11

PARENTING AND BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN AND ADOLESCENTS IN ASIAN FAMILIES

Jennifer E. Lansford, Liane P. Alampay, Lei Chang, and Saengduean Yotanyamaneewong

Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, USA; Ateneo de Manila University, Quezon City, Philippines; University of Macau, Macau, China; Chiang Mai University, Chiang Mai, Thailand

Introduction

One of the most important roles for parents globally is to socialize their children to be well-functioning members of their respective societies. The specific strategies parents use to socialize desired behaviors and prevent maladaptive behaviors vary across cultural groups. In addition, parents in different cultural groups differ to some extent in which behaviors are deemed problematic and which desirable, although there are many cultural similarities as well. This chapter begins with a consideration of ethnotheories regarding parents' understandings of children's adaptive and problematic behaviors as well as how to manage those behaviors before considering Asian cultural values in relation to parenting. The chapter then focuses on parenting styles, parental discipline, and parental monitoring as central ways that parents influence their children's adaptive behaviors and behavior problems. The chapter next considers implications for practice and policy, suggests directions for future research, and concludes.

We acknowledge at the outset that Asia comprises many diverse cultures, which are often lumped together and considered homogeneous relative to Western contexts. Cultural contexts apart from China are typically underrepresented, even within studies of Asian parents. Asian countries represent the full range from low-income to high-income, differences in predominant religion (Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim), and differences in socio-political contexts, all of which can affect parenting and child behaviors. Although we make some generalizations about Asian parenting in relation to behavior

DOI: 10.4324/9781003383949-11

problems of children and adolescents, it is important to recognized variability within Asian countries, cultural contexts, and families.

History and Theory

Understanding parents' ethnotheories regarding children's desirable and undesirable behaviors is important when conceptualizing parenting and the behavior problems of children and adolescents (Olson et al., 2019). Parents in some cultural contexts may regard particular behaviors as especially problematic, whereas parents in other contexts may not regard these same behaviors as problematic at all. For example, parents in Thailand were found to regard children's externalizing behaviors (such as aggression) as more problematic than internalizing behaviors (such as depression and anxiety) because externalizing behaviors are more disruptive to other people than internalizing behaviors are (Weisz et al., 1993). Because externalizing problems can interfere with group harmony, these problems may carry more stigma in cultural contexts characterized as collectivistic (e.g., focused on group harmony) than individualistic (e.g., focused on individual goals; Lau et al., 2016).

When mothers in Japan and the United States were asked to describe desirable and undesirable behaviors of preschoolers, they generated similar descriptions of desirable behaviors, including cooperativeness and good manners (Olson et al., 2001). Mothers' descriptions of undesirable behaviors differed, however. Mothers in Japan focused on the undesirability of socially insensitive and uncooperative behaviors such as disrespect and rudeness; they did not mention concerns with emotional problems such as anxiety or low self-esteem. By contrast, mothers in the United States focused on aggressive and disruptive behaviors as well as on emotional problems. Similarly, when European American and Taiwanese mothers were asked how to foster their preschoolers' positive adjustment, almost all European American mothers described promoting children's high self-esteem; however, almost no Taiwanese mothers mentioned promoting self-esteem, and when they did, self-esteem was more often described as a liability that could contribute to poor self-control or other problem behaviors such as rudeness or stubbornness (Miller et al., 2012). In studies of school-aged children, inhibited social behaviors, such as shyness, that can foster social harmony are valued more and are considered indicators of social competence in China, Indonesia, and Korea than in Canada and the United States, where more assertive behaviors are valued more and are associated with better adjustment (Chen, 2018).

Parents in different countries also have different views regarding the appropriateness of expressing different emotions. For instance, Tamang

Nepalese parents believe that anger should be suppressed, perhaps because of the high importance they place on respect for authority and group harmony (Cole et al., 2002). Likewise, children in India report not expressing anger and sadness in social settings because of their parents' disapproval of such displays (Raval et al., 2007). Parents' emphasis on their children's emotional restraint and impulse control has been described as being more common in several Asian countries than in Canada and the United States (Chen, 2018; Lee et al., 2013).

Not only do parents in different countries hold different beliefs about which child behaviors are problematic, parents also attribute problem behaviors to different causes, which affects how parents manage these behaviors (Bayram Özdemir & Cheah, 2015). For example, Japanese mothers are likely to perceive their preschoolers' disruptive behaviors as a reflection of developmental immaturity normative at that age and therefore respond tolerantly with sensitivity and redirection rather than punishment (Tobin et al., 2009). With respect to academic achievement, Chinese and Japanese parents are more likely than parents from Canada and the United States to believe that achievement is a function of hard work and effort rather than innate abilities, which is related to Chinese and Japanese parents' efforts to encourage their children to work harder (Rothbaum & Wang, 2010).

Despite these generalizations about between-country differences in parents' views regarding children's misbehavior and how to manage misbehavior, it is also important to recognize that cultures are not static over time and also that within-country variability can be common in parents' beliefs and behaviors. With respect to historical time, globalization, technology uptake, and migration from rural to urban areas can all affect parents' beliefs about children's behaviors. For example, in China, parents' positive regard for children's shyness was higher in the past and in rural settings than it is in contemporary urban settings (Chen, 2018). Regional (urban versus rural), socioeconomic, racial/ethnic, and other demographic factors can contribute to within-country variability (Cole et al., 2006; Keller, 2018). For example, in Nepal, elders hold different beliefs about children's displays of anger and shame depending on whether they are Tamang or Brahmin, reflecting the discrepancy in social status of these groups (Cole et al., 2006).

Asian Cultural Values and Parenting

In general, Asian parenting research indicates that, first, parenting frameworks, which encompass aspects of acceptance-rejection, warmth-control, and authoritative-authoritarian parenting dimensions, explain variations in Asian parenting similarly to results widely reported in Western research. Therefore, these frameworks are considered universal rather than specific

to the Western context (Guo et al., 2005; Lu & Chang, 2013; Wang & Chang, 2009). Second, within the universal parenting frameworks, variations in Asian parenting may also be elucidated by identifying additional parenting practice patterns that are culturally meaningful but that have not been the primary focus of Western research (Lu & Chang, 2013; Wang & Chang, 2008).

