



Sweden's Chinese immigrant parents' view on corporal punishment of children

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Abstract

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Sweden is the first country that explicitly banned all forms of corporal punishment of children in 1979. While Chinese immigrant parents have particular disciplinary methods in child rearing under Chinese traditional values and believes.

Through the interview of eleven Chinese immigrant parents from six families, this study aims to investigate the attitude of Chinese immigrant parents in Sweden to corporal punishment of children at home. It also attempts to learn how parents educate their children with the Chinese cultural perspective and the changes of parents influenced by the Swedish society for child rearing. Moreover, it also aims to find the challenge that parents faced in cross-cultural context.

The findings show that the Chinese immigrant parents define the corporal punishment unclearly compares with the Swedish wide public recognition. Influenced by the traditional Chinese culture values and believes, the Chinese immigrant parents remain a certain degree of authoritarian style raising children. It leads to their believing that corporal punishment of children is an effective way in child rearing. However, during the process of acculturation, the changes of parental practices influenced by the Swedish culture have gradually appeared. Chinese immigrant parents also face challenge of how to bring up their children in the cross-cultural context. The different parenting styles of Swedish and Chinese result in dissimilar way of discipline way to their children. In addition, Chinese immigrant parents concern that the increased cultural gap between parents and children would be a big challenge for them on child rearing.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This chapter presents the background the purposes of the research and research questions.

1.1 Background of the Research

1.1.1 Corporal punishment in Sweden

In 1979, Sweden was the first country to explicitly ban all forms of corporal punishment of children (Durrant, 1999). Formerly, the phenomenon of corporal punishment was common in Sweden at the beginning of the twentieth century. Many children were beaten in homes and schools with the purpose of “necessary” discipline (Sverne, 1993). Nevertheless, followed with the concern about the welfare of children gradually increase in the world, Sweden has the first legislative reform for corporal punishment prohibited from secondary schools in 1928 (Sverne, 1993). Furthermore, a series of changes to the civil Parents’ Code (a civil code governing family law) for caregivers using corporal punishment was repealed, and the mild forms of corporal punishment were removed during the 1950s and 1960s (Durrant, Broberg and Rose-Krasnor, 1999). Hence, it was expected that the use of physical force with children would not happen under the impact of these legislative changes. However, a severe case from 1975 attracted more public attention to concern about child abuse, which a father was acquitted by the court from badly beaten his child (Durrant & Janson, 2005). Following this case, the Minister of Justice appoints a Commission on Children’s Rights to review the Parents’ Code for approaching the aim of corporal punishment prohibited and improving the children’s welfare. An expert proposal was produced and supported by all parties, which was put into effect on July 1, 1979. The relevant paragraph in the Children and Parental Code of Swedish legislation states:

“Children are entitled to care, security and a good upbringing. Children are to be treated with respect for their person and individuality and may not be subjected to physical punishment or other injurious or humiliating treatment” (Chapter 6, Section 1).

The ban pushed forward universal public education campaign, leading the society welfare approach and raising the awareness of children’s rights to face the problem of child corporal punishment (Durrant & Janson, 2005).

1.1.2 Corporal punishment in the world

Following the Swedish reform on corporal punishment of children footsteps, the Nordic countries took a succession of measures to achieve prohibition of corporal punishment in all settings. Respectively, Sweden (1979), Finland (1983), Norway (1987), Denmark (1997) achieved the goal for prohibiting corporal punishment of children in all settings,

no matter in school or at home (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016). As at April 2016, there are 49 states of the world have prohibited corporal punishment in all settings. From 1979 to 2000, there are 11 countries forbid corporal punishment of children in all contexts. Over the last two decades, the number of countries prohibits the corporal punishment of children in all settings have increased significantly, the number of countries raised up from 15 to 49, almost grew more than two times.

As Figure 1 shows below, the universal prohibition situation can be divided into the following four categories. The countries that prohibit corporal punishment in all setting, including school and home, mainly concentrated in the Europe and South America. At the same time, there are some countries that ban corporal punishment in some conditions. The Asian countries and the North America countries occupied the chief seats, in this category, with China and America respectively as the vast amount of children population countries in this position. Nevertheless, the government of some states committed to the full prohibition in the future. A further 54 countries are committed to implementing a complete legal ban. However, still few countries view corporal punishment as a legal phenomenon in society, not fully prohibited in any setting.

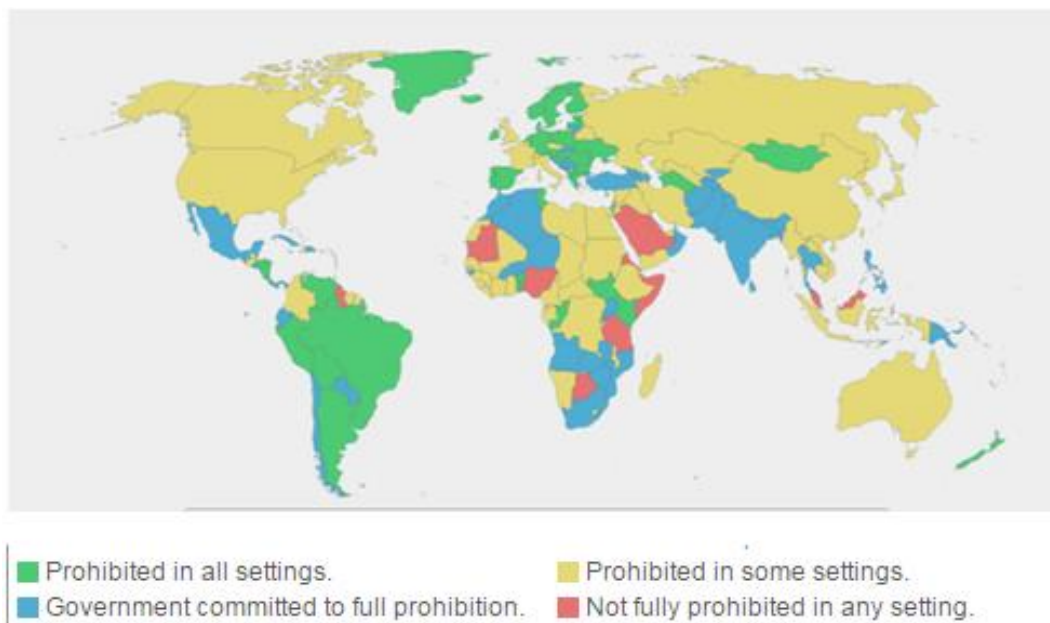


Figure 1. Corporal punishment of universal prohibition

Source: *Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children (2016)*
(<http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/>)

In China, corporal punishment of children was not full prohibited in all settings. It was legal to use of corporal punishment in the home. There were some rules and laws in

China with concerned the prohibition on corporal punishment of children, however, they were not explicit include all children, only applied for part of children. For instance, based on the Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Women 1992, the Rules in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone 1993 which was apparently put forward protect the female children from corporal punishment (art. 23). However, some articles mentioned in the Law on the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency 1999 that the parents or guardians of the juvenile can consider to employ "strict discipline" to stop the Juveniles perpetrating serious misbehavior specified in this Law (art.35, 38).

In March of 2016, the Law against Domestic Violence took effect in China, which was the first law to address domestic violence specifically. It was an important step for China to protect the rights of women, children, and senior citizens. It stated that "family violence" was the physical and psychological and other harms suffered from family members, which include the action of beating, binding, mutilation, restraint or forcible limits on physical liberty, recurring invectives and verbal threats (unofficial translation by author, Law against Domestic Violence, 2016). However, this law does not specify state the aspect of the prohibition on all corporal punishment of children (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016).

1.1.3 Chinese immigrants in Sweden

Sweden has been a country of immigration for more than half a century. From the 1950s to 1960s, most of the immigrants came to Sweden from the Nordic countries for flourish labor market (Westin, 2006). During the late 1980s to early 1990s, the structure of immigrants gradually changed to refugee migrants. Furthermore, the origin of countries by immigrants come from was not limited in Nordic countries any more, widely distributed in the whole world (Westin, 2006).

According to the latest migration statistics from the Statistics Sweden (2016), immigrants from China (excluding Hong Kong) with a number of 28,410 populations (Table 1), ranking second among all Asian immigrant groups (Statistics Sweden, 2016). The majority of Chinese in Sweden are still first-generation immigrants. The figures in the Table 1 showed the number of men and women including the adults and children who were considered as the first generation immigrants. It is known that the main reasons for immigrants come to Sweden including family reunion, education, and work (Statistics Sweden, 2016).

Table 1. Chinese Immigrants Population in Sweden (excluding Hong Kong)

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Men	4733	5140	5746	6669	8078	9381	10155	10616	11114	11487	11330
Women	8544	9313	10267	11587	13124	14617	15502	16208	16809	17212	17080
Total	13277	14453	16013	18256	21202	23998	25657	26824	27923	28699	28410

Source: Statistics Sweden (2016)

Edited by Author (<http://www.statistikdatabasen.scb.se/>)

Despite the large and growing number of Chinese immigrants in Sweden, very little is known about them in the research field, while most research on Chinese immigrants were able to find in North America, for example. Yet, there is limited literature research focusing on the group of Chinese immigrant families in Sweden.

1.2 Purpose of the Research

The aim of the study is to investigate the attitudes of Chinese immigrant parents' in Sweden to corporal punishment of children at home. It also attempts to learn how parents educate their children with the Chinese cultural perspective and the changes of parents influenced by the Swedish society for child rearing. Moreover, it also aims to find the challenge which parents faced with cross-cultural.

The goal of the present research is further to enhance our understanding of the acculturation, parenting beliefs, and parental practices of Chinese immigrants in Sweden.

1.3 Research Questions

- How do Chinese immigrant parents living in Sweden think about corporal punishment?
- What are cultural perspectives on the use of corporal punishment in China and Sweden inform the participants' parental practices?
- What challenges do Chinese immigrant parents perceive from raising children cross-culturally?

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter presents the previous researches related on corporal punishment including the Chinese context, the Swedish context and the role of culture.

2.1 Overview of Corporal Punishment

2.1.1 Definition of corporal punishment

The term ‘corporal punishment’ can be understood in various ways. According to Straus (1994), corporal punishment was defined as “the use of physical force with the intention of causing a child to experience pain but not injury for the purposes of correction or control of the child’s behavior” (Straus, 1994, p.4). In the definition the description of “but not injury” was worthy to attract the attention, because it made a distinction between corporal punishment and physical abuse (Gershoff, 2002). Gershoff (2002) stated that physical abuse was considered to be a potential outcome of corporal punishment. The behaviors like spanking or slapping, which do not cause serious physical injury, were considered as corporal punishment; it also includes the use of an object, for instance, a rod or stick, hair pulling, and ear twisting. In contrast, inflicting risk injury behaviors, such as punching, kicking and beating, were regarded as physical abuse.

Similarly, Andero & Stewart (2002) claimed that “corporal punishment is a discipline method in which a supervising adult deliberately inflicts pain upon a child in response to a child’s unacceptable behavior and/or inappropriate language” (p. 1). It highlights the purpose of using corporal punishment was to correct the child’s misbehavior and to fulfill the adult’s expectations. Furthermore, punishment as one method of discipline involved children’s experience of physical pain or discomfort, which can achieve the aim of arousing sufficient arousal in the child (Gershoff, 2002).

2.1.2 Child protection

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Child stipulates fundamental rights that are granted to children, equaling basic human rights, such as the right to physical integrity. One of the important principles of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child is that children have the right to be protected from corporal punishment and other harmful or humiliating forms of punishment (Bennett, Hart, & Ann Svevo-Cianci, 2009). In Article 19, it mentions that children have the right to be protected from being hurt and mistreated, physically or mentally.

