



**Does Tiger Parenting Work in Contemporary China?  
Exploring the Relationships between Parenting Profiles and  
Preschoolers' School Readiness in a Chinese Context**

Journal:	<i>Early Child Development and Care</i>
Manuscript ID	GECD-2018-0211
Manuscript Type:	Original Article
Keywords:	Supportive parenting, Tiger parenting, School readiness, Chinese parenting

SCHOLARONE™  
Manuscripts

### Abstract

This study explored the relationships between parenting profiles and young children's school readiness in urban China. Eighty-six pairs of Chinese parents completed the Chinese Parenting Style Questionnaire (CPSQ), and their children were administered the Bracken School Readiness Composite (BSRC; Bracken, 1998) and Preschool and Primary Chinese Literacy Scale (PPCLS; Li, 1999). A set of statistical analyses was conducted to explore the relationship between the three types of parenting profiles (supportive, tiger and easygoing) and children's scores in BSRC and PPCLS, and four typical couples were invited to attend semi structured interviews. The results indicated that: (1) Inter-parental consistency in supportive parenting were associated with better children's school readiness, but not for consistency in easygoing or tiger parenting; (2) Tiger mothers were not associated with better outcomes in either boys or girls; (3) Significant interaction effect was found between child gender and parenting profile. The findings have implications for the theoretical development of parental education and related programs. Understanding the differentiated parenting styles and practices with boys and girls will help parents and educators to improve their educational practices.

*Keywords:* Supportive parenting, tiger parenting, school readiness, Chinese parenting

## Does Tiger Parenting Work in Contemporary China?

### Exploring the Relationships between Parenting Profiles and Preschoolers' School Readiness in a Chinese Context

Young children's school readiness has been found to be highly associated with parenting styles in recent years (Ren & Edwards, 2017; Skwarchuk, Sowinski, & LeFevre, 2014). Most of these studies, however, have focused on the influence of mothers on young children's cognitive and early literacy development (e.g., Landry, Smith, Swank, A., & Vellet, 2001; Pettit, Bates, & Dodge, 1997; Tamis-LeMonda, Bornstein, & Baumwell, 2001), although studies on the influence of fathers are gradually increasing (e.g., Ihmeideh, 2013; Lewis & Lamb, 2003; Paquette, Coyl-Shepherd, & Newland, 2012). Family systems theory (Minuchin, 1985) highlights the interdependence of family members, indicating the importance of studying the influence of both parents, which children experience in a two-parent family. As the first endeavor to examine the joint influences of Chinese mothers' and fathers' parenting on children's development, this study explored the relationships between parenting profiles and young children's school readiness, with the aim of ascertaining whether the Tiger parenting style promoted by Chua (2011) is effective in contemporary China.

#### **Chinese Parenting Profiles**

*Parenting style* refers to "a constellation of attitudes toward the child that are communicated to the child and create an emotional climate in which the parent's behaviors are expressed" (Darling & Steinberg, 1993, p. 493). Parenting styles have been characterized as broad global styles, but greater sensitivity should be considered in terms of cultural and contextual variations, and more accuracy is called for in defining

parenting in relation to different parenting dimensions (Smetana, 2017). Therefore, more recent studies investigating parental influences on children have used a person-oriented approach to examine parenting as a multidimensional and dynamic construct, through which *parenting profiles* are defined (Kim, Wang, Orozco-Lapray, Shen, & Murtuza, 2013; Zheng, Pasalich, Oberth, McMahon, & Pinderhughes, 2017). In a previous study using a group of Chinese parents in Shenzhen, three parenting profiles were identified: supportive, easygoing, and tiger (Xie & Li, 2017). Supportive parenting usually scores high in positive dimensions such as warmth, acceptance, responsiveness, and inductive reasoning; and low in negative dimensions such as hostility, psychological control, punitive parenting and shaming (Kim, et al., 2013). It is usually associated with positive early child outcomes (Martin, Ryan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2007; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2001), similar to the traditional authoritative parenting style. Tiger parenting is colloquially understood to refer to the parenting of Asian American parents (Shin & Wong, 2013). Following the typical parenting characteristics among Asian American parents, such as high in both authoritativeness and authoritarianism, tiger parenting is hypothesized to score high in both positive (such as warmth) and negative (such as hostility) dimensions. The third parenting profile, easygoing parenting, is lower power parenting compared to supportive and tiger parenting. It usually scores low on all positive and negative dimensions and is similar to the classic negligent or permissive parenting.

Tiger parenting has attracted much debate since the publication of the controversial book, *Battle Hymn of the Tiger Mother*, which attributed Asian American children's academic success to strict Chinese parenting (Chua, 2011). However, much of the discussion about tiger parenting and children's development failed to provide empirical

1  
2  
3 evidence to support the argument (e.g., Cheah, Leung, & Zhou, 2013; Kohler, Aldridge,  
4 Christensen, & Kilgo, 2012; Lui & Rollock, 2013). The few studies that provided  
5  
6 empirical evidence, most of which were conducted among Asian American parents and  
7  
8 their adolescent children, found that tiger parenting was associated with lower  
9  
10 achievement at school (Fu & Markus, 2014; Kim et al., 2013). In particular, Kim et al.  
11  
12 (2013) found that tiger parenting was not only a less common profile but also related to  
13  
14 lower academic performance in children. The applicability of this tiger profile to Chinese  
15  
16 parents in Mainland China and its relationship with Chinese preschool children calls for  
17  
18 empirical evidence, which the present study aimed to provide.  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23

### 24 **School Readiness in Chinese Children**

25  
26 The early childhood education system in China consists of two levels: nurseries,  
27  
28 which cater for children aged 0-3; and kindergartens, which cater for children aged 3-6  
29  
30 (Hong & Chen, 2017). Children are confronted with diverse developmental challenges  
31  
32 when they transition from kindergarten to formal schooling at the age of 6 due to  
33  
34 differences in school policy, curriculum, teachers' pedagogy and parental expectations  
35  
36 between the two stages (Li, Rao, & Tse, 2011). This period of dynamic change is  
37  
38 identified as a critical time because children's success in the transition has been shown to  
39  
40 have a lasting effect throughout their time in primary school (Duncan et al., 2007).  
41  
42  
43 Termed as school readiness, researchers generally agree that it is composed of five  
44  
45 domains: health and physical development; social and emotional development;  
46  
47 approaches to learning; language and communicative skills; and cognition and general  
48  
49 knowledge (Boethel, 2004; NEGP, 1998). Amongst these domains, children's cognitive  
50  
51 and pre-academic development are most frequently associated with school readiness due  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 to their importance for successful learning and strong predictive power for later academic  
4 achievement (Duncan et al., 2007; Kagan, 2003; La Paro & Pianta, 2000; Rouse, Brooks-  
5  
6  
7  
8 Gunn, & McLanahan, 2005).

9  
10 Children's early literacy, including letter knowledge, reading ability and  
11  
12 comprehension, and so on, is another important aspect of school readiness and has  
13  
14 garnered much attention, as evident in the expanded efforts to develop intervention  
15  
16 programs to help improve early literacy in the United States (Browne, Wade, Prime, &  
17  
18 Jenkins, 2017; Weigel & Martin, 2006). Young children in Mainland China experience  
19  
20 less pedagogical continuity in formal literacy teaching than do children in Hong Kong,  
21  
22 whether they are at home, in preschool or in primary school (Li & Rao, 2000, 2005).  
23  
24 Additionally, children do not learn to write Chinese characters until they are 5 to 6 years  
25  
26 old, equivalent to the Kindergarten year in the United States, although the practice of  
27  
28 teaching children in kindergartens to write Chinese characters is officially restricted by  
29  
30 the educational authorities (Li & Rao, 2005; Li, Rao, & Tse, 2012). Therefore, children's  
31  
32 early literacy is influenced more by the family process (parenting styles and practices)  
33  
34 and home learning environment than by the kindergarten, especially in China (Farver,  
35  
36 Xu, Eppe, & Lonigan, 2006; McWayne, Cheung, Wright, & Hahs-Vaughn, 2012).  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41

### 42 **Parenting Profiles and School Readiness**

43  
44 Studies of fathers' involvement in the past decades have challenged the presumed  
45  
46 insignificance of paternal influences, by describing the many roles fathers can play in  
47  
48 their children's cognitive development, academic achievement, language abilities, and  
49  
50 socio-emotional development (Cabrera, Tamis-Lemonda, Bradley, Hofferth, & Lamb,  
51  
52 2000; Hovee, Dubas, Gerris, Van Der Laan, & Smeenk, 2011; Lamb & Tamis-LeMonda,  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

2004; Nelson & Coyne, 2009; Shannon et al., 2004). The inclusion of fathers in research on parenting and children's developmental outcomes should not simply examine the direct or indirect influences that fathers have on children in isolation; rather, the influences of both parents should be examined since their parenting styles, beliefs, and behaviors influence and are influenced by each other (Minuchin, 1985). Some researchers have compared the similarities and differences between the two parents' parenting beliefs, values, and styles and have investigated the effect of one dyadic relationship on the other using a cross-sectional design (Bowes, Chen, San, & Yuan, 2004; Chuang & Su, 2009; Gamble, Ramakumar, & Diaz, 2007). Others have extended the research to study the unique, combined, and reciprocal effects of parents on children's development both concurrently and longitudinally (Hoeve et al., 2011; Martin, Ryan, & Brooks-Gunn, 2010; McKinney & Renk, 2007; Zhang & Chen, 2010). Few, if any, have examined whether the findings about the samples of Asian American parents and their adolescent children are universally applicable to fathers, mothers, and their young children in China.

