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Grandparents Upbringing in Mainland China: The Status and Prospect of Research

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Abstract

This paper prospects the future study of grandparents upbringing by analyzing and summarizing briefly its nearly ten years' situation in recent mainland China in terms of its concepts and types, causes, pros and cons as well as relevant countermeasures.

Key words: Grandparents upbringing; Grandparent caregivers; Grandchildren; Pros and cons; Countermeasures

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Ever since 1990s, there has always been a trend of accelerated growth of grandparents breeding families

in mainland China. Take Shanghai for example, the ratio of grandparents raising grandchildren was 50%-60% according to a survey done by the relevant departments during Children's Day Festival in 2004 (Anonymous, 2005). Whereas on July 17th 2007, the ratio of grandparents undertaking the upbringing of infants and small children has reached over 88.9% declared by the first forum hosted by Shanghai Municipal Welfare Fund etc. on "Improving the Quality of the Population--the Socialization of the Only Child's Early Education" (ZHU, 2007). Therefore, grandparents upbringing has become a pattern for the mainland families in China to breed their young.

As shown by the CNKI database, Li Bin is the first one who has ever engaged in the study of grandparents upbringing (LI, 1995). There are no more than 10 documents on such topics from January, 1996 to December, 2000. However, while searching all through from year 2001 to 2011 by such key words as 'grandparents upbringing', 'grandparents breeding', 'grandparents nursling' in the CNKI database, we found that number has already reached well over 345 exclusive of the another 89 documents obtained by the same methods in Wanfang Data. Yearly distribution of like literature through quantified analysis is shown respectively by the following Chart 1 and Diagram 1 respectively.

Chart 1 Annual Statistics of the No. of Literature

Year	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	Total
No.	11	15	14	46	53	37	55	48	52	58	45	434

As shown by the above, the number in 2004 increased rapidly and since then the annual number of literature published has gone up and down with 2010 as the year having most number of literature covering 13.36% of the total.

The existing studies involve mainly topics in terms of the concepts, causes, types, advantages and disadvantages as well as countermeasures etc., most of which are researches into the advantages and disadvantages. And furthermore a lot has been described about the mutual

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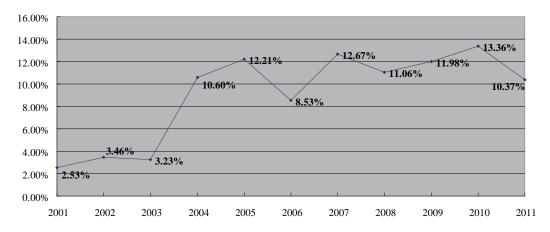
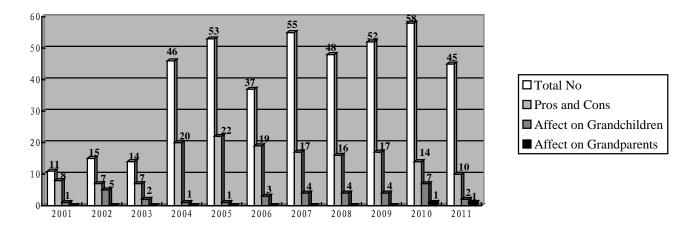


Diagram 1 Annual Percentage of the Total Number

Chart 2 Comparative No. of Advantages and Disadvantages Per Year



influence done on both the grandparent caregivers and their grandchildren while less has been done in the thorough study of the influence on the part of the grandchildren separately and only in the recent two years the study of how the grandparent caregivers are affected has been noted (Shown by Chart 2).

I. THE PRESENT STATUS OF RESEARCH

1. THE DEFINITIONS AND TYPES OF GRANDPARENTS UPBRINGING

1.1 The Definitions

As LI (2001) put out in 2001 that grandparents upbringing is a family education pattern by which grandparents take up the responsibility in nursling and educating their grandchildren (LI, 2001). LUO and SHE (2004) held that grandparents upbringing is grandparents as surrogate parents to their grandchildren (LUO & SHE, 2004).

LI (2006) pointed out that compared with parenthood education, grandparents upbringing suggests an education mode in which the very parents of the children hand over their responsibility and obligation of nursling and educating the young to their parents (LI, 2006). GU (2010) considered grandparents upbringing means a lot more than grandparents nursling owing dual meaning of both the education and breeding, which indicate that grandparent caregivers will provide their grandchildren with guaranteed materials and information for the latter development (GU, 2010). LAI (2009)stipulated that grandparents upbringing refers to the long-term absence of parents in a period children stay with their grandparents for over one year and the upbringing act of grandparents under their own way of thinking (LAI, 2009). And QI & ZHU (2010) furthermore held that grandparents upbringing means the situation of grandparents raising their grandchildren solely or together with children's own parents but as leading part has existed successively over half a year (QI & ZHU, 2010).