The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child asserts that States take “all appropriate legislative, administrative, social, and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence...” (UNICEF, 1989; Article 19). Governments should make sure that children are under properly cared and protected from any forms of violence by their parents or other caregivers. Moreover, this principle is largely

dependent on the cultural context in the country. Especially, in United States, laws and standards can vary widely from state to state. Corporal punishment is lawful in the home in all states, as well as nineteen states still allow corporal punishment in schools (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016).

The Committee on the Rights of the Child (2006), in General Comment Number 8 has further clarified that “

‘Addressing the widespread acceptance or tolerance of corporal punishment of children and eliminating it, in the family and in the schools and other settings, is not only an obligation of States parties under the Convention. It is also a key strategy for reducing and preventing all forms of violence in societies’ (General Comment No. 8, 2006, p.3).

In addition, considering fundamental human rights, especially the rights to security of the person and not to be subjected to humiliating treatment or punishment, the CRC Committee goes on to explain the basis of rights that “upheld ‘everyone’s’ right to respect for his/her human dignity and physical integrity” (CRC/C/GC/8, 2006). Children possess these rights should be accorded fundamental rights as adults, as Peter Newell states it, “Children are people too” (Newell, 1989). In all settings, children have the rights to avoid all forms of violence.

2.1.3 Outcomes of corporal punishment

There are several major outcomes of corporal punishment discussed in the previous researches. Some academic studies point that corporal punishment association with some unpleasant outcomes like child aggression and antisocial behavior (Grogan-Kaylor, 2004; Grogan-Kaylor, 2005; Mulvaney & Mebert, 2007). The most common outcome examines that the children emerge subsequent aggression accompanied with childhood (Taylor, Manganello, Lee, & Rice, 2010). The children may copy their parents’ behavior using violence way in order to achieve their goal or fulfill their requirement (Taylor et al., 2010).

While the most direct outcome definitely is physical harm, based on Krug, Mercy, Dahlberg, & Zwi (2002) survey, thousands of children lost their lives due to corporal punishment every year, and many more children injured by direct physical impairments. In addition, the use of corporal punishment could produce adverse emotional outcomes, including break the close relationship between parents and children (Gershoff, 2002).

With the effort to study the relationship between corporal punishment and the mood, Turner & Muller (2004) tested the level of corporal punishment is positively related to depressive symptoms of children who suffered corporal punishment. Parental anger is considered as the strongest predictor of the level of corporal punishment which related

to the degree of depression reflected by children (Turner & Muller, 2004).

Additionally, the survey concluded by Gershoff (2008) finds that corporal punishment inflicted on a child by parents can affect the quality of relationship between parent and child. The study suggests that the use of corporal punishment by parents arouse children's feeling of fear, anxiety and anger, so that the children gradually may keep distance from parents and try to reduce close attachment with their parents (Gershoff, 2008). Nixon & Halpenny (2010) extended this research topic, indicted that children express real upset feeling after they experienced corporal punishment, furthermore the children thought parents do not love and care about them.

Contrary to above researches, Graziano, Hamblen, & Plante (1996) stated that many parents considered the disciplinary technique as appropriate, effective and justifiable. And then consisted with the study, Baumrind, Larzelere, & Cowan (2002) argue that corporal punishment has the effective, desirable, and necessary sides which is helpful for parents change children's undesirable behaviors.

2.2 The Chinese Context

2.2.1 *Traditional beliefs and values of Chinese family*

Traditional Chinese culture attaches importance to the ethic of *xiao*, or filial piety, which embraces moral principles that conducing to corporal punishment of children happened in families (Tang, 1998). According to this ethic, children are viewed as the property belongs to their parents and the outside world has no right to interfere the family issues only if dealt with by parents (Tang, 1998). In order to train child to possess the traditional ethic of filial piety, the Chinese parents adopt two main ways applying to child rearing. First, whatever physical and emotional both are closely bond to all life and then the second main point is that through employed the harsh discipline so as to maintain the parental authority and children's obedience (Ho, 1996).

In China, a folk saying widely circulated in traditional family culture, "spare the rod, spoil the child," is a well-known proverb that means if the parents bring up children using a strict physically discipline way, it will comes out good results of showing more controllable and obedient in the growing process of children (Wang & Xing, 2014). Additionally, some researchers have concluded that parental corporal punishment has long been viewed as a normal phenomenon of discipline manner in Chinese families (Wang & Xing, 2014). Relatively, Chinese children regard corporal punishment as an expression way with concern and caring from parents (Chao, 1994). Consisted with these studies, Chan (2015) claims the concept of corporal punishment is traditionally not seriously concerned in a family context because people generally think disciplining children as one essential component of child rearing, and whilst is considered an important tool for parents. Clearly, these findings prove Chinese families' traditional deeply attitude of corporal punishment in child rearing.

Moreover, some research studies refer the reasons of using corporal punishment among Chinese families, for instance, discipline children's disobedience which contrary to the parents' instructions, or because of children's school performance are not good enough (Tang & Davis, 1996). Similar to the previous study, Xu et al., (2005) mentions that the traditional opinion about the experience of corporal punishment, which is seen as a character-building method that can provide the benefit on children growing. Some Chinese parents believe that it is good for children experience the physical pain which can make children become stronger and that is considered vital to children's development (Tang, 2006).

2.2.2 General Chinese way of child rearing

Parents have the responsibility to take care of the children during their growth process. Chinese parents seem to pay more attention on the children's development of moral character, loyalty, and obedience (O' Brian & Lau, 1995). By using of severe discipline and punishment, parents expect to facilitate children's development on those traditional traits. In order to meet their own expectation, parents usually use a various kinds of methods through training to make sure children learn the traits. As (Chao, 1994) mentioned the term "child training" has been used instead of "child rearing" among Chinese families. As mentioned before, children start to learn filial piety from an early age and obey the parent's decisions and arrangement. The children have the awareness that their parents sacrifice everything as possible as they can only for the child can have a better life in the future.

In China, one-child policy had been implemented for thirty-five years from 1980 to 2015. The policy leads to a unique family structure that the parents tend to center on parenting the only child in the family. Chinese parents catch the child-rearing goal through training with authoritative and authoritarian parenting style (Chao, 2000). According to Chao (2000), argues that even though the Chinese mothers show the characteristic of controlling and restrictive, they try the best to fulfill child's needs. It builds a positive parent-child relationship rather than the predominant authoritarian mothers who interact with the children in a negative way.

A notion of "tiger mother" is referred by Amy Chua, which shows the strict parental style of Chinese immigrant parents in America (Hau, 2015). The mothers expect the children have a high academically competitive spirit, thus can get a financially successful career when children grow up (Hau, 2015). This kind of high expectation will affect parental style leading to Chinese parents adopt a harsh rearing way. Once the children can not meet the parents' expectation, they may encounter the strict discipline from parents, emerging with the different degrees of corporal punishment.

2.3 The Swedish Context

2.3.1 Child welfare society

Sweden is one of the Scandinavian welfare states, with a universal welfare system (Esping-Andersen, 1999). The Swedish welfare state with a general welfare system as opposed to the means tested benefits is also prevalently known as a social democratic welfare state (Hojer, Sjoblom, 2010). According to Gilbert, Parton, & Skivenes (2011), family policies in social democratic welfare state receive the highest degree of defamiliazation, and stress on a strong government role while emphasizing the position of gender equality and well-being.

The organization of child welfare in Sweden differs from one local authority to another. The main aim of the Swedish child welfare is to provide support and services to assist children's personal, physical and social development (Gilbert et al., 2011). However, during the last decades, Swedish child protection and welfare services have frequently been criticized specially in relation in terms of local social workers recruited for child protection work by municipalities as being "overly cautious, unenterprising and even incompetent in taking care of the best interest of children " (Gilbert et al., 2011, p. 90).

2.3.2 Corporal punishment is prohibited

As mentioned earlier, Sweden was the first country in the world to pass the law against the use of corporal punishment. The purpose of the law was to stop harming children and encourage parenting patience on child rearing (Curran, 2001). Besides that the aim of the ban was to make sure that children's right under a series of proactive interventions are protected, and then the public gradually accept that the corporal punishment was an illegal way to treat a child (Ateah & Durrant, 2005). After the ban of prohibiting corporal punishment issued two years, it was accepted by Swedish society quickly and widely, more than 90 percent parents have known the new law. (Leviner, 2013). Furthermore, it also brings the positive result that the occurrence of corporal punishment has been reduced under the Swedish law (Baumrind, 1996). Curran (2001) highlights the importance of explicit legislation will bring efforts to stop corporal punishment.

2.3.3 The characteristic of parenting

Daun & Teeland (1996) refers that Sweden is well known by its historical traditions of equality beliefs and liberal practices for child rearing. The result of a comparative study among 16 European countries shows that Swedish mothers raising children are not strict like other countries' mothers (Dahlberg, 1992). The Swedish mothers prefer to provide more spaces for free development of the children, rather than restrict or control the children's behavior expecting them to obedient everything by parents. Swedish parents used strategies of discipline based on looking the child straight in the eyes and verbal control to direct children's behavior (Jutengren & Palmerus, 2002). Furthermore, considered with the family policies, Swedish parenting have more advantage of the

father parental leave comparing with other countries, which shows the aim of facilitating equitable parenting (Salari et al., 2014).

2.4 Role of Culture in Corporal Punishment

When individuals migrate in a new country with different culture background, the different ways of life can produce the culture conflicts (Renteln, 2010). As Renteln (2010) suggest that, a typical example of cultural clashes is that parents tend to use physical force method to let the child socialization in the child-rearing practices. Since culture affects both cognition and conduct, which individuals generally believe their own methods are more effective rather than those adopted in other societies (Renteln, 2010).

The acceptance of corporal punishment in a society is associated with the reflection of children's aggressive behavior after experienced punishment (Lansford, 2010). For example, if the society culture views the violence as a legitimate purpose behavior on child rearing, the children who experienced corporal punishment may not show worse adjustment. The children, who live in such culture, may internalize corporal punishment as a reasonable parenting method (Lansford, 2010).

Chinese immigrant parents' acculturative stress

According to Berry, Kim, Minde, & Mok (1987), the concept of acculturation stress is defined as the individual face the stress in the process of acculturation; in addition, "there is often a particular set of stress behaviors which occurs during acculturation, such as lowered mental health status (specifically confusion, anxiety, depression), feelings of marginality and alienation, heightened psychosomatic symptom level, and identity confusion." (p. 492).

Many factors are derived from the pressure related to the parental use of corporal punishment, for example, when the Chinese immigrant parents migrated in a new country, they will face the language problem, unfamiliarity with local norms and beliefs, lack of support networks, and loss of social status and identity (Williams & Berry, 1991). Parents faced with greater stress from the variety of acculturation factors may adopt to using corporal punishment, when they fail to self-regulate their emotions and behaviors and also have limited problem-solving strategies to deal with the stress. One study of American Chinese immigrant families shows that the Chinese families still maintain their original values of hard work and discipline in American individualistic culture context (Tan & Chow, 2009).

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This chapter aims to describe the theoretical framework of the current research. Berry's Acculturation Model (1997, 2005) and Baumrind's Parental Styles (1966, 1996) will be applied into this study, which help to interpret the empirical study. To begin with, the attention will be given to the Acculturation Model theory (Berry, 1997) that is offering an overall structure how the Chinese parents changes when they migrate in the receiving country, what kind of acculturation strategies they adopt into the use of corporal punishment of children at home that influence parents' behaviors and values. It is related to the parents' development of child rearing. Then, followed by focusing on the Parental Styles (Baumrind, 1966) which better enhances the quality of analyzing the empirical data, it provides an extensive perspective on how the Chinese parents discipline their children to make children know the consequences of violating the rules.

