

Paternal Involvement in Family Education: Report on A Pilot Survey in Xiangtan, China

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Tingting TAN

To clarify what aspects in the traditional attitudes and practices about the role of Chinese fathers and its importance for child development have changed significantly since the foundation of The People's Republic of China (1949) and to analyze how social and cultural reforms have affected the respective roles of mothers and fathers within Chinese families especially after the reform and opening-up (1978), the writer did a pilot survey about the paternal involvement in Chairman Mao's hometown - Xiangtan. This study is part of a more extensive study with the aim to shed light on the changing and its causes of East Asian father's involvement in family education since the mid-20th century. More specifically, the report firstly conducts literature review on the understanding of fatherhood in contemporary China. Next, it analyzes the results of a pilot survey to elaborate Xiangtan's practical paternal involvement and how it is affected by the socio-cultural transformation. The report concludes with a discussion and suggestions of future direction in the study of Chinese paternal engagement, especially for the improvement of the research methods. In-depth one-to-one interviews aiming to document the life stories (especially relating to family life) of different generations within particular families are needed.

Introduction

Since Lamb's 1975 work, "Fathers: Forgotten Contributors to Child Development", fathers' irreplaceable prominent position and their own role in the family upbringing began to be paid greater attention by educationalists and psychologists in the West. Up to 2003, more than 700 articles about Western fathers were cited each year in the Psychological Abstracts database (Charlie Lewis, Michael E. Lamb, 2003). Lamb (2010) traced the evolution of fatherhood from pre-industrial through modern times and identified four clearly defined stages (moral teacher, breadwinner, gender role model and nurturing father). Some new concepts, such as 'New Father' 'Modern Father' 'Caring Father' and so on have gradually appeared in the West (Mahmoud, 2014).

One century ago (May 4th Movement of 1919), patriarchal was sharply challenged by Chinese reform pioneers like Lu Xun, whose work, "Now What Should We Do to Be A Father" (《现在我们怎么做父亲》)

profoundly revealed the corrupt customs of Chinese traditional family ethics which took the patriarchal figure as the core. Moreover, he suggested if one wants to be a good father, firstly one should become a good man who respects women' and children' own rights unlike the three cardinal guides (ruler guides subject, father guides son and husband guides wife). Secondly, one should do his best to take care of and educate his children. Lastly, his children should not be constrained and feel free to do whatever they want. Since then, scholars have been constantly exploring the modern family ethics influenced by the social-cultural transform in China.

Half a century ago, namely Comprehensive Construction of the Socialist Period (全面建设社会主义时期), much attention was paid to the moral education and the cultivation of patriotism by fathers of that time, which was clearly reflected in the Fu Lei's work between 1954 and 1966, *Fu Lei's Home Letters* (《傅雷家书》).

However, in terms of academic research, the scholarly analysis of Chinese fathers only dated back to the early 1980s, soon after the renaissance of research on fatherhood in the West (Li and Lamb, 2013). The quantity of Chinese fathering citations has increased gradually since the 1980s, especially since 2000 (M.E. Lamb, 2003).

With the traditional social expectations that men should prioritize their work and women should prioritize domesticity, traditionally in China responsibility for supervising the education of children has fallen primarily to mothers. Nevertheless, in 1968, Chairman Mao used the turn of phrase: 'women hold up half of the sky', which also signified the high standing of women in society. Getting rid of the traditional idea that men are superior to women, the masses of women initiatively pursued the same right with men. Whether in the socialist revolution and construction, or enter a new historical period of reform and opening-up, as well as for currently striving for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese dream, the majority of women always played an important role of "Half of the Sky" (Li Xiaojiang, 2000). Furthermore, a larger proportion of younger men are indeed showing more interest in engaging actively in the upbringing of their children, much more so than their father's generation. A 2005 investigation by the Shanghai Municipal Women & Children Committee and Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences indicated that with an increasing number of women entering the labor market, family members have to balance their work and family lives, divvy up the house work, and work together to ensure their children get a good education. 62.3% of mothers played a dominant role in children' education in the 1980s while the number decreased to 52.8% in the 21C. On the other hand, the rate of fathers being the main caregivers of children aged 0-6 years old increased from 2.5% to 13.1% over the same period. However, it relates only to Shanghai which is the largest and most prosperous metropolis in mainland China. And there are some researchers (Zhou Ling, 2006; Wei Dong, 2013, et al.) also criticized that although Chinese female labor-force participation is very high, they are still treated in the traditional way, especially after they gave birth to a baby, they are forced to give up work to take care of the infant at least for one year in some Chinese secondary city like Changsha and rural place like Xinhua. Fincher (2014) has suggested that social attitudes towards women to some extent actually reverted to more 'traditional' forms after 1978. While *The Economist* (2015) indicated that the imbalance of marriage market push men to do more housework and get rid of old-fashioned gender roles if they want to get married. Undoubtedly, Chinese diversity and fluidity makes the issue of paternal involvement more complicated.