Although the cross-cultural literature has reported more Chinese parenting work compared with other Asian cultural groups, Chao and Tseng (2002) conducted a comprehensive review of Asian parenting and concluded that various communities share cultural similarities, owing to the significant influence of Confucian and Buddhist philosophies in these contexts, particularly in China and other countries in East Asia (Kelley & Tseng, 1992). These shared cultural features underscore the family as a collective entity, prioritize family and community harmony, and most notably, highlight the importance of parental involvement in their children's education and academic performance. Against these two backdrops, we delve into one of the most distinctive aspects of Chinese parenting—the concept of "guan."

Deeply rooted in Confucian philosophy, particularly in the concept of filial piety, "guan," which translates to "to care for" and "to govern" offspring (Chao, 1994), encompasses a multifaceted set of behaviors in which Chinese parents engage to ensure the educational success of their children. In Chinese culture, parents are regarded as a child's first and eternal teachers, responsible for modeling exemplary behavior to establish a lifelong foundation for their child's development. They are expected to offer guidance and advice even as their child matures into adulthood. Contrary to the more open, permissive, and child-centered educational concepts in Western cultures, "guan" underscores behavioral training aimed at aligning the child with adult expectations (Hays, 1996). In contrast to the Western approach, which values communication and the expression of affection while promoting democratic control and discipline, "guan" emphasizes one-sided governance by parents and the child's obedience and understanding (Lin, 2003). Parental governance under the concept of "guan" encompasses the regulation and restriction of a child's activities to prevent negative outcomes. Examples may include monitoring and limiting the child's use of phones or the internet, structuring the child's daily routines, and imposing strict rules and behavioral expectations. However, "guan" also implies parental accommodation (Chao, 1994), which involves parents sacrificing their own interests for the well-being of their children (Lin, 2003). Parental accommodation may extend to providing nutritious meals, sacrificing leisure time, and offering financial support for the child's education. Last but not least, "guan" also entails the parent–child relationship,

characterized by a hierarchical structure, enduring bonds, and the core principle of filial piety (Chao, 1996).

Guan parenting is distinct from both authoritative and authoritarian parenting styles (Stewart & Bond, 2002). Authoritative parenting aims for a balance between parental control and emotional support. In contrast, guan places a higher emphasis on parental control over emotional support. However, guan parenting advocates parental sacrifice to promote provisioning and other benefits for the children. Therefore, in comparison to authoritative parenting, guan differs more markedly from authoritarian parenting. Authoritarian parenting emphasizes strict obedience to parental authority without much explanation or emotional support. Guan parents may set strict rules and expectations for their children, but they also provide explanations and observe the rules of reward and punishment without anger or resentment (Wang & Chang, 2008). Guan may, on the surface, resemble an authoritarian parenting style, owing to its foundation in the cultural principle of filial piety and the related hierarchical and non-democratic parent–child relationship. Guan parenting can have both positive and negative effects on children's development. On the positive side, ~~Guan~~ parents often provide their children with the resources and support required for academic success. On the other hand, this style of parenting may exert excessive pressure on children to achieve, leading to heightened stress and anxiety (Chao, 1996).

Other culturally meaningful and indigenous parenting practices also are important in Asian contexts. For example, the concept of *utang na loob* (immeasurable debt of being) in the Philippines has been described as being central to family interdependence and the obligations that children perceive themselves as having to their parents (Alampay, 2014). Similarly, the *Ashrama* theory of family life in India captures how *kal, des*, and *patra* (time, place, and person) are central to understanding parent–child relationships (Chaudhary & Sriram, 2020). These and other cultural values are socialized by parents and reflected in children's adaptive and maladaptive behaviors.

Parenting Styles and Behavior Problems of Children and Adolescents

Warmth and control are the cornerstones of parenting styles defined by high levels of both warmth and control (authoritative), high levels of warmth but low levels of control (permissive), low levels of warmth but high levels of control (authoritarian), and low levels of warmth and control (neglecting) parenting (Baumrind, 1967; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). A large body of research has examined how these four parenting styles are

related to children's and adolescents' behavior problems. Early research concluded that authoritarian parenting was related to fewer behavior problems in Asian children than in European American children, who were the original participants in studies that yielded the framework for these parenting styles; however, more recent research has suggested that compared with authoritative parenting, authoritarian parenting is also related to more behavior problems for Asian children (see Sorkhabi, 2005, for a narrative review). A randomized controlled trial of a parenting intervention in Pakistan demonstrated that as authoritative parenting increased, adolescents' challenging behaviors decreased (Kauser & Pinquart, 2019).

Recent meta-analyses have shown that an increasing proportion of Asian parents tend to adopt authoritative parenting styles. East Asian countries such as China, Japan, Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan show the most adoption of authoritative styles (Kim, 2019; Yim, 2022). Research in southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines and Thailand also found similar results (Benito, 2022; Hosiri et al., 2018; Rhucharoenpornpanich et al., 2010). Although authoritative parenting is the most widely accepted style across the Asian continent, studies conducted in Malaysia and Vietnam indicate a bigger mix between authoritarian and authoritative parenting styles (Ghani et al., 2014; Keshavrz & Baharudin, 2009; Nguyen et al., 2020).

It is important to note that definitions of authoritative parenting may not align completely with those in Western countries. For instance, although many Thai parents accept the concept of an authoritative style, in cultural practice, their parenting style may not neatly fit into the distinct categories used to describe Western parenting. Thai children may not be encouraged to express themselves as much as their Western counterparts. Simultaneously, Thais tend to avoid conflict and seek compromise with their children. Consequently, Thai parents may not strictly adhere to being entirely authoritative or authoritarian (Yotanyamaneewong et al., 2021). Therefore, the meaning of parenting styles is likely to be influenced by the cultural norms of each country.

As noted earlier, the trend in parenting styles across many Asian countries appears to be leaning toward the adoption of the authoritative style. This inclination may be indicative of the positive outcomes associated with authoritative parenting. In a meta-analysis, authoritative parenting was linked with lower levels of internalizing and externalizing problems in various regions, including Asia (Pinquart & Kauser, 2018). Parenting practices consistent with an authoritative style, such as parental warmth and understanding, also are associated with children's academic achievement, well-being, and mental health (Kim, 2019; Nguyen, 2020). Authoritative parenting has also been linked to positive moral behavior (Ghani et al.,

2014) and moral reasoning (Pinquart & Fisher, 2022). Asian parenting practices are often characterized by strictness and high demands, which may result in negative consequences for children. However, it is important to acknowledge that this strictness and demanding nature can also be viewed as a means for parents to express their love and care toward their children. Starting from their love and concern for their children, combined with the swift advancement of technology, significant urbanization, and improved education, Asian parents are gradually adjusting their parenting practices to address the needs and well-being of their children (Chang et al., 2011).

Longitudinal research including families from China, the Philippines, and Thailand revealed bidirectional relations between parental warmth and control on the one hand and children's externalizing and internalizing behaviors from age eight to 13 on the other (Lansford et al., 2018). That is, children who exhibited more externalizing and internalizing problems elicited less subsequent warmth and more subsequent control from parents. Parent effects were less consistent than child effects, but earlier in childhood, parents who exhibited less warmth and more control had children with more subsequent externalizing and internalizing problems (Lansford et al., 2018). As the cornerstones of parenting styles, warmth and control are important both in terms of setting an overall emotional climate for parent–child relationships and in terms of specific parenting practices that are related to adaptive or problematic behavior of children and adolescents.

Parental Discipline

One of the main ways that parents attempt to manage their children's behaviors is through discipline. Parents' discipline strategies range from proactive (e.g., explaining behavioral expectations for a new situation to prevent children's misbehaviors) to reactive (e.g., punishing a child for misbehaviour after it occurs). Across cultural groups, including in Asian families, inductive forms of discipline, such as offering explanations and teaching children to make amends if they have hurt someone, are preferred to punitive forms of discipline, such as spanking or yelling (e.g., Helwig et al., 2014). In a study of mother–child dyads in six countries, including China, India, the Philippines, and Thailand, more frequent corporal punishment was related to more child aggression and anxiety (Lansford et al., 2005). Children in these countries whose mothers used more corporal punishment and harsh verbal discipline reported feeling that their mothers regarded them with more hostility, which in turn predicted more child aggression and anxiety (Lansford et al., 2010).

Despite the association between corporal punishment and more child behavior problems, corporal punishment remains common in many countries.

For example, in nationally representative samples, 14 percent of caregivers in Mongolia and 35 percent of caregivers in Vietnam reported believing it is necessary to use corporal punishment to rear a child properly, and 40 percent of caregivers in Mongolia and 5 percent of caregivers in Vietnam reported that they or another caregiver in their household had severely physically punished (hit on the head or beat with an implement) their two- to four-year-old child in the last 30 days (Lansford & Deater-Deckard, 2012).

In addition to forms of discipline that are common in Asian and non-Asian contexts alike, parents in some Asian countries have been found to use "shaming" as a form of discipline. Shaming was originally documented in qualitative research with Taiwanese families that showed how parents attempted to teach their preschoolers right from wrong and to motivate their children to make amends by instilling shame after misbehavior (Fung, 1999). In comparative research with seven- to 14-year-olds in China and Canada, children in Canada reported that shaming is less common than did children in China; children in both countries thought that shaming is detrimental to children's psychological well-being and sense of self-worth and that inductive reasoning is more effective than shaming (Helwig et al., 2014).

Research with mothers in Hong Kong and Taiwan also demonstrates that the discipline responses parents use depend on how children misbehave and the circumstances surrounding the misbehavior (Fung et al., 2017). For example, in response to open-ended questions following the presentation of hypothetical vignettes, mothers reported that their discipline responses would differ at home versus in public, as a function of who was present (just family members or also friends or acquaintances), and whether children's misbehaviors entailed violations of social conventions, morals, or rules about safety. Mothers also indicated that they would try particular responses first but have contingency plans for additional disciplinary responses if their initial response was unsuccessful (Fung et al., 2017).

In addition to factors related to children's misbehaviors and the circumstances surrounding them, intergenerational continuity is often found in parents' use of different discipline strategies. For example, parents whose own parents used corporal punishment are more likely to use corporal punishment with their children than parents who did not experience corporal punishment (Wang et al., 2014). Cultural norms regarding the desirability of particular parenting practices can be passed from one generation to the next, for better or worse. Intergenerational transmission of maladaptive parenting is related to more child internalizing and externalizing problems, but intergenerational transmission, including in Asia, can be disrupted by factors such as increases in income and participation in parenting programs (Rothenberg et al., 2023).

Parental Monitoring

Parental monitoring has long been considered as a protective factor in development, as it is consistently associated with decreased risk of behavior problems in children across different cultural contexts. Monitoring, also referred to in the literature as behavioral control, entails knowing about children's activities, whereabouts, and peer groups, as well as providing supervision and structure, as when setting rules and limits for children to follow (Fosco et al., 2012). Current conceptualizations of monitoring unpack parental knowledge according to how parents obtain information about their children, namely, via parents' solicitation of information, and via their children's disclosure of information to their parents (Kerr et al., 2010). Particularly in the adolescent period, parental knowledge more likely comes from adolescents' disclosures, as parents encounter increasing bids for privacy (Ranganathan & Montemayor, 2014). However, studies on parental monitoring in families in Asia do not always specify parental monitoring or knowledge with respect to parent solicitation or adolescent disclosure of information; in other reports, parental control and rule-setting are also included under the rubric of monitoring.

