Parents, Grandparents and Nanny the New Care Triangle in Urban China Among Families With Infants

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Parents, Grandparents and Nanny
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Qualifying Paper

Submitted by
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Abstract

In this qualifying paper, I analyze semi-structured interviews with ten urban Chinese families to account for why and how parents employ nanny care for their infants. This is the first study that examines nanny care as a child care option in a non-Western context. The findings suggest that the Chinese parents in this study often hire nannies to supplement child care provided by grandparents and/or at-home mothers to create multi-caregiver coalitions. Ideal nanny qualities therefore depend on what parents perceive the current grandparent/maternal care might lack. Parents manage all caregivers in the coalition as they perform particular child care tasks that are in line with their skills and strengths. Multi-caregiver coalitions have the advantage of pooling together caregivers' energies and expertise to provide infants with non-stop quality care and enable nanny's work to be monitored. The coalitions also raise a dilemma about grandparents' traditional role in child care. This study has implications for child care and parenting research as well as for program interventions. It suggests that the use of in-home non-relative care can be culturally diverse. It reveals the importance of understanding the diverse needs of families and the usefulness of trust-based interventions for domestic service agencies and training programs.

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Introduction

As a result of the increased labor force participation of women with young children in North America, Europe and Asia in recent decades, and the attendant increase in use of non-parental care arrangements for young children, researchers have turned their attention to examining the effects of non-parental care on children's development (e.g. NICHD ECCRN, 2004; Ruzek, Burchinal, Farkas, & Duncan, 2014). Most previous studies on non-parental care in North America have focused predominantly on organized child care that is provided in centers or by home day care providers. Relatively less scholarly attention has been paid to informal, family-based care. In particular, in-home non-relative care provided by nannies and its impact on child development is understudied in both the North American and global literature.

Knowledge about the use of nanny care is needed in order to better understand and enhance early child care experiences for children and their parents. This is particularly salient in the Chinese context because nanny care has become increasingly common among urban Chinese parents before their children enter center care (typically at age three). As early as 2002, over half a million households in Shanghai employed nannies (Chinanews, 2002). The Shanghai Women's Federation (2004) reported increasing demand for nanny care by urban Chinese families since 2002. A national survey from 2004 revealed that 62 percent of urban families wanted to utilize domestic help that included child care, whereas the labor pool of domestic workers in 2004 could only meet the needs of 30 percent of urban families (Shanghai Women's Federation, 2004). Although it is known that nanny care is increasingly common in urban China, to

date, no study has addressed preferences about or experiences of nanny care in China. As a preliminary step in this investigation, the current study explores the use of nanny care as a child care option as reported by urban Chinese families with one child.

Theoretical Background

The State of the Nanny Workforce

The North American literature indicates that child care type and differences in caregiver qualifications, backgrounds, and working conditions impact child learning. In general, home-based child care by non-relatives, including nannies and au pairs, is associated with lower levels of cognitive and language skills of children when compared to center-based care (for a review, see Brown-Lyons, Robertson & Layzer, 2001). Most of this research attributes these associations to the fact that home-based care settings generally lack well-educated and trained caregivers and have fewer supports for learning (variety of materials and manipulatives; lower levels of interactions that support cognitive development)

There may be reason for concern regarding home-based care and development in the Chinese context as well because nannies have been reported to have much lower levels of education than the current generation of parents in urban China, and most of them have no prior training in child care (International Labour Organization, 2009). Nannies in China are predominantly comprised of rural-migrant women or urban female workers who have been laid-off (*xiagang*) from state-owned enterprises. Migrant women from their late teens to their 50s account for over 90 percent of the nanny population in urban and coastal cities like Beijing, Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Guangzhou.

Economically disadvantaged inland provinces like Gansu, Henan, Sichuan, Anhui, and Hunan are some of the main sources of these migrant nannies (International Labour Organization, 2009). Another significant supply of nannies in cities like Xi'an, Tianjin, and Chengdu are local female workers between the ages of 40 and 50 who have been laid off by state-owned enterprises due to the national economic restructuring policy of the mid 1990's (International Labour Organization, 2009). Most of these women have not completed primary education. Only a small percentage of nannies have received any specific pre-employment training in child care before entering the sector (Peking University Women's Law Studies & Legal Aid Center, 2008). These women may lack the qualifications to compete for other jobs in the market. Though socially and economically undervalued, nanny care is common in part because taking care of children and home is commonly viewed as "women's work" (Zhou & Zhou, 2009). A Joint Project on Domestic Work was launched in 2009 by several major Chinese governmental agencies to encourage more rural migrants and laid-off workers to enter the nanny force, by offering them some trainings; however, these are very limited in scope and access. With the growth of the middle class, more young urban children in China are likely to be cared for by under-educated and under-trained caregivers in coming years. While there is a potential for strengths regarding nanny care, these have not been the focus in the current literature.

Previous Research on Parents' Use of Nanny Care

Despite the increasing demand for nanny care and some attention to it by policymakers and government officials in China, virtually nothing is known about Chinese parents' preferences regarding nanny care or how nannies' work is structured,

defined and managed. Current research on this topic that focuses almost exclusively on the U.S. Research in other countries on nannies is not relevant to my specific research questions. Several studies find that the majority of the middle-class U.S. families hire immigrants as nannies (e.g. Sassen, 2003; Milkman, Reese & Roth, 1998; Hochschild, 2000), and this has been observed in other Western cultures as well, including Canada (Pratt, 1997), Spain (Tobio & Gorfinkiel, 2007), Switzerland (Huber, 2012) and Italy (Sarti, 2010). U.S. parents tend to associate nannies' race, ethnicity, and nationality with certain childrearing qualifications such as language, education, or nurturance, and use these characteristics as criteria for nanny selection (e.g. Reskin, 2000; Fiske, 1998). Other studies (e.g. Macdonald, 2010, Hays, 1996) argue that U.S. middle-class working mothers tend to define nannies' work as "mother-surrogates". Through strategically hiring and managing nannies, these U.S. mothers aim to create what they imagine to be an ideal maternal substitute while they are away from home at work. However, the ways in which parents perceive and negotiate appropriate child care may be culturally embedded and may differ across cultural contexts (Short, Zhai, Xu & Yang, 2001).

Current knowledge about how nanny care functions in China is extremely limited. To date, there are very few studies that have examined Chinese parents' nanny care preferences (e.g. Goh, 2006; Lee & Bauer, 2013). These two qualitative studies suggest that general distrust towards non-familial caregivers in China and other Asian societies may be the critical motivation for parental preference for grandparent care over nanny and/or center care. Although these studies provide useful insight into why some families in China avoid nanny care, they lend no knowledge as to why other families in China do choose to use nanny care for their infants and toddlers. Additionally, other researchers

(Zhou & Zhou, 2009; Lu, 2010; Zhao, 2009; Zhang & Wang, 2010; He, 2009), using

large-scale survey methods, explore the demographics of nannies combined with other

domestic workers in China, collecting data on their age, education qualifications, region

of origin and marital status. However, these studies focus on domestic workers as a

broader category rather than reporting statistics on child care workers specifically. This

approach overlooks the fact that the term "domestic workers" encompasses child-

caregivers (nannies), elder-caregivers, day cleaners, maids and cooks, each of which

convey strikingly different work responsibilities, which in turn have implications for how

employers hire and manage different types of domestic workers. For example, critical

differences in the demographic composition of the domestic labor market may emerge

when the job is child care rather than housework (Macdonald, 2010). Therefore, we still

know little about Chinese parents' perspectives on the kinds of nannies they seek, or what

the implications of age, region, education, and class of the nanny are for how they define,

structure and manage nannies' work.

Research Questions

As illustrated above, almost nothing is known about nanny care in China. Yet, this

is a central part of family life for millions of modern professional families with young

children in urban China. To begin to understand this large topic, I am exploring parents'

decision-making processes and their values concerning provider selection and

management. I am focusing on the following four questions that are central to

understanding parents' values and decision-making processes as they strive to provide the

best care for their children.

This study's principal research questions and associated sub-questions are:

How do parents of infants in Nanjing, China who use nanny care **conceptualize** *and*

negotiate *the best possible care for their only infants?* Specifically

- Why do parents choose nanny care in urban China?

- What criteria do parents report using to find and hire nannies?

- How do parents who use nanny care structure the division of care labor among
  nannies, themselves and other caregivers in their households (e.g. grandparents)
  in early infancy? What are parents' perceptions of the meanings of this division
  of care?

- How do parents manage and monitor the care provided by nannies?

Research Design

Setting

The current study draws on data from a longitudinal, multi-method study of
parenting and child development that began in 2006 in Nanjing, China. The city of
Nanjing is the capital of Jiangsu Province in eastern China, a medium-sized city with a
population of over 6 million in 2006. It was chosen for research because it is considered
an average and common Chinese city, neither a first-tier city that has experienced
dramatically rapid economic reform and growth (e.g., Beijing, Shanghai) nor a city like
those in western China (e.g., Hohhot) that have been slower to experience social and
economic development.

Data Collection

A sample of 414 six month-old infants (204 girls, 210 boys), all first and only children, and their parents were selected randomly from birth lists at a large city hospital in Nanjing. Information on child-care arrangements used by the 414 families in the first 14 months of children's lives was collected through surveys at 6 and 14 months. Mothers of the infants reported the types of care arrangements they made for their children since birth, the amount of time their children spent in each care type, the basic demographic information of the care providers, and the cost of child care. Of the 414 children enrolled in the study, not a single child was enrolled in a child care center in their first fourteen months, and as many as 407 children (97%) received non-parental home-based care provided by relatives (almost all grandparents) and/or nannies for a minimum of 10 hours per week[1]. Nineteen percent of the families (N=77) employed nanny care at some point in the first 14 months. Of the 77 families, nannies and grandparents jointly caring for infants constituted the largest group (63.6%), followed by nannies providing care together with parents (35.1%). Nannies, grandparents and parents providing joint care (18.2%) and nannies alone (18.2%) were the other two patterns of nanny care among this group.