3.1 Berry's Acculturation Model

3.1.1 The concept of acculturation

In the beginning, the research on acculturation shows the interest on the effects of native people predominated by European settlers (Berry, 2005). Then, following by immigrants flow in the world, it gradually concerned on the changes of immigrants showed after they entered and settled into the new societies. After that, it gradually focused on how the association between different ethnic groups (Berry, 2005). As described by Berry (2005), the process of acculturation involves changes of both cultural and psychological aspects that resulted from the interaction between two or more cultural groups experienced a long period of time. When faced with the dominant cultural groups, the international immigrants as the non-dominant cultural groups attempt to adjust themselves to establish their lives in new culture (Berry, 1997).

Additionally, there are definitions of acculturation that have been important foundations for theories on acculturation. The first was presented by Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits (1936),

“Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149).

This means, according to Berry (2005), that acculturation is one aspect of culture change and occurs not only in the settled or dominant group, but also in the non-dominant group (Berry, 2005). This is focused in the second often cited definition of acculturation:

“Acculturative change may be the consequence of direct cultural transmission; it may be derived from non-cultural causes, such as ecological or

demographic modification induced by an impinging culture; it may be delayed, as with internal adjustments following upon the acceptance of alien traits of patterns; or it may be a reactive adaptation of traditional modes of life” (Social Science Research, 1954).

This definition adds a few extra characteristics, among them that culture change could come from the ecological, not cultural causes; it also could be delayed due to the changes appear after many years; and more creative that new cultural forms could be stimulated out (Berry, 2005).

Moreover, Graves (1967) put forward psychological acculturation, which mentions both external culture and the changing culture can affect the psychology of the individual. The general changes will not suitable for all individuals, because individuals have variety changes when participate in the group (Berry, 1997).

The term of culture “implies the integrated pattern of human behavior that includes thoughts, communications, actions, customs, beliefs, values...” (NASW, 2001, p. 9). Immigrants of many cultural backgrounds usually have to integrate and transform themselves in the new setting for development (Berry, 1997). The acculturation model has widely used in cross-cultural context aim to demonstrate the development of individual behavior (Berry, 1997).

3.1.2 Acculturation strategies

Due to the diversity of behaviors showed by individuals, it could not emerge the same way when people undergo acculturation. How do people acculturate? To better understand the process of acculturation, Berry, Kim, Power, Young and Bujaki (1989) provide an insight on strategies of acculturation which is comprised of two components. The first is attitude that relates to the individual’s wish about how to acculturate. Second is about the real behavior which individual exhibited in the intercultural daily changes. When composed with two components as a pattern, it will demonstrate a consistent strategy (Berry et al., 1989). In other words, the two aspects should be paid attention to concern. Immigrants have their preference to either keep the original cultural beliefs and values or to choose not retain the characteristic. Furthermore, it depends on whether immigrants build the contact with receiving society to involve themselves in the dominant groups or have no positive relations with new society (Berry et al., 1989).

These two concerns could be responded to a framework with four strategies when considered at the same time. Figure 2 below is developed by Korchnak (2011), to show the four acculturation strategies: (1) integration, (2) assimilation, (3) separation, and (4) marginalization (Berry, 1997).

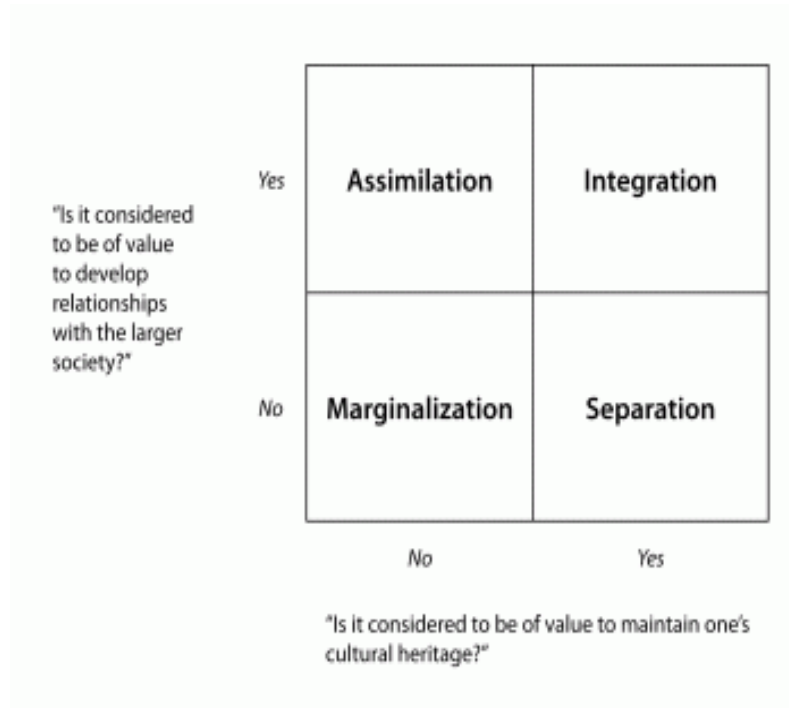


Figure 2. Berry’s Acculturation Model

Source. (Korchnak, 2011),

Berry (1997) demonstrates that integration implies that the individual choose to maintain their heritage culture and also interact with the dominant groups. It is viewed as the most successful strategy with positive adaptation. Assimilation happens when individuals from a non-dominant cultural group do not want to retain their original culture and actively take part in dominant culture. Separation involves that the individual only identifies to their culture heritage and try to avoid interaction with other cultural groups. Assimilation and separation strategies each has positive and negative both two aspects. In contrast, marginalization represents that the individual show low interest in cultural maintenance, simultaneously they reject to develop relationships with the larger society which has the least effect in acculturation process (Berry, 1997).

Similarly, Sam and Berry (2010) claim that the ways of individual acculturate and the effects of individual adapt are related to each other. Often those who continue integrate in both their home country’s culture and also accept the culture of the receiving society are better adapted than those who prefer to embrace one culture between the heritage culture and new culture, even those who reject both culture whilst put themselves in a marginal position.

In addition, Berry (1997) demonstrates that the process of acculturation generally steady and fluent when children start at an early age. Moreover, some studies mention that immigrant children are more “better acculturated”, due to the children have more tight contact with the larger society when they attend school, which is a favorable advantage compared with their immigrant parents (Birman & Poff, 2011; Kurtz-Costes

& Pungello, 2000). Consistent with these studies, McCarthy (2003) refers that there has the acculturation gap between children and parents, which gradually arouse the increase of stress from adolescent immigrants, because the parents find the children’s quicker acculturation. Cohen (2011) argues that the subsequent generations of immigrants may show the different acculturation strategies from their parents. It depends on whether children have self-awareness of their ‘home’ country or not, sometimes they identify themselves have a variety of discrimination from their peers, for instance, the cultural, language and racial. Besides of age as an influence variable, the factors of gender and education are both related to the acculturation process (Berry, 1997). Females show higher risk of settling into dominant groups than male, and individuals who hold higher education are easier to integrate in the new culture through the better analysis competence (Berry, 1997).

3.2 Baumrind’s Parental Styles

The development of children could be profoundly influenced by parenting attitudes and practices (Baumrind, 1966). It is widely agreed that parents as the closest caregivers of children directly influence on the future behaviors and values of their children. Childrearing practices associated with competence in the young child.

In the child development research, the most widely cited parenting typology, which is offered by Dianna Baumrind (1967, 1971, 1996), who identifies three most common parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative and permissive (Figure 3). Baumrind (1971) identified and described four basic parenting styles which represent the parents’ different values and practices on socializing and controlling the children. According to the parenting typology, which attempts to understand the best way for parents on child rearing and explain.

	High Warmth	Low Warmth
High Control	Authoritative	Authoritarian
Low Control	Permissive	Neglecting

Figure 3. Baumrind’s Parental Styles

Source. <http://danesedblog.blogspot.no/2008/10/what-is-your-parenting-style.html>

3.2.1 Authoritarian Style

The authoritarian style parents have the characteristic of high expectations and low

attachment. The parents stress on the obedience (Baumrind, 1991). They create the kind of environment that full of harsh atmosphere to their children. Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch (1991) argued that an authoritarian style comprises authority, control, and obedience and usually fail to respond to the children's demands. It shows high requirement to the children and low responsiveness for the children's needs. Rothbaum & Weisz (1994) organized a meta-analysis of 47 studies and their result showed that the strict control from parents and the limited responsiveness could raise the appearance of children's behavior problems, for instance fear, anxiety and aggression. The children who grow up in an authoritarian family have much possibility to emerge behaviors and mental issues such as being anxious, angry, aggressive, and showing low self-esteem (Baumrind, 1967, 1971). Authoritarian parents expect the children follow the strict rules without questioning, and the parents will not clearly explain why they set these rules to children. If the children fail to obey the series of rules setting by parents, the punishment may not be avoided from strict parents. As Baumrind (1991) mentioned that "they are obedience- and status-oriented, and expect their orders to be obeyed without explanation" (p. 62). The children are monitored by parents in the arranged environment with a set of guidelines, which not allow them to break.

3.2.2 Authoritative Style

Authoritative parents are more likely to support the children rather than discipline the children. Compared with the authoritarian parents, the authoritative parents show less control and more responses to children. In other words, authoritative parents are responsive, controlling but not restrictive. It could be viewed as a child-centered pattern in the parent-child relation. It has the feature that the parents positively take participate into the children's development consist with the effective communication. The parents understand the children's needs and thoughts, which is also easier to build trust relationship in the family. According to Baumrind (1991), the authoritative parents are "assertive, but not intrusive or restrictive, [...] they want their children to be assertive as well as socially responsible, and self-regulated as well as cooperative" (p. 62). They also have explicit standards to measure the children's conduct. The children who grown up in an authoritative style family have high self-esteem, self-confidence and the ability of solving-problem (Baumrind, 1991).

3.2.3 Permissive Style

Permissive parents seem have the lowest expectation among the three parental styles referred by Diana Baumrind. They do not have high expectation and demands to their children. According to Baumrind (1991), the permissive parents "They are nontraditional and lenient, do not require mature behavior, allow considerable self-regulation, and avoid confrontation" (p. 62). The permissive parents will give respond to their children's need and have a good communication with the children. On the contrast, another permissive style parents show more neglectful when bring

up the children (Baumrind, 1991). They give less responses and little communication with their children. It seems that the parents of neglectful style have no concerns on taking part into the process of children rearing. The children are under the greatest degrees of freedom development without any control or monitor from parents. In addition, Lamborn, Mounts, Steinberg, & Dornbusch (1991) found that the adolescents who grow up in the neglectful style families show the traits of under-control, impetuous, and low in success.

Chapter Four: Methodology

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

4.1 The Qualitative Research

The goal of this research was to find out how Chinese immigrant parents think about the corporal punishment of children. It also attempted to learn how parents educated their children with the Chinese cultural perspective and the changes influenced by the Swedish society for rearing children. Moreover, it also aimed to find the challenge which parents faced with cross-cultural. Therefore, the objective of this study is to employ an in-depth exploration of selected Chinese immigrant parents' development across acculturation.

Denzin & Lincoln (2011) contribute qualitative research as involving "... an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (p. 3). Except the traditional approaches to qualitative research, like "interpretive, naturalistic approach and meanings", Denzin and Lincoln highlight the influence of qualitative research and its ability to change the world. Cassell (1994, p.1) claim that qualitative method is help to understand both individual and group experiences of work. This study aimed to know the opinion from several Chinese immigrant parents how to think about the corporal punishment of children as for to investigate this group's attitude whether influenced by the Swedish culture or not. Within the broad methodological framework, qualitative interview was chosen for this study with learning the experience and attitude from Chinese parents in cross-cultural context. Six families' interviews were conducted in order to collect data. An interview guide was prepared with a list of questions to contribute in-depth interviews with Chinese immigrant families. In qualitative interview, there is much greater interest in the interviewee's point of view, adding more broad and fruitful opinions into the study. In addition, interviewers can break away any schedule or guide that is being used limited the interviewer ask new questions based on the interviewees' reply (Bryman, 2012, p. 470).

