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THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT: A LONGITUDINAL

STUDY OF THE RELATIONS AMONG SOCIAL CLASS, PARENTING,

AND CHILDREN'S ACTIVITIES

by

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ii

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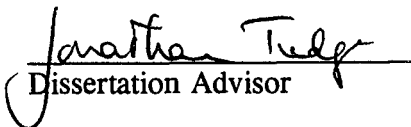Directed by Dr. Jonathan R. H. Tudge. 230pp.

The aim of this study was to examine the processes by which children develop social competence in different cultural contexts. Two cultural communities in the US, one middle-class and one working-class, were studied. A total of 20 target children (11 middle-class and 9 working-class, all white) were followed. They were observed in their natural settings for 20 hours at Time 1 and 2 hours at Time 2, using modified spot observations. Parents were interviewed and completed several questionnaires and a Q-sort measure. Data on parents' values and beliefs were also collected from a larger sample of parents in the same city with similar demographic profiles ($\underline{N}$ = 147).

At Time 1 middle-class children were engaged in more activities of an academic nature than working-class children and the latter were engaged in more interpersonal lessons, but there were no differences in the activities in which children were engaged at Time 2. At both Time 1 and Time 2, however, there were social class differences in children's characteristics; middle-class children were more self-directed than working-class children in their activities. Middle-class mothers valued self-direction in their children more than working-class mothers, but no differences were found for fathers. Middle-class mothers and fathers were more likely than working-class mothers and fathers to believe in support-oriented parenting, which emphasizes an egalitarian parent-child relationship. Finally, the relation between parents' perceptions of their children's social competence and children's self-directed behavior differed for middle-and working-class

parents; the relation was stronger, and generally positive, for middle-class parents. The findings regarding parental values and beliefs were, for the most part, generalizable to the larger sample of parents.

The results indicate that parenting is culturally organized and that the development of social competence in children is a co-constructive process involving the inter-relations between parenting and children's own characteristics, as children engage in everyday activities.

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iii

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Culture and context are frequently cited as important factors influencing psychological development, both social-emotional and cognitive. How much do we actually know, however, about the processes by which they are connected to developmental trajectories and outcomes? What is the process by which children acquire culturally-valued behaviors and ways of thinking? What accounts for the emergence of different patterns of social-emotional and cognitive behavior across some social groups? Using a theoretical framework that draws primarily on Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory of development and Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory, the nature of the process that links culture to development, will be explored in the proposed study. Why is this of concern? First, it is through understanding this process that we may come to learn how children become competent members of their culturally organized communities. We may better understand, for example, how competent social behavior with peers develops, or the factors that contribute to school success. Second, research on this topic has tended to focus either on the environment, with little regard for the role of the individual as an active contributor to his or her own development, or has simply classified social groups as displaying differential patterns without explaining the processes underlying these outcomes. Research in this area is important, then, because the mechanisms

involved in the link between culture and development are not adequately understood. By focusing on the role of the interrelations between developing individuals and culture we may come to a better understanding of this complex process.

Interest in interrelations between culture and human development is not new, nor is it restricted to the field of developmental psychology/human development (Tudge, Gray, & Hogan, in press), where it is to be found particularly in Lev Vygotsky's cultural-historical theory (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987), and in that of his students and followers. It has also found expression in cultural psychology (Shweder & Sullivan, 1993) and cultural anthropology (Whiting & Edwards, 1988). It should not be surprising that the majority of the literature on culture and development focuses on parenting or socialization, since culture, by its very definition, involves the re-creating anew of patterns of valued behaviors and ways of thinking through progressive generations.

In this study social class will be treated as culture. Society and culture are commonly viewed as synonymous. However, distinct patterns of ways of thinking and behaving can be discerned within as well as between societies. Social class is one important level of cultural organization that is associated with conditions of life that give rise to patterns of shared values, beliefs (Luster, Rhoades, & Haas, 1989) institutions, and technologies (Tudge & Putnam, in press). It is also associated with differential patterns of social development in children (Kohn, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990), and with differences in the activities in which young children typically spend their time (Tudge & Putnam, in press). Social class has been found to be a relatively enduring and stable societal subgrouping, which tends to be self-perpetuating across generations (Jones & Wallace, 1990). For these reasons, socio-economic status (SES) is considered here to constitute within-society

culture.

Objectives

The broad objective of the present study is to examine the processes by which children become competent members of their own cultural communities, focusing on parents' values and beliefs as they translate into the everyday activities of children as a process by which cultural (social class) patterns of behavior are intergenerationally constructed. The specific goals of the study are as follows. One goal is to examine the activities in which children are engaged, looking at the extent to which children initiate activities and their involvement in activities themselves as an indication of how self-directed they are. According to Kohn, (1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990), self-directedness is one of the primary differentiating factors that would be expected in children of different social classes, resulting from the conditions of life and corresponding parental values that are associated with differences in socio-economic status and social stratification. A second goal is to explore the nature of the values and childrearing beliefs that parents hold, and to examine whether this is related to children's self-directedness. A third goal is to explore parents' assessments of the degree to which children have become competent members of their cultural communities, and to examine the relation of these assessments to parents' values, beliefs, and children's tendency to initiate activities.

The study is part of a longitudinal cross-cultural project, in which children from 20 cultural communities, across 7 different societies, are currently being studied. Initial data on this U.S. sample were gathered 4 years ago, when children from 20 families were observed for the equivalent of a complete waking day, and their activities during this time were coded. The present study involved gathering more data on these children and collecting data from

their parents, as well as data on childrearing values and beliefs from a larger sample of parents drawn with similar demographic profiles, living in the same geographical region. It is hoped that the analysis of the activities in which children regularly spend their time will help to explain how context, in the form of the values and beliefs associated with socio-economic status, comes to be translated in practical ways into the socialization of children.

Organization

In chapter two of this dissertation, I review the literature connecting culture, particularly social class, and development. While cognitive development is considered, the primary emphasis is on the development of social-emotional behavior patterns, or personality. Attention is given to the role given to context, and especially, to the degree to which development is understood as a co-constructive process, involving the active child in a changing environment, as well as the extent to which the relations between culture and development are explained. In chapter three the theoretical framework is discussed. Chapter four outlines the methods, and in chapter five the results and analyses are presented. Chapter six is a discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this review of the child development literature I will concentrate on research on

childrearing. The focus will be primarily on research on parental values, beliefs, and

behaviors, as they relate to children's social development in cultural context. First, however,

I will address the literature in terms of three problematic aspects: The treatment of context;

the role given to the developing individual; and the methodologies and assumptions associated

with the study of children's social interactions.

The Study of Development in Context

Development as context-free. Many studies of development simply disregard context.

That is, contextual factors do not feature in theoretical models or explanations of findings.

This is problematic for several reasons, among which is that it carries the tacit assumption of

universal generalizability (Bronfenbrenner, 1993) and fails to explain variability across

cultures.

Baumrind's work (1971, 1980, 1989, 1991) is perhaps the most frequently cited

research on parenting style to emerge from the psychological literature. Context, in this

research, is not investigated as a relevant factor in the parenting process. Baumrind found

that parenting could be categorized under three main styles--authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive (including democratic-indulgent and rejecting-neglecting subtypes). Baumrind associated these parenting styles with a specific set of child outcomes. She found that children of authoritative parents were more self-reliant, self-controlled, more willing to explore, and more content. Children of authoritarian parents were found, relatively speaking, to lack social competence, to rarely take initiative, to lack spontaneity and intellectual curiosity and to look to external authority for guidance on moral reasoning. The children of permissive parents were found to be immature, and to have problems with self control, responsibility for actions, and taking independent action. Gender variability was found in responses of children to major patterns of parenting. Daughters of authoritative parents were more likely to be independent than were sons, while sons of such parents were more likely to be socially responsible than were daughters of authoritative parents. In addition, sons of authoritarian parents had a tendency towards greater problems with social relationships than did daughters. They were more likely than boys of other groups to show anger and defiance toward authority figures. A fourth style, traditional parenting, has also been identified (Baumrind, 1989, 1991), where mothers adopt nurturant and permissive roles, and fathers are more authoritarian. This type of joint parenting style has also been associated with different patterns of behavior development in children, again with gender effects.

Baumrind does not discuss the role that contextual factors might play in the emergence of different patterns of parenting, or how differential parenting styles might, under various contextual conditions, result in different developmental outcomes for children. Even in her more recent work, she has conceptualized parenting style as a pattern of affect, practices, and values which develop out of parents' values and the beliefs they hold about their role in their

children's development (Baumrind, 1989).

There has been considerable support for these proposed parenting styles, from childhood through adolescence (Darling & Steinberg, 1993; Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987), and for the contention that authoritative parenting is conducive to successful childrearing. The encouragement of autonomy, and the provision of emotional support and clear communication, a feature of authoritative parenting, appears to correlate with instrumental competence in the dominant social group in the U.S. (Baumrind, 1989, 1991; Darling & Steinberg, 1993). However, critical questions are left unanswered by this research--what accounts for variability in child outcomes across different ethnic groups/cultures, when Baumrind's model is tested (Darling & Steinberg, 1993)? For example, authoritarian parenting is associated with fearful, timid behavior and compliance in Anglo-American children, but with assertiveness in African-American girls. Authoritative parenting is linked to autonomy and school success in white adolescents but is the least effective for school success in Asian and African-American adolescents (Dornbusch, et al. 1987). Steinberg and his colleagues (Steinberg, Dornbusch & Brown, 1992) also found the association between authoritative parenting and school performance to be stronger among European-American and Hispanic-American adolescents than among Asian-American and African-American adolescents. The variety of hypotheses offered to explain these differences include social disincentives for academic success, differential functions of academic success for adolescents in different cultural contexts, countervailing peer/community influences, and differences in parental goals, effecting differences in parenting practices across ecologies (Darling & Steinberg, 1993). Clearly, the unanswered questions concern the interrelation of contextual factors and parenting.

