even when I was four months pregnant in 2017. There was a long waiting list to be enrolled in this center, and I heard from the director that I could enroll my daughter in September 2019. However, we would leave this community before September, so I ended up not enrolling my daughter in this center. I chose another setting for my daughter in another city. At this point, I felt that sending a young baby to a day care here was really different from sending a young baby to a day care in China. In China, it is easier to send babies to a day care because there are so many options.

Thus, as a new parent, I started to worry about so many things because she was my first baby. As a Chinese parent in an American town, I felt powerless because I was unfamiliar with so many things. Moreover, whenever I discussed this topic with my Chinese friends who enrolled their children in an American child day care, they felt the same way. Although I have working experiences as a researcher and as a graduate assistant in a child development center, I still felt different and nervous as a parent, especially as a parent from a minority group. Thus, all these experiences, feelings, and perspectives led me to have a passion for this study.

As a Chinese parent of an infant in America, I could be considered as an insider. As an insider, I could dig out more clues regarding the partnerships among Chinese parents of infants, a child development center, and the community. However, I was always aware of how to avoid the issue of bias and never overused my “insider” perspectives. As an educator who holds a critical view of the potential partnerships among minority families, a school and a community, I also qualify as an “outsider.”

Perspectives as an “insider” and “outsider” would provide profound insights if I could know my own subjectivity well and find out the best position for these two identities (Graue & Walsh, 1998).

Significance of the Study

Considering that my study is attempting to make contributions to the development in infancy, the researcher needs to provide the reason why “infancy” is necessary to be explored. As Lamb et al., (2002) stated, they agreed with Clarke and Clarke (2000) that the earliest three years of children’s experiences can have a significant influence on their

future development. Yet the majority of researchers have less voice in the development in infancy than in any other grade level when they are trying to contribute to the early childhood education, and while many educators have confirmed that parental involvement is significant in young children's education, less attention had been paid to its influence on a child's development in infancy. In addition, perspectives of minority groups, such as Chinese parents in America, are missing. It is important to know participants' own perspectives and unique experiences of parental involvement because different parents have different experiences and opinions.

Thus, there is an urgent need for this study to explore in-depth the Chinese parents of infants' perspectives and practices in regard to parental involvement in the development in infancy. Ultimately, this study may provide a better understanding of the significant role of parental involvement in infancy not only for Chinese parents of infants, but also for other stakeholders, such as, infant teachers, EC teacher candidates, and directors. It can provide them with an opportunity to have a better awareness of the significance of parental involvement in a culturally diverse infant classroom.

Summary

In sum, the first chapter provides the background of the study, what and why I wanted to devote my time to explore this topic, and definitions of different terms that I used for this study. Lamb et al., (2002) had theorized that the earliest years of children's experiences are critical for children to develop their abilities from birth until the emergence of their first words, and "parental involvement" is indicated to be the most influential factor to support infant growth. The following section, which is Chapter two,

will provide the theoretical frameworks. These include Epstein's (2018) framework of involvement, Dewey (2008, 2013) and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of the relationship between a child's development and the social environment, and a review of previous literature that is relevant to the topic "the significance of Chinese parental involvement in the development in infancy." Reviewing previous literature not only provides background knowledge for the study of the importance of parental involvement in the development in infancy but also helps identify the possible topics to be further explored.

Chapter 2: Review of Literature

Introduction

By reviewing previous literature, it is easy to find numerous studies that concluded that the children's academic achievement improves when home, school, and community can have a good partnership with each other (Boethel, 2003; Dewey, 1980; Dewey, 2013; Epstein et al., 2018; Epstein, 2018; Van Roekel, 2008; Sanders, 1998; Sanders & Lewis, 2005; Smith & Sobel, 2010; Tinto, 2003). Based on what I found in previous literature, it helps establish the solid theoretical foundation for this study of the perspectives of Chinese parents of infants regarding the parental involvement in whether they enrolled their baby in an American child development center. Furthermore, it is an essential part for me to identify the gap in this area. Despite the growing awareness of the significance of parental involvement, there are still challenges and barriers for parents, especially a minority community, such as Chinese parents, to be involved in their children's education in America. Thus, it is crucial to reexamine the implementations of parental involvement due to the diverse population in American educational settings.

In order to explore the perspectives and experiences of Chinese parents of infants regarding the parental involvement in depth, this section will review previous literature relevant to this study. In this chapter, it starts with an overview on the nature of true education based on Dewey (1980, 2013) and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theoretical perspectives. Then, I reviewed literature about the relationship among school, family and community based on Epstein's (2018) involvement framework. After that, the following section includes three parts: a description of the advantages of parental involvement in

children's education, the importance of parental involvement in the development in infancy, and a discussion regarding the parental involvement for Chinese parents in American Education settings. Finally, challenges and issues about how to encourage and support the partnerships among all the stakeholders were examined.

Theoretical Framework

The underpinning theoretical framework of this study is informed by Epstein (2018), Dewey (2008, 2013) and Bronfenbrenner (1979). Each theorist provides perspectives of early stages of a child's life and indicated the importance of parental involvement in the development of one child's early stage.

Epstein (2018) promoted a framework of involvement which puts the emphasis on parental involvement. It has been a long time since we have heard of "parental involvement." Over the past decades, evidence from numerous researchers have confirmed that parental involvement has positive influences on children's homework, children's school performance, behaviors, self-confidence, academic achievement, and attitudes towards learning at any grade level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018; Hedges & Gibbs, 2005; Kotia et al., 2014; Lamb et al., 2002; Steinberg et al., 1992; Van Roekel, 2008).

In another study of Bronfenbrenner's (1979), it theorized that the development of a human being and the ecological environment are interconnected, and a person's development can be affected by the environmental events. Similarly, Dewey's (2008) theory indicated that human aspects were considered as an important aspect and explored the relationship between social elements and education. Thus, it is reasonable to believe

that exploring how all the possible environmental systems or social elements in one child's life can help us have a better understanding of how a child develops (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Dewey, 2008).

Home, school, and community are always considered as the three most significant environmental systems in a child's development and life experiences (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018), and they interact with each other (Epstein, 2018). As early as 1897, researchers had indicated that there is a strong relationship between school and community in education and conveyed the real meaning of education to people. A true education does not exist in isolation, and all education should proceed participation in the social context (Dewey, 1980; Dewey, 2013; Sobel & Letourneau, 2016). Dewey's (2013) belief of education is supported by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) that the development of a person and the ecological environment in which they live are interconnected deeply. Thus, exploring how all the possible environmental systems or social elements in a child's life can help us have a better understanding of how a child develops (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Bronfenbrenner, 1994; Dewey, 1980; Dewey, 2013; Sommer et al., 2010).

Bronfenbrenner's Perspectives

Bronfenbrenner (1979) explored the process of how environment influences affect behavior and development according to reinforcement, modeling, identification, and social learning, and recommended that people should not overlook both social and non-social aspects of the environment.

Firstly, Bronfenbrenner (1979) explores the first level which is called “*microsystems*” in a child’s development and argues that children’s learning ability depends on the existence and nature of ties among microsystems, which includes immediate relationships or organizations children interact with, such as the school, home, caregivers, and the society. By understanding more about the microsystems in child development, Bronfenbrenner (1979) believes that it is possible for us to find out how these microsystems interact with children and how these interactions affect children’s development.

Secondly, Bronfenbrenner (1979) offers the next level which is called “*mesosystem*,” and it describes how all related *microsystems* can work together to better support children’s development. For example, if one child’s parents can be actively involved in the activities, this will better facilitate this child’s overall development, or it will lead to a wrong direction (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Thirdly, Bronfenbrenner (1979) provides another level which is called “*exosystem*” in children’s development process. Unlike the previous two levels, *exosystem* does not include any immediate relationship within children’s living environments. However, even though they will not have direct interactions with children, it will have a significant influence on children’s development, such as other family members, the neighborhood, parents’ workplace, and so on (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

Finally, Bronfenbrenner (1979) puts forward the last level which is called the “*macrosystem*.” Even Bronfenbrenner (1979) finds this level includes anything or anyone

that is the largest and farthest from a child's living environment, and it will have a profound effect on the child's development, positively or negatively.

Based on the ecological model of Bronfenbrenner (1979), each of them has direct or indirect interactions with children's development and each of them influence each other in one child's lifespan. From the "*microsystem*" to "*macrosystem*," children build connections with different living environments from home to the school, and then, to the whole society. Therefore, Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory emphasized the importance of understanding a child's development in different ecological systems and highly recommended us to encourage and nurture the relationships between all these systems in order to better facilitate a child's development.

Dewey's Perspectives

Home, school, and community are considered as the three most significant environmental systems in a child's life, and they interact with each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018). Dewey (2013) shares the same perspectives on education with Bronfenbrenner (1979) that children's learning ability depends on the existence and nature of interplay among home, school and society. Here, Dewey (1980, 2013) had indicated that parents, schools and the community should share the common goals on what they want for children. Therefore, it is crucial to take into account the social view whenever there is a new movement in education (Dewey, 1980).

Moreover, the progress in education is considered as the product of the changed social situation, an effort to meet the needs of the changing society, and the changes in modes of industry and commerce (Dewey, 1980). The school must represent present life

to children because of its importance to children (Dewey, 2013), or a “waste in education” due to the “isolation” (Dewey, 1980) will occur. Therefore, Dewey (1980) claimed that the school as an organization should take responsibility to build connections to overcome the “isolation” issue in education.

In a study of the relationship between the school and the life of the child, Dewey (1980) revealed that the changes of methods and materials in school should better present social needs in accordance with the larger life of the community. Based on Dewey’s working experience in the University Elementary School, Dewey (1980) has indicated that the ideas of the schoolwork should also fit into actual practices for students. Then, Dewey (1980) disliked the traditional education which focuses more on listening rather than hands-on materials and found that there is a little space for children to work in a traditional classroom. There will offer no opportunity for adjustment to varying capacities and demands for children in one classroom (Dewey, 1980). In addition to explain this, Dewey (1980) offered an example of a young child who would like to cook without knowing the meaning of cooking and believed that this young child can accommodate himself eventually if we can facilitate his interests of cooking.

Based on the two facets of the educational process (Dewey, 2013), school is viewed as a psychological and social necessity. For the psychological necessity, Dewey (2013) ensured that it is the only method to ensure the children’s growth continually and provide a background of past experience. For the social necessity, Dewey (2013) highlighted that home is an important form of social life in which children receive the moral training and recommended that school should deepen and extend children’s sense

of the values regarding their home life. Dewey (1890) and Dewey (2013) concluded that most failures of education are due to the neglect of the social necessity of the school as a form of community life. Consequently, children would not receive the true education if they did not gain the life experience from the school (Dewey, 1980, Dewey, 2013). Thus, it is vital for school to embrace the social needs in education, especially for young children.

Epstein's Perspectives

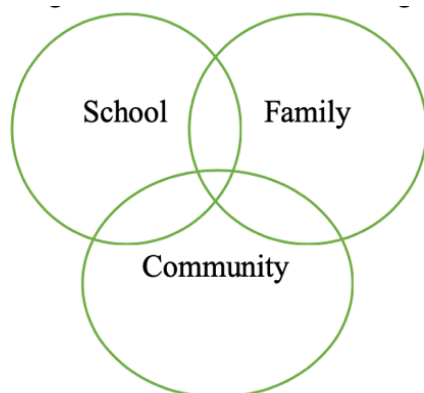
By studying Epstein's (2018) framework of involvement, it is reasonable to be convinced that the relationship between parents and children's academic performance in school is correlated. Using the framework of involvement, Epstein (2018) discussed the different types of parental involvement and how it affects the relationships among parents, teachers, and students. All the aspects that Epstein's (2018) study explored regarding the children's performance, such as parents' social status, home environment, community, made a clear conclusion that positive parental involvement always has a significant influence on children's achievement, and highly recommended that families should provide a positive home environment for their children to gain a higher achievement. However, Epstein (2018) discovered that educators may view the family as separate from the school if they consider children simply as students. She believes that parental involvement should not only occur between school and home, but also the whole community that the child lives in. In Epstein's (2018) point of view, all the stakeholders should consider the family and the community as partners with the school because it is better to take into account the social aspects of the children. As partners, Epstein (2018)

suggests that all stakeholders should identify their common goals, share responsibilities and work together to provide better opportunities for children. However, Epstein (2018) noticed that some schools still do not view the family and the community as partners. She deeply believes that children's achievement can be improved only if the partnerships among school, family and community are positive.

In 2018, Epstein (2018) claimed that the family and school spheres overlap to a great extent in any grade level, even in the infancy period (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Spock, 1950). Epstein (2018) found that the development of a child can be influenced positively if the family, school, and community can work together collaboratively and efficiently, and discussed the different roles that these three environmental systems play in the development of a child through the overlapping spheres of influences model (Epstein, 2018).

Figure 1

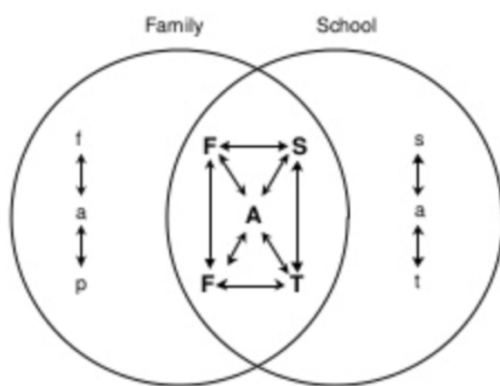
Overlapping spheres of influences of family, school, and community on children's learning (Epstein, 2018)



Based on the overlapping spheres of influences model (Figure 1), it is easy to recognize the three main environmental systems where children can learn and grow. The school, family, and community share a common goal in educating children, even though they play different roles in a child's development in this child-centered model (Epstein, 2018). It is believed that the children's academic achievement improves when these stakeholders work together towards the common goal (Epstein, 2018). Based on the theory of overlapping spheres of influence, Epstein (2018) generalized a framework of six types of involvement and suggested how to implement this framework effectively. Building conducive relationships among family, teachers, schools, and the community can benefit children's development (Figure 2), and parents should be aware of their roles at home, in the school, and in the whole community (Epstein, 2018).

Figure 2

Overlapping Spheres of Influence of Family, School, and Community on Children's learning—Internal Structure (Epstein, 2018)



F—Family S—School P—Parents T—Teachers A—Children

In view of Epstein (2018), the study has emphasized the important role of parental involvement by means of the theory of the overlapping spheres model. In order to improve children's learning, Epstein (2018) recommended having school-like families and family-like schools. Parents who create the school-like families have a stable schedule of learning for their children even in infancy and improve their children's development (Epstein, 2018). A school that embraces the family-like model can motivate students to go to school and learn (Epstein, 2018).

According to Epstein (2018), there are six types of involvement: parenting, communication, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaborating with the community. By reflecting on Bronfenbrenner (1979), Dewey's (2013) perspectives, and using Epstein's (2018) involvement framework, one can determine the potential barriers to Chinese parental involvement in an American child development center and develop ways of implementing Chinese parental involvement eventually. Moreover, by exploring Epstein's (2018) involvement framework, all the participants could solidify their understandings, perspectives, and practical experiences regarding Chinese parental involvement, how Chinese parents of infants can be involved, and eventually facilitate infants' development. Based on these theoretical underpinnings, this study explored all participants' unique practices and perceptions regarding Chinese parental involvement in the development in infancy no matter whether participants enrolled their child in an American child development center or not, and then contribute to the future research toward this topic. The following section discusses previous literature on the partnerships among school, family and community, and its influence on children's development.

Reviews of Research on Partnerships among School, Family and Community

Since home, school, and community are considered as the three most significant environmental systems in a child's life (Dewey, 1980; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018), and they interact with each other, an increasing number of researchers have indicated that the children's academic achievement will be improved when home, school, and community have a positive partnership (Boethel, 2003; Dewey, 1980; Epstein, 2018; Epstein et al., 2018; Van Roekel, 2008; Sanders, 1998; Sanders & Lewis, 2005; Smith & Sobel, 2014; Tinto, 2003). Moreover, Epstein (2018) assured that school, family and community shared a common goal in educating children even though they play different roles in a child's development, and children's academic achievement can be increased when these stakeholders work together towards the common goal.

School and Family

Though the goals, roles, and responsibilities of school and family might be very different from each other, the children's academic achievement would be improved effectively with a strong relationship between school and family (Epstein, 2018). An abundance of research has indicated that we should integrate school-family partnerships in children's education (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bronfenbrenner, 1992; Epstein, 2018; Nitecki, 2015), especially build a good teacher-parent partnership (Hedges & Gibbs, 2005). In a case study of a small preschool program which parents are actively involved in, Nitecki (2015) identifies three main factors that are linked to the relationship between home-school partnerships and the children's performance in the school. They are the multidimensional nature of the relationships, a welcoming environment, and an effort to

enhance parents' cognitions about school. The results, based on an inductive qualitative approach, revealed three best practices for building integrated school-family partnerships at the preschool level and recommended us to foster multidimensional relationships, create a welcoming school environment, and enhance parents' cognitions about school (Nitecki, 2015). In another study, Pemberton and Miller (2013) examined the effect of parental involvement on students' reading achievement. This study emphasized that parents have to be involved in their children's learning to improve.

More specifically, Ichou and Oberti (2014) examined the immigrant family relationships with the school by disturbing questionnaire surveys and conducting interviews. Based on the result, they revealed that the migration background makes a difference to the relationship between immigrant families and the school system. Therefore, they believed that we should take into account the cultural background seriously, particularly for minority families, such as families from China.

All the positive influence of the active school-home partnership on children's development can be supported by Bronfenbrenner (1979). Bronfenbrenner (1979) used the interconnections between 'home' and 'school' as the example to discuss the 'mesosystem'. According to the perspectives of the 'mesosystem', Bronfenbrenner (1979) concluded four general types: multisetting participation, indirect linkage, intersetting communications and intersetting knowledge, which refers to information or experience that exists in one setting about the other.

Firstly, from Bronfenbrenner's (1979) point of view, multisetting participation is the most basic one, and the person who participates in more than one setting of a

mesosystem is considered as a primary link while others are referred to as supplementary links. Secondly, Bronfenbrenner (1979) believed that the connection between home and school can also be maintained through a third party which is viewed as the role of the intermediate link, even though the same person does not actively participate in these two settings. Thirdly, intersetting communications can help home and school connect with each other through various methods, such as face-to-face interactions, telephone conversations, correspondence and other written messages, notices or announcements, or any social network (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Lastly, Bronfenbrenner (1979) thought that the intersetting knowledge about information or experiences can be found from library books. All these types of mesosystem between home and school encourage “home” and “school” to have a good communication to build a bridge for them to exchange information.

Similarly, Epstein (2018) pointed out that one type of involvement is communicating, and it requires us to be able to design a good method for communication between home and school which builds a bridge for them to exchange information regarding their children’s performance in the school and at home. Practices, such as conferences with all parents, language translators, weekly/monthly folders, memos, and report cards, may help parents gain detailed school program information and information about students’ progress. There exist challenges for us to implement these practices as well.

As educators, understanding how to make sure the information is readable and clear within the communication is crucial. Due to the increasing international population

in American schools, how to ensure that parents who do not speak English can understand the information correctly is a major concern. Due to the rapid development of high-tech communication skills, more and more educators choose to use email or online journals, however, you have to make sure that all the parents can gain access to information.

Based on the results from students, teachers, and parents, a successful communication between the home and school can benefit students, parents, teachers, and the schools (Martin & Berke, 2007). Firstly, Epstein (2018) believed that students can know their progress and find out ways to maintain or improve their grades. Moreover, students can serve as a courier and communicator after they have an awareness of their own role in partnerships (Epstein, 2018). Secondly, parents can gain access to understanding the school policies and their children's progress immediately, then, parents can respond or take action to students' problems effectively (Epstein, 2018). Finally, teachers or schools can gain a skill to communicate with families effectively and clearly and continue to improve this skill in the future (Epstein, 2018).

Above all, in order to support us in providing education to all students effectively, Epstein (2018) believed that schools and parents must work together as close coworkers.

School, Family and the Community

According to Epstein (2018), in order to improve the students' performance, schools should take on the responsibility of linking the communities that they serve. There is considerable evidence showing positive school and community partnerships sustain high student achievement (Bauch, 2001; Quinn, 2011; Smith & Sobel, 2014).

Dewey (1980) believed that parents and community share the common goals for children, and people should not overlook the knowledge that children learned as having the social necessities. In Dewey's (1980) study, he examined the relationship between the school and the children's education, and he revealed that it is necessary to take into account the significance of social progress in education. The school may experience failure if they consider school as a place for just learning. Based on Dewey's (1980) point of view, a society is combined by a group of people who share the common lines, spirit, and aims. Therefore, Dewey (1980) highly recommended that the school should embrace the community life and believed that the only way to avoid failure is to connect every part of the sequence to the world outside the school, and then unify the curriculum for students.

In another study of 35 interviews, including school council members, teachers, and community members, Preston (2013) examined how community involvement in school is influenced by the existing social relationships and revealed that the levels of community involvement in schools can be increased by building bridges for "school" and "community." In another study, Lopez (2015) shared personal experiences with the partnerships between school and community and believed that the community institutions, such as a university, can provide for children chances to know diverse backgrounds. Based on the data from experiencing the strong partnerships with community organizations, Lopez (2015) found that community organizations can also contribute to the development of curriculum and support the parental involvement.

In addition to the strong relationship between school and community on children's education, Bauch (2001) explored how a school-community partnership model of school renewal might be an appropriate method to improve the education. Based on the result, Bauch (2001) revealed the importance of the connections between schools and the community in children's learning process, such as shared decision making around community goals, needs, and the purposes of schooling. Though Bauch (2001) found that there are challenges for a school-community partnership, Bauch (2001) found that there are a great deal of advantages in building a good school-community partnership, and the most common one is the school can get access a close connection with various community surroundings. Moreover, Bauch (2001) identified six types of family-school-community connections that can facilitate the development of school achievement. They are social capital, sense of place, parent involvement, church ties, school-business-agency relationships and community as a curricular resource.

- Social Capital—According to Bauch (2001), it is believed that people will benefit from it by being a member of a family or community, and it helps us to understand how specific characteristics of a family, neighborhood, and a community affect students' access in schools.
- The “Sense of Place”—Based on the social capital, sense of place refers to a person who wants to “cherish and cultivate” his local community and feel more connected to the culture of his community.
- Parent Involvement—It has been considered as having a significant influence on students' success in the school (Bauch, 2001; Epstein, 2018; Lamb et al., 2002).

According to Epstein (2018), there are several ways for parents to be involved in students' work in the school, such as volunteering at school, face-to-face meetings, school activities, decision-making meetings and learning at home activities. There are a lot of advantages of parental involvement in students' learning process.

- **Church Ties**—Bauch (2001) believes that the connection between school and the community is related to religion due to its social characteristic. Bauch (2001) found that church volunteers provide tutoring and other programs at the local school, and some church members are employed by a school because school officials feel proud of having church involvement in the school. Bauch (2001) also reveals that building connections with the church can increase social capital for students and their families.
- **School-Business-Agency Relationships** — Bauch (2001) found that the connections between school and community can be supported by the local businesses and agencies in the local community, such as small businesses, banks, and other resources that surround the school. Thus, it is believed that the local businesses not only contribute to local working positions for future graduates but also support programs for teachers, schools, and other members of the community.
- **The “Community as a Curricular Resource”** — Bauch (2001) considered the community as an outside curricular resource for schools to use, and it plays an important role in the teacher-parent-school community model. Bauch (2001) found that there are various sites that can be utilized, such as historical sites, local oral history, geographical formations, wilderness and wildlife experiences, land

cultivation, and development, forestry, and various community activities. Not only can the students benefit from it, but also schools and the whole community.

Moreover, Smith and Sobel (2014) supported the idea about the importance of the schools and community partnerships in children's education. They provided an abundance of evidence related to the connections between school and community. Based on what they found through this evidence, Smith and Sobel (2014) recommended educators to bring community members into the school because they believed that teachers should have connections to the neighborhoods where their students lived, and they offered a place-based and community-based education.

According to Smith and Sobel (2014), there are several methods for educators to start with cultural aspects of a community's life, environmental issues, economic development, and civic involvement.

Firstly, Smith and Sobel (2014) addressed the cultural aspects of a community life. They thought that we need to bring the local culture and history into children's school experience because it can help students to understand what is valuable and worth preserving in their community correctly. Students would like to contribute to the community to which they belong if they gain access to know more about the cultural backgrounds and history about their living environment (Smith & Sobel, 2014).

Secondly, Smith and Sobel (2014) discuss the environmental issues. They believed that it is a good way to incorporate the educational experiences in the local environment because children can have a chance to be familiar with the environment elements they encountered at home, in the neighborhood, or in the community.

Thirdly, Smith and Sobel (2014) mention economic development. They believed that children can have a sense of “social capital” when they get a chance to be connected with the human and natural communities that surround them. Based on the evidence in the study from Smith and Sobel (2014), students will know their own capacity to make a contribution to their families and the community when they are encouraged to work. When all these children come together to make a contribution to their community, they can make a big difference for the future living.

Lastly, Smith and Sobel (2014) address civic involvement. They believed that children will develop a strong sense of being a participant in contributing to the community life when they can be involved in the decision-making process of a local issue, such as attending a public meeting and making a speech. Smith and Sobel (2014) emphasized that educators should know what is possible for them to implement rather than what is lacking when they are trying to build the connection between school and the community.

In sum, it is important to build positive partnerships among school, family and community. Though there are numerous scholars who have confirmed the significance of the partnership among school, family, and community in children’s academic achievement, a few studies have focused on the infancy period. Thus, the following section reviews previous literature on infancy and provides a theoretical foundation of the importance in infancy.

Review of Research on the Development in Infancy

Historically and traditionally infancy has been considered as a significant period because what children experience, shape and gain at this stage can be influential in their later development throughout the life span (Bagdi & Vacca, 2005; Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Freud & Rue, 1989; Hall & Nordby, 1973; Lamb et al., 2002; Piaget, 2013; Vygotsky, 1980). Also, numerous scholars have highlighted the importance of earliest years' development, especially in the infancy period. Regarding the infancy period, there are several early childhood experts' perspectives we must explore and understand. All of them have found that the development in infancy is significant and can have a great influence throughout one child's whole life span (Bagdi & Vacca, 2005; Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Freud & Rue, 1989; Hall & Nordby, 1973; Lamb et al., 2002; Piaget, 2013; Vygotsky, 1980). In this section, I briefly discuss what has been explored in previous research on the importance of the infancy period. This section provides a general background information about the development in infancy and helps to find out what aspects can facilitate children's growth in infancy.

Piaget (2013) argues that the first two years' experiences throughout a child's whole life span are very important. Inhelder and Piaget's (1969) study indicated that children can sense something new and important in the earliest years. Inhelder and Piaget (1969) believe that children's development can be described in four different stages, and they define the period from birth to 2 years old as the "*sensorimotor*" stage, which is the first stage. They highly believe that children learn through experience, such as play and imitation, in this stage. With the low knowledge level, Piaget (2013) indicates that young

children gain new skills or senses by solving problems repeatedly, and then construct their own knowledge, which is the early cognitive development (Inhelder & Piaget, 1969). Though they did not mention the significance of parents' role in this period directly, it is reasonable to make an assumption that parents take the major responsibility for interacting with infants, providing the physical environment for children, especially for the infancy period. In Piaget's studies, they explored the children's cognition development, and play is a centralized tool.

Regarding the "play" in early childhood education, another expert Vygotsky also emphasizes the importance of it and explores how young children can learn and grow their cognition development through the social interaction of play (Vygotsky, 1978). Moreover, Vygotsky (1978) made an assumption that the role of literacy is essential to children's development in play. For example, Vygotsky finds that the "inner speech" occurs when children are playing, such as young children always talking loudly to themselves. Using this example, Vygotsky (1978) believed that people can sense that their young children construct their own knowledge about the environment around them and grow their cognitive development even though parents cannot really understand their "words" or "sounds."