### **The Present Study**

The current study examined the associations between Chinese mothers' and fathers' parenting profiles and children's school readiness in terms of cognition and early literacy. In a previous study, using data from the same Chinese sample as in the present study, three parenting profiles were identified: supportive, tiger, and easygoing (Author et al., 2017). The current study extended earlier findings by investigating the relationship between parenting profiles and children's school readiness in both one parent-child dyadic and two parents-child triadic manners. We hypothesized that tiger parents were

1  
2  
3 not associated with better outcomes in terms of children's cognitive and literacy  
4  
5 development.  
6  
7  
8  
9

### 10 **Method**

11  
12 The study followed a sequential mixed-method approach to understand the results  
13  
14 of the quantitative study (Study One) through qualitative interviews (Study Two).  
15  
16 Interviews with both parents were conducted to understand why or why not tiger  
17  
18 parenting was associated with better children's school readiness.  
19  
20

### 21 **Participants**

22  
23 Shenzhen is a neighbor city of Hong Kong and is China's first and most successful  
24  
25 special economic zone, with its GDP rising from 17 billion yuan (USD \$2.6 billion) in  
26  
27 1990 to 1,949 billion yuan (USD \$294.6 billion) in 2016 (Shenzhen Statistics Bureau). It  
28  
29 is a city of migrants, with more than half of the population coming from all parts of  
30  
31 China. The population growth rate has been 1.90% in the past five years. Thus, it is an  
32  
33 open and diversified city in contemporary China.  
34  
35  
36

37  
38 The participants were selected from a public kindergarten in the central business  
39  
40 center of Shenzhen. The kindergarten serves families from the neighborhood, mainly of  
41  
42 high and middle social economic status (SES) families. In 2015, the annual per capita  
43  
44 disposable income of Shenzhen residents was 44,633 yuan (USD \$6,725). Accordingly,  
45  
46 the study participants responded their monthly family income by choosing from three  
47  
48 categories: less than 10,000 yuan per month (USD \$1,507), less than 25,000 yuan (USD  
49  
50 \$3,767) but higher than 10,000 yuan per month, and more than 25,000 yuan per month.  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 Most of the families reported a family income of more than 10,000 yuan a month,  
4  
5 indicating a majority of middle and high SES backgrounds (Table 1).  
6

7  
8 There were 146 children in this Kindergarten Grade Three (K-3) cohort, all aged 5  
9  
10 to 6 years old. Consent forms were sent to all families, and 107 pairs of parents provided  
11  
12 consent for their children's participation. These 107 children then bring home  
13  
14 questionnaires measuring father and mother's self-perceived parenting style as well as  
15  
16 demographic information. Ninety-eight questionnaires were returned, among which, 12  
17  
18 were not completed or regarded as invalid (such as leaving a whole page blank), resulting  
19  
20 in 86 participating children and 172 parents.  
21  
22

23  
24 <Insert Table 1 here. >  
25

## 26 **Procedures**

27  
28 Study One took place in May, one and a half months before kindergarten  
29  
30 graduation. All the parents of the children in the K-3 cohort received a consent letter sent  
31  
32 out by the class teacher. Parents who returned the informed consent agreeing to  
33  
34 participate received an envelope containing a set of questionnaires, which consisted of an  
35  
36 introductory section asking parents to complete their questionnaire independently, a  
37  
38 version of the Chinese Parenting Style Questionnaire (CPSQ) for mothers, a version of  
39  
40 the CPSQ for fathers, and a demographic questionnaire. After completion, the  
41  
42 questionnaires were enclosed in an envelope and sent back to the class teachers. The  
43  
44 assessments were administered by the first author to children individually. Each child  
45  
46 was taken from his/her home classroom to the teacher's office (which was not occupied  
47  
48 during the time of assessment) located on the same floor or the conference room located  
49  
50 on the ground floor. Short ice-breaking talks were made before the oral assent was read to  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 the children. All the assessment sessions lasted 10 to 20 minutes. Each child was then  
4  
5 thanked and sent back to his or her classroom.  
6

7  
8 Study Two was qualitative, aimed at shedding light on the results of the  
9  
10 quantitative study. Based on the results of Study One, four types of spouses were targeted  
11  
12 for Study Two: all three types of families with inter-parental agreement (easygoing and  
13  
14 easygoing, supportive and supportive, and tiger and tiger) and the most popular type of  
15  
16 family with inter-parental disagreement (tiger and easygoing). One family in each of the  
17  
18 four types was randomly selected, and invitations were sent out by class teachers. If the  
19  
20 families refused to participate, another family from that type was randomly selected and  
21  
22 invited to the study. In total, four families were selected for the follow-up interviews,  
23  
24 with each representing one type of family (Table 2). Informed consent was obtained  
25  
26 before home visits. The whole interview was conducted in Mandarin Chinese based on  
27  
28 semi-structured questions. The interviewer asked for clarification and asked follow-up  
29  
30 questions and other relevant, emerging questions (Corbin & Strauss, 2014).  
31  
32  
33  
34

35 < Insert Table 2 here. >  
36

### 37 **Measures**

38  
39  
40 **Chinese Parenting Style Questionnaire (CPSQ).** The questionnaire combined the  
41  
42 authoritative and authoritarian subscales of the Parenting Style and Dimension  
43  
44 Questionnaire (PSDQ) developed by Robinson, Mandleco, Olsen, & Hart (1995) in the  
45  
46 North American context and the training scale developed by Chao (1994) to capture the  
47  
48 Chinese-specific parenting style of caring, involvement, and governing. The authoritative  
49  
50 subscale contained three domains (connection, regulation, and autonomy), and the  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 authoritarian subscale also contained three domains (physical coercion, verbal hostility,  
4 and non-reasoning), with a total of 27 items.  
5  
6

7  
8 A systematic review of the reliability and validity of the PSDQ revealed that  
9  
10 Cronbach's alphas showed adequate values for both the authoritative subscale (.71-.97)  
11 and the authoritarian subscale (.62-.95) across countries (Olivari, Tagliabue, &  
12 Confalonieri, 2013). The measure was found to be reliable for the self-reported maternal  
13 and paternal parenting styles of Chinese and Chinese immigrant parents (Chen, Sun, &  
14 Yu, 2015), with Cronbach's alpha ranging from .59 to .72. In the current study,  
15 Cronbach's alpha was .73 for authoritative scale, .73 for authoritarian scale, and .71 for  
16 the training scale. The questionnaire used a 5-point Likert scale to elicit parents'  
17 perceptions of the frequency with which they engaged in the behavior described. The  
18 questionnaire was translated into Chinese and back-translated into English by a native  
19 Chinese researcher (a specialist in English literature). A third person (a postgraduate  
20 student of early childhood education) was consulted to settle any disagreement between  
21 the two versions.  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36

37  
38 **Demographic data.** Demographic information on the participating families were  
39 also collected, which included child gender, mother's and father's education, and family  
40 monthly income.  
41  
42  
43

44  
45 **Bracken School Readiness Composite (BSRC).** The BSRC comprised the first  
46 six subsets of the Bracken Basic Concept Scale-Revised (Bracken, 1998), a  
47 developmentally and culturally appropriate scale for assessing the cognitive development  
48 of preschoolers. The sixth subset, Letters, was not used in the present study because  
49 Mandarin rather than English was the participants' mother language. Another culturally  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 relevant and developmentally appropriate scale, the Preschool and Primary Chinese  
4 Literacy Scale (PPCLS), was used to measure children's language development.  
5  
6 Concepts were presented orally in complete sentences as prescribed in the instructions  
7  
8 and in a multiple-choice format in print. The BSRC (without Letters) included 72 items  
9  
10 in five subtests: Colors (11 items), Numbers/Counting (19 items), Sizes (12 items),  
11  
12 Comparisons (10 items), and Shapes (20 items). The reliability and validity of the BSRC  
13  
14 to measure children's early cognitive readiness and predictability of children's academic  
15  
16 achievement is well documented (Bracken, 1998; Panter, 2000) and Cronbach's alpha  
17  
18 was moderately high in the present study ( $\alpha = .88$ ) (Murphy & Davidshofer, 2005). The  
19  
20 same scale was used among Hong Kong and Shenzhen preschoolers in Lau et al.'s (2011)  
21  
22 study of parental involvement and children's readiness for school.  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27

28 **Preschool and Primary Chinese Literacy Scale (PPCLS).** The PPCLS is  
29  
30 developed by Li (1999) to measure the Chinese literacy attainment of preschoolers. The  
31  
32 scale consists of four subscales: Character Identification (picture-character matching, 25  
33  
34 multiple-choice items); Visual and Audio Discrimination (listen-and-point, 20 multiple-  
35  
36 choice items); Word Recognition (point-and-read, 75 characters); and Expressive  
37  
38 Vocabulary (read-and-say, 80 characters). Character Identification was administered by  
39  
40 asking the child to point out the correct picture corresponding to the target character from  
41  
42 four pictures. Visual and Auditory Discrimination was administered by asking the child  
43  
44 to point out the character spoken by the tester in word form from four characters with  
45  
46 graphic, phonetic, and semantic similarities. The next two subscales asked the child to  
47  
48 point out and read the character presented, and the Expressive Vocabulary subscale asked  
49  
50 the child to make a sentence with the character. In an independent study of Chinese  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 literacy in Beijing, Hong Kong, and Singapore, the PPCLS was found to be a reliable and  
4  
5 valid measure (Li & Rao, 2005). It has been used as a strong indicator of children's  
6  
7 Chinese literacy attainment in other studies (Lau et al., 2011; Li, Corrie, & Wong, 2008).  
8  
9  
10 The Cronbach's alpha was also moderately high in the present study ( $\alpha = .85$ ).  
11