Noncontextual research is, paradoxically, closely related to the phenomena of the homogenization of culture (Valsiner, 1988-a). This practice involves researchers making unwarranted assumptions that adequate knowledge of the childrearing practices and contexts throughout the culture of origin and the comparison culture is available. Cultural anthropologists and cross-cultural psychologists, in particular, tend to overlook the cultural differences in their own society, while focusing on differences between their own and another society. In the cases of both noncontextual approaches to research and research in which intracultural homogeneity is assumed, context is ignored to a degree, and the complexity of development left unexplored.

Development in optimal contexts. Another problem in the existing literature is the assumption that certain contexts provide better childrearing environments than others. Baumrind (1980), for example, believes that authoritative parenting is universally the most effective, thus subscribing to what LeVine (1989) calls the optimality assumption. This is reflected in the implicit assumption, widespread in the child development literature, that the conditions of children's lives among middle class Americans represents the optimal environment for individual development. Deviations are interpreted as deficits rather than culturally appropriate alternatives (Ogbu, 1981). Diversity, both across and within groups is ignored. Contributing to this problem is the common practice of using models of childrearing developed on majority cultures as standards in evaluating the parenting practices of other social and ethnic groups. In addition, it is quite typical for white middle class parenting to be compared with the parenting style of lower-class minorities, thus confounding race and class (Kelly, Power, & Wimbusch, 1992).

Rejecting prevalent deficit models, Ogbu (1981, 1990) argues that they are based on

the assumption of universal laws of optimal development. Some researchers hold, for example, that children from black ghettos do not succeed in school and society due to disadvantage--they do not have the kind of early experience described by Burton White (1979) as optimal, that is, white middle class parenting. Connolly and Bruner (1974) have argued that these children have failed to acquire the operative intelligence they need, due to inadequate early childhood experiences. Ogbu counters that many immigrant groups (also with so-called non-optimal childrearing experiences) do exceedingly well in the same school systems. He argues that instead of explaining the outcomes for black children in terms of deficits it would be more useful to examine the process of childrearing itself, that is, to consider what guides it. An alternative explanation for differences in developmental outcomes for children of different racial or ethnic groups is that childrearing is dependent on a society's "cultural tasks." Parents raise their children to become competent in accordance with the needs of the society in which they live. This argument could also be applied to social class differences. Like Kohn, Ogbu links childrearing values and techniques to economic activities, those activities typically engaged in by any particular societal group in the effort to make a living influences the personal attributes they value and their techniques for achieving them. To summarize Ogbu's argument, it is erroneous to present one style of socialization or parenting as universally optimal as every cultural group has its own conceptualization of desirable qualities in children, which arise from conditions of living in that cultural context.

Development as person-free. A third problematic feature of the large body of literature on socialization and parenting in psychology is that few studies suggest that both caregiver and child play active, interdependent roles in the construction of novel psychological outcomes in child development. Anthropologists, likewise, often define socialization

explicitly or implicitly as a unidirectional transmission of culturally valued behaviors and values from adult to child (Whiting & Child, 1953; Whiting, 1963). The sociology literature, similarly, focuses on the effects of social structure on behavior. In developmental psychology, in the infrequent cases where context does feature, it generally does so as an external variable (Valsiner, 1988-a; Valsiner & Winegar, 1992). That is to say, context is treated as structurally independent of the psychological phenomenon it is helping to explain. It is not treated as inter-related with the development of individuals, but something outside of them, which can alternatively be controlled for empirically, or taken into account as a level of an independent variable.

Although Bell's (1969) call for a reinterpretation of the direction of effects has been generally well received (Sameroff, 1975), and few developmentalists would deny that its should be studied, there is still surprisingly little research on the reciprocal interaction between parent and child as a force in development. There is a particular scarcity of literature on the child-characteristics that might elicit different patterns of interaction, or might determine the effect of mothers' behaviors on the child's subsequent development (Crockenberg, 1981).

One manifestation of this problem is a "top-down" approach to parenting, the predominant position taken in the developmental literature. It ignores the effect that preexisting differences in children might have in influencing parents' childrearing style. This approach is illustrated nicely by Baumrind's (1980) definition of the socialization process:

Socialization is an adult-oriented process by which developing children, through insight, training and imitation, acquire the habits and values congruent with adaptations to their culture.....Children, by virtue of their immaturity and dependent status, are not the originators of their own actions in the same sense that their parents are or should be....By controlling their own environments, adults can construct their selves. Children, on the other hand, are to a much greater extent presented with stimuli and exhorted to accomplish goals formulated for them by adults (p. 640).

In the same paper, Baumrind (1980) recognizes the reciprocity of parent-child influence, but her definition of the process by which children become competent members of their societies clearly presents the child as a passive and willing recipient of all that parents hand down. A causal effect of parenting on developmental outcomes has not been determined, however. Indeed Lamb (1982) and others have suggested that preexisting differences in children may elicit differential responses from parents--they might respond differently to active, easily frustrated children, than they would to passive, timid children. Baumrind recognizes, but does not empirically address, the role that a child's own personality may have in eliciting certain responses from parents. She argues that parenting style itself significantly affects children's personalities, both in terms of developmental outcomes, and in terms of their openness to parents' socialization efforts (Darling & Steinberg, 1993).

Several researchers have pointed to the critical role of children's own characteristics as factors in development (Lamb, 1982; Rutter, 1979; Thomas & Chess, 1977). Thomas & Chess (1977, 1984) found that temperament, seen as an organismic quality, can be identified in infants, and that adults who suffer from psychiatric disorders are likely to have had different infant-temperamental characteristics than did healthy adults. Temperament has also been found to be associated with infant-mother attachment (Rutter, 1979). The recent work of Plomin and Bergeman (1991), which found that biologically unrelated children raised in the

same household had quite different personalities, suggests that either patterns of parenting have little effect on personality development, or that parenting practices and style differ from child to child. Either alternative contradicts Baumrind's (1980, 1989) position that children's personalities can be easily predicted simply on the basis of parenting style and without taking characteristics of the child, him or herself, into account.

Moving away from simplistic models of top-down socialization, researchers are increasingly incorporating models of parent-child interaction into their work (Sameroff, 1975). In contrast to the contemporary dominant view of children learning from socializing agents, Piaget (1967) viewed the child as a young scientist, actively working on the environment in the process of constructing knowledge. Scholars in the tradition of sociocultural and ecological theories emphasize the active agency of the individual (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, under review; Rogoff, 1990; Valsiner, 1988-a, 1988-b; Vygotsky, 1978). In Belsky's (1984) process model of parenting the child's characteristics of individuality feature as a central component influencing parental functioning. Sameroff's (1975) transactional model strongly emphasizes the active role played by the child in creating his/her own world, and stresses that to understand development researchers should focus on the processes involved in the ongoing transactions between the changing person and the changing environment.

No single temperamental trait of infancy (such as level of activity or distractibility) has been shown to predict psychological adjustment in adulthood. There is some evidence, however, that childhood characteristics can influence the ability to survive. Werner and Smith (1992) conducted a longitudinal study on Kuai, for example, and found that those children who coped best with life circumstances up to their 30s were those initially described by mothers as 'very active' and 'socially responsive' as infants. They had also been judged to

manifest 'pronounced autonomy' and 'positive social orientation' in infancy.

Early personality traits have also been found to be relatively stable throughout life. The role of early childhood personality patterns such as ill-temperedness in predicting life-course pattern has been found to be continuous across the life-span, through mechanisms of cumulative and interactional continuity (Caspi, Elder, & Bem, 1987). In this body of work, early personal characteristics were found to be linked to later negative developmental outcomes, such as downward mobility, erratic work lives, and divorce, and two mechanisms were posited to explain the observed continuities in development. Cumulative continuity is the accumulation of consequences of behaviors due to the selection of environments that reinforce the pattern. Interactional continuity involves the evoking of maintaining responses from others in reciprocal social interaction. This provides support for transactional models of development which hold that early circumstances set in motion a series of events that perpetuate and exacerbate difficulties.

The empirical findings discussed above point to an enduring and striking characteristic of the child development literature--the omission of the child from consideration as an active, contributing agent of his or her own development. As a result, the interaction between the child and the primary socializing agents (parents, teachers, siblings) has also been largely ignored. If the co-construction of development in cultural context is to be understood, it is clear that the joint active involvement of both children and their caregivers must be considered.

Socialization in Cultural Context

In the study of development, reference is frequently made to the importance of understanding its embeddedness in social, cultural, and physical contexts (Bronfenbrenner,

1989; Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983; Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Rogoff, 1990; Wachs, 1990; Vygotsky, 1978). The contextual approaches of Bronfenbrenner and Vygotsky are cited increasingly in developmental literature, giving the impression that many researchers are studying the socio-cultural nature of development. On closer analysis, however, it becomes clear that very little research is designed to examines the processes connecting culture and development (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Ecological and socio-cultural or historical theories are used, not to answer the critical question "what is the process by which context and development are linked?" but rather to provide little more than an acknowledgement that context needs to be taken into account in the study of development. Bronfenbrenner's own analysis of the developmental literature supports this contention (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983). Typically, those who use Bronfenbrenner's ecological model do not incorporate all the elements necessary to conduct a fully ecological study, as specified by Bronfenbrenner (1989, 1993, under review). This model, described in Chapter Three below, requires that the interdependent relations between child and environment are studied, with the goal of understanding process of change rather than developmental outcomes. It is frequently the case, however, that Bronfenbrenner's model is cited by way of acknowledgment of a role for context, but the researcher then proceeds to address context as an external variable.

Another feature of the literature linking context to development is the prevalence of class-theoretical (Lewin, 1935) or social address models (Bronfenbrenner, 1993). Studies of this kind typically compare parents from two cultures, find that they differ in some critical aspect of parenting, but do not attempt to examine the processes by which cultural variability arises (Okagaki & Divecha, 1993). Studies of this kind are too numerous to outline here. One example of this kind of study that is relevant to the topic at hand is Schaefer and

Edgerton's (1985) investigation of parental beliefs. They found conformity and authoritarian beliefs to be negatively associated with SES, and to children's cognitive performance. The authors did not, however, attempt to empirically investigate the mechanisms by which these variables were linked. As will be discussed in greater detail below, this approach to the study of parental beliefs is the most prevalent model.

The use of social address models also characterizes much cross-cultural research on socialization and parenting values. Cultural differences have been found, for example, in parents' values with regard to the emphasis placed on independent rather than conforming behaviors and the development of cognitive rather than social skills as an aspect of children's developing intelligence (Azuma & Kashuragi, 1987; Dasen, 1984; Okagaki, Steinberg, & Divecha, 1990). However, the nature of the association between culture and values has not been empirically investigated by the authors concerned. These studies certainly provide important information about variability across class and culture. However, to understand how children develop socially and cognitively it is necessary to explain how these differences come about, rather that simply reporting correlations.

One avenue for explaining the relation between culture and different developmental outcomes is through exploration of the mechanisms by which culture is translated into different parenting goals, values, beliefs, and behaviors. What do we know about these aspects of parenting, about how they differ across cultures, and about how they are related to the development of children? As yet, no comprehensive model has been developed that connects these different aspects of parenting and explains their relation to each other and to children's development (Goodnow, 1988; Miller, 1988). No cohesive model has been developed that explains the origins of parental goals, values, beliefs, and practices and

explains their relation to cultural and social class. In recent years, however, there has been growing acknowledgement that there are multiple influences on parenting (Belsky, 1984; Luster & Okagaki, 1993). Several studies have found that parents' environments shape their behavior and ideas in many ways, among which are cultural models (Goodnow & Collins, 1990), information from media and experts (Clarke-Stewart, 1978), and work (Kohn, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990). In the following sections I will review the research on these sources of influence on parenting and on their relations to culture.

First, however, it is necessary to point out that a distinction is typically made in the literature between values and beliefs. One notable exception is Goodnow's (1984, 1988) view that goals, values, attitudes, and beliefs can be collectively seen as ideas. However, most research has been carried out with the assumption that these are conceptually distinct domains (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, Sigel, & Johnson, 1979). Attributions refer to inferences about cause and effect, while attitudes have an affective component and are restricted to a particular class of events. Values also have an affective component, but refer to a singular class of outcomes. Most importantly, values hold an evaluative component. As the term is used by Kohn and his colleagues, who have carried out most of the work in this area (Kohn, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990), the term refers to that which parents consider to be desirable for their children, such as the personality characteristics they want their child to have. As such, values are close conceptually to goals and objectives (Goodnow, 1984). Parental beliefs on the other hand have no such evaluative component. They refer to parents' cognitions about such issues as the nature of children, the manner in which development proceeds, and the factors that can influence developmental trajectories. Patterns of beliefs are

more closely tied to cognitive processes, and are held by some researchers to be the more fundamental, complex, and systematic bases for behavior, serving to maintain a coherent perspective on the world (McGillicuddy-DeLisi et al., 1979). There is evidence, for example, that parents hold patterns of beliefs that can be likened to a theoretical orientation in psychology, such as a constructivist model (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1982, 1985; Sigel, 1986), or a maturational theory (Johnson & Martin, 1983). This does not mean that they are static, however, as the environment provides both confirmation and disconfirmation about what parents believe about the nature of child development in general, and about their own children in particular. These world-views or implicit theories may be challenged by experiences with children, due, for example, to their children's temperaments or changes with age. Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989) also use the term to incorporate parents' sense of efficacy--the degree to which they believe they are effective parents. The literatures on parental goals and values on the one hand and parental beliefs on the other are quite disparate. In the following sections I will begin by discussing them separately, and move on to discuss their integration.

Parental goals and values. Parental goals and values have largely been ignored in the child development literature, and especially in traditional developmental psychology. At the same time, interest in parents' cognitions (without an affective aspect) has received a good deal of attention. This mirrors the general trend throughout psychology of turning away from affective psychological phenomena to concentrate on cognitive functioning (Goodnow, 1988). In other disciplines, however, most notably cultural anthropology (Hoffman, 1988; LeVine, 1988) and sociology (Kohn, 1963, 1969, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990), interest in the relation of culture and social structure to parental values

has given rise to both theory and research.

LeVine (1988) suggests that cultural groups hold shared goals. They include the following: To ensure the child's health and survival; to teach their offspring skills that will give them later economic security, and to socialize them to local values. These goals are hierarchical, and are listed here in their order of importance. However, the goals that are most salient for parents in any culture depends on the environmental context. If the child's health and survival can be taken for granted in a particular context, then the second of the goals listed will be of highest importance for parents, and so on.

Hoffman (1988) offers a different explanation as to how culture affects parenting. She holds that children satisfy different needs for parents, and that cultures differ in which needs children are perceived to be fulfilling. In her cross-national studies involving Indonesia, Korea, the Philippines, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, Turkey, and the U.S. she found that the two most commonly cited need that children fulfill are economic utility and the need for love and affection. Parental goals and attitudes are based on their perceptions of which need children fulfill. In cultures where children are valued more for their economic utility parents value obedience more and place less value on independence. Where children are primarily valued for love and affection (as is the case in technologically advanced cultures such as the U.S. culture), parents are more focused on value for the personal traits of their children, for example, that they are warm and cheerful. Hoffman's theory focuses on the general societal level, such as on the differences between technologically developing and technologically advanced societies. There is some support for the existence of cultural differences in parental goals and values at the societal level. Kojima (1988) suggests, for example, that there is a pervasive cultural value in Japanese society to know one's role in

society and to accept one's place. The Japanese conception of self appears to be embedded in interpersonal and social contexts. In U.S. society, in contrast, a widespread value for individuality and independence has been proposed (Hess, Kashiwigi, Azuma, Price, & Dickson, 1980). There may, however, be more than one culture within a society or group of societies sharing characteristics of this kind.

Within the U.S. there appear to be value differences along racial, ethnic, and social class lines. Among many minority groups, for example, there appears to be a strong emphasis on familism and group identity that is not mirrored in mainstream Euro-American culture. Murrillo (1971) found that Hispanics tend to put family before self, while Harrison and his colleagues (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990) reported that Asian-Americans tend to emphasize interdependence and maintaining social relations. Euro-American culture, on the other hand, has been found to stress individuality and individual achievement (Kessen, 1979).

Differences in parental values and childrearing style have been found across social classes also. As early as the 1940s researchers found social class differences in childrearing. These differences spanned punishment (Erlanger, 1974; Maccoby & Gibbs, 1954; Sears, Maccoby, & Levin, 1957); the ratio of support to constraint provided by parents (Davis & Havighurst, 1946); infant training practices (Bronfenbrenner, 1958), and parental values (Duvall, 1957; Gecas & Nye, 1974; Kohn, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990; Wright & Wright, 1976). Surprisingly, given the interest in parenting style as a general construct, encompassing parental behaviors and the values and beliefs that lie behind them (Gecas & Nye, 1974), there has not been much interest in parents' values for their children (Kohn, 1977). The vast majority of the work in this area has been carried out

by, or is based on, the work of sociologist Melvin Kohn and his colleagues.

Kohn's main thesis has been that there is a relation between social structure and value orientation. He chose to focus on parental values because he believed that, for parents, "the predominant effect of social structure on behavior would be through the medium of values, and that values would importantly affect their behavior toward their children" (1977, p. xxii). Between social class, an aspect of social structure, and the socialization of children, according to Kohn, lie differences in the way people "come to see the world differently--to develop different conceptions of social reality, different aspirations and hopes and fears, different conceptions of the desirable" (1963, p. 472). "The interpretive model, in essence, is: social class-conditions of life-values-behavior" (Kohn, 1963, p. 480).

For Kohn, social class can be differentiated from social stratification. In his recent work (Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990) he has focused on the latter. He sees social classes as "groups defined in terms of their relation to ownership and control over the means of production and their control over the labor of others" (1990, p. 2). Social stratification, on the other hand, refers to the "hierarchical ordering of society in terms of power, privilege, and prestige" (1990, p. 2). The criteria behind social stratification are educational attainment, occupational status, and job income. In the 1950s, Kohn began research that pointed to differences in parental values as a function of position in the social stratification system.

In research conducted in several countries, Kohn and his colleagues (Kohn, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990) have consistently found social class to be the most important influence on childrearing values, more than race, religion, region, and national background combined. All parents value happiness for their children. Using structured interviews and Parental Q-Sort methodology (Kohn & Schooler, 1969), Kohn

and his colleagues have found that higher SES is associated with parents placing greater value on self-direction and lower SES families more likely to value conformity to external authority in children. Value for self-direction is linked to value for the personal characteristics of consideration, interest in how and why things happen, responsibility and self control. Value for conformity, on the other hand, is associated with concerns about manners, neatness, being a good student, and obedience. Kohn argues that the condition of life that explains most about these differences is work, that is, the parental work conditions associated with occupations typical to the two social classes. Specifically, value for self-direction is linked to low supervision, low routinization and high substantive complexity (more typical of professional middle class jobs), while the opposite conditions (more typical of non-professional working class jobs) are associated with a value for conformity.

The work of Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989) has provided recent support for Kohn's class/social stratification-values hypothesis, and has also addressed parental behavior. In a study of 65 mother-infant dyads, Luster and his colleagues measured parental values (goals and objectives), beliefs ("parents' ideas on how they can help their children achieve valued outcomes" p. 140), and parenting practices, looking at whether they believed in, and said that they used, more supportive or constraining methods. Their finding that mother's education, occupational prestige, and family income were negatively related to mother's value for conformity and positively related to self-direction added to the existing body of support for Kohn's contention that parental values are class-related (Gecas & Nye, 1974; Schaefer & Edgerton, 1985; Wright & Wright, 1976).

The recent literature on parental values is small, but some promising developments are taking place. The model developed by Kohn is receiving renewed attention and support

(Curtner-Smith, Bennett, & O'Rear, 1995), and may be foundational to a comprehensive process model of social structure and development. One new direction in which this body of research is progressing is in the investigation of linkages between parental values and parental beliefs (Luster et al., 1989).

Parental beliefs. The study of parents' beliefs about children's development can be traced to work on parents' expectations and attitudes in the 1950s and 1960s (Goodnow, 1988). It declined during an era when psychologists subscribed widely to the notion that the field was best served by studying observable behavior. It has reemerged against a background of increasing interest in how people make inferences about others, and can be seen in social cognition and attribution studies, as well as in the developmental literatures (Goodnow, 1988; Miller, 1986). This renewed interest in parental beliefs is in part an outcome of calls for parents' attributions and interpretations of events, and not just those of children, to be taken into account in trying to understand parent-child relations (Parke, 1978). Goodnow (1984) has suggested that parents' beliefs about children may be related to parental childrearing and to developmental outcomes, a relation that may constitute the "missing link in accounts of parent-child relationships" (p. 193). As yet, however, no theory of how parental beliefs and children's development are connected has been formulated (Goodnow, 1984, 1988; Miller, 1988).

Cultural differences in parental beliefs. The study of parental beliefs has also suggested that there are both cross-cultural and sub-cultural differences. These effects have been more consistent than those found for the effects of family structure, the other main area of comparative investigation in the study of parental beliefs.

Support for cultural differences in parents' beliefs was provided by Frankel and Roer-

Bornstein (1982), who looked at looked at ethnicity and generation/age. They asked Kurdish and Yemenite Jewish mothers about their beliefs. The sample included a "granddaughter" group (age 20-30) and a "grandmother" group (65-95). They found that beliefs about development related stronger to ethnicity than to generation/age. For example, Kurdish women stressed more motoric games as important for infants, while Yemenite mothers stressed the importance of verbal games. This study did not examine SES differences in beliefs.

Hess and his colleagues (Hess et al., 1980) believed that hypothesized differences in general value orientations in the U.S. and Japan would be manifested in corresponding differences in parenting beliefs. They compared American and Japanese mothers of different socio-economic status and found that higher SES groups held earlier expectations for development than did lower SES parents. The most general measure of SES had a modest correlation with mothers' overall developmental timetable, but SES was significantly related to maternal expectations of early development of school-related skills in both the U.S. and Japan. Overall, however, group differences by SES were small. More striking were ethnic differences. Mothers' expectations for mastery of a variety of skills did not vary significantly, but the differences regarding specific skill areas were substantial. Whereas American mothers expected earlier mastery than Japanese mothers for subscales of the Developmental Expectations Questionnaire on verbal assertiveness and social skills with peers, Japanese mothers expected earlier mastery on scales of emotional maturity, compliance, and social courtesy. Ethnic differences were also found in a study by Goodnow and her colleagues (Goodnow, Cashmore, Cotton, & Knight, 1984), in a study that largely constituted a replica of the study by Hess and his colleagues. This study compared Australian- and

Lebanese-born Australian mothers (using an adapted version of the Developmental Expectations Questionnaire). Again, SES differences were minimal, but on half of the items Australian-born mothers expected earlier mastery than Lebanese-born mothers. The two groups differed mainly with respect to verbal assertiveness and skills with peers. These findings suggest that parents' timetables (age at which they expect achievement) is one facet of a culture's ideas about the nature of child development (Goodnow et al., 1984). The studies of Goodnow and her colleagues and of Hess and his colleagues indicate that in some cases, cultural differences may be stronger than SES differences. However, both studies also indicate that social class makes a small, albeit modest, difference in parental beliefs, a difference that spans nationality and ethnicity.

Evidence of social class differences in parental beliefs has also been found within the U.S. culture, in the areas of complexity of thinking about the nature of development, the perceived role of the environment, parents' developmental timetables, and parental efficacy. One of these differences is in parents' views about how children learn, and in the degree to which environment and maturation play a role. At the Educational Testing Service (ETS) a number of researchers, most notably McGillicuddy-DeLisi and Sigel, have shown parents a series of vignettes, each describing an episode of learning, such as learning a social rule, or a fact of knowledge. A free-response interview (Construction of the Child Interview) followed. Parents' beliefs about how such learning takes place were scored for the extent to which the view of learning was "constructivist" in nature, that is the degree to which parents saw children as actively constructing principles that would account for what they saw and experienced (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1982). It was reported that higher SES parents are more likely to see children as active processors of knowledge than as passive recipients. The

correlation between education and such constructivist beliefs was .22 for mothers and .33 for fathers.

Sameroff and Feil (1985) focused on the quality of parents' thinking about child development, that is in the "level of cognitive functioning the mother utilizes in response to the behaviors of her child" (Sameroff, 1975, p. 73) and found social class differences. Research was carried out using a questionnaire (Concepts of Development). To describe the complexity levels of parents' thinking, Piagetian-type concepts were used, including "non-reflective" (e. g., "she's just not a contented baby"); "categorical" (e.g., "IQ is inherited"); "compensating" (e.g, "It may be a combination of poor nutrition and lack of stimulation"; and "perspectivistic" (e.g, parents seen as changing as well as children). Scores could be summed to create a total score, used as an index of the degree to which a mother's comments were "categorical" or "perspectivistic". Although extremes were unusual, higher SES parents had beliefs that were closer to the perspectivistic end of the categorical-perspectivistic dimension, reflecting a higher degree of complexity than found for lower class mothers.

Evidence of SES differences in parents' beliefs has been found with regard to developmental timetables. Ninio (1979) found that higher SES mothers stated earlier ages for beginning such caretaking activities as talking to the infant, buying the infant's first book, and were more accurate on age estimates for achievements in infancy. Overall, however, evidence for differences of this nature are mixed. For example, McPhee (1981) used the KIDI (Knowledge of Infant Development Inventory) to investigate differences in parents' beliefs about cognitive developmental milestones in infancy and appropriate activities for infants. No differences in SES were found.

Another area that has been investigated with respect to differences in parents' beliefs

across social classes is perceptions of parental efficacy. Luster and Kain (1987), working with a national sample of 3,000 parents, reported that perceptions of parental efficacy were negatively related to SES indices of education and income, and were related to beliefs about parenting behaviors. High efficacy parents were more likely than low efficacy parents to indicate that the amount of love and affection they give to their children and the examples they set for them are important influences on their child's development. Low efficacy parents were more likely to report that discipline was one of the two parenting behaviors to most strongly influence development.

In related research, Stevens (1984) used the KEIDS (Knowledge of Environmental Influence on Development Scale), the focus of which is on the importance attributed by parents to environmental sources of influences on child development, particularly parental influence. Maternal education and family income, two indices of SES, were related positively to scores on the KEIDS. One exception to the general findings in studies of this kind was reported by Johnson and Martin (1983). They used a questionnaire (Beliefs about Development) to investigate parents' views on developmental limitations and change. They found that higher SES parents were more likely to adhere to maturational explanations for development.

Luster and his colleagues have carried out research on parents' beliefs based on Kohn's support-constraint hypothesis. These researchers tested the hypothesis that middle and working class parents would evaluate differently the importance of support and constraint in childrearing. Kohn (1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990) hypothesized that middle class parents would, in practice, be more supportive and encouraging of children's expressions of their individuality, because of their concern for the

internal dynamics of their children. He believed that working class parents, who were more concerned with external rules, would emphasize the imposition of constraints on children. All parents would use both support and constraint-oriented childrearing strategies, but there would be a different ratio of support to constraint in the two social classes. Luster and his colleagues found that mothers who valued self-direction also believed that it was important to be responsive to their children, rather than worrying that they would create a spoiled child by being overly responsive, and stressed the importance for child development of talking and reading to their child at an early age. Mothers who valued conformity more tended to define their role as parents in terms of providing constraint, and placing limits on their children's aversive behaviors. The authors interpreted these results as evidence that beliefs are positively correlated with values, and as support for Kohn's hypothesis that middle class parents would tend to be more "supportive" of their children in the development of independence, while working class parents would tend to emphasize setting limits and imposing constraints.

The overall conclusion of this body of research, with few exceptions, is that there are social class differences in parental beliefs about child development. A cautionary note should be expressed however--the differences reported are not very large and there is substantial within-group variability. These findings with respect to culture and social class have led some investigators to the conclusion that it may not be direct experience with children, nor age of child or family constellation that leads to variability in parental beliefs, but rather that parental beliefs are "handed-down" (Goodnow, 1988).

The studies discussed above make an important contribution in a relatively new area of research to identification of cultural differences and similarities in the ways that parents

think about child development. They do not, however, begin to explain why such differences might exist. While the question of how culture comes to affect parental beliefs has not been systematically studied, a few studies have asked parents directly about influences on their beliefs as parents.

Influences on Parental Values and Beliefs

Where do parents' beliefs and values come from? More specifically, what is it about culture and social class that produces the differences discussed above?

Based on work carried out at the ETS, McGillicuddy-DeLisi (1982) found that parents in general reported the most important source of influence on their beliefs about child development to be their own upbringing as a child, rather than expert information. This suggests that beliefs about child development may be in place before parenting begins, so that experience with developing children does not contribute the greatest influence. However, parents' attributions about the source of their knowledge may itself be handed-down, and needs to be investigated further. Both Ninio (1979) and Stevens (1984) reported that parents found a variety of potential sources of information about child development useful, including their own mothers, experts, and books on childrearing. However, Ninio found that higher SES mothers were more likely to say that they would seek professional help. This is in line with Clarke-Stewart's (1978) findings that middle class mothers, to a greater extent than working class mothers, seek advice about childrearing from professionals. It is also in accordance with McPhee's (1983) finding that lower class mothers are inclined to rely on more informal than formal experiences for information about child development. This may be one way in which parents of different classes and cultures come to differ in their beliefs about child development.

The role of neighborhood and informal social networks has been addressed, though not extensively, in the literature (Okagaki & Divecha, 1993). Cohen's (1981) ethnographic study of mothers on a suburban London housing estate illustrates how contextual factors can heighten the importance of informal social interactions. The estate culture was itself a source of information about child development, and the incentive to conform to commonly-held beliefs was strongly linked to the motivation to maintain their newly acquired middle class status. Their change in status had come into being with the new manager function in father's work, which required them to travel a great deal. Families adopted a different lifestyle as a result of this regular absence of fathers, such that mothers relied heavily on social interaction with each other in activities such as Tupperware parties and coffee hour. Mothers' beliefs about education and childrearing were strongly influenced by these interactions.

The connection between beliefs and culture has also been explained in terms of work and values. The relation of work to cultural differences in parenting values has been discussed above. This model has received considerable support in the literature. It has also been questioned, however, whether other conditions of life associated with social class might influence parental values. Wright & Wright (1976) have noted the insubstantial role attributed to education. In addition, there is evidence that the degree of occupational self-direction in parents' work may affect men and women differently (Spade, 1991). Other studies relating work to parenting point to a complex interaction between gender of child, mother's education level, her motivation for working, and her perceptions of her children. Whether work leads to increases or decreases in self-esteem also appears to be an important factor mediating the relation between work and parenting (Alvarez, 1985; Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982). These studies indicate that, while work appears to be an important factor that may explain

within-culture differences in parental values and beliefs, other factors must also be taken into account, in particular, characteristics of the child and the parent.

Kohn's hypothesized class-values relationship has been extended to include parental beliefs in a study by Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989). This group of researchers questioned whether the hypothesized relation between parental values and actual parenting style was direct, or was mediated by beliefs about childrearing. Basing their work on Kohn's (1963, 1977, 1979) theory of parental values and personality development, they developed an instrument (Parental Beliefs Scale) designed to measure parents' beliefs on several dimensions of childrearing: the amount of freedom that a child should be allowed to have, the degree to which their physical movements should be restricted, whether being responsive and affectionate to a child leads to spoiling, and beliefs about discipline and control. The relation between parental values and parenting style was found to be mediated by childrearing beliefs. Furthermore, values were related to beliefs in the expected direction-- parents who valued self-direction emphasized responding to their infants' cries, while those who valued conformity emphasized their role in constraining infants and were concerned with spoiling their children by responding excessively to their cries. This provided support for Kohn's support-constraint hypothesis.

The above studies have addressed three possible mechanisms by which parents of different cultures may come to hold different beliefs about child development: Through differential access to informal information (family and friends) and professional information (child development experts, books); through social networks; and in relation to values about child development that are linked to the means of making a living. The study of the origins of parental beliefs has focused almost exclusively on cognitive bases, or differential access to

information. Goodnow (1988) however, has pointed out that future research should look further at the motivational-affective and functional bases of beliefs. While no study has looked at this in terms of class or culture, there is some evidence, for example, that the amount of responsibility an individual has affects their beliefs about child development. Hess, Price, Dickson, and Conroy (1981) found that adults' expectations about age of mastery by children of a variety of tasks was earlier for mothers than for preschool teachers, and earlier for full-time than half-time teachers. Goodnow, Knight, and Cashmore (1985) interpret this as evidence that anyone with major responsibility for children may feel a need to emphasize the positive (early skill mastery) and minimize any problems. They see this as a functional basis of parental beliefs. A study by Knight (1981) also suggests this. Judgements of expected ability were found to be clearly related to parents' satisfaction with the attribute in question. Attributes that parents were satisfied with were expected to remain stable, while those they were dissatisfied with were expected to change. How does this relate to class and culture? It may be applicable in particular to the findings of Kohn (1979) and Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989), and to the work of Cohen (1981). The former studies point to a functional basis of values, and by extension, of beliefs. Those attributes that are most important to father's work, for example, are those that fathers are most likely to value in their children. It is plausible that parental beliefs are also based on consistency with class-related living or working conditions. Cohen's study points to a motivational-affective basis of parental beliefs--parents conform with those beliefs that are most likely to ensure their continued status in the community. It is clear that the scope of possible determinants needs to be broadened to include such motivational-affective and functional bases.

Another issue that needs to be addressed more explicitly in this literature is the role of

historical time. Bronfenbrenner's (1958) analysis of socialization and social class suggests that class-based parenting values and practices are by no means static--he found evidence of recent changes in middle-class childrearing towards a more permissive style, while working class parents had taken on the style previously associated with the middle class, emphasizing neatness and obedience. The mechanisms involved in these changes were not investigated. They may have been due to changes in the conditions associated with different positions in the social structure as the American economy has changed over time, and if so, may have important implications for the way in which we conceptualize social class. It is clear that the influence of socio-historical changes over time warrant greater attention.

Parental Behavior

The parenting behaviors associated with parental values have not been studied to the same degree as the nature and origins of such values. There has, however, been some speculation as to the form that behavior might take.

LeVine (1988) suggest that specific parenting strategies for achieving goals will also differ as a function of environment. For example, in agricultural communities where labor is needed in the fields, fertility tends to be high. If in that context infant mortality is also high, mothers target their strategies accordingly to maximize their infants' chances of survival. They might do this by co-sleeping or prolonged breast-feeding. In urban settings fertility rates drop and parents tend to focus on their children's cognitive and social abilities. Hoffman (1988), as discussed above, has suggested that parental goals may be translated into context-appropriate parenting strategies.

Kohn (1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990) has stressed work as a condition of life associated with position in the social structure that will influence

parenting. How would a general value orientation resulting from work conditions come to be translated into childrearing practices? Parents, Kohn argues, will value those behaviors that have facilitated their own competency at work, and will be likely to encourage similar qualities in their children. Furthermore, they will encourage the development of these traits in their children, primarily by means of their style of discipline and control. Middle class parents, Kohn argued, would value self-control and therefore encourage the development of internal constraints (such as curiosity and self-restraint) for governing interpersonal relations. Working class parents, on the other hand, who value conformity to external authority, would be inclined to emphasize external constraints. The manifestation of this in parents' disciplinary style, according to Kohn, would be that middle class parents would be more likely to punish on the basis of interpretation of intent (the internal processes), while working class parents would focus more on the consequences of the transgression (the external event). In general, middle class parents would be expected to adopt a "support" orientation to the parent-child relationship, while working class parents would be more oriented toward "constraint." In this way the child's immediate environment comes to be molded in part by the nature of the parental work setting. In their recent work, Kohn and Slomczynski (1990) found evidence that higher social stratification positions are associated with values for self-directedness, non-authoritarianism, and achievement. These are general values orientations that permeate parental values.

Kohn's approach to the study of socialization is to emphasize values, which broadly fit into the study of parental goals or objectives (e.g that children behave like boys and girls should, that they are considerate or obedient). In addition, Kohn's approach has been to deliberately ignore parental action. He holds that values or objectives are superordinate to

means or techniques: "a conception... of the desirable influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (Kluckhohn, cited by Kohn, 1963, p. 472). He believes that a focus on technique tells us little about parents' relationships with their children and leads to an emphasis on surface change. He considered, for example, that the changes in childrearing noted by Bronfenbrenner (1958) over a twenty year span contained "no evidence...of profound changes in the relations of parents to children in either social class...predicted in all probability, parents have changed techniques in the service of the same values" (Kohn, 1963, p. 473).

The question of the relation of parental beliefs to behavior and to developmental outcomes of children have also been addressed in the literature. However, the nature of the link between parental beliefs and behavior is for the most part, understudied and largely atheoretical (Mize, Petit, & Brown, in press).

Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989), testing Kohn's hypothesis, found that mothers' beliefs corresponded not only with their values, but also with their behaviors towards their children. Mothers who tended to value self-directedness tended to be more supportive, while those who valued conformity tended to be more constraining.

The ETS studies (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1985; Sigel, 1986) linked the nature of parents' beliefs to the degree to which they engage in distancing behaviors. This involved two measures of parent-child interaction, both teaching tasks. Parents were coded for the degree to which they used distancing strategies--parenting behaviors that are thought to help a child separate from the immediate environment by encouraging anticipation of the future or reconstruction of the past. This has been hypothesized to promote the development of representational thinking in children. Parents who have constructivist beliefs about

development were most likely to engage in expected to engage more in distancing behaviors. The authors concluded that the beliefs-behavior relation is complex, in that the results depended in part on the kinds of analyses used and the specific task in question. In general, the findings of the ETS group indicated that beliefs do relate to behavior, and in the way their theory predicted; constructivist beliefs related to distancing behaviors, even when SES and family structure were controlled for. The relation was not strong, however (none higher than .25). In addition, the relation was more straightforward for fathers than for mothers.

A second study, that of Stevens (1984), also examined the relation between beliefs and parenting behavior. Stevens studied mothers, one third of whom were teenagers, using the KEIDS and the HOME inventory (Home Observation for Measurement of the Environment) (Caldwell & Bradley, 1979). The latter includes 45 items used to code different aspects of the environment, such as emotional and verbal responsivity of mother, opportunities for variety in daily stimulation etc.. Findings indicated that parents' conceptions of children's abilities related to their behaviors toward children. There was a moderate correlation (.36) between performance on the High Scope scale (knowledge of Infant's abilities and HOME ratings. The most knowledgeable mothers showed most positive maternal behaviors (as rated by the HOME inventory). Epstein's (1980) study looked at teenage mothers interacting with their infants. Three styles of interaction were identified: sharing, directing, and no talking. There was a positive correlation between underestimation of infant ability and no-talking style. A negative correlation was found between overestimation of ability and sharing. Fry (1985) however, in a similar study, found that age was a stronger predictor of interaction style of caregivers than knowledge of development. In a rare study involving older children Hess and his colleagues (Hess et al., 1980) found that mothers' expectations for early verbal

assertiveness related in predictable ways to her verbal behavior on a sorting task and a task in which mother and child were required to give information to each other.

These studies collectively indicate that there is a relation between what parents (particularly mothers) believe about child development and how they behave towards their own children, although the correlations are modest and the number of studies is small. There are some limitations in this area of study that need to be addressed in future research however. Most of the studies are on infants, with little work on parents' ideas about preschoolers and even less on older children. In addition, the above studies have asked parents about their general views on development, and then observed their behaviors with their own children. The question of whether the relation between parents beliefs about their own child and their behavior toward their child are related has not been adequately addressed.

Parental Values and Beliefs and Child Development

The final question to be addressed here is whether parents' values and beliefs relate to children's development, and especially to their social development. The literature is very small, and the main focus is on cognitive development. In those studies that have focused on values, the effects for children's development has not been adequately addressed. Kohn and his colleagues assume that children will develop the personality types that correspond to their parents' values, but have not tested this empirically. Support for his hypothesis of the effects of social structure on personality development has come from the work of others.

Many of the studies of parental beliefs over the last decade have focused on mothers, and research on fathers' beliefs about child development is strikingly rare. Researchers in this domain have been particularly interested in mothers' conceptions of cognitive development and how children learn. The results point generally to a correlation between the

sophistication and accuracy of mothers' views on the nature of the developmental process with more advanced cognitive skills in their children (eg. Goodnow, 1988; Miller, 1986). The ETS research group (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1985) has reported that when 3- and 4-year-olds are measured on several cognitive tasks the correlation between a composite measure of mothers' constructivist beliefs and children's cognitive level is small but significant. Johnson and Martin (1983) looked at 5- and 6-year-olds and a cognitive outcome of academic knowledge. They found a positive impact on academic knowledge of mothers holding cognitive developmental views, and a negative impact of maturational views. The overall conclusion that can be reached on the basis of these studies is that parents' beliefs do relate, but not strongly, to children's intellectual functioning. Children who perform best have parents who recognize complexity and see development as a multi-determined process. They see the child as an active constructor of his or her own cognitive development.

What about social development, however? While both Kohn (1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990), and Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989) have been interested in the connection between social structure and personality development of children, neither group has gathered outcome data for children that would support the hypothesized link. There is much less research on parental beliefs about children's social development and social skills than there is on cognitive development, with a few exceptions (e.g., Rubin, Mills, & Rose-Krasnor, 1989). Rubin and his colleagues found that mothers' beliefs in the importance of social skills for young children, and their beliefs that such skills are not innate, predicted their children's competence with peers. On the whole, however, little appears to be known about parental beliefs about how children become socially competent members of their societies.

Finally, this review of the literature points to the paucity of linkages between the parental values and beliefs literatures, with the result that knowledge about these aspects of parental functioning is fragmented. Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989) have reported that values and beliefs are related, and indeed that beliefs may mediate the affective components (values) with the behavioral manifestations of parenting. Future research will need to develop this conceptual bridge further, looking for example, at the causal beliefs that parents hold about the effects of the parenting strategies they use on specific aspects of their children's social and cognitive development. As yet, no study has attempted to investigate this question. Future research should also concentrate more on investigating social development outcomes as they relate to beliefs and values, and as Goodnow (1988) and others have pointed out, of extending our knowledge about the affective components of parents beliefs.

Culturally Organized Activities

Explanations of the relation between culture and context have been explored very little at the level of the everyday activities in which children are engaged. Bronfenbrenner (1993) has suggested that regular activities and interactions in everyday life are central to understanding developmental processes, and this is a core principle of Vygotskian theory (Rogoff, 1990; Tudge, Putnam, & Valsiner, in press; van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991; Valsiner, 1988-b; Wertsch, 1985). Yet we know little about how young children in North American and Western societies spend their time, and how this might be related to their social development (Bloch, 1989) or their cognitive development (Rogoff, 1981).

Interest in cross-cultural differences in child development has traditionally existed outside the mainstream of developmental psychology. Much of the research involving

observation of children's everyday activities has been conducted by cultural anthropologists and cross-cultural developmental psychologists (examples include work by Edwards & Whiting, 1980; Harkness & Super, 1985; Ochs, 1988; Rogoff, 1981, 1990; Schieffelin, 1990; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Typically, these studies involve comparison of non-western societies with U.S. society. Even if no U.S. sample is observed, underlying the conclusions drawn about children's lives in non-western cultures is an implicit comparison with U.S. society. Furthermore, white middle class U.S. culture is the standard against which comparisons are frequently drawn, implying that this within-society culture is representative of American culture in general. The implicit or explicit comparison being drawn is between societies of different technological levels (Bloch, 1989; Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Sigman, Neumann, Carter, D'Souza, & Bwibo, 1988; Whiting, 1963; Whiting & Whiting, 1975; Whiting & Edwards, 1988).

There are two problems associated with this approach. First, since we have such little information about children's activities and their role in the development of cultural competence in technologically advanced (Western) societies that there is little basis on which to make the assumption that such broad comparisons can be made. Interpretations based on these comparisons may be confounded by the fact that in technologically simple non-Western societies children are typically exposed to the kinds of skills in which they are expected to become competent on a regular basis. Thus, female children in Guatemala regularly observe the weaving process in which they are expected to become proficient, and are drawn into the care of younger siblings at an early age (Rogoff, 1990). In contrast, the development of cultural competence in children of technologically advanced societies, such as the U.S. may involve a different process. Parents typically work outside the home, and although children

observe work within the home, this does not comprise all the skills they are expected to learn as they develop. A second problem concerns the different methodologies typically used in western and non-western studies of children's everyday interactions with social partners. Data on non-western samples are often collected by cultural anthropologists, who employ methodology that involves observation of the kinds of activities that form children's everyday lives. Data on children's interactions with others in western societies, on the other hand, typically involves observation of structured or semi-structured observations in the home or in laboratories, during which parent and child are instructed (implicitly or explicitly) to interact around a particular task. They do not give an accurate sense of the manner in which children typically spend their time or the nature of their interactions with those around them.

The use of observational methodology to study children's activities within technologically advanced western cultures is rare. Exceptions include the work of ecological psychologist Roger Barker (Barker & Wright, 1951), Fischer and Fischer's studies as part of the Six Cultures study (Whiting, 1963), Whiting and Edwards' Claremont spot observation study (Whiting & Edwards, 1988), and studies of children's age and gender segregation by Rogoff and her colleagues (Ellis, Rogoff, & Cromer, 1981).

Heath (1983) studied three communities in the U.S. (white middle class, white working class, and black working class) and analyzed the daily social interactions and activities of preschool children around what she calls "literacy events." She presented three strikingly different pictures of the everyday circumstances that surround children's development of different "ways of taking meaning" from their environment that helps to illuminate the puzzle of the discrepant success rates of children from the three communities in mainstream education. This study of the socialization of narrative styles across cultural

groups illustrates how, in their everyday lives, the nature of children's social interactions with caregivers are closely interconnected with their cognitive development.

In a well-known cross-cultural study of young children's activities Whiting and her colleagues (Whiting, 1963; Whiting and Edwards, 1988; Whiting & Whiting, 1975) used observational methods to study children's everyday lives in 13 communities, including communities in the U.S. (Orchard Town, New England), Mexico, Philippines, Okinawa, Liberia, India (2 communities) and Kenya (5 communities), and also gathered less extensive data in four additional communities in Guatemala, Kenya, Peru, and the U.S. (Claremont). According to the authors, three factors differentiated children across these communities--the activities in which they were regularly involved; the company they keep (or their social partners), and the style of their interactions, particularly mother-child interactions.

Whiting and Edwards identified four types of mothering. The first, "nurturing" was found to be prevalent across all groups. The other three types were "training"--these were found primarily in least industrialized communities, and they emphasized teaching children to make a contribution to work in the home. "Controlling" mothers could not use children to do important work (such as weaving in Mexico and India) and were concerned that their children were not underfoot or interrupting. "Sociable" mothers were found in the technologically advanced US sample of middle class Orchard Town, and were mainly social partners for their children.

While constituting an important step in investigating the way in which children spend their time, there were problematic features of this work. First, the US was seen as the primary comparison group, although at a much higher technological level than the other communities studied. Second, the authors collected data in Orchard Town in the 1950s, but

did not, in their 1988 publication, acknowledge the probable effects of historical time on their findings, or the effects of class. Third, the social-emotional and cognitive attributes of the children studied were not investigated. Given the anthropological nature of the study, this is understandable. For the purposes of understanding the way in which culture and psychological development are linked however, data from this sphere is necessary.

Bloch (1989) studied play activities of young children in the US and Senegal, specifically following the model employed by Whiting and Edwards in their 1988 cross-cultural studies of young children's activities, and taking as her unit of analysis the person in relation to environment. Bloch found that play was a major activity of young children in both the U.S. and Senegal. Her studies, while important in shedding light upon how children in different cultural settings spend their time, did not explore the processes that give meaning to those activities. Information about the cultural ideology, manifested in parental values and beliefs about childrearing, could help explain the psychological mechanisms that give rise to the structure of children's everyday lives in these two settings.

Tudge and his colleagues (Lee & Tudge, 1995; Tudge, Putnam, & Sidden, 1993; Tudge & Putnam, in press) have studied children's everyday activities, also following the observational methodology of Whiting and Edwards (1988). They found that, in the two communities studied, there were different patterns in the activities available to children, and in the kinds of activities children engaged in. This points to distinct structures in place in the two communities, and also to patterns of different personal characteristics in the children. Most striking is the finding that children whose parents worked in the professional sphere were far more likely to initiate their own involvement in lessons, one of the main activities available to children, than were children from the non-professional group. The data suggest

that by age four, there are differential patterns of self-direction in children of the two communities, which seems to support Kohn's (1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990) hypothesis that professional parents encourage independent, autonomous behavior in their children (Tudge & Putnam, in press).

A problematic feature of this study, shared with those of Whiting and Edwards (1988), and Bloch (1989, Bloch & Adler, 1993), is the lack of data on the personal attributes of important figures in the lives of the children, specifically, the goals, values and beliefs of their primary caregivers, who are instrumental in shaping the structure of children's everyday lives. There are, however, observational data on social-emotional attributes of the children, such as the extent to which they initiate their own involvement in activities (reflecting motivation and independence), although data are not available on parents' opinions as to the competence of the children.

Observational studies indicate that there may be important gender differences in the activities in which children are regularly involved (Edwards & Whiting, 1980). The literature suggests that, in some cultures, girls may be more or less encouraged to exercise self-direction that boys, and boys and girls may elicit different types of responses from their social partners (Edwards & Whiting, 1980; Ember, 1973; Harkness & Super, 1985; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). There is also evidence that parents have different perceptions of the kinds of characteristics it is desirable for boys and girls to have in different cultures. This was found to be the case, for example, by both Whiting and Edwards (1988), and by Tudge and his colleagues (Tudge et al., 1993-b; Tudge & Putnam, in press). In the latter study, girls were found to be more likely than boys to be involved in interpersonal lessons, suggesting that for parents and other caregivers, it is perceived as more important that girls learn what is

perceived to be good manners and socially acceptable interpersonal behaviors than is the case for boys.

These studies of children's everyday activities indicate that the manner in which children interact with social partners on a daily basis has important implications for their social and cognitive development. They provide support for Vygotsky's theory (Rogoff, 1990; Wertsch, 1985; van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991; Valsiner, 1988-a, 1988-b, 1989) and Bronfenbrenner's theory (1989, 1993, under review) that it is the course of social interaction that psychological growth and change occur. As discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, both theorists emphasize the critical role of social interaction in everyday life as essential to understanding the interdependent reciprocal relation between developing individual and their social worlds. It is through studies such as these that we may come to understand how features of children's contexts, the values and beliefs patterns that arise out of the conditions of life associated with the disparate cultural communities in which they live, come to have practical meaning for personality development.

Summary of Literature Reviewed

What can we say about the process by which cultural context and individual development, especially social-emotional development, are linked? This review has pointed to several problems in the literature that impede our ability to understand this process.

One problem identified is the tendency for psychologists to focus on the individual, adopting traditional positivist methods that treat context either as a factor to be controlled, or as an independent variable to be examined for its separate influence on the development of an individual. In spite of growing interest in the work of Lev Vygotsky and in the ecological paradigm advocated by Urie Bronfenbrenner, the majority of research in child development

can best be described as "contextualizing" rather than "contextual" (Valsiner & Winegar, 1992). In contextualizing research, context is considered to be structurally independent from the outcome it is intended to determine or explain, and its effect is thought to be unidirectional and additive. Truly contextual research, on the other hand, addresses context as in some way interdependent with the processes it is helping to describe. The relation between the environment and the individual is perceived as bi-directional, transactional, or dialectical. A second problem identified is the implicit assumption in much of the research on childrearing that certain contexts are inherently more conducive to positive developmental outcomes than others. This view has been countered by ecological models of cultural competence (Ogbu, 1990). A third problematic feature of the literature on childrearing is a "top-down" approach that ignores the power of the developing child to evoke responses form the environment--social partners and caregivers--and thus to actively participate in the construction of his or her development trajectory. Given these limitations, it can be concluded that development in cultural context is generally not approached as a co-constructive process involving joint active involvement of both developing individual and caregivers.

The review of the literature on parental goals, values, and beliefs suggested the absence of a coherent model explaining their relation to culture, to each other, and to children's development. This lack is reflected in the fragmentation of the domain into three distinct areas of study. Parental goals are largely untreated, while studies of parental values are based largely on the work of Kohn (1963, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1983; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990) and his colleagues. These studies have explored and provided support for, a link between father's occupation and parental values. They have not, however,

explored how conditions of living other than work, but associated with SES might contribute to the class-values relation.

Studies of parental beliefs have found small but consistent difference in how parents of different cultures and social classes perceive child development, although there are also substantial within-group differences. A small number of studies have questioned parents directly about the origins of their beliefs and have found a pattern indicating that middle class mothers are influenced by formal, professional sources of advice, while working class mothers rely on more informal sources. Little research has focused on motivational-affective bases of parental beliefs. Research on the relation of parental beliefs to actual childrearing behavior indicates that there is a positive relation, but the studies have focused almost exclusively on mothers, on their beliefs about infants, and about children's cognitive rather than social development. It has also tended to omit to ask parents about their beliefs about their own child's development. Finally, the studies of parental beliefs have generally omitted to gather information about children's developmental outcomes. In the few studies that do so, the emphasis is again on cognitive development. Theses studies have found a positive relationship between parental (mothers') beliefs and child development outcomes.

Finally, the way in which children come into contact with and interact with culturally-based views about childrearing has been investigated through observation of their everyday routines and activities. Social class differences have also been observed at this level, as have gender differences in the activities children are exposed to and the behaviors they are encouraged to exhibit.

Research on children's activities has not been integrated with studies of parental values and beliefs, and children's own characteristics are generally not adequately treated in

either kind of study. As a result, the research on culture and child development is fragmented. Furthermore, the processes by which differences arise in the social and cognitive developmental outcomes and trajectories of children of different cultures, both across and within societies, receives a good deal less attention than does simple reporting of differences in social address. For these reasons, culture remains largely a "packaged variable" (Whiting, 1976).

Future research in this domain would be well served by following an integrative model. Such a model would require that the attributes and actions of primary caregivers, as agents of culture, the personal attributes of children, and the process by which they are interrelated in the child's development are studied. This would yield a more comprehensive and coherent picture of the process by which culture-based differences in the way parents think about socialization and development, and their actual childrearing practices relate to child development. In addition, research should concentrate more on social development than has previously been the case.

In the following pages, I will outline a proposal for a study of the co-construction of child development in two cultural communities, in which the processes by which development and culture are inter-related will be explored through observation, interview, and questionnaire. This will be preceded by an outline of a theoretical framework, based on the theories of Vygotsky (1978; Wertsch, 1985; van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991; Valsiner, 1988-b, 1989) and Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1993, under review).

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: CULTURAL-HISTORICAL THEORY

AND ECOLOGICAL SYSTEMS THEORY

For at least a century a number of scholars have expressed interest in the relevance of

the social world for development (Tudge et al., in press). Researchers such as Schwabe and

Bartholomai working in the 1870s in Germany were among the earliest to study the effects of

environmental conditions on children's development (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983).