4.2 Research Design

4.2.1 Participants

Participant selection criteria need to be abided by several considerations relevant to the

subject of research. In this study, the identity of participants allows for the Chinese immigrant parents who have children living in Sweden. The origin of country of both parents is China. In addition, the parents migrated to Sweden as the first generation. Moreover, the children were grown up in Sweden.

Purposive sampling which is the basic principle for selecting cases and individuals in qualitative research. According to Bryman (2012), it is common for purposive sampling took precedence of snowball sampling, based on the purpose of qualitative research, the diversity of target group should be concerned at first in order to sample the participants comply with the standard, in fact, “[...] the process entails sampling initial participants without using a snowball approach and then using these initial contacts to broaden out through a snowballing method” (Bryman, 2012, p. 427).

Snowball sampling as one of the sampling technique was used in this study. According to Bryman (2012), the researcher samples initially a small group of people who have the relation with the research question, then the initial participants further asked other individuals who meet the condition with the related experience or characteristics to the research (p. 424). From the acquaintance, the author was introduced to first Chinese immigrant family who maintained the standard of this study. Then these participants assisted the author in accessing and getting into contact with families that are more suitable and so on. As thus, this way to recruit participants likes a rolling snowball. Through this sampling procedure, it was able to interview a wide diversity of people from the networks of individuals for the investigation of research. Likewise, Noy (2008) points out that snowball sampling is regularly considered as a strategy to be applied when probability sampling is impossible or not practicable, especially when it sample difficult to reach populations due to the lack of a sampling frame. During the recruitment process, it was much easier to acquire the reply to participate in the interview from the Chinese immigrant family rather than to recruit the strangers directly. It proves the advantage of snowball sampling one more time, which is able to whilst capitalize on and reveal the connectivity of individual network (Bryman, 2012).

4.2.2 Data collection method

Qualitative interview applied in this study to investigate the Chinese immigrant parents’ attitude to corporal punishment of children. According to Bryman (2012), the main format of qualitative interview includes structured interview and semi-structured interview (p. 469). Compared with the structured interview, the semi-structured interview has many flexible characteristics applying into the qualitative research. Due to lack of structure, the researcher can design the interview in different way based on the focus of the individual research. Briefly, the structured interview is based on a questionnaire with the unified setting questions to ask all participants during the research, which is lack of flexibility for the researcher. On the contrary, Edwards & Holland (2013) concluded certain core features of semi-structured interview: 1) the interactional exchange between researcher and participants during the interview plays

an important role in dialogue. 2) the use of thematic, topic-centered or narrative approach assist researcher get access into the topic of research, which is a flexible way to bring the participants in the research. 3) the extensible knowledge can be generated through the interaction among the interview, so as to provide another perspective for researcher, which is promoting to the knowledge construction. This study applied the semi-structured interview aiming to investigate the research in a flexible way. During the interview, the respond from participants sometimes brought new reflection to give impetus to the research.

4.2.3 Data collection process

Totally, this study involved six families to participate in the interview (See Table 2). Both parents of each family were interviewed at the same time during every interview. One family parents accepted interview separately. Among the six families, there was only a family with the children's mother participated in the interview, not include the children's father who made the notice in advance because of the individual's busy working schedule. Therefore, exclude one sample was missing, there were six families and up to eleven participants under the consideration in the study.

Table 2. Profile of the Participants

	Name	Age	Gender	Job	Time in Sweden (years)	Educational Background	Numbers of child	Age of child
Family 1	Participant 1	33	Male	Work in company	7 years	Master	2 girls	4 & 2 years
	Participant 2	33	Female	Student				
Family 2	Participant 3	51	Female	Retire	26 years	High School	1 girl & 2 boys	24&22&17years
Family 3	Participant 4	38	Male	Work in company	4.5 years	Master	1 girl	4years
	Participant 5	32	Female	Student				
Family 4	Participant 6	32	Male	Run a restaurant	5 years	Master	1 boy& 1 girl	2years&9months
	Participant 7	32	Female					
Family 5	Participant 8	30	Male	Researcher	3.5 years	PhD	1 girl	5 months
	Participant 9	30	Female	Housewife		Bachelor		
Family 6	Participant 10	38	Male	Work in company	4.5 years	Master	1 girl	2 years
	Participant 11	32	Female	Work in company				

Firstly, through the brief communication of text message with the potential Chinese immigrant parents, the researcher introduced the study and invited them to participate in the study. Then after receiving the confirmation from the parents, arrange the interview place and time based on the parents' choice. It is important to consider

creating a comfortable atmosphere of the interview process. According to Seidman (1991, p. 40), the guiding principle in making decision on the location, date and time of an interview should be equal between the interviewer and participants both side, one side is the interviewer must be flexible to adapt him or herself to the participants' preferences, the other side is the constraints of the interviewer should be concerned. However, Adler and Adler (2002, p. 528) argue that it is preferable to conduct the interview at home of the participant when the interview relates to emotional, sensitive or private topic. In the six Chinese families' interviews, four families preferred their own home as the location of holding the interview, while other two families chose out of home for interview but still were their familiar places. For instance, one family chose to have the interview in city library, where the children often spent weekend time accompanied with parents. Another family chose their own restaurant as the interview place.

The interview is probably the most widely employed method in qualitative research (Bryman, 2012, p. 469). A semi-structured interview type was adopted in this study. First, the researcher prepared an interview guide with a set of open questions formulated by the three main research questions. According to Bryman (2008), the interview process will be more flexible with the open-ended questions that related to research topics can produce much possibilities for in-depth exploring the research. In the semi-structured qualitative interview, researchers can ask new questions based on the interviewee' replies and adjust the questions. It enables the researchers to build up a deep perceptive of the topic. Then, the interview started with a series of general questions in order to make participants eliminate tension then easier access into the interview. For example, the questions include participants' biographical information of name and age, following on to ask the questions "How long have you lived in Sweden? How many children do you have? How old are they?" such these basic background information of family. When the interview moved to the questions of attitude, opinion, and experience about corporal punishment of children, the researcher need to pay more attention with the potential and useful data from participants' reply. The researcher whilst used probing and interpretive questions to support and encourage participants continue the talking so as to the data collected more completely.

In the interview process, all the interviews were tap recorded which consent in advance, accompanied with take notes at the same time. There were some pause times happened, when the interviews disturbed by the external ambient noise. Each interview lasted around one hour and up to one and a half hour.

During the process of interview, the participants seem a little bit nervous at the beginning, most Chinese parents express that it is their first time to accept interview. Thus, they are afraid that they do not clearly know how to participate into the interview, and also worry about whether they can answer the author's questions explicitly and clearly. After few demographic questions, the parents gradually feel comfortable and satisfied, which is helpful to easily access into the interview talking about their attitude

towards corporal punishment. However, there still have the tense situations when author ask the participants the experience of using corporal punishment. Some participants show no confidence to answer the author's question, or have some unnatural performances, for example, the speak speed becomes faster and extra posture emerges more. In addition, they seem reserved when talking about the corporal punishment this sensitive topic, not all participants speak freely in the interview.

4.2.4 Data analysis

The analysis process started with transcribing the recorded interviews, as the interviewees all are the Chinese speakers, the first step was transcribed to word by word in Chinese, then translated into English for analyzing data. In order to make sure the data accuracy, the recorded files need to be listened and confirmed repeatedly. Although the procedure of transcribe interviews was very time-consuming, it had the advantage of keeping intact the interviewee's words, further accumulating a large number of data source to be analyzed (Bryman, 2012, p.484). The moment of silence and hesitate that interviewees showed to reply the questions were also written down in the transcripts.

Qualitative content analysis was chosen to employ in the analyzing data part. When referred to content analysis, it was a systematic description of the content that applied to quantitative research frequently. According to Berelson (1952), initially content analysis used in "the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (p.18). However, Mayring (2000) claims that it gradually expanded to utilize the interpretations of latent content as well as formal aspects of the material (Mayring, 2000, p.468). Mayring's concept of qualitative content analysis was developed in the 1980s, the main idea of Mayring's approach is "to preserve the advantages of quantitative content analysis as developed within communication science and to transfer and further develop them to qualitative-interpretative steps of analysis" (Mayring, 2000).

The object of qualitative content analysis can be any format of recorded communication, such as transcripts of interviews, protocols of observation, video tapes etc (Kohlbacher, 2006). This study followed analytical procedures which formulated by the model of qualitative content analysis of Mayring. It includes three distinct steps (Mayring, 2002, p.115, Titscher et al., 2000, p. 62), summary, explication and structuring respectively (Figure 4). First step was summary, aiming to reduce the material to show the essential content of interview, and also kept the main reflection of original material. It showed the procedure of paraphrased, generalized and reduced through the researcher read the transcripts several times. Second was explication that involved explaining, clarifying and annotating the material. Based on the reduced materials of summary step, the researcher further explicated materials of each interview. Lastly and more importantly was structuring, which viewed as the most crucial technique of content analysis that units of coding and evaluation were set up and arranged in a schema of categories (Titscher & Jenner, 2000, p. 64). The researcher identified units of meaning by using

explicated materials that described Chinese immigrant parents' attitude with corporal punishment of children. The label of a meaning unit has been referred to as a code (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). A code can be considered as tools, which allows the data to be thought about in diversity ways (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996, p, 32). Then the categories were formulated to answer the question that related to descriptive level of content and the expression of the manifest content.

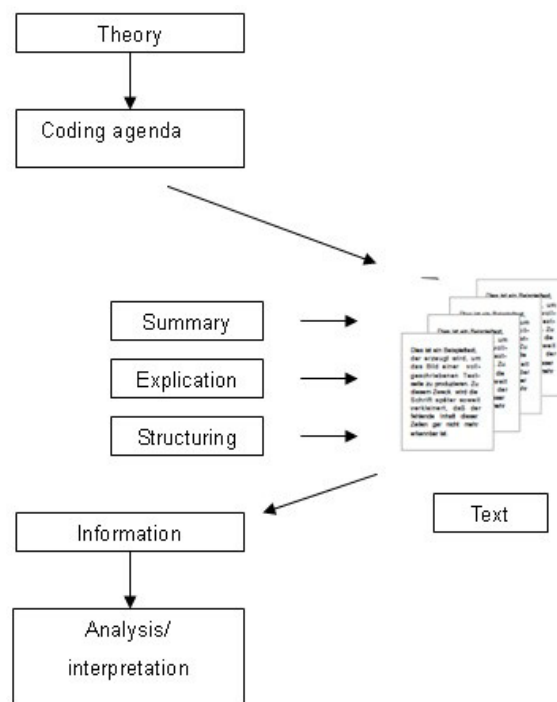


Figure 4. Basic proceeding of qualitative content analysis

Source: Kohlbacher (2006)

4.3 Ethical Consideration

During the research process, we need to pay attention on avoiding or minimizing long-term, systematic harm to those individuals, communities and environments (Israel & Hay, 2006). Ethical behavior may build up the trust relations between social workers and participants. If social workers act honestly and honorably, people may more open to express their needs and sensitivities. It may enable the research process become more smoothly.

According to the topic was expected to explore the aspect of the corporal punishment of children, related with the child abuse this kind of sensitive consent. Since the whole process of the interviews with Chinese immigrant families were recorded, it unavoidably included some recorded talking about the experience of corporal

punishment from Chinese parents if they expressed. One parent had re-confirmed to me about the interview content she talked which will not bring any trouble to their family after the study.