Follow-up semi-structured interviews with a random subsample of 81 out of the 414 families were conducted at 14 months to gather additional information regarding current daily care routines as well as parents' child care goals, preferences and reasons for current arrangements (Appendix A provides a list of interview questions that were

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[1] We only reported the number of hours per week that the infants in the sample were in non-parental care during the daytime on weekdays. Given that the legal workday in China is 8 hours long, we set the maximum weekly daytime care hours to 50 hours (8+2)*5, taking into account 2 hours of average commute time for parents.

relevant to child care). The interviews with parents were conducted in Mandarin by Mandarin-speaking research assistants, all of whom were from Mainland China and were current or recently graduated students in a mainland-Chinese university or a US university.

Participants of the Current Study

The focus of the current study is the 10 out of the 81 families whose current care arrangements involve nanny care. Five of the ten families (50%) employed a nanny to provide child care from birth. Four families started using nanny care between 1 and 6 months and one family started at 8 months. The patterns of nanny care in these ten families were in accordance with the four patterns that were identified in our larger survey sample. Seven of the ten families in the interview sample hired nannies to provide child care jointly with grandparents when their children were 14 months old, corresponding to the 63.6 percent of the families in the survey sample who made the same arrangement. The remaining three families each represented a care pattern described earlier (see Appendix B for more detail on the child care arrangements and background information on the ten families in current study. Pseudonyms are used throughout).

All ten fathers were employed when their children were 14 months, while eight of the ten mothers were employed at least 40 hours per week outside the home at the same time. The majority of the mothers and fathers held high-status positions as government workers (civil servants), managers, engineers and entrepreneurs running their own businesses. Two mothers were unemployed full-time homemakers at the time they participated in our study. The average monthly household incomes of the ten families in

2007, when their children were 14 months old, was 8,400 yuan, or US$1092.3[2]. This average was higher than the average monthly household income of the 81 families in the interview sample (7,762 yuan, or US$1009.3), but slightly less than the average monthly household income of the 414 families in our larger sample (8,753 yuan, or US$1,138). The average monthly income of the 414 families in our study was somewhat higher than the average monthly income of all urban Nanjing households in 2007 (5,043 yuan, or US$656) (Nanjing Bureau of Statistics 2008), and much higher than the average monthly income of the all urban households in mainland China in 2007 (3,779 yuan, or $491) (National Bureau of Statistics of China 2008). Ninety percent of the mothers and 80 percent of the fathers from the ten families reported having completed at least a college degree, as did 83 percent of the mothers and 70 percent of the fathers in the larger interview sample who answered our survey question about educational background. All ten couples except one were in their late twenties or early thirties when their first children (7 girls and 3 boys) were born.

The ten nannies employed by the families at the time of our study were all female, ages 38 to 64[3], with the majority (71.4%) in their forties. Four of the nannies worked on a live-in basis and six lived out. The live-in nannies worked from 84 to 168 hours per week[4] and earned monthly salaries ranging from 800 yuan (US$104) to 1,500 yuan

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[2] All currency conversions are based on average 2007 exchange rate of 1 Chinese yuan equivalent to 0.13 US dollars.

[3] Only 7 families reported the age of nanny they were using at the time of our study

[4] All live-in nannies were reported by mothers in the sample to work more than the maximum weekly daytime care hours (50 hours) we set earlier. Live-in nannies in current study were reported by the mothers to usually provide day care and night care for the children 24 hours per day, and 6 to 7 days per week. 168 care hours per week is therefore calculated by mothers as 24*7.

(US$195). Those nannies who did not live at their employers' homes[5] worked from 48 to 84 hours per week and earned monthly salaries ranging from 900 yuan (US$117) to 1,200 yuan (US$156). Among the ten families, nannies' monthly salaries cost 9 percent to 20 percent of the total reported monthly household incomes.

Data Analysis

Interviews with the ten families, including 10 mothers and 4 fathers, on nanny care arrangements were analyzed. All interviews were audiotaped and later transcribed verbatim and analyzed in Chinese so as to preserve the authentic meanings and original nuances of the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). I used grounded theory data analysis because there is no comparable research from which codes can be drawn *a priori* to conduct analyses (Charmaz, 2006; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Grounded theory is used to explain data in a way that was representative of the participants and is not used to prove an existing theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2007; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The following section describes this study's analytic steps, beginning with a description of initial and focused coding, and followed by a discussion on utilizing memo-writing and constant comparison method throughout the analysis process. The goal of analysis was to identify and develop concepts that emerged through the interviews while interpreting these concepts both systematically and creatively.

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[5] Only 4 of the 6 families who hired live-out nannies responded to our survey questions about nannies' work hours and salaries at 14 months.

Delineating the Context

Since participants were also asked a wide range of questions on their work and family life, I began my analysis by creating profiles or broader narratives describing participants' childrearing contexts as well as my initial impressions and key moments in the interview that extended beyond my specific research questions. These profiles helped me to develop as holistic a picture of each family as the data allowed, recognizing and appreciating the conditions under which the interviews occurred. Corbin and Strauss (2008) believe that such context helps to ground the concepts while "minimize(ing) the chances of distorting meaning and/or misrepresenting intent" (p. 57). Within this broad understanding of context, coding the interview texts that were relevant to the research questions began.

Coding

Initial coding. Referred to as initial coding by Charmaz (2006), this first step in coding the data involves deconstructing data into fragments and closely studying fragments of data for their analytic import. During the initial coding process, I followed Charmaz's recommendations (2006), applying words of action to denote what was occurring on a line-by-line level. According to Charmaz (2006), line-by-line coding helps the researchers to stay close to the data, pay a close attention at what participants are saying and with what they struggle. Coding the initial codes as reflecting actions helps the researchers to remain open-minded, reduce the tendencies to apply extant theories and current ideas, and "spark thinking and allow new ideas to emerge" (p.48).

Focused coding. The second major step in coding is referred to as focused coding. Rather than pursing every code and concept that emerges from the initial line-by-line

coding, focused coding process requires the researches to make judgment and only select

the initial codes which "make the most analytic sense to categories…data incisively and

completely" and test them against extensive data (Charmaz, 2006, p.57). During the

focused coding phase, I compared codes within and across interviews, identified the most

significant and prevalent initial codes and used them to capture, synthesize and

understand the main themes in the statements. This process of focused coding is iterative,

meaning that I needed to go back and forth with the data and actively engage in exploring

topics that I failed to attended to or that have been too implicit to discern at prior time

(Charmaz, 2006). Some perspectives, interactions and experiences might uncover the

implicit meanings and processes in earlier statements or events and prompted me to study

the earlier data afresh.

Constant Comparative Methods

During each stage of the analysis, I used constant comparative methods (Glaser &

Strauss, 1967) to make comparisons between data, codes and themes to advance my

conceptual understanding. At first, I compared initial line-by-line codes within the same

interview and across different interviews to identify the most frequent and useful codes.

As I deepened my analysis, I began arranging these codes to denote processes through

which parents made decisions about hiring, managing and monitoring nannies. I then

compared codes across interviews with different families and interviews with mothers

and fathers within the same households to investigate weather similar or different

perspectives and arrangements about nanny care emerge. Finally, I compared my findings

to other scholars' evidence and ideas and pinpointed where and how my findings

illustrated, extended or challenged dominant ideas in the field.

Memo-writing

Throughout the research, I wrote analytic memos to track the generation of codes

and ideas, to clarify and link codes and concepts, and to record the comparisons made

using constant comparative methods. Charmaz (2006) and Corbin and Strauss (2008)

suggest that researchers write memos at each step of the analysis. These authors believe

that memos provide a record of the researcher's thinking that make the process of

analysis transparent, reflect gaps in thinking that lead the researcher to explore concepts

further, and make the ideas progressively more analytic and abstract.

I relied on different types of memos throughout the analysis. First, I wrote memos

to group the initial codes together and interpret their meaning. Such memos helped me to

define the codes and themes. Then I reflected in the memos what I saw when I compared

the data to each other and to other memos. At each step, the memos supported my

decisions and definitions with empirical evidence. My interpretations in the memos also

addressed how I might explore specific concepts further, including avenues for future

research.

Findings

In this section, I describe the ways parents in this study talked about why they

chose to use nanny care, how they conceptualized ideal child care, and the strategies they

used to hire, manage and monitor nannies that might help them to achieve their child care

ideals.

Harmonious Multi-caregiver Coalition as An Infant Care Ideal

> *Because it's too much for one person to do (child care), we also hired a nanny to
> take care of the child together, from the day the baby was born to now, there has*

always been nannies. Otherwise it's too tiring for one person to take care of the child well, two people I feel very reassured with… If one person does the child care, it boils down to us not feeling very reassured…When one person is very tired, just like when we ourselves are very tired, we would not be able to take care of the child very well —Cui Lan

Cui Lan's comment reflects an infant care ideal that was shared by parents in the study--it takes multiple caregivers to raise the only infant. The narratives offered by parents regarding their preferred infant care arrangement were often almost identical. Many envisioned that multiple caregivers working in harmonious partnership offers the best care for infants. This infant care ideal has three main characteristics. First, its concentration on the needs of child overrides its function on the alleviation of parent stress. Second, it situates the infant in a multiple mothering context in which a strong mother-child bond is devalued. Finally, it emphasizes a harmonious coalition among caregivers.

Child-centered. Prior work (Martin, 1997; Zheng and Meredith, 1997) observing infant care patterns in Hong Kong and Mainland China found that parents were often influenced by considerations aimed at reducing parent stress and enabling parents' to participate in the work force. However, in the current study, the multi-caregiver care arranged by Nanjing parents revealed a heightened consideration of the best interests of the child. Although the use of multiple caregivers has the potential to distribute the demands and reduce the stress of infant care that might otherwise be overwhelming for just one caregiver, Nanjing parents framed the practice of multi-caregiving as child-rather than adult-oriented.