Researchers also stated the earliest years of children's experience are critical for children to develop their abilities from birth until the emergence of the first words occur (Lamb et al., 2002). By exploring the "attachment theory" in this study, it is suitable to make a conclusion that "parents" take the main responsibility to facilitate infant growth. For example, "cry" or "smile" in this period is considered as a signal that can change the

caregivers' behaviors, such as parents approaching and comforting the baby when they hear the baby crying. Researchers believed that infants have the ability to affect the social environment around them and indicate that infants spend the majority of their time with the people whom they are most familiar and with whom they feel the most comfortable, such as parents.

In order to specify the importance of the infancy period (Lamb et al., 2002), they offered an example that if a parent says "I'm gonna get you a cup," and repeat it with action, then, infants would like to isolate the word "cup." They believe that children in infancy have already gained the ability to store every percept in their sense in memory, such as what they are seeing, hearing, tasting, and so on. Infants would probably grab the word quickly when parents repeat a word several times in a specific context-related occasion (Lamb et al., 2002). This study suggested that parents who intend to convey the new word to their young babies can try to repeat it with a related action several times.

In sum, all these early childhood experts emphasize the importance of the interaction between young children and the social environment around them. Somehow, all these scholars have indicated that the main caregivers' role, such as parents (Lamb et al., 2002), is essential and significant in young children's earliest experiences and have a great influence on their future development. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the role of parents in the development in infancy. In the following section, I provide a literature review on parental involvement and how it affects the development in infancy period.

Review of Research on Parental Involvement

Significance of Parental Involvement

Though an increasing number of scholars had illustrated the positive influence of parental involvement on children's development at any grade level, the focus has not particularly been paid to the infants' development. Based on what Dewey believed in a study in 2013, the true education process starts almost at birth and keeps shaping powers, saturating consciousness, forming habits, training ideas, and arousing feelings and emotions of every individual. In 1979, Bronfenbrenner profoundly believed that the frequency of interactions between children and adults at home is higher than in any other setting when a child leaves home. The more recent study in 2002, Lamb, Bornstein and Teti emphasized the importance of the earliest years' experience of a child and highlighted the significance of parental involvement during this crucial period. In a study of 2014, Smith had examined how parents were engaged in a Reggio Emilia-inspired early childhood program and believed that parental involvement can have a positive influence on creating successful early childhood programs, children's grades and future development.

There is considerable research that indicates that parental involvement has positive influences on children's homework, school performance, behaviors, self-confidence, academic achievement, and attitudes towards learning at any grade level in schools (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Bogenschneider et al., 2004; Cheung & Pomerantz, 2011; Dewey, 2013; Eccles & Harold, 1993; Epstein, 2018; Hedges & Gibbs, 2005; Kotia et al.,

2014; Henderson & Berla, 1994; Lamb et al., 2002; Shen, 2016; Steinberg et al., 1992; Reynolds, 2006; Van Roekel, 2008).

In addition to the significance of parental involvement in children's learning, Robinson and Volpe (2015) indicated that parental involvement can not only benefit for children, but also for parents themselves to have better communication ways with faculty and staff to know more details about children's schoolwork. The result of Robinson and Volpe's (2015) study found out that all parents showed their caring to their children and considered themselves as an important role in their children's education.

To further indicate the positive relationship between parental involvement and children's achievement, Shen (2016) found that a positive relationship between school and families can create better opportunities for parental involvement, and then improve students' achievement. Shen's (2016) study also believed that children's learning outcomes will be magnified when their parents can provide a comfortable home environment, become involved in their learning properly and communicate with their teachers effectively. Thus, it is reasonable for us to recommend that parents and school staff should work together to find out more ways to involve parents in school activities or work (Robinson & Volpe, 2015) and communicate with each other constantly (Shen, 2016).

Yet, the majority of researchers have less voice in the development in infancy than in any other grade level when they are trying to contribute to the early childhood education. While many scholars have confirmed that parental involvement has a great influence on children's education (Epstein, 2018), less attention had been particularly

paid to its influence on the development in infancy, particularly for minority groups.

Thus, there is an urgent need for a particular study to explore Chinese parents of infants' perspectives and practices on parental involvement in the development in infancy.

Ultimately, this main effort of this study is providing infant teachers a better understanding of parental involvement in infancy and help prepare EC Teacher Candidates who will devote their time to work with infants with a better awareness of the significance of parental involvement in a culturally diverse infant classroom.

To better build a strong relationship among family, school, and community, many researchers made the effort to explore the roles of families in this relationship and found rich literature to support the significant role of parental involvement in the school, family and community partnerships (Boethel, 2003; Bogenschneider et al., 2004; Epstein, 2018; Hedges & Gibbs, 2005; Lopez, 2015; Van Roekel, 2008; Quinn, 2011; Reynolds, 2006; Robinson & Volpe, 2015; Shen, 2016; Tinto, 2003). By exploring Epstein's (2018) six types of involvement: parenting, communication, volunteering, learning at home, decision-making, and collaborating with the community, it is easy to find out that parents take the majority of the responsibilities and play a key role among these six involvements. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that parental involvement has a great influence on children's education when families and schools work together to support children's academic achievement (Epstein, 2018).

Parental Involvement and Literacy Development

Infancy has always been considered as a crucial stage during which time a person cannot talk, walk, communicate, or do things by themselves. People who only consider

reading and writing as literacy probably overlook the literacy development in infancy because infancy is traditionally considered a critical period during which time infants cannot read, write, talk, walk and do things without a caregiver's support. However, Owens Jr (2016) emphasized that literacy not only relates to reading and writing, but also includes thinking, memory, problem-solving, planning, execution, and other forms of communication.

Scholars also emphasized that it is important for young children to depend on their major caregiver to develop their abilities from their birth due to their limited ability to survive by themselves (Lamb et al., 2002). In addition to highlighting how crucial this period is, they indicated that infants spend the majority of their time with the people with whom they are most familiar and most comfortable, such as parents. Over the past few decades, home has been viewed as one of the main settings for children's early development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Becher, 1986; Carroll, 2013; Faires et al., 2000; Lamb et al., 2002; McKenzie, 2015; Owens Jr, 2016), especially for the literacy development (Altun, 2019; Myrtil et al., 2019; Ren et al., 2019).

In order to explore the relationship between parental involvement and elementary school students' achievement in literacy, Janiak (2003) divided families into two groups according to whether they were actively involved in their children's literacy home activities or not. The result of the comparison between two groups indicated that children tended to have higher achievement and be more confident when their parents were actively involved as opposed to students whose parents have little involvement. Similarly, Milly (2010) concluded that children are more successful when their parents

can dedicate more time to their children's literacy activities by conducting qualitative research which can absorb rich descriptive information on the participants' perspectives and practices (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Moreover, researchers examined the relationship between children's reading levels and the parental involvement (Faires et al., 2000). They chose eight first-grade level students to be their participants. Four of them were assigned to the experimental group in which parents received training, and the other four students were assigned to a control group in which parents did not receive training. Based on the teachers' informal assessments that were designed to evaluate the reading levels of both groups of students, the results indicated that students in the experimental group gained more than the students in the control group.

In another case study, Izzo (2010) wanted to find out the effects of the home literacy environment by exploring phonological awareness, alphabet knowledge, and concepts about print knowledge. The result of this study revealed that having a literacy-rich home environment will enable the successful acquisition of emergent literacy skills.

All evidence relevant to the positive relationship between parental involvement and children's literacy development is based on grade levels above the pre-school level, and most scholars have focused on the outcomes of parental involvement based on the comparison of the experimental data rather than why parents want to be involved in their children's literacy development. In order to explore the relationship between the parental involvement and literacy development in infancy, it is crucial to dig deeply into the reason why parental involvement in children's literacy development should start from the earliest years' experiences.

Within the childcare centers and preschool setting, researchers examined the relationship between the parental involvement interventions related to early literacy and children's literacy outcomes by comparing two different groups of children (Mullis et al., 2004). Children who were participating in this study were asked to complete the pre-test and post-test eight weeks apart while parents were asked to provide the average amount of time they spent on literacy intervention. Results indicated that the earlier parents could be involved in their children's literacy development, the more profound the results and the longer-lasting the effects. In addition, they found that an early literacy intervention can increase young children's print knowledge effectively, and they believed that focusing on areas in early interventions should be improved through parents and teachers' cooperation.

In a 5-year longitudinal study, Senechal and LeFevre (2002) explored the relationships among early home literacy experiences, subsequent receptive language, emergent literacy skills, and reading achievement. Results, based on the comparison, showed that parental involvement has the most significant influence on reading among all the school subjects. Particularly, Matvichuk (2015) found that children's home environment and parental behavior have an influence on children's reading interest, but there is no relationship between parental expectations and children's reading interest. Moreover, other educators found that children's early reading experience with parents helps them succeed in later formal literacy development, believing that parental involvement is crucial to their child's development of language and emergent literacy (Bus et al., 1995).

In order to further explore the significance of parental intervention, Jordan, Snow and Porsche (2000) examined whether there are effective language interactions through systematic parent coaching by evaluating an intervention program which is called “project EASE.” Based on the results, they indicated that the home literacy support is crucial to children’s literacy development and they provided particular support for parents to become involved in their children’s language development.

Based on Epstein’s (2018) theory, the family and school spheres overlap to a great extent in any grade level, even in infancy. Epstein (2018) found that the development of a child can be affected if the family, school, and community can work together collaboratively. Thus, in addition to the strong relationship between parental involvement and young children’s literacy development, many researchers started to focus on parents’ beliefs and practices related to the family cultural background and socio-economic status in the community (Carroll, 2013; Compton-Lilly, 2008; Heath, 2012). Due to the increasing issues that are caused by childhood poverty in the United States, the disparities of family socioeconomic status extend to all parts of education (Carroll, 2013).

In the review of the literature on the relationship between the family socioeconomic status and children’s literacy achievement, a study by Compton-Lilly (2008) found that family cultural background has a significant influence on children’s literacy development, and another study by Heath (2012) particularly pointed out how attitudes of families influence children’s literacy practices at home. The effects of family cultural background on students’ literacy development were also supported in McKenzie’s (2015) study, which attempted to support children’s literacy development through

understanding how the family cultural background and the family socioeconomic status affect the children's literacy outcomes. Also, more and more scholars paid attention to the relationships between home literacy environment and children's literacy development (Myrttil et al., 2019; Ren et al., 2019)

In one document developed by Alleyne (2005), which focused mainly on linguistically and culturally diverse children who do not only speak English, it indicated that children's ability to learn English does not interfere with the development of children's home language. In addition, it highly suggested that educators should accept, respect and value children's home culture, and involve parents or families actively (Alleyne, 2005). Thus, it is really important to involve parents in children's early literacy development and know how to implement parental involvement to support children's early literacy development. A study had indicated that an early reading intervention program with parental involvement can support preschool children's early learning skills effectively (Parker et al., 1999). They found the program works to help parents and educators have a better understanding of their children's literacy development.

Similarly, based on the data from a Book Checkout Program (BCP) by centering on the parent-child home interactions, Researchers examined the differences between two experimental groups and revealed that children whose parents frequently participate in the activity tend to have a more positive reading attitude, be more confident when they need to read, and have higher achievement on reading than other children whose families have minimal participation.

In another study conducted in a kindergarten setting, researchers believed that a linguistically rich home environment contributes to children's early literacy development effectively, and then was determined to evaluate the project EASE to find out whether participation in the program results in language and literacy gains, supporting parents to be positively involved in their children's language development (Jordan et al., 2000). Based on their results, they came to the conclusion that families who engaged in more activities tended to have a rich literacy environment at home and suggested that the program should provide follow-up activities as well.

Particularly, Motlhagodi and Kasule (2015) had theorized that parental involvement is important to children's literacy development and pointed out the issue that parents, without the ability to read or write English, want to be involved in their children's early literacy development. Based on their literature review, they found that parents who cannot read or write English would not have rich literacy environments at home, and this phenomenon turned out to be the failure of supporting their children to develop literacy skills.

Moreover, Motlhagodi and Kasule (2015) found that children's early literacy development can also develop by observing others' reading behaviors. Therefore, parents who have no ability to read or write English are considered as a barrier to supporting their child's literacy development. From Motlhagodi and Kasule's (2015) perspectives, parents should be capable of neither reading nor writing when school texts appear in a language form. In this study, they collected data by conducting a group interview with parents who cannot read or write English. Based on the data they collected from parents, they found

that parents and children were always in conflict because their parents' expression is different from the teachers' expression in the school, and some parents would not allow their children to read aloud when they, the parents, had no confidence in what they can and what they should do to support their children's literacy development. They believed that parents would like to become more involved in the home learning activities if they can have guidance and support from the program.

Epstein (2018) indicated that "learning at home" is an effective way to provide information and ideas to parents about how to help their children at home with homework or curriculum-related activities, help children gain a positive attitude towards learning in the school, and make teachers feel support from parents. Thus, strengthening the ties between parents and teachers, the influence of parental involvement at home on children's literacy development would be accomplished perfectly. It is believed that the high quality of home literacy activities can make a difference in children's literacy development (Carroll, 2013; Richard, 2003), such as reading to/with children at home and enriched conversation/play at home (Carroll, 2013).

Based on the results of Carroll's (2013) study, it revealed that designing an appropriate intervention activity for children to develop the literacy skills requires us to understand how different literacy experiences affect the development of different child behaviors. However, it is essential that home literacy activities include a good amount of interactions between parents and children, such as asking open-ended questions, reflecting on children's request positively, repeating and expanding upon what the child says according to their interests and needs (Carroll, 2013), and all kinds of home literacy

activities need to have a good home literacy environment due to the important role the environment plays in the development of emergent literacy in young children (Carroll, 2013). Carroll (2013) emphasized the advantages of implementing parental involvement in young children's literacy development and suggested that parents of children who did not have any experience related to the literacy experience at home should learn it.

Early childhood scholars focused on the development in infancy believed that infants have already gained the skill to store every percept in their sense in memory, such as what they are seeing, hearing, tasting, and so on (Lamb et al., 2002). For example, if a parent says "I'm gonna get you a cup," and repeat it with action, then, infants would like to isolate the word "cup" (Lamb et al., 2002). It is believed that young children would probably grab the word quickly when parents repeat a word several times in a specific context-related occasion (Lamb et al., 2002). The study suggested that parents who intend to convey the new word to their young babies can try to repeat it with related action several times. The perspectives of Lamb et al., (2002) were in line with Owens Jr's (2016) views that the development of children's literacy begins since they were born and continues developing. Owens Jr (2016) had indicated that children's literacy development begins as early as from birth and is a continuing process, and most recent research believed that one child's successful early literacy development can ensure their other future achievements (Lerkkanen, 2019; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2019; Van Tonder et al., 2019). More specifically, researchers have found a significant relationship between parental involvement and children's early literacy development (Baker & Scher, 2002; Becher, 1986; Carroll, 2013; Milly, 2010; Mullis et al., 2004; Tamis-LeMonda &

Rodriguez, 2008). It is undeniable that parental involvement is crucial to children's early literacy development, and early literacy development has an influence on children's achievement in other academic areas in the future (Matvichuk, 2015; Myrtil et al., 2019; Owens Jr, 2016; Stanovich, 1986).

However, less research has paid attention to the literacy development in the infancy period. Thus, it is necessary to take into account how parents can be involved in their children's literacy development and how the home environment influences young children's literacy development in infancy. Therefore, in order to fully describe parental involvement in children's literacy development in infancy and deepen our understanding of them, it is necessary to interview Chinese parents of infants about their perspectives of parental involvement experiences regarding their children's literacy development.

Summary

In sum, lots of scholars have indicated that parental involvement is highly correlated with the literacy development in earliest years of one person's life span, especially in infancy (Carroll, 2013; Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Lamb et al., 2002; Myrtil et al., 2019; Owens Jr, 2016). In fact, we are facing a global changing world that there are more than one cultural group in one classroom. Since the parental involvement is a significant part based on previous literature, it is critical to take into account how a minority group, such as Chinese parents, are involved in their children's education, especially in infancy. The following section discusses parental involvement for Chinese parents in America, such as parents' attitudes, teachers' perceptions, cultural conflicts, and barriers of parental involvement.

Parental Involvement for Chinese Parents in America

Based on Epstein's (2018) theories regarding parental involvement, it has indicated that parental involvement can help teachers enrich the curriculum, enhance the students' learning, and then develop the school in a good direction. A lot of scholars like Epstein's framework of parental involvement and chose to use it to guide their studies (Beauregard et al., 2014; Daniels, 2017; Newchurch, 2017). However, Epstein's framework of six types of parental involvement has been noted as a failure for not taking into account the different family backgrounds, especially for minority groups or immigrant communities (Crosnoe, 2012). Many researchers only chose to use Epstein's theories to identify and classify parents' practices in their children's education (Beauregard et al., 2014; Daniels, 2017). The significance of Epstein's framework of parental involvement was proved by scholars, but they still found that there exists less valuable information about the influence of cultural and ethnic differences in parental involvement (Subramaniam, 2011).

Though children's achievement can be improved when family, school and community can work collaboratively (Beauregard et al., 2014; Daniels, 2017; Epstein, 2018; Newchurch, 2017), the precondition is that all the parents are at the same understanding level and desire to build connections with other parents, schools, and the community (Hutchins et al., 2013). Despite the increasing awareness of the significance of parental involvement, parents sometimes still feel themselves like an 'outsider' (Swap, 1993) and chose to be silent even they have different opinions than the teachers. When it

happens with the minority groups, such as Chinese parents, this gap seems to be magnified.

In a previous study of Bang (2009), the research had explored how family involvement in middle-class, Korean American families and found out that it was common that these parents always considered themselves as an “outsider” in their children’s learning in America. The results of this study highly recommended that all stakeholders should be aware of possible barriers for Korean American families. In addition, Jung and Zhang (2016) also indicated that few researchers have focused on the role of parental involvement in families from different cultural backgrounds. Thus, I would like to take an opportunity to discuss in this study the relationship between the cultural differences and parental involvement practices, and its influence on Chinese parents of infants’ parental experiences in the development in infancy in America.

Due to the increasing number of Chinese populations in America, cultural diversity issues are permeated in each area, especially in education. Moreover, Chinese parents tend to be one of the minority groups in American school settings, and different from other cultural groups (He, 2015; Shin, 2009). In 2000, Taylor and Sobel had already found that teachers are meeting the challenges related to demographic changes in the United States, and the number of students whose backgrounds are different from the U.S. culture is over 30%. However, almost 70% of American teachers are white and come from the middle class (Morrell, 2010). In response to this phenomenon, many other educators think highly of the role of cultural background in students’ education (Ladson-Billings, 1994; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968; Silverman, 2010;

Taylor & Sobel, 2000). They all believed that children's behaviors and performance in school can be shaped by their family's cultural background. Moreover, Penn (2009) theorized that understanding a child's cultural background well could lead us to know about this child's perspectives better. Therefore, understanding children's family backgrounds in regard to their cultural beliefs can be a good strategy for teachers to gain a better understanding of children's behaviors and performance, especially for infants which is a critical period throughout a person's life span (Clarke & Clarke, 2000; Freud & Rue, 1989; Lamb et al., 2002; Bagdi & Vacca, 2005).

In a study of Wang (2008), it explored how Chinese parents connected with the school and teachers to help promote their children's education in America through interviews. There are nine participants among six Chinese families. In regard to "parent-teacher contacts," they all responded that there were only one or two chances per year for them to have a 15-minute-discussion with teachers (Wang, 2008). One participant shared one specific experience about "gift-giving" in China and found that they did not know the American style at first. However, as time goes by, they found it was the same that teachers accept gifts. Another participant found that writing letters to teachers is a good method to communicate with teachers because they were not good at speaking English. All participants also would like to spend time on attending various school activities with their children. One participant who always felt great about volunteering in the class and found it was useful, while the rest of parents in the class never chose to volunteer even though teachers provided opportunities. They all found that language is a major issue for

them to be connected with school, and then there existed the cultural difference, for example, some of them considered themselves as free labor in volunteering.

Similarly, the result in another study of Li (2006) presented that Chinese immigrant parents have less interest in school activities, such as volunteering or attending parent-teacher meetings. Wang (2009) believed that Chinese parents who want to help improve their children's achievement and performance in school should exchange information with teachers often and volunteer actively, then, they may build a close tie with teachers and schools.

In order to build a good bridge for parents and teachers to communicate with each other, Bauch's (2001) social capital theory believed that people would benefit from it by being a member of a family or community, and it helps us to understand how specific characteristics of a family, neighborhood, and a community affect students' access in schools. Thus, parents' attitudes and how they are involved in their children's life can affect their children's attitudes.

More specifically, Cheng (2001) examined the parents' attitudes toward science education among three different cultural groups: American, Chinese American, and Chinese parents. This study revealed that Chinese parents would like to set higher standards and be involved in their children's science learning more often than American and Chinese American. Cheng (2001) believed that parents' attitudes can be correlated with students' attitudes toward science education closely.

Using a 4-year longitudinal study, Huntsinger and Jose (2009) investigated how parents involved in children's schooling by exploring two different cultural groups:

European-American parents and immigrant Chinese parents. They chose participants from four preschools, five kindergartens, and four weekend Chinese schools in the suburban district in America, and all participants were well-educated. This study revealed that immigrant Chinese parents preferred to be involved in their children's learning at home while the European-American parents enjoyed participating in school activities. This phenomenon is also found in the study of Li (2001). This kind of parental involvement for Chinese parents has been considered as a cultural tradition that can be dated back to thousands of years ago (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009). Li (2001) believed that the cultural beliefs would shape Chinese parents' attitudes.

In speaking of parents' attitudes, there is one aspect that we cannot ignore: teachers' attitudes toward parental involvement, especially Chinese parental involvement. In a one-year longitudinal qualitative research study, Ho (1995) indicated that teachers' attitudes can affect Chinese parental involvement by exploring the perspectives of 1,056 teachers and 2,500 parents. The result of this study (Ho, 1995) also revealed that parents and teachers' attitudes had great influence on how they implement the parental involvement together. Thus, to better facilitate students' development and learning at school, it is essential for teachers to gain a better understanding of the cultural background of Chinese families (Ho, 1995).

Barriers for Chinese Parental Involvement in America

Over the past decade, an extensive body of research has indicated that the Chinese are facing challenges and difficulties in America, such as cultural conflicts, language issues, social-economic status, identity and discrimination problems (Chuo, 2012; He,

2015; Lu et al., 2012; Sandhu, 1997; Wong, 1982). Smith (2014) indicated that parental involvement is much more important for children whose cultural backgrounds were from minority groups. Thus, to better support young children from China, a minority group in America, it is vital for all stakeholders to gain a better understanding of what barriers Chinese parents of infants might meet and how these barriers influence their parental involvement in their child's development.

In the following section, I elaborate on three main barriers for Chinese parental involvement in America: cultural backgrounds, language issues and family members' role.

Cultural Backgrounds

A growing number of researchers had emphasized the vital role of cultural backgrounds in Chinese immigrant families (Chen and Lewis, 2015; Juang & Alvarez, 2010; Li, 2006; Li et al., 2019; Lu et al., 2012; Parette et al., 2004; Wu & Chao, 2005). Lu, Marks and Apavaloiae (2012) examined the relationships between Chinese immigrant families and religions. They found that Chinese immigrant families often struggled with challenges in their children's education in the U.S. and indicated that culture plays an important role in their daily lives.

More specifically, Kelley and Tseng (1992) emphasized the influence of cultural backgrounds on Chinese immigrants' parenting practices, and they found that most of the Chinese immigrant parents prefer to support their child by taking care of their children's physical needs in daily lives, whereas American parents prefer to take care of the psychological needs. Similarly, in a study of Asian-American families, scholars found

that the most significant intervention of parental involvement is from the family cultural background (Parette et al., 2004).

In another study in 2019, it compared the preschool children's beliefs about school learning in their home and host cultures whose families were from China with another group whose families were European (Li et al., 2019). As reflected in the results, the evidence showed that the family background played a critical role in their achievement at home and in the school and indicated that there existed a correlation between awareness of parental involvement and students' academic achievement, including higher reading and math achievement.

Moreover, He (2015) found that teachers' attitudes were always influenced negatively by Chinese parents' low participation. Due to the cultural differences, Chinese parents prefer to be involved in children's learning at home (Huntsinger & Jose, 2009) and they considered this type of parental involvement as a good tool for their children to be success at school (He, 2015). However, Chinese parents' low participation in school activities does not mean that they do not care about their children's development (He, 2015). In addition to exploring the Chinese parents' low participation behaviors, Hwa-Froelich and Westby (2003) interviewed nine Southeast Asian families, 10 children and four Head Start staff to explore the role that these participants played in children's learning. The result of this study revealed that Chinese parents' low participation in school activities is due to Asian's cultural beliefs of the roles home and school play in children's education, and Chinese parents often perceived home and school as two

individual parts (Westby, 2003). Such cultural conflicts influence Chinese parental involvement in their child's development in America.

To have a deeper understanding of Chinese parents' cultural beliefs and expectations of their children's education, Li (2001) reported that Chinese parents' expectations are very high by exploring seven Chinese parents' perspectives in regard to their children's achievement. More specifically, Chinese parents considered fun activities as useless in promoting their children's learning achievement (Lew, 2006). For example, Shen (2016) found that Chinese students spent more time practicing their piano skills during the lessons than American students. They viewed a lesson seriously because they came to the lesson to learn things and not for fun. Thus, the traditional cultural beliefs of Chinese parents are considered as one of the factors that have influence on Chinese parents' actual parental involvement in an American school setting (He, 2015). Chen and Lewis (2015) further illustrated that the value of the family also influences family members' decisions, cultural beliefs and practices.

However, a true education does not exist in isolation, and all education should proceed by participating in the social context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Dewey, 1980; Dewey, 2013). According to Alexander et al., (1994), they believed that different cultural beliefs shape parents' perspectives and expectations of their children's education. However, cultural backgrounds influence educators' attitudes when teachers and school personnel meet families from minority groups where the home language is not English (Lee & Bowen, 2006; Newhouse, 2007; Smith, 2014). Thus, the next section discusses the barriers of language issues in children's education in the minority groups.

Language Issues

Another major barrier is the language issue for minority groups. Many researchers had indicated that there existed challenges and difficulties in children's education among bilingual families (Chen & Lewis, 2015; Nieto, 2010; Violand-Sanchez, 1991). In a study of 2006, Lee and Bowen pointed out that there are three-quarters of immigrant families who live in a bilingual home environment for their children, and parents who have limited English skills influence their parental involvement in their children's education. More specifically, Li's (2006) study indicated that Chinese parental involvement can be influenced by language issues, and this standpoint was supported by other studies (Baolian Qin, 2006; Chuo, 2012; He, 2015; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Shin, 2009; Wong, 1982).

In a study which tried to find out if there is a relationship between family language patterns and the language that their children learned in preschool programs, Fillmore (1991) indicated that the second-generation Chinese-Americans can read and write little Chinese language and are losing contact with the Chinese traditional cultures. Furthermore, it found that it would affect their ability in using their primary languages when people started to contact them using only English, and their primary languages are only spoken by their parents. More specifically, when Chen and Lewis's (2015) study explored the Chinese grandparents' role in caring for grandchildren in America, it also revealed that most of the grandparents felt uncomfortable with their involvement because they could only communicate in Chinese while others were speaking English. They found that Chinese grandparents who had a lot of international experiences would adapt to the

western life easier and improve their involvement (Chen & Lewis, 2015). Language issues posed a serious barrier for most Chinese grandparents because they could not communicate with their grandchildren's teachers (Chen & Lewis, 2015)

Later in 2006, using a five-year longitudinal study, the purpose of Baolian Qin's study was to find out how and why there are changing dynamics in immigrant families by exploring two Chinese immigrant families. The result of Baolian Qin's (2006) study revealed that language issues are not only barriers for teachers to communicate with Chinese immigrant family members, but also for their children. Moreover, it indicated that the relationship between children and Chinese immigrant parents can be affected by language issues. For example, there are students in this study that said that it is hard to express their true feelings through their parents' language, thus, they found it hard to communicate with their parents (Baolian Qin, 2006).

