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The purpose of the study was to examine the culture-specific parenting processes in terms of socioeconomic status using Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model. Kohn's theory of parental values and Bernstein's sociolinguistic theory were applied to deepen the understanding of proximal processes in Korean parenting. Ten mothers of young children were selected from middle and working classes in Korea. Questionnaire and videotaped data were collected. For the survey of parental beliefs, data from 63 mothers were used. Filming was conducted for 2 hours in naturally occurring situations. Korean mothers' parental values and verbal disciplinary practices varied as a function of a social class. Middle-class mothers valued talking more and talked more than did working-class mothers. Mothers' preferences for disciplinary domains differed by the social class, supporting Kohn's thesis. Working-class mothers valued strictness in parenting and used stricter language functions than did middle-class mothers, which is consistent with Bernstein's sociolinguistic approach toward parenting.

KOREAN PARENTS' DISCIPLINARY PRACTICES AND
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS: AN INVESTIGATION
BASED ON DISCIPLINARY DOMAINS
AND LANGUAGE FUNCTIONS

By

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To my mom, who has a deep desire for learning

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The United States is undergoing major demographic changes. It is estimated that ethnic minorities will represent almost half of the population by the year of 2050 (Garcia Coll & Pachter, 2002). Despite this structural change among American families, most of the research on parenting has been conducted in Anglo middle class samples (Graham, 1992) and the culturally unique nature of minority parenting has been frequently treated as a deficit.

A parenting study of an ethnic minority group requires special recognition. Specifically, variations of minority populations, such as the extent of acculturation, recency of migration, and socioeconomic status, serve as obstacles to isolate the relative influence of ethnic influence from other effects. In this vein, it is not surprising that there is very limited literature about the parenting of Korean-Americans, although they constitute one of the top 10 minority groups in the United States (U. S. Bureau of the Census, 2000) and a limited frame of reference in which to interpret observed differences. This study is conducted on Koreans who are living in Korea. However, the study will serve to enhance understanding of Korean-American parenting by delving into unique cultural factors of Koreans, specifically considering variations of parenting related to socioeconomic status.

Recently, there has been a paradigm shift in addressing the issue of ethnic or minority parenting from a deficit model towards a resilience model within the contextual paradigm. This big change in the frame of reference for dealing with ethnic issues is

inseparable from theoretical and methodological concerns. As new frames of references, contextualism, cultural psychology, and constructivism have metatheoretically, theoretically, and methodologically distinct ways of conducting parenting studies of diverse ethnic groups.

Fine-grained studies, theoretically and methodologically, along the line of resilience and adaptiveness of families have contributed to catch deep meanings from cultural practices. This trend of parenting studies within the new paradigm shows legacies from anthropological and ethnographical approaches, cultural psychology, and socio-linguistic studies showing how parenting in diverse cultural contexts can be addressed and interpreted in the contextual paradigm, fully appreciating the detailed process of parenting, which is embedded in a cultural context.

LeVine (1974), as a cultural anthropologist, maintained that parental goals can be hierarchically conceptualized. First, parental goals are directed toward ensuring basic survival, second, to the acquisition of economic capabilities, and third, toward attaining cultural values. Based on his premise, research in diverse settings has revealed the complexity of sociocultural and socioeconomic contexts, and the ways these are related to parental values, beliefs, and practices. Koreans have unique parenting values, beliefs, goals, and practices. Koreans have their own indigenous concepts of control in terms of parenting and child outcomes compared to European Americans. This is important because the way in which the concept of control is conceptualized determines the relationship between the conceptual dimension of control and the child's well being (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Domain-specific investigations are essential to appropriately describe and interpret the meaning and practices of control from the contextual perspective. As Lewis (1981)

argued, it is difficult to explain the relationship between parenting style, on which the majority of parenting studies so far have been based, and children's developmental outcomes if we employ global assessments of parenting style. The concept of control as one of the most critical socialization beliefs is instantiated by parental disciplinary practices and control techniques based on the cultural control system during daily routines. Therefore, the elaboration of particular disciplinary rules along with domain-specific investigations will expand our knowledge about the cultural structure of control systems (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993) and will contribute to our understanding of the complexity of the interactive relations between cultural context and parenting values, beliefs, and practices.

This study is set within the contextual paradigm and will investigate how Korean parenting beliefs and disciplinary practices differ depending on the socioeconomic context in everyday parenting practices. To have a sophisticated description of parenting practices, the language parents use in disciplinary situations were categorized into seven sub-domains. Analysis of what the mother (generally the primary caregiver) says informed us of their beliefs and clarifies why parents and children interact with each other in particular ways (Bernstein, 1974; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1980). The communicative patterns exhibited during disciplinary practices revealed which discipline area parents are most and least concerned about and how parents' concerns are expressed in culturally patterned ways. Also, by comparing parents' disciplinary practices in different socio-economic status groups, the study uncovered whether and how socio-economic contexts, one of the important cultural systems, function among Koreans with the help of Kohn's (1979) propositions.

Goldhaber (2000) describes contextualism as a tapestry in that careful and detailed research designs are required to appreciate the richness and complexity of the developmental process. In this study, Bronfenbrenner's PPCT framework is used to cautiously follow developmental processes. This study is designed to capture the delicate variation of parenting within a contextual theoretical foundation and concomitant methodology to show the potential of parenting studies conducted within the contextual approach.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The study to be reported is set within the contextual paradigm. Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory serves as the theoretical background. In order to understand why Bronfenbrenner's theory fits within the contextualist paradigm it will be helpful to consider three mutually exclusive paradigms suggested by Goldhaber (2000) in relation to parenting. In doing so, the benefits of the contextual paradigm will be explained in dealing with the parent-child relationship. The benefits of the contextual paradigm will be best understood when considering how parenting and socialization studies have been shaped and developed and the flaws of the other two mechanistic and organismic paradigms. The contextual paradigm is not without flaws. However, it has shown potential in investigating dynamic and relational issues and explaining variations in the relationship between children and parents across diverse cultural contexts.

Historical Review of Theories of Socialization in Terms of Paradigm

Diverse theoretical perspectives have produced different explanations of the socialization process between parents and children and different ideal forms of parenting (child rearing) practice geared toward children's optimal development over the last century. Theories have different explanations for the socialization and developmental mechanisms, for the directionality and intensity of the relationship between children and parents, and for the ways in which children's external worlds are related to their development. Therefore,

scholars from different theoretical backgrounds interpret socialization or parenting as having a different psychological and social structure.

The study of socialization has been the center of attention as a highly active research area in developmental research and has undergone many changes (Maccoby, 1992). With the popularity of the study of socialization, the explanation and understanding of the role of parents and the nature of parenting also have undergone big changes. In fact, parents are not the only socializing agents of children. However, especially during childhood socialization, parents have been emphasized as the most influential socialization agents within the context of the family.

Although there have been a lot of substantial changes in the theories dealing with socialization, two grand theories (behaviorism and psychoanalytic theory) need to be mentioned as classic socialization theories which are reflected in the current socialization literature. Both are “grand” or all encompassing theories offering only basic principles and guiding ideas about of the socialization mechanism. Therefore, they rarely gave a detailed process-oriented explanation of the issue of socialization and parenting.

As for psychoanalytic theory, although it elicited the importance of early childhood and quality parenting practice, studies in the tradition of psychoanalytic theory showed many limitations in terms of parenting studies because the theory is primarily focused on internal drives (Grusec, 2002) and few studies accept Freud’s theory literally (Goldhaber, 2000). Further, research methods were not appropriately devised that fit the theory and therefore could not catch relational issues.

Specifically, the study of child socialization from the behaviorist perspective was a very popular topic in the middle of the 20th century. After the 1970's, interests in socialization as a social learning process through the mechanism of rewards and punishments diminished and gave way to other diverse trends in academic disciplines such as developmental psycholinguistics, microanalytic analysis, Bandura's social cognitive theory, ethnography, anthropology, and other contextual theories (Grusec, 2002; LeVine, 2003; Maccoby, 1992).

Moreover, the Freudian and behaviorist theories presumed generalizability, so researchers in these two traditions believe that the basic principles of each theory are culturally and historically universal. Researchers in these traditions did not take into adequate account socio-historical context at a theoretical level and did not pay attention to naturally occurring bi-directional interactions at the theoretical and methodological level. More importantly, the insufficiency of empirical supports led scholars to be open towards alternative theoretical trends in socialization studies (Maccoby, 1992). As a result, as LeVine (2003) pointed out, after the 1970's, investigators tried to avoid core concepts used in the early socialization research mainly based on these two grand theories.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) argued that any developmental phenomenon is viewed differently depending on the researcher's theoretical window. They call this the "value ladenness of facts." According to them, "socialization" or "parenting," seemingly simple and straightforward phenomena can be interpreted in different ways. They analyzed four

paradigm positions (positivism, postpositivism, critical theory, and constructivism) with practical issues in terms of ontological, epistemological, and methodological specification¹.

Positivists' ontological position can be termed as "naïve realism." In naïve realism, reality is apprehendable as a form of immutable mechanism or laws. Positivists have an epistemological view that research procedures can be conducted without any influence or relationship between researchers and the researched. Knowledge is summarized in the form of generalization across time and context and replicable findings can be generalized.

Postpositivists share many theoretical assumptions with positivists. However, postpositivist's ontological position takes on "critical realism." In the critical realism, reality is believed to exist but it cannot be proved directly because it is not directly knowable².

In stark contrast, critical theory and constructivism have a relativistic ontological standpoint. Specifically, in constructivism, realities are apprehendable by multiple mental constructions. Because there is not a universalized meaning, time- and context-specific socially experienced meaning is emphasized and it is relevant to have values- and beliefs-oriented questions by investigating the personal meaning of social constructions in a specific context. For example, scholars of critical theory and constructivism do not make a strict dichotomous distinction between true and false, and more time - and context - appropriate information carries greater importance in conducting research.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) also argued that positivism (and postpositivism) has different research aims, different views of the nature of knowledge, and different ways of

¹ Ontological concern is specified by the question of "what is the form and nature of reality?" and epistemological concern is addressed by "how the truth can be known?"

² By disproving falsified hypotheses reality can be addressed.

knowledge accumulation from critical theory and constructivism. Positivists basically believe that truth or facts can be established by hypothesis verification and knowledge can be treated as an accumulative property. Their belief in knowledge accumulation through replication makes generalization possible and enables cause-effect linkages, both of which serve as the ultimate research aims of positivists: prediction and control based on generalized laws. Thus, the primary assumptions of positivists' theories become beliefs in universal principles in human development. Often, this strong conviction on the feature of universality easily extended to the claim of cross-cultural universality.

However, in critical theory and constructivism, as we can expect from their ontological position, scholars are strongly opposed to the narrowly defined idea of the generalizability of knowledge of positivists³. "Multiple knowledges" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.113) are believed to coexist. Many social factors including political, cultural, socioeconomic, and ethnic factors are understood as exerting great influence on the meaning-making process. Therefore, the aim of inquiry is critique and transformation in the critical theory, and understanding and reconstruction in constructivism.

In the recent decades, positivists have lost their influence in academia and the hegemony was transferred to postpositivists (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Because there have been a variety of problems with positivism, even within its own tradition critiques have

³ Positivists and postpositivists have different ideas of how far generalizability extends from critical theorists and constructivists. Positivists and postpositivists believe far-extendable generalizability across diverse contexts. In critical theory and constructivism, generalizability is inclined to narrowed down to the people in a similar specific context.

emerged⁴ and a modified forms of ontological, epistemological, and methodological views have surfaced. For example, the postpositivists present “critical realism” in which imperfect feature of human intellectual mechanism is accepted. Also positivists’ strong epistemological belief in objectivity is modified into “modified dualist/objectivist.”⁵ As for methodology, postpositivists import some qualitative methods to enrich their essentially quantitative study and to falsify hypotheses⁶.

We can find commonalities in the position of Guba and Lincoln (1994), on the one hand, and the notion of paradigm, introduced earlier, on the other. As early as 1942, Pepper, a philosopher of science, offered a theory-analyzing framework composed of four mutually exclusive worldviews with its own metaphor. Among the four paradigms of formism, organicism, mechanism, and contextualism, three paradigms (organicism, mechanism, and contextualism) were focused and elaborated by Goldhaber because they are relevant to the area of psychology. Worldviews, paradigms, are related to questions of how those perceive our worlds, how the worlds work, and how we can understand (Tudge, 2000). Recently, many scholars (Bronfenbrenner, 1993; Goldhaber, 2000; Winegar, 1997) have contributed to enhance understandings of multiple interrelated levels of meta-analytic connection between paradigm, theory, method, and analysis even though the terms they used to describe the paradigm issue show differences.

⁴ Guba and Lincoln (1994) listed examples of internal critiques as follows: Context stripping, exclusion of meaning and purpose, disjunction of grand theories with local contexts, inapplicability of general data to individual cases, exclusion of the discovery dimension in inquiry

⁵ In positivism, the investigator and the investigated are understood as independent without influencing and influenced with each other. This dualism in the epistemological sense is largely abandoned in the postpositivism.

⁶ Often, mixed methods, in which quantitative approach and qualitative approach coexist, can be used for postpositivists, whereas only quantitative approach is used for positivists.

Many mechanistic studies of children's socialization in relation to parenting have not been supported empirically. One of the reasons for their empirical failure is that they consider development as a simplified cumulative learning process across development irrespective of the status of the changing organism. They assume that the parenting processes involved in the socialization is basically the same across children's developmental stage, showing a tendency to focus only on cross-sectional comparison and individual differences (Maccoby, 1984).

Based on Pepper's (1942) framework, Goldhaber (2000)⁷ suggested how developmental theories can be analyzed. Regarding the two grand theoretical lines-- behaviorism and psychoanalytic theory--on which the most of the childhood socialization studies are based before the mid-century, he suggested that behaviorism (from which social learning theory emerged) can be classified as reflecting the mechanistic worldview and Freud's psychoanalytic theory (from which attachment theory has evolved) can be categorized into the organismic worldview. Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory and Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory, which shows a more relational and co-constructive mode of cognition and a culture- and history-specific approach with the use of concomitant methods, can be understood as fitting within the contextual worldview.

Although none of these theories are directly related to the area of parenting nor were devised to address parenting, each theory has shown some potential to interpret the

⁷ Goldhaber and Guba and Lincoln both are dealing with classification of different types of theories and paradigms. Mechanism easily fits with postpositivism, and critical theory and constructivism clearly fit with defining characteristic of contextualism. But it is difficult to fit organismic theory in Goldhaber's classification into Guba and Lincoln's. These differences stem from the fact that Guba and Lincoln (1994) focused on the paradigm issue particularly related to methodological issue of quantitative (positivists)/qualitative (critical theorists and constructivists) distinction whereas Goldhaber focused on theory.

relational and developmental issues between parents (or caregivers) and children. Specifically, some of the theories seem to have more merit in dealing with socialization or parenting issues as a dialectical developmental process. In any case, understanding the concept of meta-theoretical level of analysis and the interrelatedness of paradigm, theory, method, and analysis is a useful way to think about parenting.

Mechanistic Theories in Parenting

The mechanistic paradigm has the metaphor of a machine (Goldhaber, 2000). A machine is composed of components that are independent of each other. The relationship between parts is quantitatively assessed and analyzed statistically. The mental dimension in studies of human development and the person is addressed as a part of other scientific systems. Mechanists strongly believe in universal laws and causal relations based on their assumption of independence between theory and observation, person and environment, and variable and other variable. A theory's testability is measured by its capability to control and predict.

Learning theory, within behaviorism, is the representative theory within the mechanistic paradigm and it shows typical characteristics of mechanistic theory (Goldhaber, 2000). For example, learning theorists assume simple S-R mechanisms in order to explain human behavior and development. Within the behaviorism, parenting socialization is explained by the mechanisms of reinforcement and punishment using the classical instrumental conditioning (learning theory) and imitation (social learning theory).

Researchers who approached parenting within these traditions treat the child as a relatively passive being and place a greater emphasis on the role of parents and parental

behavior (Eisenberg & Murphy, 1995; Maccoby 1992).⁸ Parenting is recognized to be a unilateral, rather than a reciprocal and interactive, relationship. Although the relationship of parent has become more elaborated in Bandura's social cognitive theory, parents, as teachers, are expected to offer (optimal) stimulant-learning environment to which children are exposed.

In the parenting studies of this tradition, both the method of data collection and analysis are emphasized, and they take an inductive approach to research. Cause-effect explanations are produced as a function of both social and individual factors, but the factors are presumed to be independent of one another and may be quantitatively addressed.

In comparison with psychoanalytic theory, in which internal features of socialization are stressed, behaviorism, for example in Skinner's view of behavior modification, stresses the importance of the external controlling power of socialization. Behaviorists believe that the socialization process is similar to a learning process in the laboratory. Classical and instrumental conditioning is viewed as a mechanism specifying children's learning or socialization process. Parents are considered as the primary sources of children's socialization. Because parents set the goals and plans and administer punishment and rewards for children, the controlling feature of parents' role is highly emphasized.

⁸ Although social learning theory and Bandura's social cognitive theory are both classified as part of the mechanistic paradigm, they are different in several factors. For example, Bandura's theory had developed in opposition to contemporary learning theories. Therefore, in the Bandura's social cognitive theory, simple unidirectional stimulus-response social factors of learning theories cannot be found (Tudge & Winterhoff, 1993).

Within behaviorism, specifically in social learning theory, invisible entities such as values and beliefs are not included as a cause of developmental change⁹. Therefore studies of parenting in this tradition are likely to capture only specified parents' behaviors. Because they assume that internal states such as parental values and beliefs are the results of the real causal factor -- parental behavior-- they have focused exclusively on parental behaviors (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

As representative of the mechanist paradigm, advocates of behaviorism have strong beliefs in universality and generalizability in the socialization process. Therefore, when investigating parenting in diverse cultural contexts, the way in which cultural context is related to parenting is not something in which they are interested. Rather, they want to statistically control any background factors in which rich sources of cultural process are contained (Newcombe, 2003). Even when they study culture, they are more fascinated by the principle and law, often expressed through causal relationships, rather than the parenting process that are specific to that culture. Therefore, even though contemporary researchers are not ignorant about the context such as race, socioeconomic status, and ethnicity, the ways in which contexts are treated in the research are as simple independent variables.

Trends of research that have been conducted on cultural context within the mechanistic paradigm are known as cross-cultural psychology within mainstream psychology. Cross-cultural psychologists' dominant concern, at least within the area of parenting, is testing the generality of existing theories of parenting in diverse cultural

⁹ Social learning theory and social cognitive theory both belongs to mechanistic theory in Goldhaber's classification. However, in Bandura's social cognitive theory, beliefs, goals, expectations, and rule making abilities are incorporated (Tudge & Winterhoff, 1993). Bandura's work has an origin in social learning theory, but his work is an "extension of learning theory" (Goldhaber, 2000, p. 65).

contexts. Culture is often conceptualized as an independent or explanatory variable, exerting a top-down influence on developmental processes or on dependent variables (Harkness & Super, 2002; Tudge, Putnam, & Valsiner, 1996). The inclinations of cross-cultural psychology stem from their theoretical assumptions, on one hand, and are reflected in the methods used on the other hand. As is often the case, parenting in much cross-cultural research is based on the principle of universalism. However, similar with the fact that many mechanistic studies of children's socialization have not been supported empirically (Maccoby, 1984), cross-cultural psychologists have failed to find universal principles in parenting practices across diverse cultural contexts. Theoretically, cross-cultural researchers inevitably incorporate a deficit model in which the culture showing a pattern of parenting practice different from most of the researcher's culture is presumed to be abnormal. Methodologically, cross-cultural studies treat culture as an independent variable and have not revealed the qualitatively distinct forms of culture-dependent psychological process in parenting process.

Organismic Theories in Parenting

According to Goldhaber (2000), the organismic paradigm uses the metaphor of an active living organism. Unlike the case of the mechanistic paradigm, organismic theories accept the importance of interdependent and synergistic interactions between person (organism) and context. Qualitatively different features of each developmental stage are the focus of attention and are explained. However, organicists pursue a universal law. The methodology organismic theorists use is different from those of both the mechanist and the contextualist. The person and environment together forms a unit of analysis in the

organismic theories and the theories recognize the importance of a dialectic developmental process. Theory is validated by its ability to explain developmental phenomena.

Freud's theory belongs to the organismic paradigm in that qualitatively different sequences of relational development are identified and the sequences are aligned with idealized theoretical end points regardless of cultural context. By taking the idealized direction, Freud's theory defined and explained what should and should not happen during normal development with a more detailed look than formed in any mechanistic theory, showing a highly organized system as a defining characteristic of the organismic paradigm (Goldhaber, 2000).

Unlike behaviorism as an example of the mechanistic worldview, Freud's psychoanalytic theory, within the organismic paradigm, is sensitive to the stage-like changing nature of parenting along with children's development. The major contribution of Freud's psychoanalytic theory is that it offered the valuable explanatory tool of internalization to the studies of socialization (Grusec, 2002). From the psychoanalytic explanation, the intense conflict children experience is resolved by identification with parents and internalization of the parents' values, norms, and standards. Internalized parents' values, norms, and standards seem to promote self-regulated behavior. In doing so, the core concepts in the socialization process are emphasized, which eventually facilitated the view of development as a socialization process.

In psychoanalytic theory, the parent's role in child socialization and moral development has been highly emphasized although parents are viewed as secondary in comparison with the innermost motivation of drive reduction. In the period of childhood, a

time of high plasticity and malleability, the meaning of parenting practices are particularly valued because parents have been considered as a powerful agent in the quality of child experience at each stages and parenting practices are believed to have long lasting developmental consequences in the area of personality and psychosocial development. Parental attitude¹⁰, as interactively connected to parental behavior, also have been central in the theory in the 1940s through the 1950s (Holden, 1995). For instance, emotional and affective climate can be addressed and assessed by parental attitude (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Influenced by this theoretical tradition, major studies with interests in parents' emotional and affective nature or personality attributes have been conducted. In a way, the interest in parental attitudes derived from psychoanalytic theory provided a venue for assessing parental beliefs and values. Freud's theory puts much emphasis on the emotional relationship between the parent and child. Also, the theory is still exerting influence on the line of studies that deal with children's development of self-regulation and parenting disciplinary practice, by adding the affective and motivational dimension to the existing prevalent form of cognition-oriented parenting studies.

During the past 30 years, the concept of cognition has been applied to parenting process so that parents' cognition could be considered¹¹. As parenting is considered as

¹⁰ The frequency of published studies of parental attitudes decreased in the second half of the century. One of the reasons is connected to the conceptual confusion with the components of social cognition (parental beliefs, attributions). Secondly, there is an apparent lack of relation of parental attitude and behavior. Thirdly, the problem of the area is dearth of theory with regard to parental attitude.

