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Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
IRVINE

Influences of Caregivers' Cultural Norms, Values, Beliefs and Experiences on Caregiver

Physical Aggression

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in Education

by

Joyce Lin

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Stephanie M. Reich, Chair
Professor Chuansheng Chen
Associate Professor Rossella Santagata

2016

DEDICATION

To:

Lewis and Alice Lin,

my brave parents who immigrated to a new country
to give their future children endless opportunities

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Thank you to Matthew Yoshida for always grounding me and making me laugh everyday. Your love and support mean so much to me, and you inspire me to be a better person. You have made the last few years of graduate school so much fun.

My sincerest gratitude goes to Stephanie Reich, my Ph.D. advisor, who took a chance with me as an undergraduate RA and later on as a Ph.D. student. Thank you for pushing me to think about the broader implications of my research, having confidence in my ideas, and for caring about me on a personal level. I was first inspired by your work, but as I got to know you over the years, you have not only shaped who I am as a researcher, but also who I am as a person. Thank you for being the most supportive advisor I could have asked for. I have been so fortunate to be surrounded by the many wonderful faculty members that have mentored me over the last several years. To Rossella Santagata, thank you for your feedback and mentorship, as well as your willingness to brainstorm ideas with me and push me to think about who my research audience is. To Chuansheng Chen and Greg Duncan, thank you both so much for advising me in my research and providing me with insightful feedback and different perspectives. To Tesha Sengupta-Irving, thank you for being an inspirational teaching mentor to me, and to Jacque Eccles, thank you for sharing your wisdom and providing me with invaluable career advice.

In addition to the support of the UCI faculty, I am tremendously grateful for my friends and colleagues at UCI. I first want to thank my undergraduate RAs, Iris Hou and Ann Liu, for their time and dedication to my research. Without your help, I would have needed an additional year to finish. To my Development in Social Contexts lab mates/“Grad school sistas,” Melissa Powell, Joanna Yau, and Wendy Ochoa, it has been such an honor to work with you all. Thank you for always being there for me when I need someone to bounce ideas off of, proofread, and more importantly, laugh and gossip with! I am also grateful for my C5 cohort mates, especially Jennifer Sun, Marcela Martinez, Ken Lee, and Liz Miller for their friendship, advice, and support over the years. Additionally, I want to thank the Socioemotional Development Lab members that have provided me with valuable feedback on my study ideas, manuscripts, fellowship applications, and presentations over the last five years.

My sincerest thanks also goes to my family members in Taiwan, as well as their friends, who helped me make my international focus groups possible. I also want to thank the countless people and organizations that helped me find U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers for my study, as well as all of my participants for their contributions to this project.

Lastly, I would like to acknowledge the funding I received from the University of California, Irvine’s Chancellor’s Club Award for Excellence Fellowship and the Society for Research in Child Development’s (SRCD) Student and Early Career Council (SECC) Dissertation Research Funding Award that have so generously provided me with the resources to complete my dissertation.

CURRICULUM VITAE

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(Co-investigator, PI Reich)
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- Michael E. Martinez Prize for Outstanding Research and Service 2016
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Amount: \$10,000

RESEARCH POSITIONS

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Baby Books II
Five-year NICHD funded family intervention studying the effectiveness of embedding educational information in baby books to educate low-income English- and Spanish-speaking parents about child development, injury prevention, and optimal parenting. I assisted with creating the content and design of baby books; additionally, I contributed to creating

measures to identify learning outcomes for the intervention. Further, I synthesized literature on community measures related to child outcomes to inform which community measures would be chosen for this project. PIs: Stephanie M. Reich and Natasha Cabrera

Facebook Intervention Project

Project testing the effectiveness of a professionally moderated Facebook group as a way to increase first-time mother's knowledge about pregnancy and infant care and increase perceived social support. I synthesized literature on online health literacy needs in first time mothers and assisted in drafting the grant proposal that we submitted. PIs: Stephanie M. Reich and Wendy Goldberg

Kids Smile: Understanding and Overcoming Barriers to Dental Care

SCRA (Division 27 of APA) funded study identifying the perceived barriers and facilitators of receiving pediatric dental care for children ages 0-5 years in Orange County Head Start Centers. I drafted the Institutional Review Board protocol narrative and informed consent forms, and helped with conducting focus groups with Orange County Head Start mothers. Once the project ended, to follow up on our findings, I assisted in drafting a grant proposal for conducting focus groups assessing uptake of preventative dental care use in Orange County mothers to address potential socioeconomic differences in dental care. PI: Stephanie M. Reich

Evidence-based Parenting Practices

Manuscript synthesizing information on evidence-based parenting practices for those with infants less than 12 months and their effects on child outcomes. I synthesized literature on appropriate play behaviors. PI: Stephanie M. Reich

Undergraduate Research Assistant, University of California, Los Angeles 2010-2011

Optimizing Communication Outcomes in Infants at Risk for Autism

Autism Speaks funded project testing ways to promote communication skills in the context of parent-child play interactions in 18-24 month old toddlers at risk for autism. I scored the various measures used for the study and entered data, as well as maintained the shared online database with the City University of New York site. PIs: Connie Kasari and Michael Siller

Toddler Project

A parent-mediated intervention targeting joint attention and joint engagement. I videotaped interventions, set up intervention playrooms for the study, and occasionally assisted in the intervention procedure. PI: Connie Kasari

Nancy Huynh's Dissertation

Dissertation focusing on early identifiers and diagnoses of autism. I helped code and maintain data on parent-child play interactions and identified restrictive and repetitive behaviors in young children ages 15-30 months who were at risk for the disorder. PI: Nancy Huynh

Undergraduate Research Assistant, University of California, Irvine 2010

Baby Books Project

Three-group longitudinal NICHD-funded baby books study testing whether this low-cost intervention is an effective method of increasing maternal knowledge of child development and parenting, and higher quality mother-child interactions. I worked on a qualitative synthesis of the literature on the Parenting Stress Index and the Center for Epidemiologic Studies Depression Scale. This literature review was then relied upon for drafting several manuscripts. Advisor: Stephanie M. Reich; PI: Leonard Bickman and Victoria Risko.

PUBLICATIONS

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Lin, J., & Reich, S.M. (2016). Mothers' perceptions of neighborhood disorder are associated with children's home environment quality. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 44(6), 714-728. 10.1002/jcop.21796

Lin, J., Reich, S. M., Kataoka, S., & Farkas, G. (2015). Maternal reading self-efficacy associated with perceived barriers to reading. *Child Development Research*.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1155/2015/218984>

In Press

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Under Review

Lin, J. U.S. immigrants' cultures and experiences as risk and protective factors for child physical discipline and abuse.

In Progress

Lin, J. Links between cultural norms, values, and beliefs, and caregiver physical aggression across cultures.

Lin, J. Cross-cultural comparisons of risk and protective factors for physical discipline between Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan and the U.S., and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American Mothers.

Reich, S.M., Newhart, V.A., **Lin, J.** Barriers to caregivers seeking preventative dental care for children.

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Lin, J. (2015, June). *Are mothers' perceptions of neighborhood disorder negatively associated with children's home environment quality?* Poster presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Community Research and Action, Lowell, MA.

Lin, J. (2015, June). *Are immigrants' social supports a protector or risk for parental physical aggression against children?* Poster presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Community Research and Action, Lowell, MA.

Lin, J. (2014, November). *Mothers' perceived social and physical neighborhood disorder associated with lower home environment quality for children.* Poster presented at the

Special Topics Meeting: New Conceptualizations in the Study of Parenting-At-Risk of the Society for Research in Child Development, San Diego, CA.

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Lin, J., Reich, S.M, Kataoka, S., & Farkas, G. (2013, April). *Maternal reading self-efficacy is linked to lower perceived barriers to reading*. Poster presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Seattle, WA.

Under Review

Lin, J. Cross-cultural comparisons of protective and risk factors for corporal punishment between two generations of Taiwan-born mothers. Paper presentation submitted as part of a symposium titled *Parents' cultures and experiences as risk and protective factors for parenting and child well-being*.

Lin, J. Stronger caregiver machismo attitudes linked to greater likelihood of physical punishment use in a diverse sample. Poster presentation.

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University Teaching

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Education 50: Origins, Purposes and Central Issues in K-12 Education Winter 2017

Education 128: Exceptional Learners Winter 2017

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Education 50: Origins, Purposes and Central Issues in K-12 Education	Spring 2012
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Education 173: Cognition and Learning in Education Settings	Fall 2011

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Education 50 (B): Origins, Purposes and Central Issues in K-12 Education	Winter 2014
Education 107: Child Development in Education	Fall 2013
Education 201: Teachers' Lives and the Policy Environment of Teaching	Summer 2013
Education 50: Origins, Purposes and Central Issues in K-12 Education	Spring 2012
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Member, Orientation Committee	Fall 2015
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President, Associated Doctoral Students of Education (ADSE)	Fall 2014-Spring 2015
Chair, Doctoral Student Recruitment	Winter 2015
UCI 50 th Anniversary Homecoming Volunteer	Winter 2015
Presenter and Organizer, PhD Student Orientation	Fall 2014
Coordinator, ADSE Event Planning	Spring 2014
Chair, Doctoral Student Recruitment	Winter 2014

Vice President, Associated Doctoral Students of Education	Fall 2013-Spring 2014
Junior Faculty Representative	Fall 2012-Spring 2013
Manager, Socioemotional Development Lab (SEDL)	Fall 2012-Spring 2013
ADSE Event Planner	Fall 2013
Member, Recruitment Weekend Committee	Winter 2012
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Community Service

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Influences of Caregivers' Cultural Norms, Values, Beliefs and Experiences on Caregiver

Physical Aggression

By

Joyce Lin

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Irvine, 2016

Associate Professor Stephanie M. Reich, Chair

The negative impact of physical violence against children is well established, but cultural norms surrounding appropriate acts of violence vary and aspects of one's culture influence these behaviors. Given that the U.S. is multicultural, it is critical to examine which aspects of immigrants' cultures are risky or protective for physical discipline. However, researchers who study the links between culture and physical punishment typically focus on one culture and the factors identified in one group are not explored in others. Research identifying potential common risk and protective factors across cultures does not yet exist. It also remains unclear what role acculturation plays for caregiver physical punishment.

This dissertation explores whether cultural factors such as norms, values, and beliefs that have been linked to physical discipline within certain cultures are applicable to different cultures, as well as what role acculturation and generation status plays. The first study addresses how caregivers' filial piety, familism, and machismo attitudes are associated with students' experiences of physical discipline. Findings indicate that caregivers' machismo attitudes are a risk factor for physical punishment, while their beliefs about familism have mixed effects on students' experiences of physical discipline. The second study uses three generations of

Taiwanese-origin mothers to examine how immigration and growing up bicultural influences mothers' risk and protective factors for physical discipline. As mothers become more acculturated to the U.S., they are less likely to hit their children. However, for all three groups, mothers prefer to use non-violent methods of discipline. Further, various risk and protective factors at differing levels of proximity to the child coexist and play a role in mothers' choices to use physical discipline and some of these factors persist across generations, while others are unique to a generation.

These findings highlight some of the cultural factors that may exacerbate or buffer caregiver physical discipline for different populations. It broadens our understanding of cultural influences on parenting and sheds light on areas to intervene on and prevent caregiver violence, which will be meaningful for programs and policies hoping to reduce corporal punishment and physical abuse across a multicultural population.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Parental violence, both corporal punishment and physical abuse, against children is detrimental to children's mental and physical health (Afifi, Brownridge, Cox, & Sareen, 2006; E. T. Gershoff, 2002; Lansford et al., 2005; MacMillan et al., 1999; Springer, Sheridan, Kuo, & Carnes, 2007; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). Despite the well-established negative impact of adult perpetrated violence against children, cultural differences in the acceptance of corporal punishment as a form of discipline vary greatly as do perceptions of which actions are disciplinary versus physically abusive (Chan, Chun, & Chung, 2008; Collier, McClure, Collier, Otto, & Polloi, 1999; J. M. Elliott, Tong, & Tan, 1997; Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Payne, 1989; Runyan et al., 2010; Smith, 2003). Several aspects of one's culture can influence these beliefs (Arnold, 1982; Coohy, 2001; Ferrari, 2002; Hahn & Guterman, 2001; Yang, 2009), which contributes to the blurring of what individuals believe are appropriate acts of violence for disciplining a child. Given that the U.S. is a multicultural society and in 2013, about 41.3 million immigrants lived in the U.S. (Zong & Batalova, 2015), it is critical to explore how various aspects of immigrants' cultures influence their beliefs about corporal punishment and physical abuse. Some newer immigrant populations may believe that particular violent behaviors are acceptable forms of discipline, which may conflict with state definitions of abuse.

Considering that 25% of the 69.9 million children in the U.S. lived in a home with at least one immigrant parent in 2013 (Zong & Batalova, 2015), these children may be exposed to different cultural influences on caregiver disciplinary behaviors that do not align with state laws, due to different cultural norms in physical discipline (Levesque, 2000). In some instances, some of these children may be at risk for being taken by Child Protective Services if these children's caregivers are reported. More importantly, however, these children could be at a developmental

disadvantage due to the violence they experience at home. Thus, it is important to explore how various aspects of immigrants' cultures play a role in violent behaviors towards children in order to understand how to promote optimal child outcomes and keep immigrant families intact.

Although parental violence against children should be understood in the context of cultural factors (Doe, 2000), one of the greatest barriers to progress in this area has been the convoluted definitions of culture and ethnicity (K. Elliott & Urquiza, 2006). This dissertation defines culture as the set of beliefs, attitudes, and behavioral standards that are passed from generation to generation and includes factors such as language, worldview, food, communication styles, beliefs about wellness, techniques for healing, patterns of childrearing, as well as self-identity (Abney, 2002). Specifically, this dissertation focuses on beliefs, attitudes, international behavioral standards, and patterns of childrearing.

Research focusing on cultural differences in parenting has concentrated on beliefs about and use of disciplinary strategies, as well as definitions of abuse, among caregivers of different ethnicities (K. Elliott & Urquiza, 2006). The extant literature also addresses the negative impact of violence towards children, in addition to various correlates of corporal punishment and abuse. Some pathways between culture and physical aggression towards children have been explored in certain populations as well. What remains unclear is whether similar cultural factors *across* different groups might contribute to physical discipline towards children in similar or different ways. Oftentimes researchers who study parenting within cultural groups focus on one particular culture and the factors that contribute to physical aggression towards children in that one group, and often do not explore the effects of these in other cultural groups. Research identifying potential common factors across different cultures, which might serve as risk or protective factors for physical punishment and abuse, does not yet exist. Therefore, the first half of this

dissertation seeks to connect caregiver values, beliefs, and practices to individuals' experiences with physical aggression, across cultural groups, by using quantitative survey data from students from a variety of racial/ethnic backgrounds.

A second factor that remains unclear is whether acculturation contributes to risk or protective factors for caregiver violence and what the mechanisms behind this may be. Although a quantitative analysis allows for using generation statuses within the same culture as a proxy for acculturation, the qualitative portion of this dissertation focuses on one cultural group to explore the role of changing culture due to differential exposure to a second culture (U.S.). The latter half of this dissertation provides a deeper understanding of the mechanisms identified in the first half. Several cultural influences on caregiver physical aggression that have not been previously explored in Taiwanese populations will be identified through these studies.

Definitions of Corporal Punishment and Abuse

Where exactly is the line between corporal punishment and physical abuse drawn? Straus (1994) defines corporal punishment 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” (p. 4). In an analyses conducted by Davidson (1997), he found that forty-eight states and the District of Columbia distinguish between child abuse and corporal punishment. The most common descriptors for legal definitions of corporal punishment in the United States typically include “reasonable,” “moderate,” “appropriate,” and “maintaining discipline.” Some descriptors that states have listed that *do not qualify* as corporal punishment, and instead cross the line into being physical abuse, include “deadly force,” “cruel,” and “inhuman.” Specific acts that qualify as abuse listed by other states include “throwing,” “kicking,” “burning,” “cutting.” However, several states determine whether intended corporal punishment qualifies as being abuse on a

case-by-case basis by juries, and there is no consensus in the U.S. on where to legally draw the line between corporal punishment and abuse. Most researchers who study child abuse see corporal punishment and physical abuse on a continuum of physical aggression towards children (Graziano, 1994; Whipple & Richey, 1997), and most incidences of physical abuse either develop out of attempts to discipline children or were intended to serve as disciplinary methods (Durrant, 2008).

Outcomes of Corporal Punishment and Physical Abuse

Childhood experiences of parental violence have been linked to various negative physical and mental health outcomes. Corporal punishment has been linked to decreased quality of parent-child relationships and poor child and adult mental health, as well as increased child and adult aggression, child delinquent and antisocial behavior, adult criminal and antisocial behaviors, risk of substance abuse, and risk of abusing one's child or spouse (Afifi et al., 2006; E. T. Gershoff, 2002; E. T. Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Lansford et al., 2005; MacMillan et al., 1999; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). An extensive meta-analysis has shown that corporal punishment is only sometimes associated with one desirable child behavior—immediate compliance (E. T. Gershoff, 2002). Similar to corporal punishment, experiences of physical abuse can also result in adverse outcomes such as depression, anxiety, and anger, but also physical symptoms such as ill health, medical diagnoses (e.g., heart troubles, liver troubles, high blood pressure, ulcers, etc.), and physical symptoms (e.g., cardiopulmonary, constitutional & musculoskeletal) (Springer et al., 2007).

Although there is some evidence that physical discipline is less strongly associated with adverse child outcomes in countries where it is more normative (Lansford, 2010), physical discipline is still associated with more unfavorable outcomes, such as aggression and anxiety,

regardless of how normative it is perceived to be (Lansford et al., 2005). Similarly, although there are a few studies that show that corporal punishment is related to better behavior for African American youth, there are not enough benefits across cultural groups in the U.S. for corporal punishment to justify its use (Lansford, 2010). Although these child outcomes are not explored in this dissertation, the various negative outcomes associated with parental violence underscore the importance of understanding the various factors that contribute to violent behaviors against children, in order eliminate these behaviors and promote child well being.

Endorsing Violence Against Children in Different Cultures

Corporal punishment is largely perceived as being an appropriate form of discipline in several cultures. For example, most Barbadian adults believe that corporal punishment is effective for developing obedience, lessening the risk for law-breaking, teaching right from wrong, instilling respect, and developing respect for parents (Payne, 1989). Additionally, the high incidence of child physical punishment in the Northern Province, South Africa, is likely linked to the broad acceptance of physical punishment as well (Peltzer, 1999). For other cultures, such as the West Indies, the high prevalence and endorsement of parental physical punishment of children can be a product of religious beliefs or the ritualized practices of the cultural group, which influences parental attitudes about physical punishment (Arnold, 1982). Several other cultural groups share some of these sentiments.

Different cultures not only vary in whether they favor corporal punishment, but they also differ in what they deem as being appropriate acts of corporal punishment. What is defined as physical abuse versus physical discipline varies across cultures. For example, out of a sample of 885 adults who were randomly sampled in Hong Kong, only 65.8% perceived battering as child abuse (Chan et al., 2008), and in a sample of 401 randomly sampled Singaporean adults, caning

was rated as sometimes acceptable by over 50% of respondents (J. M. Elliott et al., 1997), whereas the U.S. justice system would likely define these as acts as abusive. Furthermore, several other cultures also engage in practices that would be deemed as abusive in the U.S. In the Palau Republic, a Pacific Island country, it is common for parents to tie their toddler's leg to a post when they are unable to directly supervise the child; parents also spank their children with brooms, breaking their skin and leaving scratch marks and bruises for such things as not doing homework or household chores (Collier et al., 1999). Another example of cultural differences in what constitutes an appropriate form of corporal punishment is that although the majority of Barbadian individuals that approve of corporal punishment endorse flogging or lashing with a belt or strap as an approved method of corporal punishment, there is less support for slapping with the hand, spanking, and using a rod or cane (Payne, 1989). Similarly, Jamaican parents are more likely to flog their children or beat them with a stick or belt, rather than spank them (Smith, 2003). In the U.S., slapping and spanking are typically approved of as acts of corporal punishment, but in other countries corporal punishment norms may include hitting children with objects instead, which seems harsher in the U.S. context.

More recent literature continues to demonstrate cultural differences in what is deemed as normative physical punishment. In a 2010 study comparing data from Brazil, Chile, Egypt, India, Philippines, and the U.S., researchers found that spanking rates ranged from a low of 15% in an Indian community to a high of 76% in a Philippine community; there was also wide variation in rates of children hit with objects (9%-74%) or beaten by their parents (0.1%-28.5%) (Runyan et al., 2010). A separate study found that while only 30% of respondents from Kazakhstan reported that they, or someone in their household, had used physical violence with their children, 84% of respondents from Jamaica reported so (Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012). Similarly, in the

same study, use of severe physical violence ranged from a low of 1% in Kazakhstan to a high of 40% in Mongolia and Yemen (Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012), where harsh corporal punishment is very common (Alyahri & Goodman, 2008). Overall, these studies demonstrate cultural variation in physically aggressive caregiver behaviors towards children, which has implications for which immigrant children may be more at risk for experiencing violence in homes, given the persistence of cultural norms in parenting.

Non-cultural Correlates of Caregiver Violence

Given that parental physical aggression against children results in several harmful outcomes, it is critical to understand the contributing factors to these practices. While the focus of this dissertation is on *aspects of culture* that contribute to caregiver violence, it is important to also recognize that there are several other correlates of caregiver physical aggression, and some immigrant populations may be disproportionately linked to these. Aspects of family background, including living in a crowded home, familial disagreements, and low income, in addition to child characteristics, such as young age and poor behavior, are associated with physical punishment (Youssef, Attia, & Kamel, 1998), as well as having views that justify domestic violence (Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Bornstein, Putnick, & Bradley, 2014). Further, parental experience of physical punishment (Tajima & Harachi, 2010) and abuse (Maker, Shah, & Agha, 2005), as well as depression (Eamon, 2001), also predict parental predisposition for using physical punishment. Similarly, correlates with physical abuse include substance abuse (Davis, 1990), parental unemployment (Gillham et al., 1998), maternal depression (Windham et al., 2004), and marital violence (Ross, 1996; Windham et al., 2004). Although these are risk factors for corporal punishment and physical abuse, which may not specifically be related to immigration, some

immigrant populations may be more likely to be linked to specific risk factors based on their conditions of immigration.

Additional immigrant risk factors. Given that child maltreatment can be a response to stress and a sense of powerlessness (Baumrind, 1994), immigrants that come to the U.S. under stressful situations are exposed to more risk factors that are linked to child physical abuse (Carlson & Rosser-Hogan, 1993; Chang, Rhee, & Berthold, 2008; Finkelhor, Ormrod, Turner, & Hamby, 2005; Ima & Hohm, 1991; Kinzie et al., 1990). For example, immigrants that come from war zones and have been exposed to bombings, shootings, and riots, are more likely to physically abuse their child because these dangerous environments may motivate parents to use coercive means of controlling their children (Finkelhor et al., 2005). Further, children of refugee parents who have war-related experience are also more likely to experience physical abuse because their parents' experiences in their home country may manifest as depression and stress, which are associated with caregiver aggression (Carlson & Rosser-Hogan, 1993; Chang et al., 2008; Ima & Hohm, 1991; Kinzie et al., 1990; Rydstrom, 2006). Given that the conditions in which immigrants come to the U.S. can influence parents' mental health and psychological well-being, as well as the established links between mental health and physical child abuse (Black, Heyman, & Smith Slep, 2001), some immigrant populations may be at greater risk for physical aggression towards their children (Chang et al., 2008).

In many immigrant populations, but especially in refugee populations, not only are parents subjected to more mental health risks, due to their conditions of immigration (Ima & Hohm, 1991), but they are more likely to come to the U.S. with fewer economic resources (Chang et al., 2008). These experiences may also influence their predisposition for violence against their children, as the effects of economic instability and the risk of living in poverty can

further compromise parental mental health (Kalil, 1996) and exacerbate pathways of parental aggression (Gillham et al., 1998; Youssef et al., 1998).

Additionally, discrimination, which is well documented in non-white immigrant populations, can also pose as a major source of stress, which can lead to parental physical aggression against children. Perceived discrimination and perceived low social standing are predictive of physical aggression towards children and more positive beliefs about physical punishment (A. S. Lau, Takeuchi, & Alegria, 2006; Park, 2001). Further, experiences of discrimination and consequent social isolation can lead to adverse effects on mental health (Negi, 2013), which also has negative implications for violence towards children. Additionally, the types of isolation that immigrants may experience due to discrimination, which typically center around language use and perceptions about their legal status, may prevent them from accessing services that are beneficial to their, as well as their children's, well-being (Cohen & Chavez, 2013). These additional stressors that immigrants are more likely to experience may consequently put their children at greater risk of experiencing physical punishment and abuse. However these factors are not part of immigrant parents' cultures. Therefore, they will not be assessed in this study, but remain worthwhile to consider.

Research Questions

Overall, this dissertation addresses whether cultural factors such as caregiver norms, values, and beliefs that have been associated with caregiver aggression within certain cultures are applicable to different cultures, as well as how acculturation and generation status may play a role in this process. Using two separate studies, I aim to answer the following questions:

- 1) How do college students vary in their experiences of caregiver corporal punishment and physical abuse, based on their caregivers' cultural norms, values, and beliefs? To what extent does this vary across cultural groups, gender, and generation status?
- 2) Using cross-cultural data comparing Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan (G0) and the U.S. (G1), and U.S.- born Taiwanese-American mothers (G2), how do cultural norms, values and beliefs, along with maternal experiences, serve as risk or protective factors for physical aggression towards their children and how do these persist and change across generations?

Theoretical Framework

This dissertation uses the bioecological model as a framework for understanding how various cultural factors can influence caregiving and how culture can change over time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). Bronfenbrenner and Morris' bioecological model of development is composed of four interrelated factors, process-person-context-time (PPCT) (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). *Process* involves the bidirectional interaction between the individual and his/her context. The *person* component considers the dispositions, ability, knowledge, skill, and demand characteristics of the individual. Further, *context* includes nested ecological systems of different levels. Lastly, the final component of the PPCT (1998) model is *time*, which accounts for change in the *process*, *person*, and *context*.

The bioecological model of development focuses particularly on the *context* aspect. Drawing on Bronfenbrenner's previous framework (1989), the individual lies in the center of all of these contexts. The most proximal context surrounding the person is the *microsystem*, which includes his/her activities, roles, and interpersonal relationships. The *mesosystem* is the interaction between two or more of these microsystems. Further out is the *exosystem*, which is

the interaction of two or more settings that influence the person, where at least one of the settings does not contain the individual himself/herself. Then, the *macrosystem* includes overarching ideologies of the culture and society where the individual belongs. Lastly, the bioecological model accounts for *time* through the *chronosystem*. The chronosystem breaks this aspect of time up into *micro-time*, the continuity or discontinuity in ongoing episodes of processes, *meso-time*, how often these episodes occur over broader time intervals (e.g., days, weeks, years, etc.), and *macro-time*, shifting expectancies in the broader culture, which includes changes within and across generations.

This dissertation focuses on several aspects of Bronfenbrenner's frameworks (Bronfenbrenner, 1989; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). Caregiver physical aggression against children is a process that exists in the child's *microsystem* and has immediate implications for children's negative developmental outcomes. The ways in which caregivers' norms, values, beliefs, and experiences influence violence towards children are more distal processes that indirectly affect children through caregiver-child interactions and other more proximal contexts. Generally, since children do not interact directly, on a daily basis, with these cultural factors that affect, or have affected, their caregivers, the influences of caregivers' culture are a *macrosystem* process. Moreover, the influence of the *chronosystem*, both on the micro and macro levels, also plays a key role in this dissertation as well, given that generation status and length of residence in the U.S. may influence caregiving practices and predispositions for physical aggression.

In addition to the bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1989; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, 2006), which approaches the influence of culture on caregiving through a developmental lens and broadly contextualizes the importance of exploring this question, another framework that can inform the bioecological model is the acculturation framework. Berry (1980) states that

acculturation requires that at least two separate cultural groups be in contact with one another and that change in at least one of these cultural groups results from this contact. Typically, one culture is more dominant over the other(s) and there is often conflict or difficulty involved in this transition. What results from the interactions between these cultures is ultimately some form of adaptation. The core phenomenon of acculturation are *behavioral shifts* and almost any behavior can change due to involvement with another culture (Berry, 2001). In exploring caregiving behaviors in immigrant populations, this acculturation framework helps explain how traditional practices may be retained or changed over time, within a generation, or why there may be similarities or differences in these practices across different generations, which again relates back to Bronfenbrenner's concept of the chronosystem.

Overview of the studies

This dissertation is a mixed-methods study exploring how aspects of caregivers' cultures, specifically their norms, values, beliefs, and experiences, serve as risk or protective factors for caregiver physical aggression against children.

Study 1: Similarities and Variations in Links Between Cultural Norms, Values, and Beliefs, and Caregiver Physical Punishment Across Groups

The first half of the dissertation uses survey data from 736 college students at a large public university to provide cross-cultural comparisons of caregiver violence, across several different generations of U.S. immigrant groups, when they were growing up. This study addresses the ways in which students' retrospective ratings of caregiver cultural norms, values, and beliefs (e.g., familism, filial piety, machismo attitudes) are associated with these childhood experiences, to reveal cultural links to physical aggression for various groups.