It is well known that the contents, approaches and levels of paternal involvement have been affected by regional and cultural characteristics (Wu Xinchun, 2014). Thus, different regions have different paternal

involvement characteristics. To the best of our knowledge, there are few paper reflecting the changing trajectory and its cause of Xiangtan's paternal involvement. Xiangtan itself was the hometown of Chairman Mao, who from early on in his political career campaigned for greater gender equality, in 1927 formulating the Jinggangshan land law allowing women to own land in their own right. If any area might be expected to have taken Mao's dictum concerning women's social status to heart, it is Xiangtan. Therefore, the changing attitudes and practices of paternal involvement in Xiangtan need to be further researched.

Although there are an increasing number of studies focusing on fathers' involvement, relatively little systematic research has been conducted regarding the shifting fatherhood and the factors that influence paternal involvement over time. To what extent has the increased female presence in traditionally 'male' spheres outside the home been matched (or supported) by changes to the extent and nature of paternal involvement in the raising and education of children? How have changing patterns of work, economic pressures, labour mobility and shrinking family size affected the respective roles of mothers and fathers within Chinese families? Furthermore, what differences can be observed between rural and urban paternal involvement in family education, and how can these differences be explained? This study thus aims to investigate these issues by conducting oral history research in Chairman Mao's own home county (Xiangtan).

The sociocultural transformations and its influence on paternal involvement

Economically, the 1978 market reform brought about large-scale changes and redistribution of wealth and material resources. In the past three decades, China has undergone extensive social as well as economic changes. The material level of people there had a big improvement. Consequently, people now can pay more attention to the spirit of the humanities, especially to education investment. Xiangtan residents' educational and entertainment services spending accounts for 74.8% household consumption expenditure in 2010, reaching the target value.

Amongst these transformations has been the replacement of extended by nuclear families, as well as substantial shifts in culture and values affecting both urban and rural populations. Previous research has indicated a gradual 'tilting' of the 'inner core' of the family from men to women, undermining the old assumption that "men make houses and women make homes". Growing aspirations on the part of women for personal freedom and equality have come into conflict with traditional values, giving rise to conflict within families (Wang & Li, 2013).

Another historical influence that has led to changes in Chinese parenting is the One Child Policy implemented in Mainland China in 1980. This policy has largely affected the structure of Chinese families, with implications for many aspects of Chinese parenting. More specifically, there are 813 thousand families and the average population of each family is 3.07 in Xiangtan. It is not surprising that Chinese parents with single children place even greater emphasis on the values of pursuing knowledge and future success because their singletons are their only source of hope and future dependence (Fong, 2007).

Meanwhile, China's broader social environment has become increasingly competitive (Chen, Wang, & Wang, 2009), as older 'socialistic' employment and welfare arrangements have been dismantled, and more open markets for goods and labor have encouraged or compelled worker mobility, especially from rural to urban areas. Uneven economic development and greater income gaps between urban and rural areas of China have had implications for parenting and educational practices, with widening inequalities in access to

educational opportunities, and widespread parental migration in search of work. In Dec. 2013, there are 28008 “left-behind” children in Xiangtan, which is mainly distributed in rural primary and middle schools. Because of the lack of communication with their parents for a very long time, the family education of those “left-behind” children in rural areas is seriously deficient. A related phenomenon is the growing number of rural migrant children, who have migrated with their parents to urban areas. Rural migrant children have fewer educational opportunities than urban-registered children (Nyland et al., 2011), and are at high risk of adjustment difficulties (Hu & Szente, 2010).