¹¹ In regard to parents' roles, it is considered very important in both behaviorism and psychoanalytic theory. However, Kohlberg's moral developmental theory and Piaget's cognitive theory within the organismic paradigm show a different stance toward the role of parenting. In cognitive theories, the innate cognitive developmental process, capability, and active intelligence are stressed through a predictable series of stages.

dissected into a multi-lateral phenomenon comprising affective, cognitive, and behavioral features, diverse cognitive features of parenting socialization became accessible to scholars (McGillicuddy-De Lisi & Sigel, 1995). This kind of approach began to emerge in the 1970s and has influenced current research on parental beliefs. However, in some studies, parental cognition has been used as interchangeable with the dimension of parental beliefs or parental goals (Kuczynski, 1984). This phenomenon has caused confusion in conceptualizing parental beliefs and values. As can be expected, parental beliefs in cognition-oriented studies show distinctive features in comparison with the studies on parental beliefs in contextual paradigm. Parental beliefs in the cognition-oriented studies are likely to be defined as individualistic mental attributes about situation-specific context of parenting. Furthermore, socially driven cultural meanings could not be addressed.

Contextual Theories in Parenting

The contextual paradigm has the metaphor of the historical event and has relativism as a central feature of the theory. Contextualists reject universal patterns of development and investigate situated developmental phenomena. They question mechanists' beliefs in the independence of person and context and suggest that there are complex interactive influences between them. The relationship between person and context is conceptualized as holistic and synergistic, and the unit of analysis is the 'person in context'. However, they oppose the concept of an ideal endpoint for the organism either in behavior or development.

Relatively little attention is given to the role of parents in the childhood socialization process, because scholars based on Kohlberg's and Piaget's theories believe children's cognitive development is foregoing and more important than parenting. Cognitive revolution made it possible to challenge the great importance in the role of parents, emphasizing the role of children as a learner in the process of parenting socialization.

They have their own methodology that is qualitatively oriented, but it is still being developed.

Rather than assuming universal laws that exist behind the surface of our life, contextualists believe that particular behaviors and practices carry meaning as something to be found and investigated. They understand development and socialization as situated processes and carefully investigate co-constructed processes between individuals and social, historical, political, and other cultural factors. Since the way in which social factors co-construct individual's development can be studied only by examining interactive processes, process-oriented methods and observations in natural settings are commonly used.

The contextual paradigm as a developmental perspective has grown over the past 25 years (Goldhaber, 2000). However, strictly speaking, it is not likely that many parenting and early childhood socialization studies have been published in the contextual paradigm. Many parenting studies are still conducted in a mechanistic way even when the study is dealing with the issue of diverse cultural contexts. Because developmental studies in the contextual paradigm require rigorous study design and concomitant use of methods¹², the actualization or instantiation of the contextual theories into real research does not seem to be an easy task.

The benefit of contextual theories in studying parenting or early childhood socialization is very clear especially if we consider the diversity both within and between societies and the fact that the society is rapidly changing. Generally speaking, socialization

¹² According to Guba and Lincoln (1994), positivists' (or mechanists in Goldhaber's term) method has rigorous feature to exclude values and biases. Here, mechanists' statement that "prescribed procedures are rigorously followed" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110) should be differently understood from the rigor of methodology in contextual theory. In contextualism, the connection between theory-method is emphasized and the method of contextual theory should be devised to appreciate the sophisticated feature of the theory. Therefore, the rigor of the contextualism should be understood in different way.

“refers to the ways in which individuals are assisted in the acquisition of skills necessary to function successfully as member of their social group” (Grusec, 2002, p. 143). However, the definition of socially competent person as an ultimate goal of socialization and parenting varies across diverse societies¹³.

Furthermore, current studies in the topic of parenting and socialization are well matched to the interests of contextual theories. The following could be the point of contact between contextual theories and contemporary studies of parenting and socialization: parental or cultural values, beliefs, standards and the issue of internalization, the topic of self-regulation in the early childhood disciplinary socialization process, increasing understanding of the bi-directional and co-constructive nature of the relationship between parent (caregiver) and child, the advent of preference for observation to elucidate more complicated features of parenting or socialization, and domain-specific examination of diverse cultural contexts (Grusec, 2002; Hoff-Ginsberg, Lausen, & Tardiff, 2002; Lerner, Rothbaum, Boulos, & Castellino, 2002; Parke, 2004; Smetana, 1997; Stevenson- Hinde, 1998).

As a next step, I will introduce two examples of theories (Vygotsky’s cultural-historical theory and Bronfenbrenner’s bioecological theory) that fit within the contextual paradigm. Bronfenbrenner’s PPCT model will be specified as an appropriate contextual theory to the study of parenting.

¹³ If within-group diversity is considered, it is more complicated.

Vygotsky's Cultural-Historical Theory

Vygotsky (1962), a Russian psychologist, focused on the critical role of language in the developmental process. As is reflected in his “cultural-historical theory,” he asserted the priority of social origins of mental process. Although the term socialization does not appear in his writing, his cultural-historical theory has greatly influenced developmental psychology in the West since the 1980's. It is not surprising that we can find semiotic views and linguistic concerns in his writing because he claimed the analytic priority of social processes. Briefly, he addressed culture as a sign system. Moreover, his reliance on the “developmental and genetic method” in which detailed developmental processes can be detected made it possible to trace the role of language as a sign system.

In terms of Goldhaber's (2000) classification, Vygotsky is a contextual theorist. Vygotsky maintained that human development should be investigated within its cultural context, believing that developmental process is embedded in specific contexts. Also, he clarified the co-constructive influence between person and context (culture). However, to set up universal laws was not his concern; he considered each culture and history as unique.

Vygotsky's theory emphasizes the social origin of mental processes and pays great attention to the cultural-historical as well as to the interpersonal level and the personal level (Tudge & Scrimsher, 2003). Even though in his theory the conceptualization of culture was not fully elaborated, the ideas of shared meanings, and beliefs or values are understood as carrying a great potential. At the same time, in the theory, the concept of activity or behavior in everyday life is deeply ingrained. Also, he strongly believed that it was important to

devise an appropriate method for his new theory. Lastly, he tried to focus on the developmental process and its mechanism rather than the developmental outcome itself.

It is surprising that although there is a great match between contextual theories and the topic of parenting, considering the defining characteristic of contextual theory and the current urgent needs of new type of parenting studies, the true type of parenting study within contextualism is not easily found in the developmental literature. There are some reasons that studies based on Vygotsky's theory are not easily found.

First, although Vygotsky's theory is a good example of contextual theory involving a clear elaboration of the contextual theoretical foundation, the theory has not been specifically applied to studies of parenting because the topic of parenting was not one of Vygotsky's main interests. Second, there are also difficulties in the instantiation of Vygotsky's theory into parenting study within contextualism, mostly because of its complexity and depth. As a result, too many researchers have focused on his concept of zone of proximal development as a center stage. However, without fully considering the cultural-historical and individual level of the theory, narrowly focusing on the concept will end in misinterpreting his theory in general and the concept of the zone of proximal development in particular (Tudge & Scrimsher, 2003). For example, when we talk about parenting between parents and their children, we are likely to focus on features of interpersonal relationship, applying the concept of the zone of proximal development within the context of the family. However, parent-child relationships and the way of parenting has changed over historical time as a function of industrialization, urbanization, mobility of the family and concomitant changes in family structure, and policies for women in the work force. Therefore, if we

narrowly focus on parenting as a relationship issue within a family without taking into account these broader cultural and historical factors, it would yield a very distorted picture of parenting and we would fail to see how the family has adjusted to the societal and structural changes.

Bronfenbrenner's Bioecological Theory

Although Vygotsky's theory was not related specifically to parenting, several other contextual theories have emerged more recently—R. Lerner's developmental contextual model, J. Lerner's goodness of fit model, and Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory—that are as good instantiations of contextual parenting frameworks, in that they fully appreciate bi-directional and complicated family dynamics as a function of diverse levels of cultural influences (Lerner, Rothbaum, Boulos, & Catellino, 2002)¹⁴. Among them, Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model has been most often cited as a theoretical model to instantiate contextual theory into research in capturing rich and detailed process of parenting considering many layers of environmental systems.

Influenced by Vygotsky and by Kurt Lewin, Bronfenbrenner developed ecological systems theory and showed a well-balanced concern for links between theory and practice. According to Bronfenbrenner (1993), there are two requirements of a good theory. First, theory should be translatable into research design. Second, the theory must apply to the phenomena that it presumes to explain. His Process-Person-Context-Time (PPCT) model is specified to appropriately fulfill these requirements in real life settings.

¹⁴ Educational, economic, political, and social factors are considered examples of diverse culture (Lerner, Rothbaum, Boulos, & Castellino, 2002)

Contrary to the main trend in developmental psychology in which emulation of physics is preferred, Bronfenbrenner opposed the generalization of results investigated from laboratory-based research in one specific context to another context, and argued for the necessity and importance of research models in real life settings so that typical everyday interactions can be fully tapped. Because of his strong opposition to the “cognition only” research trend, his initial ecological model was misunderstood as a “social address model” because of its emphasis on the multiple layers of environments.

However, his real interest lies not in the contexts themselves. Rather, he thinks development proceeds as a function of developing person and contexts. In the ecological systems model, the unit of analysis is the “person in context,” rather than single concept of “context” or “person.” Specifically, he considered “proximal processes” as the “engine of development” and tried to identify the processes through which person and environments interact to effect developmental changes. His two propositions show how proximal process is important as a base for the PPCT model. The first proposition is as follows:

Development takes place through processes of progressively more complex, reciprocal interaction between an active, evolving bio-psychological human organism and the persons, objects, and symbols in its immediate external environment. (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, p. 996)

The second proposition further elaborates on the function of the proximal process. Because proximal processes take a center place in his theoretical framework, detailed explanation of this concept necessarily includes all the four structural elements of the PPCT (process, person, context, time) model.

The form, power, content, and direction of the *proximal process* effecting development vary systematically as a joint function of the characteristics of the *developing person*: of the *environment-both immediate and more remote*-in which the processes are taking place: the nature of the *developmental outcomes* under consideration: and the social continuities and changes occurring over *time* through the course and the historical period during which the person has lived. (p. 996)

First, person characteristics can be instantiated as more static variables such as gender or temperament and also can be operationalized as more dynamic and interaction-oriented variables such as selective responsiveness, structuring proclivities, and directive beliefs (Bronfenbrenner, 1993).

Second, regarding process, there can be two ways of conceptualization. The first one is related to statistical interaction effects in which moderating linking mechanisms between persons and their surrounding diverse contexts can be detected. The other one is related to more face-to-face reciprocal interaction and transactional types of information.

Third, Bronfenbrenner identified nested systems with multiple contextual environments. The four levels of environments that constitute the “context” part of PPCT are composed of microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem, covering immediate to distal contextual factors. Although all these levels of context can be operationalized in the research design, the microsystem and macrosystem are the most frequently applied in real research models. The microsystem has been a focus of attention because it is the very place in which proximal process occurs. The macrosystem is the broadest level of system with concerns of ideological dimension including “beliefs systems, resources, hazards, life styles, opportunity structure, life course options...” (Bronfenbrenner,

1989, p. 228). Culture or cultural life patterns including values, beliefs, and practices should be viewed as having a strong connection to the macrosystem in the PPCT model.

Bronfenbrenner (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998) conceptualized time in three ways—microtime, mesotime, and macrotime, with the latter referring to changes over historical time. Child rearing patterns are influenced by cultural and historical changes and continue to influence developmental process. Socio-historical time has been well exemplified in Elder's studies. Elder defined that individual life course is "embedded in and shaped by historical time and events" (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998, p.1020). Considering rapid changes in the cultural and historical events and environments in peoples' life in the modern society, elucidating the component and processes interwoven with cultural and historical changes over time needs to be focused with great importance. Bronfenbrenner also argued that researchers, if they want to conduct developmental studies, have to collect data at a minimum of two points in time, so as to show development itself.

In my study, the four components matched for PPCT model are as follows. Person was represented by parental child-rearing beliefs (directive beliefs). Parental disciplinary interactive verbal behaviors were represented by proximal processes. Context was addressed as social class within a specific cultural context (middle-class and working-class families in Korea). With regards to time, I was not able to collect data at two points in time. In spite of this flaw in the dimension of time, the specific time in which the data were gathered is considered to carry socio-historical meaning. Considering the data were collected before

Korean economic crisis, the time data collected¹⁵ could be meaningful because the data show pre-crisis parental beliefs and practices.

So far I have discussed four elements of the PPCT model. Although all the four elements are explained separately, the ecological systems theory should be understood as a systematic interplay between constituents of the model.

In summary, this study was set within the contextual paradigm whereas most of the studies in socialization have been based in the mechanistic or organismic paradigms. Specifically, I used Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model to instantiate a contextual theoretical framework into the research design.

¹⁵ The data were collected in 1993, four years before the economic crisis when the IMF (International Monetary Fund) intervened in the Korean economy. According to Kwon, Rueter, Lee, Koh, and Ok (2003), "In the late 1990s, Korea experienced a sudden economic downturn that dramatically affected everyday life. Many families experienced job loss, decreased income, emotional distress, and marital conflict because of high unemployment rates and company bankruptcies" (p.316).

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW

As discussed in the previous chapter, most of studies on the topic of parenting have been conducted within the mechanistic or the organismic paradigm. This chapter begins with a discussion on how meta-theoretical backgrounds and research trends are interwoven in the topic of socialization. Although this chapter is supposed to deal with the review of individual studies rather than discussing theories, meta-theoretical and theoretical analyses are presented to explain and examine how meta-theoretical background and individual studies are inseparably interwoven on the topic of socialization. After examining the relationship between the three paradigms and studies of parenting, I will review the way in which parenting is shaped by socioeconomic stratification, the benefits of a domain-specific approach, some legacies from anthropology , and Korean parenting as one example of Asian parenting.

Parenting Studies Using Mechanistic Paradigm

Many studies on parenting have used diverse theoretical perspectives and empirical approaches. However, most of the parenting studies investigated parenting in diverse cultures do not stem from the contextual paradigm. The majority of the existing studies of parenting seem to have a mechanistic base in terms of Goldhaber's (2000) typology. Parenting studies within the mechanistic paradigm can be divided into two areas: parenting studies without culture and cross-cultural studies.

Parenting Studies Without Cultures

As I discussed in relation to the mechanistic paradigm in the previous section, researchers who study parenting from the perspective of a mechanistic theory (for example, learning theory), focused intensively on parenting behavior or practices. Patterns of parents' behaviors or practices are viewed as representing learning environments. In this line of thinking, even parenting style is understood as a patterned way of behaving (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Specifically, parents are considered as the primary environmental factor of children's socialization and features of parents' roles, including their disciplinary practices, are actively investigated. There have been many studies that have investigated parental control or disciplinary technique and children's development in this paradigm. Among the many studies of parenting based on learning theory, Schaffer and Crook's (1979) study is one such example. They investigated children aged 15 months through 24 months and their mother in a directed play situation in the laboratory. Mothers were asked to respond actively to support children's play with toys. Mothers' control behavior and children's compliance were assessed, with a focus on parental disciplinary strategies and children's behavior. The authors concluded that variation in the compliance rate is dependent on the type of demand by their mother. The study placed a greater emphasis on the unitary role of parents and parental behavior and provided a causal explanation between parental disciplinary strategies and children's behavior, showing a typical characteristic of mechanistic studies.

This type of study based on learning theory has contributed to the development of operational definitions of behavior assessment as environmental forces. However, as with any other mechanistic study, it narrowly focused on the behavior dimension to have

channels through which socialization proceeds without mentioning parental values or any internal dimensions of parenting. Although the authors did not clearly mention their theoretical point of view, terms that are used to explain the focal interests and the conceptualization of the relationship between child compliance and maternal control technique reveal what theory the study is based on.

As another example of studies of parenting in the mechanistic paradigm, Barnes and Farrell (1992) investigated the parenting practices of 699 adolescent and their families. The relation between parental support and control, and adolescents' drinking, delinquency, and other related problem behaviors was examined. The results indicated that parental support and monitoring are important factors to predict adolescent outcomes. The authors argued that the robustness of the theory (or model) must be tested within general population samples to cover the full range of diversity, thereby showing the typical characteristic of mechanistic theory of generalization.

However, strictly speaking, the study is not based on social learning theory or any other specific theory. Ironically, what makes the study mechanistic is not the theory they used but the analytic method and sampling strategy the authors are depending on¹⁶. Mechanism considers behavior as a “sum of influences of a number of variables, each acting independently of the others” (Goldhaber, 2000, p.26), assuming that disentanglement of behavior is made possible by mathematical and statistical calculation. Organicists and contextualists have criticized the ways in which mechanists isolate variables based on the

¹⁶ Mechanistic studies can be divided in to two groups. One includes studies that rely on mechanistic theories, the other includes studies that rely on mechanistic (positivist) methods and analysis.

experimental design they choose. However, despite all these limitations, parenting studies within the mechanistic paradigm is the type of study most frequently found even today.

Cross-cultural Studies

Diverse cultural contexts have been studied within the mechanistic paradigm. To have a better understanding of parenting studies dealing with cultural context within the mechanistic paradigm, I need to contrast two approaches. This contrast strongly maintains paradigm concerns: cross-cultural studies in the tradition of mechanism and cultural studies in the tradition of contextualism. The criterion distinguishing cross-cultural and cultural studies is directly related to the issue of universalism or relativism and the mechanistic and contextual paradigms.

In cross-cultural studies, psychic unity is highly emphasized. Psychic unity could be expressed in universalism, laws, and generalizations and it assumes a universal pattern of parenting, and accordingly, children's developmental outcome across diverse cultural contexts. On the other side, cultural studies present a relativistic stance in which constructivism and contextualism are linked to children's development.

Sometimes, the terms cross-cultural studies and cultural studies are considered to be fuzzy concepts with overlapping components. Based on the blurring borderline between cross-cultural and cultural studies, some scholars including Adamopoulos and Lonner (2001) believe that there is a possibility of rapprochement between the two lines of studies. According to them, the weaknesses of cross-cultural studies (conceptual rigidity of empirical approach and methodological overconfidence) could be complemented by cultural psychology even though cultural psychology suffers from its own weaknesses (in their view,

the absence of a consistently applied methodology and relativism). This is very similar to the arguments of postpositivists that some qualitative components can be introduced to enrich methods that are basically mechanistic or quantitative studies.

However, advocates of cultural studies oppose the possibility of rapprochement because of the distinctive underlying paradigm and related methodology, based on a strong belief in the necessary connection between paradigm, theory, and methods. Cultural psychologists treat culture and parenting behavior as inseparable phenomena and have deep concerns about the prevalent formulation that culture is equivalent to an independent variable as is the case in social address models or person–context models in Bronfenbrenner’s conceptualization (Boesch, 1991).

Mekos and Clubb (1997) criticized the use of comparisons in the mechanist mode of developmental psychology when conducting a contextual study. They maintained that when the tool of comparison was merged with positivists’ statistical approaches and large samples, the individual as a reference to normal development is easily ignored among the diversity of developmental trajectories. This is related to the basic principle of universalism in mechanistic theories and why a deficit model is produced in cross-cultural studies. However, in the contextual paradigm, the methodological technique of comparison is not used to extract universalism. Although this technique is sometimes used in the contextual paradigm, the differences found in the comparison are not the main interest. Comparison is used to describe reality in reality, rather than focusing on the reason why the difference is created.

There is another way in which cultural comparisons within the mechanistic paradigm have been approached. Interests in conceptualization of individualism and collectivism have

been revived during the last several decades (Triandis, 1995: Triandis, Bontempo, & Villareal, 1988). Many of their studies based on the conceptual classifications of individualism and collectivism have shown many strong points especially when investigating West and East culture where the cultural traditions are presumed to be totally different. In many ways the individualism and collectivism typology shows the same meta-theoretical, theoretical, and methodological rationale as do cross-cultural studies.

According to Triandis et al. (1988), people from the two types of society show different patterns in the degree of self-reliance and concerns of in-groups, and distances from out-groups. Accordingly, several themes such as achievement, intimacy, and competition have different meanings in the two types of society. Similarly, Markus and Kitayama's (1991) cultural definition of self has reported that there are quite different levels of cultural and historical values and beliefs between West and East and that these include different notions of individualism and collectivism. Recently, various theorists within the individualism and collectivism tradition recognized some additional distinctions in characterizing cultures. Psychological dimensions such as tightness versus looseness of norms, cultural complexity, vertical and horizontal relationships, and active versus passive orientations (Miller, 2002) were added to give more explanation of behavioral variations.

These concepts have informed the basic philosophical and psychological differences regarding people's lives. Psychologists have widely accepted the concepts of individualism and collectivism. However, recently, there has been a growing skepticism about the individualism-collectivism dichotomy because of contradictory empirical findings and the

lack of empirical support for the generality of existing psychological theories in diverse contexts.

Studies on the individualism and collectivism dichotomy are categorized into the mechanistic paradigm because they are seen as showing universal patterns of behavior. Miller (2002) suggested some limitations of individualism-collectivism as a paradigm for cultural psychology. She argued that although individualism and collectivism have been regarded as opposites, researchers need to be aware that there has been overlapping psychological functioning in each type of society. She criticized studies based on dichotomous concepts within the mechanistic paradigm, arguing that the efforts to develop a universal theory to predict behavior on a worldwide scale end up failing to capture the subtleties of the cultural context and the heterogeneity that exists in any society, giving insufficient interactive explanations between psychological functioning and cultural contexts, and downplaying contextual variations and cultural meaning system.

Parenting Studies Using Organismic Paradigm

In the organismic paradigm, Freud's psychoanalytic theory, Piaget's constructivist theory, and Kohlberg's moral developmental theory are included. I will focus on attachment theory, which originated from Freud's theory, because attachment theory has more substantially contributed to the study of parenting than has any other organismic theory.

Attachment Theories

Attachment theory, originally derived from psychoanalytic theory, focuses on the emotional relationship between child and parents. The major aim of the theory is to examine relations between parenting and children's secure development and the importance of the relations

between infants and parents is reported to influence older children's relationships, enhancing their socioemotional development (Cummings & Cummings, 2002). Studies based on the theory have typically been conducted in a mechanistic way, treating cultures as independent variables and searching for universality across cultures.

However, irrespective of the great potential of the attachment concept in parenting and the child socialization process, many attachment studies conducted in diverse cultural contexts still take on the form of the cross-cultural format, with many limitations. Therefore, although attachment studies conducted in diverse societies are impressive in that they have been a part of the effort to investigate parenting in various cultural contexts, documentation of the distinctive differences across cultures has been central.

Rothbaum and his colleagues criticized the way in which attachment has been studied in various cultural contexts. According to them, Ainsworth's Q-sort method has failed to uncover the process or mechanism by which parents' sensitivity is expressed in the Japanese cultural setting. Therefore, biased findings were reported: Japanese parents are likely to be reported as having insensitive parenting practices and Japanese children are likely to be said to be insecurely attached to their mother (see Miller, 2002).

Zevalkink, Riksen-Walraven, and Van Lieshout (1999)'s study would be a typical example of attachment research conducted in mechanistic paradigm. They investigated 46 Indonesian mother-child dyads. The quality of mother-child attachment relationship, the quality of mother's support, and the characteristic context were examined. They concluded that the distribution of attachment patterns is comparable to a global distribution as secure in two meta-analyses and that insecure attachment is only related to the quality of parenting

and not to the contextual variables. Although they stated that their main interest was the ecological validity of maternal support in a non-Western setting, they reported that the development of insecure attachment relationships is relatively context-sensitive, and claim the universality at the cost of the potentially important variations in the context.