12 **Semi-structured interview protocol.** A thirty-minute interview was conducted  
13  
14 with each of the four pairs of parents to provide more information about the relationship  
15  
16 between parenting profiles and children's readiness for school, especially during school  
17  
18 transition. The semi-structured interview protocol was developed according to the results  
19  
20 of Study One to elicit interviewees' thinking. Core items might be: 'What extracurricular  
21  
22 activity does your child take?' 'How did you decide which activity to take?' 'How did  
23  
24 your child build up their literacy skills?' Follow up questions might be: 'So you  
25  
26 mentioned... Tell more about that.' Core items and follow up questions were intended to  
27  
28 understand how parenting profiles might be associated with children's school readiness,  
29  
30 from parents' descriptions of their own parenting attitudes and practices towards their  
31  
32 children's development. The interviews were audiotaped, transcribed, and translated for  
33  
34 later analysis. The interviews were audiotaped, transcribed, and translated for  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39

## 40 **Results**

### 41 **Preliminary analysis**

42  
43 First, the two parents were examined separately. Descriptive analysis was  
44  
45 performed to explore the relationship between maternal parenting profile and children's  
46  
47 school readiness and that between paternal parenting profile and children's outcomes  
48  
49 (Table 3). Two ANOVA analyses were conducted to examine between group differences  
50  
51 in children's school readiness in terms of maternal parenting profile and paternal  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 parenting profile, respectively. The results indicated that the PPCLS and Bracken scores  
4  
5 did not vary significantly across maternal parenting profile or paternal parenting ( $ps >$   
6  
7  
8 .05).  
9

10 < Insert Table 3 here.>

11  
12 Then, data analysis was performed on the combined maternal and paternal profiles  
13  
14 to explore their joint relationships with children's outcomes. No combination of  
15  
16 supportive mother and tiger father was found in the sample families. Descriptive analysis  
17  
18 showed that varied combinations of maternal and paternal parenting profiles in a family  
19  
20 might be associated with differences on children's BSRC and PPCLS (Table 4). Two box  
21  
22 plots with children's scores in the vertical line, in BSRC and PPCLS respectively, and  
23  
24 different combinations of parenting profiles in the horizontal line showed some pattern  
25  
26 (Figure 1 and 2): the supportive mother and supportive father pair was consistently  
27  
28 associated with the best results in both literacy and cognitive development; the easygoing  
29  
30 mother and supportive father pair and the easygoing mother and tiger father pair were  
31  
32 also associated with better results in literacy and cognitive development. However, the  
33  
34 remaining three combinations (easygoing mother with easygoing father, tiger mother  
35  
36 with tiger father, and supportive mother with easygoing father) were consistently  
37  
38 associated with worse results in both areas of school readiness. The only discrepancy  
39  
40 between the two child outcomes was found in the combination of tiger mother and  
41  
42 supportive father, whose children were low achievers in cognition but high achievers in  
43  
44 literacy (which needs much early learning at home to achieve a high score, thus  
45  
46 benefiting from a tiger mother and supportive father combination). One-way ANOVA  
47  
48 analysis was conducted to examine between group differences in children's school  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 readiness in terms of co-parenting profiles. The result indicated that the PPCLS and  
4  
5 Bracken scores did not vary significantly across co-parenting profiles ( $p > .05$ ).  
6

7  
8 < Insert Table 4 here.>  
9

10 < Insert Figure 1 & 2 here.>  
11

## 12 **Main Effect and Interaction Effects**

13  
14 Next, children's gender was added into analysis, with one parent-child dyadic  
15 analysis first and two parents-child triadic analysis followed. The first MANOVA set  
16 with children's gender and each parent's parenting profile as independent variables and  
17 children's BSRC and PPCLS as dependent variables showed a significant main effect of  
18 child gender on the PPCLS,  $F(1, 85) = 5.07, p < .05, \eta^2 = .068$ . A further independent-  
19 samples  $t$ -test showed that boys scored significantly higher than girls on the PPCLS,  $t$   
20  $(86) = 2.73, p = .001$ . The findings also indicated a significant interaction between child  
21 gender and maternal parenting profiles on the BSRC,  $F(2, 84) = 4.45, p < .05, \eta^2 = .11$ ,  
22 and significant interaction between child gender and paternal parenting profiles on the  
23 BSRC,  $F(2, 84) = 4.22, p < .05, \eta^2 = .11$ . An estimated marginal means plot of the BSRC  
24 for maternal and paternal parenting profiles showed a pattern: Tiger mothers were  
25 associated with low scores on the BSRC for boys and girls alike, but supportive mothers  
26 were associated with high-achieving girls and easygoing mothers were associated with  
27 high-achieving boys (Figure 3); Contrarily, tiger fathers were associated with higher  
28 scores on the BSRC for boys and girls, but supportive fathers were associated with high-  
29 achieving girls and easygoing fathers with high-achieving boys (Figure 4).  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50

51 < Insert Figures 3 & 4 here. >  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 The second MANOVA set was performed with child gender and the parenting  
4 profile combination in each family as independent variables and children's BSRC and  
5 PPCLS as dependent variables. A significant main effect of child gender on the PPCLS  
6 ( $F(1, 85) = 6.80, p < .05$ ) was found, as well as an interaction effect of child gender with  
7 combined maternal and paternal parenting profiles,  $F(1, 85) = 1.98, p = .07, \eta^2 = .165$ .  
8 The results from post hoc LSD tests revealed that of the eight combinations ("supportive  
9 mother – supportive father," "supportive mother – easygoing father," "easygoing mother  
10 – easygoing father," "easygoing mother – supportive father," "easygoing mother – tiger  
11 father," "tiger mother – supportive father," "tiger mother – easygoing father," and "tiger  
12 mother – tiger father"), children with easygoing mothers and tiger fathers scored  
13 significantly higher than those with tiger mothers and supportive fathers or with tiger  
14 mothers and tiger fathers ( $ps < .05$ ).

### 30 Interview Data

31  
32  
33 Microanalyses of interview data (Corbin & Strauss, 2014) centered around the  
34 research question that whether tiger parenting was associated with better child outcome  
35 compared to other parenting profiles. Codes regarding parents' attitudes and practices in  
36 relation to children's learning, literacy activities and extra-curricular activity participation  
37 were categorized and grouped into themes (Seidman, 2013). Two themes emerged from  
38 the interview data: The first theme centered on direct relationship between parenting  
39 profile and children's school readiness; and the second theme centered on other possible  
40 relationships.  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 **Theme 1: Direct relationship between parenting profile and children's school**  
4 **readiness: home learning activities.** In the first theme, a direct relationship between  
5  
6 parents' attitude and practices and children's school readiness was found.  
7  
8

9  
10 Both Child A and B scored high in the BSRC and PPCLS, whose parents had a  
11  
12 shared belief that reading at home was important and engaged persistently in reading and  
13  
14 learning activities though their approach was different.  
15

16  
17 Mother A was categorized as Tiger mom and her attitude and practices fit with  
18  
19 what was normally defined as Tiger parenting in Chua's (2011) book and in the literature  
20  
21 (Guo, 2013): high expectations, high controls, and sometimes physical punishments.  
22

23  
24 *For Monday to Friday, I will keep him a full schedule that does not*  
25 *involve outdoor activities. But on weekends, he can relax, go out to play,*  
26 *and eat whatever he wants, with my whole companionship. But he has to*  
27 *be calm and quiet when he is scheduled to study. There's no room for*  
28 *negotiation on study issues... Learning is not playing. (Mother A)*  
29

30  
31 However, Father A who was Easygoing and living under the same roof as Mother  
32  
33 A, did not believe that using high controls could serve their education purpose best.  
34

35  
36 *Children are usually naughty. If you spank him, he might do what you*  
37 *order him to do but he suffers psychic trauma. The child will be afraid of*  
38 *his parents and will act differently in front of and behind his parents. Do*  
39 *tiger parents exist? I believe they do, and I think they are too eager to help*  
40 *their children to achieve their expectations. As for me, I think parents*  
41 *should consider whether their children can grow into that kind of people*  
42 *they expect. (Father A)*  
43

44  
45 To the contrary, Mother B and Father B, who were both categorized as supportive  
46  
47 parent, also believed that reading was important for children during transition to primary,  
48  
49 but their approach was to guide their child to be self-motivated rather than out of parental  
50  
51 pressure.  
52

53  
54 *The reason why I didn't mention academic achievement as one of my*  
55 *expectations for my child is that I think my child is self-motivated enough.*  
56 *She's growing in such a good way that as a mother I deem external*  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 *pressure being too much for her. I think she's already built up good*  
4 *learning approaches, such as good reading habit, self-conscious, careful,*  
5 *that I believe will accompany her grow up in good way. (Mother A)*  
6

7  
8 Child C and D, however, scored low in both assessments. No matter their parents  
9  
10 were Easygoing (Parents C) or Tiger (Parents D), all engaged in very few learning  
11  
12 activities at home and relied on extra-curricula activities to prepare their child for primary  
13  
14 school, with different attitudes and approaches.  
15

16  
17 Mother C and Father C were much more laissez-faire in terms of his participation  
18  
19 in extra-curricular activities.  
20

21 *Of course, if public kindergartens in Shenzhen can't give children these*  
22 *instructions, then it's left to the parents to do so. But we as parents did not*  
23 *put enough effort... Our son is taking too many kinds of extra-curricular*  
24 *classes, he just knows the fun part. I hope he can pick one useful from*  
25 *these interests and stick to it. (Father C)*  
26  
27