The fourth historical force that has shaped parenting goals and practices over recent decades is the increasing globalization of China, bringing with it considerable changes in culture and values (Chen et al., 2005). However, these shifts in globalization intersect with economic circumstances of families and vary by regions of China. Some subgroups of the Chinese population, for example, Chinese living in Hong Kong, and immigrant Chinese living in Western countries, and mainland China’s wealthy and cosmopolitan urban elites, may have more exposure to Western cultural values through processes of acculturation and globalization (Rufan et al., 2013). According to the Xiangtan Commerce Bureau’s in the mid90s, there were only 19 expatriate labors, while in 2013 the number of expatriate labors increased to 3466. Not only their general foreign exchange income has almost trebled, but also their work places extended to Japan, South Korea, North America and Europe not limited to Africa, Southeast Asia. On the ground of Xiangtan People’s Congresses overseas Chinese federation, there are around 1000 Xiangtan oversea returnees in 2014. The exposure to concepts or practices such as the ‘househusband’ or paternity leave may contribute to an enhanced appreciation of the value of father’s involvement in children’s education, which in turn affects fathers’ parenting practices.

Method

Participant

In order to thoroughly investigate the shifting of paternal involvement, the three generations from one family are extremely needed. On the ground of time and resource constraints, this pilot survey chose to focus study on six families from one urban primary school. The detailed basic information is shown in Table 1.

41 left-behind students (Grade One=6; Grade Two=6; Grade Three=4; Grade Four=5; Grade Five=9; Grade Six=11) from one rural primary school were interviewed. The interviews typically lasted between 60 and 80 minutes, but all of the participants were encouraged to answer freely and were given plenty of time to think and expression. All participant’s expressions and actions were recorded by the video camera and digital voice recorder. The interviews were conducted in Xiangxiang dialect and Mandarin (the participants’ native language) and the transcribed text was translated into English for the purpose of this study.

The Inventory of Father Involvement was administered to 150 students from the above two primary school and another urban primary school in Xiangtan. The subjects were encouraged to be as honest as possible to complete the questionnaires.

Table 1. The background of the selected six families

	Interview Code★	Born	Occupation	Education Level
Family One	GF1	1943	Retired Teacher	Middle School
	GM1	1952	Retired Student Canteen Worker	
	F1	1974	Book Store Worker	Bachelor
	M1		Doctor	
	C1	2004	Grade Five student	Primary School
Family Two	GF2	1948	Retired Worker	Middle School
	GM2	1951	Farmer	Primary School
	F2	1978	Individual Business Operator	Middle School
	M2	1979	Individual Business Operator	
	C2	2004	Grade Five student	Primary School
Family Three	GF3	1947	Retired Cadre	High School
	GM3	1947	Retired Teacher	
	F3	1979	Business man	High School
	M3	1981	Business woman	
	C3	2003	Grade Five student	Primary School
Family Four	GF4	1947	Chemical Factory Retired Employee	Middle School
	GM4	1949	Food Company Retired Employee	
	F4	1974	Business man	Middle School
	M4	1977	Business woman	
	C4	2004	Grade Five student	Primary School
Family Five	GF5	1954	Factory retired cadre	Bachelor
	GM5	1944	Provincial Administration Retired Cadres	
	F5	1978	Policeman	Bachelor
	M5	1979	Business woman	
	C5	2003	Grade Five student	Primary School
Family Six	GF6	1944	Retired Cadre in Procuracy	Bachelor
	GM6	1945	Retired Provincial Administration Cadres	
	F6	1979	Government worker	Bachelor
	M6	1979	Worker in Highway Administration	
	C6	2003	Grade Five student	Primary School

Notes: ★ 'GF' denotes Grandfather; 'GM' denotes Grandmother; 'F' denotes Father; 'M' denotes Mother; 'C' denotes child

Instrument

There are a series of semi-structured interview questions for grandparents, parents, and children. The

interviews with children will be more concerned about their home lives, try to tease out information concerning their relationships with their parents, and specifically the extent and nature of their fathers' involvement in supporting and monitoring their educational progress. The interviews with parents are about their interactions with their children, their attitude towards the role of the father within the family, their practice of involvement in parenting and family life more generally and their experience, as children, with their own parents. Such as, how do they see their role in their children's upbringing and education? What role did their own mothers and fathers play in supporting and monitoring their education? These similar questions will be asked for grandparents to present clearly the changing of father involvement from generation to generation.