However, in other cases, attachment studies show clear contextual variation. For example, Miyake, Chen, and Campos (1985) revealed that Japanese babies show a different portion of distribution among secure, avoidant, and anxious attachment. In North Germany, the majority of babies showed avoidant attachment; in Japan, the majority style was anxious attachment. LeVine (1989) explained that the results from Miyake et al. (1985) show that theorists are becoming more cautious about claiming generality and universality based on the Western populations.

About these unexpected findings in Japan, LeVine (1989) argued for revised claims of universality depending on parenting variations across cultures. He claimed that Bowlby's and Ainsworth's pattern of attachment style is based on Britain and the United States, so it can not be a universal pattern across diverse cultures. He interpreted the different patterns of attachment in terms of cultural parenting practices. Because North German babies are more accustomed to be alone than are Japanese babies, babies' responses in the two cultures of the strange situation cannot be literally compared. To conduct a sound parenting study, providing a process-relevant explanation of psychological phenomena in parenting, giving more attention to culturally grounded meanings and practices of parenting, and developing more nuanced and process-oriented attitudes of a specific culture are needed to overcome the limitations of the typical cross-cultural parenting studies (Miller, 2002).

Partly as a result of these arguments, some scholars have suggested that attachment theory is evolving toward contextual theory¹⁷ (Comings & Comings, 2002; Lerner et al., 2002). Cummings and Cummings (2002) suggested future directions for attachment theory to make it more contextual theory. They maintained that attachment theory would be more enriched if the theory studied in relation with parenting style or parenting practice as suggested by LeVine (1989). This would be especially useful when studying the variations of attachment patterns across societies, cultures, and other family structural and environmental functioning.

However, although attachment theory is undergoing changes towards contextual theories, it seems clear that the theory belongs to organismic theory in its current stage. “Organicism is a universal, idealized model in that it defines both a process by which development occurs and an end point toward which development proceeds” (Goldhaber, 2000, p. 40). In attachment theory, the ideal endpoint in development amounts to the stipulated explanations of the secure attachment relationship and there has been given explanations of the defining features of each attachment relationship and the ratios among three attachment types have been given based on the empirical data from Western culture.

¹⁷ Today, some scholars argue that studies based on attachment theory have many contextual characteristics. First, the theory provides a relational construct for children’s interaction with larger social system as well as parent-child relationship, opposing the “dependency motive” of social learning theory-oriented explanation that is translated from Freud’s psychoanalytic theory toward close relationship with infant and parents (Cummings & Cummings, 2002; Edward & Liu, 2002; Lerner, Rothbaum, Boulos, & Castellino, 2002). Second, the theory is fundamentally process-oriented rather than outcome-oriented (Sroufe, Carlson, Levy, & Egeland, 1999). Cummings and Cummings (2002) further maintained that Bowlby’s concept of attachment is misunderstood as a fixed prototype or stable personality trait. According to them, the theory aimed at a conceptualization of the dynamic complex process including interactions with at least one important person. Dealing with emotional self-regulatory processes associated with socialization norms, beliefs, and attitudes, the theory has presented a sophisticated look at how development can be articulated through everyday naturally occurring parent-child interaction. Third, the theory requires methods of observation of the relationship in real life.

Lastly, with regard to the future directions in which attachment theory should go, Cummings and Cummings (2002) pointed out how attachment theory can be related to the studies of disciplinary practices. Attachment studies have focused on the dimension of parental warmth such as parenting acceptance, emotional availability, and sensitivity between the two parenting dimensions of parental warmth and parental control. However, including the other contrasting axes of parenting (parental control, psychological control, and child management, attachment) theory will offer a more integrated picture for parenting and child development.

In summary, attachment theory has its origin in the organismic paradigm theory. However, scholars today try to embody the way in which complicated understanding of the relation between child and parents as a function of context. Attachment theory is thus undergoing changes to make it more akin to contextual theory, considering the critiques of contextualists.

Parenting Studies Using Contextual Paradigm

In this section, I will focus on two areas of contextual studies of parenting. Cultural psychology studies, based in contextualism, compared with cross-cultural studies, based in the mechanistic paradigm. In addition, the socio-linguistic approach and anthropologically based parenting studies will show how contextual theories' detailed look of parenting is formed and developed, both theoretically and methodologically.

Cultural Studies

Cultural psychology studies have emerged from dissatisfactions with typical cross-cultural studies within the mechanistic paradigm. Greenfield (1997) pointed out that in

typical cross-cultural studies of parenting: cultures have been conceptualized to be indices for complex parenting processes in diverse cultural contexts and dependent variables are believed to function as indices of children's cultural processes. In this way, she argued that cultural processes themselves cannot be captured because processes--the focal point of interest to cultural psychologists--are replaced by packets of indices.

Recently, as opposed to the simple structure of research in which culture is an independent variable (see Tudge et al, 1996), there have been some scholars suggesting that culture can be captured by interaction effects using statistical analysis with the expression of moderator variables within the frame of the mainstream psychology¹⁸ (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 1998; Steinberg, Darling, & Fletcher, 1995). However, in this new approach in mainstream psychology, the variability of parenting in cultural meanings presented by statistical tools shows big differences from the cultural form of parenting studies in which the method of ethnographic observation is used to tap everyday interaction. Moreover, some methodological problems such as methodological comparability and equivalence have been reported when scholars interpret meanings of specific parenting practices in diverse cultural (including ethnic) contexts and do not intend to investigate further at the deeper level of creation of cultural meanings (e.g., Bronfenbrenner, 1998; Steinberg et al. 1995). Briefly speaking, the so-called 'process' detected by interaction effects in the mainstream or mechanistic paradigm is informative, but has not met the standards of cultural studies to fully understand important processes in cultural meaning making. Rather, the studies using

¹⁸ Bronfenbrenner and Morris (1998) offer "discovery mode," arguing against the concepts of verification mode in the mechanistic way of thinking. In the comparison with "verification mode" which entails overconfidence about their methodology, Bronfenbrenner's concept of discovery mode has stimulated scholars in psychology area to be more sensitive and susceptible to 'process' or 'cultural process.'

interaction effects seem to simply serve to find the differences among diverse cultural contexts in a refined way.

In comparison with cross-cultural studies based in positivism, cultural psychology shows the potential to overcome the limitations of cross-cultural psychology. Unlike cross-cultural psychology, cultural psychology tries to put value on each pathway rather than search for universal principles. Accordingly, in cultural psychology, ethnically and socio-economically marginalized people are frequently investigated. Especially in the studies on marginalized people, the ‘insider perspective’ is all the more essential because the problem of definition, method, and the interpretation is very hard to grasp without applying ‘their own perspective.’

Miller (2002) said that the distinction between cross-cultural and cultural psychology is rather conceptual because considerable variations in approaches exists in both cross-cultural and cultural psychology and it is not easy to find true studies within cultural psychology. However, some defining characteristics of cultural psychology can be enumerated according to her. First, cultural psychology includes study of the contextually mediated nature of cultural influences on development. In true cultural psychology, studies focus and interpret differences in the developmental path and psychological functioning in relation to the local cultural context, rather than attempt to find universal patterns.

Second, in cultural psychology, social practices are spotlighted to reveal underlying cultural variations in developmental outcomes. In comparison with cross-cultural psychology in which individual differences or personality variables are key, cultural psychology emphasizes individuals’ participation in everyday cultural practices in local

institutions and cultural settings with the normative requirements of the institutions and settings. As Shweder and LeVine (1984) maintained, culture is understood as created, tolerated, and communicated in everyday practices and behavioral routines. Dynamic natures of cultural meaning system are inseparable with everyday practices and everyday patterns of language socialization. Therefore, cultural psychology is likely to use interdisciplinary approaches, drawing on anthropology and sociolinguistics.

Third, cultural psychology fully appreciates the complexity of socio-cultural processes. Understanding psychological processes as grounded in a particular socio-historical context necessarily requires a sophisticated approach because following the way culture is sustained and created is not simple and universal.

In cultural psychology, comparisons across diverse cultural contexts are also employed. However, comparison is not central in cultural studies. Part of the reason for the difficulties in cultural comparison comes from the intrinsically embedded nature of the person and cultural context¹⁹, which is strongly assumed among cultural psychologists working in the contextual paradigm (Super & Harkness, 1997). The primary goal can be attained when a more sensitive view is developed to tap deeply engrained cultural processes, culture is thoughtfully integrated into research methodologies, and culture-appropriate implications for each culture are appropriately drawn (Morelli, Rogoff, Oppenheim, & Goldsmith, 1992). All in all, the paradigm issue suggested by many scholars such as Pepper (1942), Guba and Lincoln (1994), and Goldhaber (2000) must be the focal point of the

¹⁹ The unit of analysis is not “individual” in cultural studies. “Individual in context” is the unit of analysis. In contextual theories, the inseparability between individual and context is assumed.

distinctive contrast between cross-cultural and cultural studies in the study of psychological processes.

Sociolinguistic Approaches

There are many theoretical and scientific attempts that have tried to explain the mechanism of socialization. One thing that should be mentioned, if we want to have a detailed look at the socialization process, is the language acquisition process and communication patterns. Children are viewed as acquiring social knowledge and belief systems through exposure to language-mediated interactions with social partners.

Scholars from several different academic disciplines have stressed the importance of language socialization. However, critical issues converge on several points: socio-cultural influences on language acquisition, communication patterns in the everyday interactions within specific cultural contexts, detailed examination of caregiver language input, and the importance of language in the self-regulative socialization process. If we define the socialization process as one which “individuals are assisted in the acquisition of skills necessary to function successfully as members of their social group” (Grusec, 2002, p.143), one of the major tools that enables appropriate socialization is language.

Gopnik, Choi, and Baumberger (1996) analyzed patterns of relationships between language and cognitive development. Chomsky’s theory is summarized by the view that semantic development is determined by universal linguistic principles, and that it develops independently of cultural and social factors. Piaget’s (1962) position is that cognitive development determines semantic development. In both positions, linguistic development is not as closely related to semantic development in comparison with Vygotsky’s theory.

Vygotsky's position is that linguistic differences cannot be investigated without semantic and cognitive development because there is active interaction between one another.

Language can facilitate cognition and both are co-constructing each other through interacting with culture-specific language patterns because language is viewed as a social meaning system.

In Vygotsky's thinking, language is understood as a social product. Therefore, there is a big contrast between Vygotsky's psycholinguistic theory and other theories emphasizing mental or cognitive structure in explaining language development. Chomsky explains language development as a genetically determined mental asset. Although Chomsky accepts the contribution of interaction between person and environment in development of articulated language, the origin of language acquisition resides in the level of maturity in a mental organ rather than social and environmental factors (Chomsky, 1980).

Sociolinguists such as Ochs and Schieffelin (1980) suggested a new way of addressing the issue of childhood socialization by asserting the necessity of inclusion of language acquisition. Sociolinguistic studies entail various ethnographic and anthropologic studies in which socialization processes are specified through early communication patterns in a local cultural context. Actually, some ethnography- and anthropology-oriented studies are theoretically based on Vygotsky and they are conducted in natural setting with the clarification of a cultural meaning system (Edwards & Liu, 2002)²⁰.

²⁰ However, Vygotsky opposed British evolutionary anthropologists who were interested in mental functioning to explain cultural development. In many cases, cultural anthropologists are more interested in practice itself rather than psychological property (Tudge, Putnam, & Valsiner, 1996).

Influenced by Vygotsky's thinking, Tulviste (1991) claims that there is a "situational specificity of mental functioning" (Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992, p. 553). He argued that because the activity setting in which the development occur is heterogeneous, the levels of mental functioning cannot be general, universal, or immutable. Until cultural psychology (in comparison with cross-cultural psychology) within the contextual paradigm emerged, the relationship between culture and cognition in academic discipline was understood as separate. Even in some anthropological traditions, neither psychological entity nor cognition was included. However, culture and cognition cannot be treated dualistically or as separate entities. Put in other words, semantic development and cognitive development, or cultural development and linguistic development cannot be seen as discrete variables. Rather, they co-construct and co-constitute dynamic processes continually transforming one another (Tudge et al., 1996).

Value transmission and internalization of values is one of the primary issues in the area of socialization. Hoffman (1983) addressed the socialization issue in terms of internalization and language usage as part of discipline. Hoffman tried to answer the question of how social norms and standards can be internalized. Although his socialization theory does not aim at a detailed explanation of the language acquisition process or the communicative process, his theory clearly shows the importance of language input in socialization. He identified several disciplinary categories and examined which disciplinary technique is effective in the growth of internalization. According to him, inductions most promote internalization. Because in the inductive practice information is fully semantically organized, encoded, and integrated with other experiences and information, children are

more easily likely to get causal understanding (Eisenberg & Murphy, 1995). The result that inductive technique such as rationale, reasoning, and explanation promote internalization is replicated in many related studies (e.g. Baumrind, 1971; Deci, Schwartz, Sheinman, & Ryan, 1981).

Ochs and Schieffelin (1980) argued that socio-cultural information is encoded in the organization of conversational interaction. Specifically, according to them, if children are to become competent members of the society they need to define and interpret activities and events and need to act and speak in ways that are sensitive to the local context. Ochs and Schieffelin (1980) address the language socialization process as a knowable process and investigated the conversational interactive routines and caregivers' linguistic input across cultures. They also argued that the conversational interactive routine, namely a mode of speaking, is the key concept to address cultural values that guide the socialization process. Especially, mothers' speech to young children has been investigated to gain semantic and syntactic understanding.

Research findings of Gopnik, Choi, and Baumberger (1996) indicated that Korean-speaking mothers are likely to emphasize action through speaking more verbs than English-speaking mothers. English-speaking mothers are reported to use more abstract nonreferential verbs and features, which is reflected in 18-month-olds' cognitive development, supporting Vygotsky's thinking of the interactive relationship between culture and cognition. Gopnik and colleagues concluded that language is a critical tool through which children get specified and articulated concepts when they confront cognitive problems. They suggested

the need for future study in which caregivers' language input in everyday interaction is systematically analyzed.

Clancy (1986) investigated the communicative style between mothers and children in Japan. She found several defining features in the communication pattern of Japanese mothers. The Japanese way of talking uses a context-dependent, intuitive, indirect, and inexplicit communicative style. This communicative style implies the cultural value of fostering empathy and conformity. The striking example is not only found in the way in which the conversational interaction occurred, but also in the attitudes toward speech and the amount of language input of the mother. In the Japanese, verbosity has traditionally been devalued; therefore Japanese talk less than do Americans. This is especially the case for men. Syntactically also, the Japanese language shows consistent features. The Japanese language allows omission of explicit references and nominal ellipses, which eventually entails a higher rate of ambiguity than does English.

In summary, analyzing culture-specific communication patterns in everyday interaction is very important in understanding the socialization process because the pattern offers information on the cultural values through articulating social relationships and interaction. However, not so many studies have been conducted on the topic of how mothers' (caregivers') speech and culture-specific meanings in communication patterns are related to cultural values.

Social Class and Parenting

As I mentioned earlier, when discussing Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model, culture as a macrosystem can be defined as a context in which members of that context share

values, beliefs, resources, hazards, lifestyles, opportunity structure, and pattern of interchange (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Based on this definition, social class, as one of most powerful indices of within-society variations across diverse societies, could be treated as culture in that membership of different class is related to different values, beliefs, lifestyle, resources, chances of education, rates of crime, rates of illness and death, and patterns of interaction (Hoff-Ginsberg, Laursen, & Tardiff, 2002; Kohn, 1977; Rothman, 2002). Therefore, cultural studies need to consider class as a cultural phenomenon and pay attention to the study design that can differentiate both within-society and cross-society differences (Hoff – Ginsberg et al., 2002).

Among many factors that explain social class differences, childrearing values have received great attention. Kohn (1979) proposed that parents show social class-associated differences in childrearing values that stem from parents' occupational experiences. Working-class parents with constricting job conditions and limited education are more likely to value conformity because blue-collar jobs require obedience and compliance than are middle-class parents who have had more education, who are less supervised, and who have more complex job environments that require initiative and independent thinking. Accordingly, middle-class parents are more likely to value self-direction, freedom, initiative, and self-maximization for their children; working-class parents, by contrast, tend to emphasize conformity-related values such as obedience, manners, and neatness for their children. Adopting Kohn's thesis, Tudge, Hogan, Snezhkova, Kulakova, and Etz (2000) examined parents' child-rearing values and beliefs in the U.S. and Russia considering parents' socioeconomic status in each society. The results indicated that although they found

no cross-society differences in child rearing values and beliefs, significant social class differences were found, supporting Kohn's proposition about class and child-rearing values. It indicates that there is clear within-society heterogeneity as a function of socioeconomic status.

Different child-rearing values are reflected in parenting practices such as disciplinary practices. Working-class parents are more likely to discipline their children based on the consequences of misbehavior, while middle-class parents are more likely to respond on the basis of their interpretation of children's intent (Kohn, 1979). Hoff et al. (2002) summarized distinctive class differences in the three areas of parenting disciplinary practices. First, there is a consistent tendency in the nature of verbal interaction between parents and children based on socioeconomic status: middle-class parents not only talk more to their children than do working-class mothers, they also provide a higher quality of speech to their children in terms of the diversity of words, syntactic complexity, and manner of conversation. Second, in terms of disciplinary practices, middle-class parents are more likely to be egalitarian and less restrictive, and depend on psychological disciplinary techniques such as reasoning and appeals to guilt, while working-class parents are more likely to be authoritarian, punitive, and intrusive, and use physical and harsh punishments. Third, in the context of indirect and managerial control practices, middle-class mothers spend more time in skill activity (homework and reading) and middle-class children spend less time watching television than do working-class children.

The link between social class and parenting was extended by the ground-breaking work of Basil Bernstein (1974). Based on an anthropological premise, he delved into the

interrelationships among socioeconomic status, a family role system, language code, the linguistic way in which social control is expressed, and educability. He argued that social class is critically influential because it filters children's experiences and generates unevenly distributed perceptions and life chances.

Bernstein (1974) suggested two types of the linguistic code: elaborated and restricted. In the elaborated code, constructions of individuated symbols are facilitated because a speaker selects from an extensive range of alternatives. The probability of predicting pattern is reduced. Because the major purpose of this code is delivering explicit meaning, the possibility of a complex conceptual hierarchy for the organization of experience is relatively enhanced. In the restricted code, the number of alternatives that a speaker can select is limited and the probability of predicting a pattern is increased. In a pure form of the restricted code, specific verbal meaning will be minimal and condensed, and individual intent is likely to be delivered through non-verbal components. Therefore, the content of the speech tends to be narrative rather than analytic and abstract. He argued that these two types of codes differently process behaviors, so different modes of self-regulation and psychological orientation will be developed. Bernstein explained that a working-class culture is transmitted through the restricted code whereas a middle-class culture is transmitted through both the restricted and elaborated codes.

Bernstein also outlined two types of family and three linguistic modes of social control to examine the relationship between the control mode of language and socialization consequences. The two types of a family –a personal and a positional family- have different decision-making processes. In the positional family, decision-making is made based on the

hierarchical position of a member rather than a person as an individual and communication system is likely to be weak or closed. In the person-oriented family, psychological quality is appreciated in decision-making, and strong and open communication system is more likely to be nourished.

In the positional family type, the imperative mode of social control is mostly used. This social control mode reduces children's role discretion and is realized through the restricted code. The positional appeal is realized by both the restricted code and the elaborated code, and regulates a child with norms that exist in a particular universal status. When the positional appeal mode is used, the social norms are produced for clear-cut and unambiguous status and shame-based rather than guilt-based internalization is often used.

By contrast, in the personal type of family, a child is appreciated as an individual, and the interpersonal and intra-personal component of social relationship is considered meaningful. Where control is personal, it tends to have linguistically elaborated and individualized meanings and the sense of autonomy is likely to be attained. When control is positional, the social control or rules are more tied to the specific context so the sense of autonomy is likely to be reduced. In any one family, even in one situation, three types of social control can be used together.

According to Bernstein, children gain the knowledge of a social structure through the interactive experiences with their parents' use of control. Bernstein's idea that mother's speech affects children's basic underlying social assumptions through language codes was very influential and offered very sophisticated understanding of class, family, and social control in terms of language.

As in the case of Kohn's work, Bernstein's accomplishments do not stigmatize working-class families with an evaluative tone commonly used in a deficit model. However, Bernstein used language as a powerful explanatory tool for social class, whereas Kohn focused on parents' values and disciplinary practices as a function of intention or consequences of children's action. Although his abstract and descriptive works are often misunderstood as being geared toward immediate policy implications (Edwards, 2002), what he has done indicates that he, as a real contextual scholar, believed the necessity of the situated power of social implications rather than unchangeable principles in a policy.

Kohn (1977, 1979) emphasized parents' occupational background when discussing the reasons for the differences in values held by working- and middle-class parents. However, differences in their educational background also should not be ignored. Richman, Miller, and Levine (1992) reported that maternal responsiveness is affected by the mother's cultural background of school attendance. Among the three components of socioeconomic status - education, occupation, and income - education seems to be most strongly associated with parenting, specifically with the nature of talk and the nature of discipline practices (see Hoff-Ginsberg et al., 2002, p. 242). Because of the relatively reliable association between education and socioeconomic status, education or year of schooling has been used interchangeably with socioeconomic status (see Richman, Miller, & Levine, 1992). Income is understood as less reliable than education and occupation for socioeconomic status (Tudge et al., 2000).

Socioeconomic status as a cultural phenomenon is exerting great influence on parenting values, beliefs, and practices. Studies of parenting have consistently

reported class-associated differences across cultures. Because of the strong influence of socioeconomic status across cultures in the child-rearing values and beliefs, and practices, cross-cultural research needs to be designed to specify the differences caused by the socioeconomic status not to confound the cultural differences with socioeconomic differences.

The Domain-Specific Approach

As I discussed in the section dealing with the mechanistic paradigm, cross-cultural studies emphasize universal patterns of parenting and children's normal developmental outcomes within society, contrasting cultural differences across diverse cultural contexts. In typical cross-cultural studies, a single sample is drawn from each country without considering the society's heterogeneity, for example of social class or urbanization.

About the simplicity and concomitant possibility of misinterpreting cultural differences in cross-cultural studies, Barber, Olson, and Shagle (1994) argued that "the expression of cultural differences is often obscured through global assessments and that a more accurate picture is obtained by observing the actions of individuals from different cultures within specific contexts" (Barber et al., 1994, p. 817). This type of domain-specific approach is especially useful for researchers of the cultural psychological perspective²¹ because the concerns of cultural studies of parenting, tracing parenting as a cultural process, can be best appreciated by domain-specified methods on parenting. Specifically, a domain-specific parenting approach enables researchers to follow carefully the way in which

²¹ The main goal of cultural studies in parenting does not lie in revealing the cultural difference per se or in reporting the degree to which parents are dedicated to some types of parenting practice (Hasebe, Nucci, and Nuccis, 2004). Rather, the sophisticated view of parenting practice is valued because it highlights the dynamic cultural meaning making system of parenting (Super & Harkness, 1997).

multifaceted parental processes in a cultural context are related to certain developmental outcomes.