1.2 The Types

LI (2008)held that grandparents upbringing can be classified into two types: one is that the parents have performed very little responsibility, the other is the parents have more or less performed their own responsibility such as night parents or holiday parents etc. The former can be found very popular in rural families while the latter in urban ones (LI, 2006). As according to the degrees of responsibilities transferred and responsibility undertaken, ZHENG (2008) divided grandparents upbringing into such four kinds as partial transferring-comparatively complete surrogate; partial transferring-partial surrogate; complete transferring-partial surrogate; complete transferringcomparatively complete surrogate; among which urban families mostly belong to the type of partial transferringcomparatively complete surrogate whereas the rural families to the type of complete transferring-partial surrogate (ZHENG, 2008). According to DAN & XU (2008), the only child families in cities can be classified as type of total grandparents upbringing and type of joint upbringing. The former refers to children living at their grandparents' and being able to see their parents only at weekends or on vocations. The latter refers to their living together at the same household with grandparents mainly taking care of their grandchildren's food, clothing and parents staying with their children after work in the evenings. Both types take up 11.36% and 77.3% of the total (DAN & XU, 2008). TONG (2004) divided grandparents upbringing into types of being spoiled or abused and neglected (TONG, 2004). And grandparents upbringing was classified by WANG (2007a) into types of being over-concerned; over-monitored; strictly punished or democratically understanding; warm and considerate as well (ZHANG, 2007).

As seen above, there are some differences in defining the concept of grandparents upbringing, especially in some issues involved in the extension of grandparents upbringing, such as starting time, duration and intervention degree of their taking on the upbringing responsibility. Obvious differences between urban and rural grandparents upbringing type are also revealed in Scholars' researches.

2. THE CAUSES OF GRANDPARENTS UPBRINGING

2.1 Influenced by the Traditional Culture

Grandparents upbringing as a key pattern in children's upbringing has originated from its traditional culture. China has experienced a long period of feudal patriarchal system, which in a great sense has shaped its people by a rich and unique family ethical ideology and gradually changed into a cultural tradition of the whole nation. Therefore "Dally with one's grandchildren" has not only

turned out to be the ideal pursuit of the grandparents but also their conscious responsibility because they can get contented spiritually and gain lots of joy in looking after their young (HUANG, 2005).

2.2 Influenced by the Rapid Change of the Society

With the constantly soaring competition in recent years, young parents are suffering from greater pressure. In the cities, the parents have devoted majority of their time and efforts into work and study and as a result, the retired grandparents have to undertake the responsibility to look after the young. Parents in the country have to leave their children to the grandparents because of doing part-time jobs in the urban cities (HUANG, 2005). And furthermore, born as only child in the family, some parents are so lack of responsibility that they also hand over their right of parenting to the grandparents (DAN & XU, 2008). Besides cases like parents going abroad; single-parent, death, imprisonment, remarriage, incapable of upbringing etc (XUE & OU YANG, 2008; LI, 2008), have all become a must for the grandparents to bear the duty of looking after their grandchildren.

2.3 Influenced by the Existing Child Care Institutions

For reasons of easing the economic burden and striving for personal social status, women in mainland China today still work after their marriage, resulting in a need of assistance from others in their children's upbringing (LI, 2008). Meanwhile, owing to the reasons that nursery system in China is still not sound enough and kindergartens cannot satisfy the need of all the parents well and qualified baby-sitters are difficult to find, grandparents upbringing seems to the necessarily the best choice (HUANG, 2005).

Thus, by summing up the above points regarding cultural tradition; social change; and child care institutions etc, experts have thoroughly and systematically revealed the reasons for the rapid rising of grandparents upbringing families in recent years. And from their research works, we can learn that there are quite different reasons for both the urban city families and rural families to choose the ways of grandparents upbringing.

3. THE PROS AND CONS OF GRANDPARENTS UPBRINGING

3.1 The Pros

LI (2005) has pointed out that the advantages of grandparents raising grandchildren lie in the facts that grandparent caregivers can establish a harmonious relationship with their grandchildren because they can devote more time and energy as well to live together with their grandchildren, listen to their stories

patiently, and observe their behaviors. Furthermore, with practical experience in nursing and education the young, grandparent caregivers know better about the problems occurred at different ages and how to handle them; besides grandparents' rich social experience and life, understanding are all treasures to promote the social development of the children as well as to solve more effectively their educational problems (LI, 2005). ZHENG and ZHENG (2008) both think that grandparent caregivers sharing the upbringing of the young can easy the burden of the parents so as to promote the success of their career. And at the same time it can help the old get rid of their loneliness and lessening family conflicts as well (ZHENG & ZHENG, 2006). Through investigation GU (2010) has pointed out that grandparents upbringing plays an active role for the old to maintain a healthy psychological state by staying with their grandchildren to share their cheer and enjoy interactive activities, to become more energetic and to contribute in their remaining years (GU, 2010). WEI (2011) has concluded that grandparents raising grandchildren caters for the psychological need of the grandparent caregivers in terms of compensations, avoidance of loneliness; longing for favors etc. (WEI, 2011). Grandparents upbringing can influence positively children's schooling and it can also satisfy in a way some psychological, security and emotional needs (KONG, et al., 2010; WANG, 2007b).