The Inventory of Father Involvement (IFI) was created by Hawkins & Palkovitz in 2002. There were 26 items in Chinese version structured by five different scales, each representing a multi-dimensional concept of father involvement: (1) the amount of time spent together, e.g. "Spending time with your children doing things they like to do"; (2) the extent of perceiving accessibility and availability of father; (3) the degree of being facilitative and attentive; (4) setting Limits, e.g. "Setting rules and limits for your children's behavior"; (5) basic needs, e.g. "Providing your children's basic needs (food, clothing, shelter)". The 26 items were presented to responders in a five-step Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree ① to strongly agree ⑤. And confirmatory and exploratory factor analyses showed that IFI provided an acceptable fit for the data (Yin Yunxia, 2012).

Result

To search for the important shifting fatherhood patterns, we repeatedly read through the interviews and then return to confirm the themes we had identified. Ultimately, this study refined the four main results, as the following:

Father's own awareness

Father's own awareness of deep impact of paternal involvement on family and their distinctive role on child development was increasing gradually. Family 5 was a typical example. When they expounded their attitude about father's parenting, they said:

GF5: When I was a kid, my father was so busy with the production team (Sheng chandui) and even had meals in the people's commune (Ren min gong she). He couldn't spend lots of time on the basic routine caring not to speak of educating us. I completely understood the awareness of my father's generation until I also wallowed in earning workpoint (Gong fen). It was around Chinese implement policy of reform and opening-up, I had my first baby. Benefiting from the reform of education system in an all-round way (Quan mian kai zhan jiao yu ti zhi gai ge), I learnt a little theory of family education and tried my best to put it into practice.

F5: On the websites of Promotion Center for Father Involvement (PCFI), I knew that father's parenting will influence children's psychosocial maturity. Thus once I have a vacation, I will go camping with my kid. The most impressive one was the time in Jiangxi province in which we

challenged the single-plank bridge. To encourage my kid to be braver, I climbed after him and gave him encouragement. Finally, we made it and we were very happy.

C5: After attending parenting course and filial therapy held by my primary school, my father became very actively participate in the guidance of my homework. Recently, he cared about my out-of-class activities and made a very detailed list of my favorite things with me.

Fathers also expand their own standard of “good father” and try their best to more involve in family for avoiding the risk of father absence. It was illustrated by some of the following comments:

GF4: Although I didn’t spent lots of time on accompanying my kids, I still thought I was a good father. If you are an excellent material supporter and a good moral example, you will be a good father at my generation.

F3: I thought I am not good father. I will give myself the score 75 points (The full mark is 100 points). 25 points are subtracted because of my following behaviors, i.e., didn’t share the housework (-10 points), paying less attention to my children (-5 points) and failing to cultivate their independence and passion for work (-10 points).

C2: Good father will come back home earlier and tell me a series of interesting stories.

The contents and method of paternal involvement

The contents and methods of paternal involvement are changing significantly. In terms of fathers in the late 40s and early 50s, they played more close attention to children’s moral education than academic achievement through daily-life education. Compared with their own father’s generation, for father in the late 70s and early 80s, they spent much more time and efforts on children’s quality education (Su Zhi Jiao Yu). For children in 21C, they do hope their “busy” father can spend more time on the daily care. The extract from interviews transcribed text illustrated these as follows:

GF1: Our generation was born around the establishment of New China, enjoyed the Forward period of "open belly enough to eat" (Fang kai du pi chi bao fan), and suffered from the Great Cultural Revolution and witnessed the reform and opening-up. That is mean we stemmed from “economically poor and culturally blank” (Yi qiong er bai) and then developed into “fairly well-off” (Xiao kang). I definitely knew that how important of diligent and thrifty (Qin jian jie yue) , hard work and enduring hardship (Chi ku nai lao) and serving the people wholeheartedly (Quan xin quan yi wei ren min fu wu). Thus in the limited accompany time with kids, I used to tell the story of Chairman Mao, Lei Feng and Li Siguang and encouraged my children to be an “useful people” (You yong zhi cai), at least to be a good people (Hao ren).

GM3: In that time, what our parents told us was to be an honest man, tell the truth and act honestly.