To set the discussion of infant care in context, we turn first to the essential components of child care that parents in the study emphasized as necessary for "taking care of the child well". One component regards what Folbre (2006) called "direct care"

work that "involves a process of personal and emotional engagement" with the child

(p.187). Parents expected the caregiver to pay constant attention to child's needs and

safety. They depicted their child care ideal as "having one person accompanying him (the

child) at daytime and nighttime…and never leaving him by himself." This ideal requires

a caregiver who can be constantly present at the infant's side to attend to and respond to

the child's needs and to make certain that the child—as an active crawler and/or walker—

does not engage in any exploratory behaviors that might lead to injuries. Parents revealed

that employing multiple caregivers ensured that the baby could receive non-stop quality

care in rotating shifts. One parent said, "because the nanny takes care of the baby more

during the day, grandma can rest during the day, taking a nap in the afternoon…so that

she has the energy to take care of the baby at night."

Another care component concerns "indirect care" activities, such as preparing

meals, doing laundry and cleaning, which provide support for direct care (Folbre, 2006).

Preparing balanced meals for young children was particularly perceived as an indicator of

quality infant care by the parents in current study. Exclusive breastfeeding in the first

year was an uncommon practice for mothers in this study as well as for Chinese mothers

of the same generation in many other cities (e.g. Xu et al., 2006; Xu et al., 2007; Qiu et

al., 2007; Wang, Wang & Kang, 2005). Among the eight mothers who answered our

survey question about infant feeding practices, seven (87.5%) reported to initiate

breastfeeding at birth, but none of them were still nursing at 12 months. By 14 months,

all ten infants in the study were receiving small amount of infant formula and were

receiving most of their nutrition from solid foods, such as porridge, steamed eggs and

noodles cooked with fish soup or pork rib soup, and wonton with fish and shrimp mixture

as filling, all of which were traditional Chinese food that required complex procedures of preparation. To these parents, a good infant main meal starts with buying fresh food from the farmers' markets (菜市场) early in the morning everyday, and preparing infant meals separately from adults meal with less seasonings, in small portions and at frequent times to ensure that infants never eat leftovers. This requires the caregiver who cooks for the infants to spend a tremendous amount of time preparing infant food and to be ready to serve fresh infant meals and snacks every three hours. Parents perceived employing multiple caregivers to be a strategy that guaranteed both high-quality direct and indirect child care. One father commented: "Our financial condition allows us to afford a nanny (as an additional caregiver), and I think that enables us to have one person focus 100 percent on the child, and have the other person focus on giving the child a balanced meal and hygienic environment."

Whether to have multiple caregivers provide direct care work in rotating shifts or provide direct and indirect care that complement each other, the aim is to summon and channel each caregiver's energy toward a single rather than multiple tasks, and for a short rather than a long period of time, to ensure care quality. Parents often compared their current multi-caregiver situation with a hypothetical single-caregiver situation. They concluded that it was in the better interest of the child to have multiple caregivers at peak performance during their shifts, as opposed to a singular caregiver who may be burned-out, bored, or unable to balance both direct and indirect care work.

Multiple mothering. Western norms of mothering define a good mother as the primary caregiver of her infant, and the person with whom the infant establishes her or his "primary" bond (Barlow & Chapin, 2010; Hays, 1996). By contrast, implicit in the

multi-caregiver ideal is that the task of caring for the baby is not perceived as solely/primarily the mother's duty. Mothers in this study not only considered the mother-as-sole-caregiver to be an unusual and often undesirable situation, but also expressed reluctance about forming too strong a bond with their infants, as evidenced in one mother's statement: "I definitely would not have had the baby if I'd known that I would be looking after the baby all by myself." They repeatedly and emphatically spoke about how and why distancing themselves from their very young children may well be necessary for the child to thrive.

For example, when asked about whom the baby was most attached to, mothers oftentimes responded that "I don't let the baby cling to me all the time (黏我)." Some were concerned that too much dependence on maternal care, a common result of a strong mother-child bond, might deprive the baby of the benefits of the rotating, non-stop attention provided by multiple caregivers. "No one else can take care of her" one mother explained, "if I dedicate myself to her (整天围着她转) and take care of her more. She will glue herself to me and I will get tired…would not be able to take care of her very well." Other mothers emphasized the importance of "not sticking to mother" in order to cultivate babies' sociable personalities. Talking about how she preferred to raise her son during his infant years, one mother said, "my practice now is to be proactive about letting him drink formula rather than breast milk, spend more time with other people (caregivers) rather than with me. I purposefully let other people hold him more." Like many other mothers in the sample, she hoped that through providing her son the room to establish relationships with multiple caregivers, "he will not be too shy (认生) and that he can build a good rapport with other people" both in the present as an infant, and in the

future as an adult. Far from seeing maternal distancing behavior as a sign of lacking maternal feeling or sensitivity, mothers in the study regarded it as necessary training for their children to adapt to the complex of relationships that make up adult and family life in China in their futures. This does not necessarily suggest that individual mothers or even the majority of the mothers in the sample were not distressed by distancing and separation from their infants. However, it seems to suggest that affection or the closeness of the relationship between mother and child is not as much a value/goal that is part of the cultural construction of motherhood.

Harmonious coalition. Interpersonal harmony is historically valued in Chinese culture. Harmony is maintained through individuals performing according to prescribed ways of interpersonal interaction that minimize direct conflict or discord. Therefore, individuals are usually encouraged to "inhibit disruptive emotional expression" and "maintain heightened social sensitivity and other-directedness to preserve relationships" (Glicken, 2006, p. 271). Interpersonal harmony is particularly salient in the multi-caregiver context. Parents mentioned the necessity to focus beyond individual caregivers' parenting practices to attend to the coordination and support of multiple caregivers. They emphasized what one mother described as a "harmonious family atmosphere" to be a key manifestation of "good parenting". She went on to explain that this was achieved by maintaining "harmonious and relaxed relationships between husband and wife, between parents and grandparents, between us (parents) and nanny." Another parent explained, "Although he (the child) is very young but he knows, he knows when we fight. If we fight all the time and have unpleasant atmosphere at the home, kids will become sensitive, always thinking other people are hostile." Parents worried that frequent interpersonal

discord and conflict might cause children to become anxious and have conduct problems. They believed that a harmonious family environment serves as an important context in which children can be raised to foster interpersonal harmony. In pursuit of a desirable, healthy state of relationships among caregivers, parents revealed their strategies of carefully selecting and coupling caregivers, setting clear lines of responsibilities, and making efforts to suppress negative emotions toward one another.

A multi-caregiver coalition was the most common care configuration for the families in this study. Among the ten families, seven hired nannies to provide infant care jointly with grandparents. Two families hired nannies to provide infant care together with at-home mothers. Only one family hired a nanny as a sole caregiver because no other caregivers were available during the daytime. Parents stressed the important role of the nanny in enacting the care ideal for their families that would otherwise have only one available caregiver, either a grandparent or a parent, to provide child care.

In the next section, I will analyze how parents attempt to actualize the multi-caregiver ideal by hiring, managing and monitoring nannies. Producing a multi-caregiver coalition begins with screening and selecting a nanny who will provide the right "fit" for the partnership. After the nanny has been hired, parents use management and monitoring strategies to maximize quality care that children could receive, and to minimize inter-caregiver conflict that might arise. Although parents' nanny hiring criteria and management strategies vary when the other caregiver was a parent (usually mother) or a grandparent (usually grandmother), the goal was always to provide a child-centered and harmonious care experience for their singletons.

Hiring Logics

In their efforts to recruit the right nanny, the parents in the study put a great deal of thought into the nanny characteristics they considered essential according to their perceptions of their children's needs and the current state of the nanny workforce. The way parents perceived the needs of their infants was largely framed by childrearing advice books, which the parents in this study read assiduously. When asked what they looked for in a nanny, parents assessed their children's needs and matched them with the kind of nannies they believed were most likely to meet those needs. Additionally, parents evaluated the qualities of current caregivers against a baseline set of qualities recommended by childrearing advice books and media experts, then aimed to hire particular types of nannies to compensate for perceived shortcomings of current caregivers. It is important to note that level of education and/or prior training on child development were not particularly sought after nanny qualifications. This is because nannies on the market are predominantly rural-migrant women or urban, laid-off female factory workers who typically lack such qualifications.

Families with working parents: nannies compensating for grandparents' shortcomings. For families with working parents, nannies were hired to pair with grandparents and to compensate for grandparents' seeming inability to meet the intensity of physical demands required by providing ideal care. For optimal physical and social development during infancy, parents believed their children needed warm, involved, responsive and active caregivers. They hoped these individuals would provide continuous attention and respond promptly to children's physical needs, follow and protect children when they become active crawlers and walkers, and take them to "many places" to

socialize with others. Parents understood that meeting these development needs of children could be strenuous and tedious. They viewed grandparents as being too old to keep up with such physical demands. One mother described hiring a nanny as a way to "reduce the physical burden (of infant care) on grandparents." This mother went on to further explain, "the health of the maternal and paternal grandmothers are both not very good, physically speaking, their ages all very old. The nanny mainly looks after the child, and grandparents are just giving extra hands (搭把手)." Similarly, another mother revealed that she employed a nanny because "grandma was not a competent person" whom she "could not trust to take care of the baby alone", because "grandma is relatively old and her reflexes are a bit slow." Worried that grandparent care alone might be jeopardizing their infants' development, working parents supplemented grandparents with nannies to ensure the delivery of age-appropriate care advised by experts.

In making their hiring decisions, working parents looked for nannies with a balance of youthful age and experience with nurturance. Given that nannies are hired to assist grandparents with physical labor, it is unsurprising that parents would prefer to hire younger women who are presumably healthy and energetic. However, there was concern that younger nannies may not be as nurturing as older nannies. According to the parents, older women were "very good with children" because "they had raised their own children." As opposed to the younger generations, older women "grew up to learn to take care of their siblings and elderly people, (thus) really know how to take care of people." Moreover, parents usually questioned young nannies' commitment to the job: "Young nannies will not stay for long and treat the job just like a springboard…and this will be a problem." Parents were concerned that young nannies (particularly in their 20s) often

view their child care work as a temporary, transitional stage before securing a better career and education. Parents felt that older nannies—who often have fewer economic and educational opportunities than their younger counterparts—would have greater incentive to secure and protect their employment by providing sound child care. For these parents, age signified a particular orientation toward nurturing.