In addition to the language issues, when it comes to the communication between parents and teachers, especially for parents from minority groups, the influence would be magnified. Epstein (2018) identified that "communicating between parents and school" is one type of parental involvement in their children's development and indicated that language issues can influence the quality and quantity of communications. To better support parental involvement of parents who were not native English speakers, it is necessary to build a good relationship between family and school so that parents can gain access to understand the mainstream cultures and teachers can have a better understanding of students' struggles at home and in the school (Violand-Sanchez, 1991). Thus, research has always recommended that schools should consider parents as partners

and involve parents in their decision-making process, especially for minority families (Baolian Qin, 2006; Violand-Sanchez, 1991). Yet, it is reasonable to assume that there exists a correlation between the language issues and parental involvement in their children's life and development.

Grandparents' Influence

To most Chinese families, grandparents play an influential role in caring for their grandchildren and always greatly influence their adult children's parental involvement experiences (Chen & Lewis, 2015; Chen & Liu, 2011; Jingxiong et al., 2007; Lau et al., 2019; Li & Liu, 2019; Tang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2019; Xu et al., 2017). Since it is a common phenomenon that Chinese grandparents take efforts to care for their grandchildren (Chen & Lewis, 2015; Chen & Liu, 2012; Wang et al., 2019), an increasing number of research focuses on the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren (Xu et al., 2018), the relationship between grandparents and parents (Li & Liu, 2019), and how grandparents are involved in their grandchildren's development (Jingxiong et al., 2007; Wang et al., 2019).

Chen and Lewis (2015) examined how Chinese grandparents influence their adult children's parental involvement experiences in American culture by exploring nine Chinese families' experiences in regard to the grandparents' involvement in America. This study believed that Chinese grandparents helped their adult children a lot with household chores to maintain a good family tie and cultural value of the family, leading to family decision-making process. As the results showed in this study, participants all viewed the grandparents' role as a significant care provider for their child in America

because participants felt it is trustworthy to gain support from grandparents economically and spiritually, and they all found that grandparents took a critical role in parenting and in the decision-making process. Moreover, this study also emphasized the importance of the role of culture and communities in Chinese families' parenting (Chen & Lewis, 2015).

In addition to the significant role of Chinese grandparents, Li and Liu (2019) examined the parent-grandparent co-parenting style by conducting a longitudinal study because they believed that a good co-parenting relationship could have great influence on children's social competence indirectly but positively. The findings of this research also indicated that grandparents had more useful strategies for caring for children and helped their grandchildren's mother to deal with things. In a similar research which explored the relationship between grandparents and grandchildren in different Chinese immigrant families in America, the result revealed that many Chinese grandparents had close ties with their grandchildren and influenced each other's improvement positively (Xu et al., 2018). As a result, this study emphasized that a good relationship between grandparents and grandchildren would benefit all three generations together in a Chinese American family.

Another study further emphasized how grandparents taking care of their grandchildren were often affected by cultural backgrounds (Wang et al., 2019). The findings of their research illustrated that Chinese grandparents might face a lot of difficulties when there exist many cultural norms in their involvement. More specifically, Lau et al., (2019) explored how grandparents influence their grandchildren's weight and obesity in Chinese American families. The evidence of this study revealed that school-

age children (ages 6-17) would have problems being overweight under their grandparents' care because Chinese grandparents held a cultural belief that young children would be much healthier if they can eat more and become heavier. However, children ages from two to five would not have this issue. As a result, this study believed that grandparents' cultural beliefs would influence their grandchildren's development and recommended Chinese American families understood how to keep children healthy in an appropriate way.

Two more studies in recent years also emphasized the important role of cultural backgrounds and traditional beliefs in grandparents' involvement in caring for their grandchildren (Tang et al., 2016; Xu et al., 2017). Findings from these two studies believed that grandparents' involvement cannot only benefit children's development but also grandparents' well-being (Tang et al., 2016), especially psychological well-being (Xu et al., 2017). Both studies explored the perspectives and experiences of grandparents in regard to their caregiving experiences and illustrated that grandparents' psychological and health situation would depend on whether they perceive caregiving as a burden or not because they always met challenges in America. Thus, both studies suggested that there should exist programs to support grandparents' caregiving experiences. Thus, it is reasonable to consider grandparents as a significant influence in caring for their grandchildren's development and happiness in a Chinese American family.

Summary

An increasing number of scholars had illustrated the importance of parental involvement for a child's development in infancy. Particularly, the majority of research

has identified the potential barriers for Chinese parental involvement in their children's development in America. As reflected in the literature review section, three potential barriers for Chinese parental involvement were concluded: cultural backgrounds, language issues and grandparents' influence. However, less studies can provide a whole picture of the Chinese parental involvement in their children's development in infancy.

The purpose of my study was to investigate the perspectives of Chinese parents of infants in regard to their parental involvement experiences in America and to explore how they interact with school and community. This research included a thick description of Chinese parents' perspectives of being involved in two distinct educational systems and examined the barriers of Chinese parental involvement in America. Eventually, the purpose of this study is to make a significant contribution to parents of infants, infant teachers, early childhood educators and the community: (1) help them gain a better understanding of their students from different cultures; (2) improve their instruction by rethinking the role of parental involvement; (3) help all stakeholders get access to know how school, parents and community work together to support Chinese parental involvement, and eventually contribute to other minority groups in regard to parental involvement in their child's development and achievement in America.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The purpose of this study was to re-examine the importance of parental involvement by investigating the unique experiences and perspectives of Chinese parents of infants in regard to parental involvement in their child's development in infancy, their perspectives on enrolling their child into an American child development center in infancy, and then, this study also sought ways to support Chinese parental involvement in infancy in America. Framed within Epstein's (2018) framework of involvement, Dewey's (1980, 2013) theory of true education and Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory of the relationship between a child's development and the social environment, this study was intended to not only help Chinese parents, but also parents from other minority groups in America.

This study mainly utilized the qualitative research method of in-depth interviews. This study also chose to collect related documents and considered it as supplementary data. Due to the nature of qualitative research, it has been considered as a naturalistic method to help people gain a richer description of human beings, issues or a greater depth of a phenomenon, and it mainly focused on the particular meanings of how people make sense of their own experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Griffin, 2004; Perakyla, 2004; Silverman, 2004). Thus, the present study chose to explore Chinese parents of infants' perspectives on the parental involvement at home, in infant classrooms and in the community based on their unique experiences in America. Moreover, this study investigated their perspectives in regard to barriers for their parental involvement practices in America. Interviewing was the main data collection method, and additional

documents were collected during the data collection process. Thus, this study mainly employed interpretive data analyses to elaborate on a phenomenon. Details are introduced later in this chapter.

Research Design

This study was designed to take a close look at how Chinese parents of infants, schools, and the community work together to support Chinese parental involvement by exploring unique experiences and perspectives of Chinese parents of infants in regard to their parental involvement experiences in the development in infancy, their perspectives on enrolling their child into a child development center. This study eventually sought ways to support Chinese parental involvement in infancy in America. This study also conducted a deep investigation of Chinese parents' perspectives of their encounter with two distinct cultural backgrounds regarding the parental involvement practice of Chinese families at home and in an American child development center, thereby possibly making a great contribution to the early childhood education field.

In order to adequately address all of my inquiries, I believe that qualitative research is the most appropriate for the purpose of this study because qualitative research is based on validity, which refers to the meaning that is deduced from the scores rather than the score itself (Messick, 1995). It also provides researchers with opportunities to gain more in-depth descriptions of a complicated process and absorb useful information from participants' unique experiences and perspectives (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

According to the purpose and research questions in this study, using in-depth interviewing can dig out any possible clues about the parental involvement practices of Chinese families at home and in an American child development center, and it is ensured to be a more superior way of collecting the detailed and in-depth data needed, and thus, can absorb rich descriptive information on the participants' perspectives and practices in this study (Messick, 1995; Creswell & Poth, 2016; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). This qualitative research method led this study to gain access to more in-depth data and have a better understanding of how Chinese parents of infants participated in their children's development, their perspectives by focusing on their parent involvement experiences, and how they made decisions on whether or not to enroll their child in an American child development center (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Marshall & Rossman, 2014; McCaslin & Scott, 2003; Wertz et al., 2011).

The qualitative research is intended to explore the participants' perspectives of their unique experiences rather than what the participants experienced (Griffin, 2004). "Qualitative research is usually concerned with meaning, and in particular how people make sense of the world and how participants experience events from their perspectives." (Griffin, 2004). Therefore, in this qualitative research, I conducted in-depth interviews and collected all related documents to gather the descriptive data.

Research Setting

Sampling

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research might only focus on a small sample size but gain a deeper understanding of participants' inner world (Patton, 1990).

By exploring different types of research methods and knowing what I wanted to examine through this study, it was suitable to utilize the in-depth interviews to collect the data (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Regarding the process of selecting participants, I utilized “purposeful sampling” which I am convinced by Creswell and Poth (2016), Merriam (1998), and Patton (1990) that the participants that I chose by purposeful sampling can provide a great deal of information on the research questions and ensure the success rate of this study (Patton, 1990). By using this sampling approach, I found that I gained access to explore “why” and “how” all the participants implemented the Chinese parental involvement in the development in infancy in an American child development center setting.

Gaining Access and Participants

To better answer the research questions of this study, I decided to recruit a group of Chinese parents of infants in America by “purposeful sampling” which is popular for selecting a specific case or setting (Patton, 1990). Parents of infants who were living in America during their child’s infancy period, which is between 0 to 2 years old (Lamb et al., 2002), were the target participants for this study.

After the purposeful sampling process, 11 Chinese parents of infants were interviewed individually. Nine participants were found through a WeChat group which was used to provide an online chatting room for Chinese parents of infants who are living in America to connect, share and help. I posted the introduction of my study in this group and found there were nine Chinese parents of infants who were interested in this study

and would like to participate in this study. Then, I connected with all the nine participants through email individually.

There were two more participants: one was introduced by my friend in Los Angeles, and the other one was a Chinese mother whom I met in a restaurant. Both of them were interested in this study and wanted to participate after I introduced my topic and my desire to them. Through emails, I sent them the consent form and kindly asked them to sign it if they did not change their mind and would like to be a participant in this study. After I received the consent forms from them, I wrote a separate email to each of them and provided the appropriate interview dates for them to choose. As a result, they did not change their mind. They signed the consent form and chose the interview date individually. After the recruitment process, all these eligible participants were interviewed individually.

Original Plan for Participants of the Study

The original plan for choosing the “setting and participants” was based on my precious experiences as a research assistant in a child development center at Ohio University because I discovered a number of factors that contributed to my choice of this specific setting and I found it suited my research purposes. After I decided to use this setting, I used the following steps to find possible participants in this study.

First, I found that teachers, interns, and directors all had a professional background and training in early childhood based on my experiences in this setting. Second, I shared my experiences and thoughts with my advisor. Then, I checked for the possibility of the participants in this setting with my advisor. In order to ensure that I could get access to

this setting and find possible participants, I contacted the director of this setting and introduced the purpose of my study. During the meeting with the director, I tried to find potential participants for this study. By understanding my own research purposes, it was appropriate to believe that the teachers, EC Teacher Candidate teachers in the infant classroom, directors of the center, and Chinese parents of infants were the suitable ones who could provide rich information for this study and deepen the understanding of the significance of parental involvement in the development in infancy. After all the necessary processes to initiate the research were complete, this study decided to explore the experiences and perspectives of five participants that included two infant teachers, one director, and two Chinese parents of infants.

However, an unexpected incident occurred during the process and changed the whole data collection process. Details of the unexpected incident during the data collection process are explained below.

Unexpected Incident during the Process

On November 27th, 2017, I was supposed to have two interviews with teachers at the child development center. Right before the interviews, I received an email from my advisor in which he asked me to meet him immediately because there was an unexpected issue with doing research at this setting. Then I was told that one of my participants had contacted the director of the setting with concerns about the purpose of the study and why certain questions were asked.

Since the topic of this study is about Chinese parents of infants in an American child development center, I shared some similar experience related to the topic which was

“the communication between teachers and parents” during the interview with this participant. Based on my previous observation experience in the center, I noticed that there was a Chinese boy who had an issue with his snack which required communication between teachers and parents, and I also checked with the teacher immediately whether they would communicate with this boy’s parents about this issue or not. The teacher answered me “yes.” I thought this was a good topic and example for me to lead the interviewee to think deeper and find more good examples. Therefore, when we got to the 11th interview question, which was “In what ways did infant teachers share information with you? Please describe it in detail,” I chose to share the story about the experience with the Chinese boy and used the pseudonym “Henry” for him.

However, when the interviewee heard of this name, the interviewee felt so excited and said, “oh, that’s my son.” When I saw this reaction, I checked with her again, and she laughed and answered positively, “yes.” The reason why I did not check more with it was because when I needed to choose a setting for my data collection, the director told me that the Chinese parent was no longer in the infant room, and the infant teachers were those who’d worked with Chinese families. So I did not think too much about the timeline, especially with the interviewees positive answer “yes.” Then, I shared the specific story that there was a Chinese boy who did not like a cheese stick that day, and then the infant teacher gave other crackers to him. I asked her questions like, “Did you prepare a cheese stick for him one time?.....So the infant teacher must tell you about that? So you changed the food for him?” All the answers from this participant were a positive “yes” and even with some details. Therefore, both of us did not think too much

about whether the boy that I described was her son or not and moved on to the rest of the interview questions.

After the interview, she kept thinking about the story that I shared in the interview, and she felt the boy that I described was different from her own son “Hengrui.” Thus, she started to wonder if there was something that she did not know about her son. She checked with teachers that if there is another Chinese boy also named “Hengrui.” Every teacher answered “no.” At last, she went to the director and shared her concerns directly. After I heard about her uncomfortable feeling, I understood her worries and apologized to her immediately. By communicating with her, she told me that she thought it was fine when she found out the boy that I talked about was not her son.

However, all teachers including the other two enrolled participants found out and became concerned about this issue. They wondered if I would make up stories when I write my dissertation because they thought I made up the stories of Henry. Therefore, they chose not to participate in this study unless this issue was resolved.

This unexpected incident caused a wide sense of distrust between me and all participants that were recruited. Without trustworthiness, the value of data would be decreased. It could cause a negative influence on the value of the data if I continue collecting data from them. By this time the research sample had been tainted by preconceived ideas about the research, and my advisor highly suggested that I stop all data collection at this setting and find another way to collect useful data.

I really learned a lesson from this unexpected incident. As a researcher, I should be more careful about the information that I mentioned during the interview. If I really

need to provide an example, I will make sure to use “A” or “B” instead of a name to avoid misunderstandings or other concerns in the future.

Selection of the Participants

The purpose of this study was to take a close look at the unique experiences and perspectives of Chinese parents of infants about their involvement in their child’s development in infancy in America, their perspectives of parental involvement in their child’s development in infancy, their opinions of enrolling their child into a child development center, and their experiences of how Chinese parents of infants cooperate with infant teachers, directors and the community to better facilitate their child in infancy.

To better achieve the goals of this study, the identification of individuals was based on the three criteria after my deep consideration:

- The first one for selecting Chinese parents of infants was parents whose children were born and raised in America from 0 to 2 years old, or parents whose children are still infants and living in America.
- The second criterion for selecting participants was the age of parents, which was between the ages of 25 and 50.
- The third one was Chinese parents who could understand and communicate in English well. I selected Chinese parents to be the main participants because parents took the major role in children’s education in the Chinese culture.

After I determined the three requirements for the selection of the participants, I used the “purposeful sampling” method to identify 11 participants for this study. Following are details of recruitment process.

I had connections with one Chinese mother of an infant who just had a young baby and was living in America. She tried to support me and invited me to a WeChat group which was an online chatting room for Chinese parents of infants in America to share useful information about young babies. Based on the conversations with them in this group, I found that it was possible to get connections with more potential participants because some of them engaged in the same events with a large population of Chinese families. Moreover, I found that all these parents’ ages were between 25 to 50, and they could communicate in English well. Some of them sent their children to an American child development center, and some of them did not. Through the conversation with them, I intended to identify who would like to participate in this study.

Thus, I introduced myself and shared my topic of study with a passionate tone in the chatting room. After I posted the introduction of my study, they still had enough time for questioning if they had any concerns. Finally, nine Chinese parents of infants including my friend in this WeChat group showed their great interests in this study and decided to participate. I connected with all these nine participants through email individually and I had them sign the consent form. After I got the signatures from them, I made an appointment with each participant.

There were two more participants. One was introduced by my friend in Los Angeles. I sent an email to this parent of an infant, communicating my passion for this

study and attached the consent form. She replied to my email and said she would like to engage in this study. The other one was a Chinese mother whom I met in a restaurant. She lived in America, and when she saw my baby, we had a good conversation based on babies. I thought she would be an eligible participant for this study, so I introduced my topic and shared my goals. She said she would like to support me and participated in this study after signing the consent form.

I explained my topic and described the procedures of conducting this research to them before I interviewed each of them. All these eligible participants were interviewed individually, and I used two “Sony” audio recording devices to record each interview at the same time. The reason why I used two devices to record at the same time is because I learned a lesson that researchers should always have back-up equipment when I collected my interview data in a pilot study, and the recording device did not work. Thus, I always prepared well before I needed to collect data. All recorded interviews were stored in my personal computer with a password to protect them, and all the data was deleted by the completion of this research.

Background of the Participants

After the recruitment process, 11 Chinese parents of infants were identified as qualified participants in this study, including eight mothers and three fathers. Based on the information from each interview, seven of them enrolled their infants into an American child development center, three of them chose not to enroll their infants into any child development center, and one of them decided to enroll their infant into a Chinese development center. All these participants came from China and are living in

America now. There was one participant who enrolled her child in an American child development center 10 years ago when her child was around eight months.

According to interview statements, the background information of each participant was organized and is presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Background Information of the 11 Participants

Name	Role	Education Background	Year in America	Nationality	English skills	Employment status	Enroll child in child development center or not
Hu (c)	Mother	Bachelor in U.S.	10	U.S. citizen	Fluent	NO	YES
Peng	Mother	Master in U.S.	8	Permanent Residents	Fluent	NO	YES
Wang	Father	Bachelor in China	5.5	Temporary Residents	Limited	Home worker	YES
Cao	Father	Bachelor in U.S.	10	U.S. citizen	Fluent	Full-time employee	YES (Chinese one)
Xiong	Mother	Ph. D in U.S.	5	Temporary Residents	Fluent	Full-time employee	YES
Zhang (Y)	Father	Bachelor in China	6	Temporary Residents	Limited	Part-time waiter	YES
You	Mother	Ph. D in U.S.	18	Permanent Residents	Fluent	Full-time employee	YES
Yang	Mother	Bachelor in U.S.	12	Permanent Residents	Fluent	NO	NO
Zhang (R)	Mother	Master in U.S.	5	In-process of Permanent Residents	Fluent	NO	NO
Xiao	Mother	Master in U.S.	5.5	Temporary Residents	Fluent	Full-time employee	NO
Hu (X)	Mother	Bachelor in U.S.	10	In-process of Permanent Residents	Fluent	NO	NO

Note. English skills: Limited (be able to have the daily communication in English); Fluent (be able to speak English very well)

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework for this study was derived from the purpose of this study and the assumptions in the literature review. A conceptual framework is always considered as “a network to provide a comprehensive understanding of a phenomenon” (Jabareen, 2009) and “a tool to help frame the research’s questions, design and outcomes” (Green, 2014).

Additionally, it is believed that a conceptual framework can help a researcher to organize the data (Green, 2014) and communicate to readers clearly about the expectations, the purpose and the important variables of this study (Jabareen, 2009; Milles & Huberman, 1994). Thus, the conceptual framework of this study illustrated the themes from what was known about the significance of parental involvement in the development in infancy and what is still lacking in Chinese parental involvement in the development in infancy in America. These themes were mainly depicted to present the variables in the data collection and analysis process.

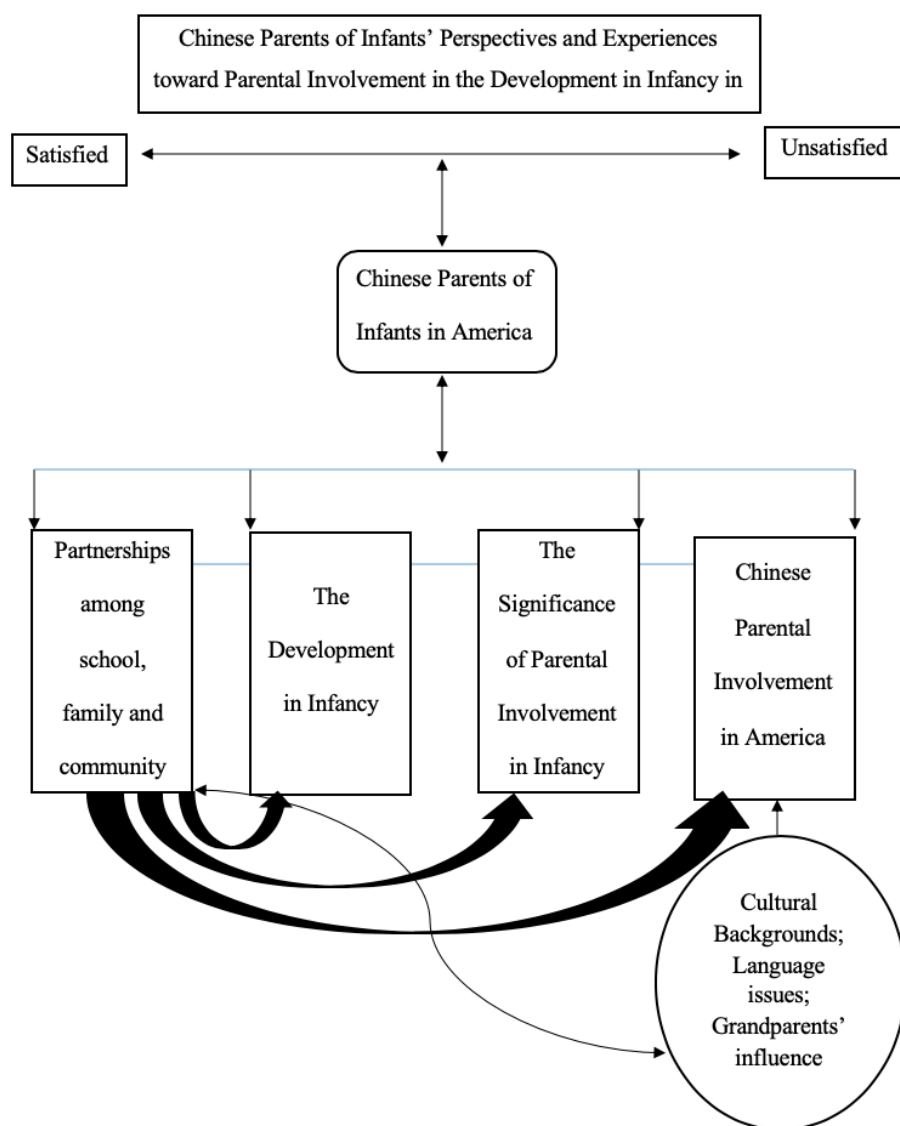
As reflected in the literature review, little is known about the Chinese parental involvement in children’s development and education in infancy. The conceptual framework was viewed as a deterrent from collecting valueless data and a reminder that the purpose of this study was to explore the Chinese parents of infants’ perspectives and experiences toward parental involvement in America.

There are four main themes related to the topic: partnerships among school, family and community; development in infancy; the significance of parental involvement; and Chinese parental involvement in America. These themes were considered as a guide for

designing the research questions and the data collection process. Figure 3 is a graphic representation of the conceptual framework.

Figure 3

Conceptual Framework



The Researcher's Role

The role of researcher is considered as a critical instrument to gather and interpret data in qualitative research (Barrett, 2007) and the validity in qualitative research relies on the researcher's knowledge and skills (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Thus, Barrett (2007) highly recommended that the qualitative researchers should always consider aspects related to bias, assumptions, expectations, and specific experience. Thus, the role of the researcher is vital in this qualitative study. I would like to describe my role as a researcher in detail.

First of all, since this study was trying to explore the Chinese parents' experiences and perspectives in regard to enrolling in an American child development center setting, my role is considered as an "insider" because I am a Chinese parent of infant in America. According to Bonner and Tolhusrt (2002), as an insider researcher, I can gain a better understanding of my participants' perspectives, experiences, and feelings. Thus, I could collect more valuable data based on the similar cultural background (Bonner & Tolhusrt, 2002). Unluer (2012) had indicated that the similar cultural background can affect the objectivity of the study and lead a researcher to wrong assumptions with unexpected bias. Thus, I thoughtfully conducted the research as to prevent any possible effects of bias on my data collection and data analysis process (Unuler, 2012). I would also make sure that the credibility in this study by utilizing the advantages and avoiding the disadvantages of the insider role. I would pay close attention to notice if there was any bias or judgments made about the participants' perspectives during the data collection and data analysis process.

Second, in my position as a human being, this identity required me to be aware of the importance of anonymity and the security of personal information. Participants would not feel comfortable to share their true perspectives and feelings if they did not make sure that all their information would be safe. They would have concerns that other people could also have access to it. Thus, right after I introduced my purpose of my study in detail to them, I would take time to let them know that this study would not judge their perspectives, and no one had access to their personal information except me.

Third, I find that people would be more likely to share their perspectives when they actually have some personal connections with the researcher (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). For example, one of these 11 participants were my friend and knew my educational background, as well as my personality. She was, therefore, comfortable to share and trust me (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). Based on this kind of trusting relationship with this participant, I could gain access to more detailed and in-depth descriptions about the topic of this study.

Personally, I have built a good connection with the majority of my participants in the chatting group. For this reason, data may meet with challenges in biased data selection and the loss of objectivity (Glesne, 2016). Glesne (2016) suggested that researchers should rethink their relationships with the participants and recognize the role of power distribution during the interactions. In order to reduce the influence of prejudice, I would like to make the effort to rethink my role and try my best to consider my own role as a researcher rather than a friend.

Fourth, in my position as a research assistant in the child development center, I have decided to not use videotaping to collect the data in my research. Based on my videotaping experiences in this setting, I found that participants would have different behaviors from their usual practices. For example, the interns there would ask me if I had turned on the video, and if I had not, they would engage in conversation not related to their instruction. Though videotaping has been used by a lot of researchers due to its advantages, I believe that the transparency of the data can be affected if I videotape in front of the participants. Therefore, I chose tape-recording to record all the interviews.

Data Collection Process

I believed that qualitative research was the best methodology to be implemented in this study after I made a thoughtful analysis of the comparisons between quantitative research and qualitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Griffin, 2004; Patton, 1990). Unlike the quantitative study, qualitative research is seeking to know and understand how several individuals make meaning of their experiences (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Thus, the researchers pay more attention to “how people find themselves in the experience” rather than “what people actually did in the experience” by conducting the qualitative research approach. Due to the purpose of my study, the experiences and perspectives of participants in regard to the research topic would be collected as my primary data.

According to the study of Creswell and Poth (2016), there are various useful methods to collect data in qualitative research, and it indicated that an in-depth interview is a significant data collection method which can help researchers to explore others’ experiences better than in quantitative research (Creswell & Poth, 2016), as well as

understand the inner world of participants (Marshall & Rossman, 2014; Rubin & Rubin, 2011). As Rubin and Rubin (2011) stated, they got the most valuable data from the in-depth interview when they combined in-depth interviewing and documents together in one qualitative study. To gain a better understanding of participants' unique experiences and perspectives, I chose interviewing as my main data collection method and I would also like to use documents to supplement my data collection methods.

Prior to the data collection process, I first submitted an IRB form to the *Institutional Review Board* (IRB) at Ohio University. I revised three times based on the comments from IRB committee members. However, after I got the first approval letter from IRB committee, there was an incident report during the first data collection process. As a result, I realized that I need to find another way to collect valuable data for this research after I learned a lesson from this unexpected incident. Thus, I wrote an amendment and submitted it to IRB form to the *Institutional Review Board* (IRB) at Ohio University again.

After I received the final approval from the IRB committee, I began to choose a good time so that most of members in the online chatting room, which I selected to recruit participants, were available to chat. After I decided the time, I introduced myself and the purpose of my study (See Appendix A) to them through this online chatting room, and I got nine Chinese parents of infants, including my friend in this WeChat group, to express their great interest in this study and to participate after they understood what this research was about. Two additional participants were not from the chatting

group: one was recommended by my friend in Los Angeles, and one was a Chinese mother whom I met in a restaurant. At last, I had a total of 11 participants.