F1: It was around the peak of birth control (Ji hua sheng yu) that my only daughter was born. For

this only granddaughter, my father always told me that I should pay more attention to her. In terms of educating my daughter, I preferred to telling celebrity from science and arts fields, such as Yang Liwei (who is the first Chinese man that has been to the outer space in 2003) and Lang Lang (who is the famous pianist and the youngest ambassador of peace in 2013). I do hope my kid to learn more about the joy of creation and the beauty of art. So whenever I have time, I often show my kid around in science museum and gallery. Sometimes I accompany her to watch movies (e.g., Disney animation) or have a walk together in the park.

F2: Life is like a marathon. There is no need to require our children to become the best in study while other qualities may seem to be of higher importance. I try my best to cultivate my son to be a person with “both political integrity and professional competence” (De cai jian bei).

C1: My father is very concerned about the improvement of various aspects capacity. He is always letting me attend a series of training courses. But it decreases the valuable time with my father. I do hope I can have more time with him. Having dinner or cleaning up room with my father will sharply increase my simple happiness. Actually, my father is very good at cooking.

Mother's role in paternal involvement

Mother's role in paternal involvement has undergone great changes. For mother in the late 40s and early 50s, the majority of them still hold the view that they should take responsibility of the whole housework and childcare and men should focus on earning money; Compared with their own mother generation, for mother in the late 70s and early 80s, they controlled less over a domain of housework and childcare and expect their spouse's parenting. Furthermore, they increasingly believed on father's ability of looking after children and father's distinctive role on children's growth-up. They even often provided encouragement for paternal involvement. For 21 C, the children view their parents as competent parents when their mothers are supportive of their fathers' parenting. The following comments indicated these changes:

T: How do you think of the situation that mother is primarily responsible for earning money and father is principally in charge of looking after kids?

GM6: It is impossible. How awful it would be, if the kids were to be looked after by my husband. He never knew how to care for children. And If I did it like you said, others would criticize that my husband is incompetent or I flaunt my superiority. In my period, most of us all thought men are more suitable for going outside the home.

M6: The majority of the mothers used to be household wives so fathers could leave parenting of children behind. In contrast, currently we females have to work every day and sometimes we even have to work hard to get promoted. Also, sometimes we have to have some social engagement and all of these require that fathers should shoulder part of the duty of educating the children.

C6: Wow, that's great. And I also feel more freely when I stay with my father than mother. My mom

always pushes me to do lots of things like cleaning up my room, while my father teaches me to do what I like within the rules that he made. Moreover, my mother always encourages my father to help me or accompany me especially when I do some difficult homework and play sports. Undoubtedly, I have lots of fun with my father. At weekends, our family often get together to watch a variety show namely “Where is the dad going” (Ba ba qu na er). At that time, my mother and father always discuss about the methods of father’s involvement and my mother even praised my father’s parenting.

The differences and similarities of paternal involvement in rural and urban

A comparison of the practices of paternal involvement between rural and urban areas indicated that the amount of time spent together, the extent of perceiving accessibility and availability of father and the degree of being facilitative and attentive in the urban were much higher than in the rural. However, in both rural and urban, father’s positive involvement was not enough to promote children to develop a strong, secure attachment to their fathers. And the relationship of father-child both in rural and urban was not enough to be described as friendly, supportive, intimate, encouraging and comforting.

As shown in Table 2, the result of the independent sample t-test indicated that there were significant differences in three dimensions of paternal involvement: the amount of time spent together, the extent of perceiving accessibility and availability of father and the degree of being facilitative and attentive in the urban were much higher than that in the rural. There weren’t obvious differences in the area of setting limits and providing basic needs (foods, cloths, shelter, e.g.).