The professional association had set the ethical codes which should be complied with and respected when researcher implemented studies with human themes (Bryman, 2012; Homan, 1992). In this study, the Swedish Research Council ethical guide was applied to direct the researcher interviewing in a professional way and pay attention on secrecy, anonymity and confidentiality (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011). Therefore, it was helpful to improve transparency in the study (Bryman, 2012). This study employed several methods to fulfill this situation. For instance, it chose use anonym instead of participants' real detailed information like name and working place. In this research, employed to use anonym name, reducing the possible risk of participants faced in the future after the interview. The recorder files also kept confidentially, only the researcher used for transcription process when accessed into analyzing data step. Except to provide the information of interview to participants in advance clearly, the consent form had signed by participants before researcher started with interview. In order to protect the participants' normal lives and respect participant's willingness, the aspect of secrecy, anonymity and confidentiality were all promised in the informed consent (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011). The principle of consent form was aim to making sure whether the participants wish to join the research after given sufficient information (Bryman, 2012, p. 138). The consent form was jointly signed by the author, and then the supervisor who supervised the content, lastly the Chinese parents confirmed and signed. The author managed the data in privacy that collected from each interview. In the step of analysis, personal information about the participant was removed. Furthermore, all recorded files about this study were destroyed after the research ends.

4.4 Evaluation and Limitation

4.4.1 Reliability, validity, and generalizability

There has the difference between the traditions of qualitative and quantitative research to measure reliability, validity and generalizability (Bryman, 2012). According to Hernon & Schwartz (2009), there are various ways to estimate reliability, for instance, the method of internal consistency, which required the researcher prepare two different series of the interview questions which can fulfill the aim of measuring the same concept or content related to research object in advance. It is a common method employed in quantitative research as well. The second method for estimating reliability is pretest. The researcher can ask other individuals to pretest the prepared interview questions so as to revising the mistakes found in the pretest process. Then, the interview questions could be further modified in advance before the formal qualitative interview. Thus, the quality of interview will be much better compared with the first edition. Similarly, Silverman (2006) referred that qualitative researchers could utilize other peers to compare the different opinions of same data to enhance research reliability. In

addition, the researcher can compare and analysis the data from same participants who participated in the research two times, through the analysis of participants' responds to measure the reliability of research. This study employed the pretest method to make sure the reliability, using the prepared question to pretest the individuals who would not join the real study. Based on the experience of pretest, revising the mistakes or improper interview ways promptly ensure the progress of actual study went well.

One question concerning validity arises when choosing participants with the difference relied on their variety of experiences, contributed to more possibilities in the research (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). According to Bryman (2012), it is important to choose the appropriate method for data collection, using the collecting data to answer the research question in a validity way. In addition, this study adopted the qualitative content analysis for the amount of data, how well categories cover the data, the validity could be reflect better in evaluation.

4.4.2 Limitation

Considered as the sensitive topic of corporal punishment of children, people showed their worries after they got know the subject of interview. From the feedback of acquaintance who providing help to find more Chinese immigrant families for researcher, a Chinese immigrant parent refused to accept interview directly when heard the topic of interview content. After introduce the main aim of this study for researcher master thesis, and made clear to state the personal information of participant will not expose in the study, the parents showed their worries as well. The whole process complied with the ethical consideration and respected the parents' willingness. It was not sole example that researcher met during the process of recruiting Chinese immigrant parents to join the study. Except to recruit participants with support from the acquaintance, asking for help from the Chinese who were running restaurant in Gothenburg to introduce the eligible participants was employed as well. However, this process did not get the desired result after a period of waiting.

Initially, in the original proposal of planning to select participants, in order to embrace a variety of participants, this study was expected to find the Chinese immigrant parents whose children have different development stages varied by the age of children. However, in the whole process of recruiting the participants, the majority completed interviews of the Chinese immigrant parents with children concentrated around two to five years old. Since the parents' experience of child rearing was limited to younger children, it was considered as a limitation of this study.

Considering the participants' preference of the interview location, most families chose their home as the meeting place. The benefit was brought out that the participants felt more relax during the whole interview process. While some parents need to care of their younger children whilst join the interview, it made several pause time when recorded the interview. Besides that it caused the both side interviewer and interviewees emotion

disturbed as for focused on the interview difficulty.

Another limitation was when both parents were interviewed at the same time, though the same questions of interview asked one by one, one parent had tendency to repeat the reply of the other parent, which limited the parent's thinking and giving him or herself views. More probing questions need to be asked to encourage the participant show their attitude of corporal punishment in cross-cultural context.

Chapter Five: Findings and Analysis

This chapter shows the findings, the analysis of the findings and some discussions. The table 3 below addresses the categories and the themes.

Table 3 Categories and themes of interview analysis

Category 1	The View of Corporal Punishment
Theme1a Theme1b Theme1c	Wide recognition of harmfulness Immediate Behavior Modification Emotional Release
Category 2	The Influence of Culture on Use of Corporal Punishment
Theme2a Theme 2b Theme 2c Theme 2d	Parental Authority vs Equal rights Child Should Being Control vs Respect Child's Interest and Freedom Intergenerational Transmission of Discipline Universal Social Recognition
Category 3	The Challenge of Cross-Culturally Child Rearing
Theme 3a Theme 3b Theme 3c	Unclear Define Corporal Punishment Combine Two Cultural Way for Child Rearing Integrate into Swedish Culture as Immigrant

5.1 Parental View on Corporal Punishment

5.1.1 Review of the interview

The first part of this study explored opinions involved in Chinese immigrant parents' view on corporal punishment of children at home. Concerning on the participants what they are regarding as corporal punishment? How do they discipline their children, do they use corporal punishment and how do they exactly do it? These questions are given to respond from all participants.

The interview shows that all the participants hold clear opposition attitude on use of corporal punishment when ask their view towards corporal punishment at the initial phase of the interview. Regarding corporal punishment of children at home, all the parents expressed that it is not a right way to treat their children.

“...I don't find any necessities to use physical punishment of children so far” (Participant 1)

“...To me, any degree of corporal punishment couldn't be agreed” (Participant 2)

“...Beating child is not a good way” (Participant 3)

“...We know it is not good to spank child. I think that corporal punishment will not only harm the child physically, but also their mentality will be affected” (Participant 4 & 5)

“...Corporal punishment is a wrong way” (Participant 6)

“...Basically I don't agree with using corporal punishment” (Participant 7)

“...I oppose to use corporal punishment of children” (Participant 8)

“...My attitude towards on corporal punishment is against, no matter how serious mistake the child made, I don't agree with the use of corporal punishment” (Participant 9)

“...Corporal punishment, it is definite not right.” (Participant 10)

“...corporal punishment is a wrong way to deal with issue, it's not a solution to solve problem with children.” (Participant 11)

It is obvious to find that all of participants have an explicit initial attitude against of the use corporal punishment during the interview. All participants give a clear respond that they do not agree to use corporal punishment. However, when being asked if they have ever used corporal punishment to their children, some of participants explicitly replied that they have ever tried or used “light” corporal punishment to their children, such as spanking, whilst emphasized the behavior seldom happened.

“...I couldn't to say I never use spanking on my children, when I am very angry with them. I just spank them once or twice. This behavior rarely occurs in my family actually” (Participant 3)

Some participants hold the view that corporal punishment has different degree. Some argues that “Moderate” corporal punishment, which is mild cause no injury, could be considered as a method to educate children,

According to Baumrind et al., (2002), they argue that “the more moderate application of normative spanking within the context of a generally supportive parent-child relationship” (p. 580) can be adapted to children who are from 18 months to adolescence which is not harmful. In contrast, Lenta (2012) argues that corporal punishment can cause physical injury, and even moderate corporal punishment is dangerous because when administered by a stressed or angry parent it sometimes

escalated into severe abuse.

Some parents expressed that they do not deny they have punished the children, but they emphasize that the situations of punishment is extremely rare. For example, one of them expressed as below:

“...In my memory, I rarely hit or slap my child. Only a few times, maybe two. I couldn’t remember the exact times, but I think it shouldn’t be counted as corporal punishment, because I didn’t slap him heavily.”
(Participant 7)

This is a contradictory phenomenon that parents do not agree with corporal punishment of children, while they have ever used it to discipline their children. Moreover, during the process of interview, some parents show not confident performance in answering whether they use corporal punishment. It probably because the topic about corporal punishment is sensitive, the parents could not completely put down the alert to discuss with it.

“...Um...Corporal punishment? I think I haven’t beat them, maybe one or two times? I just want to alert them, not really for the purpose of beating them.” (Participant 5)

In China, corporal punishment is generally viewed as a family affair rather than social issue. Hence, Chinese parents thought they have “right” to educate their children.

“...I don’t want other people to intervene my own way to educate my child. I have my own way to deal with problem, and also I think how I educate my child has nothing to do with others.” (Participant 4)

The Chinese parents view the corporal punishment of children as an internal affair. They do not want to external social network to intervene their child rearing practice.

5.1.2 Wide recognition of harmfulness

Generally, Chinese immigrant parents who participated in this study responded overall negative attitudes on the use of corporal punishment of children at home. They do not agree that corporal punishment could happen in the family circumstance as a good behavior, further parents believe that the use of corporal punishment will harm to their children no matter in physical or psychological aspect. One example is given that parents are worried about the negative outcome from corporal punishment.

“...I never spank or slap my children, one side is that they are very obedient and lovely, another side is that I think it will cause psychological shadow if I spank them when they make mistakes...”

(Participant 2)

Obviously, they do not expect their children to suffer any adverse influences. The participants are aware that the use of corporal punishment may address dual physical and psychological problems to children and they agree that it is not reality for children in such young age to comprehend the discipline purpose of physical punishment behaviors from parents. While educating the children in daily life, parents are conscious that their radical method can not achieve their goals, instead of cause irreparable damage to the children.

“...I just wish my child grow up healthy and happy. I won’t harm her. Corporal punishment couldn’t deal with issue, rather than cause unpredictable new problems.” (Participant 10)

It could not predict how much injuries will bring to children when parents choose to use corporal punishment for the purpose of disciplining the children. Especially the psychological damage to the children, it could be a long-term influence on psychological well-being.

Previous research evidence confirmed that the experience of corporal punishment in childhood was associated with poor mental health, antisocial behavior, aggression and lack of ability to regulate emotions (Mulvaney & Mebert, 2007). In other words, the use of corporal punishment by the parents may result in long term negative effects associated with the growth of children. Gershoff (2010) suggests that corporal punishment bring further negative effects on child and adult that the antisocial behavior and abusive behavior will be increased. Moreover, it may influence children build self-esteem and self-confidence; inhibit the development of creativity and intellectual independence; weaken social skills and other personality (Paintal, 2007; Gershoff, 2002).

In addition, children who suffered corporal punishment from their parents are more likely to hit peers and siblings (Lansford et al., 2005). Children are good at imitating adult’s behavior to learn the world in the process of growing up, the discipline behavior like harsh violence from parents would be considered as a method to solve conflict by children (Oates, 2011). Thus, corporal punishment of children contributes to intergenerational transfer phenomenon, which the children unconsciously learn the violence behavior from adults related with future behavior of children.

“...I am afraid our discipline method will have the bad effects on my child. I know as parents, we need to be very careful of our behaviors, because the child will imitate them. If we have the behavior like hitting, he will learn very quickly maybe just for fun. In one day, when he plays together with his younger sister, probably he will have similar behavior to hurt her.” (Participant 6)

Therefore, parents mention the harmful of corporal punishment in their comprehension, as for to avoid the risk happen. By exploring appropriate education method in some specific situation, parents are able to adopt mild method to meet their demands, for instance, parents attempt to use didactic method to indicate children's misbehaviors or let children alone to make them calm down at that moment.