I connected with all these 11 participants through email individually and I had them sign the consent form (See Appendix B). After I collected the signatures from them, I set a date for an interview with each participant and checked with them to see if they could provide any related documents. After all these procedures that I described above, I started the data collection process through interviewing and collecting related documents.

Interviewing

The nature of interviewing is suited for qualitative research's interpretive attribute (Stake, 2010). A majority of researchers have emphasized that interviewing is a data-collection method that helps researchers gain access to know other people's inner perspectives by conducting conversations between two or more people (Glesne, 2016; Johnson & Christensen, 2019; Patton, 1990). Moreover, in-depth qualitative interviews can help researchers collect more meaningful and valuable information instead of getting simple "yes-or-no" answers (Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

In *Qualitative interviewing: The Art of Hearing Data*, Rubin and Rubin (2011) discussed two forms of an in-depth interviewing method: semi-structured and unstructured. The questions in both semi-structured and unstructured interviews are open-ended and depth-probing (Rubin and Rubin, 2011). As Rubin and Rubin (2011) stated, the differences between them are as follows:

- The semi-structured in-depth interview has a specific topic, whereas the unstructured in-depth interview only has a general topic in mind;

- The researchers who conduct the semi-structured interview will prepare a limited number of questions in advance and plan to ask follow-up questions based on their participants' responses, but the researchers will design their questions based on their interviewees' responses in an unstructured in-depth interview.

Additionally, Rubin and Rubin (2011) noted that the researchers should not only focus on topics specifically discussed with the interviewee but also the settings, such as the environment of the interview. Thus, Rubin and Rubin (2011) recommended the researchers to use field notes during the interviewing because it can provide rich information related to the differences of culture and social actions. To capture this type of information, Patton (1992) also considered tape-recording as a useful method.

In this study, I utilized the semi-structured interview to collect the data. I prepared a limited number of research questions (Rubin & Rubin, 2011). All these questions were divided into two Appendices (see Appendix C & Appendix D). They were reviewed and approved by the IRB committee members. During the interview process, I took notes about their answers and asked them extra questions based on what they mentioned in their answers.

Based on what I discussed above, I decided to conduct face-to-face interviews by using a semi-structured, in-depth interview questions to collect data from the participants and recorded all 11 individual interviews (Patton, 1990; Rubin and Rubin, 2011). Before all the interviews, I contacted individual participants in regard to the interviewing places because I wanted to make sure that all participants would feel comfortable and safe to

show their real feelings and share their perspectives and experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 2011).

In this study, I interviewed 11 Chinese parents of infants in America, including eight mothers of infants and three fathers of infants. All of the participants were interviewed individually to explore their different perspectives of parental involvement in the development in infancy, parental involvement experiences of how they cooperated with infant teachers, family members and the community, and the reason why they either chose to or chose not to enroll their child in an American child development center in infancy.

Interviews were guided by two lists of questions (see Appendix C & Appendix D). Appendix C is for Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center, and Appendix D is for Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in any centers in America.

Before I interviewed each participant, I always checked with participants if I could tape-record the interview. After I got the recording approval from them, I chose to tape-record the interviews. I also wrote the field notes because Rubin and Rubin (2011) believed that it was a way to help researchers recall the behaviors, interactions, and environment of the setting of the interview, and noted down self-reflection questions. According to Seidman (2013), each interview took about 25-60 minutes. The primary language that I used in all interviews was English.

Before all these interviews, I also assumed that there might occur some specific Chinese words because all these participants in this study were Chinese parents who may

not find the exact words or terms to express what they want to describe sometimes. However, it turned out that they all could find words to express themselves. As a researcher who also has the Chinese cultural background, I had confidence in having a better understanding of their cultural backgrounds and I thought that I had built a good rapport with the all Chinese participants in this study.

After I collected all records of interviews, I transcribed all interviews by myself, even though the process was lengthy. I found it was a perfect way for me to review all interview contents and have a deep thinking of potential themes for this study. During the process of transcribing, I highlighted some important sections of conversation with different theme colors and made comments on the right margin so that I could easily find these specific contents during the data analyzing process - “coding.”

Documents

To keep a track record of our life experiences, there are various instruments that have been developed along with the technology of the digital era. According to Creswell and Poth (2016), researchers can collect data through “newspapers, minutes of meetings, personal journals, and letters,” which can provide a better understanding of the specific phenomena in qualitative research. Therefore, I communicated with the participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center to check if there were any relevant documents that they got from the center, such as daily activity plans, accident report, notes for children’s interests, journals, newsletters, or emails that they got from infant teachers or directors. Table 2 provides information about all kinds of documents that I gathered in the data collection method.

Table 2*Information of Collected Documents*

T P	Journals	Incident Report	Daily Notes	Sheets	Enroll status	Frequency of Connection	Degree of Satisfaction
Hu (c)	YES		YES	YES	YES	Daily	Satisfied
Peng	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES	Daily	Very Satisfied
Wang	YES		YES		YES	Daily	Satisfied
Cao					YES (Chinese one)	Sometimes	Unsatisfied
Xiong	YES		YES		YES		Satisfied
Zhang (Y)	YES		YES	YES	YES		Satisfied
You					YES		Very Satisfied
Yang					NO		
Zhang (R)					NO		
Xiao					NO		
Hu (X)					NO		

(T: Document Type; P: Participants)

During this process, I followed what Creswell and Poth's (2016) study suggested:

- I tried to identify the types of documents that could help me gain more useful information to answer the research questions of this study;
- I reviewed all the documents carefully and checked if it is useful, such as school newsletters, activity plans, handouts for parents, and email exchanges between infant teachers and parents;

- I kept in mind that both public and private documents can be considered as sources of information; however, for the private documents, I always asked the participants' permission first, and then, examined the documents carefully and organized them according to different themes.

I found that the process of collecting related documents provided me with additional resources of information because there were documents with rich contents that I could not find through interviews (Creswell & Poth, 2016). Thus, I believed this was a suitable way to unearth the actions and perspectives of infant teachers and the child development center.

As shown in Table 2, there were mainly four types of documents that I collected from Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center. Among these six participants, four of them were satisfied with their parental involvement experiences in the center and two of them were very satisfied with their parental involvement experiences in the center. More details are discussed in the following sections and would be considered as supplementary evidence to support the interview data.

Data Analysis

To Creswell and Poth (2016), the process of data analysis is a crucial step due to the large amount of information gathered over a long period of time for one study. Therefore, I treated this process very carefully when I was interpreting, organizing, and identifying the data. In the following content, I wanted to share the details of my analyzing process.

Firstly, I transcribed the tape recording of all interviews into written text by using “Microsoft Word” after I completed each interview by myself. I stored all the data in my computer which has a password to protect it, and each document had an individual code name. It turned out that this way helped me understand the data better and find data easier.

Secondly, I cross-checked my first interpretations with individual participants to make sure that I did not have too much subjective thoughts, judgments or biases. Right after each interview, I always found extra time to cross-check my notes with the interviewee to ensure I got the right information from them. I also communicated and discussed with participants after I had a summary of my own reflections on the data during the process of data analysis. Since we were all in a same online chatting room, I added them as my friend. It provided me opportunities to chat with them and check with them.

Thirdly, I created a folder and a table of sources to help me organize the data and categorize them into two individual “Microsoft Word” files: interviews and documents (Creswell & Poth, 2016).

Finally, I gathered all collected data, organized them into episode columns based on the themes that concluded from all valid data. I made comments and had a summary on a daily basis. During this process, all research questions were used as a guidance to lead me to ascertain the emerging themes and coding categories. Then, I organized them into two individual “Microsoft Word” files that I set up before this process. I concluded my data analysis process into three phases, which I describe the details below:

The First Phase

Due to the different time schedule for each participant, I had time to transcribe the interviews into a Microsoft Word document between each two interviews. During this process, I got a chance to review the data by listening to it, typing it and reading it. I also highlighted the special contents with different theme colors in each transcript what I thought would be considered as valid evidence to support the later statements. By doing this process, I found that I always gained critical ideas for the following interviews and tried to lead to some specific topics during the following interviews.

After I completed all interviews, I finished all interview transcribing. I typed all interview notes into a “Microsoft Word” document. Then, I started to organize all the data, and the process of organizing data could be concluded in three steps.

Firstly, I carefully reviewed all the interview transcripts, interview notes, and related documents. Thus, I could get a general understanding. When I reviewed these data, I typed “comments” on the right side with different theme colors so that I could easily know where to find the special terms or contents in the “coding” process. As to what I mentioned before, the research questions of this study were used as a framework to guide me to ascertain the themes and confirm coding categories. I believe that the confirmed coding categories would reveal the participants’ perspectives regarding parental involvement experiences in the development in infancy, which is my overall research questions. Moreover, documents from school, emails and reports between infant teachers and parents would also be considered as an important way to dig out possible coding categories.

Secondly, I re-read all the data to find themes and coding categories in regard to what the infant teachers and the center do to encourage Chinese parents of infants to be involved in their child's development, how the Chinese parents of infants are involved in their children's development at home, and their perspectives about parental involvement experiences. During this process, I focused on the participants' perspectives of their experiences because whether participants were satisfied with their experiences could perfectly reflect how infant teachers' or the community's actions worked for Chinese parental involvement.

Thirdly, I reviewed all interview transcripts again, and I checked all highlighted terms and comments that I made specifically and carefully. I created a file which was named "repeated terms." I wrote down the special terms and I counted how many times this term occurred among all the data. I found that there were many terms that indicated the same meaning, and there were 47 repeated terms, such as, "family support," "too young," "have time to take care," "need more attention." Then, I chose to review all the interview transcripts again, and I mainly focused on the repeated terms at this time. I combined different terms with similar meanings into one coding category. Finally, I organized these terms into perspectives and experiences, and 17 coding categories were identified. For example, the coding categories that indicated the perspectives of participants included *parents' role in the development of infants, definition of parental involvement, roles of parents of families, cultural beliefs, parents' view of family support, satisfactions, barriers, etc.* The coding categories that indicated the practices of parental involvement at home and in the school included *how parents of infants involve, how*

parents of infants deal with the challenging times/ barriers, family support, how family's opinions affect the decision, communication between teachers and parents, school support, etc. This important process really helped me to find the coding categories, and then, decide emerging themes for this research.

The Second Phase

Based on the first phase of data analysis, there were 17 confirmed coding categories. Thus, I created 17 individual files and began to sort the relevant evidence from interview transcripts and related documents into different files. This process really took time to complete, but it allowed me to review all the comments easier that I made and organized based on the emerging themes.

Then, I utilized these confirmed coding categories to squeeze the emerging themes. The theoretical framework of this study guided this process and helped me deeply explore the participants' perspectives of parental involvement, their experiences in the center or at home, and the partnerships among centers, parents and communities. I spent a great deal of time reading and re-reading the confirmed coding categories and highlighting evidence. At this moment, I mainly focused on the participants' different and similar perceptions, and how these perceptions were reflected in their experiences.

This process was time-consuming, but it really provided me chances to confirm the emerging themes by reducing the amount of emerging themes.

The Third Phase

After the emerging themes were confirmed in the last phase, I used different theme colors to highlight the evidence which supported each emerging theme. Though all the

interviews were conducted in English, there were some special terms in Chinese. In order to ensure and increase the accuracy and validity of data, I invited one Chinese colleague and one American colleague to review the transcripts.

Then, I re-read the coded data with the same theme color, wrote down my thoughts and found relations with other researchers' theories in detail. I created a file which concluded all the confirmed emerging themes and put supportive evidence from transcripts and related documents under each theme. Thus, it was much easier for me to organize the data and decide how to present the findings in a reasonable way.

Presentation of Findings

Findings of this research are shared in detail in the fourth chapter. The confirmed emerging themes include Chinese parents of infants' perspectives about parental involvement, experiences of parental involvement in an American child development center or at home, barriers of Chinese parents experienced in their involvement, and the feelings of communication between teachers and parents. There was abundant evidence to support each theme. Since this study utilized the qualitative research method, a descriptive way rather than an explanation of participants' individual experiences (Patton, 1990) was considered as a powerful way to present the findings in the fourth chapter.

A discussion of findings and implications for implementation of parental involvement and for future research are presented in the fifth chapter. In order to investigate whether Chinese parents of infants would like to enroll their infants into an American child development center and recommend others to enroll their child into it in

the development in infancy, the participants' perspectives and experiences were very important. I would like to utilize my critical researcher role to understand each participant's thoughts and write my interpretations without bias or judgment.

There is a separate section for the implications of this research, including suggestions for current and future educators to rethink the practices of parental involvement in American child development centers and recommendations for parents, especially for Chinese parents of infants in America, to reconsider their own perspectives, beliefs, and attitudes toward their experiences. Eventually, it provides access for all stakeholders to better facilitate the development of infants. Moreover, chapter four also includes a section which provides implications for further research based on the findings and discussions of this study.

Trustworthiness

Qualitative research has always been considered as a naturalistic method to help people gain a richer description of human beings, issues, and a greater understanding of one specific topic. It mainly focuses on the particular meanings of how people make sense of a specific experience (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Griffin, 2004; Perakyla, 2004; Silverman, 2004). To make sure it is meaningful to others, the significant role of validity in qualitative research had been highlighted by a majority of researchers (Brink, 1993; Silverman, 2004; Savenye & Robinson, 1996). Generally, Leung (2015) and Loh (2013) both indicated that validity could be ensured if the research has the appropriate tools, processes, and data. Messick (1995) viewed validity as the meaning that is deduced from the test scores rather than the test score itself. During the same time period, Adler and

Adler (1994) also illustrated that the validity is related to the researcher's subjectivity and bias, which can be sorted into social values in qualitative research. Later in 1995, Messick's study strongly believed that there was an inadequacy in the traditional conception of validity and highly praised the new conception of unified validity, which takes into account the score meaning and social values in the educational research.

Unified validity provides a constructed structure by the integration of content, criteria, and consequences. Six aspects of construct validity are considered as standards and unified theories (Messick, 1995). There are various terms that are identified with construct validity: credibility, internal validity, or transferability.

According to Messick's (1995) theory, these six facets are content, substantive, structural, generalizability, external, and consequential, and they can contribute to addressing central issues implicit in a unified concept in educational and employment settings. However, the educational research should focus on the issues that can be caused by them, whereas Messick (1995) found that there is a lack of attention to the consequential basis of test validity.

Hence, I wanted to discuss some issues of construct validity by considering my role as a researcher in this section. Details of my discussion are as follows:

- The content aspect of construct validity should not only be relevant to the construct domain but also possess its functional importance (Messick, 1995). In order to make sure all relevant parts of the construct domain are included, we should pay more attention to the representativeness of the content which can make sense to others.

- According to Messick (1995), the structural aspect of the construct validity represents the scoring system which is related to the theory of the construct domain. Moreover, Shenton (2004) had emphasized that the method of data collection and analysis should not be inconsistent with the construct. Hence, the validity of the study must be ensured to implement the appropriate research methods.
- Shenton's (2004) theories indicated that construct validity can be seen as internal validity in quantitative research and external validity in qualitative research. The external validity or generalizability of research is referred to as transferability in both quantitative and qualitative research (Shenton, 2004). The difference of generalizability between quantitative and qualitative research is concerned with the number of participants, and a large body of past research has indicated that the number of participants in a qualitative research is smaller than in a quantitative research (Bernard, 2011; Bertaux, 1981; Creswell & Poth, 2016; Kuzel, 1992). As a result, it becomes far more important to know how we can ensure the generalizability by analyzing a relatively small number of participants. As to strategy, it is necessary for researcher to provide thick descriptions and objective thoughts of the processes of data collection in this study.
- Culture and the researcher's role. As for culture issues, for example, I purposefully chose Chinese families in the American school system to be the target participants in this qualitative study. As a Chinese researcher in the United States, I really have confidence in my ability that I could be more familiar with the culture of the

chosen participants. According to Shenton (2004), the study indicated that being familiar with the culture of the participants can help increase the validity of the qualitative research. Moreover, the importance of my role as a researcher and an “insider” is rather important to ensure transparency and validity (Creswell & Poth, 2016; Shenton, 2004). In addition, strategies like member checking and reviewing the previous literature can be useful to ensure the quality of validity for this study.

From what I have mentioned above, it is obvious that unified validity plays an important role in educational research, and the position of a researcher can be considered as a key role in the whole process. Creswell and Poth (2016) believed that researchers should make sure that their findings and interpretations are accurate because the researcher’s role, how the researcher interprets the findings, and the researcher’s personal experiences will shape the interpretation, thereby affecting the accuracy of the research. Therefore, Creswell and Poth (2016) proposed three main strategies to enhance the accuracy or credibility of the study: triangulation, member checking, and external audit.

In order to enhance trustworthiness of my study, I used triangulation, member checking, and external audit. By using the triangulation, I examined each source and find evidence to support the theme because Creswell and Poth (2016) believed that the study will be accurate if researchers can gain the information from “multiple sources of information, individuals, or processes.” By employing the member checking strategy, I checked my findings and my own interpretations with my participants to know if I understand it accurately (Creswell & Poth, 2016). I also utilized the “external audit” strategy, which entails having an outsider of this area read my work so that I can get an

objective evaluation of my study. I spent a lot of time to read and re-read my data. No matter what I tried to ensure the credibility of this study, limitations would still be occurred.

The Limitation of this Study

Since this is qualitative research, the most common limitations are the subjective information of the participants and the bias of the researcher. In this study, since the participants are chosen through purposeful sampling, their perspectives and experiences may be unique and not be considered as useful in other contexts. However, I believe it can be practical and useful for others by explaining the phenomena in detail.

Chapter 4: Findings and Analysis

In Chapter 4, the findings of this qualitative study are presented in detail. To investigate the perspectives and experiences of Chinese parents of infants in regard to whether and why they would like to enroll their child in an American child development center or not, the findings were extracted from interview statements and related documents. As a result, all the evidence provided an opportunity for Chinese parents of infants' voices and their real thoughts in regard to their parental involvement experiences in their child's development in America to be heard. Thus, the results mainly addressed four main research questions:

1. How do these Chinese parents view their role in an American development center setting?
2. From Chinese parents of infants' perspectives: what ways do infant teachers and directors like to involve Chinese infants' parents in their classrooms, and do they think highly of parental involvement?
3. Is there any barrier or challenging time for Chinese infants' parents to be involved in the development of their infants? If so, how do they deal with these difficulties?
4. Are they satisfied with their experiences in the center? Would they recommend other Chinese parents of infants to enroll their child in the center in infancy?

Chapter 4 presents the findings that were extracted from data collected through 11 in-depth interviews and related documents in a descriptive way. The 11 in-depth interviews provided rich data regarding what, why, and how Chinese parents of infants'

perspectives were shaped and changed by their unique experiences. After reading and re-reading the interview transcripts, I decided to present the findings through four overarching themes, and each of them includes several sub-themes. The presentation of findings are as follows:

Theme One: Chinese parents of infants' perspectives about parental involvement

- Significance of parental involvement in infancy
 - (a). Chinese parents of infants' perspectives regarding the significance of parental involvement in infancy
 - (b). The importance of parental involvement in child's literacy development in infancy
- Significance of grandparents' role in Chinese parental involvement
 - (a). The importance of grandparents' support
 - (b). The influence of grandparents' opinions in the decision-making process
- Significance of the role of community in Chinese parental involvement
- Significance of the roles of infant teachers

Theme Two: American child development center's actions regarding the parental involvement of Chinese parents on infants

- Publicity efforts
- Actions regarding Chinese parental involvement in an American child development center
- Communicating
 - (a). Ways that infant teachers communicate with parents

(b). Ways that Chinese parents communicate with infant teachers

(c). The significance of having a good communication between centers and Chinese parents

- Learning at home
- Decision making

Theme Three: Barriers of Chinese parents of infants to their parental involvement

- Language issues
- Cultural issues
 - (a). Lacking the knowledge of American culture
 - (b). Food: cold or warm?
- Influence of grandparents' role
- Barriers for fathers' involvement
 - (a). Time issues
 - (b). Psychological issues—lack of confidence

Theme Four: Actions Regarding Barriers

- Actions from the child development center
- Parents' ways of dealing with barriers

Each overarching theme is supported by abundant evidence from the statements in the interview transcripts. Throughout this presentation, “direct quotations” (Corden & Sainsbury, 2006) were considered as the suitable way to allow readers to access participants' perspectives and unique experiences directly by hearing participants' voices.

Moreover, my interpretation is embedded into the whole presentation process and summarized at the end.

Theme One: Chinese Parents of Infants' Perspectives about Parental Involvement

Epstein (2018) believed that parental involvement has a positive influence on children's achievement and performance, and highly recommended that families should provide a positive home environment for their children to gain higher achievement (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Thus, how parents think about the parental involvement can affect the level of involvement in the child development center and at home. This section presents the perspectives of parental involvement by exploring 11 Chinese parents of infants' experiences and voices. There are four sub-themes regarding how these participants view parental involvement: 1) significance of parental involvement; 2) significance of family supports in parental involvement; 3) significance of support from infant teachers in parental involvement; and 4) perceived roles of infant teachers, family and themselves.

Significance of Parental Involvement in Infancy

Up to now, there was abundant research highlighting the key role of parents in a child's life, and an increasing number of scholars have revealed the importance of parental involvement in the development in infancy (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lamb et al., 2002). It is critical to explore the perspectives of participants regarding "the definition of parental involvement" because different people may have different opinions. What they viewed can affect what and how they want to be involved.

Chinese Parents of Infants' Perspectives regarding the Significance of

Parental Involvement in Infancy. Based on the interview transcripts, it is reasonable to conclude that all participants considered that playing with their child, reading with their child, communicating with their child, and spending time involved in all kinds of activities as “parental involvement,” and they all believed that the parental involvement is significant in their child’s development in infancy even though they had different experiences.

Chinese parents who did not enroll their child in any child development center in infancy viewed parents as the most important role in a child’s early years’ experiences because they all believed that their child is too young to learn from others. They indicated that their children need full attention and love from their parents, and parents are the role model for their child before the age of two. These Chinese parents all mentioned that they prefer to take care of their child at home rather than sending them to other people who cannot pay full attention to their child.

In response to the question, “How do you define the parental involvement?” a Chinese mother, who did not enroll her child in any child development center, Mrs. Yang, answered:

I think parents play a very, very, the most important role in kid’s growing up. When you play with her, when you read book with her, when you talking to her, whatever you are doing with her, you are influencing their personality, like, you have to behave well, so your kids will behave well in the future. That’s what I think. So, parents are the role model for their kids. (Mrs. Yang)

Another Chinese mother, Mrs. Zhang, who did not enroll her child in any development center also stressed that parents are the “role model” for their child and influence their future development. She answered:

Uh, I think parental involvement is very important to child's early life cause I always heard of that ‘parents are children's first teacher in their whole life.’ So, I think all kinds of involvement can influence our children's development, like our behaviors, reactions, words, you know.

Moreover, another Chinese mother, Mrs. Xiao, who also did not enroll her child in any development center showed her respect to the development of her baby and believed that the best way for parents is to follow and accompany their child in infancy. When she was asked to define the “parental involvement,” she explained her opinion:

I respect the development of my baby. I feel parental involvement is more like a companion and a friend. We are more like a protector when he is young, but we definitely enjoy much more being his friend without worrying the order in adults' world. When we think about how we live or used to live, it would be really frustrated, because the baby won't behave as we want, everything in the house is no longer to be ideal and organized. If we don't follow the development of his needs, things will be very complicated. I believe the best way is to follow him and accompany him.

Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center also highly praised the important role of parents in a child's early development and believe that parents are more important than infant teachers. They

recommended that parents should spend time to accompany with their kid, thus their kid can gain attention, development, trusty, safety, and love from parents. In my question, “How do you define the parental involvement?” they concluded:

I think it’s (parental involvement) very, very or the, pretty much the most important part to your kid. How your parents take care of your kids, what you feed them, how you behave, and how you talk to them, all will affect them, influence them. Teacher is important, school is important, I do feel my kid learn faster, grow faster at school, but you know, kids need love, especially from parents. (Mrs. Lin)
Parental involvement is the only way that will show your love and concern to your children. (Mrs. Chan)

Parents need to have time to accompany with their kids, and be present with them, understand them, respect them. (Mrs. Xiong)

I think that’s (parental involvement) how the parents, I would say, provide a secure and safe environment to kids, they feel like very safe and secure. I mean, for the two-year-old, before they get to the two-year-old, I think it’s very important. (Mrs. You)

Particularly, a Chinese father also considered parental involvement as a way to build a relationship with his child and believed that parents should be the guide in their child’s life. He said:

For me, parental involvement contains variety of things. For example, we played with her, we spend time with her, I think these can be parental involvement. Also, take her to some events or activities, and build relationship with her, guide her, these can also be parental involvement. (Mr. Wang)

All these viewpoints were reinforced by the contents in the invitation letters, emails and handouts from the American child development center. For example, there were three sentences in the invitation letters: “It is always important for you (parents of infants) to engage in this event with your little one,” “You can build a good relationship

with your little precious,” and “Your participation is important to us, especially to your children.”

After exploring all participants’ perspectives of the definition of parental involvement, it is reasonable to believe that all participants have their own understandings of parental involvement. Though they shared their points differently, they all believe that parents play the most important role in child’s development, especially in infancy. Until now, parental involvement has always been considered as a significant role in their children’s learning (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018; Kotia et al., 2014; Van Roekel, 2008), even in the infancy period (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Lamb et al., 2002). Thus, it is necessary to gain a better understanding of why they think “parent involvement” is significant in infancy by investigating their unique experiences.

Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in any child development center in infancy all believed that parental involvement is very important in their child’s development, especially in infancy. Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in any child development center thought that it was too young to send their child into a center, and they all believed that only parents can pay full attention to their child, fulfill their child’s needs, and provide perfect care to their child. All these parents did not trust that other people would take care of their baby.

For example, in response to the question, “What is your role in the involvement?” one Chinese mother, Mrs. Xuan, responded:

As a mom, I took care of my son in daily time..... I quitted my job. When my mom knew that I was pregnant, she asked me to quit the job immediately cause you know, that Chinese people treated the first three months like a big secret. They wanted me to just stay in a safe environment until everything was settled. And

after my son was born, my family did not want me to work again, so I could take care of my son at home. You know, parents can pay full attention to their child. My family also did not trust other people to take care of our baby.

Another Chinese mother, Mrs. Zhang, who did not enroll her child in a center, answered:

If I don't have time to take care of the baby at home, my parents or my parents-in-law will ask me to quit my job. So, I quit the job when I knew that I was pregnant.

It is a certainty that these two Chinese mothers viewed the parental involvement as a significant role in a child's development. They even quit their jobs and took full responsibility to take care of their child at home.

In response to another question, "Would you like to send your child into a center?" They all shared concerns and worries about safety and trusty issues regarding enrolling their child to a center:

You know, usually one teacher takes care of five to six, several kids, and sometimes they don't take 100% attention to your child, that's what you don't expect that, right? (Mrs. Yang)

But now, the answer is no. Because I really do not think that other people would take full responsibilities, or how to say, pay full attention to my kid like what I did. I mean, you know, even they are professional, have skills to take care of babies. But I don't trust, and I would like to worry about the safety. You know, I mean, I am a mom. (Mrs. Zhang)

Being with family especially with parents would be critical and significant to the infant's development physically and psychologically. I think although the infants cannot express their thoughts and feelings with words, but they are extremely sensitive to their caregivers and the environment around them. The sense of safety and trust is built gradually every day between the infant and the caregiver. (Mrs. Hu)

In addition to explaining more on safety and trust, another mother, Mrs. Xiao, who also chose to take care of her baby at home even though she knew that people who worked in the center could be professional, shared her concerns:

The caregivers from childcare center might need to be changed due to various reasons, and it may create some uncertainty and unsafety from the infant's feeling. I also afraid the infant might fell being abandoned by the mother. Trust could be an issue as well, it takes time for me to trust a stranger with my baby. I believe people treat their work with profession and delegation, and the childcare center will provide training to their employees, but the trust still needs to be built with time and efforts, therefore it will difficult for me to take the first step out.
(Mrs. Xiao)

Moreover, one Chinese father, Mr. Cao, who chose to enroll his child in a Chinese child development center in infancy, also emphasized that they would rather take care of their baby at home if they have time to take care of the baby. The reason why they wanted to send their child to a Chinese child development center was because they wanted their child to learn Chinese at first and they did not worry about English skills.