Working parents preferred older nannies who were likely to be compatible with grandparents in order to help maintain harmonious relationships within the child care arrangement. One mother recalled her dilemma regarding the most beneficial age of nanny to hire: "speaking from my heart, I hope to find a younger one, because it benefits the kids more. But on the other hand, because nanny will be spending more time with grandma…and if they don't get along well, it will affect the family harmony." In her opinion, "if they (nanny and grandma) are similar in age, they will not have a generational gap (代沟) and it might be easier for them to be on good terms." Most working families solve the dilemma by hiring married, middle-aged women in their late 30s and early 40s. Women in this range are expected to be more physically capable and energetic than the older nannies in their 50s, yet by comparison are more nurturing, stable and compatible with grandparents than their counterparts in their 20s.

Families with at-home mothers. For families with stay-at home mothers, hiring practices were more nuanced, especially given the long tradition of intergenerational care. Wu Jing and Deng Han were both full-time homemakers at the time of the interview. Wu Jing had stopped assisting her husband with the family business after giving birth to her daughter; Deng Han had quit her job as a salesperson in a foreign funded private company after she became pregnant, because that company had not given

her a contract with provisions for maternity leave. Although Wu Jing and Deng Han both had grandparents who were eager to help, they forewent these more accessible and/or affordable caregivers and instead took pains to find and hire nannies to assist in childrearing. They both perceived intergenerational conflicts regarding parenting and childrearing to be inevitable, and considered not involving grandparents to be necessary for preserving intergenerational solidarity and establishing a harmonious care environment for the child.

Deng Han acknowledged that care of young children has traditionally been a right and an expectation of a grandparent: "His grandma has this cherished grandson, if you don't let her to take care of him, she would feel bad at home." However, she justified her decision to exclude grandma from the care coalition this way: "I think the older generation has a completely different way of rearing children, and I can't really accept their way--differences in ways of thinking would lead to conflict, leading our relationship to become more tense." Similarly, Wu Jing worried that the foreseeable intergenerational parenting conflicts would exacerbate the conflicts endemic in the traditional mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship (婆媳关系) if she asked her mother-in-law to help with child care. She spoke about her concerns, "I am not ready to deal, have not yet acquired the skill set to deal with a mother-in-law/daughter-in-law relationship, but now, with the addition of a child, it will be very much likely to cause more conflicts between us if we take care of the child together. That is why I wanted to hire a nanny, from the very beginning, even before my child was born." Wu Jing said she would worry more if her own parents were responsible for child care, because "they don't know how to take care of baby." She recalled once leaving her baby with her parents for a night when the infant

was just a few months old, when she and her husband both had gastroenteritis. When she

picked up her baby on the second day, she was surprised to discover that her parents fed

the baby with juice and junk food from the supermarket. "I asked them how they could

give her these things to eat. My mom said, 'why can't she eat these things? These are all

imported.' So my husband and I dare not let them take care of the child."

Across the study, all parents brought up intergenerational childrearing conflict.

Parents attributed the rise of conflicts to the differences in childrearing beliefs across

generations. One father compared child care quality and standards across generations,

drawing on the experiences of his own upbringings:

> *(How parents took care of me when I was little) could be described in four
> syllables, Very simple (极其简单). ...It was not possible back then to take care of
> children the way it is now... Their way of thinking was not quite the same as ours.
> At that time, parents didn't raise us with as much attention, not as much effort,
> unlike how we now regard our child with so much affection, now we expend time
> and energy on our daughter, unlike how we felt back then... Very simply, it can be
> said there wasn't things like today's nutrition, knowledge, the development of
> learning. Just safety, as long as it's safe, then it's fine, you just play, get enough
> to eat, no other demands...now child rearing is not the same drag-style of before,
> before old people taking care of children were delaying tactics, now child care is
> more and more delicate, have to take into account more and more things.*

This father's perception of intergenerational differences in childrearing beliefs and

practices was echoed by all the parents in this study, as well as by parents of the same

generation in many other studies (e.g. Zhu, 2010; Nyland et al., 2009; Goh & Kuczynski,

2010). This generational shift in aspirations and parental investment reflects policy and

ideological shifts in child care over the past few decades. The grandparents in the study

experienced parenthood either in the middle or at the end of the Cultural Revolution,

during which being a mother, doing housework, and taking responsibility for educating

children was unacknowledged, or even deemed selfish, for this work did not contribute to

social production (Jacka,1997). Born in the 1970s and growing up with Deng Xiaoping's market-driven economic reforms, the younger parents were subjected to the state's call for heavy investment in childrearing to make only children who would create "a pool of high-quality talent, willing and able to strengthen China's position in the capitalist world system" (Fong, 2004). Along with the post-Mao modernization project of promoting scientific knowledge through mass media and various education classes sponsored by the Chinese government and hospitals, young parents are taught to believe that having a quality child should depend on "scientifically guided childrearing (科学育儿)" (Zhu, 2010).

Parents in this study likewise report relying heavily on childrearing advice books, popular media and scientific evidence as a lifeline. Parents learned from experts about nutrition, illnesses, behavior patterns and developmental milestones. They also mentioned that they would seek advice from friends and colleagues who are already parents, who they deemed to be more knowledgeable about experts' advice and who they assumed to share a contemporary childrearing ideology with. Notably, not one of the parents in the sample talked about having sought or wanting to seek childrearing opinions from grandparents.

Xu Nuo recalled how she dealt with a disagreement between herself and grandparents (Xu Nuo's mother and mother-in-law) on what constitutes an appropriate diet for a four-month old infant. Xu Nuo explained that her approach to her daughter's diet followed "what the books tell" her on "what the child should eat at each month." She elaborated:

> *I read a lot of information saying four-month old children should be given solid food, and so afterwards we started giving her solid food. But at the time, my ma*

and mother-in-law both disagreed. Based on their own personal (childrearing) experiences, they thought it was too early, but I insisted (on the diet). I told them to read the book and her (the child's) father was on my side.

However, she recalled, "Later, based on some information in books, we gave her some other food at a certain time. After adding meat at nine months, the situation was no longer quite the same. There were some stomach issues, some cases of vomiting, and also some indigestion." She admitted, "I think I gave her this kind of food too early." However, Xu Nuo did not become ambivalent about the credibility of the advice books she followed. Nor did she acknowledge grandparents' experiences as a valuable asset. Instead, she blamed herself for not having conducted thorough enough research on nutrition recommendations for a 9-month-old as she did for her daughter at younger ages. When asked about what sources she would rely on for her future care plan, she insisted that advice books would still be the primarily source she would refer to. "The experience of my father and mother" Xu Nuo laughed, " because it was a long time ago and in a different era, their opinions are usually treated as suggestion (参考意见)."

In this respect, Xu Nuo resembled most of the other parents in the study, most of whom trusted expert advice and guidance on childrearing rather than grandparents' experiences and traditional wisdom. Conflicts and discordance usually occurred when parents discovered that "grandparents' ways of raising the baby are so different from what we read from books." At-home mothers like Wu Jing and Deng Han who did not depend on grandparents to form the multi-caregiver ideal attempted to avoid such conflicts by involving nannies rather than grandparents in the child care coalition.

Despite the fact that Deng Han and Wu Jing excluded grandparents from the child-care partnership to avoid potential conflicts, they held a strong belief that caregivers'

kinship status has important implications for the quality of care the caregiver is willing to

provide. Wu Jing expressed her concern about non-kin care, "I always think that the

treatment is not quite the same if it's not your own biological child," Similarly, Deng Han

pointed out that caregivers' kinship-status is a more important trait than

training/experiences in child care in predicting care qualities and experiences:

> *Even though sometimes the hired nannies should have more experience in child rearing that we do, I fear that other people don't take care of the child as well as we would ourselves. Taking the simplest task, pouring milk, for example. Say if I pour the milk for the baby to drink and it was too hot, I would use cold water to cool it down and then give to the baby to drink. The nanny may feel it is troublesome and feed the baby regardless of the temperature.*

Rather than perceiving their childrearing conflicts with nannies as a result of different

child care styles and/or generation-based expectations, Deng Han and Wu Jing simply

and strikingly attributed most differences in parents' and nannies' child care practices to

nannies' non-kin status. Other parents in this study revealed distrust of non-kin care, as

have parents of their same generation in many other studies (Goh, 2009; Goh, 2010; Lee

& Bauer, 2013). Fukuyama (1995) argued that strong trust of family members and

distrust of non-kin relationships are the central characteristics of societies like China in

which the family and family ties are exclusively prioritized. Kinship status, therefore,

served as a proxy for safety, nurturance, and trustworthiness for most parents in this study.

"Sense of kinship" became a particularly crucial and sought after nanny quality

when Wu Jing and Deng Han considered their future work plans. Both Wu Jing and Deng

Han had strong desires to work even though they seemed financially able to stay home.

Although they entertained ideas of only taking part-time jobs with flexible work

schedules to preserve the multi-caregiver ideal to some extent, they were keenly aware

that returning to work meant entrusting their children to the hands of nannies in their

absence. Without help from their kin network, Deng Han and Wu Jing considered the right type of nanny for their children to be one who poises herself as "part of the family;" the equivalent of a grandparent or a beloved aunt rather than an employee. They sought someone who works for love, "as if the child was her own descendant", rather than for money. This "sense of kinship" became a tool to help parents solve the dilemma of ensuring certain qualities and experiences would be transmitted to their children, even in their absence.

Applied to hiring decisions, parents translated the less tangible "sense of kinship" into tangible nanny characteristics, such as demographics, nurturance and loyalty. Parents in the study found this "sense of kinship" in nannies that were friends, neighbors, or, crucially, came from the same region where the parents' family originated. Nannies' relationships with the family that hired them and with that family's extended families and friends qualified them for membership in their employers' family-like networks. Rather than using agencies in their search for "kin-like" nannies, both Deng Han and Wu Jing only contacted friends and family for recommendations so that they could "know nanny's roots (知根知底)." Deng Han hired a nanny who came from the same region where her family originated; Wu Jing hired a former housekeeper who had worked in her family long enough to be an integral part of it.