28 *I took him to piano lesson once, but he said it was too hard and gave up.*  
29 *Maybe I'm too easygoing; I won't make any more requirements. (Mother*  
30 *C)*  
31

32  
33 Mother D and Father D admitted that they were aware of their daughter's lack of  
34  
35 interest in learning Chinese literacy, therefore they turned to extra-curricular activities to  
36  
37 try to make up for the lack of home learning activities, in a controlling manner.  
38

39 *But she was forced to learn calligraphy writing since last year. We noticed*  
40 *that she is averse to it, so we only test her character knowledge through*  
41 *games, and will give her extra credits according to the number of words*  
42 *she can recognize. (Mother D)*  
43  
44

45 *I will demand her to go to the calligraphy class... But she's resistant,*  
46 *especially these days. (Father D)*  
47

48 **Theme 2: Other possible relationship between parenting profile and children's**  
49  
50 **school readiness: Bi-directional and gender effect.** During the interview, some parents  
51  
52 expressed that they intended to adopt such kind of parenting because of their child's  
53  
54 character, revealing a possible bi-directional interaction between child outcomes and  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

parenting profiles. Tiger parents tend to hold higher academic for their children and therefore tend to be more demanding and controlling for their children. At the same time, children who are naughty or fretful might also lead parents to adopt more demanding parenting, such as Tiger parenting. This bi-directional interaction was not directly examined in the survey study but was revealed in parents' interview responses. For example, Mother A said that her boy was very proactive and outgoing, so she would spank him with a stick to educate him. Similarly, Mother D and Father D both said that because their daughter used tears or be fretful to achieve when she encountered difficulties, they adopted very strict attitude with Child D to force her face the challenge, with the intention of helping her grow up and succeed.

Child and parents' gender might also affect the relationship between tiger parenting style and children's outcome. Tiger parenting seemed to work better for boys than girls in terms of academic achievement and Tiger father might be better than a Tiger mother, as reflected in parents' responses.

*I think in a family, one parent should be soft and the other should be strict. And in my family, I play the strict role, whenever I should scold her or criticize her. I think it's what a man should do in the family. (Father B)*

*I always believe that parents don't have to be too anxious about the child. But his father doesn't agree, especially when contrasting our elder daughter with our son. So his father thinks that if we train him strictly from early age, it's easier to govern him in later years. We learned a lesson from raising our first child (daughter). (Mother C)*

*I set a lot of goals for our daughter. Mother D oversees daily routines and her emotions. I oversee her overall planning, including her interest classes, sort of enforcing my will on her. (Father D)*

## Discussion

As the first empirical exploration of the association between parenting profiles and young children's school readiness in urban China, the present study found differing

relationships between parenting profiles and children's outcomes, providing empirical evidence to examine whether tiger parenting was associated with better academic achievement in children.

### **Which parenting profile was associated with better child outcome?**

The present study found that the children with two supportive parents scored highest on the PPCLS and second highest on the BSRC, whereas those with two tiger parents or two easygoing parents usually scored lower on both the BSRC and the PPCLS. This was consistent with the previous studies which found that a combination of supportive father and supportive mother was positively associated with a child's cognitive and language development (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2004) and social-emotional development (McKinney & Renk, 2008). Nonetheless, the present study further examined that interparental consistency in supportive parenting profile was better for child outcomes than interparental consistency in nonsupportive parenting (Fletcher, Steinberg, & Sellers, 1999). Interparental consistency in tiger parenting was found to be negatively associated with children's academic development, consistent with Kim et. al's (2013) study in Asian American study. This finding pointed to the importance of including both fathers and mothers in the family systems when studying the relationship between parenting and children's outcome (McHale et al., 2002), when much discussion about the effectiveness of tiger parenting in children's development focused mainly on the mother (Cheah et al., 2013; Fu & Markus, 2014).

Furthermore, the present study found that easygoing parenting profile was associated with better outcomes when it involved a combination of easygoing mother and supportive father or tiger father, but not when it involved two easygoing parents. This

1  
2  
3 conformed to the division of parental roles in traditional Chinese society: Stern father and  
4  
5  
6 compassionate mother (嚴父慈母), that at least one parent should be either strict with or  
7  
8  
9 supportive of the child. This has been the mainstay of Chinese families for thousands of  
10  
11 years and has been the social and cultural underpinnings of Chinese society. Additionally,  
12  
13 the Confucian definition of fatherhood in traditional China was the authority and head of  
14  
15 the family (Ho, 1987), with the paternal role established as an educator-disciplinarian in  
16  
17 addition to a provider (Ho, 1981). Therefore, it was not surprising to find that easygoing  
18  
19 parents were associated with worse outcome in children when compared to a combination  
20  
21 of easygoing mother and non-easygoing father, because parents who are both laissez-faire  
22  
23 do not play an active parental role, which might not benefit their children's academic  
24  
25 learning.  
26  
27  
28

### 29 **Why Tiger moms don't work in the contemporary Chinese context?**

30  
31  
32 The present study found that the tiger mothers were associated with low-achieving  
33  
34 children, challenging Chua's (2011) assertion that tiger mothers are best for children's  
35  
36 academic achievement. Our finding, however, is consistent with that of Kim et al. (2013),  
37  
38 who found that tiger parenting was associated with low GPA in Chinese American  
39  
40 adolescents. But the latter failed to discriminate mothers from fathers. This study, for the  
41  
42 first time found that the tiger fathers were associated with better school readiness, has  
43  
44 further verified the culturally appropriateness of the division of parental roles — 'Stern  
45  
46 father and compassionate mother (嚴父慈母)', which has been the mainstream of  
47  
48 Chinese families during the past thousand years. In addition, the *Three-Character*  
49  
50 *Classic*, a 13th-century Confucian teaching text which still has strong impact in  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 contemporary China, describes parental rearing and educating roles in a strict way. For  
4  
5 example, rearing without education is the fault of the father, while teaching without  
6  
7 strictness is the negligence of the teacher (養不教、父之過，教不嚴、師之惰) (Ho,  
8  
9 1987). This description calls for a strict role in fathers for the better outcome in children.  
10  
11 Coincidentally, this study found that the tiger moms were not associated with better school  
12  
13 readiness. Does this mean that father might play a more important role in nurturing and  
14  
15 educating Chinese children for school? Large-scale studies with diversified Chinese  
16  
17 samples are really needed to further explore family dynamics and its impact on early  
18  
19 child development.  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24

25         Nevertheless, this study found, for the first time, a significant effect of child gender  
26  
27 on family dynamics in Chinese context. The supportive (panda) mothers and fathers were  
28  
29 associated with best school readiness in girls but low to relatively low readiness scores in  
30  
31 boys. This effect of child gender has been less studied (Maccoby, 2003), but recent  
32  
33 studies have indicated a shift from the early emphasis on gender similarity to the  
34  
35 differential socialization goals for boys and girls. This phenomenon has been passed  
36  
37 down orally as the Chinese folk wisdom, which says “be strict to the boy but care for the  
38  
39 girl” (窮養兒子富養女), to promote the differential parenting beliefs, styles, and  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44 practices towards daughters and sons. This result, however, did not support findings from  
45  
46 another study with American adolescents that found that sons with authoritative parents  
47  
48 had higher academic results than those with authoritarian-directive parents, although the  
49  
50 parenting type and child gender type was also significant (Weiss & Schwarz, 1996).  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Further study with larger sample is really needed to fully examine the interaction between  
4 parenting profiles and children's developmental outcomes in the Chinese context.  
5  
6

7  
8 Furthermore, analyses on the interview data in Study Two provided more insights  
9 into the correlation between parenting profiles and children's cognitive and literacy  
10 development. Interviews with parents revealed that parental practices at home might be  
11 more directly and strongly related to children's school readiness at a younger age, as  
12 children spent more time at home and thus were strongly influenced by parents. For  
13 example, Child A had a tiger mother and an easygoing father but scored high on the  
14 BSRC and PPCLS. When asked how Child A had developed his reading habit, Father A  
15 responded:  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

26 *Since he was young, we bought him picture books to read, and he would*  
27 *ask his mother when he came across words he didn't know. Gradually he*  
28 *built up his vocabulary.... His mother was patient and would read along*  
29 *with him to help him enjoy reading. Now he is very focused when reading*  
30 *books.*  
31  
32

33 In contrast, the parents of Children C and D engaged in very few literacy-related  
34 and cognitive activities at home, resulting in their children's lower scores on the PPCLS  
35 and BSRC. This echoes a similar study of a group of Shenzhen and Hong Kong 5- and 6-  
36 year-olds, which found a positive correlation between parental home-based involvement  
37 and children's early cognitive and literacy development (Lau et al., 2011). Li and Rao  
38 (2000) also found that direct teaching of Chinese literacy (rather than parent-child shared  
39 reading) could be more productive and efficient in Chinese societies as the Chinese  
40 language had a difficult orthography.  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50

51 Another possible explanation might be the bi-directional relationship between  
52 parenting and children's outcome (Putnam, Sanson, & Rothbart, 2002). It was highly  
53 possible that parents, who held high academic expectations for the children, tended to  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 adopt Tiger parenting style when their children had lower school performance in order to  
4  
5 push for academic success. Therefore, longitudinal studies with larger sample size in the  
6  
7 future shall lead to more findings in the dynamic and transactional relationship between  
8  
9 parenting profiles and children's development (Pettit & Arsiwalla, 2008).  
10  
11