In my question, "Would you like to send your child into a center like that again?" this father answered based on his experiences in the center:

No. We want to spend time with our children when they were young, so we can, you know, build some relationship.What they do is just, I think it's just take care of the baby and play with them. It's not like what we are thinking, we think about they can do some skills, try to teach some words.That's why I think that parental involvement is very, very important cause only us can take full responsibilities, attention, care, and provide what they need. (Mr. Cao)

Their perspectives regarding enrolling their child into a child development center revealed that they considered parental involvement as the most significant role in a child's development in infancy. However, due to the trust and safety issue, four of them

would rather take care of their baby at home, and one of them would like to enroll his child in a Chinese child development center.

Moreover, the significance of parental involvement was also supported by the experiences of Chinese parents who enrolled their child in an American child development center. They shared their great experiences regarding the parental involvement in the center. They strongly believed that their involvement in the activities affected their child's development positively:

I have to say our involvement to the development of child is considered really important in daily life. It bonds our relationship to our children more closely.
(Mrs. Chan)

I mean we played there, uh, make your kids feel, I think make your kids feel like, at school, not only teachers, my parents may be here too. (Mrs. Lin)

It (parental involvement) is so important.All those activities were great. I think it's a good way for parents to be involved in child's development even in the center so we can build a good relationship with them not only at home. And you know, when the teacher took her out of the center, she saw us, at that moment, you know, she would like to run to us, with a big smiling face.....I was so glad that I did not need to work at that day cause I never felt that she would be, you know, she did not get a chance to see me often in the daily time after she went to the center. I got home late at night, and only Saturday off. You know, I need to work, and she was in the center. That big smile made my day. (Mr. Wang)

I found that all the kids were very happy, and my child was active when he saw me there. He kind of handed the "food" he picked and tried to feed me, I felt so great cause I found he can share things with me. I feel very happy that I joined the activity that day. I would not miss any activities like this if I have time or my husband has time in the future. I feel like if we missed, I will never feel in such way, you know, I never realize that our involvement can make a big progress and make our kid feel happier. You know, he was excited to see us. (Mrs. Xiong)

I think it (garden party) was a great experience. People there were nice, and my baby kind of got a chance to play with us and his friend at the same time. We all had a good time there, especially I found that my son was extremely happy when

he saw us there, and he would like to communicate with other kids which we supposed that he would be a little bit quiet, you know, shy in the classroom when he was with other kids. You know, the feeling was so great. (Mr. Zhang)

These parents all emphasized the significance of parental involvement based on their practical parental involvement experiences in the center. It was also supported by sharing emails from the infant teachers after the activities, such as “It is so great to have you in the event,” or “So good to see the big smile on your baby’s face!”

Three of the Chinese parents of infants also shared their thoughts regarding their participation in the activities, and found out that it was very important for them to be involved in activities in the center:

I have been attending the parents-teachers meeting twice a week. And I believe it is a very good way to better understand how are we kid doing at school. I would like to present in my child’s classroom more often and communicate with the teacher, you know, I want to know more about my child in the center. When I was in China, my parents always exchanged information with my teachers, and the teacher would like to pay more attention to me. You know, so I think that I should spend time to present in my child’s classroom often, you know, drop off and pick up, just talk with the teacher, so let the teacher know that I care about my baby eager to know what happened. (Mrs. Chan)

I think these (activities) were all good experiences, cause we can have a chance to learn from others as well. You know, my wife’s English is better than me, and she knew more than me. For me, I did not know anything about the American culture, but I tried to learn as well. Before I had my daughter, I did not think I need to learn these or, you know, all I need to do is earn money to support our life. After we, you know, had the daughter, I felt ashamed when I found out that I did not know this, that, and that. But I found this kind of activity gave me chance to learn things, and tried to communicate with others in English, you know. (Mr. Wang)

You know, the feeling was so great. And for me, I would like to know more about how my son did in the center not only from my wife. I would like to try to know, you know, I think it is important for me to learn things, and then, help my son grow in America. (Mr. Zhang)

Many parents also believed that their involvement contributed to the decision-making process for teachers' lesson plans and routines in the center. For example, a mother of one infant, Mrs. Lin, said:

Like before we go to the class, they (teachers) let you fill some paperwork, all kinds of questions, about what your suggestions, what your concerns about your kids, the habits, what they like, dislike, and so like cultural, what they speak at home, all that. So, they, very, very, detailed information paperwork before we go to the class.

Mrs. Lin also provided an example of her contribution while she was involved:

Like, one day before the Chinese New Year Day. I told the teacher tomorrow is Chinese New Year, she (her daughter) supposed to wear new clothes. I'm going to buy her new shoes after I drop her off. So, the teacher remembered it, and the next day they did paintings for firework because the teacher asked me, "what do you guys do for a New Year?" I said we will eat big meal, wear new clothes, and we will do lots of firework. So, they did painting, the whole class, they use the paper towel, whatever, let the kids do the painting, and it's pretty.

The Importance of Parental Involvement in Child's Literacy Development in

Infancy. An increasing number of researchers have found a significant relationship between parental involvement and children's early literacy development (Baker & Scher, 2002; Becher, 1986; Carroll, 2013; Milly, 2010; Mullis et al., 2004; Tamis-LeMonda & Rodriguez, 2008). As early as 1986, Stanovich had indicated that parental involvement is crucial to children's early literacy development, and early development has an influence on children's achievement in other academic areas in the future. Thus, this section particularly explored the participants' parental involvement experiences regarding their child's early literacy development.

In response to the question regarding the significance of parental involvement in children's early literacy development, Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in the center responded:

I believe our (parents) involvement have a huge influence on his literacy development cause we read a lot together, you know, we tried to put on the stories from an ipad, or our phone, you know. We also read along with my son, we did some actions when we are reading, you know, we tried to attract him to read. We repeated the important words again and again, he can remember it, sometimes I started the first word, and he knows the actions about this whole story. (Mrs. Xiao)

Yes, definitely important. I spend almost every second with her except grandma took care of her sometimes. I found ways to read for her, you know, I tried to attract her attention when she was young. Even my mom tried to repeat important words to her. I always turned on the music and storyteller, she always showed she is very interested in it. (Mrs. Zhang)

The significant role of parental involvement in children's literacy development was also supported by Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in a child development center.

In response to the question, "Do you think that your involvement is very important to your child's literacy development?" they all agreed with that their involvement plays a significant role in their children's literacy development. Some parents of infants shared their perspectives based on their experiences:

Yes, I do. At home, we always tried to communicate with her, you know, in Chinese, so she learned Chinese words before she went to the center. After she enrolled in a center, she learned sign languages and English. I think our involvement is very important cause we chose to speak Chinese at home at first, so she could not adapt to the school very well when she just went to there, then, we communicated with the teacher, and found materials to read with her in English, two weeks later, she kind of adapt to the school. (Mr. Wang)

Yes, I think it (parental involvement) is very important, cause what we did for him

can attract him, you know, grab his attention. We always repeated the words to him no matter what we did. So, in the playing time, reading time, or eating time, we always tried to communicate with him cause I think it is a good way to encourage him to talk earlier. (Mrs. Xiong)

In particular, some Chinese parents of infants revealed that their children's literacy development happened when their child was very young. In response to the question, "Have you ever noticed your child's literacy development in infancy?" some parents responded:

My son's literacy development is very outstanding among his peers, he started to talk when he is one, and he is able to ask and answer questions very well when he is one and half years old. He knows how to read poems and knows numbers 0-20 when he sees them. I always read to him, probably one five to ten minutes every day. He seems not very interested but intakes all the words and pictures he reads in the book. (Mrs. Xiao)

He is very interested in sounds when he was still very young. I think probably three months old. When her turned to four months old, he could pronounce after I repeat words so many times so many times, but I do not know that if he really understood the meaning of it. But he could pronounce "mama" and "baba (dad)" after we repeated a lot of times to him. (Mrs. Xiong)

When she was still a little, I mean, right after she was born, we always played music in the room. When she grows a little bit older, we sometimes did some actions with the music, and she likes it. She learned how to say "baba (dad)" when she was around five months old. When she needs me, she would like to say "baba" and looked at me. I think she knows that I am "baba." She learned how to say hi and bye-bye, and waved her hands, you know, when I said "hi" or "bye-bye," and it happened when she was around seven months old.....We also read some stories when we tried to put her to sleep when she was 12 months old. (Mr. Wang)

These interview statements showed all Chinese parents of infants' belief in the significant role of parental involvement in the children's early literacy development.

Based on their perspectives and unique experiences, it is reasonable to believe that

parental involvement plays a critical role in the children's literacy development in infancy.

Although all Chinese parents indicated that parental involvement is very important to their children's literacy development, when questioned, "How do you think about your child's development in the center?," all Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in the center found that their children learned faster in the child development center and felt great about it:

I think so. Because I didn't teach my kid some words, and she came back and she can say it. Yes. Also, right now, she learned how to say "no." you know what I mean. And at home, I just teach her Chinese, and they (teachers) teach her English. Teacher is very important, school is important, I do feel my kid learn faster, grow faster at school. (Mrs. Peng)

Before we send him to the center, we speak Chinese at home, and he could only say "baba." After we send him to the center around eight months old, he learned more and faster in the center, you know. One day, he went back from school, and he wanted to do something dangerous, and I said "no" to him, he stopped and shook his head at the same time. I was shocked, you know, I never taught him about how to shake his head. I think he learned it in the school. (Mrs. Chan)

To be honest, I do believe that my daughter learned faster in the school, you know. When she was around 16 months old, she started to say "no, baba (dad)" when I would like to offer her something that she did not want. I think it is really. I didn't teach her this at home. So, I think she learned faster in the school. (Mr. Wang)

Moreover, Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in the child development center would like to recommend others to enroll their child into a child development center in infancy. In response to the question, "Would you like to recommend others to send their child to a child development center?" they all responded "yes" with a positive attitude.

Above all, all the Chinese parents of infants considered parental involvement as a significant role in their child's development in infancy no matter whether they enrolled their child into any child development center or not. Using all of the presented statements and evidence from the interview transcripts and related documents, their perspectives regarding the significance of parental involvement in infancy can be concluded into four points:

- Though all Chinese parents in this study shared different experiences regarding the significance of parental involvement in infancy, they all agreed that parents are the critical role in their child's development in infancy because a child needs full attention, care, and love from parents, especially before the age of two.
- Parental involvement can be considered as a best way to know their children's daily experiences in the center, build a good relationship with their babies, understand the American culture, connect with other parents of infants, and express that they are caring about their child's development.
- Parental involvement can contribute to the decision-making process of teachers' lesson plans and routines in the center.
- Parental involvement has a significant, positive influence on the children's literacy development in infancy.

Significance of Grandparents' Role in Chinese Parental Involvement

The Importance of Grandparents' Support. In recent years, abundant research has indicated that it is very common that Chinese grandparents offer all kinds of help to support Chinese parents of infants and care for the grandchildren (Chen & Liu, 2011; Lau

et al., 2019; Tang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2019; Xu, 2018; Xu et al., 2018). Reflecting an increased attention to the significant role of grandparents in educating and caring for grandchildren in Chinese families, all the participants believed that the grandparents' role is significant. Particularly, Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child into any child development center strongly emphasized the significance of the grandparents' influence on the family decision-making process and the development of the child in infancy. Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child into an American child development center also agreed with the necessity of the grandparents' help to better support them so that they can have time to work and relax. However, the perspectives from all participants regarding the significance of the grandparents' role were different due to different experiences.

To the Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in any child development center, they considered the grandparents to have a significant role. For example, in response to the question, "Would you like to send your child to an American child development center?" all four Chinese moms believed that the help from grandparents was really important to them:

I did not really think about it. After she was born, I was so tired to think about it, but my mother-in-law was here to help us, you know, cause my husband needed to study and also my friends all took care of their babies at home, so I did not pay attention to these anymore. (Mrs. Zhang)

My parents were often here to help me when I need to do something else, and I quitted my job, so I have time to take care of my baby if my parents could not be here, you know, cause they could not stay in American for a long time. (Mrs. Xuan Hu)

The grandparents, they came and visited sometimes, but not often. (Mrs. Yang)

The family takes turns to take care of baby at home while my husband and I are working. My mom and my mother-in-law went to U.S to provide help for a couple months, and my parents help to take care of my son every workday now. They will cook for us and take my son to playground when my husband and I are at work. We will take care of him during weekend and holidays. (Mrs. Xiao)

All these grandparents would like to offer time to help Chinese parents of infants take care of their baby at home, and their support plays a significant role.

Moreover, the importance of the grandparents' support was stressed by other Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center. For example, in response to the question, "Did you send your child to the child development center?" a Chinese father, Mr. Wang, responded:

There's another important reason. You know, both our parents could not be here to support us when we had our daughter, they had only here visited us one time. All of them need to work in China, you know. Even they did not need to work, they can only be here up to six months a year, so they cannot be here for a long time due to the visa status as well. We have no choice, so we decided to send her to the center.

Another Chinese father, Mr. Zhang, also believed that the grandparent's help is very important. He shared similar experiences:

Their grandparents were in China. My wife's parents came here and visited us for one month, cause they needed to go back to China and continued working in China. So, all grandparents did not have time to be here and help.I think it is very important to most of Chinese families, you know, because, I mean, it is very common that grandparents would like to take care of their grandchildren when their parents need to work.....If they can be here and help us, I think we would not send him to the center before two-year-old.

Chinese parents of infants also considered the grandparents' support as an important role. They would choose not to enroll their child in an American child development center if their grandparents could offer time to help and support them.

The Influence of Grandparents' Opinions in the Decision-making Process.

The significance of the grandparents' role was also supported by the evidence that the grandparents' opinions could have a critical influence on the decision-making process in these Chinese families. Many Chinese parents of infants shared the similar experiences that grandparents believed that it was too young to send their grandchildren into a child development center:

I quit my job. When my mom knew that I was pregnant, she asked me to quit my job immediately cause you know that Chinese people treated the first three months like a big secret. They wanted me to just stay in a safe environment until everything was settled. And after my son was born, my family did not want me to work again, so I could take care of my son at home. (Mrs. Xuan)

My parents and my parents-in-law will still ask me to quit my job. Cause you know, we are in America, and they can only be here for six months a year maximum. It is harder for them to stay in America for a long time, and they do not trust other people to take care of the baby at such young, so we decided, you know I quit the job and take care of my daughter at home, and my parents would visit us for several months, and my parents-in-law would also be here for several months, they kind of, take the turn to be here and support. (Mrs. Zhang)

There was one more evidence to support the significant influence of the grandparents' opinion on the family decision-making process. For example, in response to the question, "Have you ever heard about the child development center around you try to attract Chinese parents of infants or encourage Chinese parental involvement?" a Chinese father, who enrolled his son in a Chinese child development center, responded:

Yeah, we do. We did some research about the child care center around us cause we try to send our baby to the child care center when we have the second one, but finally, we chose a Chinese one cause we tried to think about the American one, but you know, my parents just said, like, if you send him to the American one, and right now, he cannot even speak Chinese, and they are gonna teach him English. And then, they would not be able to communicate with him later on, and we agree,

so, we chose the Chinese one. (Mr. Cao)

Though all Chinese parents of infants shared their perspectives and experiences differently, they all indicated that the grandparents' role is significant.

Significance of the Role of Community in Chinese Parental Involvement

According to early childhood educators, there are three main environmental settings in young children's life that interact with one another and that will influence their development and education: home, school and community (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018; Lamb et al., 2002; McKenzie, 2015). Though they play different roles in a child's development, they share a common goal in educating children (Epstein, 2018). Thus, it is critical to explore the role of community that the child lives in.

Though the experiences that all the participants shared in the interview were different, they revealed that the community that the child lives in plays a significant role. When asked about how they heard about the child development center, they responded:

I heard of that kind of center when I was in the hospital and then, my friends in Los Angeles who also have young babies mentioned about this to me as well. (Mrs. Zhang)

I've known there are many child care centers in the area, and I visited the one that is located in University at Albany, State University of New York where I used to study and work. And my friends send their kids to the center. (Mrs. Xiao)

My younger sister sent her son to a good child care center and I heard that one was very good and professional. (Mrs. Xuan)

I heard this child development center from one of my best friends who already have several children for years. (Mrs. Chan)

My sister-in-law, my husband's brother's kids go to there too. And that kid went to there when her was 13 weeks. The kid already when to that school, and she had a really good experience. (Mrs. Peng)

I heard from my friend about this center, and they recommended me to send my child to this center if I have to work. (Mr. Wang)

I heard this kind of center from my colleagues and my professors. A lot of our friends also said they send their kids to day care cause they all have to work, and some of their parents cannot come here and help them. (Mrs. Xiong)

My wife had a lot of friends who send their children into this center, and they recommended us this one. (Mr. Zhang)

I visited many day cares and many preschools, and eventually I found this one, and also, some professors and some of my colleges recommended it. (Mrs. You)

Reflecting on all these interview statements, it is reasonable to conclude that the community plays a significant role. They all gained information about the child development center from the people who live in the same community.

In particular, some parents of infants also stressed the influence of the opinions from their friends, colleges, and professors. When Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in any child development center were asked, “Did this friend recommend this center to you and suggest that you can also send your child in this center?” a Chinese mother, Mrs. Zhang, responded:

Not really. But she told me about some of her experiences in that center.....after my friend talked about things that happened in the center, I will definitely not send my child to that center.

Another mother, Mrs. Xiao, who did not enroll her child into a child development center also got similar information from her friends:

Her (my friend) experience was not so good with the child care center.I probably won't send my own kid to the child care center unless I have no better option.

The influence of the opinions from the community is also supported by Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in a child development center. In response to the question, “Did anyone recommend this center to you and suggest that you can also send your child in this center?” they responded:

Because my sister-in-law is a nurse, so she can get in the school, they always trust them. They recommend us the place to me. She told me that’s the only facility in Marietta, only building in Marietta, built for day care. So the design for the building everything is for, it’s to be the day care. Other place, other day care places maybe, “ok, we are going to open one.” They found a place to make it into a day care. But that building is designed when it was built designed for a day care. (Mrs. Peng)

They (my friend) said there was one Chinese infant teacher there was one Chinese infant teacher there, and highly recommended us to send our kid to this center. (Mr. Zhang)

As described above, all the Chinese parents of infants agreed that the role of community is significant and the recommendations from the community influence their decision on choosing to enroll their child in a child development center or not. Based on the interview statements above, it is reasonable to believe that parents gain useful information from the community where they live and have a better understanding of the child development center.

Significance of the Roles of Infant Teachers

People who work with infants have always been considered as ‘*caregivers*,’ or ‘*baby-sitters*.’ Recently, an increasing number of researchers and educators started to use the term ‘*infant teacher*’ instead of ‘*caregiver*’ or ‘*babysitters*’ in different studies. However, this study would like to use ‘*infant teacher*’ to describe the people who work

with infants in a child development center because it provides people a more professional image than the term ‘*caregiver*’ or ‘*baby-sitter*’.

Regarding infant teachers’ roles, all the Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center shared similar views and they all consider the people who work with infants as ‘*infant teachers*’. They found that infant teachers are professional in the child development center. Though some of the participants did not view them as infant teachers at first, they considered them as ‘*infant teachers*’ after they had many great experiences in the center. For example, when asked about the role of the people who take care of the child in the center, all of them responded:

Uh, definitely infant teacher. You know, cause I saw a lot of professional, I mean, they did things in a professional way. They have methods, I mean, skills to help our baby grows. (Mrs. Chan)

I definitely consider them as teachers, you know, infant teachers in that center are kind of professional. Before I send my child to the center, I thought they just helped us take care of babies when we do not have time, more like, just a caregiver, but after I know what they did in the center, and I also noticed my baby’s development, I feel like I would like to use infant teacher to describe them. (Mr. Wang)

I definitely consider them as infant teacher, you know, I believe infant teachers are the most important one in the room. (Mrs. Xiong)

Such positive attitudes regarding the significant role of infant teachers also supported the term ‘infant teacher,’ which was used to indicate the people who are working with infants throughout the interview. For instance, some of the communications included, “The teacher will hold her to make her comfortable” and “She will reach for the teacher.”

In particular, some parents stressed the significant role of infant teachers, specifically for parental involvement. In response to the question regarding the participants' parental involvement experiences in the child development center, one Chinese mother, Mrs. Chan, explained:

When I was in China, my parents always exchanged information with my teachers, and the teacher would like to pay more attention to me. You know, so I think that I should spend time to present in my child's classroom, drop off and pick up, just talk with the teacher, so let the teacher know that I care about my baby, eager to know what happened in the classroom. Cause I think teacher is the most important role in the classroom.

Other Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in a child development center also believed that infant teachers play an important role in their child's development. Regarding the satisfaction of the experiences in the center, one Chinese mother, Mrs. You, responded:

I think I really appreciate that my kids had a really good teacher, now they are still remember their teachers, nice and patient. Because the patient teacher and very nice teacher will also let them feel safe, and you know, feel very secure.

In referring to the significant role of infant teachers, some Chinese parents of infants indicated that infant teachers can promote their parental involvement in the center and at home positively:

The teachers provided a lot of materials, you know, suitable materials, and materials that my daughter likes in the center. So, we can use those materials to play with her, read for her at home as well. It's very useful, you know, especially for us, who did not know what kind of materials are good for our daughter?
(Mr. Wang)

They (infant teachers) tried to provide us related information ahead of time and help us to prepare things before the event. I think this is kind of encouragement, and it is really helpful.Whenever I went to the day care, the teacher would

like to share some specific message with me and introduced appropriate materials for us to know what we will do and can do in the event.They make me feel that I am respected by others. (Mrs. Xiong)

Moreover, regarding the significant role of infant teachers in the development of children, these participants also found out that they can gain a better understanding of their children's needs, interests and experiences in the center by communicating with infant teachers. In response to the question, "In what ways did infant teachers share information with you?" most of participants shared similar experiences:

The infant teacher will send photos through text messages. I also would like to communicate with teachers when I dropped off and picked up my kid. Cause you know, as a Chinese mother in America, I did not know the American culture well. I felt that if I did not try to get more useful information from teachers, I couldn't help too much on my child's development and I would feel embarrassed if I did not know something that everyone else knew. (Mrs. Chan)

They usually send emails to my wife, sometimes they will attach the pictures of their daily activities in the center. So, we can know what they did for the day. We think it is really important, you know, we would like to know what happened for our child in the center, so we could know our child's development, or something special in the center that we should know about. (Mr. Wang)

As described above, all Chinese parents who enrolled their child in a child development center expressed their beliefs about the significant role of infant teachers in their parental involvement and in their child's development.

As reflected in these parents' interview statements, they all considered the people who were working with their child in the center as an 'infant teacher' because they found that teachers are professional and have a good educational background and indicated that they think highly of the role of infant teachers. They think that infant teachers can help

them have a better understanding of their children's needs, interests and experiences in the center.

Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the infant teachers play a significance role in parental involvement, and eventually better facilitate the development of their children in infancy.

Theme Two: American Child Development Center's Actions regarding the Parental Involvement of Chinese Parents on Infants

Although the significance of the role of parental involvement in infancy has been proved in "Theme One", it is necessary to explore how American child development centers took action to implement and support the Chinese parental involvement. Thus, the American child development center's actions regarding the Chinese parental involvement in infancy are illustrated in "Theme Two."

In order to have a better understanding of the practices and relationships between the center and the Chinese parents of infants, I reviewed all interview transcripts and all related documents again. Three main sub-themes occurred during the analysis process regarding how American child development centers implement and support the Chinese parental involvement including: publicity efforts, actions regarding Chinese parental involvement in an American child development center and communicating.

Publicity Efforts

In view of Epstein (2018), the study has emphasized that building conducive relationships among family, teachers, schools, and community can benefit children's

development. However, all participants rarely found that there were publicity efforts from an American child development center.

In response to the question, “Have you ever heard the child development center try to attract Chinese parents of infants?” all Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in any child development center responded:

No, I don't aware of any. I don't really pay attention to, so I don't know. (Mrs. Yang)

No, not really. But I heard that my friends mentioned that we need to register it even before our baby is born because there is a waiting list. (Mrs. Zhang)

No, never heard about it. (Mrs. Xiao)

I did not see any actions that they tried to encourage Chinese parental involvement. (Mrs. Xuan)

According to Table 2, none of my participants could provide any relevant documents to support that the child development center took actions to attract Chinese parents of infants in America.

In addition to the role of publicity efforts, Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in a child development center, also rarely found that there were publicity efforts from an American child development center. Some of the families heard of the child development center from their friends, colleagues or professors. One Chinese mother responded:

I heard this child development center from one of my best friends who already have several children for years, and I also did some research on this cause I want to make sure that everything was excellent. (Mrs. Chan)

No, that center, I think it's pretty good. So, they don't really need to attract. (Mrs. Peng)

Actions? I do not know if they really want to attract Chinese parents of infants, uh, from what I experienced, I think the reason why they tried to hire Chinese infant teachers maybe because there were many Chinese children in the center, there are a large population of Chinese in this community. They may want to attract more, but I did not hear any actions that they try to attract more Chinese parents to enroll, you know, I did not see any advertisement or flyers. (Mr. Zhang)

As the interview statements reflect, Chinese parents of infants can rarely know an American child development center. They all heard about the center from others, not the center itself. Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the American child development center seldom uses publicity efforts to enhance community awareness of the importance of the role of centers in the development in infancy. Thus, not all Chinese parents of infants would like to send their child into a center in infancy.

Actions regarding Chinese Parental Involvement in an American Child Development Center

This section mainly focuses on the perspectives of participants who enrolled their child in an American child development regarding their parental involvement experiences. In 2011, Epstein recommended having school-like families and family-like schools. A school that embraces the family-like model can motivate students to go to school and learn (Epstein, 2018). Thus, encouragement from an American child development center is important to families, especially for minority groups, such as Chinese parents:

When he becomes older, the teacher design activities for us to join. There was a play time, you know, the teacher told us that we (parents) should come and join with our son. I did not know what to prepare, you know, so the teacher told me about what they will do in this activity, and what do I need to prepare for my son. I think they (teachers) believe that children will be happier if their parents can be there. You know, so I joined it, and I felt great to be there. (Mrs. Chan)

Moreover, according to some parents' wonderful experiences in the American child development center, infant teachers seemed to take actions to promote parental involvement for Chinese parents. In response to the question, "Did the child development center take any actions to encourage Chinese parental involvement?" Chinese parents shared different experiences but with similar feelings:

They do, they actually, yeah, they did, like, one day before the Chinese New Year Day. I told the teacher tomorrow is Chinese New Year, she (her daughter) supposed to wear new clothes. I'm going to buy her new shoes after I drop her off. So the teacher remembered it, and the next day they did paintings for firework because the teacher asked me, "what do you guys do for a New Year?" I said we will eat big meal, wear new clothes, and we will do lots of firework. So they did painting, the whole class, they use the paper towel whatever, let the kids do the painting, and it's pretty. (Mrs. Peng)

Yeah, they do. Uh, I think there was a day, a rainy day, my wife and I both went to the center to pick up our daughter, and I heard of a Chinese music, you know, "little star," in Chinese, actually I was surprised, you know, my daughter was the only Chinese baby in the room. I shared my feeling with my wife. My wife told me that the teachers asked her if she wanted to provide some Chinese songs, so they can all learn the Chinese songs as well. The teacher also invited my wife to be there and teach them some simple words with some actions. I think this is really great, you know. Kind of respect our cultural background and would like to involve us in the classroom. I think it is good for my daughter as well. (Mr. Wang)

Yes, there are plenty. Reading group, singing activities, and free play time. I mean, kind of pretend play. Teachers would like to invite parents to join the activities. Before we had the activity, the teachers would like to share with us about what they want to do, and checked with us if we want to have some Chinese elements in the activity, so they will use it in the activity as well. I feel great about this, you know, cause I feel that they did not consider us, like, you know, foreigners. (Mrs. Xiong)

As illustrated in the above interview statements, Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center all expressed their

wonderful feelings toward the infant teachers' actions regarding the Chinese parental involvement specifically. They all indicated that it is good for their child's development if infant teachers take actions to involve Chinese parental involvement in the classroom.