In a similar vein, Darling and Steinberg's (1993) conceptualization of parenting style, parenting practice, and parenting goals have facilitated the study of parenting practices in the area of parenting. They pointed out the problems and weaknesses of the construct of parenting style. Although parenting styles are believed to have ecological validity and have some empirical support in a limited cultural context, some very different patterns of parenting have been reported when research has been conducted in diverse cultural contexts (Steinberg, Lamborn, Dornbusch, Mount, & Darling, 1994). Also, as Lewis (1981) argued, it is difficult to explain the relationship between certain types of parenting and their children's developmental outcomes. Because of the global assessments and concomitant result of ambiguity in the nature of parenting style, accurate accounts of the features of parenting as a function of family's cultural background can not be explained.

Recently, Oyserman, Coon, and Kimmelmeiser (2002) and other contemporary cultural psychologists (Miller, 2002; Turiel, 2002) raised questions about the validity of Triandis' dichotomous construct. After conducting a comprehensive meta-analysis of studies on cultural similarities and differences in terms of the distinction, Oyserman et al. argued that there are both connected features and heterogeneity between North American students and students in other nations, including Japan and Korea. They have reminded researchers who are studying cultural variations of some critical limitations in the use of dichotomous constructs. They also challenged the current normative opinion that culture is a quantitatively continuous variable, and raised the idea of culture as a personal preference in

a specified context. Oyserman et al. (2002) reported that contrary to their expectation, Americans showed lower levels of independence when the variable was not about the issue of personal uniqueness and showed a level of collectivism as high as Japanese when the authors used a domain-specified methodology. If scholars are clinging to the dichotomous pattern of individualism and collectivism as a tool for the study of culture to verify their universal propositions, within-society variation whether stemming from individual preference or variations across sub-cultures, will be disregarded. Therefore, even though the dichotomous distinction has been useful during last two decades, the failure of empirical support has instigated scholars to examine more complicated features of cultural phenomena, making it possible to have a careful look into the heterogeneity across individuals in any cultural group depending on the sub-domain of the main topic.

Smetana and Daddis's (2002) study is a good example of how a domain-specific approach toward parenting is beneficial²². They investigated multiple features of relationships between adolescents and their mothers. Parents' psychological control and monitoring were rated by adolescents and their parents and beliefs about parental authority and restrictive parenting were rated by adolescents. Specificity was examined in relation to particular parenting beliefs and practices. The study is based on the domain-specific model of parenting. In their model, parenting beliefs and practices are composed of two distinct realms: moral and conventional issues, and personal issues. Adolescents responded in

²² Although some of the recently published studies based on domain-specific theory on parenting were not explicitly based on the contextual paradigm and did not use observational methods, the studies showed the beneficial effects of disaggregating the construct of parenting into parenting practices in a specific cultural context.

domain-specific ways about their parents' psychological and behavioral control²³.

Adolescents who reported their mothers as more restrictive in the domain of personal issues, and rated that parents do not have authority over the personal issue, recognized their mothers as psychologically controlling. In other words, parenting practices such as psychological control and monitoring are differently understood in terms of domain-specified behavior.

Hasebe, Nucci, and Nucci's (2004) study showed how domain-specific theory is useful when diverse cultural contexts are compared in parenting studies. Consistent with Semetana and Daddis (2002), this study is based on the proposition that adolescents view parental control differently in terms of the domain of interest. U.S. and Japanese adolescents reported who has legitimate power over four domains: personal, conventional, prudential²⁴, and an overlapping domain and rated their psychological symptoms.

The domain-specific approach is critically important in looking at parental disciplinary situations (Grusec & Goodnow. 1994). Trickett and Kuczynski (1986) investigated parental discipline strategies and children's misbehavior aged four through 10 years old among abusive parents and control parents. The study revealed that the type of discipline used by control parents group depended on the domain of their child's misbehavior. Among the four types of misbehavior (high arousal behavior, conventional social, moral-aggressive, and moral-psychological), control parents were more power-assertive and punitive for high arousal transgression and were more likely to use reasoning after conventional social and moral-aggressive transgression. Abusive parents used

²³ " Psychological control refers to parent's attempt to control the child's activities in ways that negatively affect the child's psychological world and thereby undermine the child's psychological development... behavioral control refers to the rules, regulations, and the restrictions that parents have for their adolescent and their awareness of their adolescents' activities" (Smetana & Daddis, 2002, p. 563).

²⁴ Prudential domains are related to health and safety issues.

punishment more than control group in three domains. This study shows the importance of the domain-specific approach in the analysis of parenting practices, suggesting the importance of a more sophisticated examination of parenting practices to delineate a detailed view of the effectiveness of these multifaceted parenting processes.

Anthropology in Parenting Studies

Anthropology and ethnography have contributed to remind developmental psychologists how environmental factors, namely context, are inseparable from human development (Super & Harkness, 1997; Weisner, 1996). Weisner (1996) argued that to give a child “a specific culture in which to mature and develop” (p. 305) is the most important thing influencing the life of children than any other features of child rearing, and maintained that ethnography, as a method for studying human development, is the means to understand culture. Ethnography usually describes customs and practices specifying the issue of how culture is passed on by the old generation and co-constructed by the younger generation.

Anthropologists believe culture as a dynamic system can be described and understood through the everyday lives of its members. Because culture is not a static entity that is transformable into variables, anthropologists have their own way of addressing child development and cultural context. Value orientation, discrete analyses of parental practices, and a detailed analysis of cultural settings occupy a central place in their study.

The documenting of socialization during childhood using ethnographic methods was initiated by Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict in the 1920s. Their approach was configurational, so they were interested in finding general principles across diverse domains of social functioning and culture is simply reduced to a single theme and treated as a matter

of personality (Harkness & Super, 2002). Although childrearing has been investigated as central, and detailed explanation of cultural pattern was made possible by Mead and Benedict, systematic comparisons across society were not attempted.

Whiting and Whiting' (1975) *Children of six cultures* was the first systematic approach to compare diverse cultural settings with thoughtful consideration about selecting sample communities. The analyses are internally deep in each community, and show elaborate and systematic relations between family and children's social behavior. The relationship between social organization (socioeconomic structure), parenting practice, and child development is investigated and analyzed. The Whitings argued that one of the cultural factors influencing children's development was cultural complexity. In a simple society, superordinate authority is lacking, showing a high level of nurturance and less egoism. Complex societies have a hierarchical structure and emphasize a multiplicity of roles with training to make their children to be more competitive and achievement-oriented.

Although the Whitings made a great contribution to the analysis of social complexity, the mechanisms of influence were not clear. Instead, the authors focused on the study of children's routines (amount of work and the nature of the work) (Harkness & Super, 2002). Their study expanded the narrow understanding of the relationship between parent and child based on psychological thinking and informed us that environmental and cultural factors, such as the level of social complexity, maintenance system, woman's and children's work load, and opportunity to interact with parents modulate the children's social development. However, they did not examine within-society variation, including social class, which is also related to societal complexity, and parental values and beliefs (Lee, 1994).

The Whitings' idea that child behavior and parenting practice are determined by social and environmental factors and accordingly by maintenance systems for survival prevailed for four decades and have been succeeded by LeVine. LeVine (2003) considered parenting in diverse cultural contexts with parental goals, values, and behavior, and specified socioeconomic context as a cultural context. According to him, parents have a common set of goals and the goals are formed hierarchically. For example, among three types of goals—physical survival goals, economic self-maintenance goals, and cultural beliefs, norms and ideologies—physical survival and health issues are prerequisite to the last two types of goals, and children's ability to achieve economic self-maintenance takes priority over culturally distinctive beliefs, norms, and ideologies²⁵. LeVine's argument was that although the goals are hierarchically organized, the three goals are interrelated with each other, and parents' goals are modulated by historically formulated patterns of customs that serve to enhance the chances of survival.

Super and Harkness (1997) developed the theoretical model of the “developmental niche,” a framework for the cultural structuring of parenting and child development. The developmental niche is composed of three components: the physical and social settings where the children are living, culturally formulated customs and parenting practices of childcare and childrearing, and the psychology of caregivers. Harkness and Super (2002) emphasized that rediscovering the valuable heritage from anthropology and ethnography is important to understand development in context and suggested that the study of culture-

²⁵ “In the area where the incidence of disease or danger causes high infant mortality rates, customary patterns of infants care will not only be organized by health and survival goals, but will also embody avoidance of specific local hazards as conceptualized in the folk beliefs system” (LeVine, 2003, p. 90).

specific parental beliefs, practices, and settings in a detailed and systematic manner is required to advance our understanding of parenting in varying cultural contexts.

Partly influenced by the tradition of anthropology and ethnography, a different form of ethnography is being conducted by Tudge and his colleagues (Tudge et al., 1999; Tudge, et al., 2000). They systematically examined parenting values and practices in diverse contexts in a study that was theoretically based on Bronfenbrenner's theory. They addressed the natural settings of children's everyday lives and explored the variation in activities depending on specific domains within and across the U. S. and other cultural contexts. They provided a very detailed picture of the types of activities in which children engage, parents' availability and involvement (Tudge et al., 2000), and the relationship between parental values and beliefs and children's activities (Tudge et al., 1999). Tudge et al.'s studies show how ethnography may be conducted in a scientific and systematic manner and how cultural context is important in understanding the way in which child and parents interact.

Asian Parenting

Americans reflect on the difficulties of disciplining young children by naming them as "terrible twos." Koreans also have their own term for this: "terrible sixes."²⁶ Why do American parents feel children of two years old are problematic, whereas Korean parents express the difficulty for training a child only after the child reaches the age of six?

Cultural differences are reflected and interpreted in research findings. Asian parenting of infants and toddlers is different from that of Americans in that a great deal of

²⁶ The Korean way of counting age is different from that of the U. S. They consider a newborn baby is one year old because pregnancy is considered in counting age. Therefore, literally speaking, the original term is "terrible sevens" instead of "terrible sixes."

indulgence in childrearing is allowed for young children. Although there are some variations about the age of training and the domain of disciplinary interests among Asians, Asian parents of young children seem, in general, to be more lenient, permissive, and less authoritarian. However, parents start to impose strict behavioral expectations including self-control and maturity around the time children enter school. Therefore, Korean parents of two-year-old children do not experience as much difficulties as do American parents of two-year-old children (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Garcia Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995). Why are there these differences in childrearing? How can we interpret the differences between Asian and American parenting? In the next section, I will elaborate some cultural factors that affects Asian parents have in terms of parental control. Also, the benefits of a domain-specific approach for studying cultural variations in parenting practices in relation to parental control across diverse cultural contexts will be discussed.

Asian Parenting, Korean Parenting, and the Meaning of Control

Parenting may be divided into two dimensions: parental warmth (acceptance-rejection) and parental control (permissiveness-strictness) (Rohner & Pettengill, 1985). Of the two dimensions, that of control has received the greatest attention. Baumrind (1971) developed three parenting styles based on the dimension of parental control and parental authority, with the articulation of the degree of parental warmth, effectiveness of communicative skills, and maturity of demand along the control dimension.

Chao and Tseng (2002) summarized the relationship between parenting style and Asian parenting. Baumrind's typology of parenting style²⁷ is not likely to be as relevant to Asian or Asian American parenting as it is to European Americans. For European Americans, the authoritative parenting style is positively related to children's developmental outcome and the authoritarian parenting style is negatively related to children's developmental outcome. However, for Asian Americans, the authoritative parenting style has less positive effects and the authoritarian parenting style has less negative effects in relation to children's positive developmental outcomes than in the case of European Americans (Steinberg, Lamborn, Darling, Mounts, & Dornbusch, 1994). If Asian parenting has different types of control and meanings, the application of Baumrind's typology or any other studies investigating the effects of control in Asian parenting would yield different results²⁸.

For example, Rohner and Pettengill (1985) investigated the relationship between Korean youths' perceptions of parental control and perceived parental warmth and neglect. According to them, North American youths tend to consider strict parental control as hostility and rejection. However, Korean youths are likely to associate restrictive parental control with perceived parental warmth and low neglect, implying that some aspects of the warmth dimension are significantly associated with parental control and that the relationship

²⁷ Baumrind described authoritative parenting as having a high level of demandingness, responsiveness, and democratic reasoning whereas authoritarian parenting is having high levels of control and low levels of warmth and democratic reasoning.

²⁸ Steinberg and his colleagues also found that authoritarian parenting was more associated with positive outcome for Black families, so its not just Asian Americans (Asians) who show different patterns of parenting styles in relation to developmental outcomes.

thus varies across cultural contexts. Korean youths are more likely to accept parental control as more legitimate and a part of parents' responsibility.

Clearly, parental control can be defined in more than one way: control as domineering and control as more indigenous and positive. Chao and Tseng (2002) indicated that if parental control is defined as emphasizing dominance and overprotectiveness, it is associated with children's negative developmental outcomes; if parental control is defined as more related to training or disciplining, close to their indigenous concept of control, it is associated with children's positive developmental outcomes. In essence, the way in which parental control is defined determines the relationship between parenting style, which is a function of parental control, and children's developmental outcomes. For studying Asian parenting appropriately, a more fine-grained approach considering the multidimensional features of control is needed to overcome ambiguity caused by global assessments of the typology of parenting style.

For the investigation of Korean families, one of the most frequently studied cultural characteristics is interdependence among family members, influenced by Confucianism. In Asian cultures, family members are viewed as interdependent and connected, and a harmonious relationship is emphasized. Group-level goals are prioritized and an individual's autonomy, feeling, and ideas tend to be regulated and controlled in social situations. The cultural norm of interdependence has largely been shaped by principles for human relationship in Confucianism. In Confucianism, authority and hierarchy of relationship is very important: being obedient and respectful is a critical socialization goal for children. Confucianism was the dominant ideology for more than 500 years and continued to be

powerful at least until the beginning of the 20th century (Lee, 1994; Yi, 1993). Therefore, among the various domains of self-regulative behaviors such as practicing endurance, learning responsibility for social regulation, learning strategies to modulate situation in distress, and leaning compliant attitude for authority in young children' typical everyday life, learning compliance to authority figure is considered especially important in the traditional Korean Parenting.

Influenced by Confucianism, members of the society are expected to control their inner desires or feelings; excessive emotional expression is regarded as immaturity. Yi (1993) said that in traditional Korean society, parents were not allowed to disclose their affections to their children. This prohibition was carried out not only verbally, but also physically. Therefore, all physical contact, including hugging and kissing, was not recommended for ideal child-rearing practices.

Lee (1983), a well-known Korean journalist, explained and analyzed characteristics of Korean's typical communication patterns. He argued that Korean communication patterns are likely to be inefficient and inaccurate. Because the way in which people communicate requires implicit meaning and invisible social regulations, understanding Koreans' way of communications especially requires the ability to catch invisible meanings. This feature, Koreans' lack of accurate verbal interactions, shows a clear contrast with Western languages that are appropriate to deliver accurate information, elaborated meanings, and the speaker's will. Lee connected these communication patterns to the ancient agricultural way of living. In an agricultural culture, the accurate delivery of speaker's will is less urgent than a place where people do hunting for their living.

Therefore it is not surprising that Korean mothers show a different pattern of interacting with their children in comparison with mothers in the U. S. Tudge, Lee and Putnam (1998) showed that Korean mothers, although they were largely available to their children²⁹, did not engage with them much in play. Korean children were seen playing alone as much as U. S. children were, and showed a low level of initiating activities, especially in the working-class group (Tudge et al., 1998). Even when Korean mothers played with their children, the ratio of active participation was lower than that of U. S. mothers. Generally speaking, Korean mothers were less involved in conversation with their children than were U. S. mothers (Lee, 1994). When Korean mothers did participate in their children's play, they were most likely to do so as observers.

One distinctive feature of Korean parenting is that fathers typically do not play a large role in socializing young children. In a traditional Korean family, taking care of young children or disciplining them was exclusively the mother's responsibility and male family members were not expected to participate in caring for their children (Yi, 1993). This traditional ideology seems still to be in operation; as part of the Cultural Ecology of Young Children (CEYC) project, Korean fathers were rarely observed participating in the socialization process (Lee, 1994). Korean fathers work long hours in their jobs whereas Korean mothers of young children, especially in the middle class, do not typically work outside the home (Tudge et al, 2000).

However, despite the substantially different results of Korean parenting influenced by their traditional ideology, the recent phenomenon of westernization and urbanization has

²⁹ Most of the Korean middle-class mothers were not employed outside of the home (Tudge et al., 1998).

led to many changes in the ways of socializing young children. Yi (1993) pointed out that a dual value system is coexisting in modern Korean society. The dual value system refers to the traditional orientation (familism derived from Confucianism) and a “modern” orientation toward the family (individualism influenced by Western culture). While Asian societies, including Korean families, have experienced many changes in industrialization and westernization, diverse groups of Asian Americans have experienced more rapid changes with the process of acculturation.³⁰

Related to these rapid environmental changes, the recent economic downturn in Korea is worth mentioning. In 1997, the Korean economy experienced a severe financial crisis. The sudden changes in the economic structure include a devalued currency and stock market and high inflation. Company bankruptcies and restructuring led many Korean families to deal with a very high unemployment rate, a high level of economic pressure, and emotional distress (Kwon, Rueter, Lee, Koh, & Ok, 2003). Kwon et al. (2003) indicated that the economic pressure negatively affected Korean families and the relations between family members. Therefore, in investigating Korean families, researchers are required to appreciate the recent social and economic changes and concomitant changes in family systems.

Along with the changes of Asian parenting due to westernization, urbanization, and acculturation, changes in attitudes, values, and practices should be addressed in terms of socioeconomic status. As can be expected from parenting studies of other ethnic populations, Asian working-class parents are more likely to stress conformity and obedience and show more restrictive and rejecting practices than are middle-class parents (Chauhan, 1980;

³⁰ “Acculturation has been conceptualized as a process of learning about a new culture and deciding what aspects are to be retained or sacrificed from the culture of origin” (Coll, Leyer, & Brillon, 1995, p. 199).

Rohner, Hanhn, & Rohner, 1980). However, studies of Asian parenting investigating the dimension of parental control in terms of socioeconomic status are very limited (Chao & Tseng, 2002).

Tudge et al. (1999) and Lee (1994)'s studies are helpful in understanding how socioeconomic status functions in the Korean population. As a part of the CEYC project, Tudge and his colleagues conducted research on parents' child rearing values and practices as a function of social class and compared four different countries. In their study, Korean middle-class parents were involved in almost three times as much conversation with their children as were working-class parents. Considering the fact that in other domains, such as academic lessons or skill/nature lessons, that also involve conversation between parents and their children, the class differences in verbal interactive behaviors between parents and their children was even larger. In the same study, middle-class children were over twice as likely to initiate as were working-class children. This higher level of initiation seems to be related to the parents' beliefs in self-direction and independence.³¹

Lee (1994) explored, using 20 hours of home observation, the variation in children's everyday activities both within and across the US and Korea. The results indicated that preschooler's activities varied as a function of class differences and societal differences, endorsing Kohn's propositions that middle-class parents are more likely to socialize their children to be more self-directed and initiative, and working-class parents are more likely to emphasize conformity. Middle-class children were more self-directive and more involved in academic lessons and play with academic objects. Korean children were much more exposed

³¹ However, another striking result they found was that Korean children were significantly less involved in conversation with their parents in comparison with the U. S. children.

to and engaged in play with academic objects than were U. S children, although no major differences were found regarding academic lessons between the two countries. Lee (1994) sheds light on the way in which delicate everyday practices can be addressed across cultural contexts. However, Lee's study only focused on children's activities and does not analyze language, excluding any parental practices.

Kim's (2002) study³² is an example of research on Korean parenting in relation to the control dimension. Although the study used questionnaires to survey expectations regarding children's self-regulatory behavior instead of addressing disciplinary practices by ethnographic observation, the study showed a more domain-specific examination of parental expectation for children's self-regulatory behavior, considering the multidimensional features of parental control. Nine categories were identified as self-regulatory behavioral domains; safety rules, personal property rules, interpersonal rules, food-related rules, independence requests, self-care rules, family routines, manners, obedience rules, and academic skills and attitudes. Kim's (2002) study indicated that mothers of preschool children have different expectations depending on the self-regulatory domain. Korean mothers of one-year old through five-year old children showed high self-regulatory expectations for their children regarding the domains of safety and independence, and showed low expectations regarding family routines and personal property. This pattern of expectations is consistent across age, although their expectations slightly increased with the age of the child.

³² In the study, the author devised a measure based on Galinski and Kopp (1993)'s study.

In actuality, parenting cannot be explained without a developmental point of view in any culture. Related to the age issue in parenting, Kim's (2002) study indicated there is a culture-specific developmental timetable in parenting. However, interestingly, Koreans did not show great changes as a function of children's age in parents' expectations for everyday behavior. Kim's results showed a big contrast with those of Gralinski and Kopp (1993). The latter examined how mothers socialized young children from the age of 13 months through 30 months, focusing on the children's behavioral self-regulation. In a longitudinal design, they focused on developmental timetables with parents' reported rules for everyday behaviors. The results showed that there were age-related increases in numbers and kinds of rules. Parents started to emphasize safety as a way of ensuring child survival for their children. But the structure of the rule shifted toward encouraging autonomy and socializing the child to family and cultural standards. Therefore, considering the differences between Korean and American parental expectations for young children, in which American parents were much more likely to show changes in expectations for children in the first three years of life whereas Korean parents did not show such changes until the age of six, one might expect greater changes in the developmental timetable in Korea once children reach school age than is found in the United States.

Kim (2002) also reported social class differences; mothers with a lower educational background expected more self-regulatory behavior from their preschool children than did mothers with higher educational backgrounds. The results reported the exact opposite of what would have been predicted by Kohn because Kim's study investigated only mothers'

expectations using a questionnaire survey as in the case of Gralinski and Kopp's (1993)³³ study. Using parental behavior checklists is helpful in understanding parental values and beliefs. However, it is possible that the questionnaire is not appropriately devised to differentiate parental strictness (or harshness) and the level of parental concern for participation, that parents' reported behaviors are different from what they are actually doing in everyday interactive practices, and that parents are not conscious of their values and beliefs in practical child-rearing. We need studies that focus on parental practices through direct observations to examine the ways in which the dimension of parental control is instantiated in real life situations.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

1. Do Korean parents' disciplinary practices differ depending on socio-economic status?

1-1. Middle-class parents will show more verbal disciplinary behavior than will working-class parents.

1-2. Middle-class parents will value (show bigger proportions among the disciplinary domains) emotion-regulation more than will working-class parents.

1-3. Working-class parents will value manners and politeness more (show a bigger proportion among the disciplinary domains) than will middle-class parents.

1-4. Middle-class parents will value (show bigger proportions of) empathy, explanation and communication more and value demand and management less (show smaller proportions of) than will working-class parents in their verbal disciplinary practices.

2. Do Korean parents' parental beliefs differ by each socio-economic group?

³³ In the study, the measure for disciplinary domain was devised based on Gralinski and Kopp (1993) and Kim (2002).

2-1. Working-class parents will more strongly endorse beliefs in control and spoiling than will middle-class parents.

2-2. Middle-class parents will endorse the beliefs in talking more strongly than will working-class parents.

3. What is the relationship between parental beliefs and practice?

3-1. Parental beliefs about the importance of talking to the child will be related to the total amount of verbal practices.

3-2. Parents who value the parental value of strictness (high control, high spoiling) will show more verbal practices in the domain of “management” and “demand” than will parents who do not value strictness.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

Contextualism, Contextual Theory, and Method

This study was designed to reveal the parenting variations within a contextual meta-theoretical foundation using a methodology that fits well with that paradigm. Unlike postpositivism, in which mixed method with methods from two different meta-theoretical point of views may coexist without problems, contextualism has compelling arguments for the strong connection between paradigm, theory, and method (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Winegar, 1997).

In contextualism, the most distinctive theoretical assumption is the interdependence of the units of analysis. Because persons and contexts are not separable, it is impossible to talk about causal relationships or make generalizations when considering persons and contexts (Tudge, Doucet, & Hayes, 2001).

Observation in naturally occurring everyday settings is very important for contextual theorists, specifically for Bronfenbrenner and Vygotsky. Although a lengthy observation is difficult to conduct and time consuming, observation is the method that fits best with the theoretical assumptions of contextualism. Bronfenbrenner strongly emphasized process, person, context, and time. Each component is well illustrated as an inseparable entity in children's experiences in a typical day. In particular, Bronfenbrenner's focal concepts of

process as an “engine of development” and “person in context” cannot be well investigated in structured laboratory settings.

This study involves children’s everyday activities, including parent-child interactions, in naturally occurring situations. I chose to use videotaped interactions that had already been filmed as part of the Cultural Ecology of Young Children project (see below). I used the videotapes rather than the observations that had been coded live. Videotaping is also the most appropriate method given the sociolinguistic focus of the study. Parental beliefs were analyzed to investigate the way in which they shaped disciplinary practices.

The study involves an emic approach in which a good knowledge of the society is required. Language proficiency and broad cultural knowledge about the society in general and the setting of everyday disciplinary practices are very important in order to match diverse disciplinary domains with verbal disciplinary practices. This is necessary to fully appreciate the meaning of the practices. A native Korean had videotaped parental verbal disciplinary interactions as part of the filmed observation.

Participants and Procedures

This study is based on the Cultural Ecology of Young Children (CEYC) project. The project was aimed at investigating naturally occurring everyday activities in seven different societies³⁴. Information about participants and procedures is based on several studies (Lee, 1994; Tudge et al., 1999, 2000) conducted as part of the CEYC project. Participants in my study included young children ranging age of 2.3 to 4 and their parents, living in Suwon, a city of approximately 700,000 inhabitants. Suwon is a medium-sized city located in

³⁴ The United States, Korea, Russia, Estonia, Finland, Kenya, and Brazil

northwest of South Korea. It is situated within one hours' drive from the capital, Seoul. Suwon is a mainly industrial city but is not far from agricultural areas. The city has major universities and is expanding currently (Lee, 1994).

Two communities were selected in the city of Suwon for the recruitment of participants. Metan is a predominantly middle-class community and Seryu is mostly working class. From two communities, Metan and Seryu, 12 children who ranged in age from 28 to 48 month were initially recruited. Because children are more linguistically capable from two years old, this age was appropriate to investigate the disciplinary interactions between preschoolers and their parents. For initial Metan group of children, three girls ($M= 32.0$ months, $SD=1$ for) and three boys ($M= 39.3$ months, $SD= 10.26$) were recruited. For initial Seryu group of children, three girls ($M= 37.3$ month, $SD= 8.02$) and three boys ($M= 39.0$, $SD=8.66$) were recruited. However, in this study, available videotapes from 10 children and their families were used. For the Metan community, three boys and two girls were included, for the Seryu community, two boys and three girls were included (Lee, 1994).

With the help of community representatives, detailed information about the people in the community was obtained. Letters explaining the method and the purpose of the study were sent to potential participants and screening calls were made to discover parental education and occupation. Including Kohn (1969), many researchers argued that the level of education and occupation are more dependable components to determine parental values and behaviors. In the study, the level of education and occupation were regarded as the best criteria determining class membership (Lee, 1994).

In the Metan community, mothers' median educational attainment was a bachelor's degree, ranging from some college to bachelor's degree. The fathers' median education was also a bachelor's degree, but their average length of full time education was longer than that of mothers. The mothers' average years of full-time education after 14 was 7.8 ($SD=0.41$). The fathers' median and minimum educational attainment was also a bachelor's degree, and their average length of full-time education after age 14 was 8.2 ($SD=0.41$). For all the Metan families, the income was in the range of \$25,001 to \$ 40,000. The median Hollinshead ranking for fathers was 9 (higher executives, major professionals), range 6-9. Except for one mother who worked as an executive in a finance company, all the mothers were housewives (Lee, 1994).

In the Seryu community, both mothers' and fathers' median educational attainments were "completion of high school." The median Hollingshed (1975) ranking for these working-class fathers was 3 (machine operator and semiskilled worker). For all the Seryu families, the income was in the range of \$ 10,001 to \$ 25,000. The median Hollingshead ranking for father was 3 (machine operators and semiskilled workers), range 3-5. All Seryu mothers were housewives. The mothers' median and maximum educational attainment was "completion of high school." The mothers completed 3.5 years of full-time education after age 14 ($SD=1.12$). The fathers' median educational attainment was also completion of high school, and ranged from "less than high school" to "some college." Their average years of education after age 14 was 3.8 ($SD=1.46$) (Lee, 1994).

The data were collected from September to November, 1993. Families were asked to keep their daily routine unchanged as much as possible during the videotaping. The study

goals and methods were explained to participants by explanations over telephone calls and meetings. The CEYC project was designed to collect a total of 20 hours of observational data. In the days prior to observation, several short visits were made to the home in order to accustom the child and other family members to the observer's presence. Each child was observed over the course of a week to capture the equivalent of an entire day with 18 hours being coded live, by paper and pencil. On the final day of observation, the child's activities were videotaped for the final two hours³⁵. Following observations, the parents were interviewed and completed a questionnaire and a Q-sort measure to assess their values and beliefs about childrearing. In addition, an additional 63 parents completed the questionnaire, and I will also use the data gathered from them. These additional participants were from the same social class groups as the original CEYC participants; the main difference was that they had not participated in the lengthy observational study.

Measures

The study investigated all the verbal disciplinary utterances as parental interactive practices (the component of process in Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model) and parental beliefs (the component of person in the PPCT model) in each class. Verbal disciplinary practices were analyzed by two measures: seven disciplinary domains and five language functions. Parental beliefs were surveyed by questionnaires.

To investigate verbal disciplinary practices, all the parents' verbal behaviors were transcribed from the video tapes and analyzed. All the verbal utterances were divided into disciplinary verbal behaviors and non-disciplinary verbal behaviors. The disciplinary verbal

³⁵ The goal was to collect two hours of videotape for each child. However, in some cases the tapes were less than two hours because of recording problem.

behavior was defined as parents' verbal behavior which tried either to change the child's behavior or involved language showing a conflict between the parents and their child. If the language appeared to have some disciplinary intention, it was coded as disciplinary. If there were no disciplinary intention, the verbal behavior was coded as non-disciplinary. Clearly it was important to understand the context in which the language occurred to distinguish disciplinary and non-disciplinary utterances.

To analyze parental verbal disciplinary practices (utterances), two measures were used whereas non-disciplinary utterances were only coded with the five language functions. Non-disciplinary utterances could not be coded into the seven disciplinary domains because non-disciplinary utterances do not include any disciplinary intentions. Every transcribed disciplinary verbal behavior was coded terms of disciplinary domains and language functions at the same time. 25% of tapes were coded by a second person and inter-coder reliability was 85% for disciplinary domains and 94% for language functions. In addition, the parental beliefs were analyzed by the following three measures.

Seven Disciplinary Domains for Parents Verbal Disciplinary Practices

Edwards and Liu (2002) summarized the most frequently named overlapping areas of developmental tasks parents and their children confront for children of 12 through 36 months. The six developmental themes³⁶ they outlined describe in what areas parents try to control and regulate children's behaviors and expectations. According to these authors,

³⁶ The six themes of developmental tasks are developmental autonomy and independence (simple skills of daily living such as feeding, dressing, toileting, and personal hygiene), self-reflection and reflective self-evaluation, impulse control or emotional regulation (ability to wait), morality and prosocial ability (learning rules and standards to be prosocial), gender identity, and becoming a member of society (learning how to engage appropriately in social interaction).

young children of this age are required to be aware of themselves as active agents and to develop an appropriate gender identity in the cultural community; therefore, parents start to guide their children using disciplinary practices and control techniques, as parents believe it to be appropriate. Among the six themes, the most common and practical themes in real life situations include the themes of “autonomy and independence,” “impulse control or emotional regulation,” and “moral and prosocial ability.” The issue of autonomy and independence refers to children’s learning how to function autonomously in the ordinary routines of self-care. The area of impulse control and emotion regulation is related to waiting ability, compliant behavior, and following rules without monitoring. Prosocial and moral ability refers to becoming prosocial, taking into account others’ needs, and emotional sensitivity to others and violation of standards.

Related to Edwards and Liu’s (2002) organized themes for young children, Gralinski and Kopp’s (1993) behavioral categories³⁷ are useful to investigate systematic disciplinary patterns of parental practices, specifically depending on the domain. The measure of parents’ disciplinary practices that I used was based on Gralinski and Kopp’s (1993) and Kim’s (2002) behavioral categorizations. In this study, parents’ disciplinary practices were divided into seven behavioral domains. Even when an utterance could be matched to more than two relevant domains, the single most relevant disciplinary domain was selected. All utterances were divided into two categories: disciplinary and non-disciplinary. I defined disciplinary practices as “parents’ practices that are intended to change the child’s behavior

³⁷ Gralinski and Kopp’s (1993) coding categories were derived from mothers’ responses. Their eight specific behavioral standards are as follows: safety rules, personal property rules, interpersonal rules, food-related rules, independence requests, self-care rules, family routines, and delay. “The associated definitions for each category were functionally derived. The categories are consistent with the theoretical and empirical work of Kopp (1987) (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993)” and other studies.

or thinking.” It might be the case that parental non-disciplinary practices unconsciously carry some underlying discipline-related meanings. However, I did not categorize parental verbal practices that are not consciously intended to discipline the child (try to change the child’s behavior or thinking toward parents’ intention) into the disciplinary practices. In this study, verbal practices and utterances are interchangeably used.

The safety and health domain includes the behavioral standard of protecting children from their own act or dangerous objects. Not touching the stove, or knives, or other potentially dangerous object, not playing with or eating objects that contain unhealthy or unsanitary ingredients, not engaging in potentially dangerous activities such as jumping off a high place, or leaning on moving furniture, or going into a street, and any other activities aimed at protecting children from harm, injury, and unsanitary things.

The protection of personal property domain involves safeguarding other’s property from children’s exploitative, intrusive, or inadvertently destructive behaviors. Examples include not going in cupboards, not playing with the computer, not tearing up books, not coloring walls, and not getting into prohibited areas or drawers.

The respect for others domain is related to rules of respecting others, expressions of prosocial behavior, and control of aggressive behavior directed towards parents and other children. Emphasizing the concept of fairness and respecting rules/policies are also put into this domain. Examples include not taking toys away from other children, taking turns in playing, sharing toys (personal property) with other children, not insisting on having another’s property, accepting a fair distribution of food among many people, being nice to

friends or siblings, not pinching and hitting other children, and not being too rough to other children.

The emotion-regulation domain. According to Grolnick and Farkas (2002), self-regulation is composed of multidimensional constructs including emotional, motivational, cognitive, and behavioral aspects. Therefore, a high emotion-regulated person is considered a person with an autonomous, flexible, and adaptive inner capacity. The concept of emotion regulation is frequently found in studies dealing with young children's socialization. Often, young children's ability to regulate their own behavior is considered the most important goal in the socialization process.

In many empirical studies of young children, emotion regulation is measured by the child's ability to modulate a stressful situation. In Gralinski and Kopp's (1993) study, behavioral self-regulation was examined. Focusing on developmental issues, these authors asked the mothers of toddlers and preschoolers about rules for everyday behaviors. Gralinski and Kopp (1993) devised eight behavioral domains based on the parents' answer. Among these domains, the domain of "delay" is conceptually close to the domain of "emotion regulation" in this study. The domain of "delay" includes "waiting when mom is on the telephone," "not interrupting other's conversation," and "waiting for a meal." However, I expanded this concept by including within it the domain of "obedience" in Gralinski and Kopp's (1993) study. The domain of "obedience" refers to the situations when parents want to train children's attitude toward parental authority. Although in the Gralinski and Kopp's study, the domain was named as "obedience" which is seemingly similar to the value of conformity, I used the domain to refer to the concept of "authority or teaching compliance"

which is actually neutral across the two classes.³⁸ Edward and Liu (2002) also explained the construct of emotion-regulation (and impulse control) with the examples of waiting ability, compliance behavior, and following rules without monitoring.

In my study, the domain of “emotion regulation” initially was intended to include all the disciplinary situations in which parents intend to foster young children’s endurance in a delay situation and compliance toward authority. However, this domain actually could be enlarged across all the other domains in that all the disciplinary behavior, regardless of the topic, contains factors related to emotion regulation. Therefore, even though the disciplinary training between parents and their children could start in domains other than emotion-regulation, if the main issue of the training became transformed into autonomous self-regulative modulation from the initial disciplinary behavior, the situation was coded as emotion-regulation.

To identify and understand the comprehensiveness of the domain of “emotion regulation” is important. Emotion-regulation is directly related to the concept of self-directedness or belief in internal standard of control. According to Kohn (1969), middle-class parents emphasize those concepts of parenting more than working-class parents do. In this study, I examined socioeconomic differences between middle- and working-class parents in terms of the domain of “emotion regulation” from Kohn’s point of view.

³⁸ Galinski and Kopp (1993) investigated the trend in compliance to particular categories. According to the results, compliance to delay domain marked the lowest score among the eight disciplinary domains for 18-month through 30-month young children. In their study all the eight domains are as follows: safety, protection of personal property, respect for others, food and mealtime routines, delay, manners, self-care, and family routines. As is expected, after non-compliant child behaviors, parents are likely to refer to comments about ideal attitudes towards parental authority. In this sense, I merged the two domains to represent a critical and problematic issue occurring in young children’s everyday developmental path, which eventually related to the regulation and modulation of young children’s autonomous sense of responsibility.

The manners and politeness domain is related to rules of greeting other people (“say hello to him” “say bye-bye”), showing gratitude and appreciation appropriately (saying thank you to others), speaking politely using appropriate words and manner, and showing appropriate behavior to those in authority. In this domain, behaviorally appropriate attitudes, specifically for politeness, are the primary focus of attention.

The family routine and independence in self-care domain includes a variety of everyday routines for children. Examples include getting children to try new activities and practice existing ones, food-related requests (not eating candy before dinner, not walking around the table when eating, not eating with hands), family routines-related requests (cleaning the table, putting away toys, and throwing away trash), and self-care-related rules (cleaning one’s own face, dressing oneself, going to the toilet oneself).

Other. This domain includes general cognitive activities such as playing puzzles or games, giving technical explanations to a child, and a variety of parental practices based on parents’ culture-specific cultural beliefs. Emphasizing gender-typical behaviors, persuading a child to eat food for a culture-specific reason, and all the disciplinary behaviors that cannot easily fit into the former six domains are included in this domain.

Language Functions

In the study, to compare language functions related to socioeconomic status, coding lists for parents’ verbal input were devised based on Pellegrino and Scopesi’s³⁹ (1990), and Kim’s (1997) ideas about language functions. In the Pellegrino and Scopesi (1990) study,

³⁹ The coding list is aimed at exploring structural and functional changes in baby talk for under three years of age in the Italian day care center. Caregiver’s utterances were classified into four categories: empathetic behavior, conversational behavior, didactic behavior, and organizational behavior.

there were only four coding categories for language function. They were empathetic analysis, conversational behavior, didactic behavior, and organizational behavior. Kim (1997), as a Korean researcher, transformed Pellegrino and Scopesi's (1990) four categories into five categories, making the measure more culturally appropriate. She added a category of "demand" because the original four-category measure could not cover all the Korean teachers' verbal behaviors. Based on the culture-appropriate reformulation, the new category of demand in this study was included to identify more controlling and demanding verbal behaviors that carried more strict and rigid nuance than the category of management. The new category of demand was devised to cover imperatives, polite but strict requests, strong prohibitions, physical punishment, and warnings about impending physical punishment. Caregiver's utterances were therefore classified into five categories and each category included several sub-strategies (see the Appendix).

Parents' Beliefs

The parents who participated in the videotaping study (12 parents) and a further 63 parents (32 middle class, 31 working class) who had not participated in videotaping were asked to fill out the questionnaire. The additional parents of each social class were selected based on the same criteria by which parents who participated in videotaping were selected. The survey is based on the Parental Beliefs Survey (Hogan & Tudge, 1994; Luster, 1985), which was designed to measure parental beliefs about appropriate child rearing. Parents were asked to circle the response that best represented their opinion for each of 59 items, on a six-point Likert scale. There are three sub-scales relevant to this study; beliefs about talking with the child (for example, "I believe that it is very important to spend a lot of time

talking to my child”⁴⁰); beliefs about spoiling (for example, “I worry about spoiling my child by being an over-attentive parent”⁴¹); and beliefs regarding discipline and control (for example, “the most important task of parenting is disciplining the child”⁴²). A high score on “talking” indicates a greater emphasis on adjusting oneself to the needs or demands of the child whereas a high score on spoiling and controlling means greater emphasis on constraint. Cronbach’s alphas for each sub-scale were as follows: talking (two items, Alpha .58); spoiling (seven items, alpha .65); controlling (four items, .62).

In summary, all the parents’ disciplinary utterances were coded along two dimensions: disciplinary utterances were categorized into seven disciplinary domains to investigate how Korean parents’ disciplinary and controlling practices were instantiated in real-life situations. Again, all the disciplinary utterances were categorized into five language functions. The parental beliefs of talking, controlling, and spoiling were also investigated to understand the ways in which parental beliefs shape Korea parents’ actual disciplinary practices.

⁴⁰ Other questions used in the survey are as follows: “talking to a young child probably has no effect on the child,” and “reading to a young child probably has little effect on the child.” Three questions were asked in the survey for parental belief of talking.

⁴¹ Other questions are as follows: “it is likely that you spoil your baby if you respond to most of his/her cries.” and “responding quickly to an infant’s crying encourages him/her to be demanding.” Seven questions were asked in the survey for the parental beliefs of spoiling.

⁴² Other questions are as follows: “parents should be strict with their young children or they will be difficult to manage later on” and “one of the best ways to prepare a young child to be a good student is to teach him/her to be obedient.” Four questions were asked in the survey for the parental beliefs of control.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

The aims of this study were to investigate first, how Korean parenting beliefs and verbal behavior in the course of everyday parenting practices differ depending on socioeconomic status and second, how parenting beliefs are related to actual parenting verbal practices. The first aim was met by using the videotapes that were made of each of the 10 children in the main Cultural Ecology of Young Children (CEYC) study that was discussed in the previous chapter. A total of 517 minutes (a mean frequency of 8.62 hours) were filmed and analyzed from the five middle-class children, and a total of 427 minutes (a mean frequency of 7.12 hours) were analyzed from the five working-class children. Because the length of time was different for each social class, the raw number of utterances will not be displayed in the tables and figures that follow. Instead, frequencies of utterances per hour will be presented. In this study, parents who participated in the filming refer to both mothers and fathers. However, the majority of the talking is done by mothers. Only one father participated during limited time. Therefore, even though the term I used for the participants in the study is “parents,” the term actually refers primarily to “mothers.”

Question 1

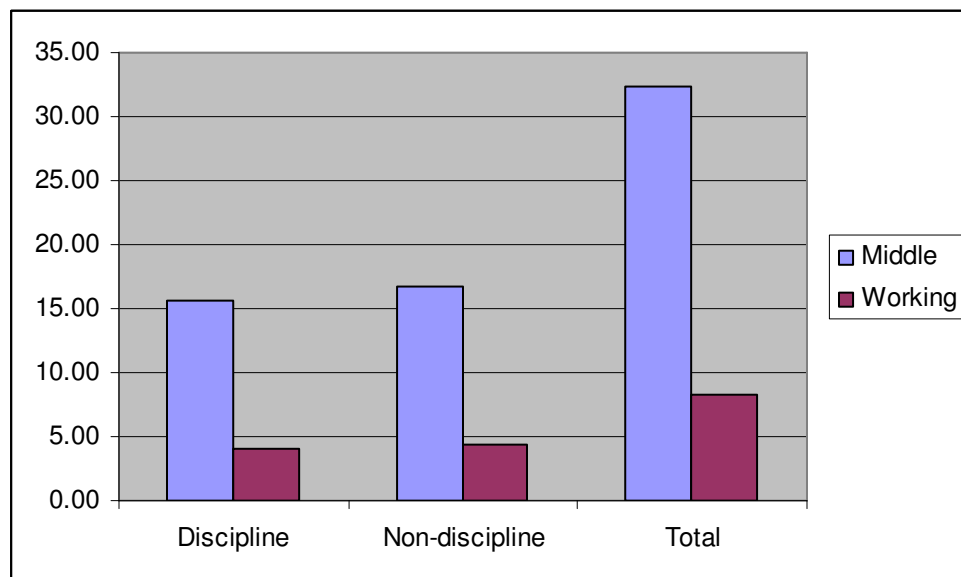
The first question examined Korean mothers’ language to the child, considering both its disciplinary and non-disciplinary content, its language function (empathy, communication, explanation, etc.), and disciplinary domain (safety, protection, etc.) in terms

of socioeconomic status. An average of 278.8 (32.3 per hour) utterances were coded for the middle class and an average of 59.4 (8.3 per hour) utterances were coded for the working class. In each social class group, the total number is divided into utterances related to discipline and those that do not have any disciplinary focus.

Hypothesis 1-1

According to hypothesis 1-1, middle-class parents were expected to show more verbal disciplinary behaviors than were working-class parents. As was expected, middle-class parents showed more verbal disciplinary practices than did working-class parents.