### 12 **Limitations and Implications**

14 This study found that parents with inter-parental agreement in supportive parenting  
15  
16 were associated with better school readiness in children than were parents with inter-  
17  
18 parental agreement in non-supportive parenting. The combination of easygoing mother  
19  
20 and supportive father or tiger father was associated with good school readiness in  
21  
22 children, but a combination of two easygoing parents was not. Tiger mothers were mostly  
23  
24 associated with low achievers, challenging the claim by the famous tiger mother Amy  
25  
26 Chua, and were associated with even lower outcomes with the presence of a tiger father.  
27  
28  
29

30  
31 However, these findings should be interpreted with great caution as this study had  
32  
33 two major limitations. First, the sample size was small; a larger-scale study is urgently  
34  
35 needed to support the universality of supportive parenting, which benefits children's  
36  
37 optimal development. With three different parenting profiles and nine possible  
38  
39 combinations of parenting profiles in one family, a study with large sample size maybe  
40  
41 possible to further examine the relationship between parenting profiles and children's  
42  
43 outcome. Second, the coastal city of Shenzhen is the most open society in China, so may  
44  
45 differ from inland areas; therefore, more Chinese contexts and even cross-cultural  
46  
47 contexts should be involved in future studies. Although causal relationships were not  
48  
49 established in the present study, the study added to the literature by pointing out the  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 importance of including different types of parenting, and of examining joint parenting  
4 effects and demographic factors in parenting study.  
5  
6

7  
8         Nevertheless, this study was a preliminary attempt to study the parenting dynamics  
9  
10 through the lens of parenting profiles and children's school readiness. The findings could  
11 inform future researchers in further examining the complicated dyadic interactions  
12 (mother-daughter, mother-son, father-daughter, father-son) in the family system and in  
13 including parenting practices when studying parenting styles. It should also remind  
14 parents and practitioners of the role of differentiated parenting styles and practices with  
15 boys and girls in facilitating child development. The parenting profiles and practices  
16 identified in this study may also provide insights for educators who work with parents of  
17 preschoolers to develop parenting intervention programs that cultivate more supportive  
18 parenting profiles and to provide more opportunities for parental involvement in  
19 preschool programs.  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## References

- Author et al. (2017). Information removed for peer review process.
- Boethel, M. (2004). *Readiness: School, family, & community connections. Annual synthesis, 2004. Southwest Educational Development Laboratory. Austin, TX.*
- Bowes, J., Chen, M.-J., San, L. Q., & Yuan, L. (2004). Reasoning and negotiation about child responsibility in urban Chinese families: Reports from mothers, fathers and children. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 28*(1), 48–58.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/01650250344000262>
- Bracken, B. A. (1998). *Bracken basic concept scale: Revised*. San Antonio, TX: Psychological Corporation.
- Browne, D. T., Wade, M., Prime, H., & Jenkins, J. M. (2017). School readiness amongst urban Canadian families: Risk profiles and family mediation. *Journal of Educational Psychology*. <https://doi.org/http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/edu0000202>
- Cabrera, N. J., Tamis-Lemonda, C. S., Bradley, R. H., Hofferth, S., & Lamb, M. E. (2000). Fatherhood in the Twenty-First Century. *Child Development, 71*(1), 127–136. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00126>
- Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond Parental Control and Authoritarian Parenting Style: Understanding Chinese Parenting through the Cultural Notion of Training. *Child Development, 65*(4), 1111–1119. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.1994.tb00806.x>
- Cheah, C. S. L., Leung, C. Y. Y., & Zhou, N. (2013). Understanding “tiger parenting” through the perceptions of Chinese immigrant mothers: Can Chinese and US parenting coexist? *Asian American Journal of Psychology, 4*(1), 30.

1  
2  
3 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0031217>  
4

5 Chen, J. J., Sun, P., & Yu, Z. (2015). A Comparative Study on Parenting of Preschool  
6 Children Between the Chinese in China and Chinese Immigrants in the United States.  
7 *Journal of Family Issues*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X15619460>  
8  
9

10 Chua, A. (2011). *Battle hymn of the tiger mom*. New York, NY: Penguin Press.  
11

12 Chuang, S. S., & Su, Y. (2009). Do we see eye to eye? Chinese mothers' and fathers'  
13 parenting beliefs and values for toddlers in Canada and China. *Journal of Family*  
14 *Psychology : JFP : Journal of the Division of Family Psychology of the American*  
15 *Psychological Association (Division 43)*, 23(3), 331–341.  
16  
17 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0016015>  
18  
19

20 Corbin, J., & Strauss, A. (2014). *Basics of qualitative research : techniques and*  
21 *procedures for developing grounded theory* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.  
22 Retrieved from [http://us.sagepub.com/en-gb/nam/basics-of-qualitative-](http://us.sagepub.com/en-gb/nam/basics-of-qualitative-research/book235578#.WPI3SdU4XHE.mendeley&title=Basics of Qualitative Research %7C SAGE Publications Ltd)  
23 [research/book235578#.WPI3SdU4XHE.mendeley&title=Basics of Qualitative](http://us.sagepub.com/en-gb/nam/basics-of-qualitative-research/book235578#.WPI3SdU4XHE.mendeley&title=Basics of Qualitative Research %7C SAGE Publications Ltd)  
24 [Research %7C SAGE Publications Ltd](http://us.sagepub.com/en-gb/nam/basics-of-qualitative-research/book235578#.WPI3SdU4XHE.mendeley&title=Basics of Qualitative Research %7C SAGE Publications Ltd)  
25

26 Duncan, G. J., Dowsett, C. J., Claessens, A., Magnuson, K., Huston, A. C., Klebanov,  
27 P., ... Japel, C. (2007). School readiness and later achievement. *Developmental*  
28 *Psychology*, 43(6), 1428–1446. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0012-1649.43.6.1428>  
29  
30

31 Farver, J. A. M., Xu, Y., Eppe, S., & Lonigan, C. J. (2006). Home environments and  
32 young Latino children's school readiness. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*,  
33 21(2), 196–212. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecresq.2006.04.008>  
34  
35

36 Fu, A. S., & Markus, H. R. (2014). My mother and me: Why tiger mothers motivate  
37 Asian Americans but not European Americans. *Personality and Social Psychology*  
38  
39

- 1  
2  
3 *Bulletin*, 40(6), 739–749. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0146167214524992>  
4  
5 Gamble, W. C., Ramakumar, S., & Diaz, A. (2007). Maternal and paternal similarities  
6 and differences in parenting: An examination of Mexican-American parents of  
7 young children. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 22(1), 72–88.  
8  
9 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecresq.2006.11.004>  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14 Guo, K. (2013). Ideals and realities in Chinese immigrant parenting: Tiger mother versus  
15 others. *Journal of Family Studies*, 19(1), 44–52.  
16  
17 <https://doi.org/10.5172/jfs.2013.19.1.44>  
18  
19  
20  
21 Ho, D. Y. F. (1981). Traditional pattern of socialization in Chinese society. *Acta*  
22 *Psychologica Taiwanica*, 23(2), 81–95. Retrieved from citeulike-article-id:6008078  
23  
24  
25 Ho, D. Y. F. (1987). Fatherhood in Chinese Culture. In *The father's role: Cross-cultural*  
26 *perspective* (pp. 227–245). Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum.  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31 Hoeve, M., Dubas, J. S., Gerris, J. R. M., Van Der Laan, P. H., & Smeenk, W. (2011).  
32 Maternal and paternal parenting styles: Unique and combined links to adolescent  
33 and early adult delinquency. *Journal of Adolescence*, 34(5), 813–827.  
34  
35  
36  
37 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.adolescence.2011.02.004>  
38  
39  
40 Hong, X., & Chen, J. J. (2017). The changing landscape of early childhood education in  
41 Mainland China: History, policies, progress, and future development. In H. Li, E.  
42 Park, & J. J. Chen (Eds.), *Early Childhood Education Policies in Asia Pacific* (pp.  
43 31–50). Singapore: Springer Singapore. [https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-1528-](https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-10-1528-1_2)  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49 1\_2  
50  
51 Ihmeideh, F. M. (2013). Giving fathers a voice: Towards father involvement in early  
52 years settings. *Early Child Development and Care*, 184(7), 1048–1062.  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2013.842562>

4  
5 Kagan, S. (2003). Children's readiness for school: Issues in assessment. *International*  
6  
7  
8 *Journal of Early Childhood*, 35(1–2), 114–120. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf03174437>

9  
10 Kim, S. Y., Wang, Y., Orozco-Lapray, D., Shen, Y., & Murtuza, M. (2013). Does “tiger  
11  
12 parenting” exist? Parenting profiles of Chinese Americans and adolescent  
13  
14 developmental outcomes. *Asian American Journal of Psychology*, 4(1), 7–18.  
15  
16  
17 <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0030612>

18  
19 Kohler, M., Aldridge, J., Christensen, L. M., & Kilgo, J. (2012). Issues in education:  
20  
21 Tiger moms: Five questions that need to be answered. *Childhood Education*, 88(1),  
22  
23 52–53. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00094056.2012.643724>

24  
25 La Paro, K. M., & Pianta, R. C. (2000). Predicting Children's Competence in the  
26  
27 Early School Years : A Meta-Analytic Review. *Review of Educational Research*,  
28  
29 70(4 (Winter, 2000)), 443–484.

30  
31  
32  
33 Lamb, M. E., & Tamis-LeMonda, C. S. (2004). The Role of the Father. In M. E. Lamb  
34  
35 (Ed.), *The Role of the Father in Child Development* (4th ed., pp. 1–31). New Jersey:  
36  
37 John Wiley & Sons. <https://doi.org/10.1097/00004583-198311000-00012>

38  
39  
40 Landry, S. H., Smith, K. E., Swank, P. R., A., A. M., & Vellet, S. (2001). Does early  
41  
42 responsive parenting have a special importance for children's development or is  
43  
44 consistency across early childhood necessary? *Developmental Psychology*, 37(3),  
45  
46 387–403.

47  
48  
49 Lau, E. Y. H., Li, H., & Rao, N. (2011). Parental involvement and children's readiness  
50  
51 for school in China. *Educational Research*, 53(1), 95–113.

52  
53  
54 Lewis, C., & Lamb, M. E. (2003). Fathers' influences on children's development: The  
55  
56

1  
2  
3 evidences from two parent families. *European Journal of Psychology of Education*,  
4  
5 *XVIII*(2), 211–228.  
6

7  
8 Li, H. (1999). Development and validation of the Preschool and Primary Chinese  
9  
10 Literacy Scale. *Psychological Development and Education*, *15*, 18–24.  
11

12  
13 Li, H., Corrie, L. F., & Wong, B. K. M. (2008). Early teaching of Chinese literacy skills  
14  
15 and later literacy outcomes. *Early Child Development and Care*, *178*(5), 441–459.  
16  
17 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430600789365>  
18

19  
20 Li, H., & Rao, N. (2000). Parental influences on Chinese literacy development: A  
21  
22 comparison of preschoolers in Beijing, Hong Kong, and Singapore. *International*  
23  
24 *Journal of Behavioral Development*, *24*(1), 82–90.  
25  
26 <https://doi.org/10.1080/016502500383502>  
27

28  
29 Li, H., & Rao, N. (2005). Curricular and instructional influences on early literacy  
30  
31 attainment: evidence from Beijing, Hong Kong and Singapore. *International*  
32  
33 *Journal of Early Years Education*, *13*(3), 235–253.  
34  
35 <https://doi.org/10.1080/09669760500295870>  
36

37  
38 Li, H., Rao, N., & Tse, S. K. (2011). Bridging the gap: A longitudinal study of the  
39  
40 relationship between pedagogical continuity and early Chinese literacy acquisition.  
41  
42 *Early Years*, *31*(1), 57–70. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09575146.2010.515944>  
43

44  
45 Li, H., Rao, N., & Tse, S. K. (2012). Adapting Western pedagogies for Chinese literacy  
46  
47 instruction: Case studies of Hong Kong, Shenzhen, and Singapore preschools. *Early*  
48  
49 *Education and Development*, *23*(4), 603–621.  
50  
51 <https://doi.org/10.1080/10409289.2010.536441>  
52

53  
54 Lui, P. P., & Rollock, D. (2013). Tiger mother: Popular and psychological scientific  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 perspectives on Asian culture and parenting. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*,  
4  
5 83(4), 450–456. <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajop.12043>  
6

7  
8 Maccoby, E. E. (2003). The Gender of Child and Parent as Factors in Family Dynamics.  
9  
10 In A. C. Crouther & A. Booth (Eds.), *Children's Influence on Family Dynamics :*  
11  
12 *The Neglected Side of Family Relationships* (pp. 191–206). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.  
13

14  
15 Martin, A., Ryan, R. M., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2007). The joint influence of mother and  
16  
17 father parenting on child cognitive outcomes at age 5. *Early Childhood Research*  
18  
19 *Quarterly*, 22(4), 423–439. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ecresq.2007.07.001>  
20

21  
22 Martin, A., Ryan, R. M., & Brooks-Gunn, J. (2010). When Fathers' Supportiveness  
23  
24 Matters Most: Maternal and Paternal Parenting and Children's School Readiness.  
25  
26 *Journal of Family Psychology*, 24(2), 145–155. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018073>  
27

28  
29 McKinney, C., & Renk, K. (2008). Differential parenting between mothers and fathers:  
30  
31 Implications for late adolescents. *Journal of Family Issues*, 29(6), 806–827.  
32  
33 <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192513X07311222>  
34

35  
36 McWayne, C. M., Cheung, K., Wright, L. E. G., & Hahs-Vaughn, D. L. (2012). Patterns  
37  
38 of school readiness among Head Start children: Meaningful within-group variability  
39  
40 during the transition to Kindergarten. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 104(3),  
41  
42 862–878. <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0028884>  
43

44  
45 Minuchin, P. (1985). Families and Individual Development : Provocations from the Field  
46  
47 of Family Therapy. *Child Development*, 56(2 (Apr., 1985)), 289–302.  
48

49  
50 Murphy, K. R., & Davidshofer, C. O. (2005). *Psychological testing: Principles and*  
51  
52 *applications* (6th ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Education.  
53

54  
55 National Education Goals Panel. (1998). *Ready Schools*. Washington, DC.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Nelson, D. A., & Coyne, S. M. (2009). Children's intent attributions and feelings of  
4  
5 distress: Associations with maternal and paternal parenting practices. *Journal of*  
6  
7 *Abnormal Child Psychology*, 37(2), 223–237. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-008->  
8  
9 9271-3  
10  
11  
12 Olivari, M. G., Tagliabue, S., & Confalonieri, E. (2013). Parenting Style and Dimensions  
13  
14 Questionnaire: A Review of Reliability and Validity. *Marriage & Family Review*,  
15  
16 49(6), 465–490. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01494929.2013.770812>  
17  
18  
19 Panter, J. E. (2000). Validity of the Bracken Basic Concept Scale-Revised for predicting  
20  
21 performance on the metropolitan readiness test. *Journal of Psychoeducational*  
22  
23 *Assessment*, 18(2), 104–110.  
24  
25  
26 Paquette, D., Coyl-Shepherd, D. D., & Newland, L. a. (2012). Fathers and development:  
27  
28 New areas for exploration. *Early Child Development and Care*, 4430(May 2015), 1–  
29  
30 11. <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2012.723438>  
31  
32  
33 Pettit, G. S., & Arsiwalla, D. D. (2008). Commentary on special section on “Bidirectional  
34  
35 parent–child relationships”: The continuing evolution of dynamic, transactional  
36  
37 models of parenting and youth behavior problems. *Journal of Abnormal Child*  
38  
39 *Psychology*, 36(5), 711. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10802-008-9242-8>  
40  
41  
42 Pettit, G. S., Bates, J. E., & Dodge, K. A. (1997). Supportive parenting, ecological  
43  
44 context, and children's adjustment: A seven-year longitudinal study. *Child*  
45  
46 *Development*, 68(5), 908–923.  
47  
48  
49 Putnam, S. P., Sanson, A. V., & Rothbart, M. K. (2002). Child temperament and  
50  
51 parenting. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of Parenting: Vol 1. Children and*  
52  
53 *parenting*. (2nd ed., pp. 255–277). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



- 1  
2  
3 Ren, L., & Edwards, C. P. (2017). Chinese parents' expectations and child preacademic  
4 skills: The indirect role of parenting and social competence. *Early Education and*  
5  
6 *Development*, 1–21. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10409289.2017.1319784>  
7  
8  
9  
10 Robinson, C. C., Mandleco, B., Olsen, S. F., & Hart, C. H. (1995). Parenting Practices :  
11  
12 Development of a New Measure. *Psychological Reports*, 77, 819–830.  
13  
14  
15 Rouse, C., Brooks-Gunn, J., & McLanahan, S. (2005). Introducing the Issue. *The Future*  
16  
17 *of Children*, 15(1), 5–14.  
18  
19  
20 Seidman, I. (2013). *Interviewing as qualitative research: A guide for researchers in*  
21  
22 *education and the social sciences*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.  
23  
24 Shannon, J. D., Cabrera, N., Lamb, M. E., Tamis-lemonda, C. S., Shannon, J. D., Cabrera,  
25  
26 N. J., & Lamb, M. E. (2004). Fathers and Mothers at Play With Their 2 □ and 3 □  
27  
28 Year □ Olds : Contributions to Language and Cognitive Development. *Child*  
29  
30 *Development*, 75(6), 1806–1820. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2004.00818.x>  
31  
32  
33 Shin, M., & Wong, Y. J. (2013). Beyond the tiger mom: Asian American parenting and  
34  
35 parent-child relationships. In P. Barberis & S. Petrakis (Eds.), *Parenting:*  
36  
37 *Challenges, Practices and Cultural Influences* (pp. 103–122). Hauppauge, N.Y.:  
38  
39 Nova Science.  
40  
41  
42 Skwarchuk, S. L., Sowinski, C., & LeFevre, J. A. (2014). Formal and informal home  
43  
44 learning activities in relation to children's early numeracy and literacy skills: The  
45  
46 development of a home numeracy model. *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*,  
47  
48 121(1), 63–84. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jecp.2013.11.006>  
49  
50  
51 Smetana, J. G. (2017). Current research on parenting styles, dimensions, and beliefs.  
52  
53  
54 *Current Opinion in Psychology*, 15, 19–25.  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.copsyc.2017.02.012>  
4

5 Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Bornstein, M. H., & Baumwell, L. (2001). Maternal  
6 responsiveness and children's achievement of language milestones. *Child*  
7 *Development*, 72(3), 748–767.  
8  
9

10 Weigel, D. J., & Martin, S. S. (2006). Identifying key early literacy and school readiness  
11 issues: Exploring a strategy for assessing community needs. *Early Childhood*  
12 *Research and Practice*, 8(2), 1–17.  
13  
14

15 Weiss, L. H., & Schwarz, J. C. (1996). The relationship between parenting types and  
16 older adolescents' personality, academic achievement, adjustment, and substance  
17 use. *Child Development*, 67(5), 2101–2114.  
18  
19