Communicating

Based on Epstein's (2018) six types of involvement, Type 2: Communicating" believed that "*design effective forms of school-to-home and home-to-school communications about school programs and their children's progress.*" The positive influence of the active school-home partnership on children's development is not only shared by Epstein (2018), it is also supported by Bronfenbrenner's (1979) study that "home" and "school" should have a good communication to build a bridge for them to exchange information regarding their children's performance in the school. In addition to the significance of having a good communication between home and school in infants' development, Martin and Berke (2007) also recommended that school personnel should "*view families as partners in care.*" Particularly, Chinese parents of infants who do not know American culture well may meet challenging times in their involvement without having a good communication with infant teachers or school personnel. However, as reflected in the interview statements, all participants agreed that having a good communication with infant teachers can help them to overcome the difficulties and barriers in their involvement, and they all shared different ways that they can get in touch with infant teachers.

Ways that Infant Teachers Communicate with Parents. In response to the question, "In what ways did infant teachers share information with you?" most of these

participants believed that emails are the main method for teachers to communicate with them, and some infant teachers would call parents if there was an emergency:

The teachers will mainly send us emails. (Mrs. Chan)

Emails, sometimes if it was emergency, they would call us. (Mr. Zhang)

They always communicate with us through emails if there was an event or activity. (Mr. Wang)

Like what I said, if we did not have the meeting, they will send us emails to make sure that we know everything happened in the center. (Mrs. Xiong)

Sometimes they send emails, or just the kids bring the note, bring the note back home. If there is something emergency, they will call us. (Mrs. You)

Moreover, Mrs. Chan, in mentioning the use of text messages to communicate with infant teachers, said:

The infant teacher will send photos through text message to us, so we can download our kid's pictures to our phone.

In particular, according to Table 2, there were four other ways that infant teachers used to share information with parents: journals, incident reports, daily notes and sheets. All these methods could also be considered as useful methods to build connections with parents of infants. Four out of five participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center provided the most recent "daily notes." Mrs. You could not provide any relevant "daily notes" because her daughter was an infant a long time ago. However, she actually mentioned the "daily notes" in the interview statements.

Also, Mrs. Peng provided all four relevant documents to support what she said regarding the ways that infant teachers chose to communicate with them. In the interview, she indicated:

What they do is if there is any information you need to know, they will give you a handout and sign the sheet. So that sheet is: one you drop your kid off and one you pick up, they will put the paper, like, for example, they want you to know potty train is, why kids shouldn't be potty train, this kind of thing or how to fix a picky eater this kind of thing, knowledge thing, they think you should know, they just put the paper clip on your sign sheet, and you can take it. And the school is really good because what your kids eat, they will have a sheet, uh, how to say, like a board, write what time they changed their diaper, it was red or other problems, and what time the kid snapped for the nap, and how much they eat for grain, protein, fruits, and veg. Records, like a chart for what your kid eaten and did. There is a chart is about their interests, they have a report every month. If she got hurt, they will give us a report, what happened, what time, and what's their reaction, what they did, you know. If she, I got once, this kind of report in the infant room.

Another Chinese mother, Mrs. You, also found that teachers would like to use reports to communicate with parents about what happened in the center:

If they have special concerns, if your kids have some problem there, they will actually, at the end of day they will have an accident report for you. For example, your kid fell down on the ground those kinds of things, they will have accident report.

As reflected above, all participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center revealed that infant teachers would like to use emails as the main method to communicate with parents, and call parents in the case of an emergency. Also, there were other ways that infant teachers communicated with parents: reports, handouts, sheets, meetings, text messages and interest charts.

Ways that Chinese Parents Communicate with Infant Teachers. In referring to the ways that Chinese parents of infants communicate with infant teachers, all the participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center indicated that the time when they “drop off” and “pick up” their kid is a good moment for them to communicate with infant teachers:

You know, so I think that I should spend time to present in my child's classroom, drop off and pick up, just talk with the teacher. (Mrs. Chan)

My wife sometimes communicated with teachers when she picks our son from there, you know. (Mr. Zhang)

I will exchange information with them (infant teachers) every day. (Mrs. Peng)

My wife always picked her up and communicated with teachers and directors. (Mr. Wang)

Or I will chat with the teachers in the daily base, you know, when I drop off my kids, sometimes, when I pick up him, I will talk with teachers if I found that teachers have time to talk a little bit. (Mrs. Xiong)

I like to pick my kids up, I like to just have a brief conversation with the teacher to exchange the information. Because teachers normally will take notes briefly about what's going on or something, or if she has concerns. (Mrs. You)

As described in the interview statements above, all the participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center believed that it is a good opportunity for them to communicate with infant teachers whenever they drop off and pick up their child.

The significance of having a good communication between centers and Chinese parents. Epstein (2018) pointed out that one type of involvement is communicating. It requires a good communication method between home and school which builds a bridge for parents to exchange information regarding their children's performance in the school and at home. Based on the experiences of all the participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center, it is reasonable to believe that there is a good communication between infant teachers and Chinese parents of infants. Thus, it is necessary to explore their perspectives regarding the significance of

having a good communication with teachers. All the participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center indicated that having a good communication with infant teachers is very important to the development of their child in the center and at home.

In response to the question of the parent-teacher meeting, Mrs. Chan believed that the infant teacher is the most important role in the infant classroom and having a good communication with them will influence their child's development positively:

I have been attending the parents-teachers meeting twice a week. And I believe it (parents-teachers meeting) is a very good way to better communicate with teachers and understand how are we kid doing at school. You know, I would like to present in my child's classroom more often and communicate with the teacher, cause, you know, I want to know more about my child in the center.....so I think that I should spend time to present in my child's classroom, drop off and pick up, just talk with the teacher, so let the teacher know that I care about my baby, eager to know what happened in the classroom. Cause I think teacher is the most important role in the classroom. Also, if I can have a good conversation, you know, with teachers, I can know more details about my child's experience in the center, so I can follow the materials at home as well. I think it is very important to my child's development.

Another Chinese mother, Mrs. Xiong, also agreed with that having a good communication with infant teachers is important, and she likes to build a good relationship with infant teachers:

I think, you know I always talked with teachers, even just a brief conversation, I mean, I think build a good relationship with teacher is important as well, you know, cause I think it helps me to gain more useful information from teachers about my child's situation in the center, so a good communication, you know, it is good.

Moreover, Mrs. Xiong also thinks email is a good means of communication between infant teachers and parents, and she believes that having a good communication with the infant teacher is very important:

If we did not have the meeting, they will send us emails to make sure that we know everything happened in the center. You know, cause sometimes I could not have enough time to communicate with teachers about that happened in the center, so I can know more details through emails.....And I think, you know, I always talked with teachers, even just a brief conversation, I mean, I think build a good relationship with teacher is important as well, you know, cause I think it helps me to gain more useful information from teachers about my child's situation in the center, so, a good communication, you know, it is good.

In particular, some parents with limited English fluency also believed that it is better to communicate through email:

I think it (email) is a good way, cause my English is not good, so it is good for me to check the emails and make sure that I did not miss anything, you know.
(Mr. Wang)

They always wrote email and encouraged us to join them which we like the way, you know, when we read the email, if we meet any word that it is hard to understand, we could check it in a dictionary. You know, if they call us, we may misunderstand something, you know. (Mr. Zhang)

Such positive attitudes towards the significance of having a good communication between infant teachers and parents was also supported by Mrs. Peng's experiences:

Every month, they give you a report, about language, your kids, what they say, and about how to say, activity, your kids loves climbing, or your kid likes painting, just about counting math, or had she start counting or whatever, and about diaper changing, did she really try whatever, so about different abilities, they have a report every month, like a summary which is really great. So, they took very, very, very detailed information paperwork before we go to the class. Yeah, that's a good way, they took (the detailed information paperwork) at the beginning you joined them, and they designed different activities based on what's festival, holidays, and weather, all that, so.....I think it is really great.

As reflected in these interview statements, it showed that the participants' belief in the significance of having a good communication with infant teachers. Some of them pointed out that email is a better way to communicate with teachers due to lack of time and limited English skills. Others also indicated that "drop off" and "pick up" times offer a good opportunity to communicate with teachers regarding their child's development in the school and at home.

Learning at Home

Based on Epstein's (2018) six types of involvement, "Type 4: Learning at home" indicates that teachers should "*provide information and ideas to families about how to help students at home with homework and other curriculum-related activities, decisions, and planning.*" By exploring the experiences of all the participants, they all shared their concerns about what kind of materials can be considered as appropriate at home. When asked about how they are involved in their child's literacy development, parents of infants who did not enroll their child in any child development center shared their worries about choosing appropriate materials for their child:

Sometimes I brought a lot of books, toys, you know, cause I don't know which toy is good for my daughter to play, you know, even they have age range on the box, but it is hard to tell that my daughter will like it or not, so I brought a lot, and tried at home. (Mrs. Zhang)

Sometimes I felt worried cause you know, my son, his development, literacy development is fast, and early, so what kind of materials will help him grow better? I always think about it, we always use our phones and ipad to find baby songs, but still, sometimes, a little worry about what and how. (Mrs. Xiao)

Sometimes, you know, there are a lot of books, and when I pick one for her, she lose interests fast, and will pick another one, then pick another one, again and

again, so I always try to find some books that she will always like it, I mean, focus on it. I think that's kind of attention. (Mrs. Xuan)

In contrast, parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center also shared their worries on finding suitable materials, which led them to believe that enrolling their child in an American child development center would be a better choice. They articulated:

When he is with us at home, we always struggle with materials, like, we are in America, we know which material can be good in China, but it is a little hard for us to know which is good for him in America, so we believe this child development center has a better way to teach our children. (Mrs. Chan)

I think different stages uh, kid needs different things, like, when they were a little, for example, before six months, I think they need love, they need mom's care, they need nursing all days, healthy is more important than what they can learn from the people around them. After the kid is ten months or one-year-old, they started to learn things from reading, from activities, I think parents would not be able to give enough. (Mrs. Peng)

Particularly, Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center got support from the teacher:

We chose to speak Chinese at home at first, so she (his child) could not adapt to the school very well when she just went to there, then, we communicate with the teacher, and found materials to read with her in English, two weeks later, she kind of adapt to the school. The teacher kind of provide us a list of materials, you know, and my wife went to the center and see what materials in the center, so we can buy the same one, or some materials like the one in the center. I think it is good that school and home, uh, have same things. (Mr. Wang)

They will send things to my wife's email, like pictures, small videos and materials that they used in the classroom, so we can continue using those materials at home. And my wife sometimes communicates with teachers when she picks up our son from there, you know, about what materials, so it is great. (Mr. Zhang)

They (teachers) will give some list of the books. I think the U.S schools, they did this very well.....always during the summer break, the teacher will give you like

the book list, I think it's good. (Mrs. You)

As reflected in interview statements above, it is obvious that all participants had concerns about choosing appropriate materials for their child, especially in America. In particular, the experiences of Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center revealed that infant teachers willingly provide information for them to work with their child at home.

Decision Making

Based on Epstein's (2018) six types of involvement, "Type 5: Decision Making" recommended to "*include parents in school decisions, developing parent leaders and representatives.*" In response to the questions, "How often did you attend the parent-teacher meetings?" and "Were you involved in the decision-making process?" Chinese parents of infants who felt great about the parent-teacher meetings responded:

I did not involve in the decision-making process, and in the meeting, they did not mention about the lesson plan, you know, like the details for the lesson plan, but they did ask us, parents, you know, about what kind of activities that we would like to have for our kids, cause there are kids in different ages, you know, in the same room, teachers would like to separate them, if they do different things. So teachers will check with parents about what we want our kids to learn, or play. (Mrs. Chan)

I did not actually attend one, but my wife attends one, I think, she thinks it is great. Like what I shared before, she told me that the teachers asked her if she can provide some Chinese songs for them to play in the classroom, and join the activity. She told me that she felt that teachers respect her and she felt great. (Mr. Wang)

However, Chinese parents who did not become involved in the parent-teacher meetings actively shared:

No, actually, I think we are the only Asian family in this classroom. I do not think

they will have much to discuss with us about their decisions, you know, in the meetings, my wife said they always shared what happened, or what teachers found out, just share stories, not too much decisions. I think even they want parents to share, other parents would like to share more, cause there is a parent leader who is an American, you know. For our Chinese parents, we would like to listen more and follow. (Mr. Zhang)

As stated above, Chinese parents who felt great about their parent-teacher meetings found out that they as an individual and their cultural background were respected by teachers. In particular, Chinese parents who chose to listen to, and follow did not want to be active in the meeting and they have negative thoughts about their role in this meeting.

As reflected in “Theme One” and “Theme Two,” all parents of infants expressed that parental involvement plays a significance role. Particularly, parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center believed that having a good communication with infant teachers would better support the development of the child. However, as a minority group in America, challenging times and barriers for their involvement were revealed in interview statements. The next theme will present the barriers of Chinese parents of infants to their parental involvement.

Theme Three: Barriers of Chinese Parents to their Parental Involvement

He (2015) indicated that Chinese are facing difficulties in America, such as cultural shock, language issues, social status, and discrimination. Thus, in order to support Chinese parental involvement in their child’s development in infancy, it is critical for us to realize the barriers to their involvement and understand their special needs. In this section, I describe the barriers Chinese parents of infants are facing in their involvement in detail. There are four sub-themes regarding the barriers of Chinese

parents of infants to their parental involvement at home and in the center: language issues, cultural Issues, influence of grandparents' role, and barriers for father's involvement.

Language Issues

The result of a five-year longitudinal study (Baolian Qin, 2006) revealed that language issues are not only barriers for teachers to communicate with Chinese immigrant parents, but also for their children. Moreover, Baolian Qin (2006) indicated that there is a close relationship between the language and parental involvement in their children's development. In an American education system, almost 70% of American teachers are white (Morrell, 2010). Thus, Chinese parents of infants who did not speak English with fluency could not communicate with teachers and be involved in their child's development well. According to table 1 "Background information of the 11 participants," it presented that all participants had been living in America over five and a half years, however, two participants' English skills were still not fluent. Their limited English skills influenced their perspectives and practices regarding parental involvement. Thus, in response to the question regarding their challenging time or barriers in parental involvement, a language issue was often considered as the biggest issue by Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center:

In the center, uh, I think the most difficult one is language. You know, that, I mentioned it before, my English is not good. (Mr. Wang)

Yeah, my English, I mean, language is one of the barriers, also my knowledge of American cultural things. That's the reason we chose this center to enroll cause there was a Chinese teacher there. (Mr. Zhang)

I think she (wife) feels great. But sometimes she felt a little bit struggling, cause

our son was the only Chinese baby in that room, so sometimes, you know, my wife told me that if they shared something really, like American cultural words, or you know, local things, she could hardly understand, so she felt a little bit embarrassed there. (Mr. Zhang)

Moreover, there were participants who still considered their English skills as poor and therefore would not engage in their child's development in the school actively:

I think the biggest problem for me is language issue, you know, no matter how many years I spend in America, I still consider my English skills as poor.....I mean, in my daily life, I did not, did not need to use special, I mean, professional terms or special proverbs in the daily life, and I always spend time with Chinese people, so sometimes, when I discuss something with teachers, I always found out that there were some special terms, or you know, that I did not quite understand, but I used my sense to feel the meaning, you know, But I feel not good, I don't feel that I have confidence to continue the conversation sometimes. (Mrs. Chan)

I always step back and did not really have the confidence to communicate with teachers, you know, I do not want to miss any important information, or you know, misunderstand what they talk. I feel bad about it, and I do not want teachers to know that my English is poor, you know, ashamed. The teacher also invited my wife to be there and teach them some simple words with some actions. And I will be there to just do something, prepare some materials for this activity in the classroom cause this kind of work does not need me to talk. (Mr. Wang)

You know, sometimes I can have a short conversation with the teacher, but most of the time, my wife took the major role to communicate with teachers. (Mr. Zhang)

In particular, such a barrier was revealed in their poor English skills. In response to the question, "How did you deal with the challenging time or barrier?" participants commented:

I tried to learn more words at home, and try to communicate with my wife through English, so I can exercise, hope I can speak English as good as my wife, you know. So, I can help my wife and my child as well. (Mr. Wang)

Uh, I will use my phone to record the conversation or the important message when

the teacher told me things. You know, one time, I went to there to pick up my son, the teacher came to me, said something, I take my phone and record what she said, I nod my head and say, “ok, ok! Thanks!” I do try to understand, and I know the general idea, but I still record this because I did not want to miss any important information. (Mr. Zhang)

However, the infant teachers or directors were not aware of this important barrier.

When asked about whether the infant teachers or directors offered support on this issue, they responded:

I did not see that they tried to deal with it. I mean, if they have important Information for us to know, they always send us emails or paperwork, for the daily chat, I did not think they think it is important enough, this is my own feeling, you know. (Mrs. Chan)

I don’t think so. Cause they always think that my wife can solve it, so they know that if it is important, they will tell my wife, not me, you know. (Mr. Wang)

As reflected in these participants’ experiences, the language issue not only influenced their involvement in their child’s development, but also influenced their communication with infant teachers and the center. Based on their interview statements, the center was not aware of how serious this language issue was. The negative thoughts on their English skills will keep influencing their parental involvement unless there is a solution to deal with it. However, all the parents who cannot speak in English with fluency would like to learn more words and speak English well, then help their child’s development.

Cultural Issues

Chinese parents tend to be one of the minority groups in an American school setting, and different from other cultural groups (He, 2015; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Shin, 2009). In a study of Wang (2008), it revealed that language is a major issue for Chinese

parents to be connected with school, and then, there also exist the cultural differences. Children's behaviors and performance in school can be shaped by their family's cultural background. Therefore, it is essential to explore how the cultural beliefs of participants influence their involvement and their child's development in infancy. In this section, I present interview statements regarding the significance of cultural differences in Chinese parental involvement at home and in the center and how it influences Chinese parents of infants' perspectives of whether to enroll their child in an American child development center or not.

Lacking the Knowledge of American Culture. Most participants expressed their negative feelings about the problem of lacking knowledge of American culture. Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in an American child development center also considered this problem as a reason that they did not want to send their child into the center. In response to the question, "Would you like to send your child in an American child development center?" they responded:

No, if I have time to take care of my baby at home. And also, if we let her go to the American school here, I don't know if I can be a helper in her studies cause I did not know the American cultural very well, so sometimes I felt worried.
(Mrs. Zhang)

I mean, I did not know the American culture very well, especially the American educational system. It is kind of embarrassing if I make some, you know, mistakes on culture. (Mrs. Xiao)

I do not know how the child development center deal with children at such young age, you know, they are too young to go to a school to learn things. As Chinese parents in America, we did not know too many things about how the center works for young babies, for me, I think they are only taking care of babies when the parents do not have time. (Mr. Xuan)

This issue is supported by Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center:

Sometimes I also feel struggling about the American culture, you know, cause I spend the most of time with Chinese families, so you know, it is hard for us to really adapt to the American cultures, so if teacher mention something that I did not know very well, you know, I feel not good, ashamed. (Mrs. Chan)

Since we did not know the American culture well, so what we do is always follow teacher's direction, make sure that we understand their points right. (Mr. Wang)

Language is one of the barriers, also my knowledge of American cultural things. (Mr. Zhang)

Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in an American child development center consider lacking knowledge of American culture as another reason that they prefer to take care of their child at home:

You know, I prefer to take care of my son at home, since I don't know the American culture very well, maybe I will send him to preschool later, I mean, after three. (Mrs. Zhang)

Moreover, Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center particularly expressed their concerns about the American school cultures, such as appropriate ways to show their gratitude and attend the parent-teacher meetings:

Uh, you know, in China, parents would like to give gifts to teachers, sometimes, they put money or gift cards in a red packet, you know, so teachers would like to pay more attention to your kid. My wife is very easy-going, and always treat people nice, and like sharing good things with others. But we don't know if it is ok for us to give teachers gifts, you know, we did not know if it is ok in America. If it's ok, what kind of gift can we buy. We checked this with our American friend, you know and listen to her opinion. (Mr. Wang)

I remember one time I attend the parents-teachers meeting, cause my wife needed

to do something else. During the meeting, I took my phone, you know, record this meeting. But other parents look at me with a different, you know, I can feel it. Then I chose to only record the voice. The teacher did not say anything, but after this, I feel worried if I did something bad, I talked about this with my wife, my wife told me to ask their permission next time, cause it is not ok to record this without their permission. (Mr. Zhang)

Another Chinese mother also felt worried about her child's development because she did not know what kind of materials would be appropriate for them to use at home:

You know, Chinese parents always have high expectations for their child. Since I send my child to this center, I did not know what kind of materials, you know, would be good for us to use at home. (Mrs. Xiong)

As stated above, it is reasonable to conclude that many Chinese parents of infants are facing the challenging times to be involved in their child's development because of the barriers caused by lacking the knowledge of American culture.

Food: Cold or Warm? Another cultural issue is about the temperature of the food. Chinese people always like drinking hot water and eating hot meal. However, Chinese people in America find that people like cold dishes and water with ice, even when the weather is extremely cold. This cultural difference becomes an issue for Chinese parents of infants when they need to decide whether to enroll their child in an American child development center. In response to the question, "Why you did not send your child to the center in infancy?" some participants responded:

The second reason is, you know, a lot of Chinese parents, they like to give child warm food, like the milk, or the fruit to eat, but you know, in American eating style, they like the cold one. (Mrs. Yang)

Another reason is that my friends told me that the center would like to provide cold water to child, they just take the water, you know, or the milk out of the refrigerator, and give it to the child immediately. I mean, my daughter is still very young, and I always give her the warm water, even the banana, you know. I will

try to use microwave to make it a little bit warm, and then let her eat. I think she is too young to have cold things, you know, her stomach is still baby stomach. So, you know, I will not send her to this kind of center when she is still this young.
(Mrs. Zhang)

This cultural issue is also supported by the experiences of Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center:

One more thing is about the food, you know, we did not buy the meal plan for our daughter, cause, you know, American always drink the cold water, milk, everything can be cold, or raw, for our Chinese families, we always cook until it is well-done. We prepared food for our daughter and packed it in a vacuum cup, so it will be warm.....I think our child is the only Asian, so they (teachers) may not want to have something different, only for one girl, so we would like to just prepare everything and tell the teacher to give the warm one to my daughter.
(Mr. Wang)

The only thing me and my family worried about is food, not the quality, but the temperature, you know, my mother-in-law always give my son the warm meal and warm water, so it's kind of our big concern. (Mrs. Xiong)

As reflected in interview statements above, many Chinese parents of infants are still facing the cultural issues in America. Some of them chose to take care of their baby by themselves, and some of them tried to deal with it through their own method. However, it is not a permanent way if the teachers or directors cannot be aware of the influence of cultural issues on Chinese parental involvement at home and in the center.

Influence of Grandparents' Role

The significance of the grandparents' role has been confirmed in Theme One. However, some Chinese parents of infants also met some issues regarding grandparents' role. In response to the question, "How do you think about your own cultural beliefs influencing your decision to enroll your kids in a child development center?" they all shared their experiences with grandparents in the decision-making process:

Maybe some grandparents will tell you, “oh, don’t send the kid when he or she is too young.” Because that’s the reason I said before, the young kids they need more attention, so a lot of grandparents will give you an idea, not said, but the young parents, I don’t feel they have such thoughts. (Mrs. Yang)

My parents and parents-in-law always thought that my son was too young to be in a center and took care by others. They did not support what we did, you know, they did not want us to send my son into a center. (Mrs. Chan)

Also, my families did not agree that, you know, send him to the center cause they think he is too young, and they think only parents can take care of him, 100%. (Mrs. Xiao)

My parents-in-law always asked us not to send our son to the center, they asked us to send him back to China, you know, I refused cause I believe that it is better for my son to stay with us. (Mrs. Xiong)

In contrast, some Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center would like to take care of their child at home if the grandparents can offer time to help:

No, I mean, if they (grandparents) can be here and help us, I think we would not send him to the center before two-year-old. (Mr. Zhang)

However, they (grandparents) could not be here for a long time, so if they said they can help, I will not send my son to the center when he is this young, you know. (Mrs. Chan)

The influence of the grandparents’ role not only affects the decision-making process, but also the way to take care of the baby:

Like what I said, my wife’s mom always tried to persuade us to follow the old ways to take care of the baby. For example, always worried about whether my baby was cold or not, whether my baby wear enough clothes to keep warm, even in summertime, whether my wife have enough breast milk to feed or not, whether the water is cold or warm, so many things, I mean, we just did what we can do, but her mom (wife’s mom) worried too much. After we send our baby to the center, she (my wife’s mom) tried to persuade my wife to give warm water, everything warm to her, you know, they worry too much. It makes us nervous. (Mr. Wang)

My wife and her mom had so many different opinions. You know, like what I said, my wife's mom was a traditional Chinese lady, and so many traditional ways and opinions, and my wife sometimes give up the pediatrician's opinion and follow her mom's way. (Mr. Wang)

I always have different opinions on the same issue with them (parents-in-law). I remember there, once, my son got a fever, and my father-in-law kind of think it is a serious problem, I mean, it is serious, he makes us feel nervous as well. He asked us to take him to the emergency room which is totally different from China's emergency room. He thinks that we should give the medicine to him as soon as possible. (Mrs. Xiong)

Based on all participants' experiences, it is reasonable to believe that the influence of the grandparents' role in Chinese parental involvement is significant. However, though there are barriers, some of the Chinese parents of infants still want to take care of their child at home if grandparents can offer time to help.

Barriers for Father's Involvement

Time Issues. Another barrier to limit Chinese parental involvement that is referred to repeatedly among all the participants is the time issue. Particularly, Chinese fathers of infants could not always engage in their child's development because of their work schedule. Participants who did not enroll their child in a child development center revealed that mothers take the major role to take care of the baby and fathers could only have time to help when they got home from work:

Because my husband needs to work, most of the time I take care of the baby. He only helps me when he is at home or during the weekend. (Mrs. Yang)

My mother-in-law was here to help us, you know, cause my husband needed to study, he could only help or play with baby at night. (Mrs. Zhang)

After I quit the job, I chose to take care of baby at home for a while, my husband would like to help me and read for baby at night, sometimes, he helped me to put our son sleep, you know, kind of help me a lot, but only after work. (Mrs. Xiao)

My husband would be my supporter, and also tried to spend as more time to be with our son as possible, you know, he needs to work, so he tried to help me, play with him after he finished his job. (Mrs. Xuan)

Moreover, participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center agreed that mothers take the major role to take care of the baby since fathers only have time to help when they got home from work. They also indicated that fathers' work schedules often conflict with their child's activities in the center, and mothers take the major role to engage in events or activities in the center.

In response to the question, "What are your role and your spouse's role in facilitating the development of your infants?" mothers of infants expressed that they took the major role in facilitating their child's development, and fathers were their supporter:

I took the major role to take care of our son, my husband will be with us after work. He always wants to help, but he needs to work all day long, so he could not always be home in the daily time, he could not drop off and pick up the kid from the school, you know, he even could not join the activities in the school with us. (Mrs. Chan)

I cook for my daughter. I feed her, so her food, I'm more responsible for that. And my husband plays with, of course, I play with her too. And I put her to sleep at night, and my husband plays with her too, also give her bath at night while he is at home..... Because my husband's work schedule, he works two weeks on, two weeks off, so sometimes he won't be home for two weeks, so I'm the one with my kid all the time. (Mrs. Peng)

Both of my husband and I have to work; therefore, we have no other choices but to send him to the day care. After work, I picked him from the school, and my father-in-law helped us a lot. My husband got off later than me, so he is, you know, very late, so he could only be with our baby for a short time. (Mrs. Xiong)

The major role of mothers in their child's development was also supported by two Chinese fathers of infants. When these two fathers of infants answered the same question, they responded:

My wife took the major role of taking care of her, and I can only have time to help and play with her when I got back from work. (Mr. Wang)

My work schedule is kind of flexible, sometimes I need to work from morning time, and sometimes I only need to be there from 5'o clock in the afternoon, but got home very late, so I will try to help if I am home, you know, my wife is the major role. (Mr. Zhang)

Particularly, these two fathers also mentioned about the time conflict existing between the activity in the center and their work schedule:

Sometimes only my wife can be there cause I did not have time, cause I need to work. You know, sometimes I feel it is a good event, with food, and I don't need to talk a lot, but I cannot be there because I have to work, but all those activities were great. (Mr. Wang)

There were many activities, but I just attended one which is called the "garden party." They invited both parents to come, you know, they send us email, and the teacher told my wife. My wife persuaded me to join the party, uh, I did not attend many because of my work status. (Mr. Zhang)

All the participants shared the notion of mothers taking the major role in the child's development and the father taking the full responsibility to bring the financial support to the family. As a result, the father of infants would easily give up good opportunities to engage in the events in the center when their work schedule comes into conflict with the schedule of events.