Figure 1. Total Utterances per Hour, by Discipline / Non-Discipline and Social Class



* The figure is based on mean frequency

As can be seen in Figure 1, in the middle-class group the mean frequency of verbal utterances per hour was 32.3, of which utterances related to discipline totaled 15.6 and those

Table 1. Language Functions of Disciplinary (D) and Non-Disciplinary (ND) Utterances, by Social Class (frequency per hour)

Middle Class	Chihyung (boy)*			Hakbin (boy)			Jiyeon (girl)		
	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total
Empathy	1.86	4.87	6.73	3.83	1.04	4.87	0.23	0.81	1.04
Communication	1.74	7.66	9.4	3.13	4.4	7.53	1.28	0.58	1.86
Explanation	7.66	11.83	19.49	7.08	2.55	9.63	3.02	0.47	3.49
Management	4.29	5.68	9.97	8.82	2.09	10.91	5.57	1.04	6.61
Demand	5.8	0	5.8	2.09	0	2.09	1.04	0	1.04
Total	21.35	30.05	51.4	24.94	10.09	35.03	11.14	2.9	14.04
Middle Class	Taewon (boy)			Yuna (girl)			Middle Class Total		
	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total
Empathy	0.23	1.04	1.27	1.97	1.74	3.71	8.12	9.51	17.63
Communication	0	4.64	4.64	2.2	9.86	12.06	8.35	27.15	35.5
Explanation	1.51	4.52	6.03	2.9	5.45	8.35	22.16	24.83	46.99
Management	3.13	6.72	9.85	5.92	6.5	12.42	27.73	22.04	49.77
Demand	0.58	0	0.58	2.32	0	2.32	11.83	0	11.83
Total	5.45	16.94	22.39	15.31	23.55	38.86	78.19	83.53	161.72
Mean Total							15.64	16.71	32.34
Working Class	Wonyoung (boy)			Juyeon (girl)			Songhee (girl)		
	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total
Empathy	0.7	0.84	1.54	0.42	0.42	0.84	0.28	0	0.28
Communication	0.14	1.12	1.26	0	1.83	1.83	0.56	1.12	1.68
Explanation	1.12	2.67	3.79	0.84	1.26	2.1	0.84	0.98	1.82
Management	3.09	5.2	8.29	1.54	1.83	3.37	1.83	0.98	2.81
Demand	4.78	0.42	5.2	1.26	0	1.26	0.7	0	0.7
Total	9.83	10.25	20.08	4.07	5.34	9.41	4.21	3.09	7.3
Working Class	Yukyung(girl)			Juin(boy)			Working Class Total		
	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total	D	ND	Total
Empathy	0.14	0.14	0.28	0	0	0	1.54	1.4	2.94
Communication	0.14	1.4	1.54	0	0	0	0.84	5.48	6.32
Explanation	0.28	0.7	0.98	0	0	0	3.09	5.62	8.71
Management	0.7	0.84	1.54	0	0	0	7.16	8.85	16.01
Demand	0.56	0	0.56	0	0	0	7.3	0.42	7.72
Total	1.83	3.09	4.92	0	0	0	19.94	21.77	41.71
Mean Total							3.99	4.35	8.34

* All names are pseudonyms

were not relevant to discipline were slightly more frequent (16.7 per hour). In the working-class group, the total number of hourly utterances was 8.3 (about one quarter of the output of the middle-class parents), of which those relating to discipline totaled 4.0 per hour, and those unrelated to discipline totaled 4.4 per hour.

The frequencies per hour of utterances, broken down by the five language functions and examined separately for each child in the two social class groups are presented in Table 1. As is clear from this table, there is wide variation in both groups (see Table 2), with one middle-class girl (Jiyeon) only being spoken to a total of 14 times per hour compared to a boy (Chihyung) who was spoken to more than 50 times per hour (*SD* for middle class is 7.8 in disciplinary utterances). Among the working-class children, Juin, a boy, was not spoken to at all during the filming whereas another boy (Wonyoung) was spoken to more than 20 times per hour (*SD* for working class is 3.7 in disciplinary utterances).

Table 2. Mean Frequency and *SD*, by Class and Situation

Middle	Chihyung	Hakbin	Jiyeon	Taewon	Yuna	<i>SD</i>
D*	21.35	24.94	11.14	5.45	15.31	7.80
ND**	30.05	10.09	2.9	16.94	23.55	10.72
Working	Wonyoung	Juyeon	Songhee	Yukyung	Juin	<i>SD</i>
D	9.83	4.07	4.21	1.83	0	3.70
ND	10.25	5.34	3.09	3.09	0	3.80

*Disciplinary situation ** Non-Disciplinary situation

The frequencies per hour of disciplinary utterances in terms of the seven disciplinary domains are presented separately for each social class in Table 3. In both social class groups, non-disciplinary utterances were slightly more frequent than were utterances related to

discipline. In the middle class, disciplinary utterances constituted 47.8% of the total utterances compared to 48.3% of the working-class parents' utterances. However, there were big differences in the frequency of utterances between the two classes, with middle-class mothers speaking to their children 3.9 times more frequently than did working-class parents. As was clear in Figure 1, both groups of parents were equally likely to speak while disciplining as while not disciplining.

Table 3. Disciplinary Utterances in Terms of Disciplinary Domain, by Child and Social Class

Middle	Safety	Protection	Respect	Emotion	Manners	Family	Other	Total
Chihyung	0.23*	0.70	4.41	14.15	0.23	0.00	1.62	21.35
Hakbin	0.23	1.62	0.23	1.86	0.00	4.29	2.90	11.14
Jiyeon	1.28	0.00	2.44	5.22	2.32	13.46	0.23	24.94
Taewon	0.58	0.00	0.00	3.25	1.28	0.35	0.00	5.45
Yuna	6.03	1.51	2.20	0.00	0.35	5.22	0.00	15.31
Total	8.35	3.83	9.28	24.48	4.18	23.32	4.76	78.19
Mean	1.67	0.77	2.37	4.90	0.84	4.66	0.95	15.64
%	10.68	4.90	11.87	31.31	5.34	29.82	6.08	100.00
Working	Safety	Protection	Respect	Emotion	Manner	Family	Other	Total
Wonyoung	2.11	1.97	1.69	1.26	0.98	1.83	0.00	9.83
Songhee	0.14	0.00	0.84	0.98	0.98	1.26	0.00	4.21
Juyeon	0.00	0.28	0.00	1.40	1.40	0.98	0.00	4.07
Yukyung	0.28	0.00	0.98	0.00	0.42	0.14	0.00	1.83
Juin	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Total	2.53	2.25	3.51	3.65	3.79	4.21	0.00	19.94
Mean	0.51	0.45	0.70	0.73	0.75	0.84	0.00	3.99
%	12.68	11.27	17.61	18.31	19.02	21.13	0.00	100.00

* Frequency per Hour

Hypotheses 1-2 and 1-3

According to hypotheses 1-2 and 1-3, middle-class parents were expected to value (i.e. show bigger proportions among the seven disciplinary domains) emotion regulation

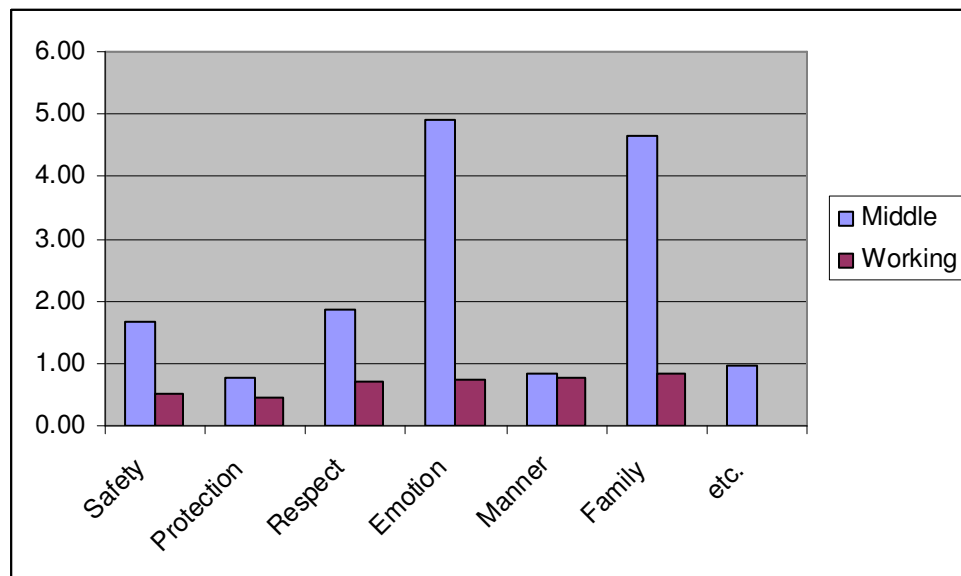
more than were working–class parents and working-class parents were expected to value manners and politeness more than were middle-class parents. These hypotheses were supported. As can be seen in Table 3, middle-class parents showed a greater proportion of emotion regulation than did working-class parents and working-class parents showed a greater proportion of politeness than did middle-class parents.

Among the middle-class parents, their disciplinary utterances were most likely to be in the area of emotion regulation (31.3% of all disciplinary utterances, at a rate of 24.5 per hour across the whole group). However, it is worth noting that more than half of those utterances were directed at one boy, Chihyung. Disciplinary utterances related to family routines was the second most frequent among this group (29.8%, for a total of 23.3 per hour), but again one girl, Jiyeon, received more than half of these statements. Over 60% of all disciplinary utterances made by middle-class parents dealt with one or the other of these two domains. The third domain in which the middle-class parents thought it useful to verbally discipline their children concerned respect for others (11.9%). The fourth and fifth domains were safety and health (10.7%) and manners and politeness (5.3%) The domain that middle-class parents talked about least with disciplinary intent was protection of personal property (4.9%). (There were a further 4.76 disciplinary utterances per hour that could not be coded into one of these six domains.) Figure 2 shows the differences in verbal disciplinary practices between the two classes.

For the working-class parents, there was much greater consistency across the different disciplinary domains. The domain of family routine constituted 21.1% of the total of their disciplinary utterances (a mean frequency of 0.84 per hour), which was the largest

proportion of the seven domains. Manners and politeness occupied the second largest proportion (19%, a mean frequency of 0.76 per hour). The third most frequent source of disciplinary utterances by the working-class parents was emotion-regulation (18.3%, a mean frequency of 0.73 per hour). The fourth and fifth domains were respect for others (17.6%) and safety and health (12.7%) The domain in which working-class parents were least likely to talk with disciplinary intent was protection of personal property (11.3%). These data are presented in graphic form in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Disciplinary Utterances, by Disciplinary Domain and Social Class
(The figure is based on mean frequency)



Hypothesis 1-4

According to hypothesis 1-4, the middle-class parents were expected to show a greater proportion of empathy, explanation, and communication and show a smaller proportion of demand and management than were the working class parents.

Table 4. Language Functions by Discipline (D) and Non-Discipline (ND)

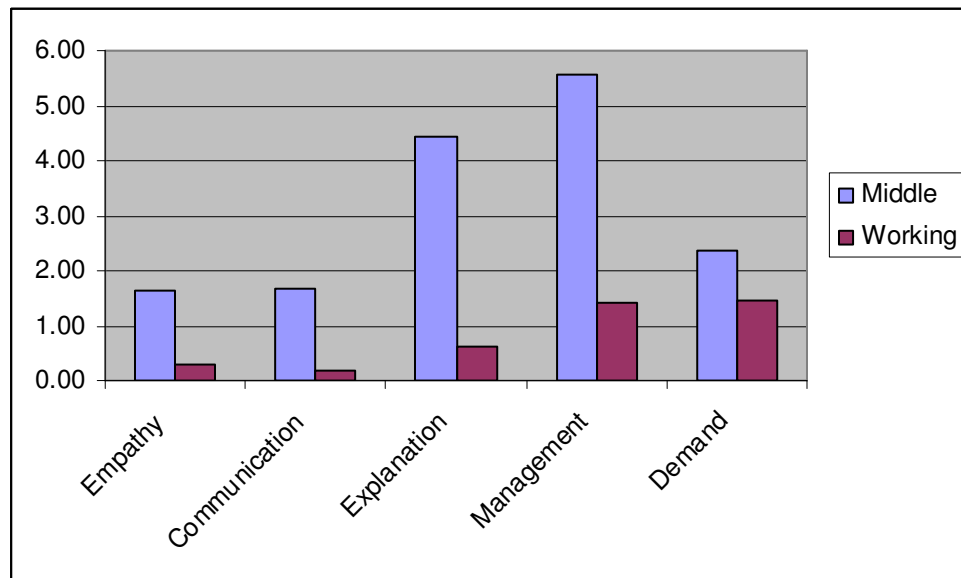
		Empathy	Communication	Explanation	Management	Demand	Total
Middle	D	10.4	10.7	28.3	35.5	15.1	100
	ND	11.4	32.5	29.7	26.4	0	100
	Total	10.9	22	29.1	30.8	7.3	100
Working	D	7.7	4.2	15.5	35.9	36.6	100
	ND	6.5	25.1	25.8	40.6	1.9	100
	Total	7.1	15.2	20.9	38.4	18.5	100

Table 5. Mean Frequencies by Language Function

		Empathy	Communication	Explanation	Management	Demand
D	Middle	1.62	1.67	4.43	5.55	2.37
	Working	0.31	0.17	0.62	1.43	1.46
ND	Middle	1.90	5.43	4.97	4.41	0.00
	Working	0.28	1.10	1.12	1.77	0.08

In this study five language functions were categorized. Initially, in Pellegrino and Scopesi's (1990) study on which my revised measure is heavily dependent, the coding categories for language function were composed of four language functions: empathetic analysis, conversational behavior, didactic behavior, and organizational behavior. However, the category of "demand," was added to extend the language function to five, because the four-category measure did not cover all the Korean parents' verbal behaviors. The new category of demand was derived to identify more controlling utterances that carry more strict and rigid nuance than the category of organizational behavior.

Figure 3. Disciplinary Utterances, by Language Function and Social Class*



* The figure is based on mean frequency

As can be seen in Tables 4 and 5, the middle-class parents showed more verbal utterances in disciplinary interactions, showing a greater proportion of empathy, explanation, and communication and showed a smaller proportion of demand and management than did the working class parents. Table 4, Figure 3, and Figure 4 present the differences between the classes in terms of the language function. In the disciplinary situation, the language function middle-class parents used most frequently was management (35.5%, frequency of 5.54 per hour) and the next most frequently used language function was explanation (28.3%, frequency of 4.42 per hour). Over 60% (63.8%) of all the disciplinary utterances made by middle-class parents dealt with one of these two domains when they disciplined their children. Demand (15.1%, frequency of 2.36 per hour) followed management. Communication (10.7%, frequency of 1.68 per hour) and empathy (10.4%, frequency of 1.62 per hour) were the language functions that middle-class parents used least in

disciplinary practices. The language function of demand was used more frequently than communication and empathy utterances by middle-class parents when they disciplined their children. However, the proportion was low (15.1%) compared with that of working-class parents (36.6%). Apparently, a milder way of talking is preferred by middle-class parents to change their children's misbehavior or misunderstanding.

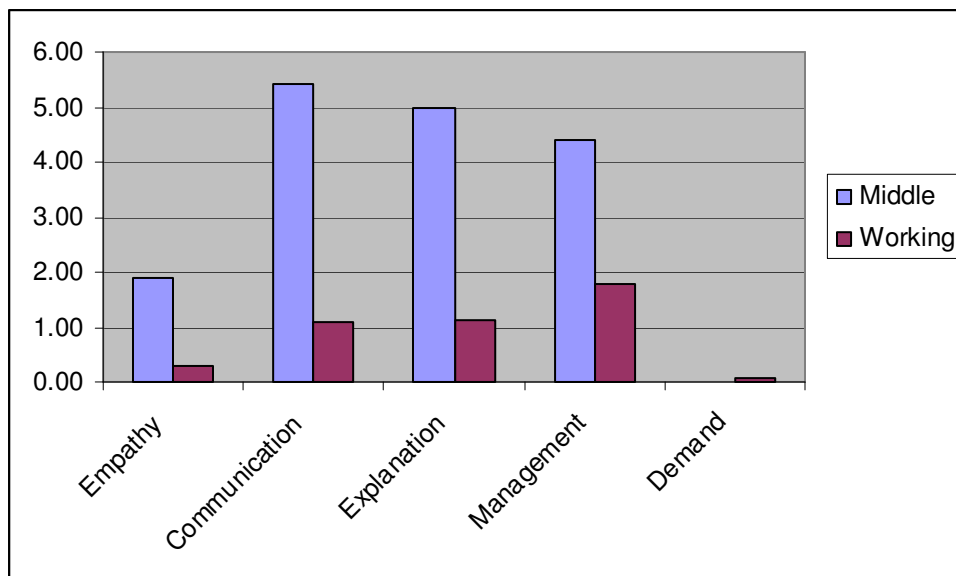
In disciplinary situations, working-class parents used language the function of demand most frequently when they trained their children (36.6%, frequency of 1.46 per hour). They used management almost as much as demand (35.9%, frequency of 1.42 per hour). Over 70% (72.5%) of all disciplinary utterances made by working-class parents were categorized into one of these two domains. Explanation (15.1%, frequency of 0.6 per hour), empathy (7.7%, frequency of 0.3 per hour), and communication (4.2%, frequency of 0.17 per hour) were not used often by working-class parents when they tried to change their children' misbehaviors.

As a summary, compared with working-class parents, middle-class parents used more explanation (28.4% for middle class vs. 15.5% for working class), communication (10.7% for middle class vs. 4.2% for working class), and empathy (10.4% for middle class vs. 7.7% for working class). On the other hand, working-class parents used more strict utterances such as demand (15.1% for middle class vs. 36.6% for working class). With regard to proportion of the management function in each class (35.5% for middle class vs. 35.9% for working class) the difference was not clear. However, it needs to be noted that, in terms of the frequency per hour, not in terms of proportion, middle-class parents actually

used the demand function more than did the working-class parents (2.36 for middle class vs. 1.46 for working class).

Proportions of verbal practices for each language function in the disciplinary situation were clearly different between the two classes as I showed above. As a next step, although not stated in the hypothesis, I compared the two classes in non-disciplinary situations. Again, in non-disciplinary situations, proportions of verbal practices for each language function showed clear differences between the two classes (see Figure 4). However, different patterns in the two situations were observed.

Figure 4. Non-Disciplinary Utterances, by Language Function and Social Class*



* The figure is based on mean frequency

When parents talked to their children without any disciplinary intentions, middle-class parents used communication most frequently (32.5%, frequency of 5.5 per hour). Explanation (29.7%, frequency of 4.96 per hour) and management (26.4%, frequency of 4.4

per hour) were also used frequently. Empathy (11.4%, frequency of 1.9 per hour) was relatively rarely used. The most distinctive finding is that communicative or explanatory utterances were used with high proportions and the strict way of talking such as demand (0%, zero frequency) was not found.

Working-class parents used managerial utterances most often with high proportion (40.6%, frequency of 1.78 per hour) such as action request, suggestion, claim, warning, and protest. Explanation (25.8%, frequency of 1.12 per hour) and communication (25.1%, frequency of 1.1 per hour) were also commonly used. As in the case of the middle class, empathy (6.5%, frequency of 0.28 per hour) and demand (1.9%, frequency of 0.08 per hour) were the language functions that working-class parents used least in non-disciplinary practices.

Whether they have disciplinary intentions or not, middle-class parents preferred communicative (32.5% for middle class vs. 25.1% for working class), empathetic (11.4% for middle class vs. 6.5% for working class), and explanatory utterances (29.7% for middle class vs. 25.8% for working class) in interacting with their children. Working-class parents used the more directive language function of management (40.6% for middle class vs. 26.4% for working class) or demand (0% for middle class vs. 1.9 for working class). However, it needs to be noted that, in terms of frequency per hour, middle-class parents actually used more managerial utterances than did working-class parents (frequency of 4.4 per hour for middle class vs. frequency of 1.78 per hour for working class).

Table 6. Intersection among Disciplinary Utterances, by Disciplinary Domain and Language Function

		Safety	Protection	Respect	Emotion	Manner	Family	Etc.
Mi**	Empathy	19.4*	0	15	6.2	15.4	11.9	2.6
	Communication	11.1	21.2	5	13.7	5.1	8	15.8
	Explanation	27.8	21.2	25	37	17.9	21.4	42.1
	Management	26.4	27.3	42.5	20.4	53.8	49.3	36.8
	Demand	15.3	30.3	12.5	22.5	7.7	9.5	2.6
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Wo***	Empathy	0.6	16.7	4.3	11.5	0	10	0
	Communication	0	0.6	4.3	0	7.4	6.7	0
	Explanation	11.1	0	26.1	23.1	7.4	20	0
	Management	11.1	27.8	52.2	30.8	40.7	43.3	0
	Demand	72.2	50	13	34.6	44.4	20	0
	Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	0

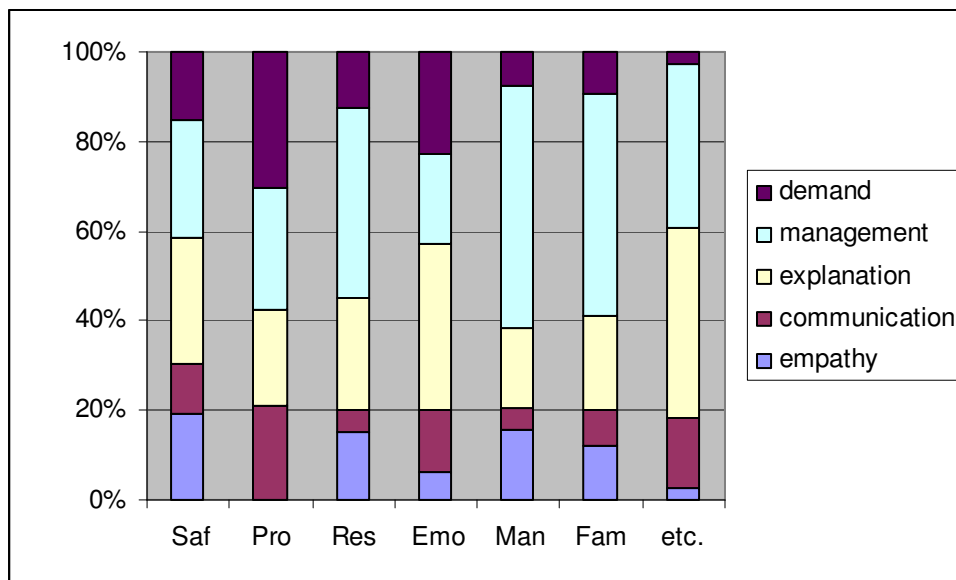
* Number is percentage ** Middle *** Working

Related to hypothesis 1-4, I further specified five language functions in each disciplinary domain for each class. It might be worth specifying the intersection among language functions and each disciplinary domain. Along the disciplinary domain, language functions in each class were compared (see Table 6, Figure 5, and Figure 6).

Parents talked in different ways about the issues of safety and health. Working-class parents used demand over 70% of all the utterances when they trained their children about issues related to safety and health whereas middle-class parents used explanation, management, and empathy with similar importance, and demand was the least common language function they used when disciplining their children on safety and health matters. The proportion of empathy was 19.4 %, the highest percentage across five domains. This indicates that middle-class parents used more positive and negative internal reports,

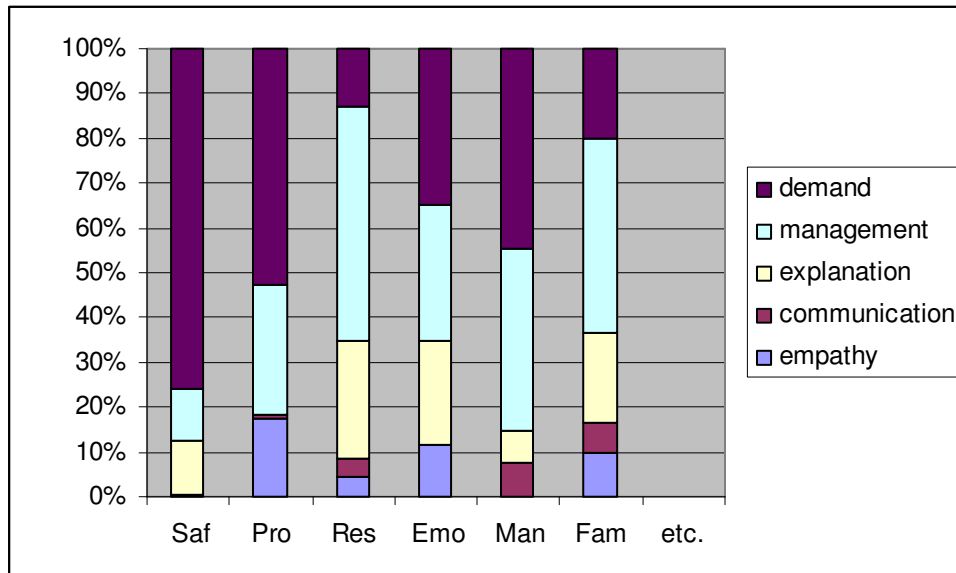
empathetic expressions, and emotional appeals to persuade their children to make them safe and healthy.

Figure 5. Intersection among Disciplinary Utterances, by Disciplinary Domain and Language Function for Middle Class



The examples of this domain are as follows. “It is not good to watch TV right in front of it (normative explanation-explanation), put some distance between you and the TV” (action request-management). “That’s not candy powder, that is a powder seasoning” (identification-explanation). “If you eat that, you will be likely to throw up, I bet” (Normative-explanation). “Try a tiny bit (suggestion- management), how is it?” (process question-communication). “It is not what you thought, is it?” (identification-explanation). “Now you know that you are not allowed to eat that” (normative explanation-explanation).

Figure 6. Intersection among Disciplinary Utterances, by Disciplinary Domain and Language Function for Working Class



In the domain of protection of personal property, both of the two classes used demand most frequently. Working-class parents use demand (50.0%) more than management, and middle-class parents used demand (30.0%) more than management and explanation. Unlike other domains, middle-class parents used strict and strong utterances when children needed discipline to teach the importance of other persons' protection.

Examples of this domain are as follows. “Don’t you know that throwing it away is not a good behavior?” (normative explanation-explanation). “Because you like to throw it away and ruin stuff, I won’t rent the movie of ‘Freshman’ for you” (causal explanation-explanation). “You keep watching the movie and you seem to follow the movie, don’t you?” (causal explanation-explanation). “Put this where it was, in my drawer” (action request-management). “Hurry up, put it in the drawer” (action request-management). “Don’t do that

any more please!” (request-demand). “See, I’ve put it away for you!” (imperative-demand). “How many times do I need to say I’m not going to do that anymore?” (claim-management). “Place it neatly in the drawer!” (imperative-demand).

In the domain of respect for others, both middle- and working-class parents showed similar patterns, using management most and explanation as next. But demand was the third most often used by the working class whereas empathy was third most frequent for the middle class.

Examples of this domain are as follows. “Don’t slam the door” (request- demand). “If you do it like that, the baby will be startled” (causal explanation- explanation). “How about singing together with your friend?”(suggestion-management). “Your friend wants to join in” (description-explanation). “Share it with him” (action request-explanation). “What makes you not share that with him?” (process question-communication). “How dare you hit your younger brother?” (prohibition-demand). “Stop! Stop doing that!” (imperatives-demand). “You need to pamper him like this” (action request-management). “Don’t do that to him” (action request- demand).

In the domain of emotion-regulation, the two classes showed a reversed pattern between explanation and strict utterances. Middle-class parents used explanation often (37.0%) but also used demand (22.5%) and management (20.4%) frequently. Working-class parents used strict utterances such as demand (34.6%) and management (30.8%) to train their children to make them more self-regulative. Explanation was the third language function working-class parents used.

Examples of this domain are as follows. “I will rent the movie later, at night” (plan report-explanation). “Then what do you want to rent?” (product question-communication). “I cannot go out today” (normative explanation-explanation). “After Chiho (baby’s name) wakes up, we can go” (normative explanation-explanation). “No, No, come here” (action request-management). “Don’t do that!”(prohibition-demand). “You are really not listening to me”(warning-management). “I’m really tired because you are really strong-willed today” (internal report-empathy).

In the domain of manner and politeness, the two classes showed a different pattern. Middle-class parents used most managerial utterances for more than half of total. Explanation was the second most frequently used function and demand was the last function when middle-class parents disciplined their children to behave properly in the interpersonal relationship. However, in the working class, over 80% of all disciplinary utterances involved demand and management to improve children’s proper demeanor and good manners.

Examples of this domain are as follows. “Ms. Park is about to leave” (description-explanation). “Let’s say bye to her” (action request-management). “Go there and say bye to her” (action request-management). “Hurry up, say bye to her, say bye to your friends” (action request- management). “Do you really want to keep saying bad words?” (prohibition-demand). “You really want to get in trouble and punished!” (physical punishment-demand).

In the domain of family routine, the two classes showed a similar pattern. In almost half of the total occasions, middle-class parents used managerial utterances. Explanation and empathy were also used to teach their children self-care and family chores. Working-class

parents also used management as in the case of the middle class. Demand and explanation were used often to promote children's ability for self-caring.

Examples of this domain are as follows. "See, the fish is hiding here!" (description-explanation). "Onion is here inside the egg" (description-explanation). "You are really eating well!" (evaluation-empathy). "Let's clean this up" (action request-management). "Can you pass me the same kind as this?" (action request-management). "Clean all this up!"(imperative-demand). "Something is here between the toys"(description-explanation). "After cleaning up you are allowed to go out" (normative explanation-explanation).

In the domain of others, examples are as follows. "How come you, as a young kid, have money ?" (prohibition-demand). "Do you want to put the money in the bank?" (clarification-communication). "Is it true or a lie?" (choice question-communication). "I know what you are planning to do with that" (warning-management). "Koreans need to learn how to eat spicy food" (normative explanation-explanation). "You are a man and a man should be more tolerant of spicy food" (normative explanation-explanation).

In conclusion, in the domains of protection of personal property, respect for others, and family routine, relatively similar patterns in disciplinary practices were reported in the two social classes. In the domain of protection of personal property, both the middle- and working-class parents mostly used demand and management, although the proportion of language shows differences. In the domain of respect for others, regardless of socioeconomic status, parents used managerial utterances most frequently and used explanatory utterances as next. In the domain of family routine, management was used most and explanation was secondly frequent. It was found that parents of preschool children, no

matter which social class they belong to, used more strict utterances in the domain of protection of personal property and talk in less strict way in the domains of respect for others and family routine.

However, in the domains of emotion-regulation, safety and health and manners and politeness, the two classes showed big differences. In the domains of emotion-regulation and safety and health, middle-class parents used explanation most whereas working-class parents used demand most for each domain. In the domain of manners and politeness, middle-class parents used management most whereas working-class parents used demand most. That is, when parents wanted to train their children to be more emotion-regulative, to teach them issues of safety and health, and to discipline them to have good and polite manners, working-class parents were shown to use more strict utterances whereas middle-class parents were reported to use less strict communicative patterns such as explanation and management.

Question 2

The second question examined Korean parents' child-rearing beliefs in terms of socioeconomic status. In this study, I used two groups of participants. First, I used parental belief data from the participants who were filmed in the study. Second, I used data from 32 middle-class mothers and 31 working-class mothers to explore parental beliefs in a larger group. Participants were selected based on the same conditions. Three child-rearing beliefs in each class are presented with means, standard deviation, and the number of respondents in Tables 7 and Table 8. All respondents were mothers.

Table 7. Mothers' Beliefs about Control and Spoiling by Social Class from Initial Participants

		Mean	SD	N
Control	Middle	3.9	0.8	4
	Working	4.2	0.8	6
Spoiling	Middle	3.8	0.3	4
	Working	3.9	0.7	6

Hypothesis 2-1

According to hypothesis 2-1, working-class parents were expected to endorse the beliefs in control and spoiling more strongly than were the middle-class parents. The working-class parents showed higher mean of child-rearing beliefs on control and spoiling (See Figure 7).

Table 8. Mothers' Beliefs about Talking, Control, and Spoiling by Social Class from Second Group of Parents

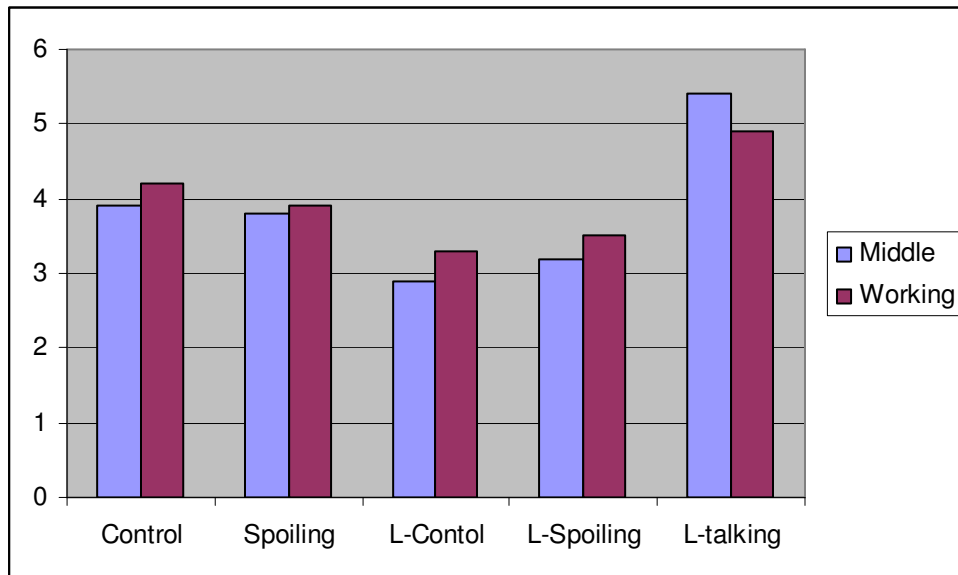
		M	SD	N
Talking	Middle	5.4	0.6	32
	Working	4.9	0.9	31
Control	Middle	2.9	0.9	32
	Working	3.3	0.9	30
Spoiling	Middle	3.2	0.8	32
	Working	3.5	0.7	31

First, the parental beliefs from the initial group who participated in filming indicated that both in the beliefs of control and spoiling, the middle class showed lower score than working class (see Table 8). In terms of beliefs about child-rearing, the middle-class mothers

were more likely to devalue control and discipline than were the working-class mothers. Therefore, middle-class parents tended to value more responsive child-rearing.

Second, as for the group of 64 mothers, the results showed a similar pattern. Both in the parental beliefs of control and spoiling, middle-class parents showed lower scores, reflecting their value about child-rearing which is less strict and more responsive than working-class parents

Figure 7. Child-Rearing Beliefs on Control, Spoiling, and Talking from the Initial and Second Group of Participants (L is for larger group)



However, there were some differences between the initial group and the second group. First, the parents in the initial group valued the beliefs of controlling and spoiling more strictly, showing higher means. Second, the ranges of differences in both beliefs were narrower for the initial group. The reported differences can be interpreted in two ways. The 10 families who agreed to take part in the study might be different from those who did not

want to participate in the filming. The other possibility is that after intensive observation session and filming, they came to have different attitudes than they might have had before participating in the study.

Hypothesis 2-2

According to hypothesis 2-2, middle-class parents were expected to endorse the beliefs in talking to their young children more strongly than did working-class parents. As can be seen in Figure 4, middle-class parents showed a higher mean of child-rearing beliefs about talking. In terms of beliefs about child-rearing, the middle-class mothers were likely to value talking more than were the working-class mothers.

Question3

The third question examined the relationship between Korean parents' child-rearing beliefs and their disciplinary practices. In question 2, three child-rearing beliefs were examined. Based on the results, the relationship between the beliefs and disciplinary practices were examined. According to the results of question 2, middle-class parents endorsed the beliefs in control and spoiling less and endorsed the beliefs in talking more than did working-class parents. In this section, whether middle-class parents actually talk more to their children and show more lenient disciplinary practices and whether working-class parents actually talk less and show stricter disciplinary practices were examined.

Hypothesis 3-1

According to hypothesis 3-1, Korean parental beliefs about the importance of talking to the child were expected to have a positive relationship with the total amount of verbal

practices. As was expected, Korean parental beliefs about the importance of talking to the child have a positive relation with the total amount of verbal practices.

As can be seen in Table 1, Korean middle-class parents actually showed 3.9 times higher frequency of total verbal practices (32.3 per hour for middle class vs. 8.3 per hour for working class).

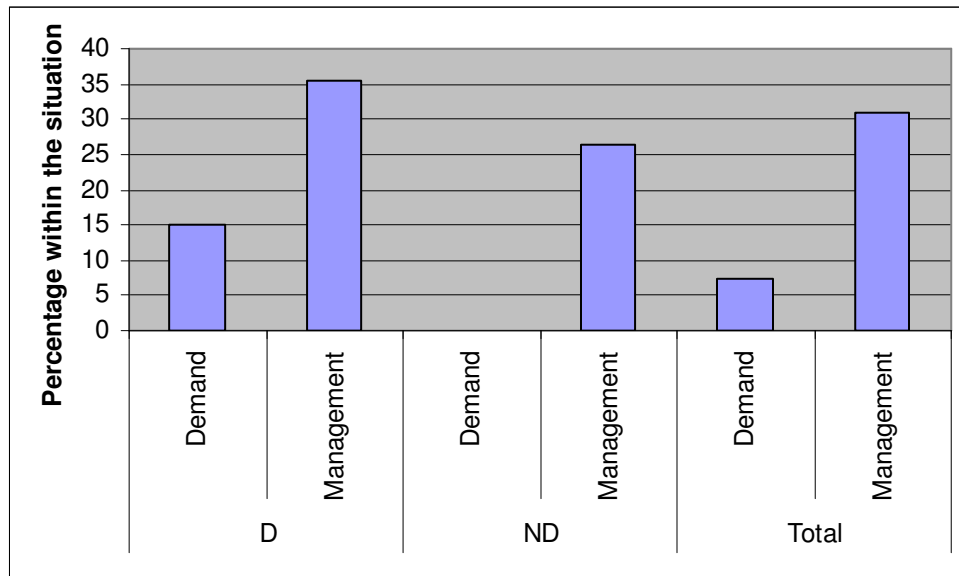
Specifically, middle-class parents showed a higher frequency of verbal practices both in disciplinary and non-disciplinary utterances. Middle-class parents showed 3.9 times more total verbal disciplinary utterances (15.6 per hour for middle class vs. 7.1 per hour for working class) and showed 3.8 times higher frequency of non-disciplinary utterances (16.7 per hour for middle class vs. 4.4 per hour for working class).

It was clear that the parents who valued more on the specific child-rearing beliefs actually showed more parenting verbal practices related to the specific values. Parents who valued talking more showed a distinctively higher frequency of verbal utterances both in the disciplinary and non-disciplinary domains.

Hypothesis 3-2

According to hypothesis 3-2, parents who valued the parental value of strictness (high control, high spoiling) were expected to showed more verbal practices in the domains of “demand” and “management.” As was expected, parents who valued the parental value of strictness (high control, high spoiling) showed more verbal practices in the domains of demand and management.

Figure 8. Language Function of Demand and Management in Three Different Situations⁴³ for Middle class

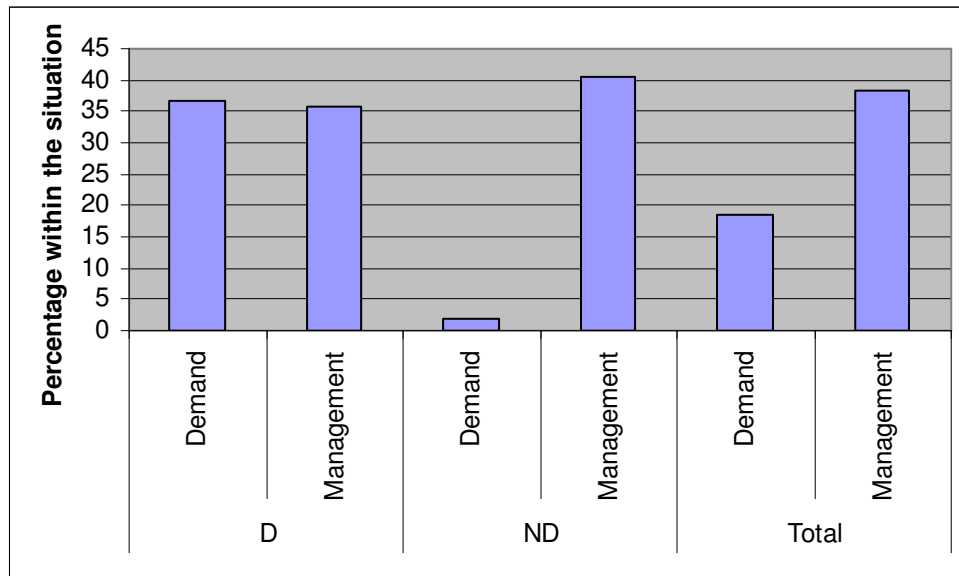


As can be seen in Table 4, Figure 8, and Figure 9, working-class parents, who were reported to have strong beliefs in strict child-rearing, actually showed a bigger proportion of the language function of demand in total verbal practices (18.5% for working-class vs. 7.3% for middle-class).

Specifically, in the disciplinary situation, working-class parents showed a greater proportion of demand (36.6%) a proportion over two times larger than that of the middle-class parents (15.5%). As for the non-disciplinary practices, working-class showed a greater proportion of demand (1.9% for working-class vs. 0% for middle-class).

⁴³ “D” means disciplinary situation, “ND” means non-disciplinary situation, and “Total” Means D plus ND.

Figure 9. Language Function of Demand and Management in Three Different Situations⁴⁴ for Working class



Although differences in the language function of management were reported in the disciplinary situation, it was not as clear as for the language function of demand. In the disciplinary verbal practices, working-class parents showed a slightly larger proportion of management than did middle-class parents (35.5% for middle class vs. 35.6% for working class). In the non-disciplinary situation, working-class parents showed 1.5 times bigger proportion of management than did middle-class parents (40.6% for working-class parents vs. 26.4% for middle-class parents). Total management (disciplinary and non-disciplinary verbal practices) was 38.4% for working class vs. 30.8% for middle class. Difference in the language use of management between the two classes was not as big as in the case of demand.

⁴⁴ See footnote 43.

In summary, it was clear that the parents who valued the specific child-rearing beliefs more actually showed more parenting practices related to that specific area. Parents who valued the child-rearing value of strictness showed a distinctively higher proportion of management in non-disciplinary situations. In disciplinary situations, parents who valued strictness showed clear differences only in terms of demand (see Table 4).

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

This study was designed to investigate the variations in verbal disciplinary behavior as a function of social class from a contextual point of view. Using Bronfenbrenner's Person Process Context Time (PPCT) model as a theoretical framework, data collected as part of the Cultural Ecology of Young Children (CEYC) project were used, with a focus on socio-linguistics. Parenting and child socialization have been very popular topics in developmental psychology. However, most of the studies have been set within an organismic perspective such as Freud's theory or a mechanistic perspective like social learning theory. Both meta-theoretical frameworks have shown many problems especially in dealing with diverse cultural contexts. This study is designed to overcome the shortcomings of the mechanistic and organismic perspectives and to show how socioeconomic and ethnic cultural contexts can be appropriately explored with the sophisticated and powerful explanatory tool of language using a theory that fits within the contextualist paradigm.

When the contextual framework is used, it is important that interactive developmental processes are carefully followed and specified. In the Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model, proximal processes are the engine of development and understood "as a mechanism for actualizing genetic potential" (Bronfenbrenner & Ceci, 1994, p. 572). In this study, to specify and explain the linkage between contexts and developing person, Kohn and Bernstein's theoretical views were adopted.

As Tudge and Putnam (1997) indicated, Kohn's work serves to advance the social class discussion one step further, overcoming the simplicity of the social class discussion in the social address position. Kohn emphasized parental values and beliefs to catch the meanings and to elucidate the cultural processes through explanations at the level of mesosystem. In Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model, parents' work experiences and family environment co-constitute mesosystem as a component of a context. Filtering cultural differences in the macrosystem (social class) into the different experiences and meanings in the mesosystem, his theory offered a more process-oriented understanding about parenting and disciplinary practices in terms of social class. According to Kohn's explanation, workplace experiences structure a person's view for social reality and parental goals; thus differences in workplace experiences lead parents to have different disciplinary practices in each class (see Tudge & Putnam, 1997).

As in the case of Kohn, Bernstein's (1974) explanations about the family role system (positional family and personal family) and the modes of speech (two linguistic codes of restricted code and elaborated code, and three control modes of imperative, positional appeal, and personal appeal) can be a good example of how developmental processes based on social classes are cautiously followed. Bernstein's accomplishment is understood as giving more detailed, thus clearer, explanations of the interrelationship between social class and parenting practices in that language is one of the most refined tools in describing the parent-child interactive behaviors. The modes of communication that Bernstein suggested such as two linguistic codes and three control modes do not function as linguistic indexes for each class. Rather, the linguistic tools are appreciated to trace the dynamic cultural processes in

everyday communicative interactions, elucidating the ways in which communication patterns shape the types of self-regulation, psychological orientation, and behaviors.

In the study, to examine Bernstein's theoretical explanations, I analyzed mothers' verbal practices (or utterances) to show the ways in which social control functions from a socio-linguistic point of view. Socialization processes accompany developmental tensions between a child and a society, and the tension entails social control. Therefore, investigating the way in which social control is exerted is very critical to understanding socialization processes. To examine Kohn's theoretical assumptions, I used a measure for categorizing the disciplinary domain as a way of showing how classes as cultural contexts have qualitatively different impact on practices in everyday disciplinary situations.

Based on Kohn's propositions and social class-related studies, I assumed that middle-class parents would have less strict child-rearing beliefs and show more interactive verbal practices than would working-class parents. As many studies that investigated social stratification reported (Hoff-Ginsberg et al., 2002; Kohn, 1979; Richman, Miller, & Levine, 1992; Tudge et al, 2000), the social class differences found in this study were very clear, verifying social class as a critical cultural context in understanding children's development.

The results supported the following facts about Korean parental beliefs. Middle-class parents valued strict controlling or disciplining less and believed being responsive to their children is more important than working-class parents did. Working-class parents believed that controlling children's behavior is more important than did their middle-class counterparts and worried about being overly attentive to their children as a way of spoiling

them. The middle-class parents were more likely to believe that talking to their children has important effects on their children more than were the working-class parents.

Parental beliefs are considered as a mediating link between cultural values and disciplinary domain (Luster, Rhoades, & Hass, 1989). Although the reported differences in behaviors were more evident in comparison with the reported differences in parents' beliefs, it was clear that the middle class valued talking more and showed distinctively more verbal behaviors, suggesting parental beliefs as a linking mechanism between cultural values and parenting practices.

Middle-class parents talked far more (3.9 times both in disciplinary and total practices) than did working-class parents, supporting their belief in the effectiveness of talking and being responsive⁴⁵. The results were very noticeable and consistent with other studies that investigated social class (Hoff et al., 2002; Tudge et al, 2000; Tudge, Lee, & Putnam, 1998; Richman, Miller, & Levine, 1992). As Tudge et al. (1999) indicated, the Korean parents' class differences were obvious in the interactive activities between parents and children. In Tudge et al.'s (1999) study, the class differences in the U.S. sample on the interactive activities were smaller than the differences in the Korean sample.