"Sense of kinship" was also defined by nannies' emotional labor and interactive displays. Implicit in the expectation that nannies would work as a "part of the family" is that they would work under what Macdonald (2010) called "family exchange norms" (p.59). Within these norms, nannies would be expected to work on a flexible schedule, accommodate or even sacrifice for the good of the child and family, and work for love

rather than money. Wu Jing hired the housekeeper in part because she believed that the housekeeper wanted the job out of love for Wu Jing's child. Wu Jing recalled how she came to her hiring decision: "At the beginning I did not consider her because she was cleaning two houses and I was afraid she was too busy. But she has always wanted to take care of our baby, seems to really like our baby…and she has worked for me for so long that I know she is a very good person, I thought it is worth it to give her a try." Still, it took Wu Jing several months of careful observation to make sure that "she really loves the baby" before hiring the housekeeper as a full-time nanny. Deng Han likewise highly valued her nanny's emotional input at work. She said, "I wanted to find a nanny who cares for him, cherishes him, like we do, even when I am away at work. I won't let him feel that we had not given him all our love, that instead we casually entrusted him to an non-family (外人)." Deng Han expressed more appreciation than concern when talking about how the nanny forced her son to "eat enough food to take in all the nutrition," no matter how strongly her son protested against it. Deng Han interpreted her nanny's action as a manifestation of the deep care she has for her son's physical wellbeing: "The nanny is good to him, is good for him (对他好,为他好). She really cares about him and takes care of him with heart (用心)."

Although choosing to partner with nannies was a necessity for some families and a choice made by other families, the hiring decisions were all made to ensure that their children's developmental needs would be met by a set of caregivers with complementary qualities. For families with working parents, nannies' energy were highly regarded qualities to compensate for grandparents' physical incompetence, while the "sense of kinship" was a more valued nanny quality in families with at-home mothers who planned

to work in the near future. In selecting nannies with desirable characteristics, parents attached specific meanings to the nanny's age and residence. These meanings imbued candidates with certain desirable characteristics, so the parents hired what they interpreted as desirable and qualified caregivers.

Management: Concerted group cultivation

The perception of children's developmental needs, the qualifications of grandparents and nannies on the market, and mothers' work plans all go into a calculus that determines not only whom the parents are likely to select for multi-caregiver coalitions, but also how parents are likely to manage the caregivers within the coalition. Like many middle-class American parents (Lareau, 2011), these parents from Nanjing saw themselves as developing and cultivating their infants in a concerted fashion that is planned and purposeful. They wanted their infants to develop well physically and to acquire cognitive and social skills that could allow them to have a competitive edge in the future when they enter school and the workplace. When parents evaluated grandparents' interactions with young children (either their own children or their sibling's children) against their own childrearing ideals regarding parental involvement, bonding, and the importance of cognitive stimulation, they concluded that the care grandparents were providing was not up to par. Similarly, parents saw nannies as having "not had much education" and "migrated from rural areas and have not seen a lot of the world." One father noted: "Their 'countryside' way of taking care of children is very different from our city ways… When nanny tells stories to the child, she tells ghost stories…(and) when she plays with the child, she teaches the child to play with the lighters." Although parents regarded the grandparents and nannies they selected as nurturing caregivers, they

distrusted either grandparents or nannies to make independent judgments on what food, toys and learning material and activities to be appropriate. Parents stressed the importance of being in control of their children's care experiences: "we want grandma and nanny to raise children in accordance with our own ideas, because we think we are the ones who know best how to rear children… (We) have to always make sure that they follow our approach." By designing all aspects of their children's care and managing all caregivers in the coalition to perform particular child care tasks in particularly ways, parents in the study engaged in a process of concerted group cultivation. Both families of working parents and at-home mothers were managing the multi-caregiver coalition this way.

In practicing concerted group cultivation, parents controlled decisions around children's schedules and activities, and carefully molded and directed grandparents' and nannies' actions to produce a consistent quality of care for their children, regardless of the caregivers. Parents talked about creating rules regarding how to dress the child, what food to prepare, how to prepare the food, where/how to feed the child, what type of diapers to use (cotton or disposable diaper), how often to change the diaper, what toys to play with, and where to take the child for outdoor activities. Other rules applied to their children's schedules, making decisions on when naps, meals, and indoor and outdoor activities were to take place. Gao Ting, a working mother, when explaining her use of rules said, "Grandma likes to stayed indoors and she keeps the child indoors too. But I want him to be outside as much as possible, to be at many places and get in contact with other kids." She found that her child's frequent naps and exclusive in-home activities "have kept him from being active enough" and "limited his chances to see and learn

many things and to socialize with other children and lots of people." Gao Ting explicitly structured the child, grandma and nanny's days to create a schedule that would enrich her child's social and learning experiences - "I expect him to only nap at noon from 11/12 to 2/3pm; I want them to play with him, talk to him, and take him for a walk outside in the morning. And again in the afternoon after his nap and snacks, bring him downstairs to play." Many working parents were also very specific about food. They conscientiously consulted the experts and advice books to learn what types of food were considered age appropriate and directed grandparents and nannies to prepare accordingly. One working mother even sorted and packed the ingredients for breakfast, lunch and dinner in different plastic bags so that the nanny has specific ideas about the meal choices for the child.

In families with at-home mothers, the mothers and fathers managed nannies in the same ways that working parents managed nannies and grandparents. When asked about what she has done particularly well as a mother, Wu Jing, responded, "I arranged every aspect of time very well. I'm methodical, unlike other people hiring a nanny who let the nanny do as she pleases and don't manage her, letting her mess about. I stipulate what she needs to do at what time." Yet, no parents in this sample seemed to match the description of "other people" in Wu Jing's narrative. Like Wu Jing, all parents orchestrated the daily lives of caregivers and children. These attempts at scripting were aimed at minimizing the impact of differences between the parents' childrearing beliefs and practices and that of the grandparents and nannies. Parents expected the grandparents and nannies to follow and carry out decisions the parents had already made, and not to provide child care relying on their own judgments.

In reality, nannies did participate in making important social decisions for the children in their care. Yet a nanny's role as a potential decision maker was largely overlooked or denied by parents. One duty shared by all the nannies in the study was to take the infant outside to play with other children in the same neighborhood. It was quite usual that nannies formed their own playgroups so that their charges played together. Since the nanny was the point of contact for play dates and contact with other children, she has the potential to influence the child's social life and make decisions on whom the child socializes with. As Cui Lan - a working mother - acknowledged, "there are so many children in the neighborhood who are just as old as her, why does she just play with these couple of kids? Even though it's the nannies' getting together that caused this", she added, "but as a parent, we can also choose--if we don't like these couple of children, they would not be playing together. Now, it's just these couple of children who play with my child, because we got to know their parents, found that we could all accept each other's personalities and ways to approach educating child. We accepted the parents, accepted the children they educated, so our children are now playing together." While de-emphasizing the nanny's role in arranging play groups for the child, Cui Lan highlighted her own efforts to first screen the prospective playmates and their parents, and stressed that it was she herself who made the final social choice for her daughter. Like Cui Lan, many parents in the study were keenly aware of their responsibility as parents to transmit cultural and social capital by making certain that their children socialize with the right peers and interact in class-appropriate ways. Maintaining a "sense of control" over the social life of their children was one of the strategies parents designed to address these concerns.

Parents also felt that some tasks should be primarily done by themselves. However, in a finding that contradicts those in many other studies of nannies and domestics in the U.S, they did not do so as part of a strategy to establish their own image as the child's "primary attachment" (Wrigley, 1995; Hays, 1996; Macdonald, 1998; 2010). Many working mothers in these previous studies sanctify particular childrearing tasks, such as bathing, bedtime rituals or breakfast preparation, as mother work only. They do so not because the nature of these tasks themselves are important, but to designate rituals that help establish and maintain the all-important mother-child bond.

In contrast, parents in the current study reserved some tasks as parent-primary not for relational or psychological purposes, but rather to serve pragmatic functions. The nature of a task actually shaped parents' decisions about whether the task was "parent-primary" or delegable. In their opinion, tasks such as bathing and breakfast preparation were delegable because any caregiver can satisfactorily complete the tasks if an array of rules scripted by parents was carefully followed, and it did not matter if the parent was the person to perform the tasks. On the other hand, the aspects of infant childrearing that were designated as "parent-primary" had an educational focus, such as reading, disciplining, or even teaching Chinese characters. These were deemed as tasks that cannot be properly performed by nannies and grandparents who do not carry the appropriate cultural capital.

Parents identified a primary limitation of grandparent care and nanny care as being less education-oriented. "The bad thing of being together with grandma and nanny all day is that she (the child) can't learn many things", one working mother lamented, "Grandma and nanny don't speak proper Mandarin. They also don't know how to educate

children, say, if the child throws a temper tantrum, they don't know to deal with it."

Another father(333) echoed, "grandparents and nannies cannot teach the child to learn

words, play games…anything related to cognitive development (智力开发), they surely

cannot do it. How can they possibly teach the child if they themselves don't know how to

read and play those games?" At-home mothers likewise pointed to nannies' failing to

provide sufficient cognitive stimulation for their children. Wu Jing voiced her concerns:

"I trust her (nanny) to feed her, put her to bed, but I don't believe she will educate her

when I'm not home, she probably won't play with the child, she most likely lets the child

play by herself, she just sits there at the side resting – that's very likely." Deng Han—

who shared a similar concern—said, "to meet child's daily needs, you can trust nanny

with no problem, but you can't expect nanny to teach the child anything" Her solution

was to make herself more available to "accompany the child, play together with the child

more often when it's possible." Working parents designated a significant amount of after

work hours for "educating time".