Psychological Issues—Lack of Confidence. Another barrier for a father's involvement is a psychological issue, lack of confidence, which is hindered in their perspectives of their role in the involvement. Due to the limited English skills, two

Chinese fathers of infants revealed that they would like to give up chances to communicate with teachers and prefer to be quiet in any kind of event in the center:

I think the most difficult one is language, you know that, mentioned it before, my English is not good, so I always step back and did not really have the confidence to communicate with teachers. I do not want teachers to know that my English is poor, you know, ashamed. (Mr. Wang)

My English is not as good as my wife, so if she couldn't understand something sometimes, I will misunderstand more things, so even if I have time, she would like to go to the parents-teachers meeting every time. Oh, only one time I went to there with her, but I did not say anything, I mean, share anything. I picked my son and played with him in the playground and waited for my wife. (Mr. Zhang)

According to table 1 "Background information of the 11 participants," these two fathers earned their bachelor's degree in China, whereas other Chinese parents earned their degrees in the U.S. As reflected in the interview statements above, these two fathers who did not have an overseas education background kept considering their English as poor and had low confidence in their involvement, such as communicating and participation. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that the education background also had an important influence on Chinese parents' involvement in their child's education in America. The findings for the next section present how parents of infants and the center deal with these barriers.

Theme Four: Actions regarding Barriers

Based on the findings in "Theme Three," it is obvious that Chinese parents of infants are facing a variety of barriers to parental involvement. In order to really understand and support Chinese parental involvement in an American school setting, in this section, I describe how Chinese parents of infants and the center deal with barriers.

There are two sub-themes regarding how the center and Chinese parents of infants deal with the barriers that they encounter: actions from the child development center and parents' ways of dealing with barriers.

Actions from the Child Development Center

As reflected in theme three, there were a variety of barriers for Chinese parents of infants to be involved in their child's development at home and in the center. Thus, it is critical to explore what actions the child development center use to support Chinese parents of infants to overcome barriers. When asked about the center's role in supporting Chinese parents of infants to overcome the barriers, some participants responded:

Uh, I do not see any particular actions that the center deal with my barriers, but I do feel that when teacher communicate with me, she slows down a little bit and if she saw my confusing face, you know, she would like to explain it in another way, you know, let me understand. (Mrs. Chan)

But there was one time, you know, I remembered it, cause we had a meeting, only one time, it's like, only us, one-to-one, the teacher bring a Chinese lady to the meeting, and introduce her as a helper, I feel great at that time, I don't know if this is how the center did for us..... They always think that my wife can solve it. (Mr. Wang)

Moreover, in response to the question, "Are you satisfied with the experience in the center so far?" all the participants felt good about their experience in the center even though they struggled with barriers:

I think they did a very good job there.....I will recommend it to my friends, but only if they do not have time to take care of their baby at home. (Mrs. Chan)

I'm pretty satisfied with it right now..... Pretty good, I feel my kid can get attention and the care she needs, you know what I mean. (Mrs. Peng)

The teacher there is also very, you know, professional and very patient. (Mrs. You)

In particular, Mr. Wang shared his experience of why he chose not to communicate with teachers about their struggling moments and asked for help:

We did not share any barriers with them, you know, my wife and I always want to be nice and polite to others, do not trouble others, so we always, do not complain, cause in China, teacher is considered as a key to the high score, we do not want to make teacher think we have bad opinions, so the teacher will be unhappy.

(Mr. Wang)

As reflected in interview statements, all participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center are satisfied with their overall experiences in the center. Despite the barriers for Chinese parental involvement, participants still accepted the current situation and would not like to share their struggling moments with the teacher.

Parents' Ways of Dealing with Barriers

For Chinese parents of infants, there were barriers for them to be involved in their child's development at home and in the center. Throughout the interviews, all participants expressed their satisfaction with their parental involvement experiences, and they all found ways to deal with barriers that they met.

Chinese parents of infants who met the language barrier in the center responded: I tried to learn, and if I did not think that I understand the sentences or words that teachers said, I would like to ask the teachers to explain it or check with her if I understood it right, you know, or I will check the dictionary on my phone.

(Mrs. Chan)

I said it before, if you gave me something to read, like email, I can understand it better with actual words, the problem is my listening skill, you know, so sometimes when I want to communicate with the teacher, I asked them a question that I prepared at home. I tried to listen more, and I also find time to learn more words, you know, but still, I mean, I think language is difficult for me to pick it up so soon. I will keep learning it. I did not see any actions that the center try to deal

with it (Mr. Wang)

I will use my phone to record the conversation or the important message when the teacher told me something. (Mr. Zhang)

Chinese parents who met the cultural issues responded:

What we do is follow the teacher's direction, make sure we understand their points clearly.....We checked with our American friends, you know, and listen to her opinion. (Mr. Wang)

The way they chose to deal with barriers were also influenced by their cultural beliefs. For example, when asked why they do not share their barriers with teachers:

No, I did not communicate this with teacher, you know, cause I think our child is the only Asian, so they may not want to have something different, only for one girl, so we would like to just prepare everything and tell the teacher to give the warm one to my daughter. (Mr. Wang)

As reflected in the interview statements, Chinese parents of infants would always deal with the problems by themselves, and they prefer not to communicate with the center about their barriers. Thus, it is reasonable to believe that infant teachers and the center would not be aware of any barriers that Chinese parents of infants met or may meet in the future without sharing, and all Chinese parents of infants will still face barriers in their involvement at home and in the center.

Summary

For Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in an American child development center, there were three major reasons that they did not want to enroll their child in an American child development center in infancy and would not recommend others to enroll in infancy: 1) they thought their child was too young to go to a center; 2) grandparents can offer time to take care of the babies at home; and 3). they did not trust

that others can pay full attention to their child. Some participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center would like to take care of their babies at home if grandparents can help them. As reflected in the interview statements, they viewed the people who work with infants in the center as a “baby-sitter” or “caregiver” and they did not trust others can do a better job than parents. As a result, they were satisfied with their parental involvement experiences at home.

As reflected in the perspectives of Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center, they were satisfied with their parental involvement experiences at home and in the center. Two participants would like to recommend others to enroll their child in an American child development center because of their great experiences regarding their child’s development in the center. However, some Chinese parents of infants would not recommend others to enroll their child in a center if grandparents can offer time to help. Fortunately, they all considered the people who work with children in the center as “infant teachers” and thought highly of the role of infant teachers. Regarding the parental involvement in decision making processes, they found that infant teachers would like to include Chinese elements in their lesson plan, and teachers always encourage parents to be involved in activities and events even though the encouragement was not for Chinese parents specifically.

Particularly, infant teachers were not aware of any barriers for Chinese parents because these Chinese parents of infants preferred not to share their barriers with infant teachers and deal with it by themselves. Based on the findings regarding the barriers, Chinese parental involvement was limited by various issues: language issues, cultural

issues, grandparents' role, time issues and psychological issues. However, these Chinese parents of infants chose to accept their current situation in the center even though they met a variety of barriers. Thus, Chinese parental involvement in their child's development was restricted by their choice of being silent in America.

As stated in the findings, all of them considered "infancy" as an important stage for their child's development, and they thought that infants need more care and love from parents to feel safe and secure because they are still very young. Whether Chinese parents of infants enrolled their child in an American child development center or not, they all believed that parental involvement plays a significance role in a child's development, especially in infancy, and considered grandparents as an important role.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Implications

Many educators have explored the significance of parental involvement in children's development and indicated that parental involvement has positive influences on children's homework, school performance, behaviors, self-confidence, academic achievement, and attitudes towards learning at any grade level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Chuo, 2012; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018; Faires et al., 2000; Kotia et al., 2014; Van Roekel, 2008). Often exploring the relationship between social elements and education, these researchers not only proved the significant role of parental involvement but also revealed the benefits of parental involvement in children's development. In recent years, an increasing number of researchers began to pay attention to the relationship between parental involvement and children's development in Chinese American families (Chen, Stephen H et al., 2015; Huntsinger & Jose, 2009; Wang et al., 2007; Yeh et al, 2008). However, less attention has been paid to the significant role of parental involvement in children's development in infancy, especially for minority groups like Chinese families in America. Moreover, previous research about Chinese parental involvement in the American education system often pays full attention to one or two aspects. In my current research, I sought to discover more interactive factors that often influenced and limited Chinese parental involvement in an American child development center.

By using Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Dewey's (2008) theory of the interconnected relationship between a person's development and the social elements, this chapter presented a more detailed description of what, why and how social elements influence the Chinese parental involvement in their infants' development in the American education

system. Then, by using Dewey (2013) and Epstein's (2018) concept of the significant role of parental involvement, this chapter provides a more persuasive explanation of how family, school and community partnerships influence Chinese parental involvement and makes some recommendations to all stakeholders in regard to how to successfully support Chinese parental involvement and other minority groups' involvement in their children's development in infancy by cooperating together. Eventually, this study could help all stakeholders to better support the minority groups' parental involvement in America and have a better understanding of facilitating young children's development in infancy, especially by implementing, encouraging and supporting parental involvement positively.

This chapter includes a discussion of the findings related to two major research questions, a conclusion which is derived from the findings, limitations of this study, implications and recommendations for future researches.

Discussion of Findings

Research Question #1:

1. How do these Chinese parents view their role in an American Development Center setting?

All the findings in this study are supported by abundant previous studies as well (Chen, Stephen H et al, 2015; Conn et al., 2013; Qin & Han, 2014). The previous research all indicated that Chinese parents experienced all kinds of barriers in their involvement in the U.S education systems and thus their participation was restricted even though they were aware of the significance of their involvement in their child's

development. It is reasonable to assume that they are still facing these barriers in their parental involvement practices in their child's development in infancy in America now.

Overall, the findings of this study found out that the Chinese parents of infants all agreed that parental involvement plays a significant role in their child's development in infancy. In addition, they all would like to be involved in their child's life even though they encountered challenging times and barriers in their involvement in America. This study also revealed that Chinese parents of infants often faced the dilemma of whether to enroll their child in an American child development center in infancy, and their involvement in their child's development in infancy was limited by various barriers at home and in the center culturally and linguistically.

As for research question 1, the findings also indicated that Chinese parents of infants always considered themselves as a minority group who needed to be quiet in the American education system and did not want to confront the school personnel because they respected teachers and would like to follow their directions due to the Chinese traditional view of teachers.

Research Question #2:

2. From Chinese parents of infants' perspectives: what ways do infant teachers and directors like to involve Chinese infants' parents in their classrooms, and do they think highly of parental involvement?

Though all Chinese parents of infants were aware of the significant role of parental involvement and viewed their own role as an important character in their child's development in infancy, they might not be aware that there existed various social

elements that could influence their involvement, and then, affect the development of their child in infancy. The importance of “parent-teacher contacts” was emphasized by a study of Wang (2008). Wang (2008) also indicated that language is a major issue for them to be connected with school, as well as the cultural differences. This research question was mainly for Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center.

In the interviews, all the Chinese parents of infants responded that they always perceived the opinions and attitudes of school personnel as influential in determining factors in their parental involvement experiences in America. Based on the interview statements, participants who enrolled their child in an American child development center responded that the school personnel thought highly of parental involvement and would like to find ways to support it, but not specifically for Chinese parents of infants. Participants all shared their wonderful feelings toward the infant teachers’ actions regarding the Chinese parental involvement and expressed that it was good for them to be involved in the classroom.

Particularly, when asked about how Chinese parents of infants are involved in their child’s development, all Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center indicated that they would like to get support from infant teachers and believed that enrolling their child into the center is a better choice. For example, a Chinese father, Mr. Wang, shared his experience communicating with infant teachers and receiving support from infant teachers regarding the kind of materials that are suitable for their child at home. Another Chinese mother, Mrs. Chan, expressed that

she felt it was hard to know what materials were good for their child in America and believed that an American child development center may have a better way to facilitate their child's development.

However, Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center did not want to share their thoughts and chose to follow because they have negative feelings about their role. When asked about how they were involved in the school decision-making process, most of them responded that they were not involved in the decision-making process and chose to listen to and follow the school's decisions. A Chinese father, Mr. Zhang, said that he chose to listen more and follow because he is a Chinese parent. Such negative attitudes reflect the Chinese parents who would not negotiate with the school, even though they have different opinions. Though Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center believed that having a good communication with infant teachers would better support their child's development, their negative thoughts about their own role only served to build barriers for them to having a good connection with the school, and being involved in their child's development.

Research Question #3:

3. Is there any barrier or challenging time for Chinese infants' parents to be involved in the development of their infants? If so, how do they deal with these difficulties?

Bronfenbrenner's (1979) four concepts had indicated that the living environment has a profound influence on children's development, positively or negatively:

"microsystems," "mesosystem," "exosystem," and "macrosystem." Family, school and

community are considered as the three most significant environmental systems in a child's life, and they interact with each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1979; Dewey, 2013; Epstein, 2018). Moreover, there are three more studies that have particularly theorized that there exists the interplay between the environment and the child's development in infancy (Feeney et al., 2016; Lamb et al., 2002; Martin & Berke, 2007).

Such significant interactions among family, school and community were also reflected in all participants' perspectives and experiences of barriers in their parental involvement. The findings of this research illustrated that all the Chinese parents of infants responded that they always perceived the opinions and attitudes of family members, school personnel, and community as influential in determining factors in their parental involvement experiences in America. Chinese parents of infants who decided not to enroll their infants in an American child development center were found out that they always gained extra supports and opinions from family members such as grandparents, whereas Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their infants in an American child development center would always make decisions according to the information that they got from family, school and community.

Although all Chinese parents of infants were eager to be involved in their children's development to know and assist in their learning at home or in the school, their involvement was always hindered due to various barriers. The influence of social elements was mainly from family, school and community.

The Influence of Family. As reflected in all statements that participants shared in interviews, the influence of family could be concluded into four aspects: (a) the

importance of grandparents' role; (b) language issues; (c) cultural conflicts and (d) barriers for Chinese fathers' involvement.

The Importance of Grandparents' Role. Previous research has indicated that it is a very common phenomenon that Chinese grandparents would like to offer all kinds of help to support when they have grandchildren (Chen & Liu, 2011; Lau et al., 2019; Tang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2019; Xu, 2018; Xu et al., 2018). The importance of the grandparents' role clearly appeared when Chinese parents of infants needed to decide whether enrolling their infants in an American child development center was the right choice. As reflected in this research, all Chinese parents of infants shared their unique experiences of dealing with grandparents in regard to the enrolling dilemma. It turned out that all grandparents thought that their grandchild was too young to be taken care of by others. Particularly, some grandparents even highly persuaded mothers to take full responsibility for infants, and some grandparents offered time to help during this particular infancy period. Overall, all Chinese parents of infants considered grandparents as a critical role. Particularly, Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child into any child development center were aware that the grandparents' opinions affect their own decision-making process directly. A Chinese mother, Mrs. Zhang, expressed that grandparents believed that the mother should always take full responsibility for the care of the baby at home and thought their child was still too young to go to a school. Therefore, she decided to quit her job, take care of her child at home, and not enroll her child in an American child development center.

Though Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center have different opinions in regard to the role of grandparents considering their thinking is typically based on the Chinese traditional view, they agreed with the necessity of grandparents' help to better support them so that they can have time to work and take a rest. A Chinese father, Mr. Wang, emphasized that grandparents would like to offer help and care for their grandchild, but they had to enroll their child into an American child development center because the grandparents could not stay in America for a very long time due to the visa status.

However, grandparents' perspectives and opinions could have a significant influence because what they did and said was a very common phenomenon in most Chinese families in both China and America. Based on the evidence discussed above, it is reasonable to conclude that the role of grandparents is significant in Chinese families.

Language Issues. Language is another barrier which can influence Chinese parental involvement in their child's development. Morrell (2011) has indicated that almost 70% of American teachers are white in an American education system. Language issues were the biggest difficulties for Chinese parents of infants who could not speak fluent English.

When asked about the challenging times or barriers in their parental involvement experiences, participants who considered their English skills as poor would not engage in their child's development in the school actively. However, when asked about whether infant teachers or directors offered support in regard to the language issues for Chinese parents of infants, they all responded that the school personnel did not take any actual

actions to resolve this barrier. For example, a Chinese father, Mr. Zhang, said that he used his phone to record the conversation or the important message, and he would like to learn how to speak English well. When a Chinese parent does such a thing in front of the teachers, school personnel should be aware of how serious this language barrier is.

However, the “no action” attitude of school personnel kept influencing Chinese parental involvement in their child’s development in America and will continue to unless there is a solution to deal with this issue.

Most of the participants expressed implicitly that their involvement was influenced by limited English skills. Chinese parents of infants chose not to share their struggles or barriers with infant teachers or directors because they felt embarrassed about their poor English skills and lacking knowledge of American mainstream cultures. For some Chinese parents of infants who had limited English skills, they always chose to step back because they tried to avoid misunderstandings and embarrassment. Particularly, some Chinese fathers of infants would not participate in their child’s school activities positively because they felt embarrassed that they might not speak fluent English, and they had low confidence to understand other people correctly. Based on the interview statements, the school personnel would like to find ways to support Chinese parents of infants, but not specifically.

For example, when Chinese parents of infants attempted to be involved in parent-teacher meetings, they always chose to be quiet because they perceived themselves as a “minority group” in America. When they met challenging times or barriers, they chose to accept it and followed the teachers’ words because they did not think it was good to

discuss problems or negotiate with infant teachers. Some Chinese parents always described themselves as “outsiders” or “foreigner people” during the interviews. Rather, Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center always accepted whatever the school personnel decided due to the Chinese traditional view of teachers. When Chinese parents of infants met challenging times or barriers in an American child development center, most of them chose to accept whatever it is and be silent in most occasions. Such attitudes limited their involvement in the development of their child directly, and eventually, the voices of Chinese parents of infants were often ignored by the school personnel and community. Eventually, their involvement in their child’s school activities was restricted.

Cultural Conflicts. Wang (2008) has revealed that there exist cultural conflicts when language becomes an issue for Chinese parents to be connected with school. Rather, young children’s behaviors and performance in school can be shaped by their family cultural background. As reflected in our interviews, most participants shared their concerns about the problem of lacking knowledge of the American culture.

When asked about whether they will send their child to an American child development center or not, a Chinese mother, Mrs. Zhang, who did not enroll her child in any center, responded that she would feel worried if she did not know the American culture very well. However, a Chinese mother, Mrs. Chan, who did enroll her child in an American child development center, expressed that she did not feel good and was ashamed when a teacher mentioned something that she did not know very well.

Moreover, when asked about why they did not want to send their child to an American child development center, most participants shared one common cultural conflict which was related to the temperature of food. For example, a Chinese mother, Mrs. Yang, who did not enroll her child into any center stated her second reason, “A lot of Chinese parents, they like to give child warm food, like the milk, or the fruit to eat.....in American eating style, they like the cold one.” Another Chinese mother, Mrs. Zhang, who did not enroll her child in any center also expressed that she thought it was too young to give cold things to her child and she heard from others that the American school did provide cold meals. However, a Chinese father, Mr. Wang, who did enroll his child into an American child development center said they would like to prepare warm food at home for their child because they did not want their child to have cold meals in the school.

Another example of cultural conflict most frequently experienced by Chinese parents of infants was building connections with infant teachers and other parents in the center. As reflected in the interviews, participants often expressed their embarrassment in not knowing American cultures and having limited English skills. For example, they all shared their concerns about what kind of topic is appropriate and when to bring it up in a parent-teacher meeting. It might be easier for American parents to share their thoughts and concerns, but it often made the Chinese parents of infants ashamed and embarrassed. Chinese parents of infants felt embarrassed at school activities because they did not have confidence in their knowledge of the American culture. Thus, the parental involvement of Chinese parents of infants were limited by cultural conflicts continuously.

Chinese parents of infants' cultural backgrounds and language skills often limited their ability to adapt to the American culture and communicate with school. The influence of the grandparents' role, language issues and cultural conflicts are hidden barriers for Chinese parental involvement in their child's development in infancy no matter whether they enrolled their child in an American child development center or not.

The evidence from this research indicated that some parents have negative participation in various kinds of family-school events. A major reason is their limited English skills. Previous research had indicated that the lack of English skills may limit parental involvement (Chuo, 2012).

The Influence of Community. Dewey (2013) and Bronfenbrenner (1979) agreed that children's learning ability depends on the existence and nature of interplay among home, school and community, and believed that they should share the common goals toward children's development. In addition to the decision-making process of whether to enroll their child in an American child development center, the evidence presented that it was often influenced by the perspectives and experiences of community.

As reflected in the interviews, community plays a significant role in Chinese parental involvement. When asked about how they heard about the child development center, all participants responded that they knew it from their friends, neighbors and colleagues. When they needed to decide whether to enroll their child in an American child development center or not, they all implicitly indicated that their decision-making process was influenced by what they heard from others who live in the same community. For example, when asked about whether a friend recommended the center to her, Mrs.

Zhang (a Chinese mother), replied that she decided not to enroll her child in an American child development center because she agreed with her Chinese friends that it was too young to do this after she heard her Chinese friends' unsatisfactory experiences. Another Chinese mother, Mrs. Peng, chose to enroll her child in an American child development center based on the useful information and satisfied experiences that she heard from her sister-in-law.

Thus, it is reasonable to conclude that the role of community is significant in Chinese parental involvement and what Chinese parents of infants hear from the community influence their decision on whether to enroll their child in an American child development center or not.

The Influence of Partnerships among Family, School and Community. An increasing number of researchers have indicated that the children's academic development will be improved when home, school and community have a positive partnership (Bauch, 2001; Boethel, 2003; Dewey, 1980; Epstein, 2018; Epstein et al., 2018; Van Roekel, 2008; Quinn, 2011; Sanders, 1998; Sanders & Lewis, 2005; Smith & Sobel, 2014; Tinto, 2003). Based on Epstein's (2018) theory of involvement in children's development, parental involvement plays a critical role in my research and influences of home, school and community embedded in the partnerships among Chinese families of infants, the American child development center and the community. This theory provides opportunities to explore how the interplay among home, school and community created barriers for Chinese parents of infants in the American education system. Epstein (2018) argued that educators may view the family as separate from the school if they consider

children simply as students. She thinks the parental involvement should not only occur between school and home, but also the whole community that the child lives in. This view is in line with Bronfenbrenner's (1979) and Dewey's (1980, 2013) standpoint that a true education should proceed by participating in the social context. Particularly, Epstein (2018) indicated that all the stakeholders should consider the family and the community as partners with the school because it is better to take into account the social aspects of the children. As partners, Epstein (2018) suggests that all stakeholders should identify their common goals, share responsibilities and work together to provide better opportunities for children. This suggestion was also supported by my research.

As reflected in the findings of this research, Chinese parents of infants who did not enroll their child in an American child development center actually did not know how the center works for young babies. Instead of hearing about the center from itself, they heard from the community. When asked about how participants hear about the child development center, all participants responded that they heard from their friends, neighbors and people who live in the same community, and they never found that an American child development center advertised for themselves. However, most of the participants shared one common phenomenon that they all considered themselves as a "foreigner" or "outsider" in America and knew the center from their Chinese friends' experiences. As a result, participants' decisions about whether to enroll their child in an American child development center were influenced by their Chinese friends' unsatisfactory experiences within the center. When Chinese parents of infants make decisions without knowing how the center works for young children, their parental

involvement will be influenced directly. However, the mainstream and the experiences from other parents who are not Chinese should not be ignored because they share the same community and, therefore, the same common goals and responsibilities toward the development of children (Epstein, 2018).

Epstein (2018) indicated that communities should share responsibilities with schools and care about all families' needs and realities. Different cultural backgrounds as Chinese parents and society hierarchy as temporary residents or immigrant families provide Chinese parents of infants with various barriers that explicitly and implicitly influenced their parental involvement in the development of their child in America. In our interviews, participants were asked to share their perspectives and experiences of parental involvement through three spheres of influence—"the family, the school and the community" (Epstein, 2018).

As reflected in the interviews, participants all implicitly emphasized that the interplays between family, school and the community play a significant role in facilitating their child's growth in America.

Firstly, previous researches had emphasized the significant role of grandparents in educating and caring for grandchildren in Chinese families (Chen & Liu, 2011; Lau et al., 2019; Tang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2019; Xu, 2018; Xu et al., 2018). As reflected in the interview statements, all participants found that the grandparents' role is very important because parents' decision-making processes and attitudes are always influenced by the grandparents' opinions and family cultural backgrounds. Thus, Chinese parents of infants' ability to be involved in their child's development at home and in the school was

limited. For example, Mrs. Xuan quit her job and decided to take care of her son because her mom asked her to do so. Also, Mr. Cao decided to send his child to a Chinese child development center despite his willingness to attend an American one because his family thought they could communicate with their grandchild if the child can learn Chinese.

Particularly, language conveys cultural background. As reflected in the interviews, some Chinese fathers of infants chose to compromise when they had disagreements with teachers because they have low confidence in their English language skills. They also said that they preferred to be quiet during the school events because they did not know how to communicate with teachers and other parents due to uncertainty of the American culture. For example, Mr. Wang had to check with his American friend about what could be considered as a gift for infant teachers in America. Mr. Zhang also had to check with his American friend whether it was permitted if he recorded what teachers said. Such cultural occasions would be much easier for American families who were familiar with them. However, these occasions can bring challenges or barriers for Chinese parents of infants.

As reflected in these examples, the Chinese parents of infants' different family cultural backgrounds and uncertainty of the American culture influenced their involvement in their child's development. The Chinese parents of infants who lacked the knowledge of American culture could not facilitate their child's growth effectively. Some Chinese parents chose not to share their barriers with infant teachers because they did not know if there existed cultural differences even though they deeply believed that their involvement was essential. Thus, Chinese parents of infants could better support their

child's development only if there are ways to solve the conflicts between family cultural backgrounds and the American culture. As a result, Chinese parents of infants did not build a good connection with school because they only considered the communication tools as ways for them to know how their child did in the school and ignored another important function of these tools—share.

Secondly, the Chinese parents of infants' different family backgrounds also shaped their social relationship in the community, and then, influenced their involvement in their child's development. Chinese parents of infants always communicated with their Chinese friends and gained information from these friends who came from the same cultural backgrounds. Thus, the Chinese parents did not have a good connection with the whole community because they ignored the voices from American families, and eventually, their decision-making process was influenced. Chinese parents of infants who can build connections with other families in the same community would get more information and adapt themselves in the American culture well.

Moreover, Lopez (2015) indicated that the community institutions, such as a university, can provide chances for children to know diverse backgrounds, and found that community organizations can contribute to the development of curriculum to support the parental involvement. Mrs. Peng's experience is in line with Lopez's (2015) standpoints. Mrs. Peng, a Chinese mother, shared a great experience about the Chinese New Year party in the college which was open to the whole community because she felt her cultural background was respected. Another Chinese mother, Mrs. You, also shared a wonderful experience when the child development center designed an activity for the whole

community. As a result, such good experiences often led Chinese parents of infants to be satisfied with their involvement and the event which involved the whole community. However, many Chinese parents of infants only attended the events that involved family and school, so they did not have chances to build connections with others in the community. According to Dewey (1980), it is highly recommended that the school should take the responsibility to embrace the community life and believed that the only way to avoid failure is to connect every part of the sequence to the world outside the school, and then unify the curriculum for students. Bronfenbrenner (1979) is in line with Dewey (1980) that parents will better facilitate their child's development if they can be involved in the activities positively. It is hard to achieve the effective parental involvement if there always exist barriers. However, as reflected in my data analysis, Chinese parents of infants would like to be involved in their child's development actively when school and community can gather together and design activities to engage and support Chinese parental involvement. Thus, various barriers for Chinese parental involvement should be identified, and thus reconsidered in the American education system.