Substantial research has shown that monitoring children and adolescents, when measured as extent of parental knowledge (e.g., "how much do you know about what your child does after school"), is related to lower levels of aggressive behaviors, delinquency, and substance use (Fosco et al., 2012) and buffers the impacts of neighborhood and peer risks (Chao & Otsuki-Clutter, 2011). Studies in Asian contexts likewise report these benefits of parental knowledge. For instance, parental knowledge (labeled as behavioral control) was persistently and negatively linked with antisocial behavior across time for large samples of adolescents in Bangladesh, China, and India (Barber et al., 2005). In addition to decreased antisocial behaviors and risk involvement, positive academic outcomes such as school engagement, adjustment, and performance, have also been associated with higher parental monitoring among elementary and high school children in China, Korea, and Malaysia (Bae et al., 2015; Li et al., 2003; see review of Ng & Wang, 2019). In Vietnam, parental knowledge was also negatively related to the likelihood of school bullying and mental health problems among adolescents (Nguyen et al., 2019).

Mechanisms of Effects and the Role of Adolescent Disclosure

Parental knowledge is thought to function as a deterrent to child and adolescent misbehaviors and to disrupt the influence of deviant peers in the critical transition from childhood to early adolescence (Fosco et al.,

2012). In the Philippines, for instance, Filipino mothers in risky environments not only directly ask children about their plans; they also solicit information from neighbors, children's friends, and teachers about their children's whereabouts (Jocson & Garcia, 2017). This work highlights the role that community members can play in parents' attempts to monitor their children.

Given that parental knowledge may be derived from adolescent disclosures of information, the protective effect may also reflect a family environment where children are open with their parents about their activities or where they reveal information in response to parental involvement and interest (Hawk, 2016). Among adolescents in Beijing, China, parental knowledge and solicitation of information was indirectly associated with adolescents' trust in their parents via enhanced positive and open parent–child communication (Ying et al., 2015). Adolescent disclosure has also been consistently linked with positive adjustment among Chinese youth (Qin & Pomerantz, 2013).

Certain conditions can influence adolescent disclosure, however. For adolescents in rural China, as with North American and European youth, disclosure to parents is less likely when adolescents perceive that their privacy is being invaded via covert parental monitoring (e.g., eavesdropping in adolescents' conversations) (Hawk, 2016) or overly restrictive control (Ying et al., 2015). This reluctance to disclose when their privacy is invaded reflects a developmentally normative resistance to parent behaviors that impinge on the personal domain of adolescents, even in a cultural context that emphasizes parental authority over the child (Hawk, 2016). Altogether, the positive effect of parental knowledge in deterring antisocial behaviors may reflect all these mechanisms, whereby parents solicit information, and adolescents disclose.

Problem behaviors likewise decrease with higher levels of monitoring that is defined in terms of supervision and setting rules. The structure and guidance provided by parents is thought to increase self-regulation abilities that curb impulsive behaviors (Barber et al., 2005). In Korea, for instance, enhanced self-regulation with respect to time use (towards academic activities) mediated the association of parental knowledge and limit-setting with school achievement (Lee et al., 2012).

Nuancing Monitoring and Behavioral Control in Asian Contexts

In studies of families in Asia, higher levels of control are considered a hallmark of Asian parenting, alongside strictness, respect for parental authority, and expectations of filial piety or familial obligations (Ng & Wang, 2019).

Supervising and regulating children's behaviors is seen as a primary responsibility of parents in order to foster much valued academic success and harmonious relationships, and indeed can be considered as expressions of love and support for the child (Ng & Wang, 2019). The relatively culturally unique concept of *guan* (Chao, 1994) similarly emphasizes "governing" or directive control and behavioral regulation of the child, as well as "caring for" the child and close parent–child relationships.

Given the foregoing, rule-setting may be expected to be higher in Asian contexts. In a cross-sectional study that compared parents' rules among Filipino, U.S. American, and Chilean teenagers, Filipino adolescents reported that their parents set rules and expectations over significantly more areas in their lives, including issues that are considered in the personal domain (i.e., perceived as affecting only the self) (Darling et al., 2005). Conflict between parents and adolescents can arise when adolescents believe that parents are setting too many rules or setting rules in domains in which they have no authority.

Legitimacy Beliefs

Key to whether adolescents comply with their parents' rules are adolescents' beliefs about the legitimacy of parental authority over domains where rules are set (Smetana, 2011). Filipino teens reported being less obliged to comply with rules on which they disagreed with their parents and were not within the domain of legitimate parental jurisdiction. Not only do legitimacy beliefs potentially qualify or moderate the impact of rule-setting on problem behaviors; they may also predict internalizing symptoms for youth who perceive parental control over issues they deem to be in their personal purview, as was found among Japanese adolescents (Hasebe et al., 2004). Similarly, adolescents in rural and urban China whose parents made decisions across all domains (including personal) had higher levels of depressive symptoms and higher school misconduct (Wang & Faldowski, 2014).

These findings suggest that despite the norm of parental supervision and governance in Asian contexts, across adolescence there is a normative shift toward decreasing legitimacy of parental authority and decreasing rules in the personal domain. More contemporary studies of urban Chinese families also surmise that culture change and socioeconomic development have shifted norms and values toward greater support for children's independence versus rule enforcement and unquestioning obedience (Long et al., 2021). Supporting the aforementioned studies, contemporary longitudinal studies show a general decrease in monitoring and rule-setting across the ages of 10 to 17 years old in China, the Philippines, and Thailand (Lansford et al., 2021).

Implications for Practice and Policy

Parenting styles, discipline, and monitoring have all been the focus of parenting interventions. In any attempt to alter parenting and, thereby, child behavior, it is important to take into account the cultural contexts in which families are situated. A poignant example that illustrates the harm that can be done by trying to intervene from a Western perspective in Asian contexts occurred following the 2004 tsunami in the Indian Ocean (Christopher et al., 2014). Well-intentioned Western psychologists came to Sri Lanka following the tsunami, which killed over 36,000 people and destroyed over 300,000 homes, to offer support, assuming that a mental health crisis and suicidality would spike. However, these beliefs were not shared by the local community (and ultimately did not come to pass; Rodrigo et al., 2009), which was more focused on obtaining food, shelter, and clothing; reuniting with missing family members; conducting funeral rites; and getting children back to school. In addition to not offering services that were directly connected with local needs, the psychological services offered were in conflict with local norms regarding appropriate social interactions, privacy, emotional displays, and more. In addition, the psychologists actually detracted from the community's own response by using limited resources (food, clean water, shelter) and by not drawing on local wisdom regarding how best to alleviate grief and suffering and instead increasing anxiety by making culturally inappropriate demands (Christopher et al., 2014).

A more promising approach to intervention is to have local experts adapt any programs that were developed elsewhere to make them culturally appropriate for their new setting. For example, Parenting for Lifelong Health is a program designed to prevent child maltreatment that was originally developed in South Africa but has been carefully adapted for use in the Philippines and Thailand (Alampay et al., 2018; McCoy et al., 2021). By balancing the perspectives of cultural insiders who could provide insights into local childrearing goals and values with scientific evidence on components of effective parenting programs from cultural outsiders, the program ultimately could be implemented more effectively and at larger scale than would have been possible without this adaptation (Mamauag et al., 2021).

Sets of international standards exist to help countries considering creating or adapting parenting programs that ultimately aim to improve child outcomes by improving parenting (UNICEF, 2017). For example, UNICEF (2017) provides guidance regarding attending to the developmental stage of the child, involving all key caregivers, and continuously improving through monitoring and evaluation. Adopting an implementation science perspective has also been informative in understanding a range of factors, such as securing buy-in from key stakeholders, integrating programs into existing

infrastructure, training the workforce, and making sure that the program addresses needs identified by local communities, that contribute to the success of parenting programs in a range of contexts (Lansford et al., 2022). A review and meta-analysis of parenting programs implemented in East and Southeast Asia demonstrated the potential for these programs to reduce harsh discipline and violence against children and to improve parent–child interactions (McCoy et al., 2020).

One of the most pressing policy issues related to parenting and children's behavior problems is the push to outlaw corporal punishment that was originally instigated by the United Nations (1989) Convention on the Rights of the Child and is currently instantiated in the Sustainable Development Goals guiding the international development agenda through 2030 (United Nations, 2017). ~~At October~~ 2024 a total of 67 countries ~~had~~ outlawed all forms of corporal punishment, including by parents in the home, but Japan and Nepal are the only two Asian countries that have outlawed all forms of corporal punishment (Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment, ~~2023~~). The Association of Southeast Asian Nations adopted a Regional Plan of Action on the Elimination of Violence Against Children to address the obligations of countries in the region to advance this issue (ASEAN Secretariat, 2017). Going forward, protection of children from violence in all forms will continue to be an important policy issue in parent–child relationships, as well as an issue addressed in programs that try to reduce child behavior problems by enhancing parenting.

Future Directions

Compared with many Western countries, countries in Asia have been historically under-represented in the study of psychology, including developmental psychology (Thalmayer et al., 2021). Even within Asia, some countries are more under-represented in the parenting and child development literature than others; for example, research in China has burgeoned in recent years, whereas research in Cambodia, Laos, and Myanmar is still nascent. Differences within Asia are important to understand for many of the same reasons that it is important to understand differences (and similarities) between Asian countries and countries in other regions. Science is advanced by greater attention to the full range of contexts in which parenting and child development occur, and future research should continue to prioritize the inclusion of Asian samples that have been historically under-represented.

Another important direction for future research on parenting and behavior problems of children and adolescents in Asian families will be to understand how cultural values that are important in Asian contexts but

are unknown in Western contexts in which many theories of parenting originated may be central understanding Asian parenting. Finally, future research will benefit from careful work on measurement both conceptually and empirically. Even a component of parenting that is universally beneficial for children, such as parental warmth and acceptance (Khaleque & Ali, 2017), may be expressed differently in different cultural contexts. For example, Chinese immigrant parents in the United States are more likely to express warmth by supporting their children's education and providing for basic physical needs like nutritious food than to use physical affection and direct praise, which are more common among European American parents (Cheah et al., 2015). Conceptualizing constructs in ways that are culturally appropriate and measuring these constructs in ways that validly capture how they are expressed in particular cultural groups is important to avoiding a deficit perspective on parenting and child behavior that may otherwise result from the misapplication of constructs and measures in contexts for which they were not originally designed.

Conclusion

Because parents' ethnotheories regarding desirable and undesirable child behaviors as well as how to manage these behaviors differ across cultures, an effort to understand parenting and behavior problems of children and adolescents in Asian families should be grounded in an understanding of these ethnotheories and Asian cultural values. Relations between parenting styles and child behaviors are largely similar in Asian countries and Western countries, although the concept of "guan" parenting has been documented specifically in Asian families. Harsh verbal discipline and corporal punishment are associated with more child behavior problems in Asian countries, whereas inductive forms of discipline, such as reasoning, are related to fewer child behavior problems. Parental monitoring is generally a protective factor that decreases children's behavior problems and is nuanced in Asian families by cultural values that endorse the legitimacy of parental authority. Programs to improve parent–child relationships and, in turn, child outcomes, are more effective if they are culturally adapted for local contexts; such programs have been found to have desired effects in Asian countries. Current policy efforts in several Asian countries involve moving toward child protection targets in the Sustainable Development Goals operationalized as outlawing corporal punishment. Examining variability within and across Asian countries, attending to indigenous cultural concepts as they relate to parenting and child behaviors, and conceptualizing and measuring constructs in culturally meaningful ways are all important future directions.

References

Alampay, L. P. (2014). Parenting in the Philippines. In H. Selin & P. Schvaneveldt (Eds), *Parenting across cultures: Childrearing, motherhood and fatherhood in non-Western cultures* (pp. 105–121). Springer.

Alampay, L. P., Lachman, J. M., Landov, B. V., Madrid, B. J., Ward, C. L., Hutchings, J., Alinea, C. D., & Gardner, F. (2018). Preventing child maltreatment in low- and middle-income countries: Parenting for Lifelong Health in the Philippines. In S. Verma & A. Petersen (Eds), *Developmental science and Sustainable Development Goals for children and youth* (pp. 277–293). Springer.

ASEAN Secretariat (2017). ASEAN regional plan of action on elimination of violence against children. Available https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/ASEAN-Regional-Plan-of-Action-on-the-Elimination-of-Violence-against-Children-RPA-on-EVAC-2016-in-collaboration-with-SOMSWD-ENG.pdf.

Bae, D. & Wickrama, K.A.S. (2015). Family socioeconomic status and academic achievement among Korean adolescents: Linking mechanisms of family processes and adolescents' time use. *Journal of Early Adolescence, 35*(7), 1014–1038.

Barber, B. K., Stolz, H. E., & Olsen, J. A. (2005). Parental support, psychological control, and behavioral control: assessing relevance across time, method, and culture. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development*, *70*.

Baumrind, D. (1967). Child care practices anteceding three patterns of preschool behavior. *Genetic Psychology Monographs, 75*, 43–88.

Bayram Özdemir, S. & Cheah, C. S. L. (2015). Turkish mothers' parenting beliefs in response to aggressive and socially withdrawn behaviors. *Journal of Child and Family Studies, 24*, 687–702.

Benito, L. D. (2022). Parenting styles of teen mothers in a selected city in Mindanao, Philippines. *Randwick International of Social Sciences Journal*, *3*(3), 472–476.

Chang, L., Chen, B-B., & Ji, L. (2011). Attributions and attitudes of mothers and fathers in China. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 11*, 102–115.

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development, 65*, 1111–1119.

Chao, R. K. (1995). Chinese and European American cultural models of the self reflected in mothers' childrearing beliefs. *Ethos, 23*, 328–354.

Chao, R. & Otsuki-Clutter, M. (2011). Racial and ethnic differences: Sociocultural and contextual explanations. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 21*(1), 47–60.

Chao, R. K. & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Series Ed.), *Handbook of parenting: Vol. 4. Social conditions and applied parenting* (2nd ed., pp. 59–93). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Chaudhary, N. & Sriram, S. (2020). Psychology in the "Backyards of the World": Experiences From India. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *51*(2), 113–133.

Cheah, C. S., Li, J., Zhou, N., Yamamoto, Y., & Leung, C. Y. (2015). Understanding Chinese immigrant and European American mothers' expressions of warmth. *Developmental Psychology*, *51*, 1802–1811.

Chen, X. (2018). Culture, temperament, and social and psychological adjustment. *Developmental Review, 50*, 42–53.

Christopher, J. C., Wendt, D. C., Maracek, J., & Goodman, D. M. (2014). Critical cultural awareness: Contributions to a globalizing psychology. *American Psychologist, 69*, 645–655.

Cole, P. M., Bruschi, C. J., & Tamang, B. L. (2002). Cultural differences in children's reactions to difficult situations. *Child Development, 73*, 983–996.

Cole, P. M., Tamang, B. L., & Shrestha, S. (2006). Cultural variations in the socialization of young children's anger and shame. *Child Development, 77*, 1237–1251.

Darling, N., Cumsille, P., & Alampay, L. (2005). Rules, legitimacy of parental authority, and obligation to obey in Chile, the Philippines, and the United States. In J. Smetana (Ed.), *Changing boundaries of parental authority during adolescence* (pp. 47–60). Jossey-Bass.

Fosco, G., Stormshak, E., Dishion, T., & Winter, C. (2012). Family relationships and parental monitoring during middle school as predictors of early adolescent problem behavior. *Journal of Clinical Child and Adolescent Psychology, 41*(2), 202–213.

Fung, H. (1999). Becoming a moral child: The socialization of shame among young Chinese children. *Ethos*, *27*, 180–209.

Fung, H., Li, J., & Lam, C. K. (2017). Multi-faceted discipline strategies of Chinese parenting. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *41*, 472–481.

Ghani, F. B. A., Kamal, S. L. A., & Aziz, A. A. (2014). The implication of parenting styles on the akhlak of Muslim teenagers in the south of Malaysia. *Procedia: Social and Behavioral Sciences*, *114*, 761–765.

Global Initiative to End Corporal Punishment (~~2023~~). Retrieved from www.endcorporalpunishment.org.

Guo, B., Wang, Y., & Chang, L. (2005). Classroom effects on the relations between children's social behaviors and school adjustment. *Acta Psychologica Sinica, 37*, 239–244.

Hasebe, Y., Nucci, L., & Nucci, M. S. (2004). Parental control of the personal domain and adolescent symptoms of psychopathology: A cross-national study in the United States and Japan. *Child Development*, *75*(3), 815–828.

Hawk, S. (2016). Chinese adolescents' reports of covert parental monitoring: Comparisons with overt monitoring and links with information management. *Journal of Adolescence, 55*, 24–35.

Hays, S. (1996). *The cultural contradictions of motherhood*. Yale University Press.

Helwig, C. C., To, S., Wang, Q., Liu, C., & Yang, S. (2014). Judgments and reasoning about parental discipline involving induction and psychological control in China and Canada. *Child Development*, *85*, 1150–1167.

Hosiri, T., Wannasewok, K., Chaiharn, P., Phattharayuttawat, S., Manussirivithaya, V., & Ngamthipwatthana, T. (2018). Parenting style and hardiness of students in a Thai military academy. *Journal of the Medical Association of Thailand*, *101*, 19–23.

Jocson, R. & Garcia, A. (2017). Low-income urban Filipino mothers' experiences with community violence. *International Perspectives in Psychology: Research, Practice, Consultation, 6*, 133–151.

Kauser, R. & Pinquart, M. (2019). Effectiveness of an indigenous parent training program on change in parenting styles and delinquent tendencies (challenging

behaviors) in Pakistan: A randomized controlled trial. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 188*, 104677.
Keller, H. (2018). Parenting and socioemotional development in infancy and early childhood. *Developmental Review, 50*, 31–41.
Kelley, M. L. & Tseng, H. M. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing: A comparison of immigrant Chinese and Caucasian American mothers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *23*, 444–455.
Kerr, M., Stattin, H., & Burk, W.J. (2010). A reinterpretation of parental monitoring in longitudinal perspective. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 20*(1), 39–64.
Keshavarz, S. & Baharudin, R. (2009). Parenting style in a collectivist culture of Malaysia. *European Journal of Social Science, 10*(1), 66–73.
Khaleque, A. & Ali, S. (2017). A systematic review of meta-analyses of research on interpersonal acceptance–rejection theory: Constructs and measures. *Journal of Family Theory & Review*, *9*, 441–458.
Kim, S. W. (2019). Meta-analysis of parental involvement and achievement in East Asian countries. *Education and Urban Society*, *52*, 312–337.
Lansford, J. E., Betancourt, T. S., Boller, K., Popp, J., Altafim, E. R. P., Attanasio, O., & Raghavan, C. (2022). The future of parenting programs: II Implementation. *Parenting: Science and Practice, 22*, 235–257.
Lansford, J. E., Chang, L., Dodge, K. A., Malone, P. S., Oburu, P., Palmérus, K., . . . Quinn, N. (2005). Physical discipline and children's adjustment: Cultural normativeness as a moderator. *Child Development, 76*, 1234–1246.
Lansford, J. E. & Deater-Deckard, K. (2012). Childrearing discipline and violence in developing countries. *Child Development, 83*, 62–75.
Lansford, J. E., Malone, P. S., Dodge, K. A., Chang, L., Chaudhary, N., Tapanya, S., . . . Deater-Deckard, K. (2010). Children's perceptions of maternal hostility as a mediator of the link between discipline and children's adjustment in four countries. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *34*, 452–461.
Lansford, J. E., Rothenberg, W. A., & Bornstein, M. H. (2021). *Parenting across cultures from childhood to adolescence*. Routledge.
Lansford, J. E., Rothenberg, W. A., Jensen, T. M., Lippold, M. A., Bacchini, D., Bornstein, M. H., Chang, L., Deater-Deckard, K., Di Giunta, L., Dodge, K. A., Malone, P. S., Oburu, P., Pastorelli, C., Skinner, A. T., Sorbring, E., Steinberg, L., Tapanya, S., Uribe Tirado, L. M., Alampay, L. P., & Al-Hassan, S. M. (2018). Bidirectional relations between parenting and behavior problems from age 8 to 13 in nine countries. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 28*, 571–590.
Lau, A. S., Guo, S., Tsai, W., Nguyen, D. J., Nguyen, H. T., Ngo, V., & Weiss, B. (2016). Adolescents' stigma attitudes toward internalizing and externalizing disorders: Cultural influences and implications for distress manifestations. *Clinical Psychological Science*, *4*(4), 704–717.
Lee, E. H., Zhou, Q., Eisenberg, N., & Wang, Y. (2013). Bidirectional relations between temperament and parenting styles in Chinese children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 37*, 57–67.
Lee, J., Yu, H., & Choi, S. (2012). The influences of parental acceptance and parental control on school adjustment and academic achievement for South Korean children: The mediation role of self-regulation. *Asia Pacific Education Review, 13,* 227–237.

Li, X., Fang, X., Stanton, B., Lizeng, S., & Wu, Y. (2003). Parental monitoring among adolescents in Beijing, China. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 33*, 130–132.

Lin, W. Y. (2003). The influence of parents' theories of human nature on parenting belief: The case of theories of intelligence. *Indigenous Psychological Research in Chinese Societies*, *20*, 253–293.

Long, Q., Rothenberg, W. A., Liu, Q., & Chang, L. (2021). Four domains of parenting in China. In J. E. Lansford, W. A. Rothenberg, & M. H. Bornstein (Eds), *Parenting across cultures from childhood to adolescence: Development in nine countries* (pp. 22–40). Routledge.

Lu, H. J. & Chang, L. (2013). Parenting and child socialization of only children in urban China: An example of authoritative parenting. *Journal of Genetic Psychology*, *174*, 335–343.

Maccoby, E. E. & Martin, J. A. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent–child interaction. In P. H. Mussen (Series Ed.) & E. M. Hetherington (Vol. Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol. 4, Socialization, personality, and social development* (4th ed., pp. 1–101). Wiley.

McCoy, A., Lachman, J.M., Ward, C.L., Tapanya, S., Poomchaichote, T., Kelly, J., Mukaka, M., Cheah, P. Y., & Gardner, F. (2021). Feasibility pilot of an adapted parenting program embedded within the Thai public health system. *BMC Public Health, 21*, 1009.

McCoy, A., Melendez-Torres, G. J., & Gardner, F. (2020). Parenting interventions to prevent violence against children in low- and middle-income countries in East and Southeast Asia: A systematic review and multi-level meta-analysis. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 103,* 104444.

Miller, P. J., Fung, H., Lin, S., Chen, E. C.-H., & Boldt, B. R. (2012). How socialization happens on the ground: Narrative practices as alternate socializing pathways in Taiwanese and European-American families. *Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 77*(Serial No. 302), 1–140.

Ng, F. F. & Wang, Q. (2019). Asian and Asian American parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting. Vol. 4. Special conditions and applied parenting* (3rd ed., pp. 108–169). Routledge.

Nguyen, H., Nakamura, K., Seino, K., & Al-Sobaihi, S. (2019). Impact of parent–adolescent bonding on school bullying and mental health in Vietnamese cultural setting: Evidence from the global school-based health survey. *BMC Psychology, 7*, 16.

Nguyen, Q-A. N., Tran, T. D., Tran, T-A., Nguyen, T. A., & Fisher, J. (2020). Perceived parenting styles and emotional intelligence among adolescents in Vietnam. *The Family Journal: Counseling and Therapy for Couples and Families*, *28*, 441–454.

Olson, S. L., Kashiwagi, K., & Crystal, D. (2001). Concepts of adaptive and maladaptive child behavior: A comparison of U.S. and Japanese mothers of preschool-age children. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 32*, 43–57.

Olson, S., Lansford, J. E., Evans, E. M., Blumstein, K. P., & Ip, K. I. (2019). Parents' ethnotheories of maladaptive behavior in young children. *Child Development Perspectives, 13*, 153–158.

Pinquart, M. & Fischer, A. (2022). Associations of parenting styles with moral reasoning in children and adolescents: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Moral Education, 51*(4), 463–476.

Pinquart, M. & Kauser, R. (2018). Do the associations of parenting styles with behavior problems and academic achievement vary by culture? Results from a meta-analysis. *Cultural Diversity & Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *24*(1), 75–100.

Qin, L. & Pomerantz, E. (2013). Reciprocal pathways between American and Chinese early adolescents' sense of responsibility and disclosure to parents. *Child Development, 84*(6), 1887–1895.

Ranganathan, C. & Montemayor, R. (2014). Parental efficacy, parental monitoring efficacy, and monitoring among Asian-Indian parents of adolescents living in Chennai, India. *Journal of Adolescence, 37*(8), 1363–1372.

Raval, V. V., Martini, T. S., & Raval, P. H. (2007). "Would others think it is okay to express my feelings?" Regulation of anger, sadness, and physical pain in Gujarati children in India. *Social Development, 16*, 79–105.

Rhucharoenpornpanich, O., Chamratrithirong, A., Fongkaew, W., Rosati M. J., Miller, B. M., & Cupp, P. K. (2010). Parenting and adolescent problem behaviors: A comparative study of sons and daughters in Thailand. *Journal of the Medical Association of Thailand*, *93*(3), 293–300.

Rodrigo, A., McQillin, A., & Pimm, J. (2009). Effect of the 2004 Tsunami on suicide rates in Sri Lanka. *Psychiatric Bulletin, 33*, 179–180.

Rothbaum, F. & Wang, Y. Z. (2010). Fostering children's malleable views of the self and the world: Caregiving practices in East Asian and European American communities. In B. Mayer & H. J. Kornadt (Eds), *Soziokultureller context und mensschliche Entwicklung [Sociocultural context and human development]* (pp. 101–120). VS Verlag.

Rothenberg, W. A., Lansford, J. E., Uribe Tirado, L. M., Yotanyamaneewong, S., Alampay, L. P., Al-Hassan, S. M., Bacchini, D., Chang, L., Deater-Deckard, K., Di Giunta, L., Dodge, K. A., Gurdal, S., Liu, Q., Long, Q., Oburu, P., Pastorelli, C., Skinner, A. T., Sorbring, E., Tapanya, S., Steinberg, L., & Bornstein, M. H. (2023). The intergenerational transmission of maladaptive parenting and its impact on child mental health: Examining cross-cultural mediating pathways and moderating protective factors. *Child Psychiatry and Human Development, 54*, 870–890.

Smetana, J. (2011). *Adolescents, families, and social development: How teens construct their worlds*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Sorkhabi, N. (2005). Applicability of Baumrind's parent typology to collective cultures: Analysis of cultural explanation of parent socialization effects. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 29*, 552–563.

Stewart, S. M. & Bond, M. H. (2002). A critical look at parenting research from the mainstream: Problems uncovered while adapting western research to non-western cultures. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology*, *20*, 379–392.

Tobin, J., Hsueh, Y., & Karasawa, M. (2009). *Preschool in three cultures revisited: China, Japan, and the United States*. University of Chicago Press.

Thalmayer, A. G., Toscanelli, C., & Arnett, J. J. (2021). The neglected 95% revisited: Is American psychology becoming less American? *American Psychologist, 76*, 116–129.

UNICEF (2017). *Standards for ECD parenting programs in low and middle income countries*. UNICEF.

United Nations (1989). Convention on the Rights of the Child. https://www.ohchr.org/en/professionalinterest/pages/crc.aspx.

United Nations. (2017). Sustainable Development Goals: 17 goals to transform our world. Retrieved from www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals.

Wang, M., Xing, X., & Zhao, J. (2014). Intergenerational transmission of corporal punishment in China: The moderating role of marital satisfaction and gender. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, *42*, 1263–1274.

Wang, Q. & Chang, L. (2009). Parenting and child socialization in contemporary China. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *Handbook of Chinese psychology* (2nd ed.). Oxford University Press.

Wang, Y. & Chang, L. (2008). *Urban parenting in China: Research and reflections*. Fudan University Press.

Wang, Y. & Faldowski, R. (2014). Beliefs in the legitimacy of decision authority among Chinese adolescents and parents: A person-centered approach. *Journal of Adolescence, 37*(7), 1121–1132.

Weisz, J. R., Sigman, M., Weiss, B., & Mosk, J. (1993). Parent reports of behavioral and emotional problems among children in Kenya, Thailand, and the United States. *Child Development, 64*(1), 98–109.

Yim, E. P-Y. (2022). Effects of Asian cultural values on parenting style and young children's perceived competence: A cross-sectional study. *Frontiers in Psychology, 13*, 905093.

Ying, L., Ma, F., Huang, H., Guo, X., Chen, C., & Xu, F. (2015) Parental monitoring, parent–adolescent communication, and adolescents' trust in their parents in China. *PLoS ONE, 10*(8), e0134730.

Yotanyamaneewong, S., Rothenberg, W. A., & Tapanya, S. (2021). Four domains of parenting in Thailand. In J. E. Lansford, W. A. Rothenberg, & M. H. Bornstein (Eds), *Parenting across cultures from childhood to adolescence* (pp. 172–192). Routledge.