Study 2: Cross-cultural Comparisons of Risk and Protective Factors for Physical Discipline Between Taiwan-born Mothers Living in Taiwan and the U.S., and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American Mothers

The second half of the dissertation utilizes semi-structured, cross-cultural focus group data with mothers of 3-14 year old children, who are Taiwanese and living in Taiwan, Taiwanese immigrants to the U.S., and U.S.-born Taiwanese-Americans. These focus groups address mothers' experiences parenting, disciplinary tactics used, and factors that inform their parenting and disciplinary tactics. Three different groups of mothers of Taiwanese origin are examined, since this group has previously been shown to have high rates of physical discipline and abuse. Questions about pre-migration experiences, acculturation, growing up bicultural, and changes in

parenting behaviors over time, are included in these interviews. Further, cultural norms, values, and beliefs are also addressed through various questions.

Significance

Given that there are cultural values underlying corporal punishment and physical abuse, it is essential to understand what aspects of culture contribute to physical discipline use in order to bolster cultural beliefs that are protective and minimize those that are risky. Together, these studies address whether cultural factors that have been associated with caregiver physical punishment within certain cultures are applicable to different cultures. They also examine how acculturation and generation status play a role, to reveal how immigrant cultures and the dominant U.S. culture may influence corporal punishment. Findings from these studies will be meaningful for policies and programs hoping to reduce corporal punishment and physical abuse, and has implications for children's health and family well-being.

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Chapter 2: Similarities and Variations in Links between Cultural Norms, Values, and Beliefs, and Caregiver Physical Punishment Across Groups

Corporal punishment is widely used in the U.S. and even surpasses international averages (E. T. Gershoff & Bitensky, 2007; UNICEF, 2014). An analysis using four different population surveys from 2002 found that nearly two-thirds of children ages 3-11 had been slapped or spanked in the last year and one-third of children had been hit with an object (Zolotor, Theodore, Runyan, Chang, & Laskey, 2011). More recent data collected by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in 2010 shows that 15.9% of the 53,784 U.S. adults surveyed indicated that they had experienced physical abuse as a child (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2015). Researchers see corporal punishment and physical abuse as a continuum of physical violence towards children (Graziano, 1994; Whipple & Richey, 1997) and corporal punishment is a risk factor for physical abuse (Murray A. Straus, 2000). Further, both are consistently linked to adverse mental and physical outcomes (Afifi et al., 2006; E. T. Gershoff, 2002; Lansford et al., 2005; MacMillan et al., 1999; Springer et al., 2007; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996). A recent large-scale meta-analysis covering research over the past 50 years from 13 different countries found that hitting children is linked to multiple unintended consequences including mental health problems, poor parent-child relationships, lower self-esteem, and lower academic performance; further, several of these consequences affect individuals well into adulthood (E. T. Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). Moreover, spanking is linked to significantly more aggression and antisocial behavior problems, rather than serving as an effective tool for behavior management (E. T. Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). It is therefore important to explore which caregiver attitudes are linked to using physically violent behaviors with children, as a critical first step to eliminating violence against children.

Considering that in 2014, 13.3% of the U.S. population was foreign born, up 2.5% from the year before (Zong & Batalova, 2016), and that international norms surrounding appropriate acts of physical violence against children vary greatly (Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012; Runyan et al., 2010), it is worthwhile to explore what cultural values and beliefs might serve as risk or protective factors for corporal punishment and physical aggression against children in our increasing immigrant populations. This is especially true because despite the cultural normativity of violence against children in a given country, spanking predicts higher aggression and more anxiety in children, albeit to a lesser extent in areas where it is more normative (E. T. Gershoff et al., 2010). Although research focusing on cultural differences in caregiver physical aggression has typically concentrated on beliefs and practices within groups (K. Elliott & Urquiza, 2006), less is known about whether traditional cultural beliefs that are associated with higher or lower prevalence of corporal punishment and physical abuse in one culture may be applicable to other cultures that hold similar beliefs. This study, therefore, addresses this question.

In conceptualizing the role of culture in influencing cases of violence against children, it is important to consider the roles of *acculturation*, when individuals respond to the influence of a dominant second culture, and *enculturation*, when individuals are socialized into their own cultural group (Raman, 2006), and how values, beliefs, and attitudes in these different cultures may compete with one another. Given that parenting behaviors and beliefs about what children should learn are passed through generations and norms for appropriate parental behaviors also vary by culture (Fontes, 2002), the interplay between the dominant second culture and an immigrant's home culture is quite complex. Oftentimes, some immigrant populations retain parenting and disciplinary behaviors and beliefs from their home country that might be conducive to aggression against their children (Rhee, Chang, Weaver, & Wong, 2008). It is also

possible that for some immigrant populations that have adopted U.S. parenting practices, which due to more stringent child abuse and corporal punishment laws and different cultural norms regarding corporal punishment, a lower predisposition for violence may be seen (Hassan, Rousseau, Measham, & Lashley, 2008). Therefore, this study also explores how generation status plays a role in caregiver aggression against children.

Cultural Norms, Beliefs, and Values Linked to Caregiver Physical Aggression

In the literature on corporal punishment and physical abuse among families of different races and ethnicities, several different cultural factors have been linked to caregiver physical violence. While some of these factors are protective, others may serve as risk factors. The overall context of physical discipline should be considered, given that it may be more significant in explaining child outcomes than just the presence or absence of caregiver violence (Lansford, 2010).

Family ties. Many researchers have explored the ties between how cultural values and beliefs about family social relationships influence predisposition for parental physical aggression against children (Coohey, 2001; Ferrari, 2002; Ima & Hohm, 1991; Liao, Lee, Roberts-Lewis, Hong, & Jiao, 2011). For example, *familism* is one of the values that has been linked to caregiver violence against children. Familism “places the family ahead of individual interests and development” (Ingoldsby, 1991, p. 57) and characteristics of familism include emphasizing dependency and reliance upon others, in addition to having a sense of obligation among family members, reverence for elders, and responsibility to care for all family members, especially children (Zayas, 1992). This construct stresses the importance of social ties and prioritizes the needs of the family or social group over an individual’s needs (Schwartz et al., 2010).

By definition, valuing family emphasizes social support, and social support has been frequently studied with child physical abuse. In a meta-analysis conducted by Black, Heyman, and Smith Slep (2001), the authors found that fewer social supports from friends and family, and lower quality emotional supports, were linked to parental physical abuse. Further, other studies have shown that social support actually buffered against predispositions for child physical abuse, even in at-risk parents who had been abused as children (Crouch, Milner, & Thomsen, 2001). Given that valuing family social ties increases high quality social supports (Schwartz et al., 2010), it is unsurprising that these family ties serve as a buffer for parental physical aggression and having a lack of these supports may increase risk for physical abuse.

Several studies explicitly measuring familism have found that low levels are a risk factor (Ferrari, 2002) and high levels are a protective factor for physical punishment (Coohey, 2001), across different racial/ethnic groups. Familism has been linked to positive psychological well-being (Schwartz et al., 2010) and facilitates closeness and social support (Campos, Ullman, Aguilera, & Dunkel Schetter, 2014), all of which are protective against physical aggression towards children (Eamon, 2001; Windham et al., 2004). However, familism is most frequently studied in Hispanic cultures, although other cultures exhibit similar characteristics as well (Campos et al., 2014; Coohey, 2001; Ferrari, 2002). Thus, it is worthwhile to explore the relationship between familism and physical punishment across other groups, to address whether higher levels of familism consistently buffers against caregiver violence.

Expectations of children. In addition to beliefs about family ties, expectations of children also influence caregiver physical aggression towards children; unlike familial supports, however, having more expectations of children may serve as a risk factor for physical punishment. Oftentimes violence is inflicted upon children when they violate the expectations of

their caregivers. For example, *filial piety*, or devotion to the family, is the ultimate guiding principle for socializing children in China, and not only earns respect for individuals but also brings honor to their entire family (O'Brian & Lau, 1995). Children must obey their parents regardless of how unreasonable their demands or how harshly they are treated, and make sure their parents' wishes are fulfilled (O'Brian & Lau, 1995). Corporal punishment is therefore seen as a necessary means of reinforcing these values and oftentimes filial piety is used to justify harsh parenting practices and abuse in China (Liao et al., 2011). Beliefs about filial piety may explain the higher rates of physical abuse among immigrant Chinese families as compared to the general population (Rhee et al., 2008).

Other Asian (Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Tajima & Harachi, 2010) and Latino cultures (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortes, 2010) also emphasize the importance of children being obedient to parents. Although this is not necessarily labeled 'filial piety,' they share similar characteristics (Calzada et al., 2010; Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Samuda, 1988; Tajima & Harachi, 2010; Tang, 2006). Different cultures have expectations of deference, decorum, and good public behavior (Calzada et al., 2010; Tang, 2006), in addition to loyalty (Hahm & Guterman, 2001) and good academic performance (C. C. Lin & Fu, 1990; Tang, 2006), from their children. Violations of these expectations are common reasons why physical punishment is used on children in other countries (Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Samuda, 1988; Tang, 2006). Given that caregivers in different countries hold particular beliefs about how children should behave and how children should be punished for violating these expectations, it is likely they may still hold onto these beliefs once these caregivers immigrate to the U.S. Thus, expectations for children's responsibilities influence the likelihood of physical punishment and potential subsequent abuse.

Role of children's gender. In addition to these expectations of children, beliefs about gender are another component of immigrant culture that may influence corporal punishment and physical abuse. From culture to culture, beliefs about gender vary and these beliefs may influence the prevalence of violence committed against children, in addition to whether boys or girls experience more violence from their caregivers in that culture. For example, although there is no widely accepted definition of *machismo*, this term is typically associated with rigid sex roles, aggressiveness, dominance, and low levels of nurturance, and it influences how children are treated (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994). Although machismo attitudes are typically associated with Latin cultures, other cultures also possess beliefs that are generally thought of as machismo as well (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994; Perilla, 1999). The few studies that have explored the relationship between machismo attitudes and physical punishment have linked higher levels of these machismo attitudes to more punitive childrearing techniques (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994; Ferrari, 2002). Despite few studies directly exploring the connections between machismo attitudes and child physical abuse, higher levels of machismo attitudes have consistently been linked to spousal abuse (Kasturirangan, Krishnan, & Riger, 2004; Wessel & Campbell, 1997). Given that higher rates of domestic violence are correlated with higher rates of child abuse (Ross, 1996; Windham et al., 2004), it seems likely that machismo attitudes endorsing aggressiveness and dominance might influence violence in the family overall and provide further support for the link between machismo beliefs and physical discipline.

In addition to machismo attitudes, however, parents from cultures that value masculinity may also be more likely to treat sons more harshly while disciplining them, in order to raise them in a more masculine way. In these cultures, sons may experience more frequent physical punishment than daughters (Hahm & Guterman, 2001) and this could be exacerbated by the

higher expectations parents have for them (e.g., academic performance, filial behavior (Tang, 1998). This could be particularly relevant for adolescent sons, especially if they are the only child in the family, since they are expected to carry on the family name and care for their aging parents (Tang, 1996). Research in Vietnam supports this; men's physical punishment of their sons and grandsons is due to their representations of masculinity and conceptualizations of men being powerful and superior to women (Rydstrom, 2006). This can be attributed Confucianism, which practices patrilineal ancestor worship and glorifies male progeny (Rydstrom, 2006). Overall, however, the research regarding traditional beliefs about gender and parental physical aggression towards children is rather scarce and more research should be conducted in this area (Maker et al., 2005). Like expectations of children, cultural values about gender can provide justification for caregiver physical discipline.

Influences of Acculturation on Caregiving Processes

While the literature thus far has focused primarily on cultural norms, beliefs, and attitudes, it is critical to recognize how generation status and migration experiences shape these values. When immigrants bring their home cultures into a new dominant culture, the process of immigration and subsequent acculturation shapes their original norms, beliefs, and attitudes. The relationship between acculturation and caregiving practices, however, is mixed.

Some evidence suggests that exposure to the U.S. is linked to lower rates of caregiver physical aggression, due to cultural norms surrounding parenting practices where corporal punishment may not be endorsed as much. Studies done with foreign-born East Indian (Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002) and Chinese (Chiu, 1987) mothers show that those residing in their native countries are more likely to endorse authoritarian beliefs and practices while those residing in the U.S. begin to shift towards being less restrictive. Similarly, evidence also suggests

that acculturating to the U.S. is linked to breaking the cycle of the intergenerational transmission of physical punishment for Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrant and refugees (Tajima & Harachi, 2010). However, studies done with other groups show conflicting evidence. Compared to U.S.-born Hispanic women, foreign-born women had significantly lower rates of physical aggression towards their children and the number of years living in the U.S. was not predictive of physical discipline (Altschul & Lee, 2011; S. J. Lee & Altschul, 2015). Similarly, rates of physical abuse for Puerto Rican families residing in the Bronx were higher than those residing in Puerto Rico (Sledjeski, Dierker, Bird, & Canino, 2009). Thus, the relationship between nativity and maternal physical aggression could be linked to the contexts of mothers' early socialization (Altschul & Lee, 2011; Franzini, Ribble, & Keddie, 2001). Exposure to the U.S. society seems to influence parenting and parent-child relationships; however, how this is linked to parenting is unclear and the mechanisms explaining why these links may be different between racial and ethnic groups is not well understood thus far.

This Study

It is important to note that culture as a whole is a very large construct, so for the purposes of this study only *certain aspects* of culture that have been previously identified in the literature to be associated with caregiver violence towards children will be measured. Using surveys of undergraduates, this study aims to address 1) *how college students vary in their experiences of caregiver corporal punishment and physical abuse based on their caregivers' cultural norms, values, and beliefs* and 2) *to what extent does this vary across cultural groups, gender, and generation status*. The cultural values that are assessed in this study rely on what the previous literature has identified as being linked to caregivers' physical discipline, but do not represent the influence of *overall* culture. Cultural factors that have been explored in more than one

racial/ethnic group, but are primarily focused on one cultural group, such as familism, filial piety, and machismo attitudes, are used to determine whether there are links between these cultural beliefs and college students' experiences of caregiver physical aggression among different cultural groups.

Method

Participants

College students ($n = 736$; 60.9% females) were recruited from a large public four-year university on the West Coast through flyers, class announcements, and an online subject pool. Recruitment took place over the course of six months and participants were socioeconomically and ethnically/racially diverse. While almost half of the students were Asian/Pacific Islander (48.4%), 28.1% were Hispanic/Latino, 11.5% were White non-Hispanic, and 12.0% were Other/Mixed race. Of the students with data, the majority was born in the U.S. (71.1%) and 29.0% were the first generation, 56.6% were second generation, and 14.5% were third generation in the U.S.

The students' social class backgrounds were quite diverse as well. Students completed the MacArthur scale of subjective social status as a proxy for social class. They were asked to rate where their family stood on a ladder with rungs labeled 1 - 10, where a one representing being the closest to families "who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job," and a 10 representing being the closest to families "who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs." The mean rating for subjective social class was 5.61 ($SD = 1.78$; Range = 1 - 10).

Analytic sample. Respondents' ages ranged from 18 - 59 years old ($M = 21.64$; $SD = 3.70$), but the sample used for these analyses were limited to traditional college students under

the age of 25 years ($M = 20.86$; $SD = 1.40$). In addition to this age restriction, the analytic sample was comprised of those who had data regarding their disciplinary experiences as children.

The analytic sample used for these analyses ($n = 675$) included 61.5% females, and the racial/ethnic composition of the sample was 50.2% Asian/Pacific Islander, 28.1% Hispanic/Latino, 9.9% White, and 11.7% Other/Mixed race. Of those with data, 71.6% were U.S.-born with 28.6% of students being first generation, 58.3% being second generation, and 13.2% being third generation in the U.S. The mean rating for the analytic sample's MacArthur scale of subjective social status was 5.61 ($SD = 1.76$; Range = 1 - 10). Student demographic characteristics can be seen in Table 2.1.

Based on 74 comparisons of student and caregiver characteristics, after controlling for whether the student was a traditional college student, no characteristics significantly predicted whether the student was included in the analytic sample or not.

[Insert Table 2.1]

Procedures

For this study, data were collected through an electronic survey (See Appendix 2A). Students were asked about their background as well as the background of the people who raised them. Participants selected up to two main caregivers who raised them and answered questions regarding who these caregivers were, what forms of discipline these caregivers used, as well as their perceptions of their caregivers' beliefs using a battery of existing questionnaires. These measures addressed cultural values and beliefs that have been shown in at least one U.S. immigrant culture to either be a risk or protective factor for parental physical aggression. Prior to the administration of this measure, extensive cognitive interviewing (Beatty & Willis, 2007) was conducted with undergraduates to refine the final survey used in this study.

Participating students either received one course credit or were entered into a raffle after completing this online survey.

Measures

Independent variable- caregiver's beliefs. The portion of the electronic survey that addressed students' perceptions of their caregivers' values and beliefs was adapted from previously existing questionnaires. Although these questionnaires have been used to capture subjects' self-reported attitudes, in this study, measures were used to assess students' perceptions of their caregivers' values and beliefs during the period of time *when the student was growing up*, and these questionnaires were re-worded and adapted for clarity (e.g., Liu, Ng, Weatherall, & Loong, 2000).

Familism. The Brief Familism Scale from Buriel and Rivera (1980) was used in this study. One of the four items, "Individuals should think of what is good for his/her family more than he/she thinks of what is good for himself/herself personally," was used to measure students' assessments of their caregivers' beliefs about familism, based on its proximity to the definition of familism. Responses to this item were made on a four-point scale where 1 = strong disagreement and 4 = strong agreement (Caregiver 1 $M = 3.28$, $SD = 0.74$; Caregiver 2 $M = 3.29$, $SD = 0.74$). These scores were then standardized. Students who responded with "don't know," instead of a value from 1 – 4, were assigned a 0 for their caregivers' familism score. Then an additional dummy variable named "don't know primary caregivers' familism" was created where 1 = "don't know" and 0 = if they indicated a score for familism. This dummy variable was perfectly correlated with the caregivers' familism score, so that those who indicated that they "don't know" their caregivers' beliefs about familism were retained in the sample by means of a dummy variable adjustment.

The full scale was not used for this study because of low Cronbach's alphas and an item that did not load in the right direction. As a point of reference, in Buriel and Rivera's study the Cronbach's alpha for Anglo Americans was 0.74 and for Mexican Americans was 0.82. In this study, the Cronbach's alpha for the analytic sample was much lower (0.60) and for individual pan-ethnic/racial groups alphas ranged from 0.53 - 0.62. Interestingly, the last item "_____ believe/d that the word "family" includes parents, children, grandparents, grandchildren, cousins, nieces, nephews, aunts and uncles" loaded in the opposite direction for the full analytic sample, as well as for each racial/ethnic subgroup. After consulting with the author of the scale, Buriel suggested that the Cronbach's alpha were lower because this sample was comprised of college students, whereas the original study used high school students, and that the original study was done long ago when attitudes about familism may have been more cohesive than today. The author originally suggested dropping the last item from the analysis, but Cronbach's alphas using three of the four items were much lower. Thus, for this study, the item that most approximated the definition of familism was used instead.

Filial piety. To measure students' assessments of their caregivers' beliefs about filial piety, a 6-item measure adopted from Gallois et al. (1996) was used. Students rated whether their caregivers' believed that children should generally "look after," "assist financially," "respect," "obey," "please and make happy," and "retain contact with," their elderly parents. Student perceptions of their caregivers' beliefs were rated on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = "disagree" and 5 = "agree." Cronbach's alpha for New-Zealand Chinese and New-Zealand Europeans in Liu's (2000) study were both greater than 0.80. For this study, the alpha for the analytic sample was 0.76. For Whites it was 0.70, Asian/Pacific Islanders 0.79, Hispanic/Latinos 0.70, and Other/Mixed race 0.80. Given that filial piety is typically explored in Asian populations, it is

unsurprising that the reliability was comparable to that of Liu's (2000); however, it is worthwhile to note that it seems to be an appropriate scale to use for other populations as well.

Summary scores were calculated if students had data for five or six questions. Summed scores were averaged based on the number of questions answered (Caregiver 1 $M = 4.58$, $SD = 0.55$; Caregiver 2 $M = 4.57$, $SD = 0.57$). Given the left skewed distribution, a cubed transformation was performed before standardizing the data. Again, if the student did not have a filial piety score because they indicated "don't know" for multiple responses, their "don't know" score was denoted using a dummy variable adjustment, instead of assigning the student a missing value or excluding the student from the analysis.

Machismo attitudes. Lastly, to measure students' assessments' of their caregivers machismo attitudes, a 17-item Machismo Subscale taken from the Multiphasic Assessment of Cultural Constructs- Short Form (MACC-SF; Cuéllar, Arnold, & González, 1995) was used. Some examples of items include: "Boys should not play with dolls, and other girls' toys," "Parents should maintain stricter control over their daughters than their sons," and "It is important for a man to be strong." Students indicated whether their caregiver/s would rate each statement as true or false. The authors of this scale used a sample of primarily Mexican origin university students and found that the Spearman-Brown coefficient was 0.77 and the Cronbach's alpha was a 0.78. For this study, the Cronbach's alpha for the analytic sample was 0.86. For Whites it was 0.87, Asian/Pacific Islanders 0.87, Hispanic/Latinos 0.84, and for Other/Mixed race 0.85. Similarly to the filial piety scale, the high internal consistency for each of these subgroups demonstrate that although this scale is typically used with Hispanic/Latino students, it may be applicable to other racial/ethnic populations as well.

This scale only allowed students to choose one of two options as their response, in addition to “Unknown.” Thus, students were substantially more likely to indicate that their caregiver’s response was “Unknown” to them, relative to the other scales, rather than selecting “True” or “False.” Because of this, there were far more “Unknown” responses for this scale than for the familism and filial piety scales. Given that students would likely be aware of their caregivers’ strong machismo attitudes, the “Unknown” responses were aggregated with the “False” scores to represent a “weak/unknown machismo attitudes” instead, whereas the original “True” responses now indicated “strong machismo attitudes.” Thus, 0 indicated “weak/unknown machismo attitudes” and 1 indicated “strong machismo attitudes.” Students’ responses that included 80% or more data for the scale were used, and summed scores were adjusted for how many questions were answered by dividing overall Machismo Subscale scores by the amount of questions answered. Overall scores ranged from 0 - 1 where scores closer to 1 indicated having stronger machismo attitudes and scores closer to 0 indicated having weaker or unknown machismo attitudes (Caregiver 1 $M = 0.28$, $SD = 0.22$; Caregiver 2 $M = 0.26$, $SD = 0.22$). These scores were then standardized.

Dependent variable- parental disciplinary practices. Parental disciplinary practices were first operationalized as the presence or absence of various types of individual behaviors. Students were asked to check all of the ways that their primary caregiver responded when they did something wrong/got in trouble. Options included those that were not physically aggressive (e.g., reasoning/talking/explaining, belittling, yelling/screaming) as well as those that were physically aggressive (e.g., throwing objects, spanking/slapping, hitting with objects). These variables were then used to create a dichotomous variable for the presence of *any* physically aggressive disciplinary practices that were violent, and analyses were used with this as a

dependent variable. Students indicated that 50.7% of their primary caregivers used physical discipline while only 39.2% of their secondary caregivers did, $r(332) = 0.42, p < .001$. Analyses were also conducted using a dichotomized dependent variable for the presence of physically aggressive behaviors that were more severe than just slapping/spanking/pinching, and this was labeled moderate to severe physical discipline. Students indicated that 24.3% of their primary caregivers used moderate to severe physical discipline while only 18.3% of their secondary caregivers did, $r(332) = 0.35, p < .001$.

Unique control variables. Race/ethnicity variables for the analysis were operationalized using student identified caregiver race/ethnicity. Various pan-ethnic groups were created and groups included Asian/Pacific Islander (50.2%), White non-Hispanic (9.9%), Hispanic/Latino (28.2%), and Other/Mixed race (11.7%).

Generation status of students were used instead of student indicated caregiver generation status, as there was more variability with the former, and student generation status is also indicative of how acculturated the caregiver may be to the U.S. as well. Student generation status was operationalized as a continuous variable. If the student was not born in the U.S., they were identified as being first generation (28.6%). If the student was born in the U.S., they were identified as second generation if one or more of their parents were not born in the U.S. (58.3%). If a student was born in the U.S. and both of their parents were also born in the U.S., they were identified as third generation or higher (13.2%). There were some cases where generation status could not be determined, and student generation statuses were coded as missing/unknown.

Analysis

Descriptive analyses were first conducted to determine the distribution of all key variables (Table 2.1).

To address the question, “*How do college students vary in their experiences of caregiver corporal punishment and physical abuse based on their caregivers’ cultural norms, values, and beliefs?*” primary caregiver data were used. First, correlations between student and primary caregiver characteristics (Table 2.2) were run. Then a logistic regression was used to estimate the relationship between the key independent variables (i.e., familism, filial piety, machismo) and the presence of any physical punishment (Table 2.3), and the presence of moderate to severe forms of physical punishment (Table 2.4), separately. Control variables included student age, gender, generation status, number of siblings, and class (as measured by the MacArthur scale of subjective social status), as well as caregiver gender and race/ethnicity. All of these control variables are indicated by the *X* term in the following analyses.

Model 1:

$$\text{Caregiver_Physical_Punishment} = \beta_1\text{Familism} + \beta_2\text{Machismo_Attitudes} + \beta_3\text{Filial_Piety} + X\alpha + \zeta$$

To address the second half of the research question, “*To what extent does this vary across cultural groups, gender, and generation status,*” I interact each of the main belief variables (i.e., familism, machismo attitudes, filial piety) with 1) caregiver race/ethnicity, 2) caregiver gender, and 3) student generation status to see how these variables affect caregiver beliefs and attitudes and how they might differentially predict experiences of physical discipline. These interaction terms are then added to Model 1.

Model 2:

$$\text{Caregiver_Physical_Punishment} = \beta_1\text{Familism} + \beta_2\text{Machismo_Attitudes} + \beta_3\text{Filial_Piety} + \beta_4\text{Familism*Race/ethnicity} + \beta_5\text{Machismo_Attitudes*Race/ethnicity} + \beta_6\text{Filial_Piety*Race/ethnicity} + X\alpha + \zeta$$

Model 3:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Caregiver_Physical_Punishment} = & \beta_1\text{Familism} + \beta_2\text{Machismo_Attitudes} + \\ & \beta_3\text{Filial_Piety} + \beta_4\text{Familism*gender} + \\ & \beta_5\text{Machismo_Attitudes*gender} + \beta_6\text{Filial_Piety*gender} + X\alpha + \zeta \end{aligned}$$

Model 4:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Caregiver_Physical_Punishment} = & \beta_1\text{Familism} + \beta_2\text{Machismo_Attitudes} + \\ & \beta_3\text{Filial_Piety} + \beta_4\text{Familism*generation} + \\ & \beta_5\text{Machismo_Attitudes*generation} + \beta_6\text{Filial_Piety*generation} + X\alpha + \zeta \end{aligned}$$

Familism as a moderator. Lastly, considering that research has demonstrated that familism is protective against physical discipline, and machismo attitudes and filial piety are risk factors for parental aggression, it is likely that familism may moderate the association between these risk factors and physical discipline. Thus, an interactions term was created with machismo attitudes and familism, as well as for filial piety and familism, and these interaction terms were individually added to Model 1 (see Tables 2.3 & 2.4).

Model 5:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Caregiver_Physical_Punishment} = & \beta_1\text{Familism} + \beta_2\text{Machismo_Attitudes} + \\ & \beta_3\text{Filial_Piety} + \beta_4\text{Familism*Machismo_Attitudes} + X\alpha + \zeta \end{aligned}$$

Model 6:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Caregiver_Physical_Punishment} = & \beta_1\text{Familism} + \beta_2\text{Machismo_Attitudes} + \\ & \beta_3\text{Filial_Piety} + \beta_4\text{Familism*Filial_Piety} + X\alpha + \zeta \end{aligned}$$

Including secondary caregiver. Additional analyses were performed to address the potential role the secondary caregiver played. Students were asked, “Of the adult/s that you indicated were most involved in your daily upbringing and were in charge of taking care of you

and teaching you right from wrong, was there another adult individual that was also in charge of dealing with you when you got into trouble/did something wrong aside from Adult 1?” Of the students who answered the question, 68.1% said “yes” ($n = 460$). The students that indicated “yes” were then asked, “As compared to Adult 1, how much did Adult 2 have to deal with you when you got in trouble?” The majority of these students (73.5%) indicated “About the same as caregiver 1” or “A little bit less than caregiver 1” ($n = 338$). Of those students, 334 submitted responses regarding their secondary caregivers disciplinary methods; these students were then asked a series of questions about their secondary caregiver.

To address concordance between primary and secondary caregivers’ beliefs and disciplinary behaviors, correlation analyses for these variables were conducted (Table 2.5). Additionally, given that caregivers’ values and endorsement of physical discipline may influence one another, as well as overall childhood experiences of physical discipline, to address the shared contribution of both caregivers’ beliefs for childhood experiences of physical discipline, Model 1 was re-run with both caregivers’ *averaged* belief scores (i.e., familism, machismo attitudes, filial piety) as the independent variables. This was used to predict whether the student experienced any physical punishment from either caregiver or any moderate to severe physical punishment from either caregiver (Table 2.6). For the average familism and average filial piety variables, a dummy adjustment was made for those who indicated that they did not know either their primary or secondary caregivers’ beliefs.