3.2 The Cons

The disadvantages of grandparents upbringing and countermeasures to them are the priority in the experts' research works. As put out by LI (2005) that characteristic of more conservative values, educational view, and grandparents' mode of thinking has turned out to be so self-willed without being flexible. Compared with the young parents, grandparents' social and communicative activities are considerably limited, their source of information is confined so that a great discrepancy appears between their views and the times thus originating overindulgence, yielding, overprotection and unnecessary help etc. in raising their grandchildren (LI, 2005). REN (2008) thinks that grandparents upbringing will influence the relationship between the children and their parents because grandparents' unprincipled appeasement and yielding to the young will certainly interfere with the parents' correcting their children's bad behavior so as to cause estrangement between them (REN, 2008). Quite a number of scholars (WU, 2009; WANG, et al., 2009; DENG, Chen, & SHI, 2003; WANG, 2007b) have found that compared with children raised by their parents, the physical development of the children raised by grandparents turns to be worse, their IQ ranks lower, relevance ratio of behavior problems higher, psychological health poorer showing more emotional problems, behavior disorder, defective character, social skills defects, poorer adaptability which can be seen more among boys than

girls while compared with the same groups at the same age (WU, 2009; WANG, SONG, & CHEN, et al., 2009; DENG, CHEN, & SHI, 2003; WANG, 2007b). Leftbehind children behave lower ability to get along with the others, poorer stability, less easy, worse self-discipline but more sophisticated, depressed, nervous and poorer school achievement as well (FAN & SANG, 2005). Junior high school students experienced grandparents upbringing betray such personalities as introverted, lazy, indifferent, irascible and weary of studying, which can also be presented in their social communicative activities as being relatively innocent, dependable, alienation and lack of trust etc. (WAN, 2004; SHI, Miao, & ZHao, 2009). According to her investigation, GU (2010) have discovered that grandparents upbringing can be a heavy burden for some of the grandparents being hurt not only physically but also mentally. And when their ways of upbringing are rejected by the children's own parents, they will feel themselves inferior and useless and furthermore they will feel isolated by concluding that their children no longer understand them (GU, 2010).

It's not difficult to discern that majorities of scholars believe that there are both pros and cons in grandparents upbringing during which grandparent caregivers and parents themselves benefit more but their young suffer from more disadvantages. Nevertheless, such conclusion has not been illustrated by enough empirical work and the research into the affect of grandparents upbringing upon grandparent caregivers has just begun.

4. COPING WITH THE DISADVANTAGES OF GRANDPARENTS UPBRINGING

4.1 Roles of Government Departments and Communities as Guidance

Relevant departments like The Women's Federation, the Communist Youth League and the Working Committee for the Caring of the Next Generation etc should undertake the guiding tasks to set up grandparent caregivers' schools, colleges for the old to promote advanced ideas in family education, help solve problems and carry out better family education. Promotion departments at all levels must make good use of the manpower and material resources to compile publications for grandparent caregivers, record videos and play broadcasting and TV programs related with grandparents upbringing (WU, 2007) and criticize the exaggerated publicity of early education, help the old people strengthen their sense and understanding of early education and attach importance to children's training of behavior habits and change their methods of spoon-feeding (LIU, 2006). A great number of redundant employees and retirees from the local Party and government organs and primary and middle schools can be organized to instruct the family education of the left-behind children (FAN & SANG, 2005). Communities

should introduce scientific nursling knowledge; reinforce the communication among grandparent caregivers by ways of wall newspapers, interactive activities between grandparent caregivers and grandchildren, mutual aid among neighbors and experience presentation etc. creating a better atmosphere of grandparents upbringing. All forces from social parties, neighborhood hospitals and family education agencies can also be mobilized to focus on the problems of grandparents upbringing and seek for countermeasures (GAO, 2009).

4.2 Roles of Society, Families and Schools by Joint Efforts

Public opinions must be guided and promoted so that the entire people will understand grandparents upbringing positively to be aware of the comprehensive influence of early environment on children's development thus creating a sound environment in which great importance is attached to grandparents upbringing by the whole society. Positive popularization of grandparents upbringing should be strengthened and guidance patterns adaptable to grandparents in raising their grandchildren must be actively explored to improve the qualities of grandparents upbringing constantly (WU, 2007). Schools (kindergartens, for example) should play guiding roles to invite grandparent caregivers to participate parents' schools or grandparent caregivers' schools to help them change their views of parenting. Furthermore, compensatory education can be carried out among children raised by their grandparents (HUANG, 2006; CHEN, 2007). In the families, parents must think much of their children's education by making joint efforts with the grandparents, talking with them more often and letting them understand the modern ideas and ways of grandparents upbringing as well as the traits and rules of children's psychological formation(CHEN, 2009). Grandparents are obliged to raise the personal prestige of parents in the mind of their children if living together (HUANG, 2005).