Research Question #4:

4. Are they satisfied with their experiences in the center? Would they recommend other Chinese parents of infants to enroll their child in the center in infancy?

Lots of research had indicated that Chinese are facing challenges and difficulties in America (Chuo, 2012; He, 2015; Lu et al., 2012; Sandhu, 1997; Smith, 2014; Wong, 1982), and parental involvement is much more important for children whose cultural backgrounds were from minority groups (Smith, 2014). To better support young children

from China, a minority group in America, it is necessary to explore whether Chinese parents of infants are satisfied with their experiences in an American child development center.

Thus, this research question was mainly for Chinese parents of infants who enrolled their child in an American child development center in infancy. Of the participants interviewed, six of them were all satisfied with their experience in the center. For example, Mrs. Peng expressed that she was very satisfied with her experiences in the center and would highly recommend other parents to enroll their child in an American child development in infancy. Mrs. You also shared her wonderful feelings towards enrolling her child in an American child development center and would recommend parents of infants to enroll child in this kind of center when the child is around 8 months old. Though other participants also said that they were satisfied with the center, they would like to keep their child at home if grandparents could offer time and help.

Conclusions

Although the significance of parental involvement in the development in infancy is approved by educators and parents, barriers are still existing in Chinese parental involvement in America. In Epstein's (2018) point of view, we should always consider the family and the community as partners with the school because it is better to take into account the social aspects of the children. As partners, Epstein (2018) suggests that family, school and community should identify their common goals, share responsibilities and work together to provide better opportunities for children. Therefore, this research took steps to explore and reveal barriers for Chinese parental involvement in the

development in infancy. During this process, various barriers were identified. Based on the investigation of Chinese parental involvement in America no matter whether they enrolled their child in an American child development center or not, they all emphasized the importance of their involvement in their child's development. Particularly, Chinese parents who enrolled their child in an American child development center all considered the person who works with infants as a professional role and called them "*infant teachers*" and viewed the development center as a "school." Thus, parents' perspectives and attitudes toward their child's development are very important to their involvement.

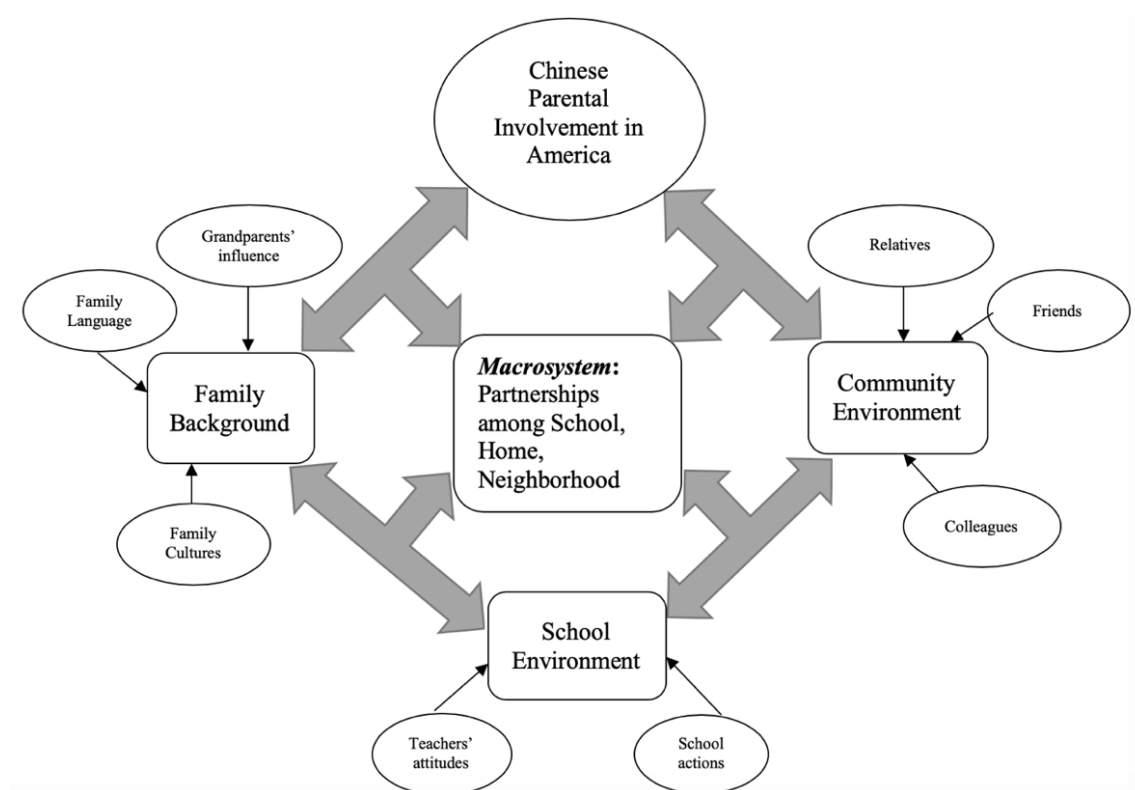
Moreover, many of the Chinese parents of infants always considered family members' opinions and attitudes as important components in their decision-making process. Their own decisions and attitudes toward their child's development were influenced or experienced dilemma whether they chose to enroll their child in an American child development center or not. Also, their perspectives of an "outsider" image always limited their involvement. Thus, based on the analysis, I suggest that Chinese parents should take steps to share their challenges with infant teachers, and I also recommend that school should be aware that there must exist possible barriers for Chinese parents of infants and take responsibility to build bridges for Chinese families and the community.

This study emphasized the significance of parental involvement in the development of infancy and demonstrated various barriers of family, school and community in influencing Chinese parental involvement in the development in infancy in America. Although all the Chinese parents of infants who participated in this study

shared their great feelings about their involvement in their child's development, they still met various barriers that explicitly and implicitly limited their involvement due to their different family backgrounds, language preference, and knowledge of the American culture. I designed a figure to present, which is as follow:

Figure 4

Chinese Parental Involvement in America



By utilizing Bronfenbrenner (1979), Dewey's (2013) perspectives of the influence of social elements in children's development and Epstein's (2018) involvement framework, this study might provide insight into the potential barriers to Chinese parental

involvement in America and how Chinese parents of infants can be involved in the development in infancy.

According to Figure 4, the results of this study were concluded into the following statements:

- The findings of this study revealed that Chinese parents of infants were all aware of the significance role of parental involvement and viewed their own role as an important character in their child's development in infancy.
- This study found that Chinese parents of infants might not be aware that there existed various social elements that can influence their involvement, and then, affect the development of their child in infancy.
- The results of this study revealed that Chinese parents of infants are meeting various barriers no matter how eager they want to be involved in their children's development at home or in the school.
- The results of this study presented that the influence of social elements on Chinese parental involvement in America was mainly from family, school and community. Additionally, this study revealed that the significant role of the grandparents' role in Chinese parental involvement in the development in infancy in America.

Eventually, this study may contribute to the relationship between social elements and the development of young children, especially for minority groups in America, such as Chinese immigrant or non-immigrant families. Moreover, according to Figure 4, this study highly recommended that there should be a positive partnership among school, home and community.

Implications

Implications for Practice

The significance of this study is supported by the findings and discussion. Through the exploration, various barriers for Chinese parents of infants to be involved in their child's development were revealed. This study further emphasizes the critical role of parental involvement and leads to some implications for practice.

The findings of this study revealed that there is an urgent need for infant teachers and directors in American development centers to not only be aware of the significance of parental involvement in the development in infancy but also realize the potential barriers for Chinese parental involvement. To better acknowledge this, it is necessary for infant teachers and directors to take effort to know Chinese parents' concerns or worries, identify issues and solve the problems. In addition, school personnel should take responsibility to build connections between Chinese families and the community so that they can better support Chinese parental involvement.

Moreover, the findings of this study implicitly indicated that some teachers often ignored the voices from Chinese parents when Chinese parents of infants chose not to share their concerns or ideas in the parent-teacher meetings. Thus, this study highlighted the crucial need for infant teachers and directors' actions to: 1) keep in mind the significance of parental involvement in the development in infancy, especially for minority groups in America; 2) be aware of possible challenges and barriers for Chinese parental involvement in the school and community; 3) create a safe and comfortable environment for parents who come from minority groups to share their concerns and

worries; 4) design activities and events regarding minority groups' special needs and cultural backgrounds; and 5) find ways to support and encourage minority groups' involvement in their child's development by providing support for parents to be involved in school events and build connections with the community.

In addition to infant teachers and directors' actions to understand and reflect on Chinese parents of infants' special needs and barriers, the evidence of this study indicated that the parental involvement for Chinese parents of infants is always limited because they always consider themselves as "foreigners" or "outsiders" in America. However, Chinese parents of infants will still meet barriers if they keep looking down on their own role and eventually influence their involvement in their child's development negatively. Thus, this study highly recommends Chinese parents to consider their role as equal as others in America no matter whether they enroll their child in an American child development center or not, and strongly suggests Chinese parents of infants to be involved in their child's development better by sharing their concerns and worries with school.

As reflected in the perspectives and experiences of Chinese parental involvement in America, this study identifies Chinese parents of infants' barriers in regard to their involvement in their child's development. The findings of this study highly promoted that school and community should work together and design specific parental involvement activities or programs for all families. For practitioners, the evidence recommends that school personnel, including the future early childhood teacher candidates, should be aware of the following:

- Keep in mind the significance of parental involvement, paying particularly attention to the importance of minority groups' involvement.
- Build a bridge for minority groups and the community so that they can get useful resources for their child's development.
- Design programs and activities to meet all families' needs, cultural backgrounds and concerns.
- Always be aware that there may exist possible cultural conflicts between minority groups' cultures and the American culture.
- Ensure a safe and comfortable environment for minority groups to share their real thoughts, questions, disagreements, concerns and barriers.
- Always reflect on minority groups' concerns and barriers culturally and linguistically.
- Offer more detailed activity information for minority groups and express an attitude of respect toward minority groups' cultural backgrounds.
- Develop learning opportunities for minority groups with limited English skills to learn.
- Make an effort to work collaboratively with minority groups and engage them in curriculum design and school decisions.

All these recommendations will help school personnel to build a good relationship with parents from minority groups and eventually help them to better facilitate their child's development in infancy.

Implications for Parents from Minority Groups

As reflected in the findings, Chinese parents' perspectives of their own role in the American child development center always limited their involvement in their child's development because they always considered themselves as "foreigners" or "outsiders" due to their lack of knowledge of the American culture. Thus, the findings of this study recommend that parents from minority groups should:

- Positively reflect on their own role in their child's development and face the fact that there must be some cultural conflicts in their involvement.
- Adapt themselves to the community well so that they can get more valuable resources and gain useful materials.
- Find ways to learn the American mainstream culture and narrow down the gap between their family cultural background and American cultural beliefs.
- Consider sharing their concerns, worries, and disagreements with school or teachers as their reasonable rights and responsibilities.

All these recommendations for minority groups will help in building a good relationship with school and ultimately provide them opportunities to facilitate their child's development.

Implication for the Community

As illustrated in this study, community plays an essential role. Thus, this study also makes recommendations for the community. The findings suggest that the community should:

- Work collaboratively with school and families.

- Ensure there are useful resources for minority groups by engaging them in some well-planned orientation activities or programs.
- Raise public awareness of the significance of parental involvement and the advantages of cultural diversity.

Such efforts will eventually support minority groups' involvement in their child's development.

Summary

In sum, all the recommendations share a common goal: the child's development in infancy. The findings, results, and implications of this study are in line with Dewey (1980, 2013), Bronfenbrenner (1979) and Epstein's (2018) perspectives: 1) the significance of parental involvement; 2) the advantages of having a good partnership among family, school and community; and 3) a true education does not allow "isolation."

Limitations of the Study

The significance of parental involvement in the development in infancy by exploring all possible barriers of social elements in a child's life is emphasized in this study. First of all, my role is crucial in this qualitative study. As described in the third chapter, the purpose of this study was to explore the experiences and perspectives of Chinese parents of infants. Thus, my experiences as a Chinese parent of an infant in America and my familiarity with the participants' cultural background provided me with an easy access to gain better understanding of their perspectives culturally and linguistically and collect more valuable data.

Secondly, my role as an "insider" also helped me interpret their perspectives and experiences without judgment. Moreover, the power of being an "insider" helped me build a closer relationship with all Chinese participants. During the interview processes, all Chinese participants willingly shared more with me and accepted additional questions from me during the interviews. Particularly, one of these 11 participants were my friend, and her interview lasted much longer than others and included more details. Thus, I am in line with Rubin and Rubin (2011) that people would be more likely to share their perspectives when the researcher has some connections with their participants. However, such a relationship may cause the issue of "bias" and "loss of objectivity" for this study. In order to reduce the influence of prejudice, I took effort to position myself as a research rather than a friend during the interview. Thus, my different relationships with each participant might cause limitations in my data analysis.

Thirdly, my role as a researcher might be influenced by my own cultural background. I might deeply believe that I know all participants very well, and then interpret their perspectives and experiences overwhelmingly. Thus, during the data analysis process, I paid close attention to notice if there was any bias or judgments made by my subjectivity and I cross-checked my first interpretation with participants to make sure that I did not have my subjective thoughts.

At last, although there is a plethora of previous research on the relationship between parental involvement and children's education, there existed a big gap to be filled which is the relationship between minority groups' parental involvement and children's education, especially in infancy. Eventually, I hope this study can help fill this gap and contribute to the future research.

Recommendations for Future Research

This study re-examined the importance of parental involvement by exploring the unique experiences and perspectives of Chinese parents of infants about their involvement in their child's development in infancy, particularly their perspectives on enrolling their child into an American Child Development Center. By investigating the issue from participants individually, this study conveys more detailed information about the Chinese parental involvement in their child's development in infancy in America. Based on the findings and results of this study, it supports Bronfenbrenner (1979), Dewey (1980, 2013) and Epstein's (2018) theory that family, school and community are considered as the three most significant environmental systems in a child's life, and they interact with each other. All stakeholders should identify their common goals, share responsibilities and work together to provide better opportunities for children. Moreover, this study illustrated the importance of involving minority groups' parents in their child's development in infancy and recommended that all stakeholders should work collaboratively towards supporting minority groups' parental involvement in America. However, making conclusions only by exploring parents' perspectives cannot be enough due to ignoring the school personnel's voices. Thus, my first recommendation for future research is to gain a better understanding of the relationship between the minority groups' parental involvement and their child's development in infancy by exploring the perspectives of school personnel and parents from minority groups at the same time.

This study explored how Chinese parental involvement in their child's development in infancy was influenced by family, school and community. However,

different Chinese families may have different backgrounds. Differences in their cultural beliefs, economic status and social hierarchy can also cause different parental involvement even though they come from the same minority group. Thus, my second recommendation for future research is to have a better understanding of minority group's parental involvement at home and in the school by exploring two aspects: economic status and social hierarchy.

According to the literature review, researchers indicated that many immigrant families shared the same feeling of being an “outsider” in their children's education in America, such as Korean American families and Chinese American families (Bang, 2009; Jung and Zhang, 2016). Perspectives and experiences of these two different cultural backgrounds are critical to explore the full picture of how minority groups' parental involvement in their children's development can be restricted. Thus, my third recommendation for future research is to gain a whole picture of minority groups' parental involvement in America by conducting a study to compare the parental involvement between two different minority groups, such as Chinese American parents and Korean American parents.

Moreover, the role of grandparents not only plays a critical role in their grandchildren's development in infancy but also in their school ages. Chinese grandparents' role in caring for their grandchild has been explored by a lot of studies. More and more scholars have paid attention to the significant role of grandparents (Baolian Qin, 2006; Chen & Lewis, 2015; Chen & Liu, 2011; Jingxiong et al., 2017; Lau et al., 2019; Li & Liu, 2019; Tang et al., 2016; Wang et al., 2019; Xu et al., 2017). Thus,

my fourth recommendation for future research is to have a comprehensive understanding of how grandparents influence the children's development in Chinese families in America. In addition, it is also necessary to do a comparison between Chinese American families and American families regarding the grandparents' role in caring for their grandchildren so that we can know if there is really a big difference between these two cultural backgrounds.

In addition, as reflected in the findings, the gender of participants in this study illustrated that Chinese mothers always took the major responsibilities in the child's development in infancy, and Chinese fathers supported the family economically. Thus, my fifth recommendation for future research is to know how parental involvement in the child's development in infancy works for Chinese families in America by investigating the different roles of mother, father, grandparents and other related caregivers.

Based on the findings of the importance of the community's role, this study illustrated how friends, neighbors or colleagues' opinions and experiences influence Chinese parents of infants' decision. This study also revealed that there were actions from the community that involved Chinese parents. However, not all of school personnel are aware enough to take into account the community when they want to involve parents in the school. Thus, my sixth recommendation for future research is to investigate the importance of community to support parental involvement, especially for minority groups in America by interviewing school personnel, program designers and any related community service.

At last, the sample of this present research was not big enough to provide a full picture. Thus, my last recommendation for future research is that the sample size should be larger and more potential settings should be involved. In addition, future research can design similar studies but take into account the different districts in America and do a comparison between each or among them.

Epilogue

I want to utilize this opportunity to highlight the significance of this study: 1) it emphasized the significance of parental involvement in child's development in infancy; 2) it provided infant teachers/ EC teacher candidates with a better awareness of the significance of parental involvement in a culturally diverse infant classroom; and 3) it made recommendations for the partnerships among family, school and community regarding minority groups' parental involvement. My understandings of the importance of parental involvement in the development in infancy and the partnerships among family, school and community were consolidated by exploring Chinese parents' perspectives and experiences in regard to a phenomenon of whether or not to enroll a child in a child development center in infancy.

As reflected in the interview statements, the results were supported by powerful evidence. Thus, I hope this study can contribute to future researchers and early childhood educators that extend the focus and perspectives on the relationship between young children's development and social environments. During the entire research process, I learned a lot from the very beginning to the end of this study. All the experiences I have been through in this study taught me how to be a qualitative researcher. The process of data collection provided me a chance to have a better understanding of what I learned from the research books. I faced challenging times in the data collection process, and I gained support and encouragement from all my committee members. No matter how tough the dissertation journey, my experiences and interests in early childhood education

encouraged me to go further. All the experiences that I have been through made me become a strong person, qualified researcher, and enthusiastic early childhood educator.

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Appendix A

Reconsidering Parental Involvement: Chinese Parents of Infants in an American Child Development Center

Recruitment Script of Possible Participants

Dear Chinese parents,

Hi, Yanhui Liu who is currently enrolled as Graduate students in the Curriculum and Instructions at Ohio University. I currently want to invite you to participate in a dissertation study of the perspectives and practices of Chinese parental involvement in American Child Development. The purpose of this study is to explore the perspectives and experiences of Chinese parents of infants of parental involvement in American Child Development Center. The hope of this study is help all of us to have a better understanding of the importance of parental involvement and how to implement the parental involvement better, especially when we need to involve minority group, such as Chinese parents.

You are being asked to participate in a research study. For you to be able to decide whether you want to participate in this project, you should understand what the project is about, as well as the possible risks and benefits in order to make an informed decision about your participation. In order to conduct this study, I will interview each of you individually, and the interview will be around 30-45minutes. All the interviews will be

audio-recorded. If any, I also would like to collect documents, such as journals or notes related to the topic from you.

Your participation in this study will help us understand and possibly improve infant development that parents of infants' cultural background is different. This is why I am soliciting you as a possible participant. Before you signed the form, please make sure that you are 18 years old or elder, and you must have an 8th grade reading level. If you have the time and are interested in doing an interview, please make sure you have included your contact information, and place the signed form on the right side of the desk. If you would prefer not to participate in the study, leave the form unsigned and place it on the left side of the desk.

All the interviews will only be audio-recording. The interview audios will be stored on my personal computer with a password. All the data will be destroyed by May, 2020.

What's more, I will not use your real name in this study. Please feel comfortable to share your own beliefs and experiences!

Thank you so much for your time! I very much appreciate it!

Appendix B

Ohio University Consent Form

Title of Research: Reconsidering Parental Involvement: Chinese Parents of Infants in an American Child Development Center

Researchers: Yanhui Liu, PhD Candidate, Curriculum and Instruction; Dr. Eugene Geist, Academic Advisor, Associate Professor, Teacher Education.

IRB number: 17-X-308

You are being asked by an Ohio University researcher to participate in research. For you to be able to decide whether you want to participate in this project, you should understand what the project is about, as well as the possible risks and benefits in order to make an informed decision. This process is known as informed consent. This form describes the purpose, procedures, possible benefits, and risks of the research project. It also explains how your personal information will be used and protected. Once you have read this form and your questions about the study are answered, you will be asked to sign it. This will allow your participation in this study. You should receive a copy of this document to take with you.

Summary of Study

The purpose of this study is to explore Chinese parents' perception and practices of parental involvement in the development in infancy and how they work together with teachers and centers if they enrolled their kids in a Child development center. This study

will take a close look at the experience and perspectives of Chinese parents toward the development in infancy in American.

Explanation of Study

This study is being done to understand the importance of parental involvement in the development in infancy. If you agree to participate, you will then be interviewed. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes. The questions in the interview ask about your perception and experiences about the parental involvement. The interview will last about less than one hour. You should not participate in this study if you are 18 years younger.

Risks and Discomforts

No risks or discomforts are anticipated. If you may feel any negative emotions in response to describing parents' behaviors, you are free to stop completing the interview without penalty or loss of benefits.

Benefits

You may not benefit personally by participating in this study. However, this study is important to early childhood education because findings of the study will help all stakeholders to support the development in infancy. The results of this study will highlight the importance of parental involvement to further contribute to improving the development in infancy in the future.

Confidentiality and Records

All the interviews will only be audio-recording, All data collected for this study will be kept in a safe place: my personal computer with a password. Only I will have access to data. All data will not be seen by anyone who is not directly working on the project. No summaries or other reports of the study's findings will contain information about particular individuals; information will only be reported in a summary format. Any identifiable data or the link between data and identities will be destroyed by May, 2020.

Additionally, while every effort will be made to keep your study-related information confidential, there may be circumstances where this information must be shared with:

- * Federal agencies, for example the Office of Human Research Protections, whose responsibility is to protect human subjects in research;
- * Representatives of Ohio University (OU), including the Institutional Review Board, a committee that oversees the research at OU;

Compensation

There is no compensation for participants.

Future Use Statement

Data/samples collected as part of this research, even if identifiers are removed, will not be used for future research studies.

Contact Information

If you have any questions regarding this study, please contact the investigator *Yanhui Liu*, yl260611@ohio.edu, 740-856-5585, or my academic advisor, Dr. Eugene Geist, geist@ohio.edu, 740-593-2882.

If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact Dr. Chris Hayhow, Director of Research Compliance, Ohio University, (740)593-0664 or hayhow@ohio.edu.

By signing below, you are agreeing that:

- you have read this consent form (or it has been read to you) and have been given the opportunity to ask questions and have them answered;
- you have been informed of potential risks and they have been explained to your satisfaction;
- you understand Ohio University has no funds set aside for any injuries you might receive as a result of participating in this study;
- you are 18 years of age or older;
- your participation in this research is completely voluntary;
- you may leave the study at any time; if you decide to stop participating in the study, there will be no penalty to you and you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Signature _____ Date _____

Printed Name _____

Version Date:10/11/2018.

Appendix C

Interview Questions for Chinese Parents Who Enrolled Their Child in a Center in Infancy

Dear Participants:

You are being asked to participate in this study that seeks to examine how Child Development Center and parents work together to implement parental involvement for Chinese families, help all stakeholders get access to understand how to involve Chinese parents in the development in infancy, and eventually find ways to support Chinese parental involvement in infancy. You are being asked to respond to a series of open-ended questions regarding your own perceptions and experiences on parental involvement in infancy in the Child Development Center. I will use a tape recorder to record our conversation. There is no right or wrong answer, and nothing will be judged in this study. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete.

1. How many years have you been in American, and how long have you been in this community?
2. How did you know about this Child Development Center?
3. Why did you choose to send your infant to this Child Development Center?
4. How do you feel about your experience in this Child Development Center so far?
5. What are you and your spouse's roles in facilitating the development of your infants?
6. Do you consider your involvement is important to the development of your child?
Why/Why not?
7. How do you define parental involvement?

8. Were there any events for parental involvement in the Child Development Center that you have been involved in? If so, please describe the activity or activities that you were involved in and describe your feeling about the activity or activities.
9. Were there any events in the Child Development Center that infant teachers planned and highly encourage you to be involved? If so, please describe the activity or activities that you were involved in and describe your feeling about the activity or activities.
10. How often did you attend the parents-teachers meeting? How do you think about the parents-teachers meeting?
11. In what ways did infant teachers share information with you? Please describe it in detail.
12. How do you perceive the roles of infant teachers, directors and yourself in implementing the parental involvement events?
13. How are you involved in the development of your child at home? Please describe what have you done, what else would you like to do, and what would you like to do more with your child?
14. Are there any challenging time/barriers in your involvement? Can you provide some specific examples? How did you deal with it/them?
15. Did the Child Development Center take any actions to encourage Chinese parental involvement? Can you provide some specific examples? Have you been satisfied with the action that they took?

16. How do you think your own cultural beliefs influence your involvement in the Child Development Center?
17. Did infant teachers or administrators encourage and support your involvement? If so, please describe what did they do.
18. Have you ever expected infant teachers and administrators to do something to help you involve in your child's development better? If so, what did you expect from them and how did you want them to help?

Appendix D

Interview Questions for Chinese Parents Who did not Enroll their Kids in a Center in

Infancy

Dear Participants:

You are being asked to participate in this study that seeks to examine how Child Development Center and parents work together to implement parental involvement for Chinese families, help all stakeholders get access to understand how to involve Chinese parents in the development in infancy, and eventually find ways to support Chinese parental involvement in infancy. You are being asked to respond to a series of open-ended questions regarding your own perceptions and experiences on parental involvement in infancy in the Child Development Center. I will use a tape recorder to record our conversation. There is no right or wrong answer, and nothing will be judged in this study. The interview will take approximately 30-45 minutes to complete.

1. How many years have you been in American, and how long have you been in this community?
2. Have you ever heard about any American child development center?
3. Do you have friends who send their kids into an American Child development center in infancy (0 to 2-year-old)? If so, would you like to send your kids into a center?
4. Can you explain why did not send your kid to this center in infancy (0 to 2-year-old)? For example, your kid is too young, you do not trust other people to take care of your baby.

5. Is the reason that you did not send your kid to the center in infancy because either you or your spouse has time to take care the baby at home?
6. Did both of you and your spouse have work during your kid's infancy (0 to 2-year-old)? If not, who took the major role to take care of the baby?
7. Who helped you take care of your child in infancy except you and your spouse? For example, grandparents. If so, how did they help? Can you explain a little bit more?
8. What is your role, your spouse's role, and your family's role in facilitating the development of your infants?
9. How do you feel about your parental experience at home?
10. How did you refine parental involvement?
11. Have you ever noticed some literacy development in infancy? For example, sign language, your kid's interest of reading, can you provide any related example?
12. Have you ever heard that this Child Development Center try to attract Chinese parents of infants or encourage Chinese parental involvement? If so, can you provide any activities or events.
13. Are there any challenging time/barriers in your involvement? Can you provide some specific examples? How did you deal with it/them?
14. Did the Child Development Center take any actions to encourage Chinese parental involvement in your community? Can you provide some specific examples? Have you been satisfied with the action that they took?

15. How do you think your own cultural beliefs influence your decision about enrollment in a child development center?
16. If you, your spouse and your family cannot take care of the baby in daily time, would you consider child development center as a good setting to facilitate your kid's development?



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