"...I will try to talk with her, when I find her doing things wrong."(Participant 10)

"...basically, we adopt didactic way to educate him, even though we don't think he can understand what we say. We just try to do it, because we don't have other better method" (Participant 7)

"...when I encounter her unreasonable demands and her endless crying, I usually choose to leave her alone. I hope she can reflect on herself, and then realize that her goal couldn't be achieved by crying." (Participant 5)

As some previous researches revealed, children who experienced physical punishment show more violent with peers and family members than children who undergone other forms of discipline. Not only harm the children, physical punishment also influence the relationship between children and parents. According to Gershoff (2002), corporal punishment was associated with poor parent-child relationships.

"...I am a strict mother sometimes, for example, for her eyes health I often limit her time of watching TV. But my daughter doesn't listen to me...once I try to stop her and light slap her back for letting her leave. Afterwards, I found her scares me. She even said she will not love me...I am so sad to hear that..." (Participant 5)

The relationship of parent-child could be affected by the parental practice in child rearing. The children could remember the bad experience of harsh discipline practiced by parents. For instance, one mother shares that she does not like her father when she was a child. The relation between her and her father is not close due to she was beaten in childhood by her father.

"...I remember once in the childhood my sister and I made father angry, both of us was beaten by my father. I had an idea at that moment that I don't want to talk with him anymore, because he beats me." (Participant 3)

It is obviously that the behavior of corporal punishment influences the relationship between parents and children. Children could not recognize the reason behind the

parents' discipline behavior, while they only know the reality that their parents beat them. The negative emotion will lead them to stop communicating with their parents, even to hate the parents.

5.1.3 Immediate behavior modification

According to Baumrind (1971), there are three kinds of parenting styles: authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive. Authoritarian parental style parents are more likely to adopt harsh discipline method to modify children's behavior. Based on holding high expectation to their children, the authoritarian parents expect to monitor and supervise all actions of children so as to make sure the children following their plan for the development of children. In addition, authoritarian parents value obedience as a good quality and tend to execute disciplinary and potent punishment when their children's actions conflicts with what the parents believe is right conduct (Baumrind, 1971). Baumrind (1971) mentioned that in Asian countries, the parents are more belong to the authoritarian style who respect for traditional values and authority. The authoritarian parents are not easily allowing the children to make mistakes, if the children not follow with the rules, the parents will exercise their "rights" to adjust children's behavior. Regard to the effective method for adjusting the wrong behavior of children made, authoritarian parents would probably prefer to the harsh discipline way in child rearing.

According to Durrant (1994), the study finds that the mothers think spanking is a useful and appropriate disciplinary method to children, which is helpful for children immediately develop an appropriate behavior, and also contribute to the suitable behavior when they are in the adolescence. The corporal punishment is considered as the quick and efficient way to change children's behavior and attitude. Although many adults reflect that they feel guilty after punish the children, they still believe that spanking could make the children remember their wrong behavior at that moment and the same mistake would not be happen again. One participant expressed the opinion on the effective of corporal punishment,

“...I have to admit, it is effective sometimes. It can allow child immediately stop doing the dangerous behavior.” (Participant 5)

As mentioned before, Chinese parents have the awareness that the use of corporal punishment would cause harmful for the children, on the other side, they also think that when faced with the children's wrong behavior the harsh disciplinary punishment can stop children's behavior immediately. As for using corporal punishment has helped parents to achieve the aim of correcting children, in some occasions the parents choose this method to solve problem.

With concerned on the functional significance of authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles to child growth, authoritative parents will give the responses to the children. That kind of parental style parents will prefer trying to communicate with

children at the beginning, and explain to children what they did wrong. Even though the parents require their children followed with the rules, they will employ to soft way to modify children's wrong action rather than the harsh punishment. On the contrast, the authoritarian parents are more likely using direct punish way to adjust children's deviant behaviors.

In Western societies, the public highlight on the individualistic, which authoritative parenting is most helpful because it makes children able to attain more opportunities to exercise independence. However, in China, where individual independence is not values as the Western societies, the parents are more likely to control the children. In general, the Chinese parents fear the children to make the wrong decision in some important and critical moment of life, such as choosing the subject to study, selecting the career direction in the future, which would lead to a failure in life. Specifically, parents train children to obey their decision from children's childhood, which it is necessary for children correct behavior in time. The Chinese parents do not expect the minor mistakes develop to significant problems in the development of children.

“...I will not allow my child to choose the wrong way of development, I have the responsibility to guide her, you know, it's good for her growth.” (Participant 4)

In Chinese culture, the traditional concept of filial piety has been viewed as an essential value in parent-child relationships (Cheung & Kwan, 2009). In accordance with this notion, children are treated as the “property” of their parents. While, the parents also have strong sense of responsibility for not only to take care of their children living in a healthy life, but also eager the children can have a better achievement on academic or career through the parenting. From that, the Chinese parents will obtain the achievement and happiness.

Considered the children are too young, it will have no significant effects to adjust their mistake behaviors. The Chinese immigrant parents consider using the discipline method in some occasions when the children grow up.

“...although I have never used the physical discipline to my children so far, I predict maybe I will adopt moderate way to correct their obviously mistakes, but, still I am not sure what will happen in the future...” (Participant 1)

Parents indicated that their children are too immature to suffer any formats of corporal punishment. When children grow up to 5-8 years old, moderate spanking may be considered if the children are not listen to parents.

“...serious spanking, beating, slapping are not considered to use, but moderate degree could be accepted...” (Participant 8)

They reported explicit attitude about the necessity of corporal punishment in some specific situations, for instance some emergency occasions what parents think that children's behaviors need to be corrected.

“...I need to stop him doing the dangerous thing repeatedly. That's why I spank him at that occasion.” (Participant 6)

Some parents reflected that there had the effects on using corporal punishment of children for stopping their unexpected behavior in time. As mentioned before, all participants showed their opinion that they were not agree with using corporal punishment of children, however, some parents thought corporal punishment of children has the positive effect as a child-rearing technique which can modify children's behavior.

“...I tried to spank my daughter in a very light degree to tell her change her action into another one instead of indirectly telling her my intention...” (Participant 5)

The purpose of using corporal punishment in a light way is just for correct some behavior of children rather than for aiming to abuse child, which some parents posed to explain why they use spanking to their children.

“...I just pat my baby on her back which I think is a very gentle way, because she is constantly crying which makes me terribly upset. I try to use this way to make her stop crying. Sometimes this way has the effect on ceasing her cry, but gradually it lost effect, because probably the baby got familiar with my pat...” (Participant 9)

The participants, most of the mothers explained that they love their children very much, like spanking or patting on their children, it does not mean they want to discipline them. Then the mother continue to say,

“...my child is still an infant, she could not understand anything include I am patting on her back or ass. Moreover, I do not use strength on her, so I do think I will hurt her...” (Participant 9)

5.1.4 Emotional release

Holden, Miller, & Harris (1999) suggest that the action of spanking from parents may, be considered as the result of an angry interaction, as many parents consider that the disciplinary method could be appropriate, effective, and justifiable way in child rearing.

Most participants expressed that it was difficult to bring up younger children, who were among one to three years old. They found it was not easy to establish communication with children for telling them to correct misbehaviors that were likely to lead them to fall into dangerous situations. The parents would be out of control of their emotion if the children did not listen to parents' advice repeatedly. In this situation, the parents preferred to use corporal punishment on children to show their dissatisfaction with children's performance.

“...sometimes I couldn't control my temper when I faced with my disobedient child. For example, I told her many times that she was not allowed to close the window that had a risk of falling down. But she didn't listen to me and still insisted on wrong behavior...” (Participant 3)

The father reflected that children usually showed their unhappy or dissatisfied emotion through crying to express their opinion then achieved their goals. Even though he knew the use of corporal punishment was not right, he thought it was his way to release angry emotion at the moment of facing with his disobedient daughter.

“...I will feel very sorry to spank her, after I calm down...” (Participant 4)

The parents showed their regret of losing their control of temper and expressing the bad emotion to their child.

The age of children seems to be considered as a limit for parents whether use of corporal punishment. Some participants showed that because of the younger children were unable to understand what parents saying, it increased probability to make parents lose control after they frequently exhort the children misbehavior without expecting feedback.

“...my son is two years old, and he is a lovely boy, naughty as well. I always patiently explain to him something should be attention, but I don't know, maybe he is too young, just two years old so that he shows no interest on my saying. It makes me very upset, but I know I need to control myself of showing bad attitude to him, he just a kid...” (Participant 7)

Contrary to the excuse held by some parents who can not adjust their bad emotion result in releasing their negative emotion on children, one participant gave the opinion that lose control of temper should be considered as parents' liability. Compared with younger children, parents were seen as mature adults, who have much more cognitive ability to control themselves and seek the appropriate solving problem method. The parents could not shirk responsibility to blame children and discipline children.

“...I think it is parent’s fault that physical discipline children with the excuse of losing control themselves. That kind of parents need to reflect on their misbehavior first...” (Participant 11)

5.2 Influence of Culture on Use of Corporal Punishment

5.2.1 Parental authority vs Equal rights

The cultural values and beliefs were reflected in child-rearing beliefs and practices (Liu & Guo, 2010). Thus, Chinese parents compared with Swedish parents are more considered as the authoritarian parental style, which is more believed in authority.

The notion of reciprocal expectation is a particular way in Chinese child rearing which means that the parents have a high expectation to the children who should be obedient and respect for parents and meanwhile the parents have the responsibility to inherit the traditional culture to the children, including the values, beliefs and life experiences. In addition, Chinese parents think that they govern the development of children which is full of parents’ love to the children, which is an effective way of showing concern (Xu et al., 2005).

Regarding to traditional Chinese parental beliefs and values, some participants mentioned the parental authority in Chinese culture, which means people believe that parents have a high status in a family unit, and can not be violated by children.

“...in China, people are influenced by Confucianism for a long history, which reflected in Chinese social values, beliefs and behavior widely. When we were children, has been taught that we need to respect our parents and elder, and also should obedience our parents...” (Participant 6)

As for the influence of Confucianism culture in China, people believe that parents have “right” to physical discipline of children as an education method in a family. It was also considered as a family fair, no one can interfered parents how they treat with their own children.

“...children are treated as property of their parents, it depends on parents how to educate or treat with children, and other people have no right to say something on it...” (Participant 10)

In contrary, Swedish culture view equality as much more important no matter the relation between parents and children, or the status of whole society. Every individual is independent and equal which were reflected in every aspects.

“...I find Swedish culture advocate the equal rights between parents and

children. For example, in Sweden, children can just call their parents' name directly, which has a big difference existing in Chinese culture. We only can call our parents as father or mother, then it is impossible to find children call parents' name which is seen as impolite..." (Participant 8)

In addition, with the development of the society, people are constantly pursuing the equality. Most Chinese people prefer this kind of western values.

"...children has equal status as parents in Sweden, same as children has right to not be in infringement" (Participant 1).

In Swedish family, mothers and fathers share the equal responsibilities and opportunities in taking care of children. Furthermore, the Swedish legislation has established the consciousness of a negative feeling toward corporal punishment in Sweden (Olivari et al., 2015). Swedish parents are more likely to respect the autonomy of children's development. According to Sorbring & Gurdal (2011), they emphasize that the children have the right to make their own voices and also have the ability to make decision by themselves. The parents provide more opportunities and support to let children free development. Compared with Chinese parents as a guide, Swedish parents are more likely to play a subsidiary role in the child rearing (Olivari et al., 2015).

5.2.2 Child should being control vs Respect child's interest and freedom

According to Baumrind (1971), authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles both have the characteristic of controlling the children. The Chinese parents think that children are lack of judgment at the younger age. In parents' opinion, the children do not have the ability to distinguish right from wrong, so they need to be instructed by experienced parents. The parents could provide the reasonable advice to the children, which could improve efficiency for children achieving goals. However, when parents interfere with the child's behavior exceeding the standard, it becomes the action of control to restrict the children freely development.