Therefore, a number of strategies from both macro and micro levels are put forward by scholars in coping with the disadvantages of grandparents' upbringing. But their pertinence and effectiveness need to be discussed because of lacking relevant experimental studies providing more specific operational guidance.

II. THE PROSPECT OF RESEARCH

1. FURTHER AND BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONCEPTS OF GRANDPARENTS UPBRINGING

The concepts of grandparents upbringing have not yet been determined in the research works before, which are shown by such facts that the definitions for grandparents upbringing always appear inconsistent and the stipulations as to the duration and extension of grandparent caregivers involved in are not uniform in the published literature. Children's growing up is a long and dynamic process during which any change affected by any background at different stages will result in different development. Therefore further researches should attach more importance to the factors regarding the time to begin and time to end as well as the duty division between grandparent caregivers and parents so as to make clear the connotation and denotation of grandparents upbringing.

Exploring the psychology of grandparent caregivers and the interactions between grandparents and grandchildren

From the ecosystem theories point of view, grandparents upbringing is dynamic process for the grandparents and grandchildren interactions (Shaffer, 2004). It has been confirmed in researches abroad that in the process of grandparents raising grandchildren, grandchildren's problems can increase the pressure on grandparent caregivers resulting in the decrease in the parenting quality (Strom, & Strom, 2000; Smith, & Palmieri, 2007). Hence more thorough study of the psychological mechanism should be done to find out the interactions of grandparent caregivers and their grandchildren in order to determine the affects on both of them.

2. COMPARISON OF THE DIVERSITIES OF GRANDPARENTS UPBRINGING UNDER DIFFERENT SITUATIONS

Earlier researches have found that there are more problems among children raised by their grandparents. But it is too early to infer thereupon that grandparents upbringing is not good for the children's development. In fact, some of children raised by grandparents have grown up well, which demonstrates that there are differences regarding grandparents upbringing. Studies have proved that there are different types and causes of grandparents upbringing between urban cities and rural places. So it is of great necessity to compare the different cases of grandparents upbringing under different context as to reexamine the protective factors and risk factors.

3. PROVIDING EFFECTIVE AND EXERCISABLE PARENTING METHODS AND SKILLS FOR INTER-GENERATIONAL FAMILY

Most of the countermeasures put forward by the scholars guide more macroscopically to cope with the disadvantages of grandparents upbringing. But as for individual families more microcosmically effective and exercisable methods and technology are needed. In countries like the United States, Australia, plenty

of practical experience has been accumulated such as professional nursing officers and social workers pay visits to provide training of parenting skills and psychological support for grandparent caregivers. Grandparents support groups are organized for the grandparent caregivers to revise their personal goals to fit the present circumstance, learning how growing up has changed since they raised their own sons and daughters, cooperate with the parents who share responsibility for child care, monitor both the social and academic progress of their children, and arrange periodic relief from the heavy demands of their role, etc. (Kelley, Whitley, & Campos, 2010; Edwards, & Taub, 2009; Dunne, & Kettler, 2008). Scholars in China can use their sight of view and ways of thinking for reference to promote more effective and exercisable methods and skills for grandparents upbringing through researches and experiments.

Combination of both cross-sectional study design and longitudinal study design.

Based on the cross-sectional study design, previous studies, many and miscellaneous with trifles mainly aim at infants, kindergarten children and primary school children. Today on the one hand, specific influences of grandparents upbringing upon children and adults concerning psychological components like cognition, sociality, self-concept etc must be reviewed fully and horizontally, on the other hand we must follow the trail of an individual longitudinally to record related psychological behaviors all from infant's period to that of grown-ups. And thereby to decide if grandparents upbringing does have a long-term affect on both the individual's physical and mental functions or not as well as the cores and inner system producing the affect.

4. SELECTION OF ADVANCED SIGHT OF VIEW AND SCIENTIFIC METHODS

Concerning more for the disadvantages of grandparents upbringing while neglecting its positive influence, Studies before tend to define grandparents upbringing as 'problems', 'notorious name', the study sight of view of which is not objective enough. Many of the roughly-designated researches are descriptive ones or self - designed questionnaire surveys hard to ensure the reliability and validity of the research works. Henceforth by adopting more advanced sight of view to select more standardized tools and scientific methods to perform our research work especially pay more attention to discover the protective factors of grandparents upbringing so as to popularize them.

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