Another task labeled as "parent primary" was disciplining. Parents cited both the

grandparents' and nannies' reluctance to discipline children and their failure to set

boundaries as the reasons for parents to step in and make up for these lapses. Xu Nuo, a

working mother discussed why disciplining becomes a parent responsibility in this way:

> *I have strict expectations. For example, if I don't allow her to fulfill her wish and*
> *she throws a temper tantrum, I would discipline her. She has this bad habit*
> *(throwing a temper tantrum when her wish is not fulfilled), and I think it's*
> *because we're staying together with the elders, the elders would usually fulfill her*
> *every wish…I think if I can't take care of the day-to-day life or spend enough time*
> *with her, then I should spend my effort on her behavior and correct her when*
> *she's wrong.*

Disciplining children is another example that illustrates that the purpose of designating parent-primary tasks was far from creating "quality time" between parents and child to enhance attachment. Quite the opposite, many parents in the study believed that effective discipline required de-attachment. One mother explained that there should "either be 'strict father, lenient mother'(慈母严父) or 'lenient father, strict mother'(慈父严母); one parent has to be stern (严肃) so the child will be afraid of her/him(怕) and listen to her/him (听话)." She further emphasized, "I think that having someone in the family whom he is afraid of is necessary for discipline." Many parents found this strategy, which they called "red face versus white face" (一个唱红脸一个唱白脸) to be effective in disciplining a child. In Beijing Opera tradition, the most famous character with red facial makeup is a general renowned for his faithfulness, and the most notorious character with white facial makeup is a cruel and merciless tyrant. The "red face" is used by the parents in the study to describe the role played by one of the parents, usually the father, as the child's faithful companion who comforts the child without undermining the other parent's authority. The other parent, usually the mother, plays the role of the "white face" by setting boundaries. One father commented, "This is the better recognized method of educating children, letting the children receive good upbringing." He suggested that as in other aspects of child care, implementing the strategy required an effort from more than one caregiver. He stressed that "Mother and father must work with each other collaboratively (配合) in disciplining the child." He also pointed to the sacrifices made by the "white face" disciplinarians, in his case the mother, "the child is well behaved around his mother but he is not very close to his mother." Parents talked about sacrificing certain parent-child relations to develop the key qualities of the children to be worthwhile.

Sometimes, implementing this strategy requires that the person who plays "white face" maintain a certain distance from their child to establish a sense of authority. Consequently, they can sometimes lose the child's favor by being cast in the 'bad guy' role.

Monitoring

A new set of challenges arose after parents had selected caregivers and communicated to them the rules and guidelines concerning children's care. When parents were away from home, how could they be sure their desires and directives were being implemented and their children were being cared for with consistent quality? This was the concern for working parents who spent eight to ten hours per day away from home at work, as well as for at-home mothers who planned to work in the near future. The parents in the study talked about the surveillance strategies they were currently using and hoped to use that would give them sufficient knowledge about their children's daily care experiences to feel secure enough to leave their children behind with "settled hearts" (安心).

Families with working parents: grandparents and nannies as monitors.
Working parents relied on grandparents to monitor nannies' work. The majority admitted that one advantage of including grandparents in the multi-caregiver coalition was to have a kin-status caregiver supervise the nanny; the "non-kin" caregiver. One parent explained, "nanny is after all an non-family (外人). It would be better for there to be someone watching (the nanny)…The fact that grandma has been able to stick around has enabled us to be more comfortable." Some parents speculated that without the grandparents' supervision, the nanny would be "so relaxed" and not give the child the

"continuous attention" that parents would expect. Other parents were relieved that they "don't have to worry about the child being maltreated or suffering any grievances…because the child has the grandparents around to make it safe." Parents emphasized that having grandparents as overseers to monitor their children's days allowed them to feel sufficiently confident to go to work without overwhelming anxiety.

However, parents also perceived this monitoring strategy as having its disadvantages. Although parents frequently stressed how much children could benefit from being cared for under the supervision of a blood-related grandparent who offered genuine love and care, they also worried that "grandparents' 'excessive love and care' (溺爱) might have a bad influence on the development of the child's personality, not forming a good character." Moreover, their heavy reliance on grandparents as "monitoring agents" compromised the parents' bargaining power in negotiating with grandparents to raise the child in the parents' ways. One father described how vulnerable he and his wife felt when they argued with grandma regarding childrearing and grandma threatened to quit the care. "Grandma always says, 'if you are not happy with the way I take care of the child, then go leave her with the nanny'…of course grandma knows we would not do that. Nanny care is definitely not worry-free." Many working parents found that "it is the dilemma facing all the dual-income families", but claimed that they "have no other ways of taking better care of the child." They felt that "having the nanny take care of the child and having grandparents there…to supervise the care a little…is the best arrangement we could have for the child." In practice, many working parents tended to assign nannies to "direct care work" (Folbre, 2006), such as feeding, diapering, bathing and playing with children. As much as possible, they confined the grandparents' work to

"indirect care" activities, like preparing meals, doing laundry and cleaning, which provide support for direct care (Folbre, 2006). This strategy was used by some parents to deal with a dilemma embedded in the nanny-grandparent coalition, by aiming to simultaneously maximize the grandparents' role as overseers and minimize their role as caregivers.

In some families, monitoring child care could also be bilateral. Some parents relied on nannies' accounts of the grandparents' caregiving practices. Many parents noted that while nannies usually accommodated the routines and practices devised by parents, grandparents constantly resisted their passive roles and sought more autonomy especially in making childrearing decisions. One mother described such transgressions: "although paternal grandma would sometimes not agree with my decisions, she would not say it to my face, she would say alright, alright, listen to mom. But in fact, once I leave and cannot see, she still follows that approach of hers." Some parents mentioned using nannies as informants to learn about the child's days with grandma by "just causally asking (闲聊, 随口讲讲) nannies about what grandparents did with the child" and how nannies would just "casually mention it". Many parents considered that "face-to-face" communications with grandparents about whether directives were followed were "inappropriate" and "likely to incur conflicts" or "intensify the tensions". This is particular the case in families where the paternal grandmother came to help with child care. These mothers would usually avoid direct questioning and confrontation of grandparents' childrearing practices by gaining information from nannies and letting the father negotiate with grandmother when conflicts arose. One mother described her practice, "if nanny told me something that grandma did not tell me to my face, I treat it as if it did not happen… no

matter how big an objection I have to her (grandma), it still cannot said face to face." She

pointed out that the lack of communication came both ways, "grandma treats me like this

too. She also wouldn't say I don't like to hear this, don't like to hear that. These kinds of

things also needn't be (said face to face)." Instead of seeing such obstacles in

communication as frustrating, this mother as well as other mothers in her situation found

it to be necessary for maintaining intergenerational solidarity and creating a harmonious

environment conducive to child development. She reasoned, "it would not be appropriate

to argue with your mother-in-law. In the end, that would affect my relationships with my

husband…Even if it's your own mom, sometimes it's still bothersome to talk." In her

case, nanny not only served as an informant but also as a medium through which mother

and grandmother communicated their respective desires and expectations.

Families with at-home mothers. While working parents relied on grandparents

to monitor nannies' treatments of children, at-home mothers controlled the home front by

being present. When talking about their future work plans, Wu Jing and Deng Han also

mentioned strategies they hoped to use to monitor nannies when they returned to work.

Wu Jing and Deng Han both described their ideal jobs as allowing some

flexibility in their work schedules that would enable them to make scheduled or

unannounced "drop-ins" to check on the nanny's activities. Hu Yuan also used this

strategy while she and her husband were at work. Her parents and in-laws were both

employed, and the nanny was the sole caregiver for her daughter. To both monitor their

nanny's work and strive for the multi-caregiver ideal, Hu Yuan and her husband

strategically scheduled their daughter's naps to accommodate their own work schedules

to ensure that at least one of the parents could be home with the nanny to take care of the child when she was awake. Hu Yuan recounted a typical day:

> *She takes a nap around 9:30am after I leave to work and usually wakes up at 11:30am when I and sometimes her father return home for lunch break. I try to put her down for another nap at 2:30pm because my afternoon shift starts at 3pm. She naps until 4:30pm and her father usually comes back at 5:30pm.*

She admitted that it would be a lot easier and relaxing for her if she stayed at her workplace to take a nap during lunch break, but she explained that, "nanny is after all a non-family" and "the fact that we've been able to stop home for lunch has enabled us to be more comfortable." This monitoring strategy also ensured that multiple caregivers were present when the child awoke and required continuous attention.

However, the "drop-in" strategy requires a flexible work schedule that Deng Han and Wu Jing were unsure if their next jobs would provide. They both mentioned that a more practical monitoring strategy was to involve grandparents, a strategy that was identical to the one used by other working parents. Although at-home mothers frontloaded the issue of trust into the process of selecting the nannies with "sense of kinship", in reality, they still trusted an actual kin more than a fictive kin when it came to the issue of child care.

Discussion

The main goal of the current study is to investigate why urban Chinese parents choose nanny care, and how they define, structure and manage nannies' work. This is the first study that examines the use of nanny care as child care option in an non-Western context.

Across cultural contexts, parents differ in how they define, structure and manage

nanny care. In the U.S., in-home child care provided by nannies is mainly a practice of

upper-class and upper middle-class households, in which both mothers and fathers hold

down professional jobs and time demands are excessive or unpredictable (e.g. Gregson

and Lowe 1994). In addition to nanny services' flexibility, parents in such households

employ nannies because parents embrace the prevailing ideology of "intensive

mothering" (Hays, 1996), and conceive of and expect nannies to substitute for the mother

in her absence during working hours (e.g. Leach et al, 2008; Tronto, 2002; MacDonald,

2010). The most common hiring and managing strategies thus involve transforming the

nanny into an extension of the mother herself, but in ways that provide no threat to the

real mother's image as the child's primary attachment. Those behaviors were absent from

the ways Chinese parents in the current study discussed nanny care. The parents in this

study hired nannies to create multi-caregiver coalitions. Nanny care was often employed

to supplement child care provided by grandparents and/or mothers that were already in

place. Thus, the ideal nanny characteristics often differ if the nanny were to partner with

grandparents or the mother. Moreover, given that nannies usually worked with other

caregivers, parents also sought nannies who were compatible with other caregivers in the

coalition to establish interpersonal harmony within the family.