Chinese parents have high expectation to the children, they are afraid that their children make any wrong decisions. To ensure children's smooth development, parents tend to teach and educate their children what they should do, how they should behave, what is right, and so on.

Children should be controlled by parents in case they were misled, so corporal punishment was seen as necessary way to rectify children's misbehavior. One parent talked his attitude towards imaging face with children lost in the process of children's development.

“...I love my child, and I will try my best to bring her up. If she was misled in the future, I couldn't ignore it and not care about it. So I will adopt any measures to control her not go to the wrong way, even the use of corporal punishment” (Participant 4)

Highlights the best interest of children always be viewed as one of the important value in Sweden. Most participants mentioned that the most important factor that influenced them is respect of children freedom.

“...I perceived that Swedish pay more attention on freedom development of children through parental education way, they won't restrict children's behavior, even choose the use of physical punishment on their children” (Participant 2)

According to Gelles (1997), regard to the existence of love and violence, the Western countries have big difference with Chinese family. In Western country, people do think that love and violence could not coexist in a family, on contrast the Chinese parents view it make sense, because of violence can be expressed as love. However, parents generally think child abuse is totally different from violence, which can not be accepted in the family. The violence that they think could be considered as an act of love for the children.

“...there has difference between corporal punishment and child abuse, I think. I don't abuse my child; the purpose of spanking is not for making her injury. I always love her, while I am just giving her something like a warning. (Participant 3)

The Chinese parents sometimes link punishment with love, concern and caring. Based on blood ties, the parent-child relation is full of the familiarity and closeness. Parents sometimes incline 'to do whatever they want to their children.' Parents may not intentionally want to hurt their children, but harm sometimes generates the outcome (Dongping & Yuk-chung, 2008). In another words, the parents could not guarantee never harm their children, even if parents love their children. In addition, people are easily to release themselves by losing their temper with other close family members, which make the occurrence of abuse is possible (Chen, Dong, & Zhou, 1997).

Compared with Chinese parents, Swedish parents show more respectful on children's interests. Provide enough freedom to enable children make decision by themselves.

“...I remember one day, I am talking with a Swedish friend whose child accompanied with her, and during the talk her little girl wants to ask my friend a question. Then the Swedish mother stops talking and then kindly responds to the little girl's demands. Actually, at that moment I am a little bit shock, because if the little girl was my child, I will not respond to her

when I am talking with other person. Moreover, I feel the child does not show a polite behavior, thus I will tell her in a serious attitude.” (Participate 9)

Swedish parents create a more relaxed environment for children growing up. In the process of child rearing, their parental practices show more responses to children, and less controlling to children’s behaviors.

5.2.3 Intergenerational transmission of discipline

According to Van Ijzendoorn (1992), intergenerational transmission of parenting represents “the influence of parents’ own experiences as a child on their childrearing practices and attitudes” (p. 76). It focuses on studying the origin of parental child rearing way in the earlier generation. Intergenerational transmission of parenting involves three generations, including grandparents, parents, and children (Ijzendoorn, 1992).

On study conducted by Ho & Kang (1984), has provided initial insight into the continuity of Chinese parental practices. They argue that social changes of child rearing attitudes and practices have taken place, but the continuity with the past remains strong, such as the control of child. As Wolf (1970 cited in Ho & Kang, 1984) stated that in China “Child-training practices will change more slowly than other aspects of culture” (p. 1004).

It may have a high probability of occurrence with the intergenerational transmission of discipline in Chinese family. Due to the continuity of the family internal transmission feature, people would have the idea of this transmission of harsh disciplinary could be considered as a reasonable method in child rearing. One participant shared her experience of corporal punishment from her parents when she was a child.

“...I have been experienced corporal punishment by my parents when I was a child, and I forgot the reason of suffering spank already. But I don’t feel bad about it; while I think my parents must have their rational reason at that moment” (Participant 3)

It has evidence to show that the probability will be increased of using corporal punishment by parents who experienced it as children in the past. In addition, the participants expressed that it is difficulty to recall the reason that the experience of physical punishment happen in their earlier age,

“...I couldn’t remember clearly, because I was a child at that age. But I think I was beaten by my parents few times.” (Participant 8)

However, as mentioned before, the outcome of corporal punishment could influence

the children in a long term, even the individuals are not aware of it. The intergenerational transmission of parenting styles has the impact on the parent-child relationship as well as the parent-child relationships affect the child. Parents choose to use corporal punishment to discipline the children may be influenced by the previous generation. The influence affected by the family without notice, but it will be presented when parents faced with child rearing.

“...I couldn’t understand my parents when they beat me, but when I grow up I gradually get to know it’s their rearing way for caring and concern me. In fact, I feel this severe kind of education way used by my parents has some help for my growing. Although it is not the most appropriate and reasonable method, it influence on my child-rearing way.” (Participant 5)

It is a common phenomenon that the grandparents replace younger parents to take care their grandchildren. In contemporary Chinese family structure, generally both father and mother have to work out of home, thus the children need to be taken care by grandparents. In the past, the grandparent’s generation, corporal punishment of children is more frequent happen in a family. With many parents choose to immigrate to foreign countries, thus the environment has been changed where the children grow up without earlier generation. In this study, the increase of external Swedish culture will account for a greater proportion for influencing the children’s development. In contrast, the effect of intergenerational transmission of parenting will be gradually decreased.

“...although I do not have in-depth understanding of the Swedish culture, as far as I know the traditional value of child rearing seems more soft and effective than Chinese traditional strict method. I think I will prefer to follow the western way than my parents’ child rearing way.” (Participant 2)

In the acculturation, Chinese parents are gradually influenced by the Swedish culture. Some parents show more interested in accepting the value of new society, then they will reduce maintain the original culture. The disciplinary method with traditional values from earlier generation would not be considered to use.

5.2.4 Universal social recognition

Swedish has a long history of forbidding corporal punishment of children at home from 1979. After so many years, people have a high awareness of protecting children. And also some authority department can provide help to children escape from risk situation.

“...I know if the child was suspect to suffer physical punishment found by the teacher in kindergarten, social worker have the right to take the

child away from home.” (Participant 7)

On the contrast, until to the March of 2016, Chinese government issued the Law against Domestic Violence, which was the first law to address domestic violence specifically. It has mentioned that children should be protected from suffering violence in the family. The public has no such higher awareness of avoiding corporal punishment of children as Swedish society. Even there has a limited literature to research corporal punishment that is considered as family affairs rather than social problem.

“...I think in the past, we are not often discussing corporal punishment with others. Basically people thought it is belonging to family affairs.”
(Participant 1)

However, more and more researchers have documented the bad outcome of corporal punishment of children. The majority of Chinese parents adopts more effective and reasonable methods in child rearing, and gradually gives up using of corporal punishment. The public is beginning to recognize that child corporal punishment is a major social problem.

“...we are now living in Sweden, must be affected by the Swedish local culture. From the experience of our daily lives, we know the related regulations of child protection here, how the authority organization works with children and family, even the kindergarten how to get along with children. Although we don't know everything very well, the daily life brings us more information” (Participant 1)

In Sweden, social services have the responsibility to investigate and assess that child's needs (Leviner, 2013). The social services can complete this investigation process without to inform parents. However, in order to the children can have a better development environment, the social service will provide support in collaboration with parents. A child can be removed from the parents once the social service found enough evidence to examine the children are under a risk which affect the children's healthy growth(Leviner, 2013). Overall, the welfare system plays an important role on primary prevention for children living in a safety family situation.

For Chinese immigrant parents, except the self-development of the parents constantly learning new knowledge from the diverse information sources, they can also experience the Swedish culture to have an actual reflection. Firstly, the Chinese immigrant parents must comply with Swedish laws when they live in Sweden. Then they need to learn the meaning of why Swedish government establishes the law related with the corporal punishment of children. It related with the culture of child rearing that respect the children's rights and emphasize the protection of children.

5.3 The Challenge of Raising Children Cross-Culturally

5.3.1 Unclear definition of corporal punishment

The first challenge identified of the parents' perception from raising children cross-culturally is connected to the different attitudes of corporal punishment from receiving society. This demonstrates how the Chinese immigrant parents under the acculturation stress raise children in their adaptation to the host country. The parents were asked to talk about the legislation or law about corporal punishment of children they knew when they migrated into Sweden. However, most of them referred their unclear awareness of specific Swedish legislation on corporal punishment of children. It was expressed how they less focus on the legislation of child protection especially about corporal punishment. One parent described how she viewed the Swedish legislation on corporal punishment.

“...I am not clear to know any specific legislation about corporal punishment of children after I came to Sweden, usually I pay more attention on some migration policies, like housing policy or insurance policy, which are closer to my daily life that attracted more attention.”
(Participant 1)

In fact, the parents are more interested to the policy that has tight connection with their family life. Compared with the limited recognition of child protection aspects, it exemplifies that the lack of channel to acquire the knowledge about the necessary legal common sense of host society. For example, one parent mentioned that

“...usually people don't take the initiative to talk about the corporal punishment of children, I think nobody will talk about this kind of sensitive topic among friends communication, like 'I slapped my child yesterday', moreover, it seldom has the opportunity to learn Swedish legislation about corporal punishment. That's why I think it's not easy for us to bring up children of parenting ideas completely consistent with local parents.” (Participant 9)

This illustrates that the immigrant parents has less interest on the different definition of corporal punishment between host society and original society. It was furthermore described by parents how they consider this issue.

“...I am not concerned about the law very much in the daily life. To me, the definition of corporal punishment has no difference between here and China.” (Participant 11)

Moreover, one situation should be considered that immigrant family has not enough Swedish social networks for their adaptation to the local culture. In Sweden, families

have high awareness of child protection which well deep applied into family education to children. During the process of acculturation, if immigrant parents can more often communicate and contact with local group or local residents that would benefit the parenting in the long run. It also can be seen as an effective way to learn more about the receive society for immigrant parents familiar with new culture.

“...I don’t know the law about corporal punishment in Sweden, but I have heard about it a little bit from Swedish friend. We know in Sweden, the government attaches great importance to the protection of children. There are some protection measures for avoiding children abused by parents, such as taking children away from family.” (Participant 8)

When immigrant parents have positive attitude to involve in dominant groups and seek daily interaction with local social network, it shows that they can more understand local culture and policy. However, if the immigrant parents maintain their original concept of corporal punishment, which probably be viewed as an obstacle for child protection due to different culture backgrounds of the immigrants. Once the case of physical punishment of children happened in an immigrant family, the social workers or the authorities of child protection are maybe not easy to address the problem of immigrant parents who are holding different understanding of corporal punishment.

In western countries, if the child suffers the violence, no matter what the real purpose the doer has, this situation will be suspected as child abuse case immediately, and then a series of intervention measures will be adopted in the child protection process (Dongping and Yuk-chung, 2008). At present, China needs to do more efforts to improve such intervention systems as the Western countries do. The Chinese immigrant families who live in Sweden need to apply more positive acculturation strategies. In-depth understanding of the local society can effectively avoid the corporal punishment of children caused by the unclear definition. Furthermore, social workers who face with immigrant families are easier to intervene into corporal punishment cases happened on children. Meanwhile, it is essential for social workers to be self-aware and understand the immigrant family’s culture, values and beliefs (Valtonen, 2008).

5.3.2 Child rearing in combined culture

The second challenge identified of the parents’ perception from raising children cross-culturally is linked to the different ways of child rearing. It seems like a big challenge for parents to think about which way of raising child should be more suitable for immigrant family under cross-culturally situation. Should they adhere to original one or tend to adopt new cultural raising method? The immigrant parents were asked to talk about what advantage and disadvantage of child rearing way they find between China and Sweden. Based on this, the parents talked about the experience of raising child as well as the opinion of choosing suitable way for child rearing.