Parental beliefs in child-rearing differently affect parenting behaviors as a function of disciplinary domain. Middle- and working- class parents differed from each other in the disciplinary domain they valued most. Kohn (1979) proposed that middle-class parents are more likely to value self-direction, independence, freedom, and self-maximization than working-class parents do. As was expected, middle-class parents thought violations in two

⁴⁵ The parental belief of spoiling actually taps the concept of responsiveness in the survey.

domains -- emotion-regulation and family routine -- were more problematic and showed more verbal intervening behaviors (involving emotion-regulation 31.3% of the total language, and family routine⁴⁶ 29.8% of the total). As Kohn argued that working-class parents are more likely to value conformity-related behaviors such as obedience, proper demeanor, and greeting manners, working-class parents showed bigger proportions in manners and politeness in comparison with middle class (working class 19.0% vs. middle class 5.3%).

However, it should be noted that in the working class, the actual frequency in the domain of manners and politeness per hour was less than the frequency in the middle class (4.18 for middle vs. 3.79 for working) and the distribution of mothers' verbal practices was relatively even⁴⁷. Therefore, although working-class mothers are shown to emphasize the domain of manners and politeness more than any other domains in the child-rearing belief, we cannot say that middle-class mothers valued the domains less than did working-class mothers. Instead, the middle-class mothers might take for granted the domain of manners and politeness and show a similar (or little more) level of concern as in actual disciplinary practices whereas their main concern is more about self-regulation and autonomy.

Parental beliefs about strictness in child-rearing also affect parental behaviors from the linguistic point of view as a linking mechanism between cultural values and parenting practices: Parents who are more likely to value strictness were expected to be more verbally strict. It was noticeable that the working-class mothers used more strict language in

⁴⁶ The disciplinary domain of family routine mostly deals with children's activities for self-care. Mothers who want to encourage children's autonomy are likely to emphasize self-care.

⁴⁷ Family routine 21.1%, manners and politeness 19.0%, emotion-regulation 18.3%, respect for others 17.6%, safety and health 12.7%, and protection of personal property 11.3%.

disciplining children. In their disciplinary practices, the working-class mothers were most likely to demand that their children comply, whereas the middle-class mothers were more likely to explain why they wanted their children to behave a certain way, and try to manage the situation by such things as suggesting alternatives. Middle-class mothers used twice as many empathetic, communicative, and explanative utterances than did working-class mothers.

However, it should be noted that, as in the case of the disciplinary domain, even in function of demand, middle-class mothers actually disciplined their children more than did their working-class counterparts. As Bernstein explained, it is not the case that members of the middle class use only the elaborated code, or that person-oriented families use only the elaborated code or the personal mode of appeal in realization of social control. Rather, what is critical is that working-class children do not have enough access to the elaborated code and the personal mode of control that are often instantiated as language functions of empathy, communication, and explanation.

The class difference is also examined in the intersection between the two referential axes, disciplinary domains and language functions. The results indicated that in the three domains of protection of personal property, respect for others, and family routine, the two classes showed relatively similar language functions. However, in the three domains of emotion-regulation, manners and politeness, and safety and health, the two classes showed clearly different language functions, supporting the view that working-class mothers showed stricter language functions such as demand whereas middle-class mothers used less strict language functions such as explanation, communication, or empathy.

For example, in the protection of personal property domain, both middle- and working- class parents mostly used demand and management, but in the emotion-regulation domain, the middle-class mothers used the language function of explanation more than any other language functions. The proportion of middle-class parents' explanatory utterances in the emotion-regulation domain was 37.0%. In the same domain, the proportion of communication also showed clear differences. The middle-class parents used almost communication 14% of the time to teach the importance of emotion-regulation whereas the working-class parents did not show any communicative interactions between parents and their children.

Why did the parents show similar pattern of communication in some domains and show clearly different patterns in other domains? Why did the working-class mothers use strict verbal behaviors such as imperatives, prohibitions, requests, and warnings of physical punishment in the domain of emotion-regulation and even in the domain that they consider very important such as manners and politeness? What does the high proportion of explanation and communication in disciplining emotion-regulative issues mean?

About the differences in parental practices, Kohn suggested the importance in understanding child-rearing values and beliefs. He further argued that the main reason for social class-associated differences in child-rearing values is parents' occupational experiences and the level of education. Kohn argued that occupations lower in the social structure, often accompanied with a lower level of education, are more likely to have less complex job environments, to have environments supervised by other people, and to be involved with things rather than people. Therefore, working-class parents are likely to

promote conformity, obedience, and manners rather than promote self-direction and initiative that are emphasized and appreciated by middle-class parents. These social class-associated differences in child-rearing values necessarily entail differences in adopting methods of discipline, patterns of communication, and interactive pattern between parents and their child. Indeed, Kohn's accomplishments that made links between workplace experiences and parenting behaviors have substantially contributed to make sense of parents' different use of child-rearing disciplinary techniques as a function of social class.

As in the case of Kohn's proposition, Bernstein's socio-linguistic theory is also very useful to detect and trace the differences in developmental processes along with the dynamics between the types of family and the mode of speech. Although the measure for language function I used in the study does not have any theoretical origin in Bernstein's socio-linguistic theory, there exists a substantial commonality between the five language functions and Bernstein's three modes of linguistic realization of social control and two types of language codes.

Bernstein's (1974) restricted language code and the imperative mode of social control can be matched to the demand function among the five language functions. The elaborated code and the personal mode of appeal for exerting controlling power for socialization is very helpful to explain the higher frequency and proportion of empathy, communication, and explanation among the middle-class mothers. For example, in the subcategory of empathy, diverse language sub-functions such as appeal, evaluation, consolation, and regret are included. These functions are appropriate to express individualized psychological qualities, reward their children, and satisfy their children's

emotional needs through verbal interaction. The function of communication that marked the highest frequency for the middle-class mothers (in the language domain for non-disciplinary situation) is one of the central linguistic cues to the personal appeal mode in the person-oriented family. The language function of explanation has several sub-functions such as identification, description, normative explanation, definition, and causal explanation. Those functions are likely to include the elaborated code in which logical operation and cognition-provoking conceptualization are fostered. Bernstein's socio-linguistic explanation provides a complex and systematic understanding about the interrelations among mothers' speech, the ways social control is actualized, and children's developmental consequences. It also offers a refined theoretical framework in interpreting the results of this study.

For Bernstein, "the mode of verbalization or structure of the language and its functions" (Bernstein, 1974, p. 27) occupies the core in explaining socialization process. He explained that the verbalization mode and structure of language shape the conceptual hierarchy for the organization of experiences, and patterning of perception entails a certain cognitive operations. In this vein, he argued that children who have different access to this language code and control mode, because of their specific family type, may adopt quite different psychological, intellectual, and social orientations even though their initial potentials do not show any differences. Based on Bernstein's argument and the results of this study, it is arguable that middle-class children are more likely to have access to elaborate code, to receive the personal appeal mode of control from parents rather than the imperative mode of control, to live in a family type that appreciates individual and interactive communication more than fixed social rules or social status, to have more

advanced perceptual pattern of experiences, to have more abstract notions so that theoretical attitude can be easily fostered, and to feel more socially competent.

Going back to the findings that the middle-class parents mostly used explanation (which middle-class parents valued most) in the domain of emotion-regulation, and that working-class parents mostly used demanding verbal behaviors in several domains, including manners and politeness, Bernstein (1974) gives us a clue about the relationship between social classes and disciplinary techniques. In a working-class family, present and immediate activities are more important than the relation of a present activity to the attainment of a future goal. He further argued that for working-class parents, “present gratifications or present deprivations become absolute gratifications or absolute deprivations, for there exists no developed time continuum upon which present activity can be ranged. Relative to the middle class, the postponement of present pleasure for future gratifications will be found difficult” (Bernstein, 1974, p. 32).

Grolnick and Farkas (2002) make it clear about the middle-class parents’ preference for explanation. They argued that to support the sense of autonomy or self-regulation, providing explanation, and specifying guidelines is critically important so that children can internalize and have a clear understanding of how their behaviors and consequences are connected. As an environmental factor, the rationale, guidelines for expectation, and other explanatory information should be provided to ensure the children’s development of a sense of autonomy. The importance of reasoning or explanation in gaining autonomy or self-regulative sense is well exemplified in the case that studies measure self-regulation in terms of children’ level of internalization rather than behavioral compliance. If

children's immediate compliance is the main goal that parents have for their children in the domain of emotion-regulation, strict verbalization or harsh disciplinary behaviors would be more effective than offering rationale or explanations.

Here, I would like to introduce a discussion about social class in terms of the level of disciplinary strictness. Today, few people would disagree that working-class parents use more restrictive, rigid, and punitive practices. However, there are some contradictory data about whether the middle class is more likely to be permissive and flexible or strict or rigid in child-rearing practices. Building on Freudian ideas about the importance of a more permissive, and less restrictive, approach to child rearing, some researchers in the 1940s criticized middle-class parents for rigidly training their children in order to make them follow their parents' goals. At the time, working-class parents seemed to have more permissive parenting practices than did middle-class parents. However, subsequent studies published after the 1950s indicated that working-class parents had more rigid practices and middle-class parents had more flexible practices. As Bronfenbrenner (1958) argued, parenting practices change as a function of context over historical time, and thus parenting techniques are likely to vary. However, in many cases, the reason for changing or inconsistent parenting practices is ascribed to the way in which the study is conducted and what aspect of parenting the study addresses.

In this study, the middle-class mothers showed noticeably more verbal disciplinary behaviors. In a way, it could be argued that the middle-class mothers were more concerned about children's discipline, and that could be interpreted as showing more strict and rigid controlling behavior when exclusively focusing on parental verbal discipline. However,

when adopting the linguistic point of view, my study showed a clear distinction between the social classes in favor of the working class's strict child-rearing practices, revealing the way in which parental beliefs about controlling or strictness is co-constructively interwoven with actual verbal practices.

Cook (1975) summarized that the contrasting results can be explained in two ways: first, in terms of a lack of comparability of data collection methods, second, different categorizations or conceptualization of parenting practices. Therefore, when investigating parenting, it is very important to consider what data collection method is used and how parenting is conceptualized and categorized. This may be the reason why researchers in the area of parenting came to appreciate the domain-specific (or detailed) conceptual approach (and a corresponding methodology) with the recognition of the importance in conceptualization of what content is being investigated and the way in which the contents are traced in detail.

Categorization of parental behavior and its conceptualization is not simple. As for the difficulties in the categorization of observation methods, Kohn (1979) argued that it is hard to understand the meaning of parental behavior because parents differ in conceptualization for children's acts in the situation of violation. Kohn pointed out that working-class parents are more likely to discipline their children based on the consequences of behavior and middle-class parents are more likely to discipline on the basis of parents' own interpretation of children's intent. If there is a discrepancy in the parental definition of children's acts, how can researchers conceptualize and categorize parental disciplinary behaviors? On this basis, Kohn suggested the need for studies focused on value and beliefs.

The need for studies of parental values and beliefs Kohn suggested is more likely to be connected to understanding the different features in parental values and beliefs.

However, it has been reported that parenting studies based exclusively on the survey of global beliefs, without delving into the relationship between values and practices, is problematic due to the lack of reliability and validity (Hoff-Ginsberg & Tardif, 1995). Actually, decontextualized global beliefs have shown only a weak relationship with parental behavior because the realization of the beliefs is mediated by the specific nature of the context (Hasebe, Nucci, & Nucci, 2004; Holden, 1995; Smetana & Daddis, 2002). Furthermore, studies about values and beliefs are likely to commit a mistake in the sense that some measures for parental beliefs are based on results of parental interviews alone. Often, parents are not conscious of their behaviors until they are facing problematic situations and difficulties.

Some evidence for this problem can be seen in the work of Gralinski and Kopp (1993), who investigated the contents of socialization efforts from the mothers of toddlers and preschoolers for everyday behaviors and children's level of compliance in eight domains. The eight domains were devised based on the parental report of rules. In the study, parents' and children's interactive behaviors were not observed. However, even in the results analyzed from parents' reports, debatable issues appeared. The study reported that children's responses to mothers' requests varied along with disciplinary domains. Among the eight domains, it was in the delay domain that children showed the lowest compliance, which meant that mothers experienced the biggest difficulties in that domain. However, in the results of parental requests, the delay domain was located in the middle of the whole

range. The domains that showed the highest level of request were the domains of safety and manners. In addition, the reported level of request in each domain does not seem to be meaningful because the range between highest request and lowest request was very narrow (in the 30-month group, which is the age group closest to the age group in my study) in comparison with the range of children's responses. The narrow range of mothers' requests implies that parents' beliefs in each domain were not fully differentiated to investigate the meaning of the relative importance of the disciplinary domains. Rather, their study is more appropriate to reveal the developmental timetable in the mothers' expectations in terms of domains, focusing specifically on when mothers start to be concerned about the issues of each domain during the period of toddler through preschooler. The actual level of parents' behavioral intervention or in what domain parents are facing greater difficulties cannot be addressed. The discrepancy, between reported mothers' requests and children's responses, remains unresolved. Generally, when parents think that children do not show compliance in specific domains, parents tend to give intense discipline for the domain in the actual disciplinary interactions.

The same kind of mistake was found in Kim's (2002) study.⁴⁸ On the control dimension, as in the case of Galinski and Kopp's (1993) study, her study used questionnaires to survey expectations regarding children's self-regulatory behaviors. Although the study showed the detailed examination of parental expectations for children's developmental self-regulatory behaviors, the results author summarized was the exact opposite of what would have been predicted and argued by Kohn; mothers with a lower

⁴⁸ In the study, the author devised a measure based on Galinski and Kopp (1993)'s study.

educational background expected high level of self regulatory behaviors across the nine disciplinary domains than mothers with higher educational backgrounds did. The reason that the contradictory results were yielded can be summarized in two ways. First, the study did not use ethnographic observation of parenting practices, so the parents' reported expectations could not appropriately address the real parenting as it is. Second, there were problems in the measure and the way in which the author draws conclusions from the results. The study was not designed to appropriately interpret the meaning of the high level of expectations of the parents with lower educational backgrounds. It could be that they have more harsh and authoritarian attitudes in parenting, or it could be that they are more careful and attentive to discipline their children. Without considering the actual methodological capacity, the author hastily draws conclusions that are more likely to be incorrect. Indeed, one of the critical issues in the studies of parenting is the importance of choosing a right method to appropriately investigate the phenomena in which an author is interested.

From this point of view, my study makes a meaningful contribution. Consistent with the parents' report that children have problems in tolerance for (interpersonal) delay (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993), my study showed the primary importance of the "delay in gratification" issue in everyday disciplinary behaviors. Specifically for the middle-class parents, their primary concern in training children was related to the emotion-regulative issue. It was reported that this domain constituted the greatest proportion (31.3%) of the total middle-class parents' disciplinary utterances. In my study, I intended the domain of emotion-regulation to refer to parents' willingness to teach endurance for satisfaction, responsibility for social regulation, strategies to modulate situation in distress, and the

importance of learning compliance for authority when children were not inclined to comply, regardless of the domain of disciplinary practices. Although the definition of emotion-regulation is wider in my study than in most others, bringing the importance of emotion-regulative discipline of preschoolers to the surface should help us to appreciate the qualitatively different features across domains in the disciplinary interactions for this age group.

Another issue I want to point out is the need for culturally informed methods. As I already discussed, conceptualization of the domain and categorizations of behaviors from the observation are not simple. The problem is even trickier when dealing with different cultural contexts.

In Gralinski and Kopp's (1993) study, the eight-category measure was derived from the reformation of parental responses in an interview. In the initial ten categories, "obedience" was included, referring to a domain to teach appropriate attitude for parental authority. However, in the final selection of categories, the domain was eliminated. Probably the importance of this domain in the U.S. is less than in Korea where hierarchical relationships are highly valued. I re-categorized Gralinski and Kopp's (1993) measure, rebuilding the domain of obedience within the emotion-regulation domain. Although the nuance of "obedience" tends to be understood as "conformity" that is valued by working-class parents, my intention of including the domain is to examine the construct of "authority" that is more neutral across the two classes. On many occasions in my study, an emotion regulative disciplinary intervention was exerted when children did not show the appropriate attitude to parental authority.

Similarly, about the language function measure, I made some changes to make the measure more culturally informed to allow the assessment of a previously unrecognized language function and that contributed to differentiate classes in terms of language strictness. Initially, in Pellegrino and Scopesi's⁴⁹ (1990) study on which my revised measure is heavily dependent, the coding categories for language function do not include "demand." I extended the language function by adding the function of demand because the four-category measure did not cover all the Korean preschool teachers' verbal behaviors.

So far I have discussed social class differences in Korean mothers' beliefs and practices in line with Kohn's theoretical propositions and how the results are appreciated from the contextual point of view, specifically endorsing the merits of Bronfenbrenner's PPCT model and Bernstein's socio-linguistic theoretical framework. In contextual studies, conceptual and methodological issues are revisited to trace the detailed developmental path which is co-constructively interwoven with cultural contexts. Although there have been useful contextual efforts to describe and understand the complex process of development such as those of Bronfenbrenner and Bernstein, theoretical, conceptual, and methodological efforts should be accompanied in the contextual studies to capture the changing entities of development in contexts.

In contextual studies, researchers are more concerned about the changing features of complicated developmental delicacy than making causal claims. However, a cautious generalization is possible in contextual studies. Goldhaber (2000) explained that even

⁴⁹ The coding list is aimed at exploring structural and functional changes in baby talk for under three years of age in the Italian day care center. Caregiver's utterances were classified into four categories: empathetic behavior, conversational behavior, didactic behavior, and organizational behavior.

though contextualists abandoned positivists' expectations for universal laws of development, researchers can identify other, more modest, types of laws such as local regularities between contextual factors and developmental consequences. Therefore, generalization of the finding of social class differences in this study is possible, but should be cautiously addressed and interpreted. It is because, for contextualists, maintaining tensions between changing environments and changing person, and having a systemic sense of development of human and society are required to sense the texture of tapestry of human development.

The study also has some limitations. First, the number of participants was small and high level of variability was reported within each social class. Therefore, although the results reported meaningful differences between the two classes, one needs to be cautious in generalizing the findings across different contexts, both in terms of time and of space. Second, the design has a weakness in fulfilling the PPCT model. In the process level, I did not investigate language syntactically. A more in-depth systemic analysis about the mother's language using linguistic codes of restricted and elaborated could have helped the study be more informative. At the person level, no developmental characteristic of the children such as gender or age was included. At the context level, all the data were collected at home excluding other contexts children were living in, which leads to the lack of interactions in diverse contexts. At the time level, only one point of time was investigated. So Bronfenbrenner's requirement for more than two points of time was not followed. The final limitation is the possibility of a biased categorization in the coding procedure. As Cook (1975) pointed out, any researcher applying a deductive approach is attempting to find data that fit the theoretical assumption of the study. Coders might thus have committed mistakes

in categorizing mothers' utterances into domains. Relative to the language functions, the work of categorization of disciplinary domain requires more time to catch a real meaning of parental behaviors in the specific situation. Conceptualization of the domains for categorization also needs more work to describe the qualitatively different features of parenting.

The study has made some important contributions to the area of parenting. First, the study design showed one way of addressing parenting from the contextual point of view. Strong connections between meta-theory, theory, and methods were recognized in the instantiation of Bronfenbrenner's theory, using the ideas of Kohn and Bernstein to help explain the differences in proximal processes in the two social class groups. Video taping methods were used to capture the richness of the interactive process of parenting. Complex developmental processes were explored through intersections between the two references - disciplinary domains and language functions. Second, the results can provide a deeper understanding of qualitatively different features of Korean parenting. Considering the fact that many ethnic immigrants in the U.S. maintain their traditional way of living (Farver, Kim, and Lee, 1995), the findings would be useful to understand Korean-American families. The results suggested that the issue of within-society heterogeneity should be fully appreciated in investigating ethnic parenting to avoid confounding effects caused by class differences.

Comments for Future Research

In this study, among the components of person in Bronfenbrenner's PPCT framework, parental beliefs were investigated. However, it would be useful in further

research to include other diverse features of person characteristics, such as children's age, children's talkativeness, mother's age, and mothers' talkativeness, It would also be helpful to examine further the connection between class differences and children's educability in the Korean population. It has been reported that in societies such as the United Kingdom and United States children who are exposed to elaborated styles will achieve higher academic attainment and will be more successful in school than will children who do not have enough access to this code. Because this study was not longitudinal, and did not follow the children into school, it was not possible to see whether the situation is similar in Korea to that reported elsewhere.

It would be also useful to explore more about the disciplinary domain of safety and health. Among the three domains that were reported to have different language functions in terms of social class, the connection of the two domains of emotion-regulation and manners and politeness and parental values and beliefs has been recognized by Kohn. However, it may well be that parents have different class-related values and behaviors about the issue of safety and health based on the fact that recognizable social class differences in mothers' interactive disciplinary language input were reported in this study.

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APPENDIX

Coding Lists for the Language Functions

Empathy (empathetic verbal behavior): utterances by means of which the adult expresses approval of and disapproval of children's verbal or non-verbal behaviors.

- a) internal report: to express emotions, intentions, or emotional events
 - categorized into positive, negative, empathy, appeal
- b) evaluations: to express personal opinions or attitudes
- c) attribution: to report about another person's internal situations
- d) exclamations: to express astonishment, happiness, and other emotions
- e) repetitions: to do the same expression to stress or support the meanings
- f) consolations: to make somebody who is experiencing anxiety, depression, or sadness emotionally comfortable

Communication (conversational behavior): utterances specifically aimed at instigating or continuing verbal interaction with a child

- a) choice questions : questions asking "yes" or "no"
- b) product question: when, where, who, and what-related questions
- c) process questions: questions asking for extensive descriptions or explanations
- d) rhetorical questions: questions to rhetorically emphasize
- e) clarification questions: questions to clarify
- f) choice answers: answer to questions that provide a specific choice
- g) product answers: to answer questions that start with "what"

h) process answers: to give explanations for questions requiring reasons, such as: “How come...?”

i) compliance or disapproval : to show acceptance or disapproval for the request

Explanation (didactic verbal behavior): utterances designed to provide the child with knowledge and/or to ascertain the knowledge he or she already possesses

a) identification: naming or recognizing objects, events, or persons

b) description: to explain an object’s nature, location, or something related

c) normative explanations: to explain procedures, social regulations

d) define explanations: to give explanation to define something

e) causal explanations: to make causal relations between reason and results with justifications

f) plan report: to let the child know parents’ plan or what parents are trying to do in the near future

Management (organizational verbal behavior): utterances designed to orientate and/or modify the activity and/or attention of the child

a) action requests: to request a child to act according to what the child is asked to do

b) permission requests: to request permission for a child to do an activity

c) suggestions: suggesting some actions to the child

d) attention requests: to elicit the child’s attention

e) claims: to maintain the speaker’s will

f) warning: to warn the child

g) protests: showing objections toward the actions of the child

Demand (controlling verbal behavior): utterances designed to control, direct, or prohibit the activity of the child

a) imperatives: to command and control the child to follow speaker's intentions and directions

b) requests: to lead the child to follow speaker's will or directions, but in a polite way

c) prohibition: to prohibit the child's actions

d) physical punishment: to punish the child with physical constraints or warn harshly, with intention to do physical punishment