Nanjing parents perceived of multi-caregiver coalitions as an advantage because

they can provide infants with continuously intensive care. Parents employed rotating

shifts of multiple caregivers to ensure that the infant could receive non-stop quality care

because each caregiver was at peak performance during their time spent with the

infant. Having multiple caregivers also allows parents to align each caregiver's duties

with their skills and experiences. Parents usually held the highest levels of education among the caregivers in the coalition, and considered themselves more knowledgeable of contemporary childrearing. Thus, they made all the childrearing decisions around naps, meals and activities, and set the daily framework of the child as well as participated in more education-focused activities with children. Nannies, who usually received little education but were younger and in better physical condition than grandparents, were assigned to execute parents' decisions and act according to scripted sets of rules for care duties that often required intensive labor and constant attention. Finally, grandparents were expected to assist nannies, perform the aspects of child care that were not physically taxing, and most importantly, monitor nannies' treatment of the child. By carefully structuring the labor division within the coalition, parents strived to pool together multiple caregivers' energies and expertise to provide high-quality child care.

Multi-caregiver coalitions also enable nanny's work to be monitored. Distrusting the nanny due to her non-kin status is argued to be the primary reason for families to avoid nanny care in China (Goh, 2006) and other Asian societies (Lee & Bauer, 2013). The current study suggested that even after parents chose nanny care for their infants, lack of trust still remained a primary concern. The adoption of multi-caregiver coalitions assuaged parents' anxieties by having familial caregivers monitor nannies' work.

However, the multi-caregiver coalition also raises certain dilemmas. Nanny's involvement in the care coalition tended to challenge grandparents' putative, central role in child care to which they felt entitled. Grandparents are traditionally valued as *educators* and *caregivers* for younger generations in China (Nyland, Zeng & Tran, 2009). Caring for and teaching grandchildren as well as instructing younger parents how to

parent their own children used to be cultural imperatives for Chinese elders (Mjelde-Mossey, 2007). Although grandparents' conventional role as *educators* to younger generations is dramatically declining as childrearing experts are now replacing grandparents to tutor younger parents on child care (Nyland, Zeng & Tran, 2009), grandparents role as *caregivers* for grandchildren has become increasingly important as a result of dramatic social changes that have occurred in China over the past decades (e.g. Goh & Kuczynski, 2010; Short et al., 2001). These changes include an increase in women's employment as well as the one-child policy, which according to Ho (1989) inevitably shifted the Chinese family to being less aged-centered and to being more child-centered. However, this study's findings suggested that nanny care—as a new option of child care—further marginalized the role of grandparents as *caregivers* in these families. In this study, at-home mothers preferred to pair with nannies rather than grandparents to create child care coalitions as a strategy to avoid intergenerational parenting conflicts and struggles. Working parents who depended on grandparents to form the multi-caregiver ideal attempted to resolve the conflicts by marginalizing the grandparent role to overseer of nannies' work, rather than caregiver for the child.

Many scholars have argued that one of the most important and valued roles for a Chinese elder is being a grandparent (e.g. Hall, 1983; Chu, 1985, Ho, 1986; Chow, 1996). Their quality of life and self-worth are defined largely by this traditional intergenerational exchange within which grandparents hold well-established and well-understood commitments, rights and responsibilities and are esteemed as highly productive and valued members of the family. Mjelde-Mossey and colleagues argued that the loss of the traditional grandparent role is accompanied by the loss of meaning, purpose and self-

worth for Chinese elders, which could result in psychological consequences (Mjelde-Mossey, 2007; Mjelde-Mossey, Chi, & Lou, 2006). A few parents in the study did report that grandparents felt "being distrusted as a caregiver" and "unhappy" when parents decided to hire nannies either to "assist" or replace grandparents. And these are reflective of grandparents' sense of declined respect and value.

While this study reveals much about the culturally specific ways of using nanny care that are understudied in the previous literature, it does have its limitations. The key limitation is that the perspectives from the grandparents and nannies in the multi-caregiver coalition are missing. It would be useful to get information on grandparents' and nannies' interpretations of what quality care means and their opinions on what roles they ought to play to best at fulfilling that ideal. The findings suggest that the everyday actions and expectations of the sets of caregivers in the same household are rooted in their childrearing ideologies and that their competing ideologies appear to become the battleground on which their tensions emerge. It is therefore important to understand not only parents' but also grandparents' and nannies' understandings of ideal practices of child care, their appropriate/legitimate roles in the care, and the potential contributions they can make to family life in the future studies. This line of research could also potentially shed light on alternative employer-childcare provider relationships and explores avenues for change.

Implications

Although the findings of this study regarding parents' perceptions and usage of nanny care are preliminary and limited in scope, they help us to gain a more nuanced understanding of this often-overlooked child-care type in a non-Western context and have

both theoretical and practical implications. Regarding multi-mothering as the ideal form

of child care suggested that the goals and actions of mothering for the parents in the

current study seem to be largely pragmatic, aimed primarily at pooling together

caregivers' energy and expertise to provide high-quality child care. It did not, as the data

in the current study seemed to suggest, aim to explicitly create attachment between the

mother and the infant, which is often identified as an important goal of a Western

ideology of mothering (Ainsworth, Salter, Blehar, Waters & Wall, 1978; Hays, 1996).

Reinforcing the multi-caregiver ideal sometimes even required the mother to distance and

de-attach herself from the infant. This is consistent with Barlow and Chapin's (2010)

argument that mothering and maternal behaviors can be multiple, diverse and even

contradictory in their meanings across cultures. The shared, group oriented mothering

behavior was observed in this study as well as in work in many other non-western

cultures (e.g. Collins, 1999; Hardy, 1999; 2009). This casts new light on the concept of

parenthood as near exclusively the realm of biological mothers that forms the basis of

much Western thinking and psychological theorizing.

In light of government interest in encouraging more rural migrants and laid-off

workers to enter the nanny workforce (International Labour Organization, 2009), the

current study has the potential to inform training programs for domestic child care

workers in China and the practices of the domestic service agencies that hire them. First,

the understanding that parents' trust in nannies is constructed through familiarity has

important implications for how to establish trustworthy relationships between parents and

nannies. The current study found that parents placed more trust in nannies who had a

prior relationship with the family that hired them, and/or with the family's extended

families and friends. Parents' trust in these nannies thus grew in a climate of familiarity. This finding resonated with Carter's (2009) notion that familiarity is a precondition of trust or what Lewicki and Bunker (1996) called "knowledge-based trust", whereby trust develops with the knowledge created through experience. The services and programs could help employers to develop trust towards nannies through experience and familiarity even before the nanny is hired, by encouraging and providing opportunities for parents and grandparents to have various interactions with the potential nannies (e.g. joint educational programs for both the nannies and employers, offering trial periods with the nanny) during the prenatal and postnatal periods. Second, the finding that parents would often hire nannies to compensate for any deficiencies the grandparent and/or parent might have in providing child care suggested that domestic service agencies could match nannies' skills with employers' varying needs, and help nannies understand the tasks of the job to improve employment and job satisfaction.

Furthermore, as so many grandparents and nannies provide care for the young children of working parents, supports, services and research that are directed towards parents should also consider grandparents and nannies. These changes could potentially enhance family child-care choices and make relationships between parents, grandparents, nannies and children more positive. The findings also suggest a need for training and educating grandparents to adapt to socio-cultural changes in family roles and ensure that grandparents remain actively engaged in the family.

In conclusion, this study reveals both the cultural variations regarding nanny care decisions and implementation, and particular considerations within Chinese culture that help improve family relationships as it pertains to child care decisions.

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Appendix A: Nanjing Family Qualitative Study: Parents Of Infants Interview Protocol (Only Provide Here A List Of Interview Questions That Are Relevant To Child Care)

第 1 部分照顾孩子的安排 PART 1: FAMILY' S DAILY CHILD CARE ROUTINES

INTENT:

To obtain a general narrative of all daily parenting activities and routines, including people and settings in the family's life. These are details you can refer to in later questions/interviews.

Okay, I'd like to get a sense of what a typical week day/Saturday is like for your child.

· Please tell me about your child's typical weekday, starting from the moment s/he woke up.

[Just probe for the major events in daily routine. No need to get details for every hour.]

照顾孩子的安排:

孩子起床/出去/吃饭/睡觉/ （地点/时间/变换）/作息

· What was your child's weekend (Saturday and Sunday) like? Or how are weekend days different for your child? Could you think about a recent Saturday or Sunday (whichever one was most different from a typical weekday)?"

Please tell me about how you and your child do during the weekend.

周末是怎么过的？或者周末和平时有什么的不同？谈谈您和孩子在周末都怎么过的，比如最近的一次或者最普通的周末。

NOTE; IF MOTHER/FATHER WORKS AND GRANDPARENTS OR SOMEONE ELSE TAKES CARE OF BABY DURING DAY: Get information on what the caregiver(s) told parent about child's day. Also get information on what the parents' work day is like and what the reunion with the baby is like in the evening.

如果父母平时上班，由祖父母或他人看护孩子:

询问父母从祖父母或其他看护人那里了解的情况。了解在父母上班分开，和父母下班回家时重聚的情景（孩子的表现；父母的感受；是否特意安排）

EVERYDAY PARENTING TASKS

如果父母没有提及，可以具体细问：

FEEDING: 喂食

• Does baby has regular eating times? How do you know when [CHILD] is hungry? When does [CHILD] eat?

孩子吃饭时间固定？你怎么知道孩子饿了？什么时候吃？

- What does baby eat? [Get sense of how they decide what to feed and how much of it—feed until baby refuses or specific amounts; Who decides? How? Who prepares it? How do parents feels about that?]

吃什么？吃多少？怎么决定？（有控制？）谁来决定每天吃什么？怎么讨论呢？谁做？

- Where does baby eat? When does it start and why?

吃饭的位置， 固定？单独的房间？什么时候开始这样的？为什么？

- Any concerns about what he / she eats or drinks? *If problems,* how do you get baby to eat?

对孩子吃喝方面的担心？

如果宝宝不原意吃饭，或者其它问题：你是怎么办? 如何喂？谁喂？

SLEEP: 睡觉

- When does [CHILD] sleep? [Probe: A typical bedtime? Regular naps? Sleep whenever s/he gets tired?] Is there a routine [something you always do] around bedtime?

睡觉时间？规律吗？什么时候累了就睡？

有临睡前一直要做的/习惯做的事情吗？是什么？

- Where does the child sleep and why? [Probe: mother's bed vs. elsewhere? changes in bed during the night?]