Further, to address the individual contributions of both primary and secondary caregivers’ familism, filial piety, and machismo attitudes, to students’ experiences of both any physical discipline and moderate to severe physical discipline from either caregiver, a stepwise regression was conducted. The secondary caregivers’ familism, filial piety, and machismo attitudes were

added to Model 1. Primary and secondary caregivers' familism, filial piety, and machismo attitudes were used as the key independent variables, and this was used to predict whether the student experienced any physical punishment or moderate to severe physical punishment from *either* caregiver (Table 2.7). For both caregivers' familism and filial piety variables, dummy variable adjustment were made if students indicated that they did not know their primary or secondary caregivers' beliefs.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Table 2.1 provides descriptive information for students, primary caregivers, and secondary caregivers. Students' primary caregivers ($n = 675$) were 73.5% female; primary caregivers were typically mothers (68.5%) or fathers (24.7%). In terms of racial/ethnic composition 51.6% were Asian/Pacific Islander, 29.2% were Hispanic/Latino, 10.8% were White, and 8.3% were Other/Mixed Race. The majority was first generation (83.4%), very few were second generation (6.0%), and the remaining were third generation or higher (10.6%) in the U.S. Unlike the primary caregivers, secondary caregivers ($n = 334$) were mostly male (57.6%); secondary caregivers were typically fathers (54.6%) or mothers (36.9%). They were 47.0% Asian/Pacific Islander, 32.0% Hispanic/Latino, 13.2% White, and 7.8% Other/Mixed Race. In terms of generation status, they were virtually identical to primary caregivers, with the majority being first generation (82.7%), very few being second generation (5.9%) and the remaining being third generation (11.4%) in the U.S. or higher.

Primary caregivers were more likely to use physical discipline (50.7%) compared to secondary caregivers (39.2%), but these rates were not significantly different from one another, $t(363) = 1.79, p > .05$. Similarly, primary caregivers were also more likely to use physical

discipline beyond slapping/spanking/pinching (24.3% vs. 18.3%), but these too were also not significantly different from one another, $t(363) = 1.71, p > .05$. Primary and secondary caregivers' familism (Caregiver 1 $M = 3.28, SD = 0.74$; Caregiver 2 $M = 3.29, SD = 0.74$), filial piety (Caregiver 1 $M = 4.58, SD = 0.55$; Caregiver 2 $M = 4.57, SD = 0.57$), and machismo scores (Caregiver 1 $M = 0.28, SD = 0.22$; Caregiver 2 $M = 0.26, SD = 0.22$) were all very similar and results from two-sample t-tests indicate that the scores were not significantly different from one another either (familism $t(336) = 0.58, p > .05$; filial piety $t(340) = 0.80, p > .05$; machismo $t(341) = -0.85, p > .05$).

[Insert Table 2.2]

Primary Caregivers

Correlations between student and primary caregiver characteristics. The correlations between student and primary caregiver characteristics are shown in Table 2.2.

Primary caregivers' familism and filial piety scores were positively correlated with one another, $r(650) = 0.26, p < .001$, and primary caregivers' machismo scores were positively correlated with both their familism, $r(653) = 0.17, p < .001$, and filial piety scores, $r(659) = 0.18, p < .001$. Primary caregivers' filial piety, $r(660) = 0.11, p < .01$, and machismo scores, $r(669) = 0.14, p < .001$, were positively correlated with their use of physical punishment and use of moderate to severe physical punishment (filial piety $r(660) = 0.09, p < .05$; machismo $r(669) = 0.19, p < .001$), but familism was not significantly correlated with either.

Several student characteristics were also significantly correlated with primary caregivers' use of physical punishment. For example, student generation status, $r(667) = 0.10, p < .05$, and gender, $r(673) = 0.09, p < .05$, was positively correlated with their primary caregiver using any physical punishment with them (those who have been in the U.S. for more generations and males

were more likely to experience physical punishment). Students' number of siblings, on the other hand, was positively correlated with their experiences of any physical discipline, $r(672) = 0.19$, $p < .001$, and moderate to severe physical punishment, $r(672) = 0.19$, $p < .001$, at the hands of their primary caregivers. Additionally, students' perceptions of their social status was negatively correlated with their primary caregivers using physical punishment, $r(673) = -0.13$, $p < .001$, and moderate to severe physical punishment, $r(673) = -0.08$, $p < .05$.

[Insert Table 2.3]

Primary caregivers' beliefs predicting students' experiences of physical punishment.

In Model 1, which examined the relationship between caregivers' beliefs (i.e., familism, filial piety, machismo) and student experiences of both any physical punishment and moderate to severe physical punishment, machismo attitudes were the only belief that was statistically significant. Primary caregivers who had higher levels of machismo attitudes were more likely to use any physical punishment with the student, $OR = 1.48$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.23, 1.78], as well as moderate to severe physical punishment, $OR = 1.57$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.28, 1.91].

Additionally, having more siblings increased the likelihood of students experiencing physical discipline, $OR = 1.40$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.16, 1.69], as well as moderate to severe physical discipline, $OR = 1.45$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.20, 1.75]. However, a student being male, $OR = 1.60$, $p < .01$, 95% CI [1.13, 2.25], being of a higher generation status, $OR = 1.76$, $p < .001$, 95% CI [1.30, 2.37], and having a caregiver that was Asian/Pacific Islander, $OR = 2.12$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [1.14, 3.94], only resulted in an increased likelihood of experiencing any physical punishment from their primary caregiver growing up. On the other hand, if the primary caregiver was Hispanic/Latino, it only increased the likelihood of a student experiencing moderate to severe physical discipline, $OR = 2.31$, $p < .05$, 95% CI [1.00, 5.31],

[Insert Table 2.4]

Interactions between race/ethnicity, gender, and generation status. For Models 2 - 4, primary caregivers' beliefs were interacted with their race/ethnicity, gender, and students' generation status, respectively. These models were run with both any physical punishment and moderate to severe physical punishment as the outcome variable. Several of the models predicting any type of physical punishment showed significant main effects for students' gender, number of siblings, perceptions of social status, and generation status, along with caregivers' race (see Table 2.3). Further, some models predicting moderate to severe physical punishment indicated main effects for number of siblings and caregiver race/ethnicity (see Table 2.4). However, only the main effects for caregiver beliefs and the effects for the interaction terms between caregiver beliefs and their race/ethnicity, gender, and student's generation status, will be discussed in the following section.

When any physical discipline was used as the outcome variable in Model 2, which included the interaction between caregiver race/ethnicity and their belief scores, none of the belief scores or interaction terms were significant. However, when moderate to severe physical discipline was used as the outcome variable, although the interaction term was not significant, machismo attitudes predicted a higher likelihood of using moderate to severe physical discipline, $OR = 2.12, p < .05, 95\% CI [1.01, 4.43]$.

Next, in Model 3, which included the interaction of caregiver gender and belief scores, higher levels of machismo attitudes predicted a greater likelihood of using any physical punishment, $OR = 1.47, p < .001, 95\% CI [1.17, 1.84]$, as well as moderate to severe physical discipline, $OR = 1.70, p < .001, 95\% CI [1.32, 2.18]$, but none of the interaction terms using either dependent variable were statistically significant.

Lastly, in Model 4, which included an interaction between students' generation status and caregiver belief scores, the main effect for familism indicated that caregivers with stronger beliefs were more likely to use any physical punishment, $OR = 1.73, p < .05, 95\% CI [1.00, 3.00]$, contrary to previous findings. However, the interaction term indicated that students of a higher generation status who had caregivers with higher levels of familism were less likely to have experienced any physical punishment growing up, $OR = 0.74, p < .05, 95\% CI [0.56, 0.99]$, which is consistent with the extant literature. When moderate to severe physical punishment was used as the dependent variable, however, none of the belief scores or interaction terms significantly predicted the use of moderate to severe physical punishment.

Familism as a buffer for filial piety and machismo attitudes. Models 5 and 6 tested whether familism buffered the effect of filial piety and machismo attitudes, which have been shown to be risk factor for physical discipline in the literature. These two models included interaction terms between familism and filial piety, and familism and machismo attitudes, respectively. Models 5 and 6 predicting both any physical punishment and moderate to severe physical punishment showed that the interaction terms were not statistically significant. However, when any physical punishment was used as the dependent variable, consistent with Models 1 and 3 using the same dependent variable, having a primary caregiver with higher levels of machismo attitudes predicted a greater likelihood of the student experiencing any physical discipline in both Model 5, $OR = 1.47, p < .001, 95\% CI [1.22, 1.78]$, and 6, $OR = 1.48, p < .001, 95\% CI [1.23, 1.78]$. Similarly, when moderate to severe physical punishment was used as the dependent variable, consistent with Models 1 – 3 using the same dependent variable, Model 5, $OR = 1.58, p < .001, 95\% CI [1.28, 1.93]$, and Model 6, $OR = 1.57, p < .001, 95\% CI [1.28,$

1.91], indicated that higher levels of primary caregivers' machismo attitudes predicted a greater likelihood of using moderate to severe physical discipline.

[Insert Table 2.5]

Comparing Caregivers' Beliefs

In the next set of analyses, if the student indicated that their secondary caregiver played a significant role in his/her life, both caregivers' beliefs and behaviors were considered.

Correlations between primary and secondary caregivers' beliefs and behaviors.

Table 2.5 displays the correlations between primary and secondary caregiver characteristics. Primary caregivers use of physical punishment was significantly correlated with secondary caregivers use of physical punishment, $r(332) = 0.42, p < .001$, as well as secondary caregivers use of moderate to severe physical punishment, $r(332) = 0.26, p < .001$. Additionally, primary caregivers' moderate to severe physical punishment was significantly correlated with secondary caregivers' use of physical punishment, $r(332) = 0.28, p < .001$, and moderate to severe physical punishment, $r(332) = 0.35, p < .001$. In terms of their belief scores, both caregivers' familism, $r(307) = 0.80, p < .001$, filial piety, $r(311) = 0.85, p < .001$, and machismo scores, $r(312) = 0.73, p < .001$, were positively correlated with one another.

[Insert Table 2.6]

Averaged caregivers' beliefs predicting students' experiences of physical discipline.

In the next set of analyses, caregivers' beliefs were averaged to address the joint contribution of the caregivers, and these belief scores were used to predict whether students experienced any type of physical discipline or moderate to severe physical discipline from either caregiver. These results are displayed in Table 2.6. Although no aggregated beliefs significantly predicted students' experiences of any physical discipline, higher averages of machismo scores predicted a

greater likelihood of students experiencing moderate to severe physical discipline from either caregiver, $OR = 1.61, p < .01, 95\% CI [1.21, 1.15]$.

[Insert Table 2.7]

Individual caregivers' beliefs predicting students' experiences of physical discipline.

Lastly, a stepwise regression was used to address the individual contributions of each caregiver's beliefs; both caregivers' belief scores were used in the same regression to predict whether students experienced any type of physical discipline or moderate to severe physical discipline from either caregiver. These results are shown in Table 2.7. When both caregivers' belief scores were entered into the same regression, none of the belief scores were significantly associated with students' likelihood of experiencing any physical discipline. However, higher primary caregiver filial piety scores were significantly associated with a higher likelihood of students experiencing moderate to severe physical discipline, $OR = 1.87, p < .05, 95\% CI [1.03, 3.38]$.

Discussion

This study examined whether cultural beliefs that have typically been explored within cultural groups have the same effects across a diverse sample. In particular, it explored the effects of caregivers' familism, filial piety, and machismo attitudes on students' experiences of physical discipline. Additionally, it addressed the effects of caregivers' race/ethnicity, gender, and student generation status on this relationship. Results indicated that filial piety does not predict a caregivers' likelihood to use physical discipline. Additionally, the effect of familism on physical punishment was weak and inconsistent. When an interaction term between familism and generation status was added to the model predicting use of any physical punishment, the main effect for familism indicated that those with higher levels of familism predicted a higher likelihood of using physical discipline, which is contrary to previous findings (Coohey, 2001;

Ferrari, 2002). However, the interaction term indicated that if the caregiver was of a higher generation status, a proxy for being more acculturated to the U.S., and had a higher level of familism, then they were less likely to use physical punishment. Machismo attitudes, on the other hand, consistently predicted a higher likelihood of using physical discipline and moderate to severe physical discipline, and this was true across the whole sample. These findings indicate that caregivers from different cultural groups may share similar values and beliefs that have similar effects for caregivers' choices to use physical discipline.

Replication of Previous Findings

Several of the control variables included in these analyses had a significant main effect on any physical punishment and moderate to severe physical punishment, which replicates findings from previous studies. Being male, having more siblings, having a lower perception of one's social status, having a caregiver that was Asian/Pacific Islander, and being of a higher generation status predicted a greater likelihood of experiencing physical discipline. Additionally, having a greater number of siblings and being Hispanic/Latino predicted a greater likelihood of experiencing moderate to severe physical discipline. Youssef and colleagues (1998) have found associations between physical punishment and both living in a crowded home and having low income, which may be applicable for refugees or some immigrant groups with fewer economic resources. Additionally, several studies have found that boys may be more likely to experience physical discipline than daughters, which is likely due to culturally based gender expectations and parents' higher expectations for sons (Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Rydstrom, 2006; Tang, 1996, 1998). Further, although research on the effects of acculturation is mixed, several studies have found that those that are more acculturated to the U.S. are more likely to use physical discipline (Altschul & Lee, 2011; S. J. Lee & Altschul, 2015; Sledjeski et al., 2009).

Findings from this study, however, also point to potential differences in the relationship between various covariates and the *severity* of physical punishment. For example, having a greater number of siblings was linked to a greater likelihood of experiencing any physical punishment *and* moderate to severe physical punishment; this was not true for any other variables, which typically only predicted a greater likelihood of any physical discipline only. Further, while having a caregiver that was Asian/Pacific Islander was linked to experiencing any physical discipline only, having a caregiver that was Hispanic/Latino was linked to experiencing moderate to severe physical discipline only. Given that there appears to be differences across racial/ethnic groups, it may be worthwhile to explore the types of physical discipline behaviors used across different groups in more detail and address why certain types of physical discipline may be more prevalent in certain groups.

Attitudes About Gender and Physical Discipline

The most significant findings from this study are that having a primary caregiver with machismo attitudes consistently predicted the likelihood of experiencing any physical discipline and moderate to severe physical discipline for the full sample and that this does not vary across pan-ethnic/racial groups. These findings support the extant literature linking higher levels of machismo attitudes to a greater likelihood of using physical discipline (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994; Ferrari, 2002). Additionally, it supports findings that although machismo attitudes are typically explored within Latino populations, other cultures also possess stereotypical or rigid gender beliefs as well (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994; Perilla, 1999). These machismo attitudes also had the same effect on physical discipline use for other groups as it did within Latino populations. Thus, although research focusing on machismo attitudes has typically been ethnocentric (i.e., typically explored with Latinos), in this study, machismo attitudes were applicable to other groups and

still predicted a meaningful relationship with physical discipline across a diverse sample. Given that individuals across several groups seem to possess machismo attitudes, it would be worthwhile to address the role of machismo attitudes on other types of risky behaviors in different populations as well.

Importance of Family and Physical Discipline

In addition to machismo attitudes, another culturally grounded belief that was linked to physical discipline use was familism. However, the effects of familism were not as straightforward as the effects for machismo attitudes. What is interesting to note is that when generation was interacted with all of the belief scores, higher levels of familism were linked to higher levels of physical discipline, which is contrary to previous findings (Coohey, 2001; Ferrari, 2002). This also goes against findings linking lower levels of social supports to parental physical abuse (Black et al., 2001), as it appeared that having these strong family ties was linked to a greater likelihood of using physical discipline.

A possible explanation for this relationship is that familism could be associated with filial piety for some groups. These data indicated that familism and filial piety were moderately correlated with one another, $r(650) = 0.26, p < .001$. Further, since filial piety did not have a significant effect on caregivers' using physical discipline in this study, it is possible that because these two constructs may overlap, some of the effects of filial piety are represented in the OR for familism. It is reasonable to assume that if an individual places a greater importance on family over others (familism), then they may be more likely to follow their family members', in particular elderly family members', suggestions (filial piety). Thus, if family members suggest using physical discipline, then familism would likely be linked to higher rates of physical discipline, as shown in these results. Further, given that familism was measured using only one

item in this study, it is possible that the measure does not fully address the positive aspects of the construct. Findings from Study 2 offer insight into how family members may play a role in influencing whether caregivers choose to use physical discipline as well. Additionally, various studies have found that predisposition for using physical discipline is intergenerationally transmitted (Bailey, Hill, Oesterle, & Hawkins, 2009; Dietz, 2000; M. Wang & Xing, 2014), and factors such as familism and filial piety may be contributing to this relationship.

Although the main effect for familism is contrary to what previous studies have found, when familism was interacted with generation status, it was protective. Specifically, higher levels of familism for those who are of a higher generation status (i.e., born in the US or parents were born in the US) was protective, regardless of race/ethnicity. This supports previous findings that familism (Coohey, 2001; Ferrari, 2002) and social supports (Black et al., 2001; Crouch et al., 2001) are protective for physical aggression.

In conjunction, these two findings indicate the persistence of high levels of familism across generations is what is protective against physical discipline use, but high level of familism, otherwise, is a risk factor. Perhaps high rates of familism over time is indicative of higher rates of social supports, which is protective (Black et al., 2001; Crouch & Behl, 2001), while high rates of familism for those who have not been in the U.S. as long, may be an indication of adhering to more traditional practices, like believing in filial piety, or using physical discipline, if that is what is typical of their home country.

Subgroup analyses. Although the role of familism on physical punishment use was mixed for the full sample and was only significant when generation status was interacted with each belief variable, additional subgroup analyses indicated that for caregivers who were Southeast Asians, familism was clearly protective. Given that 51.6% ($n = 348$) of the primary

caregivers identified as Asian/Pacific Islander, a very heterogeneous group, additional analyses were done with this large pan-ethnic/racial group broken up into those who were Southeast Asians, which mostly consisted of Filipinos, Vietnamese, Thai, and Indonesians, and those who were not. This was done to explore whether the effects of familism, machismo attitudes, and filial piety varied across these two subgroups. Model 1 was rerun by subgroup and logistic regressions indicated that for Southeast Asian caregivers ($n = 127$), those who had higher levels of familism were less likely to use any type of physical discipline, $OR = 0.61, p < .05, 95\% CI [0.38, 0.98]$.

This could be explained by differences in migration and acculturation across the two subgroups. Students with Southeast Asian caregivers were much more likely to be the second generation in the U.S. (73.8%) compared to being the first (24.6%) or third (1.6%) generation or higher in the U.S. However, their non-Southeast Asian counterparts were more likely to be the first generation in the U.S. (53.0%) as opposed to the second (43.4%) or third (3.5%) generation or higher in the U.S. This is likely due to the fact that emigration from Southeast Asia varies from other parts of Asia and many Southeast Asians came to the U.S. as refugees, decades ago. Given that Tajima and Harachi (2010) found that for Southeast Asians, greater acculturation led to the breaking of the intergenerational transmission of physical discipline, this finding may support the hypothesis proposed earlier—that high rates of familism over time may be protective due to its socially supportive characteristics. Further, due to differences in the conditions of immigration for Southeast Asians, which were oftentimes traumatic and have been frequently linked to greater predisposition for child physical abuse and physical discipline (Carlson & Rosser-Hogan, 1993; Chang et al., 2008; Finkelhor et al., 2005; Ima & Hohm, 1991; Kinzie et al., 1990), perhaps placing the family first (Ingoldsby, 1991), relying on others, and caring for all

family members (Zayas, 1992), buffers against these risk factors for physical violence and has different effects than in other populations. These findings may indicate that although some cultural groups share the same cultural values or beliefs, these may be linked to physical discipline differently, due to extraneous factors.

Coparenting and Disciplinary Choices

In addition to considering primary caregivers' beliefs, secondary caregivers' beliefs are also considered in this study. Generally, primary and secondary caregivers had similar beliefs in this study. However, depending on whether caregivers' beliefs are averaged together or entered separately into the regressions, the contribution of the secondary caregiver is different. When caregivers' beliefs are averaged, the higher the average of both caregivers' machismo attitudes, the more likely the student is to experience moderate to severe physical discipline. Post-test analyses show that of the students' who experienced moderate to severe physical discipline, both their primary caregivers, $t(329) = -2.95, p < .01$, and their secondary caregivers, $t(313) = -3.22, p < .01$, scored significantly higher on machismo attitudes than students who did not experience moderate to severe physical discipline. Thus, having two caregivers with strong machismo attitudes could be especially risky, as there is an added potential for severe forms of physical discipline. In addition to averaging the two caregivers' belief scores, these belief scores are also entered separately into the same regression equations to address the individual contributions of each caregiver's beliefs. Results from the stepwise regression indicate that when both caregivers' belief scores are entered into the same regression, primary caregivers' filial piety scores are associated with higher levels of moderate to severe physical discipline. This is similar to the results in Model 4 of Table 2.3, where only primary caregivers' beliefs were considered; in this model, primary caregivers' familism scores were significantly associated with students'

experiences of *any* physical discipline. Although very few studies address secondary caregiver attitudes and behaviors, these findings may indicate the need to address other particularly risky beliefs in both primary and secondary caregivers, and to do so in different ways.

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study identified several important findings, there are some limitations as well. One is its retrospective design. Having undergraduate students recall their caregivers' beliefs and their experiences with physical discipline introduces some room for error and opportunities for missing data. Although students may be able to recall their experiences with physical discipline from each caregiver fairly well, oftentimes students were not able to answer questions regarding their caregivers' beliefs, thus resulting in missing data or scores for belief measures that were based on fewer numbers of questions. Future studies should employ a longitudinal study design and incorporate both child and caregiver accounts of physical discipline and caregivers' own ratings of their cultural values, to address the link between caregivers' beliefs and behaviors.

Second, the undergraduate students in this sample are not representative of the general U.S. population, which limits the generalizability of this study's findings. Given that they are college students, they are relatively more successful and more likely to be middle class, as determined by MacArthur scale of subjective social status. Further, very few of the college students in this sample indicated that they endured physical violence that might be classified as abusive, so the range of physical violence represented in this study is truncated. Future studies should use a more diverse population, both demographically and in terms of experiences of physical discipline. However, a strength of sampling from this university was that it provided a relatively heterogeneous sample that offered insight into cross-cultural similarities associated

with experiences of physical aggression from caregivers. This sample also allowed for distinguishing between generation statuses within certain racial/ethnic populations as well. Further, another strength of using this sample was that students experienced various types of caregiver disciplinary tactics and allowed for associations between perceptions of caregiver characteristics and students' experiences of physical discipline.

The last major limitation to this study is its operationalization of cultural beliefs and values by aggregated pan-ethnic/racial groups. Given the small sample sizes of individuals by country of origin, pan-ethnic/racial groups had to be created. However, pan-ethnic/racial groups are not without its limitations. Thus, future studies should utilize larger samples of individuals with origins in the same country, or address which countries are historically culturally similar (e.g., mainland China, Hong-Kong, Taiwan), before aggregating data.

Conclusion

Researchers who study links between cultural beliefs and practices typically focus within groups (K. Elliott & Urquiza, 2006) and little is known whether shared beliefs across groups may similarly be linked to caregiver physical aggression. Results from this study indicate that across caregivers of diverse pan-ethnic/racial backgrounds, machismo attitudes are significantly associated with physical discipline, oftentimes, physical discipline that is moderate to severe. Further, the effect of familism, although rather weak, seems to be dependent on extraneous factors such as generation status. Given that physical punishment results in detrimental child outcomes (Afifi et al., 2006; E. T. Gershoff, 2002; Lansford et al., 2005; MacMillan et al., 1999; Springer et al., 2007; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996), it is worthwhile to explore the cultural values and beliefs previously linked to caregiver violence that are typically studied within cultural groups across more diverse populations. These findings offer policy-makers and interventionists

a greater understanding of why documented cases of corporal punishment and physical abuse may vary across certain populations. It reveals how some cultural factors exacerbate caregiver physical discipline and others may buffer violence against children across different populations, which is meaningful for policy and interventions hoping to reduce corporal punishment and physical abuse. In particular, this study points to machismo attitudes as a potentially useful area to target. Efforts can be made to alter cultural norms, values, and beliefs, which endorse aggressive caregiver behaviors, or explain to caregivers that certain cultural values are associated with aggressive behaviors, in hopes of reducing physical discipline. Additionally, programs can be created to bolster cultural norms, values, and beliefs that serve as buffers to aggressive behaviors as well, especially if some cultures hold competing values that serve as both risk and protective factors.

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Table 2.1

Descriptive Statistics of Students and Caregivers

	Students (N = 675)				Primary Caregivers (N = 675)				Secondary Caregivers (N = 334)			
	<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Range	<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Range	<i>n</i>	%	<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Range
Age	675		20.86 (1.40)	18.00 - 24.00								
Number of Siblings	674		1.65 (1.36)	0.00 - 10.00								
Socioeconomic Status	675		5.61 (1.76)	1.00 - 10.00								
Gender	675				671				314			
Male	260	38.5%			178	26.5%			181	57.6%		
Female	415	61.5%			492	73.5%			133	42.4%		
Race/Ethnicity	675				674				334			
White	67	9.9%			73	10.8%			44	13.2%		
Asian/Pacific Islander	339	50.2%			348	51.6%			157	47.0%		
Hispanic/Latino	190	28.1%			197	29.2%			107	32.0%		
Other/Mixed Race	79	11.7%			56	8.3%			26	7.8%		
Generation Status	669				662				324			
First	191	28.6%			552	83.4%			268	82.7%		
Second	390	58.3%			40	6.0%			19	5.9%		
Third	88	13.2%			70	10.6%			37	11.4%		
Caregiver Type					673				317			
Mother					461	68.5%			117	36.9%		
Father					166	24.7%			173	54.6%		
Other					46	6.8%			27	8.8%		

Use of Physical Discipline	675				334			
Yes	342	50.7%			131	39.2%		
No	333	49.3%			208	60.8%		
Use of Moderate to Severe Physical Discipline	675							
Yes	164	24.3%			61	18.3%		
No	511	75.7%			273	81.7%		
Familism	623		3.28	1.00 -	296		3.29	1.00 -
			(0.74)	4.00			(0.74)	4.00
Filial Piety	624		4.58	2.00 -	300		4.57	1.40 -
			(0.55)	5.00			(0.57)	5.00
Machismo	671		0.28	0.00 -	315		0.26	0.00 -
			(0.22)	1.00			(0.22)	1.00

Table 2.2

Correlations Between Student and Primary Caregiver Characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
<i>Outcome Variables-</i>												
<i>Primary Caregiver's Discipline</i>												
Use of Physical Punishment	1.00											
Use of Moderate to Severe Physical Punishment	0.56***	1.00										
<i>Main Predictor Variables-</i>												
<i>Primary Caregiver's Beliefs</i>												
Familism	0.06	0.07	1.00									
Filial Piety	0.11**	0.09*	0.26***	1.00								
Machismo	0.14***	0.19***	0.17***	0.18***	1.00							
<i>Control Variables</i>												
Primary Caregiver's Race/Ethnicity	0.04	0.07	0.08*	0.02	0.10*	1.00						
Primary Caregiver's Gender	-0.04	0.04	-0.04	-0.05	0.17***	-0.00	1.00					
Student's Age	0.03	0.04	-0.04	-0.09*	0.04	-0.03	-0.05	1.00				
Student's Gender	0.09*	-0.00	-0.07	-0.03	-0.10**	-0.04	0.01	0.04	1.00			
Student's Number of Siblings	0.19***	0.19***	0.09*	0.09*	0.06	0.15***	0.01	-0.03	-0.02	1.00		
Student's SES	-0.13***	-0.08*	-0.03	-0.06	-0.02	-0.22***	-0.02	0.07	0.01	-0.13***	1.00	
Student's Generation Status	0.10*	0.02	-0.04	-0.14***	-0.16***	0.06	-0.01	0.01	0.03	0.14***	0.00	1.00

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2.3

Primary Caregivers' Beliefs Predicting Students' Experiences of Any Type of Physical Punishment (Odds Ratios)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Primary Caregiver's Familism	1.03 (0.09)	0.83 (0.23)	1.07 (0.12)	1.73* (0.49)	1.03 (0.09)	1.02 (0.09)
"Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism	0.51 (0.22)	0.89 (1.22)	0.39 (0.20)	0.16 (0.27)	0.52 (0.22)	0.51 (0.21)
Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.15 (0.11)	0.84 (0.24)	1.14 (0.13)	0.73 (0.20)	1.15 (0.11)	1.13 (0.11)
"Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.41 (0.53)	4.59 (5.34)	1.40 (0.59)	6.57 (8.17)	1.41 (0.53)	1.39 (0.52)
Primary Caregiver's Machismo	1.48*** (0.14)	1.64 (0.47)	1.47*** (0.17)	1.10 (0.31)	1.47*** (0.14)	1.48*** (0.14)
Student's Age	1.34 (0.31)	1.40 (0.33)	1.33 (0.31)	1.33 (0.31)	1.33 (0.31)	1.33 (0.31)
Student is Male	1.60** (0.28)	1.63** (0.29)	1.60** (0.28)	1.66** (0.30)	1.60** (0.28)	1.59** (0.28)
Student's Number of Siblings	1.40*** (0.13)	1.38*** (0.13)	1.41*** (0.13)	1.44*** (0.14)	1.40*** (0.13)	1.40*** (0.13)
Student's SES	0.84 (0.08)	0.82* (0.08)	0.83* (0.08)	0.83* (0.08)	0.84 (0.08)	0.83* (0.08)
Primary Caregiver is	2.12* (0.08)	2.89** (0.08)	2.12* (0.08)	2.08* (0.08)	2.12* (0.08)	2.09* (0.08)

Asian/Pacific Islander	(0.67)	(1.06)	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.67)	(0.66)
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino	1.81 (0.59)	2.50* (0.95)	1.78 (0.59)	1.72 (0.58)	1.81 (0.59)	1.76 (0.58)
Primary Caregiver is Other/Mixed	0.70 (0.29)	0.67 (0.36)	0.69 (0.29)	0.68 (0.29)	0.70 (0.29)	0.69 (0.29)
Student's Generation	1.76*** (0.27)	1.78*** (0.28)	1.75*** (0.27)	1.84*** (0.29)	1.75*** (0.27)	1.77*** (0.27)
Primary Caregiver is Male	0.79 (0.16)	0.81 (0.16)	0.74 (0.15)	0.78 (0.16)	0.79 (0.16)	0.78 (0.15)
Primary Caregiver is Asian/Pacific Islander * Primary Caregiver's Familism		1.21 (0.37)				
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino * Primary Caregiver's Familism		1.29 (0.41)				
Primary Caregiver is Mixed/Other * Primary Caregiver's Familism		2.08 (1.06)				
Primary Caregiver is Asian/Pacific Islander * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism		0.45 (0.67)				
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino * "Don't Know" Primary		1.18 (1.87)				

Caregiver's Familism	
Primary Caregiver is Asian/Pacific Islander * Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.44 (0.45)
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino * Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.52 (0.52)
Primary Caregiver is Mixed/Other * Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.11 (0.47)
Primary Caregiver is Asian/Pacific Islander * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	0.33 (0.41)
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	0.11 (0.15)
Primary Caregiver is Asian/Pacific Islander * Primary Caregiver's Machismo	0.79 (0.24)
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino	0.98 (0.33)

* Primary Caregiver's Machismo		
Primary Caregiver is Mixed/Other * Primary Caregiver's Machismo	1.29 (0.58)	
Primary Caregiver is Male * Primary Caregiver's Familism	0.87 (0.17)	
Primary Caregiver is Male * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism	2.48 (2.25)	
Primary Caregiver is Male * Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.00 (0.21)	
Primary Caregiver is Male * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.32 (1.25)	
Primary Caregiver is Male * Primary Caregiver's Machismo	1.03 (0.20)	
Student's Generation * Primary Caregiver's Familism		0.74* (0.11)
Student's Generation * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism		1.87 (1.53)

Student's Generation * Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety					1.29 (0.18)	
Student's Generation * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety					0.43 (0.28)	
Student's Generation * Primary Caregiver's Machismo					1.19 (0.18)	
Primary Caregiver's Familism * Machismo						1.01 (0.10)
Primary Caregiver's Familism * Filial Piety						0.93 (0.09)
<hr/> <i>N</i>	643	638	643	643	643	643
<hr/> pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.092	0.102	0.094	0.102	0.092	0.093
<hr/>						

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2.4

Primary Caregivers' Beliefs Predicting Students' Experiences of Moderate to Severe Physical Punishment (Odds Ratios)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5	Model 6
Primary Caregiver's Familism	1.06 (0.11)	0.78 (0.34)	1.12 (0.15)	1.51 (0.52)	1.06 (0.11)	1.06 (0.11)
"Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism	1.05 (0.48)	5.22 (7.95)	0.83 (0.48)	0.09 (0.18)	1.04 (0.48)	1.05 (0.48)
Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.06 (0.12)	1.25 (0.51)	0.98 (0.13)	0.75 (0.25)	1.06 (0.12)	1.06 (0.12)
"Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.76 (0.73)	1.18 (0.94)	2.44 (1.13)	1.32 (1.93)	1.78 (0.74)	1.75 (0.73)
Primary Caregiver's Machismo	1.57*** (0.16)	2.12* (0.80)	1.70*** (0.22)	1.42 (0.45)	1.58*** (0.16)	1.57*** (0.16)
Student's Age	1.47 (0.38)	1.50 (0.40)	1.44 (0.38)	1.47 (0.39)	1.47 (0.39)	1.47 (0.38)
Student is Male	1.03 (0.21)	0.98 (0.20)	1.04 (0.21)	1.05 (0.21)	1.03 (0.21)	1.03 (0.21)
Student's Number of Siblings	1.45*** (0.14)	1.45*** (0.14)	1.45*** (0.14)	1.48*** (0.15)	1.46*** (0.14)	1.45*** (0.14)
Student's SES	0.93 (0.10)	0.90 (0.10)	0.93 (0.10)	0.92 (0.10)	0.93 (0.10)	0.92 (0.10)
Primary Caregiver is	2.07	2.52	2.11	2.07	2.07	2.06

Asian/Pacific Islander	(0.87)	(1.25)	(0.88)	(0.88)	(0.87)	(0.86)
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino	2.31* (0.98)	2.56 (1.29)	2.30 (0.98)	2.24 (0.97)	2.31* (0.98)	2.29 (0.97)
Primary Caregiver is Other/Mixed	1.07 (0.57)	0.47 (0.41)	1.06 (0.57)	1.05 (0.57)	1.06 (0.57)	1.06 (0.57)
Student's Generation	1.24 (0.22)	1.28 (0.23)	1.26 (0.23)	1.19 (0.22)	1.25 (0.22)	1.25 (0.22)
Primary Caregiver is Male	1.08 (0.24)	1.06 (0.24)	1.19 (0.28)	1.07 (0.24)	1.08 (0.24)	1.07 (0.24)
Primary Caregiver is Asian/Pacific Islander * Primary Caregiver's Familism		1.40 (0.66)				
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino * Primary Caregiver's Familism		1.36 (0.64)				
Primary Caregiver is Mixed/Other * Primary Caregiver's Familism		1.85 (1.35)				
Primary Caregiver is Asian/Pacific Islander * "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism		0.16 (0.27)				
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino * "Don't Know" Primary		0.26 (0.45)				

Caregiver's Familism			
Primary Caregiver is			
Asian/Pacific Islander	0.74		
* Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	(0.32)		
Primary Caregiver is			
Hispanic/Latino	0.91		
* Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	(0.42)		
Primary Caregiver is Mixed/Other			
* Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	0.99		
	(0.58)		
Primary Caregiver is			
Asian/Pacific Islander	1.34		
* "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	(1.30)		
Primary Caregiver is			
Asian/Pacific Islander	0.62		
* Primary Caregiver's Machismo	(0.25)		
Primary Caregiver is			
Hispanic/Latino	0.75		
* Primary Caregiver's Machismo	(0.31)		
Primary Caregiver is Mixed/Other			
* Primary Caregiver's Machismo	1.77		
	(1.11)		
Primary Caregiver is Male		0.90	

* Primary Caregiver's Familism	(0.21)	
Primary Caregiver is Male	1.80	
* "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism	(1.77)	
Primary Caregiver is Male	1.33	
* Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	(0.34)	
Primary Caregiver is Male	0.24	
* "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	(0.29)	
Primary Caregiver is Male	0.79	
* Primary Caregiver's Machismo	(0.17)	
Student's Generation	0.81	
* Primary Caregiver's Familism	(0.15)	
Student's Generation	3.45	
* "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism	(3.21)	
Student's Generation	1.21	
* Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	(0.21)	
Student's Generation	1.16	
* "Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	(0.84)	
Student's Generation	1.06	

* Primary Caregiver's Machismo						(0.18)
Primary Caregiver's Familism * Machismo						0.97 (0.11)
Primary Caregiver's Familism * Filial Piety						0.97 (0.11)
<hr/> <i>N</i>	643	634	643	643	643	643
pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.082	0.092	0.088	0.088	0.083	0.083
<hr/>						

Exponentiated coefficients; Standard errors in parentheses

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2.5

Correlations Between Primary and Secondary Caregivers' Beliefs and Behaviors

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
<i>Primary Caregiver's Discipline</i>										
Use of Physical Punishment	1.00									
Use of Moderate to Severe Physical Punishment	0.56***	1.00								
<i>Primary Caregiver's Beliefs</i>										
Familism	0.06	0.07	1.00							
Filial Piety	0.11**	0.09*	0.26***	1.00						
Machismo	0.15***	0.20***	0.17***	0.18***	1.00					
<i>Secondary Caregiver's Discipline</i>										
Use of Physical Punishment	0.42***	0.28***	0.04	0.12*	-0.02	1.00				
Use of Moderate to Severe Physical Punishment	0.26***	0.35***	0.05	0.16**	0.03	0.59***	1.00			
<i>Secondary Caregiver's Beliefs</i>										
Familism	0.08	0.11	0.80***	0.16**	0.13*	0.15*	0.12*	1.00		
Filial Piety	0.12*	0.07	0.16**	0.85***	0.15**	0.14*	0.14*	0.20***	1.00	
Machismo	0.04	0.14*	0.06	0.15*	0.73***	0.03	0.16**	0.14*	0.15**	1.00

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

Table 2.6

Averaged Caregivers' Beliefs Predicting Students' Experiences of Physical Discipline (Odds Ratios)

	Any Physical Discipline	Moderate to Severe Physical Discipline
Familism	1.10 (0.15)	1.14 (0.16)
“Don’t Know” Familism	1.26 (0.75)	0.72 (0.53)
Filial Piety	1.33 (0.19)	1.35 (0.23)
“Don’t Know” Filial Piety	0.95 (0.55)	1.43 (0.90)
Machismo	1.30 (0.18)	1.61** (0.24)
Student’s Age	1.41 (0.47)	1.57 (0.58)
Student is Male	1.25 (0.34)	1.14 (0.33)
Student’s Number of Siblings	1.36* (0.21)	1.62** (0.25)
Student’s SES	0.86 (0.12)	0.87 (0.13)
Primary Caregiver is Asian	1.49 (1.03)	3.49 (3.14)
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino	1.10 (0.95)	6.81 (7.39)
Primary Caregiver is Other/Mixed	0.60 (0.44)	2.52 (2.43)
Secondary Caregiver is Asian	1.25 (1.06)	0.59 (0.59)

Secondary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino	0.38 (0.25)	1.15 (0.89)
Secondary Caregiver is Other/Mixed	0.59 (0.41)	0.69 (0.59)
Student's Generation	1.80* (0.42)	1.41 (0.37)
Primary Caregiver is Male	0.62 (0.31)	1.06 (0.53)
Secondary Caregiver is Male	0.52 (0.25)	0.80 (0.39)
<hr/> <i>N</i>	302	301
<hr/> pseudo <i>R</i> ²	0.107	0.125
	<hr/>	<hr/>

Table 2.7

Caregivers' Individual Beliefs Predicting Students' Experiences of Physical Discipline (Odds Ratios)

	Any Physical Discipline	Moderate to Severe Physical Discipline
Primary Caregiver's Familism	0.72 (0.17)	0.74 (0.19)
"Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Familism	2.05 (2.61)	1.19 (1.57)
Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.20 (0.32)	1.87* (0.56)
"Don't Know" Primary Caregiver's Filial Piety	0.69 (0.71)	1.92 (1.94)
Primary Caregiver's Machismo	1.29 (0.28)	1.29 (0.28)
Secondary Caregiver's Familism	1.51 (0.36)	1.58 (0.40)
"Don't Know" Secondary Caregiver's Familism	0.43 (0.58)	0.49 (0.76)
Secondary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.16 (0.30)	0.78 (0.22)
"Don't Know" Secondary Caregiver's Filial Piety	1.76 (1.98)	0.77 (0.80)
Secondary Caregiver's Machismo	0.98 (0.22)	1.27 (0.28)
Student's Age	1.43 (0.49)	1.54 (0.58)
Student is Male	1.28 (0.35)	1.13 (0.33)
Student's Number of Siblings	1.40* (0.22)	1.63** (0.25)

Student's SES	0.88 (0.12)	0.88 (0.13)
Primary Caregiver is Asian	1.43 (1.01)	3.82 (3.58)
Primary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino	0.93 (0.82)	6.15 (6.87)
Primary Caregiver is Other/Mixed	0.56 (0.42)	2.69 (2.76)
Secondary Caregiver is Asian	1.47 (1.28)	0.75 (0.75)
Secondary Caregiver is Hispanic/Latino	0.40 (0.27)	1.19 (0.95)
Secondary Caregiver is Other/Mixed	0.67 (0.47)	0.80 (0.68)
Student's Generation	1.74* (0.42)	1.38 (0.37)
Primary Caregiver is Male	0.63 (0.32)	1.08 (0.55)
Secondary Caregiver is Male	0.59 (0.29)	0.80 (0.40)
<hr/> <i>N</i>	302	301

Appendix 2A

Undergraduate Questionnaire on Culture and Family

*Note: Question presentations may be different and may not reflect all formatting customizations

Study Information Sheet

University of California, Irvine Study Information Sheet

Culture and Parenting

Lead Researcher

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- You are being asked to participate in a research study that explores the many different ways children are taught right from wrong and how to behave. We're especially interested in how families' shape, size, and culture influence this process.
- You are eligible to participate in this study if you are an undergraduate student at UCI and are 18 years old or older.
- The research procedure involves completing an electronic survey that will last approximately 30-50 minutes.
- Possible risks/discomforts associated with the study are feeling mildly uncomfortable when filling out questions on sensitive topics. At the end of the electronic survey, you will be provided with a counseling resource sheet, given the potentially sensitive nature of this topic.
- There are no direct benefits from participation in the study. However, this study will help explain how family structures and culture shape how children are brought up.
- You will receive extra course credit for an eligible course through the UCI Social Sciences human subjects' pool. You will receive a .5 unit of course credit for each .5 hour of participation in this study. Total amount of credit you may earn for this study is 1 unit. If you are not in the Sona system you will be entered into a raffle and will have a 1/25 chance of winning gift cards totaling \$15. The raffle will take place at the close of the study, at the end of Spring 2016.
- All research data collected will be stored securely and confidentially on a password protected personal laptop computer and portable external hard drive.

- The research team, authorized UCI personnel, the study sponsor, and regulatory entities, may have access to your study records to protect your safety and welfare. Any information derived from this research project that personally identifies you will not be voluntarily released or disclosed by these entities without your separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- If you have any comments, concerns, or questions regarding the conduct of this research please contact the researchers listed at the top of this form.
- Please contact UCI’s Office of Research by phone, (949) 824-6662, by e-mail at IRB@research.uci.edu or at 5171 California Avenue, Suite 150, Irvine, CA 92697 if you are unable to reach the researchers listed at the top of the form and have general questions; have concerns or complaints about the research; have questions about your rights as a research subject; or have general comments or suggestions.
- Participation in this study is voluntary. There is no cost to you for participating. You may choose to skip a question or a study procedure. You may refuse to participate or discontinue your involvement at any time without penalty. You are free to withdraw from this study at any time. If you decide to withdraw from this study you should notify the research team immediately.

Background Info

Thank you for participating in this survey!

In this study, we are interested in the many different ways children are taught what is right from wrong and how to behave. We’re especially interested in how the families’ shape, size, and culture influence this process.

Please help us by providing as much information as you can and by being as truthful as possible.

The following questions are about you and your family background

1. What is your date of birth? (MM/DD/YYYY)

2. Are you:

Male

Female

Other (specify): _____

3. Which best describes your race/ethnicity? (check all that apply)

- American Indian/Alaskan native
- Asian/Pacific Islander (new page will display later if selected)
- African-American
- African (e.g., Nigerian, Kenyan, Ethiopian, etc.): _____
- Afro-Caribbean (e.g., Afro-Jamaican, Afro-Trinidadian, Afro-Bahamian):

- Hispanic (new page will display later if selected)
- White, non-Hispanic (e.g., Irish, Italian, German, etc.) _____
- Other (list all): _____
- Unknown

3a. (If Asian Pacific Islander is selected in question 3) You indicated that your race/ethnicity was Asian/Pacific Islander. Which one of the following applies to your race/ethnicity? (check all that apply)

- Chinese
- Taiwanese
- South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, etc.): _____
- Middle Eastern (e.g., Israeli, Syrian, Iranian, etc.): _____
- Filipino
- Japanese
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Pacific Islander (e.g., Samoan, Tahitian, Tongan, etc.): _____
- Thai
- Other Asian (e.g., Hmong): _____

3b. (If Hispanic is selected in question 3) You indicated that your race/ethnicity was Hispanic. Which one of the following applies to your race/ethnicity? (check all that apply)

- Chicano/Mexican-American
- Latino/Other Spanish-American (e.g., Dominican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.):

4. Were you born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No

4a. (If no is selected in question 4) If you were not born in the U.S., where were you born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

4b. (If no is selected in question 4) If you were not born in the U.S., how old were you when you came to the U.S.?

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25
- 26
- 27
- 28
- 29
- 30+

5. Were you adopted?

- Yes
- No

5a. (If yes is selected in question 5) You indicated that you were adopted in the previous question. How old were you when you were adopted?

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12
- 13
- 14
- 15
- 16
- 17
- 18+

6. Was your mother born in the U.S.? (biological/adoptive; whichever mother raised you)

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

6a. (If no is selected in question 6) If she was not born in the U.S., where was she born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

The following questions refer to the individuals that raised your biological/adoptive mother (whichever mother raised you).

7. Was your maternal grandmother (biological/adoptive mother's mother) born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

7b. (If no is selected in question 7) If she was not born in the U.S., where was she born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

8. Was your maternal grandfather (biological/adoptive mother's father) born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

8a. (If no is selected in question 8) If he was not born in the U.S., where was he born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

9. Was your father born in the U.S.? (biological/adoptive; whichever father raised you)

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

9a. (If no is selected in question 9) If he was not born in the U.S., where was he born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

The following questions refer to the individuals that raised your biological/adoptive father (whichever father raised you).

10. Was your paternal grandmother (biological/adoptive father's mother) born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

10a. (If no is selected in question 9) If she was not born in the U.S., where was she born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

11. Was your paternal grandfather (biological/adoptive father's father) born in the U.S.?
- Yes
 - No
 - Unknown

11a. (If no is selected for question 11) If he was not born in the U.S., where was he born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.): _____
- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

12. In what religious tradition were you raised? (Check all that apply)

- Catholic
- Muslim or Islamic
- Hindu
- Buddhist
- Taoism
- Christian (specify): _____
- Agnostic
- Baha'i
- Jewish
- Atheist
- Protestant: _____
- Other: _____
- None

13. Do you have any siblings that you grew up with (i.e., lived with or spent time with while you were a child)?

- Yes
- No

13a. (If yes is selected for question 13) Specify the current gender and age of each sibling that you grew up with (i.e., lived with or spent time with while you were a child). 10 slots are provided for you, please skip ahead to the next series of question when you are done. Instructions: For each sibling1) Select a gender2) Enter that sibling's current age and **DO NOT** uncheck the box

Child 1

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 2

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 3

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 4

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 5

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 6

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 7

Male

Female

Age _____

Child 8

Male

Female

Age _____

Child 9

Male

Female

Age _____

Child 10

Male

Female

Age _____

14. Were there any children, other than your siblings that you previously indicated, who lived with you while growing up?

- Yes
- No

14a. (If yes is selected for 14) For each of this children that you lived with but were NOT your siblings, specify their gender and age. 10 slots are provided for you, please skip ahead to the next series of question when you are done. Instructions: For each child1) Select a gender2) Enter that individuals current age and DO NOT uncheck the box

Child 1

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 2

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 3

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 4

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 5

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 6

- Male
- Female
- Age _____

Child 7

Male

Female

Age _____

Child 8

Male

Female

Age _____

Child 9

Male

Female

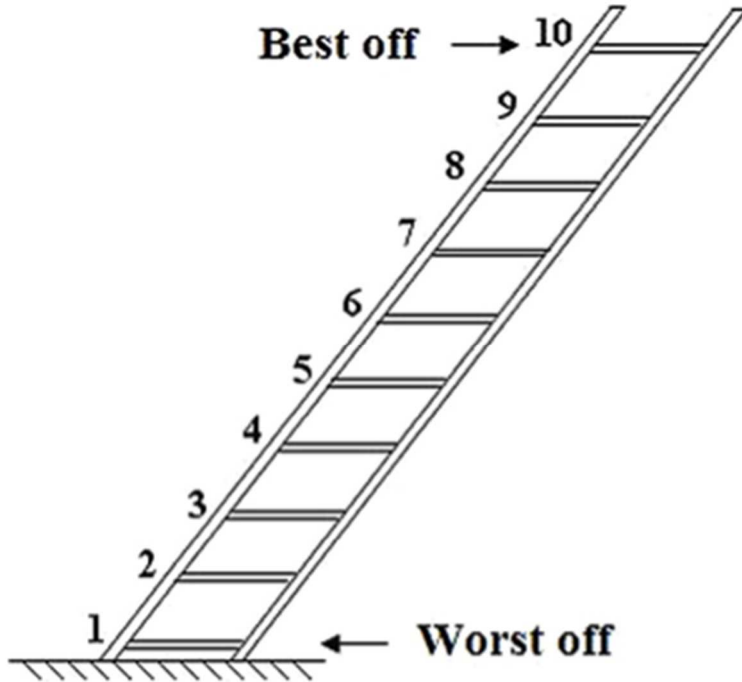
Age _____

Child 10

Male

Female

Age _____



Think of this ladder as representing where people stand in the United States.

15. At the **top** of the ladder are the families who are the best off—those who have the most money, the most education, and the most respected jobs. At the **bottom** are the families who are the worst off—who have the least money, least education, and the least respected jobs or no job. The higher your family is on this ladder, the closer they are to the people at the very top; the lower they are, the closer they are to the people at the very bottom. Where would you place your family, while you were growing up, on this ladder?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

Beliefs

The following questions are about your caregiver's beliefs & how you were raised

16. Who was/were the main adult/s most involved in your daily upbringing and were in charge of taking care of you and teaching you right from wrong? (Select up to 2)

- Mother
- Father
- Grandmother
- Grandfather
- Step-mother
- Step-father
- Aunt
- Uncle
- Other (Specify): _____

Familism Scale

(For each of these questions “I” will display, as shown, along with the 1-2 selections made in question 16) The following questions are about **your current beliefs** as well as the beliefs your caregiver/s, which you indicated in the previous question, had **while you were growing up**. Please think about the perspectives that this/these adult/s had while you were growing up, and select how much this/these adult/s would have agreed or disagreed with the following statements.

17. _____ believe/d that relatives are more important than friends.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

18. _____ believe/d that grandparents, parents and grandchildren should all live within close visiting distance of one another.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

19. _____ believe/d that individuals should think of what is good for his/her family more than he/she thinks of what is good for himself/herself personally.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

20.

_____ believe/d that the word “family” includes parents, children, grandparents, grandchildren, cousins, nieces, nephews, aunts and uncles.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Filial Piety Scale

Note: The scale for the following questions has changed

(For each of these questions “I” will display, as shown, along with the 1-2 selections made in question 16) Again, the following questions are about **your current beliefs** as well as the beliefs your caregiver/s, which you indicated beginning of this section, had **while you were growing up**. Please think about the perspectives that this/these adult/s had while you were growing up, and select how much this/these adult/s would have agreed or disagreed with the following statements.

21.

_____ believe/d that children have the obligation/responsibility to look after their elderly parents.

	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

22.

_____ believe/d that children have the obligation to assist their elderly parents financially.

	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

23.

_____ believe/d that children have the obligation to respect their elderly parents.

	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

24.

_____ believe/d that children have the obligation to obey their elderly parents.

	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

25.

_____ believe/d that children have the obligation to please and make their elderly parents happy.

	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

26.

_____ believe/d that children have the obligation/responsibility to retain contact with their elderly parents.

	Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree	Agree	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Machismo Attitudes Scale

Note: The scale for the following questions has changed

(For each of these questions “I” will display, as shown, along with the 1-2 selections made in question 16) Again, the following questions are about **your current beliefs** as well as the beliefs your caregiver/s, which you indicated beginning of this section, had **while you were growing up**. Please think about the perspectives that this/these adult/s had while you were growing up, and select how much this/these adult/s would have agreed or disagreed with the following statements.

27.

_____ believe/d that a man should not marry a woman who is taller than him.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

28.

_____ believe/d that it is the mother’s responsibility to provide her children with proper religious training.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

29.

_____ believe/d that boys should not be allowed to play with dolls, and other girls’ toys.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

30. _____ believe/d that parents should maintain stricter control over their daughters than their sons.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

31. _____ believe/d that there are some jobs that women simply should not have.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

32. _____ believe/d that it is more important for a woman to learn how to take care of the house and the family than it is for her to get a college education.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

33. _____ believe/d that a wife should never contradict her husband in public.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

34. _____ believe/d that men are more intelligent than women.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

35. _____ believe/d that no matter what people say, women really like dominant men.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

36. _____ believe/d that some equality in marriage is a good thing, but by and large the father should have the main say in family matters.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

37.

_____ believe/d that for the most part, it is better to be a man than a woman.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

38.

_____ believe/d that most women have little respect for weak men.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

39.

_____ believe/d that I/he/she would be more comfortable with a male boss than with a female boss.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

40.

_____ believe/d that it is important for a man to be physically strong.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

41.

_____ believe/d that girls should not be allowed to play with boys' toys such as soldiers and footballs.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

42.

_____ believe/d that wives should respect the man's position as head of the household.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

43.

_____ believe/d that the father always knows what is best for the family.

	True	False	Unknown
I	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Caregiver 1

Of the 1-2 adults chosen in the previous section, there was probably an adult in your life who was the main person in charge of dealing with you when you got into trouble/did something wrong while you were growing up.

44. (The 1-2 selections made in question 16 are displayed) Who was this person? (We will call this person “Adult 1”)

45. Did Adult 1 live with you growing up?

- Yes
- No

46. What is the highest level of education that Adult 1 received?

- Less than High School
- Some High School (Specify): _____
- High School Diploma or GED
- Some College, No Degree
- Associates Degree
- Bachelor’s Degree
- Some Graduate/Professional School
- Graduate/Professional Degree (e.g., MA, PhD, JD etc.)

47. Which best describes Adult 1’s employment situation the majority of the time you were growing up? (check all that apply)

- Full-time job (Specify): _____
- Part-time job (Specify): _____
- Working in the home but not for pay (e.g., homemaker)
- Unemployed
- Disabled, not working
- Both a full-time job and a part-time job (Specify): _____
- Other (Specify): _____
- Don’t Know

48. What racial/ethnic group does Adult 1 most identify with? (check all that apply)

- American Indian/Alaskan native
- Asian/Pacific Islander (new page will display later if selected)
- African-American
- African (e.g., Nigerian, Kenyan, Ethiopian, etc.): _____
- Afro-Caribbean (e.g., Afro-Jamaican, Afro-Trinidadian, Afro-Bahamian):

- Hispanic (new page will display later if selected)
- White, non-Hispanic (e.g., Irish, Italian, German, etc.) _____
- Other (list all): _____
- Unknown

48a. (If Asian/Pacific Islander is selected in question 48) You indicated that Adult 1 identifies with being Asian/Pacific Islander. Which one of the following applies to Adult 1's race/ethnicity? (check all that apply)

- Chinese
- Taiwanese
- South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, etc.): _____
- Middle Eastern (e.g., Israeli, Syrian, Iranian, etc.): _____
- Filipino
- Japanese
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Pacific Islander (e.g., Samoan, Tahitian, Tongan, etc.): _____
- Thai
- Vietnamese
- Other Asian (e.g., Hmong): _____

48b. (If Hispanic is selected in question 48) You indicated that Adult 1 identifies with being Hispanic. Which one of the following applies to Adult 1's race/ethnicity? (Check all that apply)

- Chicano/Mexican-American
- Latino/Other Spanish-American (e.g., Dominican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.):

49. Was Adult 1 born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

49a. (If no is selected in question 49) If Adult 1 was not born in the U.S., where were they born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

50. Was Adult 1's mother (adoptive/biological; whichever raised him/her) born in the U.S.?
- Yes
 - No
 - Unknown

50a. (If no is selected for question 50) If she was not born in the U.S., where was she born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

51. Was Adult 1's father (adoptive/biological; whichever raised him/her) born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

51a. (If no is selected for question 51) If he was not born in the U.S., where was he born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

52. Adults deal with children in several ways when children get in trouble. Please check all of the ways that Adult 1 responded to you when you did something wrong/got in trouble:

- Reasoning/talking/explaining
- Throwing objects (please list objects): _____
- Yelling/screaming
- Withdrawing/Taking away privileges
- Belittling
- Embarrassing
- Guilting
- Shaming
- Time out (specify detail): _____
- Getting thrown out/kicked out of the house (asked to leave the house)
- Spanking/slapping (hitting with an open hand)
- Hitting with objects (please list all objects): _____
- Others (please describe all other methods Adult 1 used when you got in trouble):

The following are common behaviors that children may get in trouble for. **If you did the following things**, how likely would you get in trouble with Adult 1?

53. Not listening to parents/other adults

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

54. Doing poorly in school/getting bad grades

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

55. Being disrespectful

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

56. Not doing chores

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

57. Behaving badly in public

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

58. Not adhering to gender norms (e.g., if a boy plays with Barbie dolls or a girl doesn't wear dresses)

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

59. Lying

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

60. Cheating

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

61. Stealing
- Definitely
 - Probably
 - Probably not
 - Definitely not
 - Unsure

62. Fighting/Being violent
- Definitely
 - Probably
 - Probably not
 - Definitely not
 - Unsure

63. Bullying/picking on others
- Definitely
 - Probably
 - Probably not
 - Definitely not
 - Unsure

64. Rank the top 3 things you got in the biggest trouble for with Adult 1 as a child (1=biggest trouble). The order of the remaining do not matter.

Instructions: Click on the statements and drag them to rearrange the order

- _____ Not listening to parents/elders
- _____ Doing poorly in school/getting bad grades
- _____ Being disrespectful
- _____ Not doing chores
- _____ Behaving badly in public
- _____ Not adhering to gender norms

To what extent do **you** agree with the following statements?

65. While I was growing up and did something wrong/got in trouble, some of my friends/peers were dealt with in similar ways to the way Adult 1 used to deal with me

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- Don't know

66. When I got in trouble as a kid, I felt comfortable talking to at least some my friends/peers about the ways Adult 1 dealt with me.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- Don't know

67. I currently agree with the ways that Adult 1 responded when I did something wrong/got in trouble when I was growing up.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- Don't know

68. Please check all of the ways that you have used, currently use, or will probably use, to deal with your child when they got/get in trouble:

- Reasoning/talking/explaining
- Throwing objects (please list objects): _____
- Yelling/screaming
- Withdrawing/Taking away privileges
- Belittling
- Embarrassing
- Guilting/shaming
- Time out
- Throw out/kick out of the house (ask to leave the house)
- Spanking/slapping (hitting with an open hand)
- Hitting with objects (please list all objects): _____
- Others (please describe all other methods you use/would use): _____
- Not applicable. I do not plan to have children

Caregiver 2 Present?

69. Of the adult/s that you indicated were most involved in your daily upbringing and were in charge of taking care of you and teaching you right from wrong, was there another adult individual that was also in charge of dealing with you when you got into trouble/did something wrong aside from Adult 1? (If so, we will call this person “Adult 2”)

- Yes
- No

(If no is selected, the student is done with the survey)

70. As compared to Adult 1, how much did Adult 2 have to deal with you when you got in trouble?

- About the same as Adult 1
- A little bit less than Adult 1
- A lot less than Adult 1
- Unsure

(If a lot less than Adult 1 or unsure are selected, the student is done with the survey)

Caregiver 2

71. (The options selected for question 16 will be displayed) Who was this person?

72. Did Adult 2 live with you growing up?

- Yes
- No

73. What is the highest level of education that Adult 2 received?

- Less than High School
- Some High School (Specify): _____
- High School Diploma or GED
- Some College, No Degree
- Associates Degree
- Bachelor's Degree
- Some Graduate/Professional School
- Graduate/Professional Degree (e.g., MA, PhD, JD etc.)

74. Which best describes Adult 2's employment situation the majority of the time you were growing up? (check all that apply)

- Full-time job (Specify): _____
- Part-time job (Specify): _____
- Working in the home but not for pay (e.g., homemaker)
- Unemployed
- Disabled, not working
- Both a full-time job and a part-time job (Specify): _____
- Other (Specify): _____
- Don't Know

75. What racial/ethnic group does Adult 2 most identify with? (check all that apply)

- American Indian/Alaskan native
- Asian/Pacific Islander (new page will display later if selected)
- African-American
- African (e.g., Nigerian, Kenyan, Ethiopian, etc.): _____
- Afro-Caribbean (e.g., Afro-Jamaican, Afro-Trinidadian, Afro-Bahamian):

- Hispanic (new page will display later if selected)
- White, non-Hispanic (e.g., Irish, Italian, German, etc.) _____
- Other (list all): _____
- Unknown

75a. (If Asian/Pacific Islander is selected in question 75) You indicated that Adult 2 identifies with being Asian/Pacific Islander. Which one of the following applies to Adult 1's race/ethnicity? (check all that apply)

- Chinese
- Taiwanese
- South Asian (e.g., East Indian, Bangladeshi, Pakistani, etc.): _____
- Middle Eastern (e.g., Israeli, Syrian, Iranian, etc.): _____
- Filipino
- Japanese
- Korean
- Vietnamese
- Pacific Islander (e.g., Samoan, Tahitian, Tongan, etc.): _____
- Thai
- Vietnamese
- Other Asian (e.g., Hmong): _____

75b. (If Hispanic is selected in question 75) You indicated that Adult 2 identifies with being Hispanic. Which one of the following applies to Adult 1's race/ethnicity? (Check all that apply)

- Chicano/Mexican-American
- Latino/Other Spanish-American (e.g., Dominican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, etc.):

76. Was Adult 2 born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

76a. (If no is selected in question 76) If Adult 2 was not born in the U.S., where were they born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

77. Was Adult 2's mother (adoptive/biological; whichever raised him/her) born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

77a. (If no is selected for question 77) If she was not born in the U.S., where was she born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.):

- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

78. Was Adult 2's father (adoptive/biological; whichever raised him/her) born in the U.S.?

- Yes
- No
- Unknown

78a. (If no is selected for question 78) If he was not born in the U.S., where was he born?

- China
- Hong Kong
- Taiwan
- India
- Middle East (e.g., Israel, Syria, Iran, etc.): _____
- Philippines
- Japan
- Korea
- Vietnam
- Pacific Islands (e.g., Samoa, Tahiti, Tonga, etc.): _____
- Thailand
- Vietnam
- Other Asian country: _____
- Africa (e.g., Nigeria, Kenya, etc.): _____
- Caribbean (e.g., Jamaica, Trinidad, Bahamas): _____
- Mexico
- Other Latin-American country (e.g., Dominican Republic, Puerto Rico, Cuba, etc.): _____
- Europe (e.g., Ireland, Italy, Germany, etc.): _____
- Other: _____
- Unknown

79. Adults deal with children in several ways when children get in trouble. Please check all of the ways that Adult 2 responded to you when you did something wrong/got in trouble:

- Reasoning/talking/explaining
- Throwing objects (please list objects): _____
- Yelling/screaming
- Withdrawing/Taking away privileges
- Belittling
- Embarrassing
- Guilting
- Shaming
- Time out (specify detail): _____
- Getting thrown out/kicked out of the house (asked to leave the house)
- Spanking/slapping (hitting with an open hand)
- Hitting with objects (please list all objects): _____
- Others (please describe all other methods Adult 1 used when you got in trouble):

The following are common behaviors that children may get in trouble for. **If you did the following things**, how likely would you get in trouble with Adult 2?

80. Not listening to parents/other adults

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

81. Doing poorly in school/getting bad grades

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

82. Being disrespectful

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

83. Not doing chores

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

84. Behaving badly in public

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

85. Not adhering to gender norms (e.g., if a boy plays with Barbie dolls or a girl doesn't wear dresses)

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

86. Lying

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

87. Cheating

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

88. Stealing

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

89. Fighting/Being violent

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

90. Bullying/picking on others

- Definitely
- Probably
- Probably not
- Definitely not
- Unsure

91. Rank the top 3 things you got in the biggest trouble for with Adult 2 as a child (1=biggest trouble). The order of the remaining do not matter.

Instructions: Click on the statements and drag them to rearrange the order

- _____ Not listening to parents/elders
- _____ Doing poorly in school/getting bad grades
- _____ Being disrespectful
- _____ Not doing chores
- _____ Behaving badly in public
- _____ Not adhering to gender norms

To what extent do **you** agree with the following statements?

92. While I was growing up and did something wrong/got in trouble, some of my friends/peers were dealt with in similar ways to the way Adult 2 used to deal with me

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- Don't know

93. When I got in trouble as a kid, I felt comfortable talking to at least some my friends/peers about the ways Adult 2 dealt with me.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- Don't know

94. I currently agree with the ways that Adult 2 responded when I did something wrong/got in trouble when I was growing up.

- Strongly disagree
- Disagree
- Somewhat disagree
- Neither agree or disagree
- Somewhat agree
- Agree
- Strongly agree
- Don't know

Final instructions

Thank you for your participation in this study! Please continue clicking the "Next" button until you research the SONA system page to ensure that you receive credit.

Counseling Resource Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE COUNSELING RESOURCE SHEET

We appreciate your time and efforts as a participant in our study. We hope that you found your experience as a participant enjoyable and interesting. However, we acknowledge that some of the questions we asked are of a sensitive nature. Thus, we understand that you may have experienced some psychological discomfort during the study. Please contact the lead researcher, Joyce Lin at (949) 639-9252/ +1(949)639-9252 or CultureParenting2015@gmail.com if you have any other questions or concerns. Also, below is a list of resources that are available at low or no cost to help you deal with your feelings/concerns. We hope that you will take advantage of these resources if necessary.

UCI COUNSELING CENTER

Available for: UCI Students, Faculty, and Staff
Location: Student Services I, Room 203
Hours: 8am to 5pm, Monday through Friday
Phone: (949) 824-6457
Website: <http://www.counseling.uci.edu/>

HELP CENTRAL

Available for: UCI Students, Faculty, and Staff
Phone: (949) 824-0440
Hours: 8am to 5pm, Monday through Friday

UNITED WAY INFORMATION & REFERRAL SEARCH (211 Orange County)

Available for: All Study Participants
Hours: 24 hours a day, 7 days a week
Phone: 211 Alternative Phone: 1 (888) 600-4357
Alternative Phone: (949) 646-4357
Website: www.211oc.org

NATIONAL SUICIDE PREVENTION LIFELINE

Available for: All Study Participants
Hours: 24 hours a day, 7 days a week
Phone: 1 (800) 273-TALK (8255)
Website: <http://www.suicidepreventionlifeline.org/default.aspx>

Chapter 3: Cross-cultural Comparisons of Risk and Protective Factors for Physical Discipline Between Taiwan-born Mothers Living in Taiwan and the U.S., and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American Mothers

Physical abuse is the most common form of abuse among many groups of Asians (Ima & Hohm, 1991; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002; Rhee et al., 2008) and the circumstances under which physical abuse occurs most frequently is corporal punishment with intent to discipline (Chang, Rhee, & Weaver, 2006). Different Asian populations believe that physical punishment is a legitimate form of punishment (Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Yang, 2009). Although physical punishment is researched more often in Asian populations relative to other immigrant groups, this research has largely focused on endorsement of these behaviors. Much less research has been done on alternative views of corporal punishment and whether cultures that oppose corporal punishment have a lower likelihood of child physical abuse. Several cultural factors, such as caregiver norms, values, beliefs, and experiences, contribute to differences in whether caregivers are physically aggressive towards children (Altschul & Lee, 2011; Chiu, 1987; Hassan et al., 2008; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002; S. J. Lee & Altschul, 2015; Sledjeski et al., 2009). Yet, the extant literature regarding acculturation effects on caregiver physical punishment is unclear. This study focuses on three different generations of Taiwanese-origin mothers, a group traditionally exhibiting very high rates of corporal punishment (M. A. Straus, 2010). It examines how country of origin, immigration, and growing up bicultural influences parental physical aggression in both risky and protective ways, and offers implications for how these factors may persist or change over time.

Focusing on Taiwanese

Taiwanese parents in the U.S. are not frequently studied and even less is known about their U.S.-born children's parenting practices. According to a 2012 report from the Migration Policy Institute (McCabe), in 2010 there were 475,000 self-identified members of the Taiwanese diaspora living in the U.S., which may be an underestimate since some Taiwanese may have self-identified as "Chinese" or "Other Asian" on census forms. The report goes on to state that the 358,000 Taiwanese immigrants living in the U.S. represented 0.9% of the country's 40 million immigrants, which is comparable to Italian, Iranian, and Brazilian foreign-born populations in the U.S. Almost half of all Taiwanese immigrants lived in California and about one-quarter of Taiwanese immigrants lived in the Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA metro area alone, which makes this research topic particularly relevant, given the study's proximity to this area.

Taiwan has an interesting and multifaceted culture. Although Taiwan shares many similarities with China, there are also unique aspects of Taiwanese culture due to its history of colonization. Originally inhabited by indigenous populations, the Dutch, Spanish, Japanese, and Han Chinese eventually came to populate Taiwan (G. M. Davidson, 2003). All of these different cultures, along with modern Western ideals, have shaped the unique Taiwanese culture that exists today (Lewis, 2014; Tourism Bureau: Republic of China (Taiwan), 2015). While the Han Chinese may have made the most notable contributions toward Taiwanese culture to date (Tourism Bureau: Republic of China (Taiwan), 2015), it is worthwhile to study a distinctly Taiwanese population, which this study aims to do.

Corporal Punishment in Taiwan

In a comparison of 32 nations, including the U.S., China, Hong Kong, South Korea, Tanzania, and Mexico, Taiwanese university students ranked the highest in experiences of

corporal punishment when they were asked whether they were “spanked or hit a lot before age 12”; over half of the students in most of the 32 nations stated that they were spanked or hit frequently, but 74% of Taiwanese students indicated so (M. A. Straus, 2010). More recent reports cite lower rates, but a majority of parents still use corporal punishment in Taiwan (57%) (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016; Taiwan Fund for Children and Families (TFCF), 2015). Further, a recent survey found that 61.4% of Taiwanese adolescents were exposed to physical abuse (Feng, Chang, Chang, Fetzer, & Wang, 2015) and it is very likely that these behaviors primarily stem from intentions to use violence as discipline (Chang et al., 2006). Given the prevalence of corporal punishment in Taiwan, this topic is particularly important to explore (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016; M. A. Straus, 2010; Taiwan Fund for Children and Families (TFCF), 2015), especially if understanding the underlying reasons for these rates would help support reduction in behavior.

Corporal punishment should be explored in the context of cultural factors (Doe, 2000) and some have proposed frameworks of how culture and society may perpetuate these practices (see M. A. Straus, 2010; Zhai & Gao, 2009). Significant factors that may play a role on parental physical punishment for Taiwanese mothers include Confucian values, the emphasis of filial piety, and beliefs about familial responsibilities.

Cultural values. Taiwan is a traditionally Confucian society and some core Confucian beliefs may contribute to patterns of parental physical discipline. For example, Hwang (2001) argued that “the morality of individualism in Western culture belongs to the ethics of autonomy, which stresses personal rights as an individual,” which he argues contrasts with the morality of Confucianism which, “stresses interpersonal duties in social situations, and belongs to the ethics of community” (Hwang, 2001, p. 325). The high value placed on interpersonal relationships is

linked to the belief that the individual is an extension of their ancestors; therefore, boundaries of the self can also extend to family members (Hwang, 2001). Additionally, Confucians believe that people are not morally equivalent and therefore should not be treated as such (Hwang, 2001). Confucianism teaches that one should respect their superiors and that those in upper positions are the decision makers while those in lower positions should listen to what their expectations are and abide the values of deference, obedience, filial piety, and loyalty (Hwang, 2001). Although Hwang uses these arguments to inform corporal punishment in classrooms and to explain why the “ethical leadership of teachers may eventually turn into the high-handed surveillance of student behavior in a traditional Confucian society, leading ultimately to the rising misuse of corporal punishment” (Hwang, 2001, p. 328), these are the same underlying processes that lead to high rates of corporal punishment in the home.

Beliefs about parenting and family. Filial piety, or devotion to the family, plays a particularly important role when considering parent-child interactions. Filial piety is a core value for socializing children in traditional Chinese societies and earns respect for individuals and brings honor to their entire family (O'Brian & Lau, 1995). By this belief, children must fulfill their parents' wishes and obey them, regardless of the demands (O'Brian & Lau, 1995). Corporal punishment is often seen as a necessary means of reinforcing these values and oftentimes filial piety is used to justify harsh parenting practices and abuse in China (Liao et al., 2011; Tang, 1998; Zhai & Gao, 2009); given the cultural similarities with China, this is likely taking place in Taiwan as well.

Two factors that help inform the relationship between Confucian ideals of filial piety and parent-child interactions, are the concepts of *chiao shun* and *guan*. *Chiao shun* means “child training” and is used interchangeably with child rearing; it embodies elements of teaching or

educating children in appropriate or expected ways (Chao, 1994; Wu, 1985). The significant individuals in the child's life are responsible for their early training and the mother's role is especially important, as her responsibility is to provide a nurturing environment, be physically present, and attend to her child's needs (Wu, 1985). The Taiwanese kinship system is influenced by Confucian philosophy and positions women as being subordinate to men due to its patriarchal ideology (Ho, Ko, Tran, Phillips, & Chen, 2013). Women traditionally are perceived as homemakers who are in charge of raising the children, while fathers are seen as the financial providers and disciplinarians (Ho et al., 2013). Although stereotypical gender roles are being challenged, core cultural values are attached to the family unit in Taiwan and deep-seated ideas and behavioral patterns associated with traditional Chinese family life still remain, despite ongoing industrialization, urbanization, and exposure to Western ideals (M. L. Lee & Sun, 1995).

In addition to *chiao shun*, the concept of *guan* also comes into play when understanding this mother-child dynamic, and it means "to govern"; however, it also has a positive connotation that means "to care for" or even "to love" (Tobin, Wu, & Davidson, 1989). The purpose of *chiao shun* and *guan* are not to dominate the child but instead to insure the integrity of the family and that relations in the family and society are harmonious (Chao, 1994; S. Lau & Cheung, 1987). These beliefs about the responsibility of parenting are rooted in Confucian ideas that highlight the value of the importance of interpersonal relationships, differential treatment of individuals, separation of those in the social hierarchy, and filial piety; these ideas work in conjunction and may inform Taiwan's high rates of corporal punishment.

Immigration, Acculturation, and Parenting

While studies show that rates of corporal punishment in Taiwan are high, very few studies explore corporal punishment in Taiwanese immigrants in the U.S. or how attitudes and behaviors may change due to immigrating and residing in a different country. Results from other immigrant populations and studies focusing on parenting styles show that there is reason to believe that immigration may be related to a lesser likelihood of exerting violence against children. While it is commonly known that physical punishment is transmitted inter-generationally, Tajima and Harachi (2010) found that greater acculturation to the U.S. is linked to breaking this cycle in Vietnamese and Cambodian immigrant and refugee parents. Similarly, a comparison of East Indian mothers residing in the U.S. and India showed that mothers living in India were more likely to favor corporal punishment than U.S. mothers who were more likely to parent in an authoritative manner (Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002). Chiu (1987) looked at comparisons of ¹Chinese mothers living in Taiwan, Chinese-Americans who immigrated to the U.S. from Taiwan, and Anglo-Americans, and found that Chinese mothers were the most restrictive and controlling, while Anglo-Americans parented in the least restrictive ways, and Chinese-American mothers ranked somewhere in between. Given that this study found differences in parenting style based on immigration status, it may have implications for parental aggression as well, although parental aggression was not measured in this particular study. The assumption behind these studies is that immigrants come to adopt Western or U.S. styles of caregiving practices which leads to less aggressive behaviors towards children in those whose home cultures supported corporal punishment.

¹Author uses “Chinese” & “Chinese-American” for those born in Taiwan and currently residing there as well as those who have moved to the U.S., respectively

Despite these findings, however, several researchers have linked immigration to higher rates of aggressive behaviors towards children. For example, rates of physical abuse for Puerto Rican families residing in the Bronx were higher than those residing in Puerto Rico (Sledjeski et al., 2009). In another study, Buki and colleagues (2003) found that greater acculturation gaps between Chinese immigrant mothers and children were associated with more parenting difficulties, which may imply that mothers who immigrate are more at risk for using physical discipline. Additionally, Lau (2010) found that in Chinese immigrant families, parent-child acculturation conflicts were correlated to physical discipline when parents believed in strong parental control. In these studies, it seems as though the stressors associated with immigrating and acculturating may contribute to caregivers using physical discipline with children.

Immigration and acculturation experiences seem to influence parenting and parent-child relationships. However, studies linking immigration to corporal punishment are mixed. Some show that parents adopt Western ideals of parenting and reduce violent behaviors while others use more aggressive behaviors due to the stress associated with acculturation. Further, why these links may be different between racial and ethnic groups, it is not well understood thus far. Therefore, in considering pathways to violence against children, it is important to consider the experiences of immigrants, including how they merge their experiences of enculturation with later acculturation.

Intergenerational Differences in Parenting

The next generation's parenting practices are also important to consider as well, although less research addresses how adult children of immigrants raise their children, and findings are similarly mixed. Bitton and David (2014) found that adult children of immigrants who came from a traditional, non-Western society to a more Western society, tended to parent in more

authoritative ways, while their parents tended to parent in more authoritarian ways. Additionally, the adult daughters were more averse to violence than their mothers and were less tolerant of corporal punishment (Bitton & David, 2014). However, several studies found the contrary, that foreign-born parents use corporal punishment less frequently than U.S.-born parents (Altschul & Lee, 2011; S. J. Lee & Altschul, 2015; Taylor, Guterman, Lee, & Rathouz, 2009). These findings mirror the literature on acculturation and physical discipline, and the processes are once again unclear. Foreign-born mothers may hold more traditional beliefs that are either risk or protective factors for physical discipline. For example, familism, which stresses the importance of family ties and prioritizes the needs of the family over an individual's needs (Schwartz et al., 2010), has been found to be a protective factor for corporal punishment (Ferrari, 2002). On the other hand, machismo attitudes (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994; Ferrari, 2002), which are associated with rigid sex roles, aggressiveness, dominance, and low levels of nurturance, and filial piety (Liao et al., 2011; Rhee et al., 2008), which emphasizes children's obedience to parents and devotion to family, have been found to be risk factors for corporal punishment. Thus, depending on the types of traditional beliefs foreign-born parents have, and how U.S.-born, children of immigrants make sense of merging traditional values and those of the dominant U.S. culture, or the stress they experience in doing so, rates of corporal punishment may be more or less relative to their foreign born counterparts. The similarities and differences between foreign-born mothers living abroad and in the U.S., and U.S.-born children of immigrants parenting practices, in addition to the factors that contribute to these patterns, are therefore worthwhile to explore.

Theoretical Framework

Bronfenbrenner and Morris' (1998) bioecological model and Berry's (1980) acculturation framework both broadly inform this study. The four aspects of process-person-context-time

(PPCT) are the core of the bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998). The context component of the model is particularly relevant to this study. Drawing from Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1989), disciplinary practices exist in the child's *microsystem* and has implications for children's developmental outcomes. Children's *individual characteristics* can influence these disciplinary practices, as can other individuals that mothers interact with (*mesosystem*) along with mothers' own experiences (*exosystem*). Culturally based influences on mothers' behaviors, on the other hand, are a *macrosystem* process as these processes are the most distal to their children. Lastly, the *chronosystem*, which has to do with changes over time, plays a key role in this study because differential exposure to U.S. culture may influence caregiving practices and predispositions for aggression. Berry's acculturation framework (Berry, 1980) helps inform some of these *chronosystem* processes. The acculturation framework (Berry, 1980) states at least two separate cultural groups, typically where one is more dominant, must be in contact with one another and that change in at least one of these cultural groups results from this contact. *Behavioral shifts* are the result of this interaction and almost any behavior is subject to change (Berry, 2001).

Present Study

It is important to evaluate the different components of the context in which corporal punishment is given (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997; Gunnoe & Mariner, 1997; Lansford, 2010). If corporal punishment is more normative within a culture, it may serve as a buffer for adverse outcomes, since children may believe that this type of punishment is in their best interest (Deater-Deckard & Dodge, 1997). However, if corporal punishment is not the norm within a culture, children may interpret these actions as hostile, which mediates the link between corporal punishment and children's adjustment (Lansford et al., 2010). Thus, it is critical to explore how

Taiwanese mothers navigate discipline after immigrating to a different country with a different cultural context surrounding caregiver physical discipline, as it could differentially impact their children's outcomes in the future. Using cross-cultural semi-structured focus group data, I examine *how cultural norms, values and beliefs, along with maternal experiences, serve as risk or protective factors for aggression towards their children and how these persist and change across generations*, by comparing Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan (G0) and the U.S. (G1), and U.S.- born Taiwanese-American mothers (G2).

Positionality

My positionality as a U.S.-born Taiwanese-American is important to consider in the context of this study. My parents immigrated to the U.S. from Taiwan in the late 1980's and are Hakka, the second-largest ethnic group in Taiwan, with ancestral origins in Hakka-speaking provinces in China. My ancestors have lived in Taiwan for more than 400 years, through the Qing Dynasty and later the Japanese rule of Taiwan.

Growing up as the daughter of immigrants in the suburbs of Southern California, I was made aware of various cultural differences early on, as I compared my own experiences to those of my non-Taiwanese friends. Considering that both of my parents are heavily influenced by Taiwanese culture, but were acculturating to the U.S.' dominant culture throughout my childhood, my upbringing was quite unique. My exposure to both Taiwanese and U.S. cultures influence the lens through which I view my research and make me both an insider and outsider when analyzing and interpreting the data. To ensure that my analyses were accurate, I consulted with several individuals, including my research assistants, moderator, and colleagues, who have varying amounts of cultural familiarity with Taiwan and the U.S.

Method

To explore how mothers' cultural norms, values, beliefs, and experiences may be linked to physical discipline, and how these factors persist and change across generations, nine semi-structured focus groups were conducted with Taiwanese-origin mothers. Three focus groups each were conducted with Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan (G0), Taiwan-born mothers who immigrated to the U.S. (G1), and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers (G2). Each focus group ranged from 5 – 8 mothers and lasted approximately 1.5 hours. Data from these focus groups were transcribed and analyzed to identify commonalities and differences in both risk and protective factors across the three groups.

Participants

Focus group participants were purposefully composed of homogenous samples of Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan and the U.S., as well as U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers. Mothers living in Taiwan (G0) were recruited from businesses, churches, and schools, as well as through snowball sampling in three large cities (by population) across Taiwan. Mothers living in the U.S. were recruited across Southern California through Chinese schools, cultural centers and organizations, Chinese language programs, churches, schools, and through snowball sampling. Focus groups were conducted in various locations that were convenient to participants, including schools, churches, cultural centers, homes, and meeting rooms. Self-identified Taiwanese mothers living in Taiwan (G0) ($n = 19$) and the U.S. (G1) ($n = 15$), and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American Mothers (G2) ($n = 15$) with at least one child that was between 3 and 14 years old, were recruited for this study. These mothers were targeted because they were most likely to be in the process of using, or could easily remember whether or not they used,

corporal punishment with their children. Given that mothers are typically the primary caregivers in Taiwan and in the U.S. (Newland et al., 2012), only mothers were recruited for this study.

[Insert Table 3.1]

Taiwanese mothers. Taiwanese mothers ($n = 19$) were on average 42.5 years old ($SD = 4.2$; Range = 37 – 52 years). The majority had a high school diploma or bachelor's degree (68.4%); most mothers also worked part- and/or full-time (73.7%). The majority of mothers (68.4%) had an annual household income of NT\$630,000 – NT\$2,009,000, although some mothers did not respond to this question. As a point of reference, Taiwan's average disposable income per household in 2014 was NT\$956,849 (National Statistics Republic of China (Taiwan), 2014). The minimum wage, which varies between region, was NT\$11,146/month in greater Kaohsiung in 2013 (Sui), or NT\$133,752/year. Additionally, these mothers had an average of 1.7 children each ($SD = 0.8$; Range = 1 – 4), of which 43.8% of which were male. Their children's ages ranged from 3 – 22 years old ($M = 9.9$; $SD = 4.3$).

Taiwanese immigrant mothers. Taiwanese mothers who immigrated to the U.S. ($n = 15$) were on average 46.4 years old ($SD = 4.4$; Range = 40 – 55). All mothers had an associate's degree or higher and the majority had a bachelor's degree or a graduate/professional degree (73.3%); most mothers also worked part- and/or full-time (73.3%). Taiwanese-born individuals living in the U.S. are relatively more educated than native-born and foreign-born individuals living in the U.S. (McCabe, 2012) and three of the 15 mothers specifically mentioned coming to the U.S. for their bachelor's or professional/graduate degree during their self-introductions, which may account for this group of mothers being more highly educated than those living in Taiwan. All mothers who indicated their annual household income made \$50,000 or more, with 53.3% of mothers having an annual household income of \$90,000 or more.

Taiwanese-immigrant mothers lived in the U.S. for an average of 22 years ($SD = 7.4$; Range = 12.5 – 33.5 years) and had an average of 2.2 children ($SD = 1.0$; Range = 1 – 4) of which 72.7% were male. Their children's ages ranged from 6 – 24 years old ($M = 12.1$; $SD = 4.0$).

U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers. U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers ($n = 15$) were on average 37.7 years old ($SD = 4.4$; Range = 29.5 – 44.6). All mothers had a bachelor's degree or higher and a majority had a graduate/professional degree (80.0%); most mothers also worked part- and/or full-time (73.3%). All mothers who indicated their annual household income made \$60,000 or more, with 86.7% of mothers having an annual household income of \$90,000 or more. U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers had an average of 1.9 children ($SD = 1$; Range = 1 – 4) of which 51.7% were male. Their children's ages ranged from 3 – 26 years old ($M = 5.8$; $SD = 3.3$). Mothers in this sample were both younger and had younger children compared to the other groups, because their parents likely emigrated from Taiwan to the U.S. in the 1960's and 1970's, as the majority in the U.S. did (S. Y. Lin, 2010).

Design

This is a phenomenological study, which describes the experience of multiple individuals and their experiences of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007). In this case, the phenomena being studied includes what parental aggression looks like in these three groups of Taiwanese-origin mothers as well as the factors that contribute to and prevent parental physical aggression. Mothers were interviewed with others with a similar cultural background as themselves to help build rapport between them and to facilitate discussion about parenting experiences and factors that influenced their parenting behaviors. Two questionnaires, developed for the study and pilot tested with six G1 mothers, were used at the start and finish of each group (See Appendix 3A & 3C).

Measures

Demographic questionnaire. Participants were asked to fill out a demographic questionnaire (Appendix 3A) that was slightly different between the three groups of mothers. The form included general demographic questions about education, employment, income, birthplace, countries resided in, year of immigration, as well number of children, their ages, and birthplace.

Closing questionnaire. At the end of each focus group, mothers completed a closing questionnaire (Appendix 3C), which thanked them for their participation and asked them to include information about different topics that they may have omitted during the group discussion either because they forgot or were uncomfortable sharing in a public space. This was provided to ensure that all participants had space to share, even if time or interpersonal dynamics limited opportunity.

Procedure

Following consent procedures, on the day of the focus group, mothers were first asked to complete a short demographic questionnaire (Appendix 3A). A fluent Mandarin-speaking moderator conducted G0 and G1 focus groups in Mandarin Chinese and I conducted G2 focus groups in English. A semi-structured focus group interview protocol was used (see Appendix 3B for English version).

In the focus groups, mothers discussed their children's behaviors, their own parenting behaviors, and potential influences on their parenting and discipline. Mothers were given the opportunity to address cultural norms, values, and beliefs, through various open-ended questions. Using focus groups is advantageous given that talking about corporal punishment and potential physical abuse is a sensitive issue and participants may feel more comfortable doing so in a small

group setting with mothers that are similar to themselves, rather than in a one-on-one setting with a researcher (Creswell, 2007; Morgan, 1997; Stewart & Shamdasani, 2015).

All of the focus group interviews were audio recorded. At the end of each focus group session, mothers had the chance to write about additional experiences not mentioned during the focus group discussion (Appendix 3C). At least two members from the research team, including me, the Mandarin-speaking moderator, and two bilingual undergraduate research assistants, translated, transcribed, and checked the interviews conducted in Mandarin. Professional transcription companies transcribed the English audio recordings and I checked over them. Laughing, stutters, grammatical errors and other aspects of participants' speech were retained in these transcripts to preserve the authenticity of the data, but were removed in this manuscript for clarity. All names and cities were then replaced with pseudonyms in the transcripts and these de-identified transcripts served as the data sources for this study.

Coding framework Dedoose software was used to code the data. First memos were written from the transcripts to identify statements related to actual forms of parental discipline, both aggressive and not, or decisions to use certain types of discipline, as well as the factors leading up to and the contexts surrounding these behaviors. These transcript data were then reduced into meaningful segments and through thematic sorting were organized into broad categories (Creswell, 2007).

A classification system for major topics that were identified was developed and each topic was given its own code or label. Some codes were developed using a top-down approach, drawing from the literature, while other codes that were not anticipated were developed inductively, using a bottom-up approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As codes were identified through the entire analyses of the transcripts, data were compared for emerging codes and

recoded as necessary. Based on the questions included in the semi-structured focus group protocol, global categories for: 1) *cultural norms, values, beliefs, and experiences contributing to maternal physical discipline*; 2) *child behaviors that elicit discipline*; 3) *maternal disciplinary tactics*; 4) *child characteristics*, and 5) *maternal emotion surrounding the disciplinary event* served as a foundation; however, some of these were modified and several additional categories emerged and were subsequently added.

For several of these larger codes, child codes, or more nuanced dimensions, were also identified. Some of these child-codes were based on what has previously been associated with physical discipline in the literature (Stewart & Shamdasani, 2015), but many of the categories within these larger parent codes were unknown in the beginning, because no in-depth analyses of this nature had been done with Taiwanese and Taiwanese-American mothers. This coding process was primarily an inductive iterative process, which began with limited preconceived notions about the phenomenon and instead allowed the phenomenon to emerge on its own through the data. It allowed for constant revisions including the reorganizing and retailoring of concepts and gave space for new patterns and themes to reveal themselves and become increasingly refined.

An example of the coding structure is shown in Figure 3.1. Starting with the first global category mentioned above, *cultural norms, values, beliefs, and experiences contributing to maternal physical discipline*, this category was first broken up into two different child codes based on conceptual differences, 1) norms, values, and beliefs contributing to maternal physical discipline (not pictured), and 2) experiences contributing to maternal physical discipline. The coding structure for the latter is shown.

[Insert Figure 3.1]

Experiences contributing to maternal physical discipline were grouped into 1) mothers' experiences growing up, an exo-level influence, 2) experiences with their own child previously, a micro-level influence, and 3) other experiences, which were determined later on to be meso-level influences because they had to do with the interactions between mothers and their social networks.

More nuanced codes were used to inform these three codes. For example, under *mothers' experiences growing up*, protective factors included experiencing alternative methods of discipline, such as non-physical discipline, and experiencing corporal punishment as negative or ineffective. Negative or ineffective experiences of corporal punishment included experiencing being emotionally traumatized, suffering from other emotional consequences, or experiencing that corporal punishment was ineffective. A risk factor that was identified under *mothers' experiences growing up* included experiencing corporal punishment as a child. Under *experiences with child previously*, protective factors included believing that corporal punishment is ineffective for one's own child and experiencing regret after corporal punishment. Conversely, experiencing corporal punishment as effective for one's child was a risk factor. Lastly, having support from others for corporal punishment was identified as being the one *other experience* that contributed to higher levels of maternal physical discipline. These sources of support varied and included support from elders, spouses, and peers/others.

Focus group data were coded using both top-down and bottom-up approaches. To demonstrate the bottom-up nature of this coding scheme, additional child codes that were used to inform all of the lowest level child codes in Figure 3.1 are indicated in Table 3.2. As an example, the code for being emotionally traumatized was informed by child codes such as experiencing corporal punishment as a child, having negative attitudes about corporal punishment, showing

visible marks/bruising from corporal punishment, and experiencing public embarrassment from these marks (See Figure 3.1 & Table 3.2). Similar top-down and bottom-up methods were used to derive the other codes in this study.

[Insert Table 3.2]

Analytic strategy. In this study, I seek to answer the following question: *Using cross-cultural data comparing Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan (G0) and the U.S. (G1), and U.S.- born Taiwanese-American mothers (G2), how do cultural norms, values and beliefs, along with maternal experiences, serve as risk or protective factors for physical aggression towards their children and how do these persist and change across generations?*

[Insert Table 3.3]

Considering that the premise of a phenomenology is to “reduce individual experience with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence” (Creswell, 2007, p. 58), I used Creswell’s (2007) simplified version of the Stevick-Colaizzi-Keen method (Moustakas, 1994) of phenomenological analysis, to understand G0, G1, and G2 mothers’ use of physical discipline and the risks and barriers associated with it. Codes that informed the “textural descriptions,” or the experiences of each group of mothers’ use of discipline, were first developed (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). Disciplinary behaviors were first grouped as physical and non-physical forms of discipline. Further, physical discipline was broken down into violent (includes physical contact from mother) and non-violent forms of discipline (does not include physical contact from mother), then specific disciplinary behaviors were included under these categories. (See Table 3.3)

After these “textural descriptions” were developed, codes that informed the “structural descriptions,” or how the experience happened, specifically the risk and protective factors

leading up to the behaviors, were developed (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). First, the different factors that were linked to physical discipline were identified for each generation of mothers. Then these were categorized as either being risk or protective factors and were then organized hierarchically (See Figure 3.1 & Table 3.2). Given that these risk and protective factors seemed to be in varying proximity to the child, these were then organized based on Bronfenbrenner's ecological model (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). The final codes' structure is shown in Table 3.4. Some of these codes were unique for one generation, while others were shared between G0 and G1 mothers, or across all three generations, and the generation/s that each code applies to is/are indicated in the code chart.

[Insert Table 3.4]

Together, these “textural descriptions” and “structural descriptions” make up a composite description, which captures the nature of the risk and protective factors for corporal punishment for these three groups of mothers (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). To address the main research question, similarities and differences from the composite descriptions of what physical discipline looks like and the factors that inform it for Taiwanese and Taiwanese-American mothers were explored. For example, I explored the frequency and distribution of each maternal disciplinary tactic code within these three populations and made comparisons as to how these three groups of mother vary or are similar in terms of the types of aggressive behaviors they use with their children. Further, I explored whether the risk and protective factors for physical discipline were similar or different across the three populations. These analyses reveal how maternal disciplinary behaviors might remain the same or change due to immigrating to or growing up in the U.S., and having differential exposure to U.S. society, as well as what the different influences for maternal physical aggression are between these three groups.

Trustworthiness and credibility. The trustworthiness and credibility of the data gathered from this study were largely dependent on the rapport that was fostered among the participants and developed between the participants and the moderator. Given that the focus group protocol touches on sensitive issues like corporal punishment and possible physical abuse, the friendly and open atmosphere of all of the focus group interviews contributed to mothers feeling comfortable expressing their beliefs and experiences regardless of whether they were agreeing or disagreeing with each other. To ensure that transcripts and methods were credible and that findings were trustworthy, peer debriefing was used with the research team. This included the Mandarin-speaking moderator, who is a Taiwanese-immigrant to the U.S. and mother, and each of the research assistants, one of whom is a U.S.-born Taiwanese-American, and the other who is an international student from Taiwan. Peer debriefing was also used with other researchers of Taiwanese-descent.

Results & Discussion

In the following section, I will first summarize how G0, G1, and G2 mothers described corporal punishment. Solely examining these practices are insufficient and the factors that contribute to these types of behaviors are extremely complex. Therefore, the examination of the cultural norms, values, and beliefs, along with experiences that mothers describe, that serve as risk or protective factors for physical discipline are critical to understanding these differences and comprise the bulk of the results section. I will first discuss more distal factors that contribute to mothers' choices to use or not use corporal punishment, including factors from the macrosystem and exosystem. Then I will discuss more proximal factors including those from the mesosystem and microsystem. Finally, children's individual contributions to whether or not they experience physical discipline will be discussed, although these are tied to macro-level factors.

The context that mothers live in along with their experiences and personal feelings about corporal punishment and discipline offer a glimpse as to why disciplinary practices may vary. Some of the risk and protective factors that are identified are shared between G0, G1, and G2 mothers, others are only shared by G0 and G1 mothers, and some are unique to each group, or play a more significant role for some group than others.

Disciplinary Behaviors Across Three Groups

Taiwanese mothers living in Taiwan and the U.S., and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers, described differences in their disciplinary practices (See Table 3.3). A greater proportion of mothers living in Taiwan discussed *ever* using physical discipline with their children (78.9%) compared to Taiwanese-immigrant mothers in the U.S. (66.7%), and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers (26.7%). However, some of these G0 and G1 mothers only used physical discipline with their children once and never hit their child again, while others hit their children more regularly.

[Insert Figure 3.2]

Physical discipline can be broken down into *violent behaviors* such as hitting, spanking, and slapping and *non-violent, but still physically painful, behaviors*, such as squatting, kneeling, and holding heavy objects. Of the mothers living in Taiwan, 68.4% reported *ever* using *violence* against their children as discipline. Although not all mothers indicated how they hit their children, 53.8% of these mothers mentioned hitting their children with their hands and 38.5% mentioned hitting their children with objects. The objects of choice that mothers in Taiwan discussed using to hit their children included a stick and several mentioned other unspecified “punishment tools.” An interesting object that a mother discussed using, that several mothers also knew about, was something called “love’s little hand” (Figure 3.2), a special, small paddle,

in the shape of a hand, sold in Taiwan for the purpose of disciplining children. Of the Taiwan-born mothers who immigrated to the U.S., 61% reported ever hitting their child and 10% of these mothers indicated that they used their hands to hit while 20% indicated that they used objects to hit. In the U.S., a G1 mother mentioned hitting her children with a small ruler. These rates are comparable to previous reports of corporal punishment in Taiwanese populations (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016; M. A. Straus, 2010; Taiwan Fund for Children and Families (TFCF), 2015). However, Taiwanese-American mothers on the other hand, hit their children at much lower rates (26.7%). Of the G2 mothers who hit their children, one indicated that she hit her child with her hand while no mothers mentioned hitting her children with objects. However, one G2 mother, Claire, who did not hit her children, indicated:

I feel like we're still kind of evolving, trying to figure out what will work...we haven't spanked either of them. We were both spanked as kids and sort of... whatever, corporal punishment. Um we haven't tried that yet. I don't think we're necessarily opposed to it, but I don't know yeah.

Although Claire implied that she might hit her children in the future, no other mothers indicated that they would consider hitting their children if they did not currently hit their children already.

In addition to being more likely to have ever used violence with their children, mothers living in Taiwan used other types of physical discipline that were *non-violent* (26.3%). These caused physical discomfort but did not involve hitting or spanking and mostly consisted of kneeling, which took many forms (e.g., in the dark, in the bathroom, while memorizing times tables), squatting, standing in the bathroom and holding a bucket of water overhead. While no G1 or G2 mothers discussed using these methods, one G2 mother, Faith said:

I don't know if you guys had to ((laughs)) kneel ((laughing)) ... that was the one that when we're older that I remember and was like painful and then you have to think about what you had done and stuff ... I think in the back of my mind I filed that way for later when they're older ((laughs)) or maybe if they need that like I wouldn't be opposed to making them kneel and think about what they've done and stuff like that.

For mothers of all three groups, physical discipline was always used in conjunction with other types of verbal discipline (e.g., discussion, yelling, warning, threatening) and was not generally the preferred method of discipline. Mothers in this study indicated that their children often got warnings or threats and other chances to correct their behaviors first. International comparisons of harsh child discipline similarly find that nonviolent discipline and verbal or psychological punishment are much more widely used than violent practices (Runyan et al., 2010).

Further, mothers from all three groups also mentioned that corporal punishment was used more frequently when children were younger; however, G2 mothers generally had younger children, so this was not brought up as frequently. Some G1 mothers discussed hearing from their social networks that one should not hit their children once they are four years old, which coincides with several studies showing that corporal punishment peaks at about ages four to five (M. A. Straus, 2010). Several G0 and G1 mothers, and one G2 mother, expressed hitting their children less as they got older, or not needing to hit their children as they got older, and replacing corporal punishment with conversation, discussion, or removal of privileges. A more thorough description of the context of corporal punishment in Taiwan and with G1 and G2 mothers in the U.S. will be discussed in the following sections, starting from the most distal contexts to the most proximal contexts, and finally ending with child-level contributions.

[Insert Figure 3.3]

Macro-level Influences

There were several distal factors that served as risks or buffers for physical discipline. Some of these factors were influenced by the broader cultural context and these factors were categorized as macro-level influences. Some of these macro-level influences impacted more proximal contexts to the child too. For example, holding traditional views about gender was a shared macro-level risk factor for physical punishment for both G0 and G1 mothers; these macro-level beliefs about gender contributed to the individual-level characteristic of the child being male, serving as a risk factor. Similarly, a macro-level influence that pertained to G0 mothers only, included holding traditional familial values; this macro-level risk factor contributed to the meso-level risk factor of grandparents serving as a source of support for corporal punishment to mothers. Other macro-level factors have more direct influences on mother-child behaviors. For G0 mothers, believing in the importance of their child “saving face,” or maintaining a good self-image or impression of themselves (Hwang, 1987) was protective. Additionally, a unique protective factor for physical discipline for G1 mothers was the popular Taiwanese stereotype that Americans do not use corporal punishment and that it is illegal in the U.S. For G2 mothers, no macro-level influences were identified. (See Figure 3.3)

Gender values. For G0 and G1 mothers, holding traditional views and expectations for males was a macro-level risk factor that contributed to the individual-level risk factor of the child being male. Mothers living in Taiwan held the most stereotypical gender beliefs (e.g., attribute behaviors/characteristic to gender) and oftentimes these beliefs were used to justify physical discipline. For example, Ruby, a G0 mother who believed that corporal punishment was effective for her sons, attributed their behavior to their gender and justified hitting her sons:

Yea, but I think from time to time, using pun- corporal punishment is effective, especially because they are all boys in our family. So for boys, I think it's maybe because of their natural instincts. Because boys are naturally more wild.

Taiwan-born mothers, especially those who still reside in Taiwan, likely hold these values due to the patrilineal structure of Chinese societies, differential expectations for boys and girls (Fricke, Chang, & Yang, 1994; Ho et al., 2013; Rydstrom, 2006; Tang, 1996), and the fact that in traditional Chinese societies, gender plays a role in family authority (Fricke et al., 1994). This also likely explains why G2 mothers did not hold these traditional Taiwanese gender values. Another example of how these cultural beliefs about gender served as a risk factor is when JieLian stated:

So, our family very seriously values men more than women... So, this son of mine is also the third generation of being the only male... I especially can't stand it because he's an only child so is being indulged. So at this point, once any of their family members says anything, my son will be even more out of luck, punished even more harshly, because I will be angrier.

JieLian's voiced how traditional patriarchal values serve as a risk factor for her son experiencing physical discipline. Since her family members prefer males over females and spoiled her son, to create a semblance of balance, she disciplined her son more harshly than usual. These broader cultural values regarding gender stereotypes and expectations inform the way that children are treated based on their gender, an individual-level characteristic that will be discussed more thoroughly in a later section. In addition to traditional gender values serving as a risk factor for G0 and G1 mothers, for G0 mothers, holding traditional family values was also a risk for physical discipline.

Family values. Holding traditional values about family was a risk factor for G0 mothers because it contributed to the meso-level factor of familial and elder support of the use of corporal punishment serving as a risk factor for mothers in Taiwan. Both filial piety, which emphasizes devotion to the family and children's obedience to parents (O'Brian & Lau, 1995), and familism, which places the family over the individual and emphasizes dependency on family members, reverence for elders, and responsibility to care for all family members (Zayas, 1992), have been previously linked to higher rates of caregiver physical aggression against children in Asian Americans (Zhai & Gao, 2009). Filial piety, especially, is an important traditional Chinese quality that Taiwanese still greatly value (C. C. Lin & Liu, 1999). Because mothers in Taiwan typically had more access to extended family and elderly parents, often with traditional patterns of co-residence, and placed more importance on kinship ties (Weinstein, Sun, Chang, & Freedman, 1994), they were more likely hold more traditional values of familism and filial piety and adhere to their parents' wishes. Therefore, if their parents or other family members supported the use of physical discipline, mothers were more likely to hit their children.

For example, MeiZu said that she hit her kids because her elders told her to discipline her children this way; she also added that her mother mentioned that corporal punishment was a good method and told MeiZu that she and all her siblings turned out well because of this method. Further, PeiWen, who typically uses corporal punishment with her daughter, discussed a time when her daughter bit her, but she did not hit her daughter because her daughter apologized to her while she was thinking about how to respond. PeiWen said, "The people that heard about it-her aunt was funnier she said, just hit her," and was reinforcing her use of physical discipline. For G0 mothers, holding macro-level values about family and how to interact with family members is a risk factor that permeates the meso-level context, as family members' and elders'

interactions with mothers reinforce corporal punishment. Further, other macro-level factors that have a more direct effect on mothers' likelihood to use corporal punishment also exist.

Importance of “saving face.” A more direct macro-level factor that emerged as being a significant protective factor for corporal punishment for mothers living in Taiwan, as compared to those in the U.S., was mothers' belief in the importance of saving face, or wanting to prevent their children from being embarrassed in public. Chinese culture emphasizes maintaining a harmonious society and having appropriate arrangements of interpersonal relationships (Abbott, 1970). Thus, the practice of saving face, or manipulation of face, is a cultural practice shaped by the hierarchical social relations and the public nature of obligation to one's superiors (Hwang, 1987). Although the concept of saving face was mentioned in each of the G1 focus groups, it was discussed extensively by mothers in the three G0 focus groups.

DuJuan, a G0 mother first discussed how she was more likely to use corporal punishment to parent her daughter because she had been influenced by the way she was raised. She then said:

I'll tell myself, “Oh, you still need to give your children later, let them save face...” I always will go home to punish, but sometimes at that time I won't be able to hold it in, and at the time I'll pinch her, or sometimes I will pull her to the side and say, “You can't do this or something will happen.”

The punishment DuJuan referenced is hitting her child, and she stated that she would only do this at home to prevent her daughter from being embarrassed in public. However, DuJuan did pinch her daughter, a more subtle way to physically discipline in public. Several mothers also mentioned not hitting their children in public to let their children “save face.” Oftentimes, mothers threatened to hit their children when they got home later, if the child did not correct their misbehavior. The threat, rather than physical action in public, gave children the opportunity to

improve their behavior and not have to deal with the consequences later, which is why believing in the importance of saving face appears to be a protective factor.

In a different example, Lucy, another G0 mother, mentioned that there might be gender differences in who cares more about saving face:

Girls- they care more about saving face. And also, our older daughter is 6 years old, she understands more about some ways of the world. So mostly when we're outside, or when at home, if she really makes some small mistakes, I can just respect that. Turn a blind eye. Just, verbally remind her is good enough.

Lucy continued by saying:

When she's in a public place, she often- with her brother, make a racket, very loudly ... I usually give her three chances. When it gets to the fourth time, I will very strictly, tell her, "Please, shut up, now, and leave, go outside. If you want to continue to be so loud." Then she can read what I'm saying, and she knows that I am serious. So she will immediately, quiet down. But if [it's] her brother in the same situation, at home ((laughs)), he would willingly let me hit him ((laughing)).

Despite the importance of saving face being a unique macro-level protective factor for G0 mothers, this was not as prevalent for G1 and G2 mothers. This is unsurprising, as the notion of "saving face" is deeply rooted in the value that Chinese societies place on the hierarchically structured network of social relations that are distinct from Western society (Hwang, 1987); thus, as G1 mothers become acculturated to the dominant U.S. society, "saving face" may become less of an important concern. Further, as a whole, fewer G1 mothers used harsh punishment practices with their children, which may also contribute to this lesser concern of saving face. For G2 mothers, who have significantly less exposure to Taiwanese-culture, "saving face" was hardly

brought up; similarly, even less G2 mothers hit their children. Just as believing in the cultural value of “saving face” was a unique and protective macro-level influence for G0 mothers, a unique macro-level protective factor against corporal punishment that was unique to U.S.-immigrant mothers was their belief in the popular Taiwanese stereotype that those in the U.S. do not use corporal punishment and that it is illegal in the U.S. to do so.

Taiwanese stereotype that corporal punishment is illegal in the U.S. Several G1 mothers discussed how they believed in the Taiwanese stereotype that Americans did not hit their children until they eventually joined the workforce, made American friends, and asked them whether or not they hit their children. These stereotypes inform the popular Taiwanese belief that corporal punishment is illegal in the U.S. Four Taiwanese-born mothers living in the U.S. believed that corporal punishment was banned in the U.S. and shared fear of being reported for hitting their children. Two G0 mothers also expressed the same beliefs. Grace, a G0 mother, described a visit to the U.S.:

...And then they played really happily, very naughty, and were running around, and I just- I really couldn't hold it in anymore, and I just couldn't stand it, I just slapped my older daughter's butt. My [mother-in-law] loudly shouted behind me immediately, “Don't hit! Can't hit! This is the U.S!” She said you can't hit, this is the U.S. You will be jailed. You will be jailed.

Several of the mothers who emigrated from Taiwan to the U.S. mentioned that this belief stopped them from hitting their children. Ana, a G1 mother, stated, “After coming to America, it seems [like] if you hit kids and if it's seen by the neighbors, people will go and sue you, so it's better not to do these kinds of things.” JieLian, who stopped hitting her child eventually said,

“maybe about when he started going to elementary school, I pretty much stopped hitting, because I feel, uh, part of it is being scared of the school ((laughs)).”

For many mothers who were born in Taiwan, the stereotypes that Americans do not hit their children, that corporal punishment is banned in the U.S., and the potential consequences for hitting a child in the U.S., were true deterrents to not using physical practices to discipline their children. Straus (2010) proposed that one of the factors that leads to corporal punishment is if corporal punishment is legally permitted. These findings support the flip side; that mothers’ belief that corporal punishment is illegal protects against the use of corporal punishment. For G0 mothers, cultural beliefs of saving face served as a macro-level protective factor for physical discipline. For G1 mothers, misconceptions of the illegality of corporal punishment in the U.S. similarly served as a macro-level protective factor for physical discipline. For G2 mothers, on the other hand, these two factors did not function as protective factors, given their relatively limited exposure to Taiwanese traditional values and familiarity with U.S. laws.

Exo-Level Influences

In addition to macro-level influences, exo-level influences are another distal context that influenced mothers’ likelihood of using physical discipline with their children. Children do not have direct exposure to these exo-level influences, such as mothers’ beliefs about their experiences as children. Two of the exo-level influences are shared by all three groups of mothers. While experiencing corporal punishment growing up was a shared risk factor, experiencing negative or ineffective experiences with corporal punishment growing up was a shared protective factor, for all three groups of mothers. In addition to these two exo-level influences, however, experiencing alternative methods of discipline as a child was another unique exo-level protective factor that was identified for G0 mothers only.

Corporal punishment growing up. Across all three groups of mothers, those who chose to hit their children were hit growing up. This is consistent with previous findings of the intergenerational transmission of parental corporal punishment (Bailey et al., 2009; Dietz, 2000; Meifang Wang, Xing, & Zhao, 2014). However, not all mothers who were hit growing up chose to hit their children, for reasons that will be discussed in the following section. Of the 26 mothers who mentioned that they ever hit their children (across all 3 groups), 19 of them (73.1%) mentioned getting hit as a child. DuJuan, a G0 mother, said:

I've also been influenced a lot by the family I grew up with. So I'm also more likely to use corporal punishment methods to parent my child. I will tell her if she keeps, keeps, making the same mistakes, then I will use punishment, or ask her to squat, or ask her to timeout. And then she'll know.

Similarly, Ruby, a mother in Taiwan, stated:

After you became a mother actually you will sometimes think about, "Oh, when I was little, I was actually hit like this." Like even for little things, I would get hit. But I will try my best to not hit... So that's why I just said only when they make a serious mistake will we use corporal punishment.

Mothers that perpetuate practices of corporal punishment across all three groups were generally aligned with Ruby. Their method of corporal punishment was a modification, or improvement on what they had experienced growing up and corporal punishment was not the most preferred method of discipline. For Ruby, she did not hit her children for "little things" but instead only when they "make a serious mistake," as a last resort, which is a perceived improvement from what she experienced as a child.

These examples demonstrate that mothers' experiences with corporal punishment as a child may lead to them using corporal punishment with their own children, if they felt that it was at least somewhat effective or necessary. Muller and colleagues (1995) explain that the intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment is due to social learning and that "for people who are currently parents, greater levels of corporal punishment given by their own parents influenced greater manifestation of their own aggressive behaviors" (p. 1324). However, mothers in this sample often described their corporal punishment practices to be different from their own experiences and generally improved from what they experienced.

Negative or ineffective experiences with corporal punishment growing up. While experiencing physical discipline growing up seemed to be a contributor to mothers using physical discipline with their own children, not all mothers who were hit growing up chose to hit their children, providing evidence that the intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment can be broken. From all three groups, mothers' own experiences of getting hit as a child shaped their feelings, both good and bad, and choices about using corporal punishment with their own children. For three G0 mothers, two G1 mothers, and four G2 mothers, having negative experiences with corporal punishment or feeling that it was ineffective when they were growing up served as deterrents to using physical punishment with their children. Several other mothers mentioned getting hit as a child and not wanting to hit their children, but were not as explicit about their reasoning.

Two of the mothers in Taiwan experienced very extreme forms of corporal punishment as a child, that left marks for days. LiLi stated:

When we were young, my father was used to using his belt, he would immediately take it out and then hit us. And then I realized we would be influenced by the families we grew

up in. Because when our father was hitting us, he would keep trying to hit girls' lower legs, because his strategy was, "I want to make you embarrassed." Because, hitting your lower leg would show that uh, bruises in those lines. And then every morning when it's time for the morning assembly, your classmates would see your legs. And then you would be very embarrassed. He used this kind of method to discipline us. And then I realized, I told myself, I absolutely won't hit my kids.

For the two mothers in Taiwan, it was the experience of traumatic physical discipline as children that was also a source of public embarrassment, which deterred them from using corporal punishment with their own children. Both G0 mothers articulated feeling embarrassed from these experiences and not wanting their children to feel this way.

Several G2 mothers also experienced traumatic physical discipline, but the ways that these were described indicated that these mothers were emotionally affected in more complex ways. Four G2 mothers described negative emotional consequences to being hit as children; several others also said that they did not want to hit their children because they were hit growing up, and implied that it was due to the emotional consequences they experienced, but were not as explicit. This was by far the most common protective factor mentioned by G2 mothers. One mother said that she and her brother "grew up pretty messed up in the head" because they were hit. Another mother, speaking generally about those who got hit as children, said, "I think we all turned out okay but maybe emotionally we could do a little better." In regards to being spanked, Natasha said:

I just remember it caused a lot of resentment in me, it just made me hate her, like really angry.... So I think that definitely shaped my goal. I didn't feel like it was... effective,

maybe I was scared but it also made for a lot of turmoil in the family and a lot of conflict inside and just resenting her.

Unlike G0 and G2 mothers, Taiwanese mothers in the U.S., on the other hand, did not mention feeling traumatized by their experiences of getting hit, but did also cite their experiences with corporal punishment growing up influencing their decision to not hit their children. These experiences centered on their experiences of corporal punishment being ineffective. Victoria stated, “I won’t hit kids because ever since I was young my mother would hit me so ((laughs)), school would hit too. So I felt it wasn’t even a little bit effective. Instead, I hated it.” Similarly, when Carol, another G1 mother, discussed what informed her decision to not use corporal punishment with her children she stated, “I tried to think back to when I was beat, ‘Did it positively affect my actions later on?’ Now so just according to these considerations, I decided to try following this way.” These instances, from all three groups of mothers, suggest that mothers choose not to hit their children by drawing on their own negative experiences with corporal punishment growing up. This indicates that it is possible to prevent socially learning aggressive behaviors (Muller et al., 1995; M. A. Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). In addition to these shared exo-level factors that seem protective, for mothers living in Taiwan, exposure to alternative methods of discipline was a unique exo-level protective factor.

Alternative methods of discipline growing up. Experiencing alternative forms of discipline growing up was a common protective factor against corporal punishment for those living in Taiwan. For example, of the five G0 mothers who mentioned experiencing non-violent discipline growing up, two did not hit their children at all, one hit her daughter once and deeply regretted it and never hit her children again, and another strongly preferred other methods of disciplining her children instead of hitting them. In contrast, of the two G1 mothers who

mentioned experiencing non-violent discipline growing up, one hit her children somewhat regularly, but felt regretful about it, and another did not hit her children.

CunJiao, a G0 mother, mentioned how she and her siblings were never hit growing up and that she was brought up in a gentle, loving home. She stated that her parents' non-violent disciplinary methods were effective, which was why she also chose to not hit her children and instead turn to non-violent methods of discipline, like discussion. XiaoMin, another G0 mother who also did not hit her children, voiced a similar upbringing. She mentioned that when she started to raise her voice or be verbally harsh to her children, her parents would step in and remind her that they never treated her that harshly when she was growing up. Grace, a third G0 mother who grew up with her father living away from the rest of the family most of the time due to his military career, compared the different disciplinary tactics she experienced in her household growing up:

My mom just used a whip... Then, occasionally when my father was at home, and encountered an argument between my younger brother and I, my dad would open a military court. We'd have a plaintiff, defendant, and both sides needed to make a statement... And my dad would judge whether this incident [was okay], does the plaintiff's argument hold up or not hold up... Actually, I personally think this is a good method. Right, and so, sometimes when my kids argue about some things with me, I will say, "Okay, then tell me your reason." Right, and if her reasons convince me, I will tell her, "If the reason you give me can convince mom, then I'll agree with you."

Grace followed with her views of corporal punishment by saying, "Now, the stick in our house was actually brought back by my husband. Or else, I think I don't really use this method. So, my husband approves of this method more," demonstrating her preference for and use of alternative

methods. For many G0 mothers, growing up with alternative methods of discipline allowed them to compare corporal punishment to other methods of punishment, which often appeared to serve as a protective factor for their own children. Compared to G0 mothers who were primarily hit as children and seem to view harsh parenting as a normal part of parenting (M. A. Straus et al., 1980), exposure to alternative forms of discipline growing up may give mothers a different or more varied type of understanding of how discipline can or should be done (Bandura, 1977).

These various macro- and exo-level factors were all distal processes that took place outside of the child's immediate environment. However, there were also more proximal factors that were discussed in contexts that were closer or even in direct contact with the child. These meso- and micro-level processes can be influenced by the more distal contexts as well.

Meso-Level Influences

The one meso-level risk factor that was identified was whether mothers currently had support for physically disciplining their children, and this was a risk factor that was shared across all three groups of mothers. This is categorized as being a meso-level influence because it involves two different micro-level factors, mothers and the individuals that mothers associate with, to whom children are also exposed. Although this characteristic was shared by all three groups of mothers, they were qualitatively different across groups due to with whom they discussed discipline.

Support from others for corporal punishment. Mothers living in Taiwan and the U.S. received support for corporal punishment from different people. For the G0 mothers in Taiwan, family members, specifically elders, often supported its use. However, for G1 mothers, the source of support varied to include members of their social networks who shared expectations

and advice (Belsky, 1984). Lastly, for G2 mothers, husbands were the main sources of support for corporal punishment.

As mentioned previously (see pages 157 - 158), G0 mothers living in Taiwan were most likely to be influenced by their family members and elders' support for corporal punishment, due to holding more traditional familial beliefs, such as familism and filial piety. Although G1 mothers were also encouraged by others to use corporal punishment, they hardly mentioned their family members' influence during the focus group discussions and instead referenced other influences. This pattern is supported by a study in Southern California that found that Taiwanese-immigrant mothers often do not want grandparents to be involved with disciplining their own children (C. C. Lin & Liu, 1999), which may explain the difference between the two groups. Another reason that could contribute to this difference between the two groups is that for G1 mothers who immigrated to the U.S., oftentimes their family members and elderly parents did not emigrate with them, so there is substantially less physical contact with these family members. While one G1 mother did mention that her sister-in-law encouraged her husband to use corporal punishment with their son, two other mothers pointed to other supports. BaiTing, a G1 mother, mentioned:

Sometimes you will hear about, "Oh you have- must hit. In America you also have to hit. Just- you see how American's children are so wild it's because, they weren't hit. And after you hit them then you feel, "Oh, this isn't right." ((laughs))

Although BaiTing did not feel comfortable hitting her child, hearing the opinions of those around her, likely her peers, was what initially influenced her to try corporal punishment as a form of discipline. Another G1 mother, Beverly, who used corporal punishment with her children when they were younger stated:

I've heard on the broadcast, especially those who are religious, like Christians, people from Christian churches they still will follow what the bible says, will want to hit their kids, but only maybe when the children are young.

Although her comment was in response to the moderator asking how Americans (Caucasians) may be similar to Taiwanese parents in terms of discipline, given that Beverly listens to Christian radio, it is not unreasonable to assume that she may also be influenced by the biblical argument for using corporal punishment and her social network that likely also hold these beliefs. Extant research provides evidence for the link between religious affiliation and a higher disposition of using corporal punishment as well (Elizabeth Thompson Gershoff, Miller, & Holden, 1999).

Lastly, for G2 mothers, their main sources of support for corporal punishment were their husbands. Generally, G2 mothers talked more extensively about their coparenting relationships with their husbands than mothers in other groups, and the nature of these relationships were substantially more egalitarian. Taiwan-born mothers and their spouses may hold more traditional values regarding parental gender roles, a potential macro-influence tied to gender beliefs, as compared to U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers and their spouses, although research shows that fathers in Taiwan are now becoming more involved in their children's daily lives (Ho, Chen, Tran, & Ko, 2010). Therefore, for G2 mothers, their husbands played a more substantial role in influencing mothers' disciplinary tactics or executing disciplinary practices themselves. With regards to corporal punishment, Shelly said:

My husband, you know. I guess you could say he's a little bit more traditional than I am ... his belief is if we instill ((laughs)) if we instilled the fear in the kid- we don't really need to like beat him or anything but we've only slapped his hand like this ((gently slaps hand)) like maybe five times and now it's to the point where we do the second warning

and he's pretty okay. So his thought is we won't have to do spankings forever and it's just um like a couple of times when you're younger just so that they know you're serious and then you can move on from there. Personally, I'm not a huge fan of spanking but it is what it is.

Two of the three other G2 mothers who used physical discipline with their children said that they hit their children because they and their husbands were both okay with it and that they turned out okay, or that it worked for both of them. In addition to this meso-level risk factor, there were also several more proximal micro-level factors that informed mother's choices to use corporal punishment with their children.

Micro-Level Influences

The micro-level influences identified all had to do with mothers' experiences using corporal punishment with their own children in the past. For both G0 and G1 mothers, but not G2 mothers, their evaluation of the effectiveness of past corporal punishment use with their children, in addition to their own psychological feelings of regret from hitting their child, seemed to affect their subsequent physical discipline. U.S.-born mothers had younger children and were less likely to have ever used corporal punishment with their children, which likely contributed to mothers being less likely to talk about past instances of corporal punishment influencing current practices. For both G0 and G1 mothers, feeling that physical discipline was effective for their children was a shared risk factor while feeling that it was ineffective was a shared protective factor for physical discipline.

Corporal punishment being effective for own child. Nine of the 22 G0 and G1 mothers that hit their children discussed using corporal punishment with their child/children because they

had seen that it could be effective for correcting their children's misbehaviors. Ruby, a G0 mother in Taiwan, stated:

Right, and if they make, a really big mistake, I will really use corporal punishment. So I don't hit them often. In our family it's about, 2 - 3 months, if he makes a bigger mistake, then I would maybe use- excuse me... hit him on the butt. Yea, but I think... from time to time, using corporal punishment is effective.

Again, corporal punishment was not the sole form of discipline used, but was, instead, often used as a last resort if deemed to be effective.

Many mothers discussed using corporal punishment because the fear associated with it was what was effective for correcting their children's misbehaviors. PeiWen, a G0 mother mentioned a conversation she had with others attempting to dissuade her from hitting her daughter. She stated, "they told me, 'If you do that your kids will get scared.' And then I told them, 'I'd rather let them be scared, it's better than her not being scared of anyone' ((laughs))." PeiWen's belief that the fear of being hit, derived from previous experiences of corporal punishment, was what made physical discipline effective, was shared by other mothers as well.

Some mothers believed in the effectiveness of physical discipline, but only when children were younger. For example, JieLian, a G1 mother who transitioned from using corporal punishment when her child was young to no longer using corporal punishment later on stated:

I feel his natural personality already does not require this method to treat him. So, I feel this is a natural evolution... Right, because I feel he's grown up, he'll slowly start listening. I believe every kid who grows up, no one will grow up and still need to get hit while growing up. If so, they are already a bad child, then this is already not a problem that hitting your kid will solve.

JieLian's comment alluded to her son growing out of needing to be hit. She implied that she used to hit her son when he was younger because that was what his behavior "required" and that it was effective for solving problems back then. Her quote embodies what several other mothers brought up, that perhaps children grew out of needing to be spanked and that corporal punishment was effective when they were young because mothers were more limited in their options to correct their misbehaviors. Although JieLian had stopped hitting her child, like many mothers, the reason she used to hit her son was because she felt it was effective at the time.

Corporal punishment is ineffective for own child. In contrast to mothers' experiences of physical discipline being effective serving as a possible risk factor for G0 and G1 mothers, G0 and G1 mothers' experiences of physical discipline being ineffective with their children, unsurprisingly, seems to serve as a protective factor for corporal punishment. Of the seven G0 and G1 mothers that mentioned corporal punishment being ineffective, all utilized different methods of discipline as alternatives. For Lucy, a G0 mother, hitting her son was ineffective and he would willingly get hit (see page 159). Thus, she had to resort to other methods of discipline such as taking away his privileges, which she described as being more effective. Another G0 mother, MuDan, who used corporal punishment with her son regularly, would hit her son over his grades. After feeling that this was ineffective and chatting with her friends, she decided to make him read books and write book reports when he received low scores on tests instead. Although MuDan did not eliminate her use of physical discipline with her son, she did stop hitting her son for poor grades, since she found a better alternative method.

JieLian, a G1 mother, also mentioned that she did not hit her son because it did not work for him:

Also, I have told him, “I do not want to hit you again, because hitting is ineffective.”... If I had a second child ((laughs)) maybe the second child would still get beat. Because I feel that different children have different personalities. Now, for him really, hitting is ineffective. Now, if you hit frantically it will only make him more naughty, I feel it’s not really effective ((laughs))

Overall, mothers’ past use of corporal punishment and their perceived in/effectiveness of the practice influenced their future use. These past experiences of disciplining may have influenced mothers’ parenting self-efficacy, or their feelings of effectiveness as a parent overall, which has previously been linked to disciplinary style (Rodriguez, 2008). In addition to mothers’ evaluation of past corporal punishment being effective, mothers’ own feelings of regret from hitting her child in the past appeared to serve as a shared micro-level protective factor for G0 and G1 mothers.

Regret from previously hitting child. Three G1 mothers and two G0 mothers mentioned hitting their children and experiencing regret afterwards. These negative feelings served as a protective factor, as these mothers chose to subsequently ditch the practice. LiLi, a mother in Taiwan stated:

I only hit my kid, slapped him on the face, one time, because I really didn’t like to use hitting as a method to teach kids. That time, made me regret it until now. It really wasn’t worth it. Then I think back, at that time it was because of my emotions.

When LiLi described the context of this situation she described how her mother-in-law accused her son of fighting over candy with a cousin who had a disability. She stated that although she believed her son, who said that his cousin was bullying him, her mother-in-law kept blaming her son, which caused her to get emotional over the situation and hit her child. XiaoMin, another

mother in Taiwan, described a very similar situation where she hit her daughter in an emotional state because people at school were telling her that her daughter hit a boy with a broom. In XiaoMin's situation, however, she ended up finding out that her daughter hit the boy in self-defense, since the boy was going to hit her daughter first. In both of these situations, mothers felt that other people played a role in letting their emotions get the best of them, which led them to hit their children and ultimately regret it. These examples support findings that parents who value emotional restraint are less likely to report hitting their children (A. S. Lau, 2010) since these two mothers stated that they felt uncomfortable with their emotional state influencing their violent behaviors and subsequently stopped hitting their children.

Taiwan-born mothers in the U.S. similarly experienced regret after hitting their children, although they were less likely to attribute it to their emotional state. In addition to BaiTing not feeling okay about being pressured into hitting her child, as mentioned earlier (see page 168), Darlene, another G1 mother, stated:

But sometime I still did hit them, but afterwards I regretted it and I would tell my mom, "ah today so and so, and so and so happened." Now but I feel like in my opinion actually even though you can't see it, deep down, hitting them seems like, it feels like I'm actually punishing myself.

She continued with saying that her regret, coupled with her belief that corporal punishment was not effective for her children, led to her reducing her violent behaviors and resorting to alternative methods instead. In a different example, another G1 mother, Monica, never believed in hitting her children, but her husband hit their eldest son one time. That experience of her husband hitting their son solidified her feelings about corporal punishment and she and her husband never hit any of their children again despite her husband's family member's support for

it. Both Darlene and Monica's examples demonstrate how the different risk and protective factors that influence whether or not mothers use corporal punishment often converge and work with and against each other.

All of these risk and protective factors discussed thus far pertain to various contextual factors. However, several child-level characteristics were also described as being linked to the use of physical punishment.

Children's Individual Influences

Child Gender. Of the children's characteristics and behaviors that mothers discussed as impacting their disciplinary practices, gender was the most salient characteristic that influenced corporal punishment. Gender appeared to be a shared individual-level risk factor for G0 and G1 mothers, and this was informed by G0 and G1 mothers' shared macro-level gender values. Overall, mothers living in Taiwan discussed their children's gender most and disclosed being more likely to hit their male children, at least initially, which is in line with what other studies have found (Hahn & Guterman, 2001; Simons, Whitbeck, Conger, & Wu, 1991; Tang, 1998). Both of these findings indicate that it is because they likely held the most traditional beliefs about gender.

However, there was disagreement regarding whether or not corporal punishment was effective for boys, which made the effect of child gender somewhat unclear. Ruby, who was mentioned earlier (see page 171), believed that corporal punishment was effective for her sons. But several mothers disagreed with Ruby. One G1 mother and three G0 mothers stated that corporal punishment was not as effective, or ineffective, for boys. For some of these mothers, they resorted to different methods of discipline and stopped hitting their sons, while others continued to use corporal punishment and even increased the intensity of corporal punishment.

Beverly, a G1 mother discussed how her children's gender was related to how she disciplined them:

Beverly: Because I think of course it has to do with personality too, girls are usually more scared of this method, so they will try to avoid it more. Yeah, but between the boys... at first, you only have to hit them lightly and then eventually ((laughs)) very extreme ((laughs)) because they keep not listening.... Besides [the] difference in gender, personalities are different, right. And of course age also, as they get older they understand more.

Moderator: Okay, so you have sons and a daughter, so you think your daughter was punished less?

B: Yes, yes, yes.

Mod: Okay.

B: Probably because she was smarter maybe. ((laughs))

Beverly mentioned that corporal punishment worked for girls and not boys; overall, there did seem to be a consensus that girls are more scared of corporal punishment and that threatening to use corporal punishment with girls is effective in itself. Beverly mentioned that while her daughter seemed scared of this method more and tried to avoid it, the physical violence she used with her sons escalated because her sons kept misbehaving. In this particular instance, being a male seemed to denote greater risk of experiencing harsher physical violence because it was perceived as ineffective initially and possibly only working once the violence escalated.

Based on the focus groups, child gender was clearly salient for G0 and G1 mothers but not in consistent ways. It seemed as though G0 and G1 mothers agreed that their sons may be exposed to more physical punishment than their daughters overall, based on macro-level cultural

values about gender. However, given that there was disagreement between whether or not corporal punishment is more effective for girls or boys and those that found it to be ineffective responded in different ways, it is not entirely clear what role gender plays for experiences of corporal punishment overall.

Summary & Conclusion

Corporal punishment practices are different for Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan and the U.S., as well as U.S.- born Taiwanese-American mothers. In particular, U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers use physical punishment the least, mothers living in Taiwan use physical punishment the most, and Taiwanese mothers living in the U.S. use physical punishment somewhere in between. Mothers from all groups preferred a variety of non-physical methods to deal with their children's misbehaviors over using physical punishment, with mothers living in the U.S. preferring to do so more than mothers living in Taiwan. This study supports previous findings that parents' beliefs about physical punishment, which in this study was informed by their own experiences with discipline as children, their experiences disciplining their own children, and their experiences with immigrating, can serve as both risk and protective factors for corporal punishment use (Zhai & Gao, 2009). Moreover, this study extends the literature on culture and parenting by identifying risk and protective factors that are shared and different across domestic and immigrant groups.

Risk and protective factors stem from various contexts with differing proximities to children. While a shared macro-level risk factor between G0 and G1 mothers included holding traditional beliefs about gender, a unique macro-level risk factor for G0 mothers included believing in traditional family values. Both of these macro-level factors informed contexts that were in closer proximity to children. Unique macro-level protective factors identified in G0 and

G1 groups, respectively, included believing in the importance of “saving face” and the stereotype that Americans did not hit their children and that corporal punishment is illegal in the U.S. Shared exo-level factors across all three groups of mothers included experiencing corporal punishment growing up, which was a risk factor if viewed as useful, or a protective factor if seen as negative or ineffective. For G2 mothers, past childhood experience of getting hit was the most common protective factor. Further, one unique exo-level protective factor emerged for G0 mothers, and that was experiencing alternative methods of discipline growing up. In addition to these distal factors that children do not have direct contact with, more proximal factors were identified as well. The shared meso-level risk factor included having support from others for corporal punishment, although these sources of support varied across the three groups. Further, several possible micro-level factors that were identified in this study were shared between G0 and G1 mothers. Protective factors included mothers’ beliefs that corporal punishment was ineffective for their own children and experiencing regret after corporal punishment. The possible micro-level risk factor mothers experienced included believing that corporal punishment was effective for their children. Lastly, one child-level factor was identified. Having a child that was male served as a potential risk factor for corporal punishment for both G0 and G1 mothers, and this was likely due to more traditional views about gender, but the effect of gender was not entirely clear.

Limitations and Future Directions

This study explored the various risk and protective factors for corporal punishment in Taiwanese-born mothers living in both Taiwan and the U.S., as well as U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers. Although this is an important area of study for those hoping to eliminate violent behaviors against children, particularly in a scarcely studied population, there are some

limitations that are worthwhile to mention. First, the sample size for this study is relatively small, mothers were recruited from similar areas in Southern California and Taiwan and were largely middle to upper-middle class, thus these mothers' beliefs and practices may not be generalizable to all Taiwanese-origin mothers. Further, given that this is an exploratory study that utilized semi-structured interviews, not all focus groups discussed the same topics, as mothers' responses drove the conversation. However, the structure of these small focus groups allowed for intimate and personalized conversations about parenting practices that were unique to the mothers in the group; it also allowed mothers to discuss experiences that were notable to them, instead of focusing on general influences previously found in the literature. Another limitation of this study was that audio recordings were translated and transcribed for G0 and G1 groups. Although all transcripts were checked by at least two researchers, some terms that came up in the Chinese audio recordings were difficult to translate and English transcripts may not fully capture the complete meaning of some of what participants said. Moreover, there were demographic differences across the three groups of mothers (e.g., family income, education, age and number of children, etc.), which may be due to the conditions of immigration for G1 mothers and parents of G2 mothers, so it is unclear whether the risk and protective factors identified in this study are due to acculturation, demographic differences, or the intersection of both. Lastly, another major limitation is that acculturation and the influence of the *chronosystem* was measured by comparing different groups of mothers with G0 mothers being the least acculturated to U.S. culture, G1 mothers being more acculturated to the U.S., and G2 mothers being bicultural. However, longitudinal designs could assess changing acculturation over time.

Given these limitations, future work should test the pathways proposed in this study and administer a larger scale quantitative study to address whether these factors are applicable across

a larger sample. In the process of recruiting participants for this study I noticed that there were several mothers who immigrated to the U.S. as very young children. Thus, it would also be worthwhile to explore this 1.5-generation and address how similar or different they are to Taiwanese-immigrant and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers. Further, future studies should address acculturation longitudinally and measure immigrant mothers' beliefs and disciplinary practices prior to immigrating and after immigrating, to determine the effects of acculturation within the same cohort.

From these findings, we see that mothers who come from a society with traditionally high rates of physical violence against children (Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children, 2016; M. A. Straus, 2010; Taiwan Fund for Children and Families (TFCF), 2015) often stop using the violent disciplinary behaviors they grew up with. Although for G1 mothers, this is primarily due to misconceptions about corporal punishment not being used and actually being illegal in the U.S., U.S.- born Taiwanese-American mothers had even lower rates of physical punishment, despite understanding the legality of corporal punishment in the U.S. Across the three groups, the potential protective factors mentioned by mothers were more salient than the risk factors. These findings are promising, as they suggest that corporal punishment may be on the decline, in particular for those who emigrate, and subsequent generations, as there are several protective factors that emerge in several different contexts that seem to break the intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment. U.S. policy makers, interventionists, and cultural centers hoping to reduce corporal punishment and physical abuse in populations similar to Taiwanese and Taiwanese-Americans may consider bolstering the protective factors and targeting the risk factors presented in this study, in order to decrease familial violence and promote child well-being. In particular, policies and practitioners should consider the role of

family members and mothers' social networks in disciplining practices. Those working with Taiwanese and Taiwanese-American mothers could also encourage women to reflect on their own experiences of physical punishment growing up and with their children, especially if these experiences were negative and/or ineffective. Such reflection could greatly contribute to eradicating violent disciplinary behaviors in a group with traditionally high rates of physical punishment and expedite the process of breaking the intergenerational transmission of violent disciplinary behaviors in this group.

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Table 3.1

Demographic Characteristics of Participants and their Children

	In Taiwan (<i>n</i> =19)				Taiwanese Immigrant (<i>n</i> =15)				U.S. born (<i>n</i> =15)			
	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> /%	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> /%	<i>SD</i>	Range	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i> /%	<i>SD</i>	Range
Age	19	42.5	4.2	37.5 - 52.3	15	46.4	4.4	41 - 55.4	15	37.7	4.4	29.5 - 44.6
Years living in U.S.	-	-	-	-	15	21.9	7.4	12.5 - 33.4	-	-	-	-
Number of children	32	1.7	0.8	1 - 4	33	2.2	1	1 - 4	29	1.9	1	1 - 4
Male children	14	43.8%			24	72.7%			15	51.7%		
Female children	18	56.3%			9	27.3%			14	48.3%		
Child age	19	10	4	3 - 22	15	12	4	6 - 24	15	6	3	3 - 26
Education	19				15				15			
Some high school	1	5.3%			0	0%			0	0%		
High school diploma, GED	5	26.3%			0	0%			0	0%		
Associates degree	2	10.5%			2	13.3%			0	0%		
Bachelor's degree	8	42.1%			5	33.4%			2	13.3%		
Some graduate/professional school	1	5.3%			2	13.3%			1	6.7%		
Graduate/professional degree	2	10.5%			6	40%			12	80%		
Employment Situation	19				15				15			
Full-time job	9	47.4%			6	40%			7	46.6%		
Part-time job	4	21.0%			4	26.6%			4	26.7%		
Working in the home but not for pay	5	26.3%			3	20%			4	26.7%		
Both a full-time job and a part-time job	1	5.3%			1	6.7%			0	0%		
Skipped	0	0%			1	6.7%			0	0%		
Salary NT\$	19				-				-			
< NT\$400,000	2	10.5%			-				-			
NT\$630,000 - NT\$859,999	2	10.5%			-				-			
NT\$860,000 - NT\$1,089,999	2	10.5%			-				-			

NT\$1,090,000 - NT\$1,319,999	3	15.8%	-	-
NT\$1,320,000 - NT\$1,549,999	2	10.5%	-	-
NT\$1,550,000 - NT\$1,779,999	2	10.5%	-	-
NT\$1,780,000 - NT\$2,009,999	2	10.5%	-	-
NT\$2,240,000 - NT\$2,499,999	1	5.3%	-	-
Skipped	1	5.3%	-	-
Would rather not say	1	5.3%	-	-
Don't know	1	5.3%	-	-
Salary USD	-		15	15
\$50,000 - \$69,999			2	13.3%
\$70,000 - \$89,999			2	13.3%
\$90,000 - \$99,999	-		1	6.7%
\$100,000 - \$149,999	-		3	20%
> \$150,000	-		4	26.7%
Would rather not say	-		2	13.3%
Don't know	-		1	6.7%

Table 3.2

Sample of Codes Used to Inform Lowest Level Child Codes in Figure 3.1

1) Non-physical discipline

Experiencing physical discipline without physical contact as a child
Having positive attitudes about non-physical discipline

2) Emotionally traumatized

Experiencing CP as a child
Having negative attitudes about corporal punishment
Visible marks/bruising
Public embarrassment

3) Other emotional consequences

Experiencing CP as a child
Having negative attitudes about corporal punishment
Experiencing emotional consequences from CP

4) Ineffective

Experiencing CP as a child
Having negative attitudes about corporal punishment
Believing that CP was ineffective for oneself

5) Experiencing CP as a child

Experiencing CP as a child (absence of emotional trauma & other emotional consequences)

6) Believing that CP is ineffective for her child

Previously using CP on one's child
Having negative attitudes about corporal punishment
Believing that CP is ineffective for one's child

7) Experiencing regret after CP

Previously using CP on one's child
Mothers' emotion/temper contributing to CP use
Having negative attitudes about corporal punishment
Experiencing regret after CP

8) Believing that CP is effective for her child

Previously using CP on one's child
Having positive attitudes about corporal punishment
Believing that CP is effective for one's child

9) Elders' CP support

Mothers' believe in being obedient to elders
Grandparents' support CP use

10) Spouse's CP Support

Husband's active in coparenting
Husband's support CP use

11) Peers'/other CP support

Mothers influenced by peers'/others' opinions
Others' support CP use

Table 3.3

Comparisons of Punishment Practices Ever Used

	Taiwan		G1		G2	
	<i>n</i> = 19	%	<i>n</i> = 15	%	<i>n</i> = 15	%
Use of physical discipline	15	78.9%	10	66.7%	4	26.7%
Violent	13	68.4%	10	66.7%	4	26.7%
Hitting with hand	7	36.8%	1	6.7%	1	6.7%
Hitting with object	5	26.3%	2	13.3%	0	0%
Non-Violent	5	26.3%	0	0%	0	0%
Use of non-physical discipline	19	100%	15	100%	15	100%
Discussing/reasoning/talking	15	78.9%	14	93.3%	12	80%
Nagging/lecturing/scolding	8	42.1%	11	73.3%	11	73.3%
Other	4	21.1%	3	20%	2	13.3%
Nonverbal cues	8	42.1%	2	13.3%	1	6.7%
Scaring/Threatening/Warning	9	47.4%	11	73.3%	13	86.7%
Time out	7	36.8%	3	20%	9	60%
Removal of privileges/objects	9	47.4%	11	73.3%	11	73.3%
Yelling/verbal fighting	6	31.6%	9	60%	9	60%

Table 3.4

Qualitative Code Chart for Factors Associated with Physical Discipline

Factors Associated with Physical Discipline	Risk Factors			Protective Factors		
	G0	G1	G2	G0	G1	G2
Macro-level						
Traditional views of and cultural expectations for males	X	X				
Traditional beliefs about filial piety and familism	X					
Believing in the importance of “saving face”				X		
Taiwanese stereotype that CP is illegal in the U.S.					X	
Exo-level						
Experiencing CP growing up	X	X	X			
Experiencing negative or ineffective experiences with CP growing up				X	X	X
Experiencing alternative methods of discipline growing up				X		
Meso-level						
Having support from others for CP	X	X	X			
Micro-level						
Believing that CP is ineffective for her child				X	X	
Believing that CP is effective for her child	X	X				
Experiencing regret after CP				X	X	
Child-level						
Child being male	X	X				

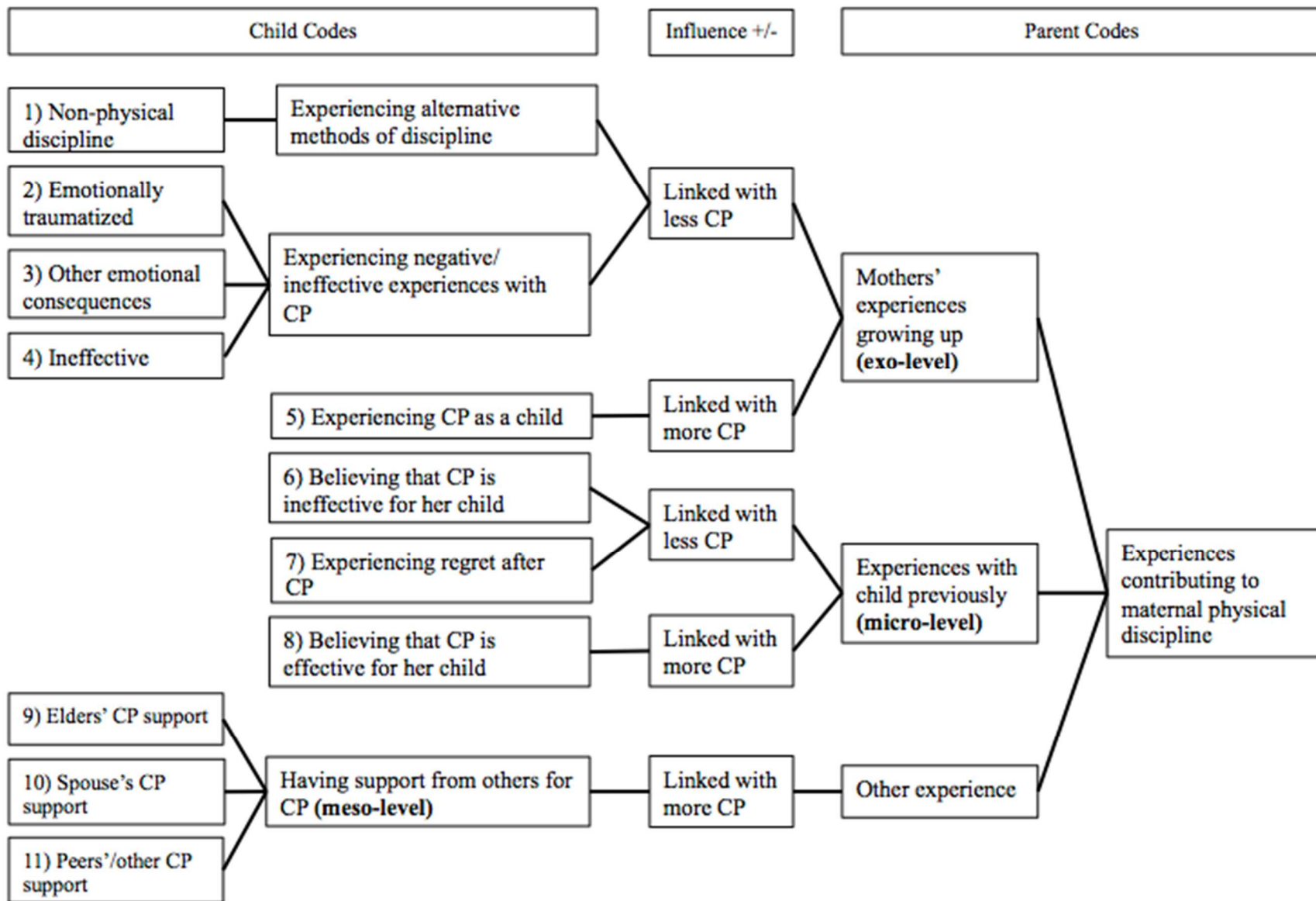


Figure 3.1. Sample Coding Structure for “Experiences Contributing to Maternal Physical Discipline”



Figure 3.2. Love's Little Hand- Punishment Tool Used in Taiwan

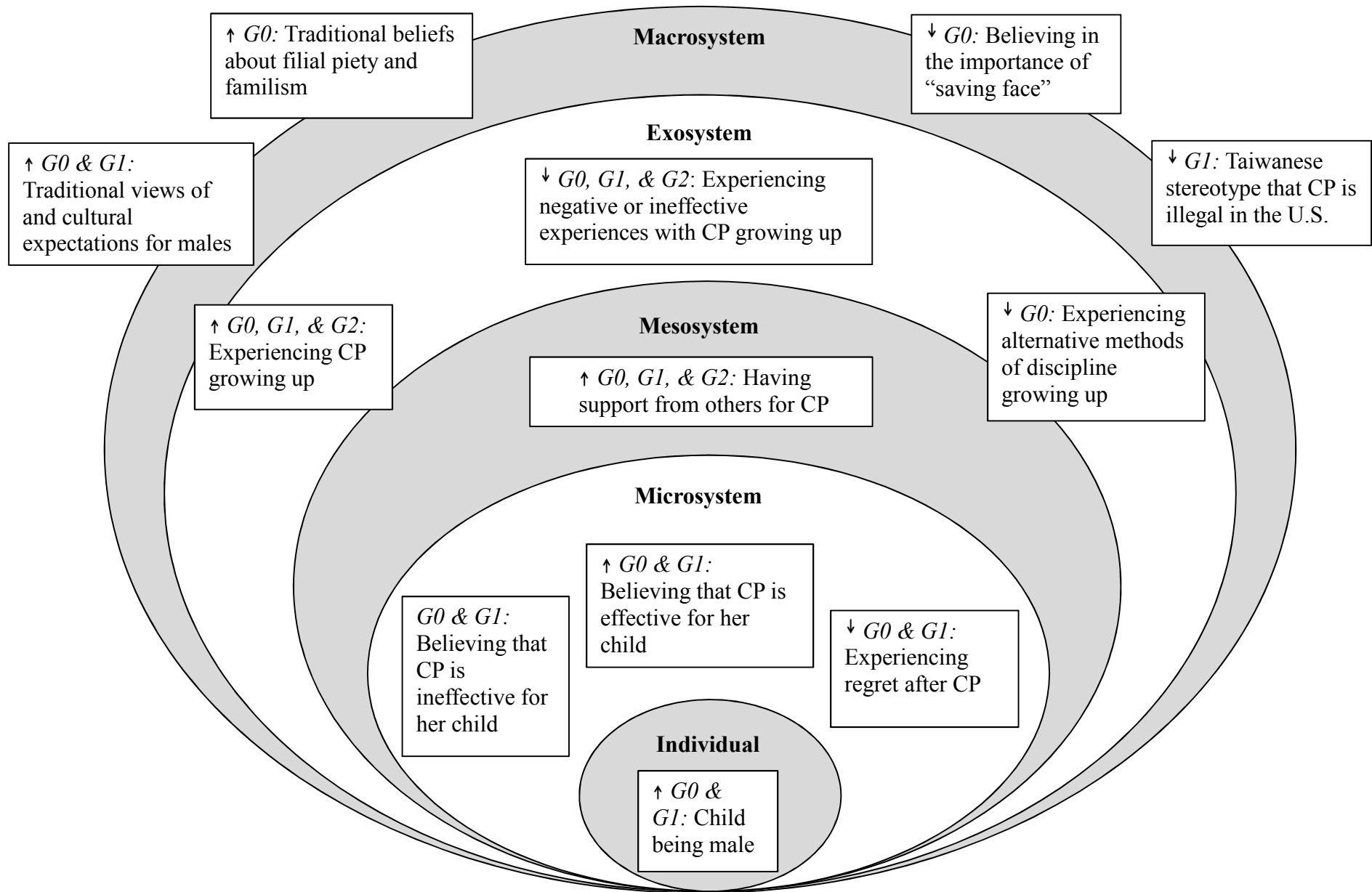


Figure 3.3. Shared and Unique Risk and Protective Factors for Corporal Punishment (CP) Across Three Groups of Taiwanese-Origin Mothers

*Note: ↑ = risk factor; ↓ = protective factor; G0 = Taiwanese mothers living in Taiwan; G1 = Taiwanese immigrant mothers to the U.S.; G2 = U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers

Appendix 3A

Demographic Questionnaire

About you:

1. What is your name? _____

2. What is the highest level of education that you received? (please circle)
 - a) Some High School (specify): _____
 - b) High School Diploma or GED
 - c) Some College, no degree
 - d) Associates degree
 - e) Bachelor's degree
 - f) Some Graduate/Professional school
 - g) Graduate/Professional degree (e.g., MA, PhD, JD etc.)

3. Which of the following best describes your current employment situation? (circle one)
 - a) Full-time job
 - b) Part-time job
 - c) Working in the home but not for pay (e.g., homemaker)
 - d) Unemployed
 - e) Disabled, not working
 - f) Both a full-time job and a part-time job
 - g) Other (specify): _____
 - h) Refuse
 - i) Don't Know

4. What is your date of birth? (Please write all dates as Month/Day/Year unless otherwise stated) _____ / _____ / _____

5. Special questions:
 - a) [For G1 Taiwanese American Mothers]: What year did you leave Taiwan?

 - i. What month & year did you come to the U.S.? _____ / _____
 - ii. Did you live in any other countries besides Taiwan and the U.S., please list the country/countries that you lived in and the duration (listed in Month/Year format). If not, please skip to the next section.

1. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____
2. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____
3. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____
4. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____

b) [For Taiwanese Mothers]: Were you born in Taiwan? Please circle one: yes no

i. If you answered yes to the previous question, please skip to Question 6.

If you circled no to the previous question, what month & year did you come to Taiwan? _____ / _____

ii. Please list the country/countries that you lived in prior to coming to Taiwan and the duration (listed in Month/Year format).

1. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____
2. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____
3. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____
4. Country: _____ :
 Dates of residency: _____ / _____ to _____ / _____

6. What was your total household income before taxes during the past 12 months?
- a) Less than \$25,000
 - b) \$25,000 to \$34,999
 - c) \$35,000 to \$44,999
 - d) \$45,000 to \$49,999
 - e) \$50,000 to \$59,999
 - f) \$60,000 to \$69,999
 - g) \$70,000 to \$79,999
 - h) \$80,000 to \$89,999
 - i) \$90,000 to \$99,999
 - j) \$100,000 to \$149,999
 - k) \$150,000 or more
 - l) Would rather not say
 - m) Don't know

About your children:

For all of your children, indicate their current age in years and circle their gender [For G1 and G2 mothers: Please also indicate whether your child was born in the U.S. or the age your child was when he/she came to the U.S.]

1. Child 1

- a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State
- b. Current Age: _____
- c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

2. Child 2

- a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State
- b. Current Age: _____
- c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

3. Child 3

- a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State
- b. Current Age: _____
- c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

4. Child 4

- a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State
- b. Current Age: _____
- c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

5. Child 5

- a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State
- b. Current Age: _____

c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

6. Child 6

a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State

b. Current Age: _____

c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

7. Child 7

a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State

b. Current Age: _____

c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

8. Child 8

a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State

b. Current Age: _____

c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

9. Child 9

a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State

b. Current Age: _____

c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

10. Child 10

a. Gender: Male Female Decline to State

b. Current Age: _____

c. Birth Place: Born in U.S. Came to U.S. at age: _____

Appendix 3B

Focus Group Interview Protocol for Assessing “Culture and Parenting”

M: Thank you for being a part of our group to talk about how mothers’ culture influences parenting. Our hope is to have an honest conversation about your beliefs, experiences, and behaviors. People often have different reasons for how they parent their children. We are interested in your thoughts. There are no right or wrong answers.

For us to have a useful conversation, I would like to set a few ground rules. The comments of every person in this group are important. Please feel free to speak openly and honestly. To make this a safe space for all participants, please treat your fellow group members with respect. Do not interrupt or talk over group members. Please do not share what is discussed in this group with others. It is fine to disagree with what someone has said. If you disagree, feel free to say so, but do not argue, insult, or tease other members. We are thrilled that you have agreed to participate in this group discussion and look forward to what you all have to say.

Let’s start with introductions so we can all get to know each other better. My name is (Joyce Lin) and I am the (head researcher) and I’d like to introduce (name) who is a (title) and (name) who is a (title) that are also part of this project. All of you are mothers who are (choose one: first generation/second generation Taiwanese-American OR Taiwanese) so you all have something in common. But to get to know each other better, please introduce your name, how many children you have, how old they are, and if you have a partner, please also talk about what country they were born in and their cultural background.

- a) [For G1 Taiwanese American Mothers] Please also state how old you were when you came to the U.S.

(Mothers go around and introduce themselves)

M: Okay, it sounds like a lot of you share similarities, so this should be a really great conversation. Let's get started!

Good behavior:

1. What are some things about parenting that you like the most?
2. When your child does something good, how do you let them know that you're happy with what they've done?

Poor behavior:

3. So we all know that children are not *always* good, so what are some of the hard parts of being a parent?
4. Some of you mentioned your children's poor behavior, and we all know that all children get like that. So what do you do when your child does something wrong, what methods do you use to correct their behavior?
5. Do you do different things depending on what they did wrong?
 - a. What are some examples? (e.g., disobeying, disrespectful, bad grades, lying, cheating, fighting with siblings, misbehaving)
6. Do you treat your children differently, based on different situations?
 - a. Age?
 - b. Gender?
 - c. Personality?
 - d. Where you are?
 - e. Why?
7. How do you feel before, during, and after deal with your child do something wrong? Do you feel differently depending on how you've tried to correct their behavior?

Influences on parenting:

8. What are some of the reasons that made you decide how you want to correct your children's behavior in these ways?
 - a. How were you treated when you got in trouble as a child?
 - b. Do most of your friends teach their children to do the right thing in similar ways as you?
 - c. Have you changed the way you teach your child/children when gotten in trouble over time? Why?
 - d. [For G1 Taiwanese American Mothers] Did coming to the U.S. change how you decided to correct your children's poor behavior? In what ways?

Cultural differences:

9. How do you think that parents in Taiwan and the U.S. are similar or different in the ways that they treat their children when they get in trouble?

Other individuals:

10. Are there any other members in your household that also correct your children's behavior? Who are they?
 - a. How are their methods similar or different from yours?

M: Since we're reaching the end of our interview session, I'd like to thank you all for your time and participation in this project. Please take a few minutes to fill out this final questionnaire before you leave. We also have various handouts about great parenting resources in the community that you're welcome to check out and take on your way out, since we all know that parenting can be hard sometimes.

Appendix 3C

Closing Questionnaire

Name: _____

Thank you so much for participating in this study!

We understand that during these interviews you may have felt uncomfortable with sharing your experiences, or you may have remembered additional details regarding your experiences due to something that another individual said. We are providing you an opportunity to share with us any additional details that may have been left out during the group interviews.

1. If you were uncomfortable with sharing or forgot any details regarding *what some of the methods are that you use with your child when he/she gets in trouble, or how this varies based on child characteristics, location, or behavior, please write them here:*

2. If you were uncomfortable with sharing or forgot any details regarding *what some of the reasons that made you decide how you want to deal with your child when he/she gets in trouble, please write them here:*

3. If you were uncomfortable with sharing or forgot any details regarding *how you feel before, during, and after you deal with your child when they get in trouble, or if you feel differently depending on the method of dealing with your child, please write them here:*

Also, please let us know about what your general experience participating in this group interview was like and provide any additional comments for us regarding your experience here:

Thank you so much for your time and participation!

Chapter 4: Key Findings & Future Research

Caregiver physical violence against children has detrimental mental and physical consequences (Afifi, Brownridge, Cox, & Sareen, 2006; Gershoff, 2002; Lansford et al., 2005; MacMillan et al., 1999; Springer, Sheridan, Kuo, & Carnes, 2007; Turner & Finkelhor, 1996), some of which persist into adulthood (Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016). Aspects of one's culture can influence beliefs about violence against children (Arnold, 1982; Coohey, 2001; Ferrari, 2002; Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Yang, 2009), and given the large proportion of immigrants to the U.S. (Zong & Batalova, 2015), it is critical to explore cultural factors that serve as risk and protective factors for caregiver physical violence. Researchers that study these links address singular groups and the pathways between these factors and both corporal punishment and physical abuse are not often explored across groups, despite some groups having certain shared values. Further, extant research on the association between acculturation and these risk and protective factors is mixed.

The purpose of this dissertation was to deepen our understanding about how aspects of culture may be linked to caregiver physical aggression across groups and to explore how immigration and acculturation factors contribute to risk for and protection against physical forms of discipline. To do this, I utilized both quantitative and qualitative methods to explore the impact of traditional cultural values on physical discipline across different groups and address risk and protective factors in three groups of Taiwanese-origin mothers. By identifying shared risk and protective factors, and recognizing how risk and protective factors persist or emerge due to immigrating and acculturating, these findings can offer areas for intervention.

Summary of Findings

In chapter 2, I explored how caregivers' cultural norms, values, and beliefs,

specifically familism, machismo attitudes, and filial piety, are linked to individuals' experiences of physical punishment. I also addressed the role of race/ethnicity, gender, and generation status in this relationship. I found that filial piety was not significantly associated with caregivers' use of physical punishment and the effects of familism were weak and inconsistent. When an interaction between familism and generation status was included in my analyses, the main effect for familism indicated that higher levels were associated with a higher likelihood of physical discipline, contrary to what others have found (Coohey, 2001; Ferrari, 2002). However, the interaction term indicated that those of a higher generation status, who also had caregivers with higher levels of familism, were less likely to have experienced physical punishment growing up. The most striking finding, however, was that across the full sample, caregivers' machismo attitudes predicted a higher likelihood of using physical discipline and moderate to severe discipline. These findings indicate that some risk and protective factors within groups are shared across groups and have the same effect on caregiver physical discipline. Further, the relationship between traditional values and caregivers' use of physical discipline may be moderated by additional factors such as generation or conditions of immigration.

In chapter 3, I compared both the disciplinary behaviors, as well as the risk and protective factors for physical discipline between Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan and the U.S., and U.S.-born Taiwanese-American mothers, to examine which of these factors persisted across the groups and which are unique to the groups. I found that across the three groups, corporal punishment practices were different. Taiwanese-American mothers used corporal punishment the least, mothers living in Taiwan used corporal punishment the most, and Taiwanese-immigrant mothers used corporal punishment in between, but all mothers preferred non-physical methods to deal with their children's misbehaviors.

Further, risk and protective factors stem from various contexts of differing proximity to children. Two *macro*-level risk factors permeated more proximal contexts to the child. For G0 and G1 mothers, holding traditional views about gender was a shared risk that contributed to the *child*-level risk factor of being male. For G0 mothers, however, holding traditional family beliefs contributed to grandparents' support of physical discipline serving as a *meso*-level risk factor. Additionally, two unique *macro*-level protective factors emerged, and these played a more direct role in mothers' choices to use corporal punishment. For mothers living in Taiwan, it was believing in the importance of "saving face," and for immigrant mothers to the U.S., it was their belief in stereotype that Americans do not hit their children and that corporal punishment is illegal in the U.S. Additionally, two *exo*-level factors were shared across all three groups of mothers. Experiencing corporal punishment growing up that was viewed as effective was a shared risk factor. Conversely, childhood experiences of corporal punishment that were negative or ineffective were shared protective factors. Mothers in Taiwan also discussed one unique *exo*-level protective factor. This was experiencing alternative methods of discipline as a child, which seemed to deter women from using corporal punishment when they became mothers. A shared *meso*-level risk factor across the three groups was having support from others for corporal punishment, even if the sources were different for each group (e.g., grandparents, friends, spouses). Both groups of Taiwan-born mothers shared several *micro*-level factors. Based on previous experiences of using physical discipline with their children, believing that corporal punishment was ineffective for their children and experiencing regret after corporal punishment were protective against future use, while believing that physical discipline was effective was a risk factor. Both groups of Taiwan-born mothers also shared one *child*-level factor, having a male child, which was a risk factor for corporal punishment, although the strength of this was not

entirely clear. These findings indicate that the intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment may be weakening over time, as more protective than risk factors emerged for all three groups. Moreover, these findings indicate venues for interventionists to target, as the protective factors that were identified could be bolstered and the some of risk factors buffered.

Key Lessons Learned

Gender stereotypical beliefs linked to increased risk for physical discipline. In study 1 and study 2, beliefs about gender were linked with caregivers' increased use of physical punishment. In the first study, children with caregivers who had higher levels of machismo attitudes, typically associated with rigid sex roles, dominance, aggressiveness, and low levels of nurturance (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994), were more likely to have experienced physical punishment or moderate to severe physical punishment, regardless of the students' gender. In the second study, Taiwan-born mothers who were living in Taiwan and the U.S. were more likely to hold traditional gender stereotypical views about males, and their sons were therefore more at risk for experiencing physical punishment. Although machismo attitudes are most frequently studied in Latin cultures, other cultures also possess similar beliefs (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994; Perilla, 1999); this study supports these findings. In study 1, students' perceptions of their caregivers' machismo attitudes were explicitly assessed, and in study 2, many Taiwan-born mothers also discussed rigid sex roles and gender stereotypical expectations for their children. Results from study 1 indicate that machismo attitudes seem to be prevalent across a diverse sample, but more interestingly, the association of machismo beliefs with physical punishment was consistent across the full sample. Although the gender stereotypical attributions that mothers in study 2 possessed may not address all aspects of machismo attitudes, those beliefs were nonetheless linked to higher level of corporal punishment for boys. Given these findings, it is

possible that there are only certain dimensions of machismo attitudes that contribute to caregiver physical punishment, or that a broader construct of gender stereotypical views is what is linked to physical punishment use. The extant literature exploring connections between gender attitudes and physical discipline in Asian and Latino samples indicate there may be similarities across groups regarding how rigid gender beliefs are linked to higher levels of physical discipline, especially for sons (Deyoung & Zigler, 1994; Ferrari, 2002; Hahm & Guterman, 2001; Rydstrom, 2006; Tang, 1996). Thus, across groups, more work should address multicultural views about gender and what aspects of those beliefs are linked to corporal punishment use, given the traditionally patriarchal structure and gender values of many societies.

Beliefs about family linked to physical discipline in different ways. Another key finding from these two studies was the role of familial beliefs on physical punishment. In the first study, the association between familism, which places the importance of family above the individual, and physical discipline was mixed, and there were no significant association between filial piety, which emphasizes obedience and deference to elders, and physical discipline. In the second study, mothers frequently alluded to their beliefs about filial piety as driving their obligation to obey their elders' advice. Familism and filial piety go hand in hand for Asians (Zhai & Gao, 2009) and this may be the case for other groups as well; however, these two constructs have not been studied together in the context of corporal punishment across groups. Familism could serve as a protective or risk factor for corporal punishment in two clear ways. First, familism emphasizes social support (Schwartz et al., 2010) and low levels of social supports are linked to parental physical abuse (Black, Heyman, & Smith Slep, 2001). Thus high familism could be protective while low levels could be a risk (Coohey, 2001; Ferrari, 2002). However, given that familism could also emphasize social obligation, it may capture aspects of

filial piety, especially when it pertains to elderly family members. Thus, depending on whether elders support the use of corporal punishment or not, filial piety and familism may strengthen the intergenerational transmission of violent or nonviolent parenting practices. For example, if one feels obligated to their elders, they are more likely to do what their elders advocate; whether or not this is risky depends on the values, beliefs, and practices that the older gender transmits. Therefore, strong beliefs about filial piety and familism may serve as a mediator for the intergenerational transmission of disciplinary practices. The question then becomes whether the socially supportive and protective elements of familism can outweigh the risk of having strong beliefs about familism or filial piety, coupled with elders that support physical discipline and other traditional values and beliefs that are associated with higher levels of physical discipline.

Immigrant culture contextualized. In addition to beliefs about gender and family being linked to caregiver physical punishment, another important finding from these two studies is the importance of context in understanding how immigrants' cultural values and beliefs are linked to use of physical punishment. In study 1, familism was only significantly associated with physical discipline when students' generation status was included as a moderator. Further, the main effect of familism and the effect of the interaction term for familism and generation statuses yielded opposite associations, with the main effect predicting higher levels of physical punishment and the interaction term predicting lower levels of physical punishment. In study 2, contributions at every level of the bioecological model (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) existed, with various aspects working with and against one another. Further study 2 serves as a reminder that culture is dynamic, as it also revealed how immigrating and growing up bicultural may eventually change traditional behaviors. Studying how *culture* influences physical discipline is impossible, given that culture is multidimensional and various values and beliefs within a culture, as well as the

experiences that come to change one's cultural values, all play varying roles. Therefore, both chapters underscore the importance of understanding culture as a multifaceted construct in addition to considering various outside factors, such as gender, generation status, race/ethnicity, and group experiences, when considering how *aspects* of one's culture are linked to physical discipline.

Future Research

This dissertation reveals the complex relationship between physical discipline use and U.S. immigrant populations' cultural values and experiences. Although this is an important first step, future research could extend these findings. In study 1, students retrospectively rated their experiences with physical discipline growing up, as well as their perceptions of their caregivers' machismo, familism, and filial piety attitudes during that time. In study 2 implications for acculturation were drawn using data from Taiwan-born mothers living in Taiwan and the U.S. and U.S-born Taiwanese-Americans. Future studies could incorporate stronger study designs to address the limitations of these two studies. For example, children's experiences of physical punishment and caregivers' traditional beliefs should be measured longitudinally. This would allow differences to emerge over time, especially if caregivers immigrated to the U.S., we may expect traditional beliefs and traditional disciplinary practices to shift based on time spent in the U.S. Additionally, it would be compelling to assess individuals' values prior to and after immigrating, to address whether they stay constant or change, instead of drawing implications from two separate groups. Further, if students and their respective caregivers both rated experiences of and use of physical discipline simultaneously, these data may be more valid. Other ways that study design could be strengthened is by including a much larger, representative sample. The college students in study 1 did not experience a wide range of physical discipline.

Very few of the self-reported behaviors would be considered physically abusive. Additionally, the Taiwanese-origin mothers in study 2 also did not disclose physically abusive behaviors either, although some of them recounted experiencing physically abusive behaviors growing up. Future studies would benefit from including a more comprehensive range of these violent behaviors in order to address which traditional values and beliefs may be linked to severe violent behaviors.

Beyond improvements in study design, tracing intergenerational disciplinary behaviors and beliefs would extend these studies' findings as well. In study 1, students were asked about their own machismo, familism, and filial piety beliefs, in addition to which types of disciplinary behaviors they would use with their children, if they did not have children yet, or which disciplinary behaviors they currently use with their children, if they had children already. Although these data were not used in this dissertation, it would be informative to address how student and caregivers' beliefs are consistent or vary, and how that may be linked to the intergenerational transmission of disciplinary behaviors. Similarly, in study 2, several U.S.-born mothers discussed their own parents' traditional beliefs and behaviors contributing to tensions in the family growing up. A better understanding of why mothers experienced certain disciplinary behaviors growing up, and why mothers' may have had particular reactions to these experiences would be illuminated, if their parents could be interviewed and asked about their beliefs and behaviors while raising their children. If there were gaps between individuals' and their caregivers' beliefs, which may arise from acculturation to a new culture, this may have caused conflicts in the household and contributed to the use of physically punitive forms of discipline (Buki, Ma, Strom, & Strom, 2003).

Lastly, another area that future studies could address is to expand the corporal punishment and physical abuse literature by including much more diverse populations, given that most studies do not include ethnically and racially diverse populations. In study 1, pan-ethnic/racial groups were created due to the limited sample sizes of participants with the same country of origin. Understanding how cultural values and beliefs are linked to physical discipline within each racial/ethnic group, instead of aggregating, oftentimes, disparate people may yield different findings and expose additional similarities and differences across groups. If in depth analyses, such as those used in study 2, could be used on a larger scale to address cultural values and beliefs that serve as risk and protective factors across different generations of people with origins in the same country, we would gain a better understanding of which of these factors are shared across groups. Identifying cultural values and beliefs that are shared risks across different cultural groups would be particularly significant, as these factors would be especially promising for interventions to target.

Suggestions for Reducing Violent Disciplinary Behaviors

Given that the end goal is to reduce violent disciplinary behaviors against children, some suggestions for policy makers, interventionists, and cultural centers in the U.S. hoping to reduce violent behaviors against children, are included. The first area of intervention is to debunk myths that corporal punishment is beneficial for behavior management and not harmful to children. Even in groups where corporal punishment is more normative, violence towards children has detrimental effects on children's outcomes, nonetheless (Gershoff et al., 2010). Second, given that both studies found that rigid gender beliefs were a risk factor for physical discipline, dispelling gender stereotypes and promoting more gender egalitarian beliefs seems worthwhile. Third, both studies also found that beliefs about family may be linked to physical discipline.

Helping parents understand the importance of family supports in buffering violent behaviors, while disentangling risky beliefs about filial piety and obligations to family members, would likely reduce rates of physical discipline as well. Likewise, helping parents understand how their social network may inadvertently impact their own disciplinary practices, and promote harmful physical discipline practices, is also important to address. Finally, given that mothers in study 2 benefitted from alternative methods of discipline, perhaps parenting classes could also reduce violent behaviors, as this would also give mothers a more varied approach to discipline (Bandura, 1977).

Conclusion

Caregiver violence against children is at best ineffective and at worst detrimental (Afifi et al., 2006; Gershoff, 2002; Gershoff & Grogan-Kaylor, 2016; Lansford et al., 2005; Straus, 1994). It is therefore critical to explore the various ways in which aspects of immigrants' culture and experiences serve as risk or protective factors for caregivers' use of physical discipline behaviors. Given that current studies predominantly focus on Caucasian samples born in the U.S., it is critical to offer a multicultural lens for addressing what factors exacerbate or buffer physical discipline. This dissertation aimed at addressing this gap by examining how particular values are linked to physical discipline across a diverse population and exploring how risky and protective factors are retained across three groups of Taiwanese and Taiwanese-American mothers. As some aspects of immigrants' cultures and experiences are protective against corporal punishment and physical abuse, whereas others increase risk, my dissertation elucidates how different cultural factors might work individually and in conjunction. These findings help broaden our understanding of contextual influences on parenting and shed light on possible ways

to intervene on and prevent caregiver violence, which may help shape policy and interventions to reduce corporal punishment and physical abuse.

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