As mentioned at the previous section on parental style, this challenge focus on the different parental styles showed by parents during the acculturation, they have to compare which way is better for the development of children in Swedish context, then explore an appropriate way in practice. When asked about what kind of parental rearing way the parents prefer to use, one parent mentioned how he felt from his little experience:

“...we become parents not for a long time, only have a little bit experience, so we are gradually exploring the suitable way for raising our children. Our children, they are still at young age. They need more care from us that focus on their basic living demands.” (Participant 1)

Some of the immigrant parents who participated in this study are very young. The age of their children is one to four years old. As the parents, they do not have much experience to educate their children because of the younger age of children. The parents reflect that at this current stage, they pay their attention on the daily life to meet the child's basic needs.

“...at the present, I try my best to maintain my child have a safe and healthy daily life. She is too young for us to teach her something. That's what we will consider this aspect when she grows up after four or five years I think. Now it is not within the scope of our consideration.” (Participant 9)

While acknowledging that the age of child is the basic condition that parents start to concern the way of child rearing. However, the difference of culture background is another condition the parents can not ignore. In general, parental styles have close link with the culture (Sam & Berry, 2010; Baumrind, 2012). The authoritative parents usually have the characteristic of warmth and reasoning. Compared with authoritarian parenting style, authoritative parenting has less control (Halpenny, Nixon, & Watson, 2009). Given the advantage and disadvantage of both Chinese and Swedish parental styles, parents express that both of two cultures have merits to learn and adopt into the process of raising child. One parent mentioned their preference when they encounter the problem of how to raise their child.

“...The two countries both have the advantages on raising child, and I will try to combine with two cultures in order to provide a better development to children” (Participant 5)

This demonstrates that how immigrant parents choose the acculturation strategy when they seek to balance the difference brought by the dominant culture and the original culture. The parents who consider combining the Swedish and Chinese parental styles adopt integration strategy. It is a good option that some degree of cultural integrity maintained, meanwhile the parents also positively integrate into the dominant society

(Berry, 1997). To Chinese immigrant parents, it retains the part of the Chinese traditional values and norms which benefit for the children's development and at the same time wish to assimilate the Swedish advantage to give the children a relaxed environment for growth.

5.3.3 Integrate into Swedish culture as immigrant

The third challenge identified of the parents' perception from raising children cross-culturally is linked to the gap of adaptation speed between parents and children. The common acculturative stress appears indeed to relate to the daily life, for instance, the language is a big problem for immigrants who move into a new country, especially reflect in the initial immigration time.

“...the language issue is the first obstacle for us to integrate into Sweden, the native language here is Swedish. Even though we can communicate with them using English, still Swedish is the main language here. If we don't learn Swedish, there will be many inconveniences in life.”
(Participant 11)

The language is the bridge of communication. When immigrant settle into a new society, it is necessary for them to have connection with local groups. To extend the social network has the significance meaning for the immigrant parents, they can acquire more information from the domain society to take care of their children for example.

As the first generation immigrant, parents are difficulty to integrate into the new society and culture with limited knowledge. Try to understand the local culture and to find the balance between two cultures is necessary for immigrant. As Berry (1997) mentions that “adaptation refers to changes that take place in individuals or groups in response to environmental demands” (p. 13). When Chinese parents pursue the assimilation or integration strategies in acculturation, the relationship between individuals and the new society will become closer. The Swedish culture has high awareness on child protection, which as the external influence can affect the immigrant parents in their adaptation. One parent mentioned that,

“...I think the Swedish culture always produce subtle influence on us. Even if sometimes we can't realize it, but I think it exists. When we see the way other Swedish parents treat with their children in public place, my way of taking care of child in the future.” (Participant 5)

Also here it seems like when the acculturation starts early, the process of acculturation is generally fluent (Berry, 1997). In Chinese immigrant families, the children start to have social life in kindergarten in an early age. They are much easier to learn new language and to make friends with Swedish children. The speed of integrating into new culture will be much faster than their parents. For example, one parent described how

he felt it difficult in child rearing process.

“...my children grow up in Sweden, they contact with peers in kindergarten every day. The children have the better ability of accepting new things than we do. I am worried about a growing gap between us. The understanding of culture differs, thus we will have divergence in many perspectives” (Participant 3)

Chapter Six: Conclusion and Limitation

The aim of this study is to investigate the attitudes of Chinese immigrant parents who live in Sweden towards the corporal punishment of children at home. It is also an intention of this study to learn how immigrant parents educate their children with the Chinese perspective and the influence caused by the Swedish society for rearing children. Moreover, the study also aims to find the challenge that parents faced with cross-cultural rearing. The goal of this study is to further improve our understanding of the acculturation, parenting beliefs, and parental practices of Chinese immigrants in Sweden.

There are three main research questions of this study referred to achieve the aim. First question is “*How do Chinese immigrant parents living in Sweden think about corporal punishment?*” which aims to find out what is the Chinese immigrant parents’ opinion of corporal punishment. Secondly, the research question is “*What are cultural perspectives on the use of corporal punishment in China and Sweden inform the participants’ parental practices?*” which intends to explore the influence of cultural perspectives to parental child-rearing practices. The last research question is “*What challenges do Chinese immigrant parents perceive from raising children cross-culturally?*” which focuses on the challenge that Chinese immigrant parents faced with in the cross-culturally context.

There are two main theories adopted into this study for the discussion of findings. One is Berry’s Acculturation Model; another is Baumrind’s Parental Styles. Through the combination of the two theories, the author has conducted the main results as following:

In general, the dominating perception of corporal punishment among Chinese immigrant parents is considered as a harmful parental method in child rearing. All the participants expressed that corporal punishment is not a right way to raise children and they will not consider adopting this punitive disciplinary method in the process of child rearing. In particular, the Chinese parents express the opinion that the action of corporal punishment could cause harm the children both physically and psychologically. However, contradictory behaviors are found in the study that the parents have really used corporal punishment of children during the process of child-rearing in their families. The parents who had spanked their younger children stated that the purpose of spanking is not to hurt the children, but to stop the children’s wrong behavior immediately when the child encounters dangerous situation. They do not have clear cognition that even the light or moderate corporal punishment can influence children’s development as well. Furthermore, participants explained that sometimes they are unable to control their negative emotions, which may lead to the corporal punishment of their children, though they usually regret their behavior afterwards.

The cultural perspectives on using of corporal punishment have influenced the Chinese

immigrant parents' parental practices in the process of child rearing. In traditional Chinese values of filial piety and obedience, the parents have authority in the family. Generally, the Chinese parents hold higher expectations to the children than the Swedish parents, which have the characteristic of authoritarian parental style. With such style, the children are more likely to suffer corporal punishment from the strict parents. And the Chinese parents like to control their children in the name of love, caring and concern. In contrast, the Swedish family shows more tolerance in children rearing. The children have more equal communication opportunities and more free development rights. In addition, the traditional parenting way for children could be transferred through intergenerational transmission. In other words, the heritage culture will be maintained and then influence the parental rearing method. Compared with the Chinese society, Swedish has widespread social recognition of prohibiting corporal punishment of children. Higher public awareness of protecting children's rights, since the ban of corporal punishment have been issued, also shows significant influence on the immigrant families.

The Chinese immigrant families in Sweden inevitably face with the challenge of raising children cross-culturally. Firstly, the Chinese parents would face many obstacles from acculturation stress, including the language problem, the lack of social network, and the unclearness of local customs and so on. Regard to the definition of corporal punishment, it is obvious to find that the Chinese immigrant parents have no clear recognition with the outcome of corporal punishment which could harm the children. How to explicitly define corporal punishment should be the first challenge for Chinese immigrant parents living in Sweden. During the process of acculturation, the Chinese immigrant parents gradually learn the Swedish culture. However, the different acculturation strategies would be adopted in different families. This study finds out that some Chinese immigrant parents retain the traditional values of their original culture during the acculturation, which they believe the values are still worthy for children learning. At the same time with the increasing time of living in Sweden, Chinese immigrant parents increasingly comprehend the Swedish culture, especially the parenting method which can be learnt to apply into their families. However, another challenge raised by Chinese immigrant parents is that each culture of Chinese and Swedish on child rearing has two sides, thus it is difficulty to make a choice to adopt one way. On the one side, the Chinese immigrant parents want to integrate into the dominant Swedish culture, and another side is that they still expect their children to maintain the Chinese traditional meaningful feature. The dilemma which way of child rearing is more suitable for their children's development makes trouble for Chinese immigrant parents. The last challenge the Chinese immigrant parents refer to is the increasing cultural gap between the parents and the children. Because the younger children are easier to merge and assimilate into new society, conversely the parents are slower to integrate themselves. It is a challenge for the parents to use Chinese disciplinary method that would make children, who already accepted the Swedish culture, confused.

Due to limited time and writer's capability, there are some limitations in this study. The

samples interviewed were limited in the Chinese immigrant families who only have younger children, except one family with three children over 17 years. It has limitation for representative that parents do not have enough child rearing experience. It is recommended for further studies to involve larger and more diverse sample. Most of the Chinese immigrant parents who participate in this study have higher education background. The correlation between immigrant parents' education background and the way they use in parental practice should be discussed in future researches. Additionally, corporal punishment is a sensitive topic to Chinese immigrant parents. During the interviews, the data collected from parents is inevitably conservative. The problem should be addressed in the interview process in future study to let the Chinese immigrant parents talk freely.

Due to there is no research about the Sweden's Chinese immigrant parents' view on corporal punishment of children, this study could provide a perspective to Swedish social service when dealing with corporal punishment of children issue in Chinese immigrant families. It also expects to raise Chinese immigrant parents' awareness of child protection and adjust the parental practices in the cross-culture context.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Warming up

Hello and thank you for sparing time to speak to me. My name is Zhongyuan and I am a Masters' students at the University of Gothenburg. I am studying social work with families and children. I am doing my research related to child corporal punishment in Sweden. The interview can last approximately between 30-40 minutes. The information you share with me will be treated with confidentiality and your name will not be included on this interview script. The overall aim of this exercise is to increase my studies understanding of the Sweden's Chinese immigrant parents' view of corporal punishment on children at home.

Participants Information

Name	Age	gender	job	Time in Sweden(Years)	Numbers of child	Educational background

Questions:

- 1 What is your name?
- 2 How old are you?
- 3 How long have you lived in Sweden?
- 4 How many children do you have? How old are they?
- 5 What do you think about Sweden's raising child circumstance?
- 6 Is there any difference of raising child between in Sweden and China? (Advantage and disadvantage)
- 7 Would you consider using corporal punishment as an education way to correct children's behavior? If yes, how do you exactly do it? How do you discipline your children?
- 8 What do you think about corporal punishment? Is it harmful for children?
- 9 Do you know any legislation about child corporal punishment in Sweden and China?
- 10 What difficulties do you find during the child rearing in Sweden?

Appendix B: Consent Form (English)



UNIVERSITY OF GOTHENBURG

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Zhongyuan Na, a student of Erasmus Mundus Masters in Social Work with families and children.

You are being invited to participate in an Erasmus Mundus Master dissertation research project about the Sweden's Chinese immigrant parents' view of corporal punishment on children at home. In order to sure this study takes place according to the ethical guidelines for good research, I promise to comply with the following principles:

- Interviewees in the project will be given information about the purpose of the project.
- Interviewees have the right to decide whether to participate in the study or not, even after the interview ended.
- Confidentiality and anonymity of data will be maintained at all times.
- The interview will be tape-recorded with your permission, but you have right to request stop recording at any time if you do not feel comfortable.
- The interviews and the information will be used only for the purposes defined by the study.

You have the right to decline answering any questions, or terminate the interview without giving any explanation.

If you have any questions, you are welcome to contact me or my supervisor (e-mail addresses below)

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Viveka Enander(Supervisor)
viveka.enander@socwork.gu.se

Interviewee:

Date: