NEGOTIATION OF MOTHERHOOD WITH SELF, FAMILY, AND CULTURAL COMMUNITIES AMONG FIRST-GENERATION INDIAN IMMIGRANT MOTHERS OF TODDLERS

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at George Mason University

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my loving parents, Veena (mummy) and Surinder (papa), who taught me to value and practice kindness, hard work, patience, and persistence at all times. They supported me throughout my entire educational career and are a constant source of emotional support. I am nothing without them.

I also want to dedicate this dissertation to immigrant families, including women and young children. My dissertation is just a small effort in spreading the message to them that they are loved and they belong here. As I've worked on my dissertation, I've truly realized how much I want to serve them in some capacity in the future.

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Abstract

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Within the U.S., about 64% of mothers with children younger than six have been
reported to participate in the labor force (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018; Parker, 2015).
Women have also made progress within the education sector (Geiger & Parker, 2018),
which may be important for the expansion of their human capital—their skills and
knowledge (Colemen, 1988; Harding, Morris, & Hughes, 2015)—and contribute to their
progress in the workforce (Geiger & Parker, 2018). Indian women, who are part of a
growing minority group in the U.S. (Zong & Batalova, 2017), have also made progress
and are expected to continue to make progress on the education and work fronts (KC et
al., 2010). At the same time, the mindsets of the American and Indian cultural
communities have not picked up on these trends. Very few adults in the U.S. think that
mothers of young children should work full-time outside of the home sphere, and many
believe that working full-time is not an ideal situation for the young child (Pew Research

Center, 2013). For Indian women, family roles, including the role of primary caregiver, are often emphasized and viewed as central to their identities —more than they are for men (Bhatnagar & Rajadhyaksha, 2001; Dhawan, 2005). Immigration policies in the U.S. that allow skilled men, rather than skilled women, to participate in the labor force may reinforce such gender roles (Ravindranath, 2017). During toddlerhood, mothers' parenting practices impact child's development (Rinaldi & Howe, 2012), but the above gendered expectations may put pressure on an immigrant mother to conform to those family roles alone. Even if they are legally employed, mothers may be trying to balance paid work and domestic work in parallel. Understanding how mothers, especially first-generation Indian immigrant mothers, negotiate their professional and domestic roles and how they are supported in these roles may help design policies that support these and other parents and families in similar situations.

Using components of developmental frameworks and interdisciplinary research on human and social capital, parenting, and Indian families as guides, I explored parenting beliefs among 12 first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers (18 to 36-months old) to better understand their mothering experiences and the negotiation of motherhood with self, family, and cultural communities. In analyzing interviews and observations, I learned: 1) maternal education plays an essential role in expanding mothers' cognitive, social, and emotional resources, 2) spouses' participation in domestic chores is important for family functioning, 3) parents, in-laws, siblings, and individuals belonging to Indian and Indian-American communities also provide the mothers with support in mothering, and 4) although differing cultural information about mothering is

exchanged in interactions with people in social networks, mothers consider information that aligns with their own philosophies to inform their goals and parenting practices. The findings of my study suggest that policy makers and practitioners should consider the cultural context in which the first-generation Indian immigrant mothers raise young children. They should work towards building on these mothers' existing human and social capitals. Future research should also consider a mixed-methodology approach and be inclusive of different caregivers (e.g., fathers) belonging to diverse immigrant families.

Chapter One: Introduction

An array of parenting practices contribute to the development of infant-toddlers'

foundational skills in multiple domains (e.g., cognitive, language, motor, social-

emotional, Horm, Norris, Perry, Chazen-Cohen, & Halle, 2016) and parenting practices

are embedded in culture (Rubin & Chung, 2006). Culture represents the meanings,

beliefs, philosophies (D'Andrade, 1984), or ethnotheories that are assumed to guide

parenting practices and family and child development (Rubin & Chung, 2006; Super &

Harkness, 1994). Here, I explore parenting beliefs of first-generation Indian immigrant

mothers of toddlers in the U.S. with unique human and social capital. It is timely and

important to explore this topic, as social trends have changed such that more women have

pursued higher education and paid work in the 20th century than in previous generations

(Casper & Bianchi, 2002), and their identities have expanded to include roles beyond that

of a mother in a family unit. Thus, women may be raising children in the context of their

multiple identities, encompassing their roles as educated women who participate in

professional and domestic roles in parallel. Immigrant mothers may be raising children in

this context, but the current immigration climate is transforming identities of certain

groups of immigrants, especially those of Indian women, who are skilled, but feel

restricted to engage in employment given their visa status (Ravindranath, 2017).

Depending on the time of their arrival in the U.S., mothers may or may not be restricted

from legal employment based on their visa status. As such, Indian women's identities within the U.S. may encompass their roles as educated women who are engaged in professional and/or in domestic roles, and the experiences they have in these roles may inform their parenting practices.

How the first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers are supported in parenting is also important to explore. Because moving away from the native country can create disruptions in important social capital (Viruell-Fuentes & Schulz, 2009), immigrant mothers, including first-generation Indian immigrant mothers, may be raising children and negotiating the demands of mothering with spouse and with individuals from their native and host countries in parallel. Negotiating the demands of mothering is essential during children's toddlerhood (18 to 36 months, Edwards & Liu, 2002) as this is a developmental period when toddlers develop greater autonomy from their caregivers when they transition to toddlerhood from infancy (Erickson, 1968). In order to successfully address their toddlers' developmental needs, mothers may feel a greater need to continue to connect with family members and friends (Bost, Cox, Burchial, & Payne, 2002). In those connections, mothers may gain companionship, emotional support (Goldstein, Diener, & Mangelsdorf, 1996), and instrumental support, such as childcare (Gjerdingen & Center, 2004). Yet, research on parenting that has been conducted among mostly non-immigrant families (Bindman, Pomerantz, & Roisman, 2015; Graziano, Calkins, & Keane, 2011; Leahy-Warren, McCarthy, & Corcoran, 2011; Smith, 2010) provides no understanding of the parenting beliefs and practices of first-generation Indian immigrant mothers who may be negotiating the demands of multiple facets of their

identities and social capitals in parallel at a crucial developmental period in their young children's lives. Using qualitative methodology, I sought to fill this gap by exploring parenting beliefs of first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers.

The Place of Indian Women and Mothers in Two Cultures

Indian immigrant women in the U.S. are uniquely situated in the Indian and the American cultures. Within the two cultures, some of them face economic inequality as they lag behind men in using and expanding their human capital (Ravindranath, 2017). As a consequence of moving to the U.S., some experience immigration policies that reinforce certain patriarchal norms (Ravindranath, 2017). Family patterns are known to change in the process of immigration (Foner, 1997), and immigrant families are understood to have diverse family forms (Kulu & Gonzalez-Ferrer, 2014). As a consequence of moving to a new country, some immigrants may have limited access to social capital (Kao, 2004). Consequently, as first-generation Indian immigrants, Indian mothers may have access to unique social capital, and some may feel uncertain about the supports they have in sharing the demands that come along with raising young children as immigrant mothers. Given the unique circumstances created in these mothers' lives by the overlap of the Indian and the American cultures, it was important to consider Indian immigrant mothers for this study.

Indian women's place in the Indian and U.S. economies. The Indian diaspora is understood to be one of largest, worldwide (Chand, 2014; Pande, 2018). Indian women are an important part of the Indian diaspora, migrating with families and as skilled, independent immigrants (Pande, 2018). As immigrants to the United States, Indians

represent the second-largest immigrant population after Mexicans (Zong & Batalova, 2017), making up the largest segment (80%) of the South Asian immigrant community in the U.S. (SAALT, 2012). Among Indian immigrant families, engagement in education and paid work has been an important part of their immigration journey and identity in the U.S. Indian immigrants arriving post-1965 American immigration reform came to the U.S. for better educational and professional opportunities (Bhattacharya & Schoppelrey, 2004) and ultimately secure a better quality of life for themselves and their families. Specifically, they were highly educated, and in turn, were able to build lucrative careers for themselves (Khandelwal, 2002). Presently, the majority of the Indian immigrants represent a group of immigrants with strong English skills who pursue education in the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields (Zong & Batalova, 2017). Compared to other foreign- and native-born populations, Indian immigrants are also more likely to be employed in the following occupations: management, business, science, and arts (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

Although Indian immigrants in the U.S. are considered 'model minorities' and have been successful on the education and professional fronts (Pande, 2018), Indian women, including married women, have faced challenges in developing their professional identities within Asia (Cooke, 2010), in India (Chatterjee, Desai, & Vanneman, 2018) and in the U.S. (Omori, 2016; Purkayastha, 2005; Ravindranath, 2017). Compared to women in other Asian countries (e.g., China, Japan, and South Korea), women from India are often less educated than men (Cooke, 2010). There is a projected increase in Indian women's education levels (i.e., at least beyond high school) in India (KC et al., 2010)

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and in the potential for their gainful employment (Patil, 2016; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010). Despite these positive projections of Indian women's education and employment researchers report that the married Indian women between the ages of 25-59 with completed secondary school education and with some literacy and numeracy skills are found to be less productive workers in the labor force compared to women with primary school education in India (Chatterjee et al., 2018). Also, compared to Indian men, the Indian women are less likely to participate in employment (Chatterjee et al., 2018). In the context of U.S. immigration, Indian women are also reported to engage less in paid work compared with the other Asian immigrant women (e.g., Chinese and Korean immigrants, Omori, 2016).

Indian immigrant women face some obstacles while seeking employment in the U.S., as well. Some highly qualified Indian immigrant women may experience devaluing of their credentials, potentially as their educational skills acquired from India may not be transferable in the U.S. economy (Purkayastha, 2005). Policies regarding immigrant work visas in the U.S. also challenge some Indian immigrant women attempting to gain employment (Ravindranath, 2017). For example, women with male spouses who have a temporary H1-B work visa status are unable to work legally in the U.S. (Papa, 2004). Although this type of visa is a route to attaining a better income, quality of life, and U.S. citizenship (Sahoo, Sangha, & Kelly, 2010), Indian women married to husbands with this visa status are financially restricted and dependent upon their husband, which may make them feel incapable of financial attainment (Ravindranath, 2017). Some of the Indian women may have worked hard to gain higher education levels and employment in India

but may face delays in entering the job market, given this visa constraint. Skilled immigrants who experience a devaluing of their credentials post-immigration deal with a loss of their social status, a loss of professional identity, and may face mental health concerns (Dean & Wilson, 2009) and challenges when adjusting to life in a new country (Aycan & Berry 1996). Consequently, some immigrant mothers, including first-generation Indian mothers in the U.S., may be raising young children in the context of these post-immigration experiences.

Patriarchal norms and spousal roles. Some Indian women's philosophies about themselves as mothers and as educated women participating in professional and/or domestic roles may be shaped by gender expectations that reflect patriarchal norms. Asians, including Asian women, more broadly value the importance of a successful profession (Kim, Li, & Ng, 2005), but Asian women face gender expectations of staying home with a young child rather than taking on employment (Goldberg et al. 2012). Indian women subscribe to some of these traditional, gender roles, even outside of India, as immigrant wives and mothers (Abraham, 1998; Dasgupta, 1998). Indian men see themselves as providing financial support to family (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010), whereas Indian women, if employed and married, are still expected to take care of housework and childrearing (Chatterji, 1988).

Indian women's philosophies about multiple roles, including their role as a mother, may be guided by the above gender role expectations that the many culturally dividing factors, such as the caste system and diverse religions, may reinforce. For example, the caste system is an important part of the Indian culture, in which each caste

represents a fixed social standing (e.g., of a priest, a common man, untouchables) of an individual in the community from birth (Bhattacharya & Schopeley, 2004). As such, the upbringing of an individual may vary widely, given his/her positionality in the caste system, which reflects different cultural beliefs and structural affordances and barriers. This system may influence an individual's attitude towards marriage as well as towards gaining education and employment. Indian scholars have asserted that Indian women belonging to middle caste may stay away from participating in the labor market so they could model a Brahmin lifestyle, in which their engagement at home, rather than outside, is viewed as prestigious for the family (Chatterjee et al., 2018; Chen, 1995). Therefore, some first-generation Indian immigrant mothers may also be creating meaning for themselves and their parenting in the context of gender norms that emphasize women's participation in domestic chores and childrearing over professional duties (Jayakar, 1994; Kalyanaraman, 2016) and view a homemaker's role as part of women's positive self-image (Dhawan, 2005).

Within the U.S., Indian immigrant mothers' beliefs about their own and other Indian girls' identities may be informed by both U.S. and Indian philosophies of the role of a woman. Some Indian mothers have used descriptors such as "homely or domestic" to describe their daughters, and some American mothers have used descriptors such as "independent, self-confident, and self-actualizing" to describe their daughters (Raghavan, Harkness, & Super, 2010). Yet, first-generation Indian immigrant mothers may also draw on the dominant culture in the U.S. to make meaning of their roles as Indian females living in the U.S. For example, Indian immigrant mothers who hold traditional views of

an Indian female as responsible towards the family may believe that an Indian female can also be independent from the family and can make decisions apart from the family (Raghavan et al., 2010).

Although the cultural scripts about a woman's role in domestic work and in childcare tasks may govern much of a woman's, including first-generation Indian immigrant women's, participation with the child, these scripts may be modified in a manner such that fathers are involved in domestic work and invested in their children. Circumstances such as wives' work hours away from home and increased concerns about ensuring a successful future for the child may encourage fathers to take on domestic and childcare responsibilities (Roopnarine et al., 2013; Sriram, 2011). Also, depending on where the family comes from—rural or urban India—the ideal father may be expected to participate in childcare tasks (Roopnarine et al., 2013; Saraff & Srivastava, 2008). Also, in the context of immigration, gendered roles and responsibilities may change such that immigrant fathers living in a nuclear family and no longer in a joint family may be tasked to do more around the house in the U.S. than they would have if they were in India (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010).

As a consequence of physically moving away from close relatives living in India, first generation Indian immigrant families may experience limited access to support in parenting from multiple relatives, including elder family members (Inman, Howard, Baumont, & Walker, 2007). As such, they may be raising a child on their own, without physical support in parenting from relatives. Given that they share similar experiences of immigration, however, immigrants are generally expected to rely on each other for

support (Kao, 2004). Indian immigrant mothers may rely on other Indian immigrant families for support in raising a child in the U.S. with Indian cultural influences.

Exploring Culture and Human and Social Capital of Mothers of Toddlers

An interest in exploring culture and human and social capital of mothers of toddlers stems from toddlerhood marking a developmental transition for the entire family unit. Toddlerhood, which can be considered as a time point between 18 to 36 months (Edwards & Liu, 2002), is widely perceived as a developmental period when toddlers are gaining self-control (Gallacher, 2005). Children's increased mobility contributes to toddlers' emergent autonomy (Biringen, Emde, Campo, & Appelbaum, 2008)—an important part of this transition from babyhood. During this second year, toddlers also develop language skills (Graves & Larkin, 2006) and no longer be as dependent on their caregivers (Erickson, 1968)—often marked by children verbalizing, "No!". Children recognize themselves as being separate and different from their parent and are met with a desire to take care of their basic needs, such as feeding, dressing, and toileting (Edwards, Sheridan, & Knoche, 2010). Altogether, children depart from being a dependent infant to independent, walking, and talking toddlers.

As children transition from infancy to toddlerhood, parents, especially mothers, are expected to find a balance between offering security and supporting the child's exploration of the environment (Barnard & Solchany, 2002) through sensitive and stimulating interactions. These interactions allow toddlers to successfully acquire cognitive skills such as the ability to self-control or inhibit own behaviors (Bernier, Carlson, & Whipple, 2010; Bindman, Pomerantz, & Roisman, 2015) and other skills,

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such as expressive and/or receptive language skills (Barnett, Gustafsson, Deng, Mills-koonce, & Cox, 2012). Such skills may be foundational for school readiness and academic success (Peredo, Owen, Rojas, & Caughy, 2015). Yet, mothers may be interacting with their toddlers in the context of demanding situations such as toddlers' limited attention span or irregular sleep patterns (Kwon, Han, Jeon, & Bingham, 2012; Mindell, Sadeh, Kwon, & Goh, 2015). Therefore, although adequately addressing toddlers' developmental needs may be enriching and essential for school readiness, it potentially places demands on the mother, ultimately informing how the entire family will function and transition to toddlerhood.

During toddlerhood, the caregivers are also tasked with addressing their toddlers' developmental needs in concert with the economic demands of parenting in the U.S. In addition to adequately addressing their children's developmental needs via quality interactions, mothers and other family members may also be responsible for finding high-quality nonparental care arrangements for their young children. With increasing participation of the mother in a paid-work, young children, including toddlers, are expected to be taken care of by other caregivers in some type of nonparental care (Early & Burchina, 2001; Kahn & Greenberg, 2010). Given that a high-quality care during the early childhood period can have a positive impact on a young child's cognitive, language, and preacademic skills (Li, Farkas, Duncan, Burchinal, & Vandell, 2013), some families of young children may feel a pressure to secure a spot for their child in a high-quality nonparental care arrangement, which may be costly. The cost of childcare arrangement is one factor that may keep mothers out of paid-work (Baum, 2002), and this could erode

layers of their identities, and putting economic pressure on the family, overall. Economic

pressure felt when children are toddlers can be further related to parental emotional

distress and conflict between the parents (Nepple, Senia, & Donnellan, 2015).

In order to successfully address the developmental demands of toddlerhood, the

caregivers in the family need to coordinate and cooperate with each other. Mothers

especially need support from other caregivers, including their spouse and other family

members, at this time of exciting and challenging transition. However, when one of the

caregivers, especially the spouse, is less engaged and the other more engaged in

parenting, then disrupted triadic family interactions and family patterns are expected

during toddlerhood (see Marsanić & Kusmić, 2013 for review). As noted earlier, among

Indian families, gender expectations reflect patriarchal norms in which women are

expected to mostly take on caregiving roles (Dhawan, 2005; Jayakar, 1994;

Kalyanaraman, 2016; Roopnarine et al., 2013). Yet, raising a child in new surroundings,

among people of different ethnic groups and cultures, potentially places an immigrant

family in a position to draw ideas from multiple cultures to inform their practices (Berry,

2005). Thus, as immigrant families, including Indian families, raise children in a new

country, it becomes important to explore how the immigrant parent, especially the

mother, negotiates her roles between the two cultures and how or in what ways she feels

supported by the two systems. The purpose of this dissertation was to explore first-

generation Indian immigrant mothers' parenting beliefs and practices in the context of

their unique human and social capitals in order to better understand the negotiation of

motherhood during their child's toddlerhood—a developmental period marked by

multiple changes in the child's foundational skills (Horm et al., 2016).

Chapter Two: Literature Review

In this dissertation, I sought to understand the phenomenon of mothering through the lens of culture and human and social capital among first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers. More specifically, I explored parenting beliefs in the context of these capitals. Components of some developmental frameworks, including developmental niche and theoretical framework of parental ethnotheories, guided this dissertation and the literature review.

Theoretical Framework of Culture and Parenting

Culture is understood as the comprising of meanings and practices (D'Andrade, 1992). Meanings represent one's understanding, beliefs, and knowledge of the world, and these representations can direct one's practices and evoke certain feelings (D'Andrade, 1984). Culture may further serve as a "tool kit" of symbols, stories, rituals, and world-views that allows the individual or groups to construct strategies of actions (e.g., styles or habits) or processes that may vary in different situations (Swidler, 1986). The Theoretical Model of Parental Ethnotheories, Practices, and Outcomes is one developmental framework that considers these different elements of culture underlying child development and family functioning.

The Theoretical Model of Parental Ethnotheories, Practices, and Outcomes framework stems from a Developmental Niche Framework (Super & Harkness, 1994).

According to the Developmental Niche Framework (Figure 1), the physical and social settings of every day, the customs of childcare and childrearing, and the caretakers' psychology serve as three important components of the environment that are unique to the child and uniquely influence the child's development (Super & Harkness, 1994). These components are also centrally related to parents (Rubin & Chung, 2006) and broadly mediate an individual's development within the larger cultural context (Super & Harkness, 1986). The first component, which is children's daily physical and social setting (i.e., how, where, and with whom they live), "provide(s) the most directly observable sources of information about how household and individual environments are organized" (Harkness & Super, 1994, p. 218). The company that the child keeps (e.g., playmates and caretakers) and the size or shape of their living space (e.g., small or big space for play area, Super & Harkness, 1994) are examples of this component that maybe organized by the parent.
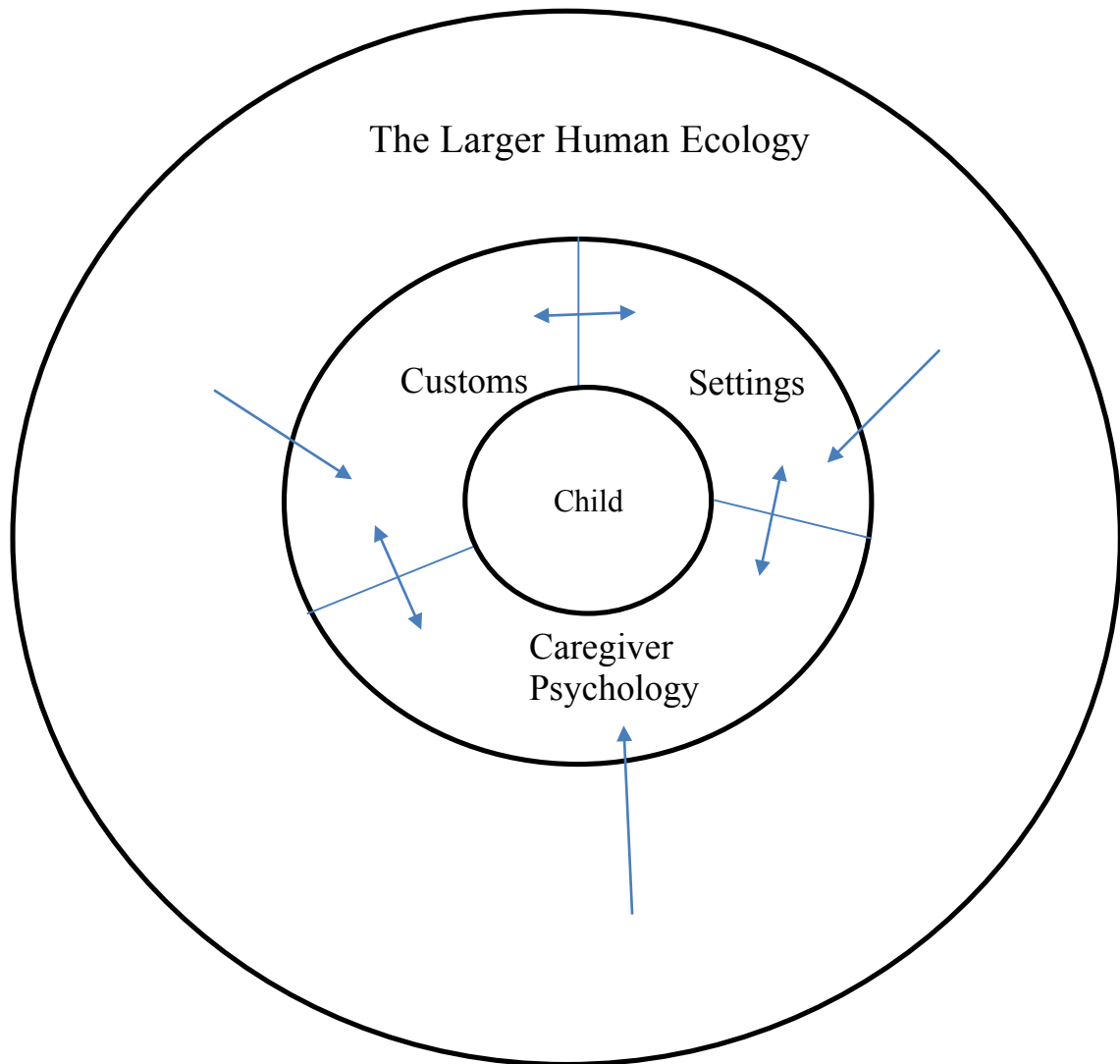
Figure 1. The Developmental Niche Framework
(Adapted from Super & Harkness, 1994)

The second component, parents' childcare and childrearing customs, is culturally

regulated (Rubin & Chung, 2006). For example, among some families, the adult—

including parents—may direct the structure of their child's play (Keller, Borke,

Chaudhary, Lamm, & Kleis, 2010), and this may be a customary practice relevant to

those families. The third component represents the thoughts or psychology of the

caregiver that underlies such customary practices (Super & Harkness, 1994). The

Theoretical Model of Parental Ethnotheories, Practices, and Outcomes expands upon the

psychology of the caretaker (Figure 2). At the top of the model are the interconnected,

implicit cultural beliefs (i.e., taken-for-granted ideas about the natural way of thinking or

acting that can underly parents' motivation to act in a certain manner, Harkness & Super,

2006). Within this theoretical model, the implicit cultural beliefs are identified as parents'

implicit ideas about the nature of the child, the family, and the parent (Harkness & Super,

2006). An example of an implicit cultural belief is that children have to grow up to

maintain close family bonds. Parents from families within the Indian and other similar

communities (e.g., Latinx) share this belief (Chang & Liou, 2009; Guilamo-Ramos et al.,

2007; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002; Rao, McHale, & Pearson, 2003). These beliefs

may have become implicit to the parents when they started observing their own parents,

and therefore they may be modeling those beliefs into their own practices. Research

investigating intergenerational transmission of parenting illustrates that parents' own

upbringing serves as one source of their parenting model (Chen & Kaplan, 2001; Neppl,

Conger, Scaramella, & Ontai, 2009). For instance, parents who grew up bonding with

their own parents may have developed a mental representation of what it means to bond

with own parents, and as parents themselves, they may show affection to and bond with

their own child (Chen & Kaplan, 2001) with the expectation that the child will develop

close ties with the caregiver in the future.

Implicit Cultural Beliefs

Family

Child   Parent

Specific Beliefs

About Child

About Practices   About Outcomes

Intervening Factors

Child Characteristics

Parent Characteristics

Aspects of the Culture

Actual Practices

About Child   About Child   About Child

Actual Outcomes

Child Development   Family Functioning
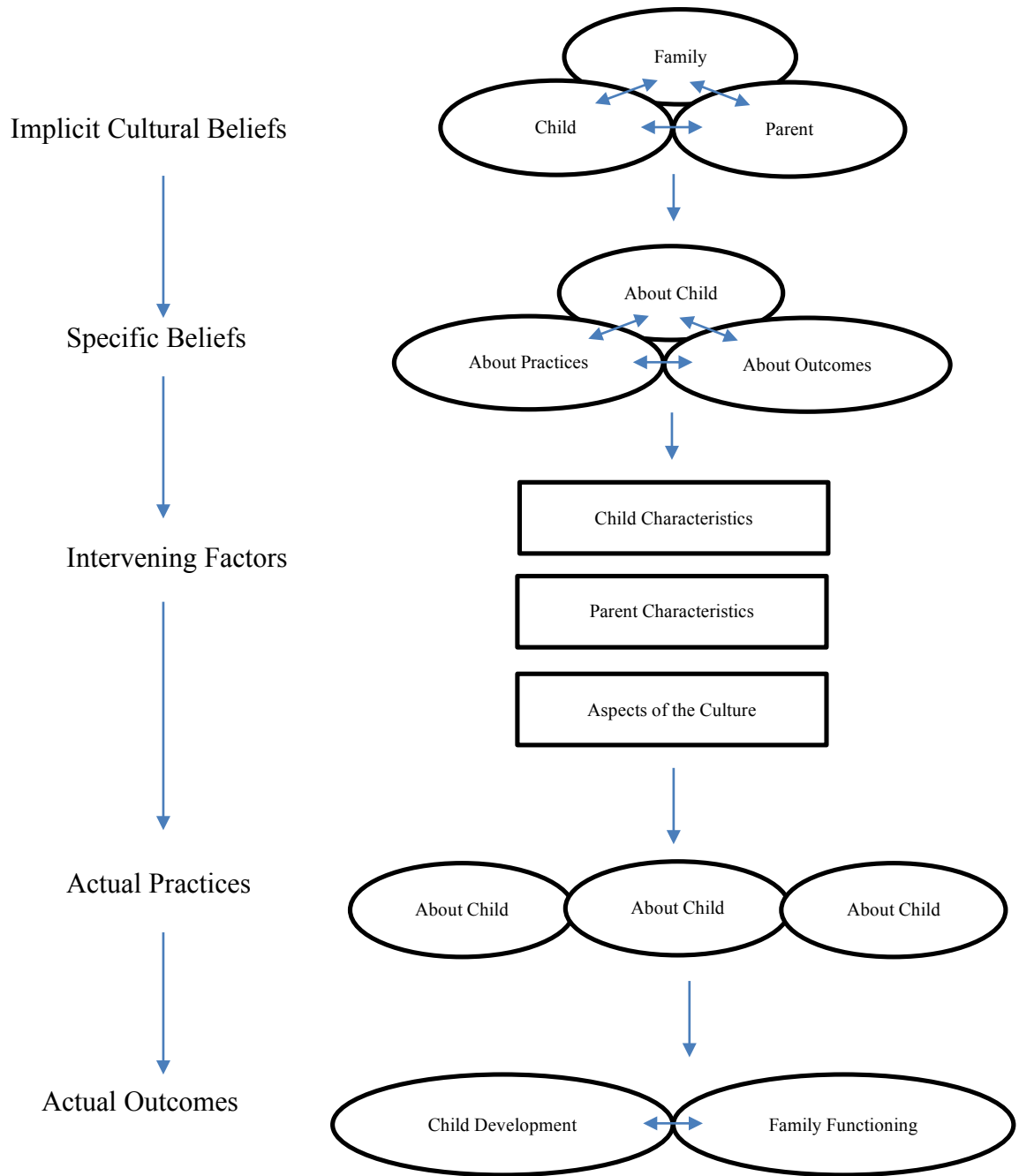
Figure 2. Theoretical Model of Parental Ethnotheories, Practices, and Outcomes
(Adapted from Harkness et al. 2007)

The implicit cultural beliefs are assumed to become internalized into personal belief systems (McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Subramanian, 1996) and then to govern other interconnected beliefs related to specific domains about the child, practices, and outcomes (Harkness & Super, 2006). For example, some parents who were brought up to value close family ties may believe that the practice of spending time with the child during routine activities helps the child develop strong family bonds. Ultimately, these domain-specific beliefs are assumed to be expressed in parents' actual practices and transmitted in children's and families' developmental outcomes. In particular, a mother who believes that spending mealtimes together with her child will help the child develop family ties may eat with the child during mealtimes, and as a result, the child may start to develop a habit of eating meals with family. This may help foster the child's bonding with the family. Yet, the transmission of parents' implicit cultural and domain-specific beliefs into their actual practices and the developmental outcomes may be complex.

Various intervening factors that appear on the third level in the model are assumed to further help explain the complex nature of the transmission of parents' beliefs into their actual practices (e.g., parent-child interactions) and their overall parenting experiences (Harkness & Super, 2006). Intervening factors include child and situational characteristics that may mediate the relationship between beliefs and practices (Harkness & Super, 2006). One instance of a child's characteristic is a child's temperament or child's behavior (Harkness & Super, 2006). A child's behavior could create situations for the mother in which she may have to interact with her toddler in a manner that misaligns with her beliefs about the practices implemented. This could be illustrated by a mother of

a toddler who values family ties and believes that spending quality time with her child during one-on-one activities will help her achieve this goal. Yet, this mother may be unable to engage in quality interactions if the toddler is refusing to comply with a request from the mother. Although toddlers' non-compliant behaviors may represent their attempts at controlling events by themselves to be more autonomous (Dix, Stewart, Gershoff, & Day, 2007), such behaviors may restrict mothers from being available to the child in a supportive manner (Scaramella, Sohr-Preston, Mirabile, Robison, & Callahan, 2008), even if the mother wished to be supportive. Situational characteristics are the intervening characteristics that "may be influenced by aspects of the larger culture, and competing cultural models and their related practices" (Harkness & Super, 2006, p.10). Mothers' work schedules are considered an example of a situational characteristic (Harkness & Super, 2006; Harkness et al., 2010). For example, the culture of working long hours at the office may take energy and time that parents could devote to their children, and parents' desire to spend time away from children may feel conflicting if parents wish to execute their ideas of adequate family time (Harkness et al., 2011).

In my dissertation, I used the above two frameworks to explore parenting beliefs among first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers who may be raising toddlers, within the U.S., for the first time. Parenthood is understood to represent a transformational phase for the parent and the family unit (Cowan & Cowan, 1995). For example, having a child brings new identities for parents, and the addition of these new roles could mean that parents must rearrange other existing roles (Cowan et al., 1985; Cowan & Cowan, 1995). Also, as noted in chapter one, parenthood can also be

transformational when parents have to start looking for childcare arrangements during their child's early childhood years. In my dissertation, I considered education, which is connected to one's employment (Sullivan, 2010), as part of first-generation Indian immigrant mothers' identities that may intervene with mothers' availability to the child and also be negotiated with their roles as mothers. I also consider mothers' relations within their social capital in the native and host countries as important sources of support in mothering, as well as sources of mothers' cultural beliefs about mothering. I specifically chose mothers of toddlers for this study because toddlerhood is a developmental phase in which the child begins to grasp many interconnected skills, and mothers, as the primary caregivers, can further foster those skills by being emotionally and cognitively available to them (Horm et al., 2016).

Availability to the Child: Emotional and Stimulating Interactions

Caregivers, including mothers, take care of children in the context of many childcare activities (e.g., playing, feeding, or bed; Weisner, 2002) during which caregivers are available to children in quality interactions, addressing children's emotional, cognitive, and other developmental needs. The different aspects of mothers' quality interactions may also represent a "collection of different processes pertaining to different elements of the parent-child relationship" (Grusec & Davidov, 2010, p. 691). When mothers are emotionally available to children, they can also stimulate children's cognition (Raviv, Kessenich, & Morrison, 2004). For example, during a one-on-one play or unstructured play activity, a mother who is responsive to her child's distress emotions may also be helping the child develop vocabulary to articulate his/her feelings more

effectively. Mothers' availability to children's emotional, cognitive, and other developmental needs in these manners may have a positive influence on children's developmental outcomes in several domains (Bindman et al., 2015; Barnett et al., 2012; Bernier et al., 2010; Graziano, Calkins, & Keane, 2011; Mol, Bus, de Jong, & Smeets, 2008; Smith, Landry, & Swank, 2000).

      Emotional availability and child development. Emotional availability is understood as the "emotional expression and responsiveness of both partners in a relationship" (Easterbrooks & Biringen, 2000, p. 123). Stated another way, emotional availability is understood as a mutual, harmonious exchange or bonding between the parent and the child, where both dyad members accept a wide range of emotions, rather than respond solely to distress (Biringen et al., 2014; Emde, 1980; Sauders et al., 2015). For the dyad, this could mean that they are emotionally available when responding to each other's positive and negative cues (Biringen et al., 2014). In interactions with their children, sensitive mothers may display child-oriented emotions, which are expressed as pride in their children's behaviors and happiness for them; mothers may also show concern for their children's wellbeing (Dix, Gershoff, Meunier, & Miller, 2004). In response to children's display of positive behaviors (e.g., child smiling), sensitive mothers may show warmth towards them by smiling at them, cuddling them, and keeping close body contact with them (Lohaus, Keller, Ball, Voelker, & Elben, 2004). Mothers' availability in these ways may also evolve with time. As Esterbrooks and Biringen (2000) have explained, "the optimal degree of parental and child emotional availability refer(s) to moderate and age appropriate qualities that are context dependent" (p. 125).

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Mothers' emotional availability is central in children's attachment and socioemotional development (Ainsworth, 1963; 1967; Bowlby, 1969). When mothers perceive, interpret, and respond to children's signals (e.g., vocalizations, visual gaze) appropriately and promptly (Ainsworth, Blehar, Waters, & Wall, 1978), the child feels secure in his/her relationship with the mother, and he/she is able to independently explore the environment and engage in learning activities (Ainsworth, 1963; 1967). Mothers who frequently express positive emotions in different situations within the family context and help regulate their children's emotions (e.g., trying to identify why the child is angry) foster their children's social-emotional competence (e.g., empathy, Brophy-Herb et al., 2011) as well. Moreover, children who are exposed to parental warmth, responsiveness, and reasonable controlling behaviors engage more in prosocial behaviors than in problematic behaviors (e.g., externalizing behaviors—aggression; Rinaldi & Howe, 2012).

Mothers' emotional availability in their children's early years also fosters children's other skills that may be needed to successfully address children's basic needs. For example, when children are exposed to maternal sensitivity, they develop skills in cognitive (Bernier et al., 2010; Graziano et al., 2011) and language domains (Barnett et al., 2012). Exposure to high levels of maternal sensitivity during infancy (at the age of 12 and 13 months) and toddlerhood (around 24 months) helps the child to self-control his/her behaviors (Bernier et al., 2010) and sustain attention on tasks (Graziano et al., 2011). Successful acquisition of these cognitive skills may further be essential for the completion of certain tasks, such as feeding self. Sensitive interactions during free-play

are also positively associated with toddlers' expressive and receptive language skills (Barnett et al., 2012). Without the development of these language skills, a young child may find it difficult to communicate and interact with others.

Emotional availability within the Indian cultural context. The quantity and quality of a mother's emotional availability may be influenced by innate beliefs, which may vary in different cultural contexts. By being emotionally available to the child, an Indian mother may be trying to socialize her child to develop a close bond with her and with other family members. Some Indian families, in particular, subscribe to family relational goals that emphasize conforming to and taking care of family members, such as aging parents, and these goals are understood within the cultural model of interdependence and relatedness (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Jambunathan & Counselman, 2002; Jambunathan, Burts, & Pierce, 2000; Kagitcibasi, 2005; Keller et al., 2010; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Raval, Raval, & Deo, 2011). Mothers within some Indian families especially believe that they are the ones responsible for maintaining a harmony with family members, including the child (Inman et al., 2007). For example, in qualitative interviews with first-generation Indian immigrant parents, Inman et al. (2007) found that being family-oriented is important for these families, and, as one mother from the study stated, "'Having close family ties, you know, having my in-laws over, my brothers-in-law, living with them, making sacrifices here and there for them, that's very Indian'" (p. 95). How the mother and child are emotionally available to each other, therefore, may be possibly informed by mothers' attempts to keep a harmonious environment at home with children and other family members. Indulging a young child with warmth and affection is

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also believed to be a developmentally appropriate practice in the early childhood years within the Indian (Kakar, 1981) and possibly other communities. If mothers attend to their children's emotional needs early on in life, then it is expected that the child will grow up to take care of the aging mother (Trawick, 1992), and therefore reinforce the ideology of interdependence. Interdependence refers to perceiving the self as being tied to others or in relation to others within the context of a harmonious relationship (Kagitcibasi, 2005; Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Mothers may refrain from being emotionally available or expressing any emotions, such as anger, towards the child to avoid problems in her relationships with the child (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Yet, she may display anger or be firm in response to the child's display of distress or anger at home in an attempt to teach the child about acceptable and unacceptable emotions (Menon, 2000; Trawick, 1992), therefore fostering harmony at home.

Cognitive stimulation and child development. Cognitive stimulation consists of several parenting practices that guide children's learning. These practices may include the parent providing verbal input to the child (e.g., giving instructions and feedback, explaining, and asking questions) and modeling behaviors (Hertel et al., 2014). Such definition of stimulating practices may stem from work exploring scaffolding, in which experienced adults with advanced skills or knowledge guide a less experienced individual (Vygotsky, 1978). In daily routine, a parent of a young child may engage in stimulating practices by pointing to objects/events in the environment and then consistently asking questions or giving suggestions about the object/events (e.g., what is the color of the

object?) or teaching the child names of objects, and in conversations with the toddler, the parent may use specific words.

Exposure to parents' stimulating practices, inclusive of teaching the child how to focus on a task or teaching him/her how to elaborate on his/her verbalizations, in the first three years of life (at 6, 15, 24, and 36 months) can improve the child's ability to inhibit or control his/her behavior in the fourth year of his life (at 54 months, Bindman et al., 2015). Mothers' use of verbalizations (e.g., giving toddler verbal input about how objects relate to concepts and actions) may also help toddlers develop problem-solving skills when they get to preschool age (e.g., 4 years) (Smith et al., 2000). Mothers' verbal input also promotes language development (Landry, Smith, Swank, & Miller-Loncar, 2000; Mol et al., 2008). Through verbal dialogue exchanges with her toddler during a book reading activity, a mother can foster her toddler's vocabulary (Mol et al., 2008). By using statements to help maintain toddler's ongoing activities, the mother can help her toddler develop receptive language skills (Landry et al., 2000).

Cognitive stimulation in the Indian cultural context. Asian families, inclusive of South Asian Indian immigrant families, are more likely to engage in stimulating practices with their children compared to European American families (Parmar, Harkness, & Super, 2004; Parmar, Harkness, & Super, 2008). In particular, some South Asian Indian immigrant parents, who value academic training in the early years of children's development, engage in stimulating practices during play activities with their children (Parmar et al., 2004). They take on the roles of teachers or academic coaches, rather than that of a play partner (Parmar et al., 2008), and spend more hours each week

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stimulating their children's cognitive development by engaging with their children in pre-academic activities (e.g., learning letters and numbers, learning math skills, playing alphabet and number games, and visiting the library) than in social play (Parmar et al., 2004).

Indian parents' desire to engage in stimulating practices may hold socio-historic, religious, and traditional significance for the Indian community. For example, due to British colonization in India, education led to jobs with the British government. Since that time, it has been assumed that the Indian community values an individual's education and learning as a path to upward mobility (Bhattacharya & Schoppelrey, 2004). The Veda, a collection of religious scriptures, also emphasizes the acquisition of *gyan* (i.e., knowledge) during childhood (Roopnarine & Gol-Guven, 2015). In addition, a desire to foster children's academic skills from an early age may stem from a traditional view that pursing education and a certain profession (e.g., medicine and engineering) is important for financial stability (Inman et al., 2007).

The literature reviewed in the above sections show how mothers' availability can be understood as their distinct and interconnected behaviors that impact child development and are embedded in culture. More specifically, there is some understanding of the cultural milieu guiding Indian families' responsive and stimulating practices with their children. I sought to take the next step by understanding first-generation Indian immigrant mothers' belief about themselves in relation to their availability to their toddlers in the context of their unique human and social capital.

Maternal Education as a Correlate of Parenting and Child Development

According to Coleman (1988) human capital is "… created by changes in persons that bring about skills and capabilities that make them able to act in new ways" (p. S100). Maternal education allows for one's skills and knowledge to develop, and mothers use this form of capital in interactions with other people at home (Harding et al., 2015), which can foster children's learning and development (Coleman, 1988). In line with the human capital theory, research conducted among families of young children within the early childhood developmental period also finds evidence that supports this theoretical assumption (Bindman et al., 2015; Graziano et al., 2011; Raviv et al., 2004; Tamis-LeMonda, Shannon, Cabrera, & Lamb, 2004).

As a type of human capital, maternal education positively influences parenting (Bindman et al., 2015; Graziano et al., 2011; Raviv et al., 2004; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2004). Research specifically indicates a moderate and positive association between maternal education and parenting when the child is in his/her early childhood years (Bindman, et al., 2015; Graziano et al., 2011; Raviv et al., 2004). For example, Bindman et al. (2015) conducted a study with predominantly European American families of children who were in different developmental periods, including in the early childhood period (birth to three years). They found that mothers' years of education was positively and moderately correlated with maternal warmth (r=0.41) and stimulating or teaching (r=0. 43) interactions with children. Graziano et al. (2011), who also conducted a study with predominantly European American families of children, found that maternal education level when the child is two-years-old is positively associated with responsive

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parenting (r= 0.35) when the child is two-years-old. Among ethnic minority families, predominately African American families of three-year-old children, Raviv et al. (2004) also found that mothers with higher education are sensitive (r=0.42). They also found that these mothers provide greater learning materials, language and academic stimulation, physical environment, modeling, and other forms of stimulation (r=0.47) to their children compared to mothers with lower education levels (Raviv et al., 2004).

Some of the aforementioned studies have also found that maternal education reported in the child's early childhood years is associated with children's developmental outcomes (Bindman et al., 2015; Raviv et al., 2004; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2004). Among predominantly European American parents, Tamis-LeMonda et al. (2004) found that maternal education reported when the child is two-years-old is positively associated with children's cognitive skills. When the child is three years old, maternal education is reported as positively associated with children's cognitive and language skills. Maternal education reported in the early childhood years is also associated with children's later developmental skills (Bindman et al., 2015; Raviv et al., 2004). Among predominantly European American families, Bindman et al. (2015) found that maternal education reported in the child's infancy is positively associated with children's executive functioning skills at preschool age (4.5 years) and children's elementary and high school math and reading achievement. Raviv et al. (2004) found that among minority families, predominantly African American families, maternal education reported in the child's infancy is positively associated with language skills when the child is three-years-old.

The literature reviewed above shows that maternal education plays a significant role in parenting and child outcomes in the early childhood years. Moreover, this association, in part, provides some understanding for why there may be inequality in how children develop in the early and later years of life—as highly educated mothers, rather than those with less education, are able to engage in positive parenting and contribute positively to their child's development. Yet, because the aforementioned studies are quantitative in nature, the process underlying the above associations is not fully explored in those studies. Also, it is not clear "how" maternal education adds value to mothers' own development and in mothering.

Maternal Education, Employment, and Mothers' Experiences

Maternal education attainment, which is equated with human capital, is important for the development of mothers' psychological capital (e.g., mental health, Harding et al., 2015) during children's early childhood years (Augustine & Crosnoe, 2010; Kiernan & Huerta, 2008), and this form of capital is understood to enable mothers to engage in parenting and be able to take care of the child (Harding et al., 2015). Augustine and Crosnoe (2010) conducted a longitudinal study with families of infants who were followed until the child was in elementary school. In their study, maternal education was associated with maternal depression, especially mothers with less education were at risk for depression. Kiernan and Huerta (2008), who collected data from families of infants (9-11 months) and followed up with them when the child was three-years-old, also found that mothers with lower level of education are at risk of developing mental health problems.

Mothers' engagement in professional activities such as paid-work is also related to her psychological capital (Kim & Wickrama, 2013; Olson & DiBrigida, 1994), and maternal education is a route to gaining access to information needed to find paid-work (Sullivan, 2010). Previous work (e.g., Olson & DiBrigida, 1994) on maternal work and mental health has found that engaging in part-time work and satisfaction with her role as a working mother are important for mothers' mental health. Olson and DiBrigida (1994), who conducted a study with mostly European American mothers of infant-toddlers (either 15, 18, or 24 months of age), found that mothers' employment status and their role satisfaction were positively associated with their mental health. Mothers who worked part-time, rather than full-time, experienced less depression. Those who were dissatisfied with their employment roles reported experiencing depression. Later work (e.g., Kim & Wickrama, 2013) has found that transition to employment is important for mothers' mental health and parenting. Kim and Wickama (2013), who conducted a study among Korean mothers of infants (11 to 18 months), found that, compared to mothers who were staying home, mothers who were transitioning to work in the child's first year of life reported lower levels of depressive symptoms. Moreover, those who experienced a transition to paid-work generally felt satisfied with themselves (i.e., positive self-esteem). Transitioning to work in the child's early childhood year, in turn, influenced their parenting styles. These mothers engaged in positive parenting, inclusive of responsive and stimulating interactions (Kim & Wickrama, 2013).

These studies emphasize the importance of maternal education and participation in paid-work on mothers' psychological functioning in the early childhood years.

However, the aforementioned research generalizes that mothers with lower education or those staying home are disadvantaged or at risk of developing poor mental health or losing out on the psychological capital needed to take care of the child effectively. These studies provide no information on mothers' beliefs about the role of human capital in their own lives and their children's development, even if mothers choose not to use their human capital for employment. These beliefs may be especially relevant among first-generation Indian immigrant mothers, whose voices are not represented in the literature presented within the maternal education literature above.

Mothers' availability in the context of their employment status. In order for the family to benefit from mothers' human capital, the mothers are expected to be present in the lives of their children and to spend time with them (Coleman, 1988; Harding et al., 2015; Parcel & Dufur, 2001). Moreover, the term intensive mothering, coined by Hays (1996), is used to describe an ideology of motherhood in which good mothering is considered as "child-centered, expert-guided, emotionally absorbing, labour intensive, and financially expensive" (Hays, 1996, p. 8). There are assumptions that mothers who engage in paid-work are bad parents if they are unable to address family and job demands in parallel (Okimoto & Heilman, 2012; Morgenroth & Heilman, 2017). Consequently, conforming to the standards of good mothering may be difficult for these mothers. Nevertheless, researchers have consistently found that mothers' time allocation in child care activities, directly physically engaging with the child, has increased rather than decreased over the years (Kalil, Ryan, & Corey, 2012; Ramey & Ramey, 2010; Sandberg & Hofferth, 2001). For example, Sandberg and Hofferth (2001) found that American

mothers' time with their children who were three-years-old and above increased between 1981 and 1997 in two-parent households. They specifically found that children spent 4.3 more hours with mothers in 1997 than in 1981 across families with employed and unemployed mothers as well as across two-parent and single-parent families.

Researchers have also noted differences in mothers' time spent with children by employment status (Miller & Mulvey, 2000; Sivakami, 2010). Using the 1992 time-use survey data, Miller and Mulvey (2000) explored Australian mothers' time allocation with their children in childcare activities (e.g., physical care, teaching, helping, playing, reading, and talking) and found that mothers who were not participating in paid work were spending more time with their children on childcare activities than those who were employed. Among Indian mothers, Muthusamy (2010), who conducted a study with married mothers with at least one child below the age of 10 in Tamil Nadu, India, found similar trends. Data on women's allocation of time for various childcare activities was collected for five months between August 1998 and January 1999. These activities included bathing, feeding, dressing, teaching, and playing with the child, and preparing special food for the child, and taking them to school. Regardless of mothers' employment status, mothers with younger children (i.e., ages 0-4 years), rather than mothers with older children (i.e., ages 5 to 9), were found to spend more time on all childcare activities. When mothers' employment status was considered, Muthusamy found that on average, employed mothers spent less than two hours with their children, compared to mothers who were not engaged in paid work. The latter mothers spent three to four hours with their children daily. More specifically, employed mothers with younger children

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were found to spend about 80 minutes less in play activity, compared to mothers who were not engaged in paid work.

Despite differences found in the amount of time mothers allocate to childcare activities based on their employment status (Miller & Mulvey, 2000; Sivakami, 2010), such findings fail to convey anything beyond the logical possibility that mothers' increased participation in paid-work will take their time away from the child, to some extent. The finding that maternal employment takes time away from the child may also give too much attention to the patriarchal norms (Herzog, Bachman, & Johnston, 1983; Janman, 1989) that women should stay home so that they can fully devote their time to their family. Muthusamy (2010) recommended that irrespective of mothers' employment status researchers focus on mothers' "quality" of time spent with children, rather than the quantity of time. Therefore, in this dissertation, I focus on mothers' beliefs about the quality of their interactions (i.e., emotional availability and stimulation) rather than the quantity of time spent with the child as they negotiate their multiple roles.

Social Capital a Channel for Emotional, Informational, and Instrumental Resources

As mothers of young children navigate motherhood in the context of their multiple roles and demands, they may benefit from having a supportive network (Balaji et al., 2007) that can help the mothers efficiently maximize their time with the child by being emotionally available and stimulating in their interactions. It is understood that families exist within the context of their relationships with other people (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), and resources exist within the network of relationships that individuals have with others either within or outside of their families (Coleman, 1988). Within a family, social

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capital could represent the physical presence of others at home who spend time with each other, or a family relative who lives close by, or friends and family members who are not physically present but can still be emotionally supportive by talking on the phone. In addition, this form of social capital may be understood as bonding capital, which is the association of a homogenous group of people with similar backgrounds (e.g., ethnicity), such as family members or friends (Paxton, 2002; Putnam, 2000). Social capital outside of the home environment may be understood in terms of bridging capital or the associations that people have with others of different backgrounds (Paxton, 2002; Putnam, 2000).

Broadly, immigrants rely on a combination of existing (e.g., family) and newly formed networks (e.g., new friends or colleagues) from their country of origin and from the host country that are understood to be formed on the basis of bonds of trust and reciprocity (Ryan, 2011). In these bonds, support may also be reciprocated when members of a dyad feel obligated to return a favor to each other (Coleman, 1988). These interpersonal ties may further serve as important channels through which emotional, instrumental, and informational resources flow (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Coleman, 1988; Cutrona & Russell, 1990; House, Umberson, & Landis, 1988; Jennings, Stagg, & Connors, 1991; Wills & Shinar, 2000). Emotional resources may include receiving emotional comfort (e.g. communicating to a person that they are valued; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Wills & Shinar, 2000), care, concern, and security from others (Cutrona & Russell, 1990). Indian immigrants may experience a sense of belonging from taking part in important family decision (Bhattacharya, 2011). In the absence of family members in a

new country, ties with new peers, friends, and other community members may share

mutual concern for each other (Bhattacharya, 2011), which may be essential in dealing

with the stress of becoming accustomed to a new culture (Bhattacharya, 2011; Berry,

Kim, Minde, & Mok, 1987). For a first-generation Indian immigrant mother, emotional

resources may exist in the form of comfort from family members or from those outside

the family network when she experiences natural stress in the process of caregiving.

Receiving advice and guidance may serve as examples of informational resources

received from others (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Cutrona & Russell, 1990). Attending ethnic

community events, such as festivals or religious ceremonies, may present opportunities to

gather information pertaining to one's culture and language, and stay connected with

one's cultural roots (Bhattacharya, 2011; Ecklund & Park, 2007; Wakil, Siddique, &

Wakil, 1981). Consistent contact with extended family, especially with those in the native

country may further help immigrant families maintain their cultural values, which is

important for the formation of their cultural identity (Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). Staying

connected with the grandparents either over the phone or observing them in person may

also present opportunities for them to learn about cultural values (Inman et al., 2007;

Saxena & Sanders, 2009; Wiscott & Kopera-Frye, 2000). Mothers may use the advice,

guidance, and other information received from others to validate their own beliefs and

practices and to encourage the transmission of those beliefs to their families at home.

Instrumental resources may include receiving tangible materials or services from others

(Cutrona & Russell, 1990; Cohen & Wills, 1985; Wills & Shinar, 2000). An example of a

service for a mother may include help with caregiving of a young child or help with

household chores from friend(s) or family member(s). Among Indian families, elder family members may especially provide the mother with this form of instrumental resource (Segal, 1991; Tuli, 2012).

      Benefits of emotional, instrumental, and informational resources. There is consensus in the literature on social support that mothers of young children who receive some of the aforementioned resources via their social ties have better cognitive and social-emotional functioning (Manuel, Martinson, Bledsoe-Mansori, & Bellamy, 2012; Leahy-Warren et al., 2011; Silver, Heneghan, Bauman, & Stein, 2006; Thompson & Peebles-Wilkins, 1992). Leahy-Warren et al. (2011), who conducted a study with mothers of infants, found that receiving emotional, instrumental, and informational support from family members, friends, and significant others was related to mothers feeling confident in their ability to parent effectively. Silver et al. (2006) found that mothers of infant-toddlers (i.e., children between six months to three years of age) who recalled generally receiving support from others less frequently in their lives reported experiencing high psychological distress (e.g., depression symptoms, anxiety, anger, and cognitive disturbance). Furthermore, experiencing high psychological distress was related to mothers' discomfort in a parenting role. Thompson and Peebles-Wilkins (1992) conducted a study with adolescent mothers of infants to investigate the relationship between mothers' informal support and mothers' psychological distress. Perceived emotional and instrumental support from a male partner (i.e., a husband, a male companion, or the infant's father) was found to reduce mothers' level of psychological distress. More specifically, mothers with support from their male partner reported fewer

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symptoms of depression. In a longitudinal study, Manuel et al. (2012) also found that emotional support from partners, spouses, and significant others was influencial in reducing the negative effects of parenting stress on depression among mothers of young children.

Others have also found that mothers receiving support from their social ties during their child's early childhood years can positively impact their quality of parenting (Burchinal, Follmer, & Bryant, 1996; Jennings et al., 1991; Serrano-Villar, Huang, Calzada, 2017; Smith, 2010). Serrano-Villar et al. (2017), who conducted a study with Mexican and Dominican American mothers of children (average age four-years-old), found that mothers with emotional and instrumental support from family members are warm in their interactions with their children and use positive reinforcement (e.g., complimenting children's good behaviors) with them (Serrano-Villar et al., 2017). Burchinal et al. (1996) and Smith (2010) found that, among mothers of younger children, supports within social ties are also associated with mothers' responsive and stimulating practices. Among African American mothers of infants, Burchinal et al. (1996) found that more instrumental support, such as assistance with caregiving, allowed for the mothers to engage in more stimulating and responsive interactions with children. Smith (2010), who conducted a study with predominantly European American mothers of toddlers (ages two-and-half to three years) found that mothers who are satisfied with the support they receive from others, inclusive of emotional support from a spouse and instrumental support from friends, engage in sensitive and stimulating interactions. They are attentive towards their children, communicate with them, and engage in fewer coercive controlling

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practices (e.g., intrusive interactions-restricting the child). Jennings et al. (1991), who conducted a study with mothers of children (average ages 4.6 years) further found that a bigger network of people to talk with about the child, to get advice and information from, and to get childcare assistance from can help mothers engage in warmer interactions with their children. Researchers have concluded that perhaps the assistance and advice received in childrearing from others fosters mothers' feelings of competence and satisfaction in their roles (Burchinal et al., 1996), provides them with emotional support, and reduces their level of stress (Jennings et al., 1991). As a consequence, mothers may experience enhanced functioning in their maternal roles (Burchinal et al., 1996; Jennings et al. 1991).

The findings of some of the previous literature exploring social support advocates for adequacy of support from other people, including family members, in the early childhood years (Burchinal et al., 1996; Jennings et al., 1991; Leahy-Warren et al., 2011; Serrano-Villar et al., 2017; Silver et al., 2006; Thompson & Peebles-Wilkins, 1992; Smith, 2010). Support within social ties from others fosters mothers' mental health (Silver et al., 2006; Thompson & Peebles-Wilkins, 1992) and their confidence (Leahy-Warren et al., 2011) when the child is in infancy or toddler years. Ultimately, the type of support received from others play an important role in parenting (Burchinal et al., 1996; Jennings et al., 1991; Serrano-Villar et al., 2017; Smith, 2010) and may serve as a way to foster mothers' roles in parenting (Burchinal et al., 1996; Jennings et al. 1991). To summarize, the support that mothers receive from within their social networks seems to serve as a protective factor against psychological distress and poor parenting. However, it

is unclear from these existing findings how immigrant mothers, who may have left their strong social networks in India, navigate their social relations in order to develop as individuals in the U.S. and as mothers of young children.

Gender Roles: Shifts and Continuity in Receiving Instrumental Resource at Home

With an increase in married women's participation in education and paid-work outside of the home, it is intuitive that mothers would utilize their social capital, such as a spouse or other family members, to get help accomplishing their responsibilities in the home and with the child. Despite social changes associated with women's education and employment, however, married mothers of young children continue to engage in more household work and childcare compared to their husbands (Casper & Bianchi, 2002; Dutta, 2000; Jain & Belsky, 1997; Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010; Milkie, Raley, & Bianchi, 2009; Raley, Bianchi, & Wang, 2012; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Suppal & Roopnarine, 1999). In a nationally representative time diary study from American families of toddler and preschool age children (age 6 or younger), Milkie et al. (2009) found that employed mothers do more housework and engage more with the child in various activities (e.g., eating with the child, reading) compared to fathers. Another set of time diary data found similar results (Raley et al., 2012). Raley et al. (2012) conducted a time diary data study with over 5,000 married fathers and mothers of children under the age of 13 and found that, even though fathers can take on greater responsibility for childrearing without the assistance of the mothers, mothers still continue to spend more time caring for a child than fathers do. This gender gap in caregiving, however, is narrow

among families with dual-earning parents in which the mother is working and earning more than the father.

Evidence from studies conducted among Indian families living in India (Dutta, 2000; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010; Suppal & Roopnarine, 1999) and in the U.S. (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010) also confirm a gendered pattern in household chores and caregiving of a young child. Saraff and Srivastava (2010) conducted a study with 350 married couples with children aged 10 years or younger in single-earner and dual-earner families living in Mumbai, India. They found that the fathers were less frequently engaged in various household chores compared to mothers. These chores included: cooking, meal clean-ups, laundry, and house cleaning. Moreover, they were less frequently engaged with their children in routine activities. These activities included: feeding, bathing, and dressing the child, putting the child to bed, cutting child's nails, and cleaning the child. It was concluded that taking care of children in routine activities was not part of fathers' own routine work at home. Rather, fathers engaged in these various activities off and on in the absence of their wives. Mothers more frequently engaged in the unpleasant work of childcare (e.g., cleaning the child or changing nappies) compared to the fathers, whereas fathers more frequently engaged in play with the child compared to the mothers.

The reason for the disparity between the mothers' and fathers' amount of time and quality of time spent with their children may have historic and religious roots. Despite Indian mothers' significant contribution to the larger society through their paid-work, society still expects them to do more at home, including taking care of a young child, compared to their husbands (Dutta, 2000; Suppal & Roopnarine, 1999). In a study with

Indian Bengali mothers, Dutta (2000) found that only seven mothers out of 105 received any help at home from their husbands. The remaining mothers shared responsibilities with relatives (n=13), servants (n=53), or relied on themselves (n=32). Suppal and Roopnarine (1999), who conducted a study with single and nuclear families in New Delhi, India, found that employed and unemployed mothers spend more time in primary caregiving of their preschool age children than fathers do. They explained that, regardless of women's employment status and family structure, women are expected to balance their time between unpaid work at home and paid-work outside of the home in order to maintain family harmony. In addition, Indian women are viewed as the salient figures in taking care of the household chores and being responsive to the young child's needs, and men are expected to take care of the aging parents (Roopnarine & Hossain, 1992). These traditional views of the Indian mother and father within the Indian society may stem from the ancient religious principles and historic assumptions about women (See Roopnarine et al., 2013 for review). According to religious principles within the Indian society, multiple female goddesses hold powerful roles, including mothering roles, and the historic assumptions are that female caregivers are primarily responsible for taking care of the child during the early childhood years, whereas fathers maintain a distance (See Roopnarine et al., 2013 for review).

Within the U.S., some Indian immigrant families continue to follow or preserve the traditional gender roles from their home country. Mehrotra and Calasanti (2010), who conducted interviews with 38 first-generation Indian immigrant married couples, found that Indian mothers take more responsibility towards the house and the children

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compared to Indian fathers. However, there were mixed findings regarding participants'

perceptions of a woman's and man's roles. Some believed that, despite a woman's

employment status, domestic work such as cooking meals, cleaning the house, or caring

for children was a woman's primary responsibility. Others thought that men should help

with household chores (e.g., help in the kitchen and with dishes) and with looking after

and raising the children. In addition, some men in the study believed that as a

consequence of moving to the U.S., resulting in the absence of extended kin support for

domestic work, they had to take more responsibility at home compared to men living in

India. This transition was more difficult for many men than it was for women. Yet, there

was gender hierarchy in the type of house-related tasks that men could choose.

Regardless of women's employment status, housework and child care responsibilities

remained women's responsibility, and it was concluded that, perhaps in taking these

responsibilities, the women in the study were trying to maintain traditional cultural

habits. Perhaps these findings suggest a modified patriarchal structure among Indian

immigrant families. A prior study conducted by Jain and Belsky (1997) also found results

suggesting a potential shift in gender roles among Indian immigrant families in the U.S.

They found that fathers of children between the ages of 18 and 44 months who had

assimilated in the new country were more likely to engage with their toddlers during

dinner time in caretaking, playing, teaching, and disciplining than fathers who may be

holding on to traditional beliefs about their roles.

Summary

Overall, the literature reviewed in my dissertation suggests that, parenting is situated in culture and human and social capital. Mothers' human and social capital positively add to their parenting experiences in the child's early childhood years (Kim & Wickrama, 2013; Smith, 2010). Despite time spent outside of the home due to professional commitments, mothers still continue to be available to their children at home (Casper & Bianchi, 2002). Yet, such conclusions are drawn from literature predominantly representing non-immigrant families, and the current immigration climate suggests a need to explore experiences of immigrant families. Immigrant families may bring unique human and social capital in their parenting. For example, in the context of immigration and patriarchal norms, and despite their employment status, educated mothers of young children may be tasked to carry much responsibility in taking care of the child at home with little support from immediate family. In the context of immigration, some mothers who experience disruption of their social ties may be tasked to find their own developmental niche as individuals and mothers of young children in the U.S. Using the theoretical model of parental ethnotheories, I explored first-generation Indian immigrant mothers' cultural beliefs to better understand how their unique human and social capital plays an important role in their lives and in mothering. More specifically, I asked: What are the parenting beliefs and practices of first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers? How are these beliefs and practices shaped by mothers' human and social capital, inclusive of their relationships with spouses, family, and community? How do

these beliefs and practices couple with their relationships with spouses, family, and

community contribute to their negotiation of motherhood in the US?

Chapter Three: Methodology

I approached this project from a subjectivist stance, which appears on the first

level of the cascade model (Figure 3), in exploring parenting beliefs among first-

generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers in the context of their unique human and

social capital. The subjectivist stance maintains that knowledge is constructed through the

process of meaning-making (Daly, 2007). The social constructionism paradigm that

appears on the second level of the cascade model assumes the interplay between the

researcher's and the participant's meaning (Charmaz, 2008; Daly, 2007), or a co-

construction of meaning and knowledge. A subjectivist stance with the social

constructionism paradigm allowed me to broaden my understanding of the meanings that

mothers with unique human and social capital attached to themselves and their practices.

The Developmental Niche and Theoretical model of Parental Ethnotheories, as well as

the literature on topics related to social capital, maternal education and work, and Indian

parenting were used as guiding theoretical framework to interpret the mothers' beliefs

and practices. A modified grounded theory approach was used for conducting analysis in

three waves—open, axial, and selective coding (LaRossa, 2005).
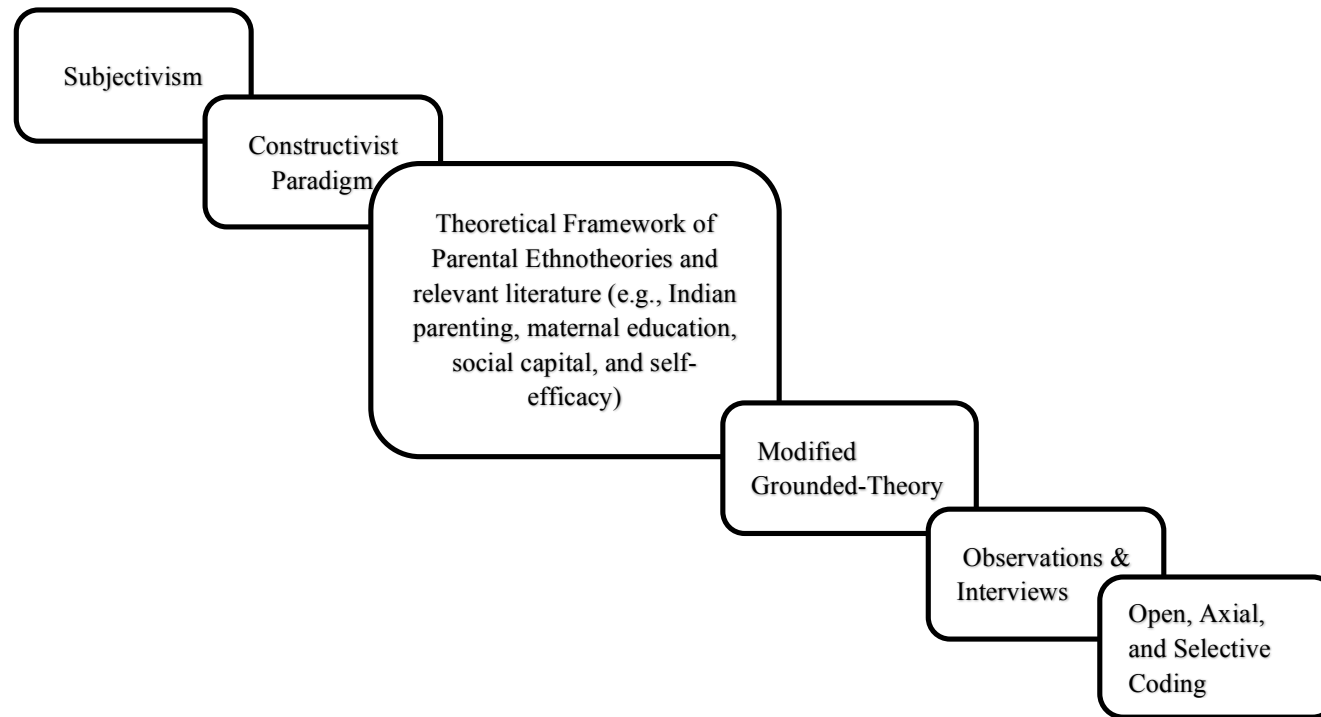
Figure 3. Cascade of Knowledge.
Adapted from Daly (2007)

Recruitment and Sample Characteristics

Upon receiving approval from the university IRB committee, I used the following strategies simultaneously from February until August 2018 to recruit mother-toddler dyads for this study: 1) posted and handed flyers (Appendix A) to advertise my project in local Indian grocery stores and at several temples; 2) asked multiple community members affiliated with Indian cultural organizations and those who often visited cultural events to spread the word about my project; and 3) snowballed from existing participants. Snowball sampling strategy involves asking the participants to introduce the researcher to other participants (Patton, 2002). The final sample comprised of 12 Hindi speaking, first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers (18 to 36 months old) who were experiencing their first child's or their second child's toddlerhood for the first time in the U.S.

Mothers who were born in India and migrated to the U.S. at or after the age of 21 were considered. The first-generation Indian immigrant women who are socialized predominately in the Indian culture are thought to have internalized the cultural beliefs that they were exposed to when they were growing up (Varghese & Jenkins, 2009). Thus, the condition that the mothers must be at least 21 years of age was set to ensure that the mothers have a mature awareness of how they were brought up as children and young adults, primarily in the Indian culture. The criteria to include toddlers between the ages of 18 to 36 months was set based on the suggested age (ages 18 months or 12 to 36 months of age) of toddlerhood in the parenting literature (Edwards & Liu, 2002). Although data

was collected from these mothers by August 2018, efforts to recruit additional participants were made until October 2018. Yet, due to Indian festivals during September-October months, recruiting new participants became challenging. Therefore, from October through November months, efforts were diverted to finding an undergraduate or a graduate student from Indian origin or from a closer ethnic background for assistance with data analysis.

Child characteristics. All toddlers were born in the United States and their average age was 23.25 months. Ten toddlers were only children. One toddler had an older sister who was born in India and had migrated to the U.S. at the age of six. There was also a set of sister-brother twins. Nine toddlers were boys and four toddlers were girls. All toddlers were considered in the study.

Mother characteristics. All mothers in the study were born in India and their age ranged from 28 to 48, with an average age of 34.36 years. At the time of the study, all mothers were married. On average, mothers had stayed in the U.S. for 8.42 years (Table 1 for maternal age during the study and the number of years living in the U.S.).

Table 1

Mothers' Ages and Years Living in the U.S.

Mothers	Age	No. of Years Living in the U.S.
Anita	33	6
Anushka	28	3
Hetal	32	5
Kirti	38	9
Manisha	48	27
Mansi	34	3
Mona	41	17
Namrata	34	4
Neha	34	11
Purva	32	3
Simran	30	6
Vishali	28	7

The majority of the mothers (n=7), came to the U.S. after marriage. Five mothers were single at the time of their arrival to the U.S. In regards to mothers' native language, Hindi was their native language. Three out of twelve mothers, however, spoke a regional language (i.e., Gujarati, Tamil, and Telugu) in addition to Hindi. The highest level of education completed was a graduate degree (n=8) either in the U.S. or in India followed by bachelors (n=1), some certification (n=1), and high school diploma (n=1). One mother did not share information regarding her education level. Out of the eight mothers who completed a graduate degree, two were in the process of starting further graduate work in the U.S. During the course of the study, five mothers were employed full-time (i.e., working 40 hours each week). One mother was employed part-time (i.e., working approximately 17 hours each week). Six mothers were stay-at-home mothers who were

not engaged in employment during the study (See Table 2 for more information on mothers' disciplines and occupation). All mothers except, Mansi and Purva, noted that they were either going through or had gone through some transition in the past related to their education and/or work (e.g., gained certificates in computers or changed career, went from working to a stay-at-home mother and vice-versa). All mothers had a spouse who was employed. Eight mothers had a spouse who was working in the Information Technology (IT) industry and the remaining mothers had a spouse who was working in one of the following fields: health (n=1), science research (n=1), business (n=1), and restaurant (n=1).

Table 2

Education and Work Characteristics of the Mother

Mothers	Disciplines Post High-School	Job Status and Occupation
Anita	Communication, Electronics, Computers	Stay-at-home
Anushka	Transportation Engineer	Civil Engineering
Hetal	Accounting, Computers, Finance	Stay-at-home
Kirti	Accounting, Math, Physics	Accountant (Office Manager)
Manisha	Accounting, Computers, Management	Management in IT
Mansi	Unknown	Stay-at-home
Mona	Management (Human Resources)	Stay-at-home
Namrata	Health field (Pediatrics)	Observership at a hospital
Neha	Computers	Contractor in IT
Purva	Not Applicable	Esthetician at a Salon
Simran	Health field (Dental)	Stay-at-home
Vishali	Computers	Stay-at-home

Data Collection

I collected data over a three-month period in the year 2018. One mother, Mansi, however, dropped out of the study after the first month of her data collection. Each data collection home visit averaged nearly two hours unless mothers requested remaining data be collected (e.g., interviews) on a different day. After each data collection visit, I took detailed field notes to describe the events that took place from the beginning of each visit until the end of each visit. At the end of each data collection visit, I gave mothers $20 gift cards along with a toy or a book for the toddler.

Observations. With participants' permission, I conducted 25-minute audio or video observation(s) at their home. Overall, eight mothers agreed to three 25-minute video observations. One mother agreed to two audio observations. Observations of these nine mothers with their toddlers were conducted close to a month apart (Table 3 for specific dates of observations per dyad). Of the 11 mothers who agreed to observations, two mothers agreed to only one 25-minute audio or video observation. Mansi, who dropped out of the study did not consent for any video or audio observation. Table 3 summarizes information regarding the number of observations and the type of observation(s) (i.e., video or audio) that were conducted with all mother-toddler dyads in this study.

Table 3

Data Collection: Observation(s)

Dyad	Observations	Type	Dates (2018)
Anita-Shubh	3	Video	Jun 29, July 19, Aug 19
Anushka-Kamal	1	Video	May 14
Hetal-Parul	3	Video	Feb 21, Mar 25, April 24
Kirti-Sorab	3	Video	Mar 24, April 28, May 18
Manisha-Yuvaan	3	Video	Feb 18, Mar 18, April 15
Mansi-Yash	0	-	-
Mona-Sunny	3	Video	Mar 7, April 3, May 11
Namrata-Dristi	2	Audio	April 21, May 19
Neha-Lekha/Laksh	3	Video	Mar 26, April 20, May 25
Purva-Avani	3	Video	May 18, June 30, July 15
Simran-Karan	3	Video	Mar 9, April 16, May 7
Vishali-Raj	1	Audio	June 5

The objective of the naturalistic home observation was to capture naturally occurring mother-toddler interactions at a time of the day convenient to the mother-toddler dyads. Mothers were requested to choose a time of the day when their toddler was fully awake, and they were asked to keep away from engaging in made-up activities during the observations. Mother-toddler dyads were observed engaging in one or a combination of the following activities: unstructured play (e.g., playing with toys for few minutes and then watching videos on laptop or TV together), reading, singing, and feeding.

During the observations, I maintained my distance from the mothers and toddlers. Despite my effort, some toddlers tried to pull me into the observations and sometimes the mothers would talk to me during the observation as they were not used to someone

recording their interactions. In these instances, I politely smiled and continued to make my distance from the toddler, requested the mother to pretend I was not there, or completely stopped the recording and started recording when the mother-toddler dyad got busy with their activities. According to Patton (2002), observations occur on a continuum where the observer can be engaged in activities as an insider or distance him/herself from the activities and the participants. Given the strategies I used as an observer, I was trying to become a strict distant observer who would not interact with the dyads and only observe them from a distance.

In-depth interviews. I used open-ended questions (Appendix B) that were tailored to each mother, developed based on the literature reviewed and conversations with my methodologist over time. These interviews included: one ecocultural family interview; two video recall interviews; one demographic, family/mapping, and resources interview.

Ecocultural family interview. During the first month of their data collection, all 12 mothers engaged in the ecocultural family interview, which involved asking participants to share information about the daily routine of practices they engage in from the time they get up in the morning until they go to sleep at night (Weisner, 2002). This interview allowed me to produce richer accounts of mother-toddler dyads' and their families' routine, practices inclusive of feeding, playing, and co-sleeping.

Video/audio recall interviews. Researchers from several disciplines, inclusive of education (e.g., Gass & Mackey, 2000; Lyle, 2003; Sewall, 2009; Vesterinen, Toom, & Patrikainen, 2010), have used video recall stimulation as a qualitative method to prompt

participants to reflect on their thoughts as they watch their interactions with others. Interview and observations are considered valuable methods for understanding participants' behaviors, and interviews are especially valuable for gathering information about actions that could not be observed (Maxwell, 2013). Furthermore, asking participants to discuss events can elicit their episodic memory (Dere, Easton, Nadel, & Huston, 2008; Tulving, 2002). In the second and third month of data collection, I used segments of mother-toddler dyads' video or audio interactions as probes to elicit mothers' episodic memory of the events that took place when the dyads were observed interacting with each other. In addition, the purpose of showing or asking mothers to listen to their recorded interactions was to encourage them to talk about the meanings that they attached to their practices (e.g., responsive and stimulating interactions) with their toddlers. Audio segments were only used for mothers who asked for audio recordings of their observations instead of a video recording of their observations. The video or audio probes were drawn from the observations that were recorded a month before these conversations. The segments of the recordings that best aligned with the empirical definitions of responsive and stimulating interactions were selected as probes for the post-observation interviews. This was important as it allowed me to understand if the participants' definitions or meanings of their responsive and stimulating interactions aligned with the existing definitions of these constructs in the literature. A mother consoling the toddler when the toddler was crying was considered as an example of responsive interaction. A mother saying numbers out loud during an unstructured play activity with her toddler was considered as an example of a stimulating interaction. I chose these and other segments

of mother-toddler interactions in an effort to understand why those interactions were valued or not valued by the mother, how mothers' beliefs were in line with models of Indian and Western parenting, and whether or not mothers contextualized those interactions with their toddlers within their unique human and social capital. Mothers responded to at least two segments of the video.

Demographic and family resources interviews. In the third month of data collection, mothers were asked to engage in a demographic interview. In such conversations, mothers described themselves and their families' demographic characteristics (e.g., toddler's date of birth, family member's work, immigration journey). As part of this interview, mothers were also asked to share situations in which individuals connected (e.g., family members/relatives, pediatrician, daycare providers, colleagues, and friends) to them supported and provided resources to mother and vice-versa. Questions for this interview were loosely structured based on a family mapping interview in which the researcher begins to form a family map that shows to whom the focal family member(s) is connected to (e.g., other family members, friends), how the focal family member(s) is connected to those individuals (e.g., strong or stressful connections), and how the flow of resources between the focal family member(s) and those individuals affects them (Koralek, 2007).

Data Analyses

A modified grounded theory approach was used to analyze ecocultural family interviews, video/audio recall interviews, demographic and family resources interviews, and observations. Analysis of these qualitative data helped address the two research

questions related to how mothers' parenting beliefs and practices are contextualized in mothers' unique human capital and social capital. A modified grounded theory approach allows the researcher to consider theories that emerge from the data and theories from the existing literature in the analysis process (LaRossa, 2005). Data analysis took place in three waves—open, axial, and selective coding (LaRossa, 2005). Analysis had begun when I was collecting the data and transcribing Hindi/English audio interviews in English. After transcribing the interviews, I read all the transcripts as the audios of the interviews were playing. I also watched the video-recorded observations and heard the audio-recorded observations to take note of the types of activities and parent-child behaviors that were taking place during the observations. Overall, this wave of analysis allowed me to brainstorm strategies (e.g., probing follow-up questions) for the next set of data collection (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

After data collection was complete, I continued to engage in open coding. This wave of analysis involved carefully reading across all participants' interview transcripts (e.g., ecocultural family interview, demographic, family resource/mapping, and post-observation interviews). As I read across the data, I engaged in memoing by developing notes of the transcripts. These notes are assumed to reflect ideas about potential codes, categories, and relationships in the data (Maxwell & Miller, 2008). This led to open coding. Using my existing notes of the interview data, I started to develop numerous codes. With the help of an undergraduate student who was pursuing a bachelor degree in Human Development and Family Studies (HDFS) discipline, I was able to develop a loosely structured coding scheme that could be used for coding all the interview

transcripts. We coded the same four interview transcripts individually using the coding scheme. When we finished coding individually, we met to discuss any disagreements with the existing codes. Discussing disagreements with the existing codes was really important as the undergraduate student was an HDFS student and she was aware of theories within this field which could have informed her coding. As we discussed disagreements with the existing codes, I learned that she was not using any specific theory to inform her thinking about the codes. Rather she seemed to be drawing on her background as a South Asian second-generation woman to inform her thinking.

Open coding of the observation data was done in a similar manner. Initially, I watched all observation video data and heard the observation audio data that were collected for each participant. This allowed me to develop detailed notes on mother-toddler interactions, and these notes reflected ideas about potential codes. I used these notes to develop codes for mother-toddler behaviors and activities (e.g., feeding, playing). Codes that I developed from watching the observation data and from hearing the audios of the observations were included in the existing coding scheme document. The same undergraduate student and I used observation codes to open code one video-observation that was collected during the first visit. We coded the entire video-observation individually on MAXQDA software. When we finished coding individually, we met to discuss any disagreements with the existing codes. As a result of our discussion, we discovered that the mothers' behaviors overlapped such that for a few minutes the mother was sensitive to the toddler during the activity (i.e., giving the child the autonomy to eat something during feeding) and in the next few minutes she was

controlling (e.g., controlling what food the toddler eats). In addition, the mother's

sensitive and stimulating behaviors overlapped. For example, when a mother during the

observation counted the number of pieces of cheese the toddler ate, the mother

maintained physical closeness with the toddler and comforted him throughout. We also

acknowledged that these interactions varied given toddler's changing behaviors. The

mother was responsive because the toddler had cried before, and she used counting

cheese as a way to divert his behavior. Given the overlap of the mother's behaviors

during the entire activity and given the varying situations surrounding the mother (i.e.,

toddler's changing behaviors from throwing tantrum to smiling and vice-versa), we

concluded that it will be best to code the entire interaction as opposed to coding the

segments of the observations used as probes.

I asked a graduate student for assistance with the analyses of the two mothers'

post-observation interviews. The graduate student was of Indian origin, and she was

pursuing a doctorate in Early Childhood Education. This student was essential to the

analysis in this study as she understood the Hindi language, which the mothers used to

communicate during the observations. Together, we watched one segment and then heard

the audio recordings of the post-observation interviews that went with the observation.

As we were listening to the audio recordings, we were also reading the transcripts that

went along with the interview. The graduate student and I then discussed what we

thought was happening regarding mother-toddler dyad behaviors and mother's reflections

of these behaviors. We continued to look at the observation segments and post-

observation interview (audio and transcripts) side-by-side in this manner until the end of

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the post-observation interview. Upon watching each segment and hearing the interviews that went along with the observations for the two mother-toddler dyads, we agreed that coding the entire video will be best for analysis purposes. In addition, we concluded that it was essential to code the video and the post-observation interviews side-by-side. For example, after coding the video, the coder coded the post-observation interview transcripts that went along with that video. The coder repeated these steps until both the video and the post-observation interviews were entirely coded. Overall, this allowed for a comprehensive understanding of the underlying beliefs, ideas, goals, or values that the mothers held regarding specific observed interactions. Given graduate student's limited availability, I served as the main coder.

As a result of my discussion with the undergraduate and the graduate student about the interview and observation codes, I was able to engage in the second wave of analysis—axial coding (i.e., creating connections between salient codes that could form subcategories, Maxwell & Miller, 2008). This first involved revising the coding scheme. When revising the coding scheme, I identified codes that could be grouped under major codes (Glesne, 2016). For example, initially I had multiple codes related to mothers' beliefs, ideas, or perceptions that appeared in the data consistently and were listed as distinct separate codes such as: beliefs/ideas about the nature of the child, beliefs/ideas about parent/parenting, and beliefs/ideas about specific practices. These codes were then grouped under a major Mother Beliefs category. Reworking the coding scheme also involved identifying identical codes that could be combined (Glesne, 2016). Description of the toddler was one code, for example, that seemed identical with one of the subcodes

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under major Mother Beliefs category. This code was combined with Mother's Beliefs/Ideas about the toddler subcode under the major Mother Beliefs code. A major code Support was split into three major codes: Missing Support from/to others, Support received from others, and Support to others. This process of revising the coding scheme (Appendix C) continued until I had developed subcodes for most of the existing codes with a brief description of what each subcode meant (Glesne, 2016).

After coding all the data, I went back to the full coded data to pull examples of quotes or potential segments of interactions that seemed to represent major categories. I started to organize these quotes and summaries of the quotes in an excel sheet. In doing this, I realized that I needed to go back to the interviews and observations to get more context surrounding the selected quotes. As I re-read the interviews and saw/heard the observations, I started creating rough narratives to describe the mothers' education and work experiences, their typical responsibilities at home and/or work, the emotions they identified feeling in caregiving or in general, the support they received from family members (near—e.g., husbands or far—e.g., own parents) and non-family members (e.g., friends, colleagues, pediatrician, daycare providers), and their immigration journey before and after their toddlers' birth. Narrative summaries are referred to as connecting analytic strategies in which key relationships are identified and integrated into a narrative and the information that is not relevant to the relationship is eliminated (Maxwell & Miller, 2008). As I was creating rough narratives, I was engaging in the third wave of coding—selective coding. Writing narratives allowed me to gain a sense of mothers' parenting beliefs and interactions in the context of their unique human and social capital.

Data Quality

Several strategies were employed to enhance the quality of the findings and increase the level of trustworthiness. These strategies involved addressing neutrality, engaging in reflexivity and triangulation, and providing thick descriptions of participants. These four strategies were used consistently throughout the study.

Neutrality. Guba (1981) recommends using neutrality as a strategy to address aspects of trustworthiness. Neutrality questions whether the findings are solely a function of the participants and the research conditions, as well as if the findings are a function of biases (Guba, 1981). A way to address neutrality is to conduct prolonged or lengthy periods of observations with the participants, and—similarly—a way to address credibility is to spend an extended period of time with the participants (Krefting, 1991). Spending an extended period of time allows the researcher to check their perspectives; simultaneously, the participants become used to the researcher (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Given the nature of my study, I was in the field for many hours for the purpose of recruiting participants and for data collection. During recruitment, I interacted with many members of the community and potential participants. I spent a large amount of time (i.e., days and hours) building trust and rapport with community members and with potential participants. Before data collection, I visited participants multiple times to introduce myself, to convince them to participate in the project, and to gain consent. When collecting data, I spent approximately six hours with each of 11 participants and two hours with one participant. Each visit was approximately two hours long occurring over a

three-month period. Collecting data overtime eventually allowed me to ask mothers if my perspective of their social-context (e.g., education and work experiences), beliefs, and practices were in tune with their perspectives.

Reflexivity. Reflexivity requires the researcher to reflect upon his/her thoughts and emotions from the very beginning of the inquiry to the final stage of sharing the findings (Glesne, 2016) and this is especially important as prolonged engagement with the participants can lead to closeness between the participants and the researchers (Krefting, 1991). At every stage of the study—from recruitment up until data analysis, I reflected on my emotions and thoughts to check for potential bias. From the start of the study, I was well aware that I am an unmarried, South Asian Indian female who was not a mother and is pursuing higher education and conducting a study with married South Asian Indian immigrant mothers of young children. Some of the community members were also older in age, married, and had children. I was also aware that I am neither a first- or second-generation Indian immigrant as I came to the U.S. at the age of 11. During the data collection phase, I was also in touch with my committee members who were American mothers of young children. I observed them interacting with their children at some point during data collection. Given the interactions I had with individuals belonging to the two cultural communities, I started questioning my identity as an unmarried, educated, immigrant Indian female. I often felt displaced in these two cultural communities. I reflected on how these emotions may have played in the recruitment. For example, during the initial days of recruiting, I felt uncomfortable reaching out to community members or prospective participants because I knew how

different I was from them. An awareness of such emotions helped me approach data collection differently. I approached each data collection visit with the goal of learning something new about the phenomena of mothering from the participants. At the end of each visit, many participants asked me for resources that they could use at home with their toddlers. When reflecting on their requests, I realized that they viewed me as an expert on parenting and child development topics. This led me to reflect on my education and work experiences.

I reflected on my former work experiences as a substitute teacher in K-12 and as a pre-K assistant teacher and how they could have shaped my interactions with the participating mothers or the toddlers. I also reflected on my education background in Education Psychology and Early Childhood Education and how this may have informed my interpretation of the data I was collecting and analyzing. Moreover, I reflected on my training as a graduate research assistant in both qualitative and quantitative methods, which may have informed my ideas for data collection and analysis. Additionally, I reflected on how the undergraduate student and the graduate student's identity may have informed the interpretation of the findings. The undergraduate student was born in the U.S., but her parents were brought up in Sri Lanka. Although born and brought up in the U.S., the undergraduate student is aware of the Indian culture. At the time of the data analysis, she was pursuing a bachelor's in Human Development and Family Studies. The graduate student was born and brought up in Gujarat, India. She is married and is a mother of two children—a preschool-aged girl and an elementary school aged boy. She is pursuing her doctorate in Early Childhood Education. Our backgrounds may have

undoubtedly shaped our thinking about the Indian culture and parenting in the U.S. To minimize bias, I continued to reflect on my emotions and thoughts throughout the study.

Triangulation. I analyzed data across multiple sources (i.e., in-depth conversational interviews and observations), and I analyzed data that were collected at different time points. According to Krefting (1991), analyzing data across multiple sources can help minimize misrepresentation of the findings interpreted from a snigle data source. Analyzing in-depth conversational interviews and observations helped me gain a holistic view of my participants' parenting experiences. In addition, analyzing multiple sources of data in parallel allowed me to check my misinterpretations of participants' parenting beliefs and practices.

Thick, rich descriptions. Credibility asks how confident the researcher is in the research design and the findings of the study, as well as in the participants (Krefting, 1991; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Thick, rich descriptions is one approach in establishing credibility (Creswell & Miller, 2000). It involves using the data to describe the setting, participants, or the events (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Glesne, 2016). Presenting ample descriptive data can allow others to judge how transferable the findings of one study may be, which is important for addressing transferability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The narrative accounts can especially provide readers with the context for interpreting the findings (Glesne, 2016). As needed, I used detailed field notes to develop a narrative of what the setting was like during the visit and what situations surrounded each participant when I was drafting narratives for each mother during selective coding. When necessary,

I presented summative statements from those narratives in the findings section to provide

ample context for understanding the findings.

Chapter Four: Role of Self and Spouse

The purpose of my dissertation was to explore parenting beliefs among first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers with unique human and social capital. I sought to comprehend participants' beliefs about their own identities, and, more specifically, their beliefs about their roles as educated mothers of toddlers who were either participating or not participating in employment. I also explored the roles that participants' family members and individuals outside of their family network played in helping the participants negotiate motherhood. From analyzing qualitative interviews and observations, I learned that participants were negotiating the demands of mothering with themselves in their specific roles as educated mothers of toddlers who were either participating or not participating in employment. I also learned that they were negotiating motherhood through the lens of their unique social capital, such as relationships with spouse, relatives, and individuals from different cultural communities. In this chapter, I unpack the roles of participants' selves and spouses in helping the participants negotiate motherhood. In chapter five, I unpack the role of other family members and the cultural communities (i.e., Indian-American and American) in helping participants negotiate motherhood. Although these processes of negotiation are presented separately in these

two chapters, participants were simultaneously negotiating all of these relationships as part of their experiences of motherhood.

Role of Self in Negotiating Motherhood

Participants in this dissertation had a range of educational and professional experiences that seemed to inform their beliefs about the role their human capital played in the formation of their identities as individuals and as mothers of toddlers. As individuals, the participants in my dissertation were either pursing employment or were staying home full-time as non-paid workers. Those who were staying home did not pursue paid work due to contextual circumstances (e.g., visa constraints, limited child care support from visiting family members) or to a personal choice to forgo paid work completely. Still most participants viewed their education as a form of human capital that could positively shape their professional and personal growth. They also believed that this form of human capital had an ongoing influence on their identities as mothers. Their education and prior professional experiences could continue to inform their mothering and influence their child's development, even if this form of capital was not being used directly towards employment during motherhood. Participants were negotiating this element of their identity with their primary caregiver roles by leaving their jobs completely or by trying to find a balance between their professional and primary caregiver roles. Negotiating the demands of their primary caregiver roles with their professional identities underlay some participants' parenting goals and practices.

Role of self as educated mothers and professionals. Most participants in this study viewed education and career as elements of their maternal identities that were

important for their personal growth and for their abilities to mother and to contribute to their children's development, both now, as toddlers, and in the future. Education and career were important for the development of their personal goals and social-emotional and cognitive growth.

Participants such as Simran and Kirti, spoke positively about how their education and career expriences could not only inform their professional growth, but also empower them as either independent women or mothers of young children. Simran, a 30-year-old mother of a 21-month-old toddler boy, Karan, pursued a Bachelor of Dental Surgery (BDS) in India and worked as a dentist for six-months there. She believed that her education helped shape her goals: "If I had not done education, then I'm not sure what my goals would have been." Although she was struggling to get into a dental school in the U.S., she spoke positively about how working outside of the home could provide structure in one's life, develop another part of one's identity, and help one develop resiliency as a mother: "When you are home…I don't feel that it's structured in life...When you get out, your mind diverts…from your problems…And you meet people. You are creating something…" Getting an education and having a career were also empowering for Kirti, as it made her financially independent. Kirti, a 38-year-old employed mother of a 19-month-old toddler boy, Sorab, had college degrees in science and accounting and was working two jobs within a field related to accounting and human resources. She believed that education was important for her career, which was, in turn, important for gaining money: "Work is for my own money….With education,…you have

a career…" Participating in paid-work helped her gain financial independence and helped her make financial contributions as a mother:

Kirti:…I'm bringing money and this is for me.

Swati:…This is…empowering you.

Kirti: Yup. That's true. I can spend…I'm not the person who's wasting money and then lavishly spending, but for me. And my pay check. So, we…arrange in that way. So, my pay check is good for grocery and his day care…It means that it's helping something…

The experience of getting an education was seen as beneficial for mothers' cognitive development and was ultimately believed to be beneficial for the child. Hetal spoke specifically about the importance of her education in contributing to her toddler's development. Hetal, a 32-year-old mother of a 24-month-old toddler girl, Parul, had double Masters in Accounting and Finance from India. She believed that she could use her education to understand and to educate Parul: "Education helped me to think…If I'm educated, I will think about how to educate my baby, how to raise [her], how to understand her. That way [it] will help me." Other participants also appreciated that they could apply the knowledge they gained from their education to scaffold their children's future learning and development. Anita, a 33-year-old mother of a 20-month-old toddler boy, Shubh, had a college degree in electronics, computers, and communications. She planned to use the specific knowledge that she accumulated from certain school subjects to guide and to scaffold Shubh's future learning of those subjects when he would struggle:

Anita: I don't think as of now…[my paid-work experience and education] are affecting in any way because the climate [when we were growing up] was totally different…but I think maybe…[my] education will help like …when he's in middle school or he's in higher school, I'll be able to [teach him]. Like, if we'll have some problem with his [progress in school] subjects and I'll be able to help him…I'll guide him in science or other subjects. We'll be able to help him…Because we have studied those subjects…

The experiences of getting an education and going to a job were especially believed to help the mothers navigate different resources through which they could gain broader perspectives on child development and parenting topics and aid them in evaluating different approaches to parenting. For example, Mona, a 41-year- old mother of an 18-month-old toddler boy, Sunny, choose to forgo her paid work completely after returning from her maternity leave. She had a Masters of Business Administration (MBA) in Human Resources and had 10 to 15 years of management experience in the fashion industry. Mona believed that her educational experience of earning an MBA helped her think critically and taught her the benefit and value of researching. She could look up resources online (e.g., WebMD) to inform her thinking about Sunny's development and to evaluate her approaches to parenting. In addition, she believed that her education allowed her to evaluate her ideas about parenting as well as advice from outside sources critically, including ideas from the internet and the Indian community:

Mona:…When you do [an] MBA,…when you're doing all your projects and stuff, you start to do so much research…You're going online. You're trying to put

things together. I think, it just like puts you in the habit of doing a lot of research…Before I sleep every night, I just have this habit of always reading something, and now it's not a book or anything…I'm going online and…researching every stage. What he should be doing?

Like today, I got an article [about]…five creative ways to do things with toddlers, and I'm very happy to see what I was reading; I was already doing all those things. So…I think like it does help you…to make you a well-informed parent. Also…(es)pecially for us Indians, for everything they [the community] say, 'Do this, do that.'…Cultural…methods…I try to read [up on things]…I think it's part of like…when you are getting educated and you are doing research, you're getting into the habit of kind of like Googl(ing) things and get(ing) your facts…I think that's a very good thing. I reach out to WebMD for everything because I want to know facts… It helps you as a mother…

Getting an education and going to a job, which served as bridges to meeting and connecting with new people outside of the home, was believed to enable mothers to exchange information with other parents and to expand their knowledge base on topics related to parenting and toddlers' development. Kirti believed that at professional conferences, parents could meet other parents and discuss a range of topics related to parenting: "…Based on your career…you have an opportunity to go to different cities,…conferences, [and meet] different people. Then you can…[ask], '…Do you have kids? Do you know how to?...How to sooth…[kids]?...'"

In addition, some participants believed that obtaining education and going to a job helped them to break out of the isolation they felt when they moved to the U.S. As new immigrants, Anushka and Manisha initially struggled to communicate and to socialize with others in the U.S. Anushka, a 28-year-old mother of a 25-month-old toddler boy, Kamal, had a Masters in Transportation Engineering from India and worked in India as a lecturer as well as a government contractor within this field. She believed that expanding one's education could encourage one to be interactive with others, and this was especially important for her, given that she was raising a child in the U.S., away from her family and established community:

> Anushka:…education makes you…[an] interactive person. If you don't have education…you don't feel interactive…Especially,…if you don't find education, then you can't speak English. So, what [are] we going to do here [in the U.S.]? Nothing…It's very hard…Education makes you more…wise…and education makes you get more information…That really helps me because, if you can't talk, you don't know. You're not going to know the information…After he [was] born, I have to know a lot…I need to talk with people…

Accepting employment helped Manisha become interactive with others, which she believed was important in becoming an effective caregiver. Manisha especially expressed feeling confident as a result of her paid-work experience. Feeling confidence as an individual was especially important for Manisha, because she had not felt socially competent when she was new to the American culture as an immigrant. Manisha, a 48-year-old mother of a 33-month-old toddler boy, Yuvaan, had 15 years of experience in

bank management in the U.S. As a manager at her job, she interacted with many people. She viewed this experience, as well as her age, as positive influences on her attitude, emotions, and parenting skills:

Manisha:…When we came to America, it was a cultural shock…we had no idea what people were saying…We had to watch TV just to get used to the communication…style…That was a hurdle…even though I was [a] graduate…[and had my] Bachelors…But once I established myself in bank(ing) and went to management. That's what fostered my…confidence. Professional growth…taught me a lot. How to deal with different customers in different situations…So that has helped me, I think…[for] 40-plus women, mom(s)…that's one of the benefits. You are more stable. You are more organized. You know exactly what you want to teach your baby. You have better control on yourself and your emotions…I don't think if I were [a] 20- (something) mom I would have done the same upbringing…If I were a mom, myself, in [my] 20s, I would have been [a] different kind of mom…Because I had not developed emotionally as much…I think education is important…it effects everything: How you interact socially, at work, professionally, and…just [with] decision-making. Anything…It's not just parenting…

The examples presented above illustrate the importance most participants placed on the roles that their education and career can play in shaping their identities, their personal development, their children's development, and their parenting experiences in the U.S. (Figure 3). Participants collectively felt that their education and career

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experiences could allow them to make positive contributions to their toddlers'

development. They could gain a broader perspective on parenting by doing research and

by socializing in the workplace. Despite the presence of culturally presecribed methods

(e.g., what to feed the child) of caregiving, Mona could research for herself what was the

best parenting method for her situation. Career and educational experiences could allow

Kirti, Manisha, and Anushka, to interact and connect with other parents. Through these

connections, they believed they could gain information, feedback, and advice. Manisha

also believed experiences of interacting with others balanced their emotions, so that she

could handle the demands associated with being a mother.

Beliefs about Children's Development and Parenting

Value of Maternal Education & Career

Beliefs about Mothers' Personal Growth (Cognitive and Socio-Emotional Development)
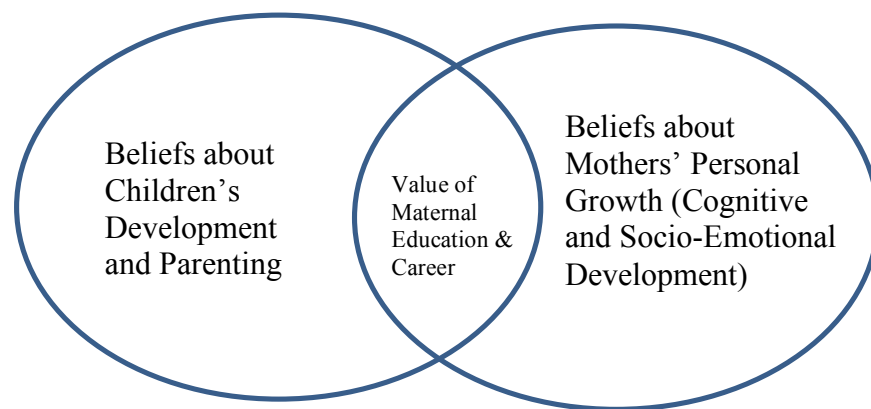
*Figure 4*. Mothers' Value of their Education and Career

Role of self as the primary caregiver. Participants took different approaches to

negotiating motherhood internally. Most of them believed that being a good mother, in

general, meant being the primary caregiver to their children and that their place of work

was at home with their children and family. This ideology was especially reinforced by

the models of mothering the participants grew up with in India. In order to conform to this ideology of good mothering, some participants left their jobs completely so they could be with their toddlers full-time. Those who did not leave their professional commitments sought opportunities to maximize quality time with the child whenever possible.

Mona and Manisha, had no prior models of mothering and working outside the home in parallel. When Mona was growing up in India, the concept of a working mother in her family was uncommon: "…We were all [living] in a joint family…when we were growing up…I had not seen any working moms…leaving their children and going to work." Similarly, Manisha shared that it was expected for an Indian woman to stay with their parents: "In India, typical norm…[women] stay with…[their] parents…[My family and I] all came here together…I never worked in India…" Although these participants did not have prior models of working mothers, they still worked on building their careers in the U.S. Both of these mothers held management positions, and, after becoming mothers, these participants took longer maternity leave. Although both of these participants returned to their paid jobs after their maternity leave, they expressed that it was hard to transition back to their full-time jobs. Mona, in particular, felt conflicted in her role as a professional woman working outside of the home sphere when her toddler was home with a nanny:

> Mona:…I always thought…even if I wasn't making as much money and all my salary went towards nanny, I would still work because I always wanted to work [outside]. That's who I am, but now I feel like I want to be home…I would work

towards training my employees [at my job]…Helping them with things and everything and sometimes I would be like, 'I'm investing in Catherine. I'm investing in Marie…I should be investing in my child'…

This conflict seemed to underlay Mona's decision to completely forgo her paid-work responsibilities in order to carry forward the tradition of prioritizing family needs when the husbands engaged in paid work outside of the home. Mona and other participants also specified that other caregivers were not reliable and could not take care of the child in their absence. Mona shared that in India, maids and nannies were relied upon as important caregivers in the family. Because of her more traditional upbringing during a time when she was taken care by her own siblings and mother, she was hesitant to rely on maids and nannies as caregivers. Although she had also hired a nanny for the first year of her child's life, she trusted herself and her family members as more reliable caregivers than these employees of the family:

> Mona:…I think it's the culture…[in India], but like in the evening, [parents]…send kids to the park with the maids…I was telling my sister-in-law, I said, 'I don't know how you guys do it. In my house I have a 24-7 camera…'And even the nanny I had…was not allowed to take him out. And you know, people over here do it…I said, 'but the maids come from agencies here and there. Even then, they are not as reliable. And with them, why do you send [the kids] to the park?' But that's the culture…I'm sure if we were living there we would have been a lot more fluid. And this [is for] convenience…I would have never left him [with] maids…although I did when I went to India this time. I left him a lot at

home when I was outing a lot because…I know…that Dadi and Bua [mother in-law and sister-in-law] were there, not like with servants. I would never do that.

Similar to Mona, Anita also believed that other caregivers could not take care of the child the way a family member could. She further added that different caregivers played different roles in a child's life. Grandparents pampered children, whereas parents disciplined children. She viewed herself as primarily responsible for disciplining her toddler, Shubh, and for transmitting Indian cultural values to him:

Anita:…[Before having my toddler]…I just used to think that…[other children's] mothers [who] are working...didn't…get home and…[the] grandmother was taking care of…[the children]…I understood that…[the kids] were not taken that good care of…[compared to] if…[their mother] would have been at home. That(s)…[something my husband and I] used to discuss [before we had Shubh]…I used to tell my husband that…'if we'll have a baby, maybe I'll leave my job at some point or I'll leave my job for few years. But I don't want…[Shubh] to be left alone with his grandmother…I want to raise my own baby'…I want to bring him as I was brought up, and I want to instill my values in him. Discipline. Grandparents tend to pamper kids a lot…They will discipline their kids, but they will not discipline their grandkids…My mother was [a] stay-at-home [mother].

Swati:…So, you kind of modeled that?

Anita:…I think…until he is two or three…[I think if I have a job] maybe, I'll leave my job if I'm not able to handle it.

Other mothers, such as Vishali and Namrata, who had professional responsibilities at the time of the study, were also negotiating these responsibilities with their primary caregiver roles. Addressing professional responsibilities inevitably led to spending more time physically away from the toddlers than these participants felt was acceptable. Although Vishali and Namrata were consciously thinking about their toddlers when they were apart, they spoke negatively about not being able to spend physical time with their toddlers during the day, had parenting agendas with specific goals they wanted to endorse, and were very intentional about spending quality time with their toddlers. Vishali, a 28-year-old mother of an 18-month-old toddler boy, Raj, had a Masters in Computer Science. During the study, she was not engaged in paid work and staying home full time, but she wanted to take a job outside of the home and was preparing for job interviews. She enrolled Raj into a day care so she could focus on addressing this professional goal. She constantly thought about Raj when he was at the day care and evaluated herself as the "worst" mother for enrolling him at a day care. When they were together, she attended to him fully, and she did that not only to develop a bond with her son, but also to model her upbringing in India by her own parents:

> Vishali:…So [my routine is]…Do chores, day care, and home…[I'm thinking]
> maybe he didn't do lunch properly. He must be hungry. So that's why I want to
> run home and feed him something [after I pick him up from his day care]…It's
> again an Indian mother feeling that… 'did my kid eat or not?'…I give
> him…100% attention [when he is home] …I want that strong bond

between…[us]…I just want to be like his friend. So…if he has any problem…he can…feel free to…come and talk to me about it, because my

parents have always been like that, so I think…that same thing is in my head that…I need to be a friend more than…being [a parent]…Like my parents, actually…I can talk to them about anything….that free-ness is there.

Namrata, who was employed full-time, also expressed feeling guilty as a caregiver for spending time away from her toddler, and she felt rushed in her interactions with Dristi in the mornings before going to her job. She tried to compensate for the time lost by intentionally spending meaningful time with her toddler when they were together. She focused on spending quality time with her during activities that would allow for her to develop a bond with Dristi and to foster Dristi's cognitive development. In these ways, Namrata was intentionally being stimulating and emotionally available to her toddler. Moreover, she gained a sense of happiness from spending physical time with Dristi:

> Swati:…before sleeping, you do this whole book reading activity [with physical copy of the book]…I could introduce books on my phone…
>
> Namrata: …physical copy. I don't do the phone…it's just that…time when you bond together…you're trying to tell her that you're there for her. You're going to leave everything and sit there with her for that. And she enjoys books.… we enjoy that time together, and I feel like I'm doing something for her…It's just that, when I leave her in daycare, I carry a little high level of guilt that I'm not being able to spend time with her. So, in the evenings when I come back, I try to spend as much time as possible [with her]. So, reading books is just part of it. So, I

know I'm there for her, that I'm doing this just for her…When we play, she confirms if I'm going to leave or be with her [and] when I'm going to come back. So, she gets all [that] clarified, and we have the strength and time to answer all that. See, otherwise, we wouldn't know what's happening with them and what questions they have, and as a mother I feel extremely satisfied the day I feed her well, and, you know, the day goes perfect…and I'm able to read the book to her, and I want to spend some time [playing] with her. I feel extremely happy because I know I'm still doing something…So, I feel very happy, and in the long run, obviously it will pay off…Paid me off very well, because my daughter, when she went to the day care, she already knew color[s]. She knew [the] alphabet, and…she spoke the [native] language very well.

The above examples show that participants were aware of their roles as the primary caregiver and they were trying to preserve this role. Mona, Namrata, and Vishali echoed that they did not feel good when they had to spend time away from their toddlers. How they felt about spending time away from their toddlers seemed to underlay their approach to negotiating motherhood with themselves. For Mona, this negotiation meant completely giving up on her professional duties. Perhaps to cultivate more positive self-images, Vishali and Namrata spent quality time with their toddlers whenever possible. This also allowed them to develop bonds with their toddlers that they assumed would last a life time, which reflected good mothering, according to their ideologies.

Role of Spouse in Negotiating Motherhood

All participants were living with their spouses in the same household. Given this, most participants identified their spouse as the closest source of support in mothering and expected them to share domestic responsibilities and to help with childcare tasks. They echoed that their spouses were supportive husbands and fathers, and the family unit could benefit from their participation at home. Although some participants identified different ways in which they were supported by this relationsip, they still felt that an unequal division of labor existed at home, and they wanted to bring about changes that would equalizise the distribution of responsibilities between themselves and their spouses.

At home, some spouse helped out with different chores. These chores included: cooking, cleaning, and spending time playing with and feeding the child. Given that there were fewer family members to share these responsibilities within the U.S., Simran and Anita expected their spouses to take part in such chores at home. Simran believed that her spouse was supportive by looking after Karan and feeding him, and she expected him to continue to be available to Karan in this manner as he was the only other immediate family member to Karan in the U.S.: "…My husband helps me…with Karan…sometimes [in] feeding him, taking care of him, babysitting him…Of course that happens in the family members…He's the closest one [here]…" Anita emphasized that establishing equal roles and responsibilities at home in a nuclear family in the U.S. could help establish the parents' own routine, cultivate a healthy relationship between the parents, and promote healthy family functioning:

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Anita:…In the evening and night, Suraj [my husband] feeds him… He [Suraj] used to be scared in feeding him… It used [to] get hectic for me because I had to make food…and had to feed him…By chance if I had to do some other work, then…it used to get late. That's why I used to tell Suraj to feed him so that I could get other things done in the kitchen…The kid's routine was there, but our own routine would get late…We used to get stuck… At least if he is feeding then I can make my food or there is other work;…wash clothes, have to turn the dish washer on…[and] have to clean…If it's a nuclear family, then everyone has to…[take responsibility]…

Support was especially necessary during periods of transition, when participants struggled intensely with shifts in their roles as mothers and employees. For Mona and Manisha, help from a spouse at home was important at times when these participants were transitioning in their roles both at home and outside of the home sphere. Transition from being in a full-time job to being a stay-at-home mother full-time with her toddler, Yuvaan, was not easy for Mona, as she was not used to the new lifestyle: "…I had…[a] good job and I left that suddenly, and like the first week [at home], it was so trying in the sense [that] I did not understand what I had to do in a little bit…" It was the support of her spouse at home that helped her see that leaving her full-time job was best for the family. Her spouse, who was employed during the study, took more responsibility towards her and their toddler, Sunny: "…[My husband] has changed…Now he brings coffee in bed…He makes…[Sunny's] milk. At…night…he says, 'Go sit with…[Sunny]…I will clean up the kitchen and do things'…My family life is better

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now…I am happy." Similar to Mona, Manisha experienced some difficulty in her transition. She was transitioning from being a full-time stay-at-home mother to a full-time, paid worker. As she was transitioning to a full-time, paid worker, she was spending many hours away from her toddler, Yuvaan. She wished to spend as much time possible with Yuvaan. Despite long hours at her day job, she was able to spend meaningful time with Yuvaan when her husband stepped in to take on her responsibilities. He helped out in the kitchen, which allowed Manisha to spend time with Yuvaan after returning from her day job. On the whole, sharing cooking responsibilities with each other allowed these full-time working parents to maximize their quality time with Yuvaan:

> Manisha:… I come home around…six to 7:30 [from work]…This is a big transition for me because I was [a stay-at-] home mom. I just went back to work. So, I want to spend as much time as possible when I'm home with Yuvan…I try to restrict [cooking] like [to] less than 30-minutes…Between me and my husband,…he takes care of one or two days of cooking in the weekdays in the evening… If one parent is busy, the other parent is spending time with Yuvaan. Because…with having both the parents out…on full-time job(s), we want to make sure that we…provide that guidance to him as much as we can on the weekdays…Because the more time I'm spending in the kitchen, it's taking away from Yuvaan…So, [it is] important for him to be able to spend time with the parent.

Although her spouse was supportive, Manisha anticipated further equality in the division of labor at home. Manisha explained that she did much of the parenting at home,

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the way her own mother had done when she was growing up in India. Yet, she wished the next generation of parents to promote equal partnership at home, and she recognized shifts in gender roles:

> Manisha:…I do more than [my husband at home]…Hopefully [the] next generation will be 50-50…My mom did most of parenting [compared to] my daddy [in India]…If you go from generation to generation, that trend is changing…[Also] I just don't…[engage in house work and caregiving] because…this is what people expect from me.

Inconsistent support from spouses sometimes caused the participants stress as they negotiated their maternal role. Hetal and Kirti felt that there was a lack of support from their husbands on specific domestic chores. Hetal's spouse, who was willing to take on domestic chores such as washing dishes, was not willing to share certain childcare tasks alongside Hetal: "…If I am feeding her dinner at night, if it…[gets] late, then he will clean the…dishes…If there is any work [related to Parul] then he says…, 'Do this. Clean Parul's diaper.' He doesn't do it…He puts…[that] work on me…" Kirti's spouse also did not fully take responsibility for this particular childcare task, and she believed that she lost her temper in trying to manage the demands of her job and her toddler. Kirti held two jobs, and she took on greater responsibilities than her spouse did for managing obligations related to her jobs, the house, and the toddler in parallel. The level of stress caused by all that Kirti was tasked with at home and at her job sometimes spilled over into her interactions with her son. Even though Kirti gained a sense of happiness from being emotionally available to Sorab, she expressed feeling angry when she had to juggle

the demands of caregiving and her job at the same time from home. She especially felt angry when she had to take over her spouse's responsibilities towards Sorab at a time when she had a job-related commitment. This is how insufficient support from her spouse became a source of her frustration at home:

> Kirti:… I was actually sitting in the [home] office and they both, father and son, (were) playing here…I was on the call…with my boss and he need(ed) something. So, he [husband] came, he sneak(ed) in the office and…[said] '[Sorab] did potty.' Okay…because [husband] will not change his diaper…No. He put one diaper and that too half [Sorab's] butt is outside. Luckily, I saw it one day. My temperature [was high-angry]. So, I said, 'Okay! I will take care. Yeah. Wait!' So, after one hour I came, then I changed his diaper. Clean(ed) him up. Then I made his dinner. Fed him at 8 o'clock.

Given the emotional and physical demands of caregiving that Kirti was carrying, she had to be intentional in planning and structuring household work, including Sorab's meal time and food habits. When Sorab tried to disrupt that structure, Kirti felt angry and engaged in disciplinary interactions because she did not want to mitigate her workload. She specifically recalled giving a warning to Sorab when he ran off with a strawberry on a white carpet:

> Kirti:… In the kitchen, it's easy to clean [strawberry from the floor]. On the carpet, it will get dirty…But he did not listen…Ran away…carefree…For me…extra work. To tell you the truth…it will get messy. The second thing is that if he wants to eat, then sit in one place and eat…my priority is, sit on dining table,

finish your food and go…[Other mothers]…adjusting according to kid…

'If…[kid is] running, then let's feed him. Finish the work'…according to them

maybe it's okay. For me, I want to plan things. Little bit discipline…because he

needs to know which place is to eat and which place is for running…

Overall, participants in this dissertation shared domestic chores with spouses at

home. Spousal participation in domestic chores was important for optimal family

development. Anita and Mona shared that their spouses' participation at home was

important for the quality of family relationships. Mona and Manisha emphasized that

support from their spouses at home seemed essential at times when they were

transitioning in their new roles at or outside of the home. Spousal participation at home

was especially important for Mona, who was still looking for validation in her decision to

be a stay-at-home mother. Although spouses played important roles in helping

participants negotiate the demands of mothering, participants still recalled incidents when

they felt that they were not supported by their spouse. Hetal and Kirti shared that their

spouses chose to dismiss certain childcare tasks. For Kirti, this lack of support from her

spouse made it difficult for her to balance her role as a paid worker and a primary

caregiver. This insufficient support with childcare task seemed to be the root of her

negative emotions and disciplinary practices with her toddler.

Conclusion

In conclusion, participants held positive outlooks about the role of their human

capital in their and their children's lives. Maternal education and career experiences were

believed to add value to mothering. Despite having this positive outlook, participants

were negotiating their professional roles with their roles as primary caregivers. This sometimes meant giving up on the profession completely, prioritizing family, and being intentional in parenting to avoid feeling negatively about themselves. Negotiating roles and continuing to be the primary caregiver seemed to be rooted in the ways some participants may have been brought up in India, where they saw women, as adults, naturally transitioning to mothering roles as part of their responsibilities within a family. Most participants believed that it was important for both parents to share equal responsibilities in caregiving and on household chores in order to function as a successful family unit, despite structural and cultural constraints that may assign the bulk of the parenting and household work to the mother. Although participants held these egarlitarian views and shared responsibilities at home with their spouses, they believed they continued to be the primary caregivers when the spouse did not feel that they had to be responsible for certain tasks. This put emotional demands on one participant—Kirti, and seemed to undermine her interactions with her toddler. Although greater equality between the spouses was desired, participants valued the support received from spouses, as well as their education and career experiences, as sources of support in mothering.

Chapter Five: Role of Relatives and Cultural Communities

In chapter four, I presented themes about participants' internal negotiation of motherhood as well as the roles their spouses played in this negotiation. For this chapter, I analyzed participants' beliefs about family members' and cultural communities' roles in the negotiation of motherhood. Participants believed that individuals from these social networks helped them negotiate the emotional, cognitive, and physical demands of mothering. Family members, including mothers, in-laws, and siblings, helped the most with negotiating these demands. Interactions with individuals from the different cultural communities in the U.S. helped participants learn about new approaches to parenting. On the whole, cultural messages about parenting were transmitted to the participants through ties with family members and individuals from the different cultural communities. Participants were able to evaluate these messages alongside their own parenting philosophies. They felt more fully committed to these messages when they aligned with their existing parenting philosophies or practices.

Role of Family in Negotiating Motherhood within India and America

Most mothers in this study were living permanently and physically away from their own parents, in-laws, and/or siblings. Although these immediate family members could visit from India, given their immigration status as visitors in the U.S., they could not regularly visit or stay as visitors in the U.S. for more than a couple of months. Yet,

some mothers still valued the role of these family members in their lives. Mothers were navigating the physical distance from these family members to whom they were emotionally attached by visiting them in India or keeping in touch with them via phone calls. In these interactions, mothers were negotiating motherhood with their families. They were receiving advice, guidance, emotional support, and, when present, help with domestic chores.

Role of participants' mothers. Most participants negotiated their demands in mothering through conversations with their own mothers over the phone or in person. In these conversations with their mothers, participants could gain advice on a range of topics (e.g., child's health, food, and hygiene) related to the child and parenting. Phone calls with mothers also became a method for participants to vent their emotions when they felt emotionally exhausted by mothering. Although participants mostly called their mothers to receive advice and emotional support in mothering, some participants also visited their mothers in India and some participants' own parents visited them in the U.S. The physical presence of their mothers allowed the participants to not only gain support in child care, but also to focus on addressing their personal needs.

Participants echoed that they valued the advice they received from their parents, including their own mothers, on a range of topics, and they emphasized a need to continue to reach out to them. Anita, in particular, emphasized that it was important to reach out to parents for advice related to the child when the parent was new to parenting and new to the toddlers' developmental changes. She also gave specific examples of situations in which she felt unsure about her practices:

Anita: …you have to ask [family members, including your own parents]…for everything because it's my first-time experience as a mom. So, you don't know everything…When any developmental change comes along the way…you have to ask for everything. Like when he starts teething you have to ask, 'He's crying, what do I have to do?'…When you start giving him solids, then you have to ask…, 'What we should feed him? At what time should I feed him?' Because those things are very confusing… Those are big changes because you have not been through them. So, you have to ask them for everything…

Vishali identified her parents, including her own mother, as her teachers who taught her how to mother. Her mother specifically taught her how to take care of her toddler, Raj's, food and hygiene needs from the time he was an infant. Vishali also continued to reach out to her parents during his toddlerhood period for guidance on topics related to parenting: "…right from the beginning. Regarding Raj's food. Like mom taught me that we have to make him shower. Everything, mom, dad has taught me. How to massage. Even now I take a lot of advices… parenting wise…" Parul emphasized that, because support in the form of parenting advice from an elder family member was missing in the U.S., she reaches out to her mother in India to gain advice on topics related to her toddler's behaviors: "…Now my daughter also bites… so I had asked [my mother] … regarding that topic…because there is no one elder here to ask…"

Some participants, such as Neha and Anushka, recalled that their mothers provided emotional support to them in parenting. Neha recalled speaking to her mother on the phone about the frustration she was experiencing in disciplining her twin toddlers

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at home: "I was talking to mummy the day before yesterday and I was complaining that 'Mummy in this past one year, I have said so many times, 'don't do, don't do, don't do. That my blood group has turned from B positive to B negative…'" Anushka relied on her mother as an important source of emotional support when she felt that, as an Indian woman, she could not disclose her personal issues, including issues related to parenting, with other male relatives:

> Anushka:…If I'm in [a] bad mood…If he [Kamal] bothered me a lot on the day − he make(s) me cry with his actions or something −…I want to share…Most of the time I share with my mom. I call my mom… Indian women…, they won't open up… They don't want to disclose [personal issues]… If you're [a] mom and your kid is growing up, they just want to disclose about the kid. That's it…Even though I have brothers. I mean, women, they can't open up in front of men…Brother or father, it's a different scenario. So, we can't share everything with them. Especially Indian women. I don't know if some of them… can share everything with their father(s). Me, I can't everything. So, some personal things I can share with my only mom. So, even though she hurt by my feelings. If I hurt my mom…so that pain you can take it out…It's relaxation.

Neha and Hetal also shared incidents when their mothers provided childcare support to them, and this form of support could comfort mothers and give them space to focus on their personal agendas. Neha recalled that when her parents were visiting her from India, they looked after the toddlers. She and her husband did not have to worry about who was taking care of the toddlers when they were at their jobs during the day:

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"…when both [of us] come [from work], we are free of taking care of the kids. At least regarding kids, we don't have to worry or have tension [because my parents are there]." Neha believed that if her parents were visiting from India, then their support in childcare could help her grow professionally: "…This summer, if my parents come…, [then] I want to go to [the] office and work on different projects…for growth perspective and learning perspective. I would. I want a little bit [of] change [from working from home]." Regardless of whether participants were at home or abroad visiting family, their mothers were sources of parenting relief. When Hetal recalled visiting India, she believed that childcare support from relatives in India, including from her own mother, allowed her to take a break from engaging in direct interactions with her toddler, Parul, for longer periods of time. During that time off, she could engage in leisure activities. Given her experience spending time with Parul in both countries, Hetal learned that raising a child in India was different from raising one in the U.S.:

> Hetal: What happens in India is that you can keep…[the child] anywhere and go. My parents watch out for her…Here [in the U.S.] I have to give full attention to Parul…24 by 7…when I was [visiting India] there…was no work…In the morning, get up by 8, 9 o'clock. Do breakfast. Go out. Leaving Parul behind…Shopping and all…In the morning…leave by 10, 11 and come home by 6 then there is no problem. She use(d) to eat with mummy. She use(d) to play and sleep…Here [in the U.S.] and there [in India], that's different.

The above examples illustrate that participants had informational, emotional, and instrumental support from their own mothers. In conversations with them over the phone,

Anita, Vishali, and Purva could gain advice and feedback from their mothers about different parenting issues. Moreover, via phone calls, Neha and Anushka could gain emotional support in parenting. Neha's visiting parents possibly helped lessen Neha's physical, cognitive, and emotional burden in childcare. Likewise, when Hetal was visiting her parents in India, she felt more relaxed than she did in the U.S. because her mother took over the primary caregiver role for her toddler. The physical presence of their mothers allowed some participants to focus on themselves. Altogether, participants' mothers played an important role in mothers' lives by negotiating the different demands of mothering with them.

Role of participants' in-laws. Most participants believed that their in-laws also played an important role in negotiating the different demands of mothering. Although they generally had positive experiences negotiating motherhood with in-laws, they spoke about a range of experiences with this. For example, some participants (Mansi, Simran, and Kirti) spoke about the positive experiences they had when they were negotiating the different demands of mothering with their in-laws. Six participants identified cultural conflicts in parenting philosophies. Examples from two (Manisha and Vishali) of the six participants were presented in this subsection.

Just as some participants' mothers were available to step in and be physically present as the primary caregiver to their toddlers, some in-laws also took over their primary caregiver roles. Mansi and Simran reflected that, when they were visiting their in-laws in India, they did not have to constantly function as the primary caregiver to their toddlers the way they did in the U.S. The in-laws implicitly knew when to step in and

take care of childcare responsibilities for the participants. In this manner, participants transferred the role of primary caregiver to their in-laws for the short period of time when the participants were visiting in-laws. This lessening of parenting responsibilities led Mansi to experience less cognitive, physical, and emotional demands associated with meeting her toddler, Yash's, childcare needs. Her mother-in-law had happily taken over those responsibilities when Mansi was visiting her in India:

> Mansi:…There is a time period when you are tired…[Here] you watch your house, kids, and husband…All over [again]…In India, there is joint family. In-laws live with you. If you have to do some work, then they take care of the kid...Like recently, I was in India…getting him showered was not my duty…His grandmother…would make him bathe…wash his clothes by her hand. So, that is her satisfaction. I don't have tension…I am not worried about where to put the folded cloth…

Simran, who also reflected that there was less formality with in-laws in India, observed that there was some formality in this intergenerational tie among families, including Indian-American families, living within the U.S. Accessing support from in-laws for raising a child was not as smooth or as it was in India:

> Simran: …In India, it's so much eas(ier) to raise [small kids]…So many family members… Everybody [is]…happy [to take care of the child]…[No] burden… If you…[as a mother have] to go to shopping, then…there are dada, dadi [paternal grandparents]…They will say, 'Go. We will take care of…[the kids]. No problem'… Whoever I have spoken with [here,] '…do you have to leave…[the

kids] to dada, dadi for two…or three hours?'…[Parents] have to work according to their schedule. Some families are like Indian…But there are formalities here.

One participant, Kirti, who had a positive and an informal relationship with her in-laws, also recalled the ease with which she could share the demands of mothering with them when they were visiting from India. Negotiating the demands of mothering with them allowed her to take breaks from mothering. She further anticipated that her in-laws would help her with domestic chores in a similar manner if she was living in India with them:

> Kirti:…It was easier [when in-laws were visiting] because…[Sorab] didn't go to day care…My money…and my skin [was saved]…Instead of 6, I…[used to] get up at 7…If Sorab…[was] up, then I…[gave him] to…[my father-in-law]…He…change(d) his diaper...[My mother-in-law] used to cook in the kitchen. My father-in-law used to run behind…[Sorab]…They used to do laundry, used to fold it. I didn't know anything. [I] just…[had] to keep the folded cloths [away]…So, now I think, 'Why [do] people fight their mother-in-law?'…They're a big help [to me]…I have more attachment with my mother-in-law than my own mother. My mother…[talks a lot]. Complain, complain…My mother-in-law, if something happens…If there is some problem…she will push herself and do work…[In-laws] are very open minded…If in India, I was in [living with] this family, I think it [is]...going to be better. Because [of] all [the] work they used to do...

Although Mansi, Simran, and Kirti shared how negotiating the demands in mothering with their in-laws was easy, some participants such as Manisha and Vishali, gave examples that suggested there was tension in negotiating the demands of mothering with their in-laws. These two participants had support from their in-laws in disciplining their toddlers, but these mothers did not agree with their in-laws' approaches to discipline. Manisha believed that her ideas about disciplining her toddler, Yuvaan, did not align with her in-law's disciplinary practices. She felt that it was challenging to communicate this to her in-laws at home, which she believed possibly stemmed from the way her in-laws had grown up:

> Manisha: …Behavior-setting…It's sometimes hard to communicate with the other, different generation… [In-laws] have [a] different mindset...So…behavior-setting part, I try to manage between me and my husband…[For example,] they think it's okay to [have the child eat from others' plates] and I don't think it's okay…Or even hitting [an object that you bump into]… They start hitting the table rather than telling the baby… [it is] not [the] table's fault. You need to go around it…

Vishali also noted differences in parenting practices with her in-laws when she was visiting them in India and when they were visiting her in the U.S. When she was visiting India, she believed that there was an obligation to follow her in-laws' advice in parenting because other family members were present, and that seemed common practice as part of participating in an interdependent family in India. She did not want to be made to feel like an outsider by going against their wishes. She wanted to be a part of her

husband's family unit in India. Yet, in the U.S. context, she described her family unit as a nuclear family unit, in which herself and her husband could make independent rather than interdependent decisions about how to discipline their child:

Vishali: …So, everything kind of changed [when we went to India for vacation]. Even though we kind of had a hi-chair for…[my toddler] there, …my…father-in-law would…[say], 'No…make him sit on your lap…and [then] feed [him food]'… Indian mentality…Over here we are independent. We don't have that [family] pressure to…do this or do that…When I'm here, it's just my husband and me, so we can decide what we have to do. Even if we are a little stern towards the kid, it's fine. But in India, we cannot do that…(be)cause you're staying together in a family…Everyone has their own tips, that we have to follow… 'Try this, try that.' I still get that when my in-laws are…[in the U.S.]…they stay for a longer time [than my parents in the U.S. and advise], 'Don't do it this way, do that way. Do this.'

While visiting India, accepting parenting advice from in-laws seemed like a natural part of life in an interdependent family. However, when her in-laws were visiting in the U.S., they continued to provide Vishali with advice on parenting topics that sometimes misaligned with her own beliefs about disciplining the child in public and her role as an independent, primary caregiver in the U.S. context. She recalled one incident when she asserted her parenting beliefs over those of her father-in-law:

Vishali: …Three days ago, we went to…[a grocery store] to do shopping and everything…At the end…[my toddler] was really bored, so he

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was…screaming…All he wanted to do was to get down [from the cart] and run…So, my father-in-law was like…, 'Okay. Put him down [from the cart]'…My father-in-law took him…I said, 'No. Place him back in the cart. Let me…play with him…' Usually what happens is that, when the kids throw tantrum(s),…then…parents get angry because you're in a public place…I try to keep my calm or we give them [the] phone. So, …I started singing to him and then he became quiet…

It was evident from the examples presented above that participants' in-laws were present, supportive, and willing to negotiate the demands in mothering. Mansi and Simran, specifically observed how their in-laws took responsibilities of primary caregiver. It was easy for them and for Kirti to get the instrumental support they needed with domestic chores, and their in-laws' support allowed these mothers to take a mental, physical, and cognitive break from mothering. Although there was support from participants' in-laws, Manisha and Vishali, experienced tension in their relationships with their in-laws. Despite having support in parenting from in-laws, these mothers believed that their parenting philosophies did not align with their in-laws' approaches to parenting. In the presence of support from in-laws, these two mothers continued to carry forward their own parenting practices, independent of their in-laws' advice.

Role of participants' siblings and other relatives. Aside from their mothers and in-laws, participants could also rely on other relatives such as siblings for support in mothering. Their siblings were either living in India or within the U.S. The siblings participants relied on the most were sisters who had prior experience in mothering young

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children or were mothering young children at the time of the study. Participants received specific advice and guidance from their siblings that they believed could integrate into their parenting practices. They could receive such advice and guidance from their sisters by either directly talking with them or by observing their parenting practices.

Some participants, Anita, Manisha, and Namrata, gave examples of how they received specific advice from their siblings about topics that they had questions about, were unfamiliar with, or had never encountered before. Anita specifically compared how her sister, rather than her own mother, could give specific feedback to her when Anita had questions about unfamiliar topics:

Anita: In situations when you have to ask questions regarding him…for specific things, I ask…[my sister] and for generalized things I ask…[my mom]…[Like] when the baby is having a cold,…[my sister] say(s)…, 'No this medicine is no longer prescribed…' For home remedies, mom is there…

Other participants seemed to value their sisters' advice in raising young children as they provided guidance that was according to the child's age and the American culture. Manisha reached out to her sisters and sister-in-law, as they had raised children within the U.S. She shared how they were keeping her informed about the age-appropriate practices that Manisha should be considering:

Manisha:…I do use…[my sisters and sister-in-law] as a resource because they have been there, done that [mothering], in this country…They are already telling me, 'Hey, he's going to be turning three, so you should start looking into preschool because it's immediate…'

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Namrata's sister also provided her with guidance on age-appropriate practices that Namrata could implement at home to foster her toddler, Dristi's, development. More specifically, her sister shared ideas with Namrata about how to contribute to Dristi's motor growth. She also seemed to be a source of encouragement to Namrata when Namrata felt uncertain about how to manage Dristi in unfamiliar situations within the U.S.:

> Namrata: …I have two sisters…older than me. So, they have kids. They've raised kids. They've always given…guidance…I have one sister who I'm particularly close to because she really kind of gives good…advice… She tells me, 'You make her play these things, so this kind of gross motor (skill) will develop'… When I moved to the U.S., in [the] cold, I wouldn't understand how to manage the kid. It was very difficult…When my sister told me, 'One to three [pm], it gets really sunny. It will be bearable…the cold will be bearable then... Go take her out.'

Other participants spoke about the parenting practices they wanted to incorporate into their own parenting practices after observing and evaluating their sisters' specific parenting practices. Vishali observed that, unlike her brother-in-law, her sister was the more patient parent. Vishali observed her sister handling one of her children's difficult behaviors in public and admired it so much that she tried to model her sister's practices:

> Vishali:…I just adore…how…[my sister] takes care of her kids…she has…a 9-year-old and a 5-year-old…the one who is [a] 5-year-old throws a lot of tantrums. My brother-in-law gets a little you know, 'Make him quiet.'… But the way she

conducts herself...in public…I try to follow her…I have…told her [a] million, zillion times, I think that, 'I just want to be a mom like you'…She's kind of my inspiration…I don't have that much of a patience level as my sister's…

Unlike Vishali, Mona did not want to model her sister's practices. Mona described herself as an independent woman who had grown up in an environment that fostered her independence. She made observations of how her personality was different from that of her own sister. She also noted that her sister's personality carried over into her practices and values, which Mona did not want to instill in her child. Moreover, Mona was aware of the culture within the U.S., which demanded that an individual be independent. Given her upbringing, observations of her sister's parenting, and an awareness of the demands from outside of the home, Mona sought to foster her toddler, Sunny's independence at home in routine activities:

Mona: …One of my niece(s),…I would see her like, 'Mom will do it. Mom will push my stroller. Mom will do everything. Mom, mom, mom.'… I'm… very independent…I want the child to be…independent and not feel like that if mom is not near then nothing [happens]…After he plays and everything, I'll keep telling him—'come on, let's clean up, let's clean up.' He will put one thing in the box out of four, but at least he puts one…I'm very independent, so I…want to make him more independent… I definitely…value that the most…

Swati:…were your parents like that with you or your siblings when you were growing up? ...Would they encourage you to like 'try it yourself?'

Mona: My mom was also like that. My dad's like that, too…when I talk about my sister…she is very sensitive. So, if the kid comes crying, …she'll give in. I wouldn't give in, so I'm more like, 'Do it yourself, do it yourself. I'm not doing it.' … I want him to get into the habit… that it's not all about you…

From the examples above, it can be seen that connecting with siblings over conversations about the child and observing siblings' practices served as important methods through which participants could learn about the nuances of parenting. For Anita, Manisha, and Namrata, conversations with siblings could provide them with specific advice or guidance that they could use to parent in situations that were new or unfamiliar. Vishali and Mona could develop their own parenting agendas because they had observed their siblings parenting. Via direct and indirect connections with siblings, participants were able to gain ideas on how to deal with uncertain parenting situations and were able to develop more detailed profiles of the kind of mothers they wanted to be.

Role of the Indian-American and American Community in Negotiating Motherhood

Participants also relied on individuals from outside of their family networks for support in negotiating motherhood. They especially recognized that they could negotiate motherhood with individuals belonging to the Indian-American and/or American cultural communities. These individuals were their friends, friends' children, husband's or own colleagues, experts, or unfamiliar families in the community. Individuals belonging to the Indian-American communities played important roles in giving participants company and moral support in mothering a young child. Individuals belonging to the American community played important roles in serving as models for the participants.

Role of Indian-American community. Some participants received advice, guidance, and moral support in mothering through formal and informal relationships with individuals within the Indian-American community. Informal relationships were those with friends or individuals who were not within the participants' circle of friends. Interactions with these individuals allowed some participants to preserve their cultural values and language at home. Formal relationships were those with pediatricians or with either their own or their husband's colleagues. In these relationships, participants mostly received information and advice in mothering.

Some participants' interactions with friends or unfamiliar individuals belonging to the Indian-American community helped emphasized a need to continue to endorse culture and language in interactions with toddlers at home. Neha was considering sending her twin toddlers to preschool so that they could begin to learn about the American culture and language. However, she also learned from her friends that her toddlers would eventually catch up in English. In conversation with these friends, she sought encouragement as an Indian mother living in the U.S. to endorse the use of the Hindi language at home by having conversations with her toddlers in Hindi. Neha believed that this would allow her to instill interdependent cultural values in her toddlers, though she would have to remain firm about her decision to use Hindi in the home:

> Neha:...We are planning to send them to preschool…At home we usually talk in Hindi. So, we just want them to get in touch with the culture here [in the U.S.]. Start understanding…according to the language...I talk to a lot of other…parents and they are like, 'No, make them speak in [the] native language. Once they start

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going to school, within a week you will see the difference.' They pick up like this [snaps her fingers]. But you know they'll forget their own language. They want to talk in English all the time. They don't want to talk in Hindi. But then you know, you have to be strict, 'No, no at home they must talk in Hindi.' Otherwise, how will they talk to grandparents? Because my parents don't know English. So, what will they do? How will they talk?

Swati: Yeah. So, it's kind of important… for them to just have that bond of grandparents. That language is the link? Language and culture?

Neha: Yes.

In conversations with an Indian friend, Mona, too, felt a need to continue to endorse Indian cultural values and language at home. Unlike Neha, however, Mona experienced a cultural conflict with one of her friends who did not feel the need to talk in Hindi with her children in their daily routine. This interaction seemed to have reinforced Mona's goals of embracing her culture and language at home in interactions with her toddler, Sunny. Similar to Neha, Mona also believed that stimulating Sunny's Hindi language skills would eventually help her endorse interdependent cultural values at home:

Mona: …When I was getting a nanny for him…, I was always looking for an Indian person…And…[one of my friends] said, 'Oh my friend has an Indian nanny. She was teaching the child one day…some Hindi poem…' She said, 'I don't want my child growing up with that.' And I…actually on YouTube look for Hindi [poems]… I want him to grow up with all [culture]. I sing him…[Hindi

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poems]…I want him to learn all these things… I don't want him [to be like other

Indian kids]…These are our roots. …He has to connect, and… if we don't teach

these things then when they get older…we will expect that…

Swati: They know the culture?

Mona: They don't have any. They don't have nothing. I'm happy with the way we

turned out… I wish to incorporate the same things…

Other participants also noted unexpected challenges in preserving their Indian

culture within the Indian-American community. When attempting to make new friends

within the Indian-American community, Namrata learned that certain individuals

belonging to this community did not seem to represent a collective community or to

uphold the collectivist mentality, in which supporting each other would be naturally

reciprocated. She had been in the U.S. for only four years and had immigrated from one

of the states in South India. She especially experienced a disconnection from other South

Indians living in the U.S., perhaps due to her lack of proficiency in the Indian dialect that

was spoken by these Indians. This made it difficult to establish relationships with them,

to feel a sense of belonging, or to gain emotional support from other Indian immigrants:

"…Everyone says that it's like little India [here]…[but individuals from Indian origin

here]…ask you, 'Which language you speak?'…[If different from theirs,] then they have

no interest in you…The four [South Indian] languages are…[segregated]…" Despite

experiencing a disconnect from within the Indian-American community because of her

language, Namrata believed that her own language was still an important part of her

ethnic identity, which helped her get through difficult times when she faced challenges

while initially settling in the U.S. Similar to Neha and Mona, Namrata learned to preserve and embrace her native language and culture at home. This was reflected in her stimulating practices with her toddler, Dristi, in her native language. She wanted Dristi to develop Indian language skills, instead of losing this part of her identity, the way Namrata observed other Indian-American children were losing it. Namrata believed that her native language would help Dristi feel a sense of belonging in India, if she were to go back to India:

> Namrata:…It wasn't really easy for me to settle [in the U.S.]. I found a lot of consolation [in] listening to music [in my language]… I don't know if it has a soothing effect or what… The thing is that, in India, everything is still in your language. Everything will not come on into English…If she doesn't know her language, she's going to miss out on a big part of it. Take religious grounds or take anything. It's still in your language. If you don't know your language, then going back to India, you will feel [like] a stranger…Meaning, you will not be a part of it [the culture]. You will be feeling alone. Here, all kids [are] talking in English. I've seen many of the Indian(s)…they forget. I don't want that. I want her to know both languages…At the end of the day, she's still Indian. No matter how much you are born here. You are still Indian…So, I make it a point…When we go on car rides, we play Tamil rhymes...

In addition to receiving cultural messages about parenting from the Indian-American communities, participants believed that individuals belonging to this community also aided in negotiating the demands of mothering. The company of friends

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allowed some participants and their children opportunities to socialize. Hetal and Simran, for example, were both staying home full-time, taking care of their toddlers alone during the day. They spoke about the company their toddlers could have with children of similar ages through their connections with Indian friends, who were also parents, living in close proximity to them. Simran recalled how her son, Karan, along with other children from the neighborhood and from her Indian friends' houses, got together for play dates, which was helpful in keeping Karan connected with other children of the same age group: "…[Karan] used to play with [a neighbor's daughter] …She used to come…He used to go to their house…We [also] go… [to one of our Indian friend's houses] …[for] play dates…He gets to get along with [his age]." Hetal also spoke about receiving support in parenting from Indian mothers in her neighborhood, whom she also considered friends. Going to the library with one of these friends and her daughter was an especially enjoyable social activity for Hetal and Parul: "…I have [a good] friend…in the second street [from] here…we are going to [the] library every weekend…[my toddler] play(s) over there like two hour(s)…They have a family story time…[kids] play with teachers…"

These opportunities to socialize allowed participants to exchange information with other mothers that helped them in the negotiation of their roles as mothers. Simran and Anita, gained comfort in learning from conversations with other parents that their friends or their husband's colleagues had similar experiences to them in parenting young children. Simran specifically felt comforted when she learned from her friends about typical behaviors that toddlers engaged in and that her own toddler, Karan's, behaviors were not atypical: "… Friends…who have kids or who have had kids…give you advice,

'…You know kids behave like that. You should not worry…'… [One friend who lives close by] …also tells me that her…[toddlers] do the same [behavior as my toddler] …" Anita, who did not have many friends with whom she could exchange information with about parenting in the U.S., found comfort in hearing about the successful experiences her husband's colleagues had in dealing with the demands of parenting a toddler— especially being able to successfully deal with a toddler's behaviors in public. Hearing their experiences helped Anita become more accepting and flexible if her toddler's behaviors interrupted planned events at home:

> Anita:…His birthday was coming…We were…tense [about] how to arrange a party…We were two [people]…Here you have to do everything by yourself. You have to do decoration yourself...And how will I manage his nap time…how will I prepare his meal? Whether he'll eat anything or not…One of…[my husband's] colleagues…told us that they also face the same thing, but…their child cooperated on that day. 'So, don't worry that much.' And once they were having a get-together at their home, and their kid didn't sleep the whole night…and so they had to cancel it. So, …at least we know that we are not alone in this, and they face the same issue. And even if you cancel it the last minute, it's fine. People will understand, even if they don't bother about it.

Manisha, who mostly preferred reaching out to her siblings for support in parenting because she considered them experienced parents, still recalled that some of her colleagues, who were also parents, were understanding of the physical demands that came with being a parent of a young child: "[Moms and]...dads with kids [at

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work]…understand if a kid has been up [and] what it means to be at work the next day…[but I have] more in-depth [conversation about parenting] with my siblings …They have been there, done that…"

Participants such as Simran and Anita also felt comforted by the support they gained via formal relations with experts. Simran recalled a time her fears were assuaged by a formal relation. When Karan had fallen sick, she received advice from his pediatrician. Knowing that the advice was coming from an expert who routinely saw children was comforting to Simran: "…I got stressed out that…[Karan] caught cold…As parents…, we freak out…[Pediatricians] say…, '…They will be okay'…To hear from their mouth, it's very calming because their experience is that they see kids every day." Anita, who had Indian-American pediatricians within the U.S., felt a sense of comfort in knowing that she was receiving information from an expert who knew both cultural practices and could speak to practices from at least one of the two cultures. Moreover, she could identify with what the doctor was saying, and the advice this doctor gave felt more familiar. For example, Anita particularly liked that her pediatrician was knowledgeable about Indian remedies that were familiar to Anita, had good reviews from other parents, and was trustworthy. Given these qualities of relationship with the pediatrician, she believed that she could follow his advice:

Anita:…[My toddler's pediatrician] is… an Indian…Surprisingly he

remembers…[Indian] home remedies…He gives his patients those tips [from

India]…So that is a plus point, but we didn't choose him because of that. We

choose him because he had good reviews…Whatever he'll say, I'll follow him

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blindly because we like him. We trust him. He's …one of the best we have had…in the U.S… I used to [tell him that my toddler] …must have gas pains. At that time, we didn't know. We used to say that he cries in the evening. He used to say that, 'If he has gas then he [will] just try to stand on his own, even if he's a month-old baby. He'll just…be totally vertical and stretched up in the air and we just arch his back.' And we used to say, 'Yeah, he does that. Yes, he's having gas pains.' So, he used to tell me that…

On the whole, individuals belonging to the Indian-American community played an important role in the negotiation of motherhood. They were supportive in many ways. In interactions with them, Neha, Mona, and Namrata, were reminded of why it was important to embrace their cultural values, language, and practices at home. Simran and Hetal found companionship in mothering when they and their toddlers could spend time with their friends and their friends' children. Moral support in mothering for Manisha, Simran, and Anita was also present in their formal relationships.

Role of American community. Individuals within the American cultural community also provided participants with parenting support. These individuals were identified as husband's colleagues, friends, and/or unfamiliar families. Direct and indirect interactions with them allowed some participants to discover and evaluate new parenting practices. Moreover, some participants identified in greater detail their own goals for parenting and discovered ways to solve problems in difficult parenting situations.

Some participants such as Vishali and Simran, learned about new childcare practices that did not seem common within the Indian community. Although practices

were unfamiliar, participants were willing to try them. Vishali spoke about how her husband's colleague, who was American, passed down advice about toilet training her toddler, which Vishali found helpful: "…My husband's colleague…[gave advice about] how to potty train a kid…This was an American mom…I'm going to try it for sure, because she said that she potty trained her two-year-old in…two weeks with...[a] seat…There's…[a] video…[and] music…that…helps…"

Participants valued novel techniques as well as advise on whether or not to partake in traditional Indian parenting practices. Simran, wanted to physically separate herself from her toddler, Karan, at night but was unsure about how to transition from co-sleeping with Karan to sleeping independently. She received guidance by talking with both Indian and American parents. In conversations with them, she was able to compare these parents' co-sleeping practices and learned that not all Indian parents necessarily engaged in this practice: "…We were thinking…[about putting Karan to bed in a separate room]…We discussed with friends to…[get] advice. How did they transition? …Our American friends had already separated their children…Some…[Indian] friends…[were co-sleeping] and some were… [not]…" Having multiple resources for advice within the Indian-American and the American communities allowed Simran to consider various opinions in her practices.

Observations of individuals or families belonging to the American culture also allowed some mothers such as Anita, Vishali, and Namrata, to explore their own parenting goals and practices. More specifically, through observations of these individuals or families, mothers also learned about what they wanted or did not want to

adopt in their parenting styles from the American culture. Observation of American children in a local store allowed Anita to learn about the commonality between how she, as a child in India, was disciplined and how American children were disciplined. Having this information allowed her to further evaluate that the Indian children she had encountered in the U.S. were not at the same level of discipline as the American children. She used the observations to form a parenting goal of raising Shubh to be disciplined: "[We] should maintain discipline… Our upbringing has been like that…and…we should follow the same with…[Shubh]…The American families here…their kids are more disciplined…The kids…crying...in…Walmart are all Indian...No American kid…screaming or crying…" Vishali, on the other hand, seemed to experience some cultural conflict when she observed how children behaved within American families and considered that with the way she wanted to raise her toddler. She believed that children from American families were not connected with their families, and she wanted her toddler to grow up to stay connected with his family and know that they would protect him: "…According to me…what I've seen is that the kids are very disconnected. If you look at…American families…I don't want that in my kid…any fight with anybody…He should know that [his family is] …backing him up. I want that closeness between…[us]."

Through conversations with families from different American cultural communities, Namrata learned to look beyond parenting problems and to find ways to solve difficult situations in mothering. This experience allowed her to become more open to receiving information through informal conversations and observations of other parents. Ultimately, she could gain ideas from them about parenting, and some of these

interactions helped emphasize her role as a primary caregiver. From her toddler's day care teacher, Namrata learned that, despite the emotional demands experienced in mothering, it was still her role to be responsive towards her toddler, Dristi:

> Namrata:…I had a couple of mothers who would help me get through [uncertain situations]…a Chinese mom…she didn't know driving. Neither did I…She didn't use that as a weakness. She used to take the metro…take her daughter to the museum, which I found very inspiring…So, I shouldn't use driving as an excuse to take…[my toddler] out. Then I started taking her out to museum(s). She started enjoying more. But it was much later on [in my immigration journey]…[by] talking to other people, you definitely, at that phase, get a lot of support whether or not the person intends to support you… That mother was just having a casual conversation with me. Her point was not to inspire me, but I looked at it with a lot of inspiration…in [my toddler's] day care, her teacher [is not Indian]…I really admire…[her too] because she's got two toddlers…I don't think she sleeps…But every morning…she has a beautiful smile on her face, as if nothing has happened… I have not seen her scream once [or]…lose her patience…So, I used to get a lot of energy from her. I try not getting frustrated because I just feel it's a job. When we have kids, it's your job to take care of them. I really enjoy that…

By interacting with individuals from the American community, participants generally became aware of the practices they could evaluate and further consider at home. Vishali, Simran, and Anita could decide whether practices they observed were to be considered by weighing them against practices they were aware of from the Indian

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culture. When Anita and Namrata took note of the practices of individuals belonging to the American cultural community, they were reminded of their roles in disciplining or in being responsive towards the child. Overall, the American cultural community served as a source of both information and inspiration for the participants in this study.

Conclusion

All participants in this dissertation were directly or indirectly interacting with individuals from within and outside of their family networks. In interactions with some individuals from these networks, participants were able to negotiate the emotional, cognitive, and physical demands of mothering. Some participants' own mothers and in-laws especially played an important role negotiating these types of demands of mothering. Siblings played an important role by providing specific advice that participants could consider. Interactions with individuals belonging to Indian-American and American cultural communities also served as a pathway through which participants could receive cultural information or messages about certain practices that were relevant to the Indian and/or American cultural communities. Some cultural conflicts existed between individuals across networks. Given the examples presented in this chapter, these conflicts could be best understood as differences in parenting philosophies or practices that some participants experienced with others. These conflicts seemed to prevent some participants from fully accessing support in mothering or adapting practices from those with whom these participants experienced the conflict. Regardless of whether or not a participant experienced cultural conflicts, evaluating different practices lead them to observations that strengthened and defined their own parenting goals.

Chapter Six: Discussion

My dissertation was grounded in the Developmental Niche and the Theoretical Model of Parental Ethnotheories, Practices, and Outcomes frameworks. Using these frameworks as guides, I explored parenting beliefs of first-generation Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers in the context of their unique human and social capital. The findings of my dissertation highlight the ways in which participants were negotiating motherhood and how this was shaped by their unique human and social capital. Participants had a range of educational and career experiences, which they believed contributed to their identities as informed mothers and provided them with access to multiple resources. Participants accumulated a range of experiences in the negotiation of motherhood through their identities as educated mothers who were employed or staying home full-time as unpaid workers. This range of experiences participants had with self and with others allowed them a broader perspective on parenting in the U.S. In this chapter, I discussed these findings in the context of existing theoretical and empirical work on immigrant families, human and social capital, parenting, child development, and family relations.

Negotiation of Motherhood with Self

Maternal education is an important dimension of socioeconomic status (Sirin, 2005) that is possibly used to expand one's human capital (Harding et al., 2015). It is

positively associated with quality parent-child interactions (Bindman, et al., 2015; Graziano et al., 2011; Raviv et al., 2004) and with children's cognitive and language outcomes (Bindman et al., 2015; Raviv et al., 2004). Lower maternal education is also linked with maternal mental health concerns such as depression (Augustine & Crosnoe, 2010). Although I could not confirm these relationships by quantitatively testing the effects of maternal education on parenting, mental health, and child outcomes, the findings of my study, presented in chapter four, show how human capital can be central to mothers' identities. According to the participants, their educational experiences allows for access to multiple cognitive, social, and emotional resources. Perhaps the resources attained via maternal education underlay the associations that are found quantitatively between maternal education, maternal mental health, parenting, and child outcomes.

Participants believed that they could access cognitive resources through their human capital, which could inform their overall parenting experiences. Educational experiences are understood to impact different aspects of one's higher-level cognitive skills, including one's reasoning (Guerra-Carrillo, Katovich, & Bunge, 2017) and working memory (Ritchie, Bates, & Deary, 2015). These skills may be necessary for critical thinking, problem-solving, and executing organized behaviors or practices. Research on maternal education and parenting also suggest that with formal educational experiences, mothers are able to seek out resources that they need in order to expand their knowledge about child development and childrearing topics (Bornstein et al., 2010); consequently, they can socially, emotionally, and cognitively support their young children (Huang, Caughy, Genevro, & Miller, 2005), and reflect on the underlying

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motivators of their own and their children's behaviors (Rosenblum, Mcdonough, Sameroff, & Muzik, 2008).

Some of the findings presented in chapter four align with the aforementioned literature. Specific cases (e.g., Mona and Anita) presented in chapter four suggest that mothers' prior formal education and career experiences can help mothers develop critical thinking skills, which they could use to evaluate the different approaches to parenting from two cultures. Furthermore, they could use these skills to apply their formal education in a way that would contribute to their child's cognitive development. Some participants also believed that human capital helped them branch out to others, forming bridges of social capital through which they could continue to build on their cognitive and emotional resources used in mothering. This finding seemed to contribute to human capital theory, which assumes that one's social capital creates human capital (Coleman, 1988). Given participants' experiences, I learned that among Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers, human capital created social capital. For example, for Kirti, Anushka, and Manisha, getting an education and going to work outside of the home added to their feeling of being "interactive" with others. In their interactions with others, they may be creating bridges to social capital with those outside of their cultural backgrounds. These connections could allow participants to exchange information about parenting, navigate their emotions in mothering, and gain confidence.

Theoretical and empirical work in parenting also suggests that support from social ties may help mothers deal with the stress sometimes experienced in parenting (Deater-Deckard, 2004; Cutrona & Troutman, 1986; Östberg, & Hagekull, 2000). The connection

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between employment experiences and parenting is an especially assumed to be a helpful buffer against the stress experienced in motherhood (Kim & Wickrama, 2013). Perhaps when mothers exchange information about parenting with their colleagues who are also parents, they feel comforted and not alone in the process of mothering. Moreover, colleagues may provide mothers with positive feedback about their professional accomplishments, which may help foster mothers' general confidence (Kim & Wickrama, 2013). It seems feasible that, for mothers in this cultural community, human capital is the starting point that creates social capital, which then enables them to use human capital for themselves and in mothering.

Although participants reiterated the importance of their education and career in mothering and child development, they seemed conflicted in their decision to pursue professional work. However, they seemed certain about preserving their identities as primary caregivers at all times. A desire to preserve the primary caregiver role may relate a desire to engage in parenting styles that reflected intensive mothering, which assumes that a good mother is the one who invests finances, emotions, and much concentrated time and energy with the child (Hays, 1996). Some participants had possibly grown up seeing models of Indian mothers who conformed to this parenting style. Perhaps these participants wanted to conform to these cultural norms of good mothering in order to feel a sense of belonging in both cultures. Adhering to social norms is thought to foster one's need to belong (Baumeister & Leary, 1995), and a need to belong is important for the formation of one's identity (Bauman, 1996; Kumar, Seay, & Karabenick, 2015). Because engaging in family work, including childcare, may uphold a woman's identity as a

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mother (Gaunt, 2008), spending time away from engaging in this work may threaten her identity. Conceivably, Mona, Anita, Neha, Vishali, and Namrata, were trying to conform to intensive mothering standards because they felt threatened as mothers if they were to spend time away from their child, in professional roles or otherwise. This feeling of threat to one's identity as a mother may have informed some participants' intentions in leaving paid-work. For example, Mona, left her job so she could be with her toddler, Sunny, and invest in him instead of her employees. Mona negotiated between her roles as a primary caregiver and a paid worker, and chose to preserve her caregiving role.

Trying to meet the standards of good mothering puts pressure on some mothers, including employed mothers, and, in turn, puts them at risk of feeling negative emotions, like guilt (Sutherland, 2010). The feeling of guilt is especially expressed among mothers of infants (e.g., Budds, Hogg, Banister, & Dixon, 2017), mothers of older children, including toddlers (Elvin-Nowak, 1999; Seagram & Daniluk, 2002) and preschoolers (Tuli, 2012). Mothers of toddlers may feel that they are not doing enough and may feel guilty leaving their children at a daycare (Elvin-Nowak, 1999; Seagram & Daniluk, 2002); and Indian mothers of preschool age children (three to six years) also experience this guilt (Tuli, 2012). In my study, some participants expressed feeling similar emotions, suggesting that mothering was emotionally demanding for them. Both Namrata and Vishali, recalled feeling similar emotions. Namrata recalled feeling guilty for spending time away from her toddler during the day, as she had to leave her at a daycare. Vishali also recalled evaluating herself negatively when she had to drop her toddler at a daycare for the first time. It is possible that these participants felt they were missing out on their

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children's important milestones. Although the time that these participants spent away from their toddlers' due to their professional commitments may have threatened their identities as mothers and led them to feeling negatively about themselves, this time spent away from the child due to professional commitments still seemed to add to these participants' goals in parenting. They knew exactly what they wanted to achieve from their quality interactions with their toddlers—e.g., to develop long lasting bonds. In this way, mothering was mental work for these participants.

Negotiating Motherhood with Spouse

Participants, as the primary caregivers, believed that they negotiated domestic and caregiver roles with their spouses. Those who were employed as well as those who did not participate in employment believed that their spouses provided support with domestic (e.g., cleaning the dishes) and childcare tasks (e.g., playing with the child). Consistent with the broader fathering literature (Flouri & Buchanan, 2003; Parke et al., 2002; Parke, 2002), spousal support at home was also believed to add meaningfully to family relations and functioning. At the same time, participants echoed that an unequal division of labor existed in household work. They wanted to share more responsibilies around the house with the spouse. This range of experiences with spousal support may speak to the conceptualization of fatherhood and may have implications for the family unit.

In the context immigration, nuclear family roles and responsibilities are understood to become more salient to the family members (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010). Therefore fathers may take on greater household responsibilities than if they were living in an established joint family in India. For example, Anita, a participant in this study,

spoke about how salient her and her spouses roles in the home had become because they were living in a nuclear family in the U.S. Her husband, who came from a joint family structure, initially was afraid of engaging in certain childcare tasks and was learning to take more responsibility.

Spouses' supportive or unsupportive roles at home may be associated with how the two parents are acculturating, "…[the] dual process of cultural and psychological change" (Berry, 2005, p. 698), and, more specifically, how are they adjusting to their gendered roles in the U.S. In the context of immigration, it is possible that Indian fathers, like mothers, may feel tension if they try to stray away from their identity work (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010). Fathers may especially find the transition to the U.S. harder than mothers when they are expected to participate in tasks that they may believe should be done by women (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010). The homemaker role, rather than a professional identity, is more strongly developed in Indian women than in Indian men (Bhatnagar & Rajadhyaksha, 2001). Indian fathers may further value various domestic tasks differently and may or may not consider engaging in certain domestic tasks as part of their identity work (Mehrotra & Calasanti, 2010; Saraff & Srivastava, 2010).

In line with the above literature, I also found that some participants' spouses did not engage in certain childcare tasks, such as changing toddlers' diapers, as this task may have been unpleasant for the fathers. In the case of Kirti, who worked two jobs, her spouse did not seem to value certain childcare tasks or see engaging in them as certain childcare tasks as part of his identity. Thus, spouses like Kirti's spouse may not feel that

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it is their place to take on these childcare tasks. Research (e.g., Jain & Belsky, 1997) shows that Indian immigrant fathers who belong to the most acculturated families are more involved with their children in all dimension of fathering, including caretaking of the child, compared to those who are from the least acculturated families. Overall, the patriarchal norms in society that define men's and women's roles differently and how first-generation Indian immigrant families adjust to gendered roles in the U.S. may have led to some participants feeling that there was spousal support or a lack of spousal support at home.

A lack of spousal support at home may manifest as the mother feeling that there is an unequal division of labor at home, which may be problematic for the quality of mother-father relationship and for the child. For example, Kirti, who expressed feeling unsupported by her husband in certain childcare tasks, reflected on her negative emotions towards her family in those situation. Research finds that commitment and conflict in the relationsip between the mother and father are linked to the division of household labor between the two parents (Hohmann-Marriott, 2011; Stevens, Kiger, & Mannon, 2005). Fathers who are committed in their relationships with the mother engage in childcare tasks (Hohmann-Marriott, 2011), but conflict experienced in this relationship is linked to perceptions of unfair division of household labor (Stevens, Kiger, & Mannon, 2005). The unequal division of labor at home is further linked with lower levels of relationship quality, such as lack of happiness (Frisco & Williams, 2003) and lower marital satisfaction (Chong & Mickelson, 2015; Stevens et al., 2005). In turn, poor mother-father

relationship is related to child's difficult behaviors (Goldberg & Carlson, 2014).

Negotiation of Motherhood with Relatives

As immigrants to the U.S., many participants in this study found themselves living outside of the extended, interdependent family structure that they had grown up with in India. This occurred either when they moved to the U.S. after marriage or when they moved to the U.S. as unmarried women. Researchers have understood immigrants as individuals with varied family and living arrangements and with dispersed family members (Bernhard, Landolt, & Goldring, 2009; Dreby, 2015; Landale, Thomas, & Van Hook, 2011). They have specifically pointed to immigration policies as underlying the physical separation of or dispersion of family members among immigrants. During the study, a few participants were living with or near relatives, whereas others had no relatives physically close to them. Despite physical distance separating them from their immediate family members, an important aspect of my participants' lives was maintaining their transnational relationships with close family members such as with own parents, in-laws, and own siblings.

Prior work conducted with immigrants (e.g., Bernhard et al., 2009) along with the findings of my dissertation suggest that transnational ties allow for the circulation of important ideas and information related to childrearing. Participants believed that they received information in the form of advice or feedback from their own parents, in-laws, and siblings. Research exploring transnational ties also suggests that connections with family members in one's country of origin provide immigrants with emotional support (Bhattacharya, 2008; 2011 Donghui, 2012; Pettys & Balgopal, 1998). Similarly, I found

that participants in my study believed there was emotional support in their transnational

interactons with family members who were living in India. My participants also believed

that they received instrumental support, such as support in childcare, from family

members and such support from family members is considered as one of the strengths

among immigrant families (Hernandez, Denton, & Mcartney, 2007). In particular,

support in childcare from family members is understood to be an important and practical

response to accomdating and addressing the needs of the mother (Chin, Liu, & Mair,

2011). For example, child care support from family members was believed to allow

participants to free up time to focus on their personal agendas (e.g., attend to paid-work

or engaging in leisure activities).

Some participants specified that they had different forms of support in

relationships with their own mothers and mothers-in-law. Researchers have documented

positive, supportive relationships between grown daughters and their mothers (Bojczyk,

Lehan, McWey, Melson, & Kaufman, 2011) and in daughter-in-law and mother-in-law

relationships (Allendorf, 2006). According to Bojcyk et al. (2011), adult daughters

identify themselves with their own mothers possibly because of how their developmental

trajectories may influence each other's; adult daughters view their mothers as role

models, and there is caregiving to each other in this relationship. Research (e.g.,

Allendorf, 2006) also points to the positive aspects in mother-in-law and daughter-in-law

relationships, including love and understanding. This was noted in my dissertation as

some participants shared that participants' own mothers or mothers-in-law were believed

to serve as models and were essential in supporting the participants in difficult mothering

situations. By giving participants emotional support and instrumental support, participants' own mothers or mothers-in-law allowed participants to access space needed to reenergize and recuperate from the demands of being the primary caregiver to a young child.

Although relationships with elder family members were strong sources of support, some participants described conflicts in these relationships. Participants like Manisha and Vishali specifically identified differences in parenting beliefs and practices with their elder family members. As collectivist societies experience increased modernization, family roles and interaction dynamics are expected to change, and so are the roles that elder family members take on within families (Hossain, Eisberg, & Shwalb, 2017). In light of this idea, it seems possible that participants who experienced conflicts in their relationships with elder family members may be aware of this change in contemporary India and are slowly unravelling and reevaluating interdependent cultural values, moving towards more independent cultural models of parenting. Thus, instead of depending on and conforming to elder family members' advice in parenting, these participants decided to carry forward their own parenting agendas. Nevertheless, this may not have been the case for all participants, as not all of them talked about differences in their relationships with these family members regarding parenting topics or practices.

Some of the existing literature (e.g., Vikram, Chen, & Desai, 2018; Tuli, 2012) exploring Indian parenting is built on the assumption that raising a child is a joint venture, shared with immediate and extended family members, among Indian families. In keeping with this idea, most participants believed that their sisters, who are part of their

immediate family unit, played an important role in helping them negotiate motherhood. They could easily reach out to them with specific parenting concerns, and, for some, siblings served as role models.

Literature exploring sibling relationships suggests the age spacing between siblings, as well as context and life events, may influence how siblings are connected with each other (see Conger & Little, 2010 for review). Siblings closer in age, for example, may experience positive connections with each other as they transition to similar roles or have shared life experiences (e.g., parenting) (Conger & Little, 2010). Although participants in my study did not reveal their siblings' ages, some (e.g., Manisha, Vishali, Anita) of them did view their siblings' advice and feedback as meaningful because the siblings were experiencing parenting events in parallel with participants. If the person giving the feedback is viewed as an expert or someone who possess rich funds of knowledge (i.e., historically and culturally developed skills and knowledge, Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992), then the person receiving the feedback from that individual may trust that feedback (Bandura, 1997). When participants like Vishali and Mona spoke about whether or not they considered their siblings' feedback into their practices at home, it is possible that they were internally evaluating their siblings' expertise in parenting and raising a young child within the U.S. Manisha specifically spoke about how her siblings may have knowledge of raising a child within the American culture, which seemed to be another criterion on which participants may have evaluated whether they would consider their siblings' advice in parenting.

Negotiation of Motherhood with Cultural Communities

In the absence of their immediate family members in the host country, ties with those from similar cultural backgrounds may provide immigrant individuals with a sense of belonging (Donghui, 2012) and provide emotional support (Bhattacharya, 2011). In this respect, there can be support found for immigrants from non-familial ties within the host country. This was the case for the participants in my dissertation who found support from individuals belonging to the Indian-American and American cultural communities. In addition to participants' parents, in-laws, and siblings, individuals belonging to the Indian-American and American communities seemed to provide similar forms of support in mothering. For example, in interactions with parents belonging to the Indian-American community, some participants gained emotional support (e.g., moral support) as well as companionship in parenting. Although not explored in this study, perhaps companionship in relations with individuals belonging to this community, especially other mothers, allowed participants the opportunity to recuperate from the stress experienced in mothering their toddlers in the absence of important familial supports. Additionally, they may have felt supported in their specific roles. The current cultural climate is understood to undermine all women, as it pits stay-at-home mothers against employed mothers—suggesting that one is better than the other or that neither are examples of good mothers (Johnston & Swanson, 2004). Perhaps companionship via relationships with mothers belonging to different cultural communities may encourage mothers to support one another, regardless of differences in their identities and may help mothers see similarities in their circumstances, despite differences in their roles and identities.

Participants in my study also received information as well as encouragement to retain their cultural values and language at home through connections with individuals belonging to the Indian-American community. Indian immigrants have been understood to represent a group of immigrants who are selective about retaining certain Indian core values at home, and at the same time adapting to certain American customs easily (Wakil et al., 1981). Given their conversations with or observations of other Indian parents within the U.S., some participants such as Neha, Mona, and Namrata felt that it was necessary to retain their native language at home by engaging in stimulating interactions. They wanted cultural continuity and feared a lack of it within the U.S. Collectively, these mothers also felt that speaking with the child in their native language at home would further help them maintain values of family interdependence and ease of connectivity with grandparents. More broadly, they seemed to fear that their own toddlers would grow up to lose their language and cultural values. So, as parents, they saw it as their number one priority to endorse language and culture as much as they could while the kid was young and under their control. Perhaps this was one way these participants were trying to shape their children's cultural identity in the U.S. Overall, these participants would not have realized these specific goals if they had not interacted with other Indian immigrants in the U.S.

The information received through ties with individuals belonging to the American cultural communities was also useful for some participants, as it helped them gain clarity about their parenting agendas. By weighing their common Indian practices with the American practices, participants could compare and contrast ideas, selecting what felt

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right for their unique situations. Moreover, individuals belonging to the American community seemed to set examples for some participants, such as Anita and Namrata, to follow and continue to engage in disciplinary and responsive practices with their children that seemed to be valued in both cultures. The transmission of cultural values from individuals belonging to Indian-American and American communities extends prior work on intergenerational transmission of parenting (Chen & Kaplan, 2001; Neppl et al., 2009) by suggesting that the transmission of cultural practices is not just an intergenerational process in which values are only passed by one's own parents. Transmission of cultural practices for immigrant mothers is also rooted in their interactions with those within and outside of their ethnic group.

Strengths and Limitations

There were several strengths and limitations of this study. Participants enrolled in this study were mostly those with college degrees, at the bachelor's or master's levels, in the science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) fields. These participants showed interest and stayed in the study for the entire time, as they were interested in my dissertation topic and also had some exposure to conducting thesis projects when they were in college. Only one participant had not attained education beyond a high school diploma, though she also stayed in the study for the entire time. Given this, the parenting experiences of other mothers with a lower educational background were not represented well in the study. Moreover, parenting experiences could not be studied across mothers who could be grouped by different education levels (e.g., lower education, upper education, etc) or household income. It was difficult to gain information about household

income from all participants, as they politely refused to share this information. Nevertheless, participants' education and work backgrounds still represented the current demographic backgrounds of Indian immigrants in the U.S. working in the STEM fields (Zong & Batalova, 2017).

Two participants recruited in this study were in their 40s, and the others were either in their 20s or 30s. This age gap provided an opportunity to understand the diverse parenting experiences of mothers who are at different points in their development. Understanding participants' diverse experiences is essential to a qualitative researcher (Krefting, 1999). The difference between mothers' chronological age in this study potentially reflects a general demographic trend related to marriages, childbearing, and childrearing occurring later in life in the U.S. (Smock & Greenland, 2010), and it begins to show that perhaps cultural expectations for women to get married and to start a family early in life (Sharma, Pandit, Pathak, & Sharma, 2013) may be shifting among Indian immigrant families in the U.S. as well. The number of mothers included in this study were few, and this was certainly a limitation. Yet, that decision depends on when theoretical saturation is reached (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In this study, saturation was reached with 12 mother-toddler dyads when new codes, categories, and themes could no longer be generated to address the goals or the research questions of this study.

Bias in the study may have resulted from my identity. For example, some of the follow-up interview questions emerged based on my upbringing in a traditional joint family system in India. When I was in the initial stages of my analysis, I also struggled to recognize the nuanced ways of mothering because I was only looking for information that

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aligned with my upbringing and my expriences with my own mother. The research

assistants—the undergraduate and the graduate students—were also from a similar

cultural background, which possible added to bias in the study. Neveretheless, my

identity as an unmarried woman who is not a mother still helped me become aware of the

experiences—e.g., maternal guilt and intensive mothering, I did not anticipate learning.

Also, in conversations with the graduate student I was able to strategize how to build

rapport with the community members and participants. I was also able to practice some

interview questions with her as well as with my own mother before collecting data. These

conversations helped me feel prepared for field work.

Another limitation was that I could not capture fathers' experiences. More

specifically, I could not compare how mothers and fathers conceptualized motherhood

and fatherhood in the context of their unique human and social capitals. Exploring

fathers' parenting beliefs and practices could broaden the current perspectives on gender

roles and parenting. Overall, it could provide insight to fathers' beliefs about their

identity work, which is largely missing in my dissertation data.

Implications and Future Directions

As some immigration policies create vulnerabilities for the immigrant families,

researchers (e.g., Cardoso, Scott, Faulkner, & Lane, 2018; Menjívar, 2006; Ravindranath,

2017) have begun to investigate how immigrant families make meaning of their

experiences within the U.S. Immigrant women encounter a gendered context in the U.S.

in which they maybe unable to use their human capital to gain legal employment, and, in

turn, feel financially dependent on the spouse (Ravindranath, 2017). Most participants in

my dissertation believed that education and professional experiences were part of their identity, which could aid their own and their toddler's growth and shape their mothering experiences. However, given contextual factors—one being visa constraints—some participants were taking a break from their jobs, which could be a source of loss of an important element of their identities in the U.S. Similarly, Latina immigrant women have also encounter a gendered context in the U.S. in which they are financially dependent on their spouses and possibly feel trapped and unable to change their circumstances (Sullivan & Rehm, 2005). Researchers have also expressed concerns that in the backdrop of anti-immigrant policies, immigrant mothers may experience poor mental health (Letiecq et al., 2019). The findngs of my dissertation, coupled with these concerns for immigrants, point to a growing need to create fairer immigration policies that legalize immigrant women's employment so they can be financially independent and gain access to multiple resources, and contribute to the U.S. economy.

The participants believed that education and employment expriences are important and could provide them with access to cognitive, social, and emotional resources. Access to such resources may provide a window to understanding why correlations between maternal education and child development may also exist quantitatively (e.g., Bindman et al., 2015; Dotterer et al., 2012; Graziano et al., 2011; Lugo-Gil & Tamis-LeMonda, 2008; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2004; Raviv et al., 2004). Thus, restriction to or devaluing of immigrant mothers' educational and professional credentials in the current immigration climate may be problematic for generations to come. Further research may consider using mixed-methods approach to show how

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maternal education is important for family and child outcomes among diverse immigrant families. Perhaps such future research could encourage policy makers to design inclusive work policies for immigrant mothers, and in turn, the U.S. economy could benefit from the skills that immigrant mothers bring with them.

Given the current immigration climate, it is also important to understand mothering expriences in the context of immigrant mothers' unique social capital. The U.S. immigration system assumes that most immigrant families are nuclear, comprising of a married couple and children (Gubernskaya & Dreby, 2017). Thus, the U.S. immigration system is less likely to reflect immigrant families' lived experiences with other family members and is less likely to promote family unity, possibly leading to prolonged periods of family separation (Bergeron, 2013; Gubernskaya & Dreby, 2017). The findings of this dissertation, coupled with existing literature exploring the role of maternal social support (Manuel et al., 2012; Leahy-Warren et al., 2011; Silver et al., 2006; Thompson & Peebles-Wilkins, 1992), suggest that family members, an important part of participants' social capital, are a form of informational, instrumental, and emotional support to the mothers. Although mothers may have support in a nuclear family system in the U.S. from their spouses, they also have support from immediate family members living in India such as their own parents or in-laws. Yet many of them were living physically away from their own parents, in-laws, and/or siblings. Much scholarship on Indian families (e.g., Tuli, 2012; Vikram et al., 2018) points to childrearing as a collective familial phenomenon among these families. The current

assumptions that immigrant families function as nuclear and independent families reflects a potential limitation of the U.S. immigration system.

Future resarchers may consider exploring the role of familial support on diverse immigrant family developmental outcomes in an effort to inform culturally responsive immigration policies and to extend prior empirical work on social capital and support that has been limited to European (Bost et al., 2002; Leahy-Warren et al., 2011; Mulvaney & Kendrick, 2005; Silver, Heneghan, Bauman, & Stein, 2006; Stevens, 1988) and African American families (Benin & Keith, 1995; Burchinal, Follmer, & Bryant, 1996; Haxton & Harknett, 2009; Miller-Cribbs & Farber, 2008). This may be achieved by using mixed-methodology, in which the researcher could interview mothers about their social capital and also include measures of social capital as well as familial and child outcomes.

The findings of my study also suggest practical implications. In addition to familial support, mothers shared that they have access to support from individuals outside of their family network belonging to the Indian-American and the American cultural communities. They especially spoke about the transmission of cultural knowledge in interactions with these indivdiuals that they could reflect upon and choose to integrate in their parenting agendas and practices. Perhaps there are benefits for community programs to provide a space for diverse immigrant and non-immigrant families to interact with each other and share knowledge related to a range of topics that will help families feel that they belong in the context of an uncertain immigrantion climate. Researchers have recommended that early childhood programs should make outreach efforts to include immigrant families of young children, and these programs can serve as service centers for

immigrant families by helping these families identify their needs and navigate various social systems (e.g., services related to employment; Vesely & Ginsberg, 2011).

Finally, the findings of my study have implications for theory. Perhaps human and social capitals should be included as explicit components of the Theoretical Model of Parental Ethnotheories. As noted in chapter two, this framework encompases parents' beliefs, intervening factors, actual practices, and outcomes. However, the two forms of capitals are not explicitly situated in any of these components of the model. The findings of my dissertation provide some understanding of where these capitals can be included in the model. Yet, further empirical work that utilizes qualitative and quantitative methods is needed to fully confirm where these capitals can be best integrated in the existing model.

Conclusions

I used qualitative methods to explore parenting beliefs and practices among Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers (18 to 36 months) in the U.S. I found that these mothers of toddlers were negotiating the demands in mothering with themselves, with spouses, family members, and cultural communities. Despite participants' competing roles and demands of their multiple identities, the participants believed that they were the primary caregivers. Preserving this identity involved being intentional in one's parenting agenda and practices. Although participants believed that they were primarily responsible for much of the caregiving tasks, they identified many ways in which their spouses helped out with childcare and domestic chores. They also elaborated that more needed to happen at home to equalize gender roles. Participants believed that there was also support

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from other family members—i.e., own parents, in-laws, and siblings, in childcare and domestic chores. Support from these family members was received over the phone and/or when these members were physically present in the U.S. Participants' support systems extended beyond their own family. They had important informational, instrumental, and emotional support in ties with individuals belonging to the Indian-American and American communities. Although family members transmitted cultural information on parenting and child development topics to participants, individuals belonging to the cultural communities did the same. Similar to siblings, indivduals from the cultural communities also served as role models.

Overall, the findings of this dissertation have implications for immigration policies, early childhood education programs, and future research. In the current immigration climate, it is important to acknolwedge that immigrant mothers of young children bring human capital with them that can expand their identities as individuals and inform their mothering experiences. Policies that allow immigrant mothers' expansion of their social capital in the U.S. and policies that help them maintain ties with individuals in their native country can positively add to their mothering experiences. Perhaps outreach efforts by early childhood programs can help connect culturally diverse families of young children with each other and in these connections, they can share as well as generate nuanced ways of parenting in the U.S. Exploring beliefs and practices among other caregivers, by using mixed-methodology approach, could further our knowledge on the phenomena of caregiving, parenting, and child development.

Appendix A

Flyer

Indian Mothers of Toddlers!

I invite you to be part of my dissertation project, which tries to understand the parenting experiences of Indian immigrant mothers of toddlers (18 to 36 months). I am conducting this project as a graduate student at George Mason University (GMU) under the supervision of my professor, Dr. Michelle Buehl. The Institution of Research Board, IRB, at GMU has approved this project.

Participating mothers will be asked to take part in a series of activities (observations, interviews, and surveys) three times over three consecutive months. ***At the end of each visit (three visits total) mothers will receive a $20 gift card and a toy or book for their toddler.***

If you would like to know more or know someone who may be interested, please contact me (Swati Mehta) at smehta3@gmu.edu. I can also be reached via text or phone call: 703-859-6628.

I look forward to hearing from you!! Thank you!! IRBNet #1107482-2

Appendix B

Interview Protocol

Interview	Questions
Ecocultural Family Interview	I want to learn how your and your families' daily routine look like during a typical week. Walk me through a typical 24-hour weekday routine in your toddler's, your, and your family's life. Walk me through your typical weekend. How is your weekend routine different or same from your weekday routine? What happens from the time you, your toddler, and family members wake up until the time you all go to sleep. How is your toddler like during a typical 24-hour weekday? If you were in India, would your routine have looked any different or similar? What would you like to change in your routine as your toddler grows up?
Video/audio-recall Interviews	I will show you small segments of your interactions with your toddler [OR you will listen to the audio of your interactions with your toddler]. These interactions were recorded the last time I was visiting you. As you watch these interactions, walk me through the thoughts that come to your mind. You can choose to share your thoughts as you watch each segment of your interactions or after you finish watching each segment of your interaction. I may ask you some follow-up questions as needed. Tell me what comes to your mind
Family Resource Mapping	I'm going to ask you few questions about how you are connected with others and in what ways

	you exchange resources with each other. (Prompt: family members, friends, colleagues, experts like day care providers or pediatricians, and anyone else I forgot to mention or ask about) • Share an example of a situation in which you may have turned to these individuals for parenting or in general. • Share situations in which they may have turned to you for parenting or in general.
Demographic	I would like to ask you a few demographic questions. When is your toddler's birthday (Prompt: year, month, and the date he/she was born). His/her place of birth? Walk me through your toddler's care arrangements when you are not home. Who takes care of him/her when you are not around? When is your birthday (Prompt: year, month, and the date). When did you get married? Walk me through your education experiences leading up to now and how do these experiences add to your parenting experiences? Walk me through your work history/experiences until now and how do these experiences add to your childrearing/parenting experiences? Walk me through your previous experiences with children, including toddlers, before having your own child/children. Remind me again when you and your family arrived to the U.S. and how was that immigration journey like? If you're comfortable sharing, remind me what your husband does for work? and other family members?

Appendix C

Codebook

Codes	Descriptions
Child care arrangement	Any description of current, past or future care arrangement in the U.S. Specifically, description of who currently takes care of the child when mother is not available, or who will take care of the child when mother is not at available or who has taken care of the child.
Extended Family	Any mention of or information about toddler's extended family in or outside U.S.A (e.g., uncle, aunt, grandmother, grandfather).
Family Member Work	Any information about family member's, other than toddler's father, work status
Living Arrangement, Family Composition, or Visiting Family	Any information about who lives with the mother-toddler dyad; who is or was visiting them; and is it nuclear or joint family.
Missing Support	Any mention of **lack of support for parenting from** toddler's father; family members other than husband (these can be in U.S. or in India); others (e.g., friends, doctors or day care providers).
Mother's identity	Discussion of mother's nature and discussion of how she was brought up as a child and adult. **Sub-code:** • **Her nature/personality** (e.g., I'm organized. I'm a caring person. I've been stable. I'm the mediator. I listen to my instincts. I'm a working mom. I'm a stay-at-home mom. I was a quiet kid and now I'm more vocal. I'm not that keen of cleaning). • **Upbringing:** (e.g., I have grown up in India drinking banana shake. I have seen my parents doing that. My parents were strict).
Mothers' Beliefs	Mothers' beliefs, ideas, knowledge, or perceptions about: **Sub-code:** • **About families:** How families are or should be (e.g., In Indian families, children stay with their parents). • **About parent/parenting:** How the mother views the parent figure (mother or father) and parenting (e.g., Parenting is now 50-50; husband and wife both have to parent. Parenting is different and

| | it's not the same as getting education or working; these are two different parts of life. Parents have to be the first one to teach).
- **About the child** [She could be referring to her own child or a child in general]**:**
  - o Ideas/knowledge/or understanding about child's nature/temperament/personality, abilities/capabilities, and interests (e.g., He was yelling in the store. She has trouble eating. She is fuzzy. He's smart. She will learn by falling and won't repeat that behavior. I give her food that she likes and what she can easily eat. She likes puzzle so I bought puzzle. He really likes cars. He loves the dramatic tone of our voice when we read to him).
  OR
  - o ideas/knowledge/or understanding about how children **in general** develop or learns (e.g., Children of their age learn quickly or the first three years of their life are really important for children).
  OR
  - o Ideas/knowledge/or understanding about how children are or should be **in general** (e.g., Children feel good when they are appreciated. Children will only do what they want to do).
- **About specific Practices/parent-child interaction:**
  - o **How certain/specific parenting practices are important or not important, good, or bad** (e.g., I asked him to clean the floor when he made a mess. This is a learning opportunity for him. Teaching the child by force is not good).
  OR
  - o **Definition/understanding of certain/specific parenting practices** (e.g. Teaching A, B, C, Ds are basics. With discipline at home you don't get distracted).
- **About expected** child or family outcomes in relation to: (e.g., By repeating information, I hope that toddler will follow directions in the future. Toddler will learn words or language through this practice).
- **About goals:** Any **discussion of child-centered and/or other centered goals**
  - o **Child-centered goals:** Goals based on child's development and/or interest rather than mothers' desire for the child (e.g., I don't expect my child to be a doctor in the future. I am not in a rush for him to know all the colors today. The child needs to know how to face "no" or a failure).

	o **Mother-centered goals:** Goals based on mothers' desire for the child (e.g., I want her to listen to others' instructions. I want to make sure that my toddler follows directions. I want my toddler to learn to listen. Want to teach him discipline, good manners, and respecting others. Making sure toddler engages with other family members so the toddler knows that there are other family members too).
Parent Demographics	Any information about mother and father's: **Sub-codes:** • Place of birth, Date of birth or age, Marital status, Year of marriage, and Education (past, current or future education), • Work (**Current work status**— employed, unemployed, or starting soon; **Current work field**—IT, doctor, etc; **Previous work and discipline**; **Work logistics**—description of where, how many hours, or pay). • Immigration (e.g., time of arrival in the U.S., Visa status or situation, Reason for migration (e.g., for work, after marriage, for education), challenges (e.g., language difficulty as an immigrant or cultural shock, struggle to find job, etc).

Practices (Codes apply only to video and audio observation data)	Quality of mother-toddler interaction observed in the video or mentioned by the mother in an interview
	 Sub-codes:
	 • Sensitivity:
	     o Acknowledges toddler's behaviors (e.g., says, "Thank you" to toddler).
	     o Soothing the toddler when the toddler is crying or distressed.
	     o Closure with the toddler—e.g., giving physical comfort to the toddler or asking for physical comfort from the toddler (Hugging).
	     o Smiling, giggling at the toddler and being warm to him/her.
	     o Giving toddler his/her space to explore the environment;
	     o Giving toddler a chance to respond during a conversation than forcing a response;
	     o Letting the toddler regulate his/her emotions;
	     o Letting the toddler engage in activities (e.g., playing, cleaning, feeding) on his own.
	     o Encouraging toddler to engage in an activity.
	     o Helping the toddler problem solve as needed (e.g., helping the toddler get the ball from under the chair).
	     o Re-directing toddler's behavior or attention to task/activity.
	     o Responding to child's behavior/request immediately when the child looks at the mother.

	- o Responding to the child's behavior/request immediately even if the child doesn't look at the mother - o Modeling appropriate behavior (e.g., shows toddler how to clean toys). - o Monitoring or supervising toddler's behavior (e.g., mother is doing something else away and toddler is doing something else and there is physical distance between the two, but the mother from time-to-time supervises or overlooks his/her behavior and responds to him/her) - o Mother repeating toddler's response. - o Praising toddler (e.g., says "good job," claps). - o Showing excitement or enjoyment with some tasks/activity or in response to what toddler does. • Stimulation: - o Asking toddler questions about objects (e.g., numbers or alphabets) - o Asking toddler what he/she says or does. - o Asking toddler to follow instructions (e.g., mother asking toddler to get the green ball) - o Correcting toddler when he/she gives incorrect answer or explaining toddler how things work. - o Identifying, naming, or pointing to things in a book or in the environment (e.g., mother pointing that it's raining outside and then responds that it's raining; mother asking what color is in the video). - o Having a conversation with the toddler Hindi or English even if he/she doesn't respond. - o Reading to or with the toddler. - o Repeating toddler's response. - o Sing rhymes/songs in English/Hindi. - o Showing or saying words from a book. - o Teaching child numbers or alphabets. - o Verbalizing toddler's plans.
Prior Experiences with children	Any description of mother's experiences with her own children **OR** with children other than her own.
Routine	Any description of what happens during different time points in the day (e.g., morning, after, evening, and night routine) and in general for the following people: **Sub-codes:** • **Mothers' Routine** • **Fathers' Routine** • **Toddlers' Routine**

	• **Family Routine:** Description of all family members' routine.
Sources of support for Parenting or household chores	Mention of previous/past, current, or future sources of support for parenting **Sub-codes:** • **Support from toddler's father:** how the father of the toddler **helps out/has helped/or will help** at home when the mother **is not/was not/will not be** with the toddler (e.g., my husband plays with the toddler when I am cooking dinner) **OR** with house chores (e.g., my husband helps out in the kitchen). • **Support from family members other than husband** (e.g., my father-in-law takes care of the toddler when I'm at work or my in-laws helped in the kitchen). • **Support from pediatrician or day care provider** (the pediatrician or day care provider gave me advice on how to help the toddler). • **Support from others through mothers' work** (my coworker gave me some toys for him). • **Support from others through father's work** (my husband's co-workers told my husband how to take care of a toddler). • **Support from online sources or books on parenting** (e.g., parenting website or blogs).
Toddler's Demographics	Any description of toddler's place of birth, date of birth or age, and toddler's siblings.
Transition	Description of ongoing or expected/future changes within and outside the family **Sub-codes:** • **Individual transition:** Transitions happening or expected for the individual family members (e.g., Husband going through surgery. I will be starting a new job. I was a quiet kid and now I'm vocal and I think work made me more vocal. I will not stay with toddler forever). • **Family transition:** Transition happening or expected for the entire family (e.g., We are moving to a new house. We had more restrictions on us, now we have spoiled kids a lot more). • **Transition outside:** Transition happening or expected in the world/community/society outside (e.g., Being strict as a parent was good in our generation; these practices good for grades, but

	changing practices according to the outcome now. Times are changing; toddler will grow up in the U.S.).
Type of Support	Type of support for parenting received OR given (e.g., how mother helps out others—family members including toddler's father and those who are not family relatives): **Sub-codes** • Emotional support • Instrumental/physical (e.g., giving physical things like toys, books, clothes, money, or taking care of the child) • Verbal support (e.g., guidance, advice, or getting praise)

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Biography

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