孩子在哪里睡？[晚上有变化吗？] 为什么这样安排？

- What happens when [CHILD] wakes up at night? [Probe: Who usually takes care of [CHILD] at night? How often does [CHILD] wake-up at night?]

孩子夜里醒几次？怎么办？谁照顾？

FREE TIME / PLAY: 游戏

- If the child goes out where does s/he go? With whom? Who does [CHILD] play with? How often?

孩子出去都到哪里去？跟谁？跟谁玩？频率？

- What activities does [CHILD] like (best)? [e.g., when at home, going out (anywhere in particular?)] What doesn't s/he like to do? How do you feel about it?

最喜欢的活动 [在家里， 在外面（具体哪里）] ？不喜欢的活动？你怎么看？

MEDIA: 媒体

- What book(s) does [CHILD] like most? Who usually reads them to [CHILD]? How often?

孩子最喜欢什么书？一般谁给他/她读？频次？

- Any programs or books/videos/music you prefer/don't want [CHILD] to watch/listen to? [Probe for type]

有哪些电视节目/书/录像/音乐你不想让孩子接触到的？[类型]

第3 部分 为人父母 PART 3 PARENTING
VIEWS OF PARENTING

- What are the things you enjoy most about being a parent? [Probe for details and stories]

对你来说, 作为父母让你感到最快乐/享受/喜欢的是什么呢？[询问：细节内容和故事]

- What are the hardest/most difficult things about being a parent? [Probe for details and stories； view on it; how does she/he deal with it; why in that way]

对你来说, 作为父母让你感到最困难/不容易的是什么呢？[询问：细节内容和故事; 怎么看? 怎么影响? 怎么解决的? 为什么这么做?]

- What kind of mother/father do you think you are? [What are some qualities you have as a mother?]

你认为自己是怎样的母亲（父亲）？[询问：特点/品质][询问：和其他的妈妈/爸爸不一样的？]

- What are things you are proud of as a mother/father? [or you are satisfied with yourself as a mother/father]

作为父母，你觉得自己在哪些方面做得很好/很不错/很满意/很骄傲的地方？

- What are the things that you wish you could do better as a mother/father?

作为父母，你觉得自己在哪些方面还应该做得更好些？[当母亲/做母亲有没有不完美/遗憾的地方，改进就能更完美了。]

- How did life change for you after [CHILD] was born? How did life change for your partner/others in the household?

自从孩子出生后， 你自己的生活有哪些变化？对于你爱人呢？家里其他人呢？你怎么看待自己的这种变化？

- Can you tell me one thing you wish you had known about being a parent before you had [CHILD]? Anything else? [Probe for reasons; what happened?]

有没有遇到过这种情况。有些为人父母/照顾教育孩子的事情，你希望在有孩子之前就早些知道的[或者说，早点知道就好了？] 是关于什么事情？[询问：为什么想早点知道？ 发生了什么事情，影响后果] 其他呢？

- How would you describe [child's father/mother] as a father/mother? *[NOTES TO INTERVIEWER: Ask about mother, if interview child's father]*

孩子的父亲/母亲是一个怎样的父亲/母亲？

- What are some of the important differences between being a mother and being a father? How is it the same being a mother and being a father?

做母亲和做父亲相同的地方有哪些？差别是什么？[可能有父母询问：对于孩子来说；作为父母说； 目前和以后呢] 为什么有这些差异？

- How has parenthood affected your relationship with [mother/father of child, or other co-parent]?

你做父母后，对夫妻之间的关系有什么变化？好的地方/促进的地方/不好的地方。
[有的家庭….，为什么您家里没有变化呢？]

FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

- 在照顾和教育孩子的过程中，跟孩子父/母亲有没有意见不一致情况？关于什么事情？例子？如何处理？

- All relationships have disagreements. When you do have disagreements with (child's father), what are they usually about? [*probe recent episodes*]. What kind of disagreements do you have related to your child?

其它方面呢？跟孩子的父/母亲有意见不同的时候吗？什么时候？关于什么事情？
具体例子，如何处理？

- *IF FATHER NON-RESIDENT:* How do you think child's father not living with you has affected your child? How has this affected you as a parent?

［如果孩子父亲不住在家里］这样对孩子有什么影响？对你作为母亲有什么影响？

PARENTING ADVICE

- How have you learned about all of parenting things (i.e., feeding, sleeping, play, media)? Who do you talk with about parenting tasks/ how to care for your child when you need help or advice about particular things? Where do you go?

你是如何学会做父母的/照顾孩子 /养育孩子的知识（例如，喂饭、睡觉、游戏等等）
如果你有任何关于如何做父母/或者对于具体照顾孩子的问题，都向谁？到哪里寻求帮助？什么途径？

- When you grew up, how do your parents take care of you? Any influence on how you act as a parent to your [CHILD]? Examples? [If taken care by grandparents, ask about it]

你小时候长大过程中，你父母亲是如何照顾你的？对你现在自己做父母有什么影响？
举例。
或者可以说，你自己父母对你的做法想法，对你现在照顾教育自己的孩子的做法想法有什么影响？
[例如：父母的当年的做法，我现在作父母一定不要象他们那样；或者我也要象他们那样。]
[如果小时候是祖父母照顾长大的，询问祖父母如何照顾，对目前做父母的影响]
[注意：可能在后面，隔代照顾的冲突的时候提到]

第 4 部分 CHILD CARE

[Note: If you've learned in DAILY ROUTINE that another senior person plays parenting role (e.g., child's grandmother, grandaunt/uncle, nannies, etc.), ask these questions about/ in reference to them]

Parent-child Relationship

Let's talk about your relationship with your child.

• How much time do you spend with [CHILD] every day? What kinds of things do you do together with your child?
你和孩子在一起的时间多吗，你们都在一起会做什么? 在一起怎么度过?

• Whom is your child is most attached with in your family? Example? How do you think of it?
宝宝在家里，跟谁（爸爸／妈妈／爷爷等）更亲近？怎么看出来的，例子？你怎么看，什么感受？

Child Care

• Who cares for the child? How do you make this arrangement? Who are involved in decision-making? How? Why?
谁照顾孩子？为什么这么安排？ 主要原因？ 怎么决定的？

• How do you feel about it now? Good parts and bad parts?
对于这个安排，自己感觉怎么样？ 好的地方？ 有什么担忧？如何处理呢？

• Who make the important decisions about [CHILD] –*Probe who makes decisions about:* Childcare, feeding, shopping, education? How is that? How are other family members involved in this process? Have there been disagreements about these issues/decisions? How have disagreements about these decisions been handled?
关于孩子的事情，都是谁做决定？[分别询问：关于吃 、穿、用、教育等等方面。]
怎么决定的？家里其他人如何参与？有没有意见不统一的时候？关于什么？如何解决？

Grandparenting

If grandparents are involved with childcare,
询问平时跟看护人的交流；怎么给与指导？

• Tell me about the last time you have disagreement with grandparents related to child rearing.
 [Probe: How did it start? What happened in detail – who was around – what was the setting – what did she/he say – how she felt – How often does this happen? *[If differences in parenting/views of child-rearing arise, explore these differences, discussions, and decisions here.]*

谈谈上次，你和孩子祖父母对于照顾孩子的做法意见不同的时候。.怎么处理的？
您爱人的态度？

[询问：具体发生什么？怎么开始？谁在？场景？都说什么？想法，感受？处理？
多久发生一次？]

[抚养教育孩子观念做法的不同，询问不同之处；为什么这么认为？夫妻间的讨论/
与祖父母的讨论；结论/决定]

[有意见先跟谁提出，再怎么？为什么这么处理？]

[曾经有过的分歧；或者你不赞同，提出而纠正过来的地方。]

[孩子父亲和外公外婆的关系；孩子母亲和爷爷奶奶的关系。]

Appendix B: Detailed Description Of Child Care Arrangements And Background Information On The Ten Families In The Current Study.

Table A: Characteristics of the ten interviewed families in the proposed study

Mother's pseudonym/age (father's pseudonym/age)	Parent highest education level	Parent occupations	Family income/month (RMB)	Child gender	Configuration of care during first shift/age (years)	Living arrangement	Nanny's work hour/week	Nanny's payment/month (RMB) (% of family monthly income)
Cui Lan (28)	College	Computer animator	8000	Female	Paternal grandmother (56) Nanny (34)	Coresidence Live-out	70	950 (11.9%)
Wang Yan (29)	College	Government worker	15000	Male	Maternal grandmother(59) Nanny(47)	Coresidence Live-in	168	1500 (10%)
Hu Yuan (27)	College	Manager at demolition department	7500~8000	Female	Nanny(43)	Live-in	84	1400 (17.5%)
Wu Jing (26)	College	Full-time mother	10000	Female	Paternal grandmother (68) Nanny (n/a)	Coresidence Live-out	66	1200 (12%)

					Mother			
Liu Wei (30)	College	Government clerk	10000	Female	Maternal grandmother (55) Nanny (n/a)	Coresidence Live-out	n/a	n/a
Deng Han (29)	Two-year college	Full-time mother	10000	Male	Paternal grandmother (52) Nanny (42) Mother	Periodic Coresidence Live-out	48	1200 (12%)
Xu Nuo (30) (Ma Nin (33))	College (College)	Customer service manager at a software company (Government clerk at transportation department)	6000	Female	Paternal grandmother (62) Nanny (n/a)	Nearby Live-out	n/a	n/a
Liang Ye (26) (Du Bo (29))	Adult education (Adult education)	Librarian (Government clerk)	10000	Female	Paternal grandfather (65) Nanny (41)	Coresidence Live-in	168	900 (9%)
Yang Fan (26) (Gong Qi (32))	High school (High	Manager at real estate company	4000	Female	Maternal grandmother (55)	Coresidence	84	800 (20%)

	school)	(Government chauffeur)			Nanny (45)	Live-in		
Gao Ting (37) (Tan Jin (44))	Master degree (College)	Factory manager (Senior engineer)	3000 (unwilling to disclose additional income)	Male	Paternal grandmother (78) Nanny (64)	Coresidence Live-out	84	900