Table 2. A multi-dimensional concept of father involvement

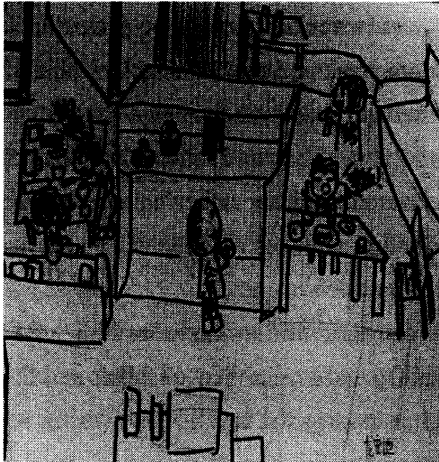
Five scales	Rural M±SD	Urban M±SD	t
Time spent together	4.33±0.64	4.40±0.49	-2.22***
Perceiving accessibility and availability	4.46±0.70	4.70±0.60	-1.120***
Being facilitative and attentive	4.07±0.51	4.15±0.57	-1.902***
Setting limits	4.90±0.81	4.84±0.79	-2.020
Providing basic needs (foods, cloths, shelter, e.g.)	4.99±0.92	4.82±0.75	-1.685

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

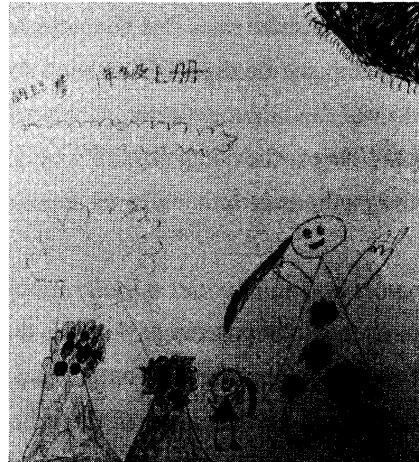
Regarding the practical paternal involvement, there were indications that both in rural and urban father’s positive involvement were insufficiently to promote children to develop a strong, secure attachment to their fathers.

When asked about their images of their father, both of them helplessly told me how hard for them to have plenty of time with their busy father and some rural children even forgot what their father exactly looked like (see Picture 1 and Picture 2).

Picture 1



Picture 2

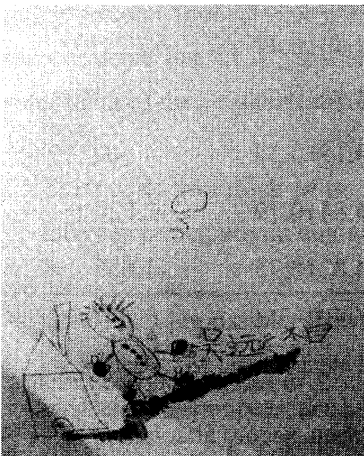


Note: Picture 1 (Grade 5 child in urban) - The most impressive thing I can remember is that my father had dinner with us on one certain Sunday. This year when I had my birthday, he was so busy that couldn't come back home.

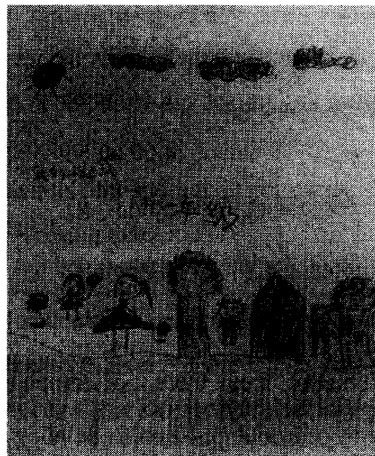
Picture 2 (Grade 1 child in rural) - Teacher, I don't know how to draw a picture of my father since I can't remember what my father looks like! He went to another province for working when I was very little. This Spring Festival my father came back, but a week later he left home again.

Besides, the relationship between father and child in both rural and urban is not good enough to be described as friendly, supportive, intimate, encouraging and comforting. When it comes to the father-child relationship and the contents of liking or disliking father, some of them hold views as the following:

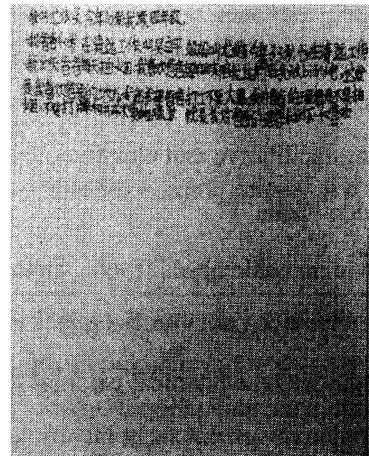
Picture 3



Picture 4



Picture 5



Note: Picture 3 (Grade five child in urban) - Now my father is so busy with work that he has seldom funny time with me. Our relationship isn't as close as before. I do hope I could be a balloon to look for my former lovely daddy.