20 Xie, S., & Li, H. (2017). “Tiger mom, panda dad”: a study of contemporary Chinese  
21 parenting profiles. *Early Child Development and Care*, 4430(April), 1–17.  
22  
23  
24 <https://doi.org/10.1080/03004430.2017.1318870>  
25

26 Zhang, X., & Chen, H. (2010). Reciprocal influences between parents' perceptions of  
27 mother-child and father-child relationships: A short-term longitudinal study in  
28 Chinese preschoolers. *The Journal of Genetic Psychology*, 171(1), 22–34.  
29  
30  
31 <https://doi.org/10.1080/00221320903300387>  
32

33 Zheng, Y., Pasalich, D. S., Oberth, C., McMahon, R. J., & Pinderhughes, E. E. (2017).  
34 Capturing parenting as a multidimensional and dynamic construct with a person-  
35 oriented approach. *Prevention Science*, 18(3), 281–291.  
36  
37  
38  
39 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-016-0665-0>  
40  
41

Table 1

*Demographic Information of the Participating Families in Study One*

Variable	Girls	Boys
Number of children	39 (45.3%)	47 (54.7%)
Family Income		
<10,000 yuan	5 (5.8%)	5 (5.8%)
< 25,000 yuan	20 (23.3%)	19 (22.1%)
>25,000 yuan	14 (16.3%)	23 (26.7%)
Mother education		
Junior high or below	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.2%)
Senior high	5 (5.8%)	4 (4.7%)
Bachelor's	28 (32.6%)	31 (36.0%)
Master's or above	5 (5.8%)	10 (11.6%)
Father education		
Junior high or below	-	-
Senior high	6 (7.0%)	2 (2.3%)
Bachelor's	27 (31.4%)	31 (36.0%)
Master's or above	6 (7.0%)	14 (16.3%)

Table 2

*Demographic information of the Participating Families in Study Two*

	<b>Parenting Profile</b>	<b>Child Gender</b>	<b>Family Income</b>	<b>BRSC</b>	<b>PPCLS</b>
Mother A	Tiger	Boy	10,001-25,000 yuan	70	169
Father A	Easygoing				
Mother B	Supportive	Girl	>25,000 yuan	69	127
Father B	Supportive				
Mother C	Easygoing	Boy	10,001-25,000 yuan	61	22
Father C	Easygoing				
Mother D	Tiger	Girl	10,001-25,000 yuan	60	12
Father D	Tiger				

Table 3

*Descriptive Statistics on Children's School Readiness Assessment by Maternal and Paternal**Parenting Profiles*

Maternal	<u>Tiger (n=34)</u>				<u>Easygoing (n=41)</u>				<u>Supportive (n=11)</u>			
	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
BSRC	50	71	66.32	4.28	60	72	67.59	2.91	58	70	67.00	3.58
PPCLS	12	169	54.56	39.56	11	170	59.46	44.38	12	127	62.09	38.84

---

Paternal	<u>Tiger (n=30)</u>				<u>Easygoing (n=35)</u>				<u>Supportive (n=21)</u>			
	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Min	Max	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
BSRC	50	72	67.37	4.24	58	71	66.71	3.21	58	71	67.00	3.33
PPCLS	12	145	54.83	39.61	11	169	51.57	39.65	13	170	72.67	45.25

Table 4

*Descriptive Statistics on Children's School Readiness Assessment by Co-Parenting Profiles*

	Number of children	Bracken	PPCLS
Easygoing-Easygoing	18	66.72 (2.89)	52.94 (42.38)
Easygoing-Supportive	10	67.50 (3.37)	71.20 (48.43)
Easygoing-Tiger	13	68.85 (2.23)	59.46 (45.63)
Supportive-Easygoing	6	66.17 (4.71)	39.83 (19.32)
Supportive-Supportive	5	68.00 (1.41)	88.80 (40.86)
Tiger-Easygoing	11	67.00 (3.01)	55.73 (44.73)
Tiger-Supportive	6	65.33 (4.18)	61.67 (47.15)
Tiger-Tiger	17	66.82 (3.36)	51.29 (35.38)

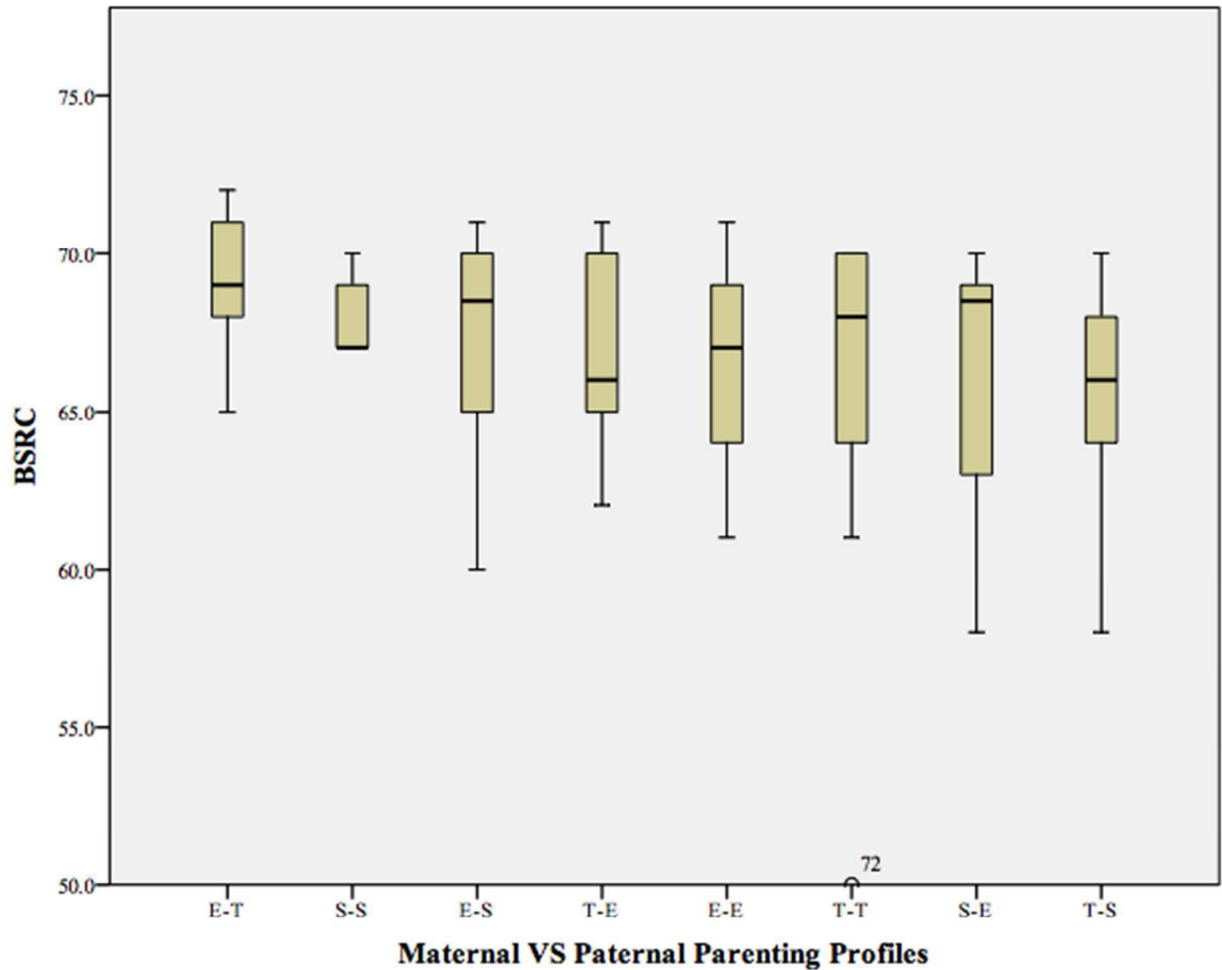
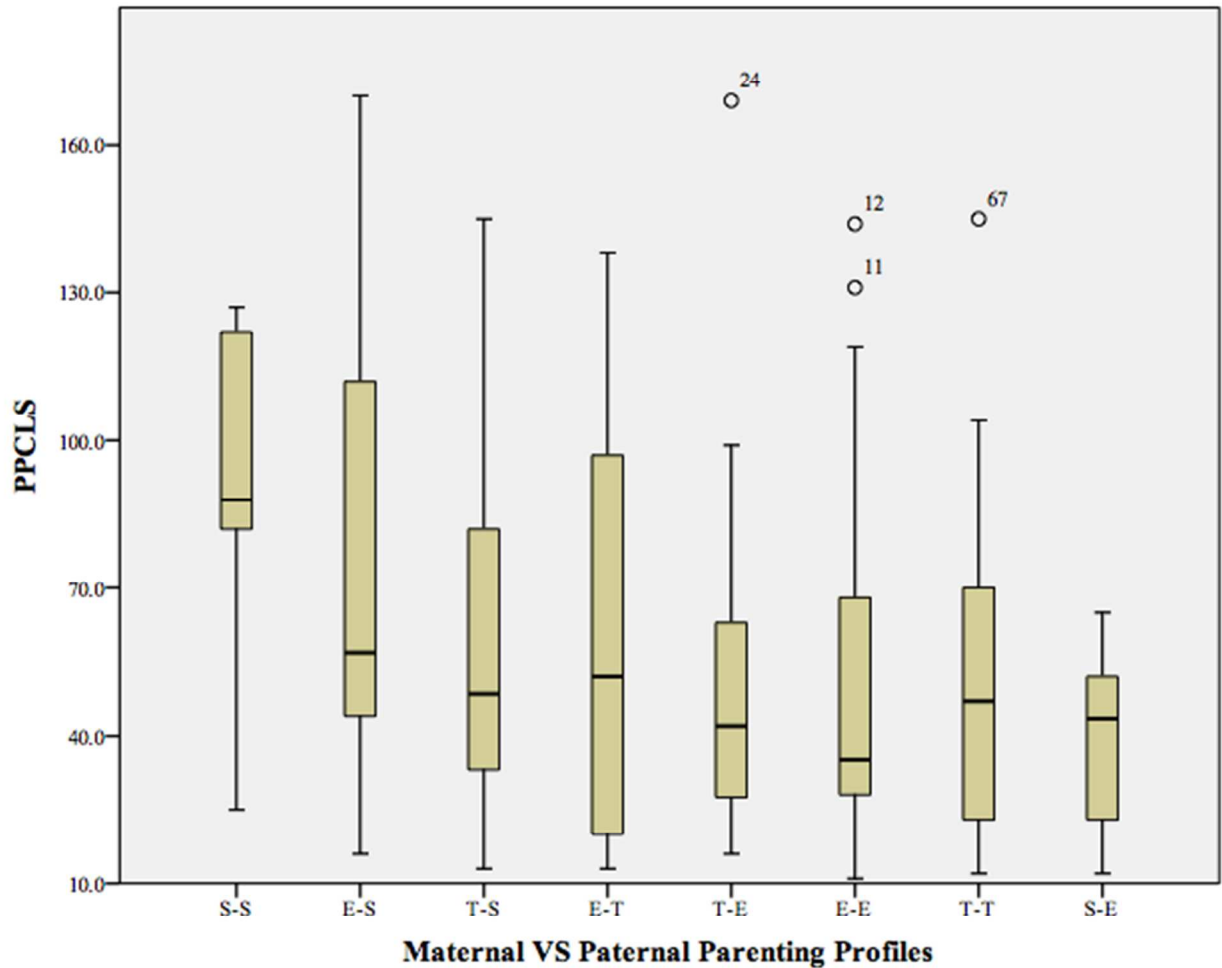


Figure 1. Box plot for children's BSRC with different combinations of maternal and paternal parenting profiles in descending order of BSRC. E-T = Easygoing mother + Tiger father; S-S = Supportive mother + Supportive father; E-S = Easygoing mother + Supportive father; T-E = Tiger mother + Easygoing father; E-E = Easygoing mother + Easygoing father; T-T = Tiger mother + Tiger father; S-E = Supportive mother + Easygoing father; T-S = Tiger mother + Supportive father. There was no combination of supportive mother and tiger father.



*Figure 2.* Box plot for children's PPCLS with different combinations of maternal and paternal parenting profiles in descending order of PPCLS. S-S = Supportive mother + Supportive father; E-S = Easygoing mother + Supportive father; T-S = Tiger mother + Supportive father; E-T = Easygoing mother + Tiger father; T-E = Tiger mother + Easygoing father; E-E = Easygoing mother + Easygoing father; T-T = Tiger mother + Tiger father; S-E = Supportive mother + Easygoing father. There was no combination of supportive mother and tiger father.



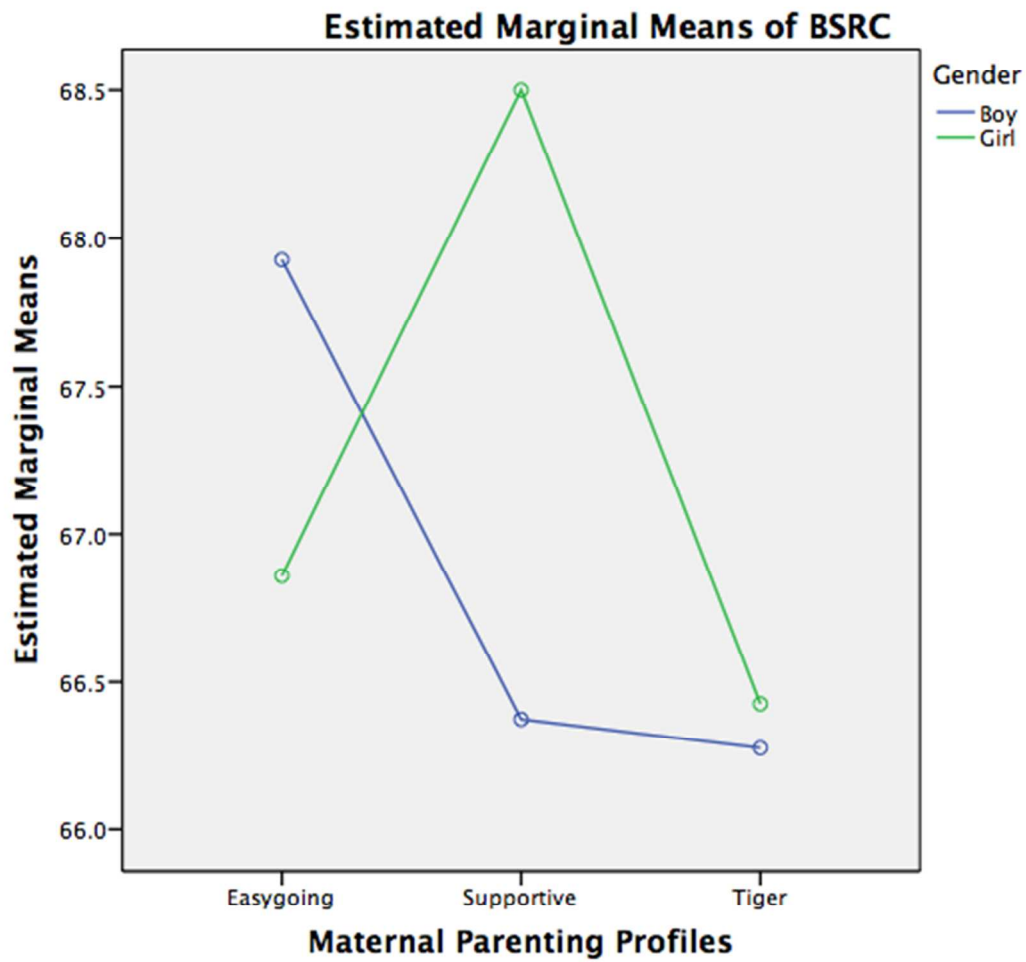


Figure 3. Estimated marginal means plot for children's BSRC with maternal parenting profiles.

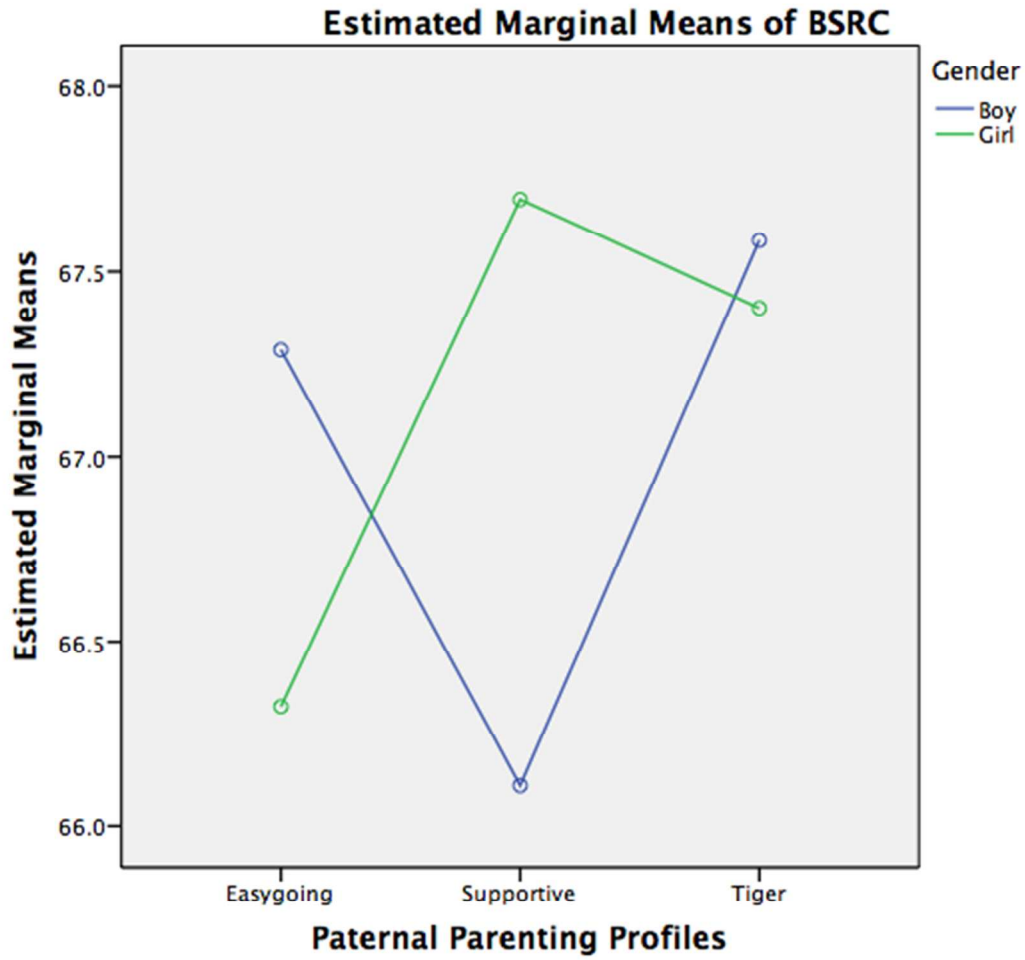


Figure 4. Estimated marginal means plot for children's BSRC with paternal parenting profile