Picture 4 (Grade one child in rural) - When hanging out with my parents, they often pay much more attention to my little brother, especially my father. I am not so close to my father. Just as my picture shows, I do hope I can get more attention and love from my father in the next hanging out time.

Composition 5 (Grade four child in rural) - I hate my dad smoking every day and I enjoy the time with

him every Spring Festival, especially when we set off firecrackers together. I do hope he doesn't smoke and doesn't play mah-jong. I am also worried about his fatigue driving.

Discussion

The findings confirmed the results of other studies (Zhou ling, 2006; Wei dong, 2013; Wu xinchun, 2014; etc.) that more and more fathers have already become aware of the duty as a father and their influence on their children. This study further pointed out the awareness of deep impact of paternal involvement on family and their distinctive roles on child development was increasing gradually. To a large extent, it was decided by the increasing globalization of China. Just as the results of interviews indicated that a series of new theory about father's new role in family was introduced to China by scholars, overseas personnel, expatriate labors and so on. It also verified the hypothesis that "the dynamic population flows across cultures and societies, accompanied by enhanced communications between groups within and outside Chinese culture, have complicated the interaction between tradition and modernity and may also foster changes in fathering ideals, behaviors, and family relations" (Li & Lamb, 2013).

In the family interview survey, this study found that the effects of increasing propaganda and official education concerning proper gender roles and male-female equality had great influence on the contents and methods of paternal involvement. Moreover, greater anxiety about the performance of their parenting role means younger fathers actively seek opportunities for learning or improving parenting skills. But they have experienced difficulties in accessing such opportunities. Besides, enhancing "positive father involvement", put forward by Pleck (1997) is also essential.

This study to some extent confirmed the two distinct phases of Chinese women (Li Xiaojian, 2000): "social liberation" period (1949-1976); the transition period of awakening "female consciousness" and "sense of participation" (1977-now). However, an interesting finding was that some grandmother and mother did admit that although the status of women have improved a lot after a series of women's liberation movement, the majority of them still stuck to the traditional concepts of men outside the home, women inside. It verified Fincher (2014) studies that discrimination against women eroded a dramatic rollback of rights.

The interviews in rural primary school revealed the crisis of father absence. The number of left-behind children accounted for over a third of the number of whole rural primary school students (Xiangtan Bureau of Statistics, 2013). When I asked were there any other things they wanted to tell their fathers, two girls suddenly cried and said that they really missed daddy! These sentiments and the situation of Picture 2 were quite typical in the district examined. Although their fathers provide them basic needs, their amount of time spent together, the extent of perceiving accessibility and availability of father and the degree of being facilitative and attentive are much lower than urban fathers. It might influence left-behind children's long-term well-being. For the sake of it, Amato & Meyers (2009) suggested that regular contact with nonresident fathers would be useful.

Although the questionnaires recovery rate was very high, the modification of collecting data is needed. If the questionnaires are separately handed out to child and parents with gifts (free high quality notebooks or pens), would be higher. Furthermore, it will be better to invite the teacher to send out the questionnaires to father, rather than teachers ask children to give to their father. In that case, father may fill out the

questionnaires more carefully.

Even though we have told teachers to randomly selecting the participants for there are no judgements, the majority of my participants are good students. And it is why there are quite a lot of cadres, government workers and 'businessmen' in this study's sample. It may hinder the reliability of data. Therefore, in the future research, not only good students but also so-called "bad" students or "general" students should be interviewed. In addition, the subjects of six families in this pilot survey are five boys and only one girl. Thus in the future research it will be better to balance of sample sexual size.

In terms of the interview questions, there are three points need improved: 1) changing the order of interview questions to let them to tell more family stories; 2) preparing more substitute questions for those interviewees who can't understand the meaning of the questions or can't express very well during the interview; 3) taking some examples for interviewees when they don't know how to answer the questions.

In the perspective of letting participants feel safe and comfortable to disclose their own story of paternal involvement and their family story in their own words, one-time group interviews have limitations. The group interviews do to a certain degree highlight what aspects in shifting attitudes and practices of paternal involvement, but cannot reveal the individual depth reasons about changing fatherhood.

Conclusion

This study highlighted the trajectory of shifting paternal involvement and revealed that above four main great changes have happened since the establishment of New China (1949). The findings challenged stereotypical representations of the 'strict' Confucian father, but further insight into that the trends of falling back to father absence again especially in the rural area is extremely needed.

Although this study seriously considered how internal family dynamics have been shaped by socio-cultural transforms, the argument could be more distinctive and the grounds for it could be more sufficient. Furthermore, what is extremely needed now is to further thoroughly explain the shifting Chinese fatherhood, just as Li & Lamb (2012) indicated that "it is important to understand the cultural roots and social contexts in which fatherhood is articulated, although their implications are neither simple nor straightforward".

In addition, the methods used in this pilot fieldwork didn't inadequately enable to reveal the individual depth causes of shifting paternal involvement. Even though the IFI questionnaire can indicate the differences and similarities of multi-dimensional concepts about paternal involvement, it cannot really tells us much at all about the reasons for changing fathers' parenting. Furthermore, in terms of data's reliability and validity, the data derived from in-depth one-to-one interviews in which subjects are encouraged to tell their own stories are much more valuable than the data from structured or 'semi-structured' group interviews. In-depth one-to-one interviews are absolutely the key in oral history research. Lastly, to more thoroughly reflect the history, it is extremely necessary to compare the data obtained from in-depth one-to-one interviews with other historical document.

Notes

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家庭教育における父親参加

—中国湘潭における試験調査についての報告

譚 婷婷

1949年の中華人民共和国の成立以降、子どもの成長における父親の役割と重要性についての従来のあり方と実践は、急激に変容した。いかなる側面において変容が起きたのかを明らかにすることが、本稿の第一の目的である。そして、社会的・文化的改革が、特に1978年の改革開放後、中国の家族の中で母親と父親の特徴的な役割にいかに影響を与えたのかを分析する。これらの目的を達成するため、筆者は、毛主席の出身である湘潭において父親参加についての試験調査を行った。

本研究は、20世紀半ば以降の家庭教育における東アジアの父親の参加のあり方の変容とその原因に焦点を当てることを目的とする、より広範な研究の一部である。

本報告は、まず、現代中国における父性（fatherhood）の理解についての文献を概観する。1980年代以降、中国の父性に焦点を当てた研究は増加しているが、変容する父性と父親参加に影響を与えている要因に関する体系的な研究は限られている。

次に、湘潭における試験調査の結果の分析は、以下のとおりである。

1. 父親参加についての父親自身が自覚を持つことは、家族に多大な影響を与え、子どもの成長に果たす特別な役割は次第に増している。「良き父親」の水準は高まり、父親の不在というリスクを避けるために家族に関わろうと最大限の努力をするのである。

2. 父親参加の内容と方法は、急激に変化している。それは、3つの明瞭な段階として認識される。①1940年代後半から1950年代前半においては日常生活の教育を通して、学習達成よりも子どもの道德教育に着目された。②1970年代後半から1980年代前半には、子どもたちの「素質教育（Su Zhi Jiao Yu）」により多くの時間と労力がかけられた。③21世紀においては父親の日常的な世話が期待される。

3. 父親参加における母親の役割は、それに伴って多大な変化を迫られたが、同様に3つの段階がある。①1940年代後半から1950年代前半において、多数の女性は家事全般と子どもの世話の責任を負い、男性は給料を稼ぐことに集中すべきであるとされた。②1970年代後半から1980年代前半において家事と育児の統制は弱まり、配偶者の育児を期待するようになった。③子どもの世話をする父親の能力への信用は高まり、21世紀において父親参加の支援は積極的に行われている。

4. 地方と都市部における父親参加の実践の比較によって、共に過ごす時間、父親への近づきやすさを感じる程度、父親の促進/注意の程度は、地方より都市部の方が非常に高い。しかしながら、地方においても都市部においても、父親の肯定的な参加は、父親に対する強く安定的な愛着を子どもに十分、生み出してはいない。さらに、地方と都市部における父親と子どもの関係性はどちらも、友好的・協力的・親密的・応援的・慰安的であると言うには不十分である。

本稿は、特に研究手法の改善を視野に入れて、中国の父親参加についての研究における将来的方向性についての議論と提案をもって結論する。特定の家族の中での異なる世代のライフストーリー（とりわけ家族生活に関連するもの）を記録するために、一対一の深層インタビューが必要である。