Those scholars who believed human development and environment to be interdependent were

not, however, at the mainstream of the emerging discipline of psychology. The majority of

psychologists, following Wundt and the classical empirical model of science, isolated the

individual from the social world conceptually, and were stringent in their efforts to control the

effects of context empirically.

In recent decades, interest in context has intensified, and the issue of how it is related

to development has become a widespread concern among developmentalists (Eisenberg,

1992). For the most part, however, that interest has been limited to the perception of

environment as a separate variable to be taken into account among several other variables

perceived to be outside the individual. Although formulation and use of interactional and

reciprocal causal models of development has increased recently (Sameroff, 1975; Belsky, 1984), and the work of contextual theorists, particularly that of Lev Vygotsky has been cited with growing frequency (Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992), it remains the case that those scholars who believe development of individual psychological systems and cultural context to be interdependent remain outside the mainstream of psychology (Tudge et al., in press). The cultural-historical theory of Lev Vygotsky and Urie Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory are two of the perspectives on development as interdependent with context that have come to prominence in recent decades. In the following pages, these theories are outlined and discussed.

Cultural-Historical Theory

The work of Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934) has recently attracted considerable interest among Western psychologists and developmentalists (Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992). Vygotsky emphasized that psychologists should approach the study of mental functioning by examining the social and cultural processes from which it derives. In doing so, he has been one of the principal proponents of the socio-genetic approach to the study of development, that is, of the argument that the psychological functions of human beings are socially constituted. Interest in his work in recent decades has emerged against a background of an intensification of concern about the relevance of the social world for the formation of psychological functions.

Vygotsky wanted to create a new approach to psychology, believing that the reductionistic methods popular at the time (in Russia, reflexology, and in America, behaviorism) were inadequate to the task of understanding processes of development. The meta-theoretical issue that was of greatest concern to him was the question of how children

create higher psychological processes in contexts that were socio-historically defined. He believed that the environment was the source of development--that it was through interaction with others that children took part in the construction of their own thinking processes and of the cultures in which they lived. He was one of several sociogenetic thinkers of the time, and was strongly influenced by the work of thinkers such as James Mark Baldwin, George Herbert Mead, and Pierre Janet (Van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991). Vygotsky's thinking was also strongly influenced by Marxist dialectical philosophy, which had important implications for his general methodological orientation and to the central role he gave to the active agency of the individual (Valsiner, 1988-b, 1989).

Vygotsky was a leader in the Cultural-Historical school of psychological thought which emerged in post 1917 revolution Russia with the goal of creating a new (genetic) psychology for a new society. The concern of this group was to understand the social basis of mental functioning, and its dynamic nature. The term cultural-historical captures the notion of psychology as the study of change in humans in relation to changing contexts. It is historical in the sense that the focus is on the developmental study of a phenomenon. Vygotsky believed that to study something historically was to study it in its movement. As such, the concern of the psychologist is on process rather than outcome. It is cultural in the sense that development is assumed to be given meaning by cultural organization and cultural tools and signs. Development is defined as the mastery of such culturally-based mediational means.

Principles of cultural-historical theory. At least three points are central to understanding development from the perspective of cultural-historical theory: that development of all psychological processes is socially derived; that the process by social

knowledge becomes individual involves social interaction and mediation; and that the individual is an active agent in his or her own development and in the construction of culture (indicating a dialectical process). Culturally-organized shared activities provide the forum in which development takes place.

The tenet that the development of psychological processes is socially constituted is critical to Vygotsky's thinking. However, the psychological processes involved refer to what Vygotsky called higher psychological process. This distinction comes from Vygotsky's claim that two lines are distinguishable in children's development--the line of "natural development", referring to growth and maturation processes, and the line of "cultural development", which referred to children's gaining mastery over cultural means or instruments (van der Veer & Valsiner, 1991). Cultural instruments include speech, symbols, diagrams, and the like. It is by means of these culturally-meaningful signs and symbols that communication, and therefore psychological development, can take place. That is to say, development that is beyond biological maturation is in the realm of higher psychological processes and is achieved through processes of semiotic mediation.

Active construction of development. Vygotsky believed that the child contributes to his or her own development, actively constructing knowledge within his or her surroundings. His thinking on this issue was influenced by James Mark Baldwin and William Stern, as well as Piaget (Valsiner, 1989). However, the theoretical basis for this assumption was, for Vygotsky, grounded in Marxist philosophy. This is a dialectical materialistic theory that sees humans as active participants in interaction with their environments. The dialectical approach entails analysis of the interdependence of the opposition of relationships between different subparts of a given system, and/or between the system and its environment. Such opposition

leads to synthesis of the novel form. While Vygotsky emphasized social activity as the main source of development, it is clear from his writing that the direction of effects is not unidirectional, that is, only from the social environment to the individual. Rather, he saw the relation of individual development to the environment as a transactional or dialectical process.

Vygotsky's approach stands in contrast to the unidirectional approach to socialization that has dominated social science in recent history (Valsiner, 1989). From the unidirectional standpoint, parents "give" children culturally derived values, beliefs and skills. Children are passive recipients. From a dialectical perspective, children are not passive in this process of development of cultural competence, rather they are involved in the process of "co-construction" of the culture (Tudge et al., in press-b). That is to say, in the course of their interactions with others, children participate in the restructuring of their social world and their culture. As the process is dialectical, involving continuous interactions between the person and the environment and leading to a series of syntheses upon which new interactions are based, it is never possible to identify definitively the source of influence on development. The psychological system of the developing individual is thus said to be jointly constructed, or co-constructed.

Mechanisms of development. The specific psychological mechanisms by which this co-constructive process of development takes place are internalization and externalization. At a certain point in development, adults begin to give their children cultural instruction, which is subsequently internalized by the child. Knowledge is first external, and only later becomes internalized and transformed by the individual:

> Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first between people (interpsychological), and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts. All the higher functions originate as actual relations between human individuals. (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57)

Valsiner (1988-a) distinguishes between collective and personal cultures (the personal being that which has been internally transformed by the individual, and the source of individual novelty, and the collective being the social norms outside the person) as a reminder that the individual, though unique, is continuously related to the cultural world through mechanisms of internalization and externalization. Culture is held to be present in both individuals and social units. This distinction is useful, because it helps us to avoid the erroneous assumption that individuality is subsumed by culture, and also to understand the dialectical principle of thesis-antithesis-synthesis as it applies to human development. The synthesis occurs at both the personal culture and collective culture levels--both are reconstructed as a result of their interaction.

How are internalization and externalization accomplished? According to Vygotsky (1978), these processes are facilitated when the child interacts with a more competent member of the society. That is to say, children's development is most likely to occur in the course of joint activity when assistance is provided within their zone of proximal development. The zone of proximal development is the distance between what a child can achieve independently and what he or she can do with the assistance of a more competent social partner: "Thus the zone of proximal development is a dynamic region of sensitivity to learning the skills of culture, in which children develop through participation in problem solving with more experienced members of the culture" (Rogoff, 1990, p. 14). It is here that children

internalize cultural knowledge, and externalize it in its reconstructed form. This notion is succinctly captured in Cole's (1985) observation that it is in the zone of proximal development that culture and cognition create each other.

Development as activity-based. The internalization and reconstruction of cultural knowledge is thus a process taking place in the routine, everyday activities that make up children's lives. The role of children as they participate in these activities is sometimes active, sometimes tacit and observational (Rogoff, 1990). It is here that children internalize tools for thinking and problem-solving, and acquire and transform the attitudes and behavior patterns of their cultures. To understand the processes involved in a child's "cultural development," therefore, the activities in which he or she is involved, and the cultural values, beliefs and resources that give meaning to these activities must be understood. Thus psychological functioning is seen as a kind of action, which may be carried out by the individual alone, by dyads, or by larger groups (Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992). Since the goal is to understand developmental process taking place in the course of social interactions, it is not surprising that for Vygotsky the unit of analysis is not the individual alone, but the individual-in-social-activity (Wertsch, 1991).

Vygotsky's concern in taking this approach was to underline the interdependence of individual development and the changing environment, and the rejection of the usual dichotomy of individual and social worlds. This thinking represents a step away from Cartesian individualism (Bakhurst, 1988)--the dominant approach in contemporary Western research in psychology. It is a different notion of mental functioning, in which mental processes are seen as occurring between individuals on the interpsychological, or intermental plane, as well as one the intrapsychological or intramental plane (Wertsch & Tulviste, 1992).

For Vygotsky, activities are crucial to our understanding of development of humans, but are

insufficiently studied: "The internalization of socially rooted and historically developed

activities is the distinguishing feature of human psychology, the basis of the qualitative leap

from animal to human psychology. As yet, the barest outline of this process is known"

(Vygotsky, 1978, p. 57).

How does the study of activities further knowledge about development in context?

From a cultural-historical standpoint, activities are made more or less available for children to

participate in, depending on what is considered important by competent members of the

community. Knowledge of the type of activities made available to children and the nature of

their involvement in them can shed light on the question of how children growing up in

different contexts come to have different developmental outcomes. If, as Vygotsky believed,

activities (social interaction) help to structure higher psychological processes, then differences

in activities should be associated with differences in social and cognitive development:

> ...[H]umans' activity assimilates the experience of humankind. This means that
> humans' mental process (their "higher psychological functions") acquire a structure
> necessarily tied to the sociohistorically formed means and methods transmitted to them
> by others in the process of cooperative labor and social interaction (Vygotsky, 1981,
> quoted in Rogoff, 1990, p. 13)

This unit of analysis, then, captures both individual and social activity, and its cultural-

historical influences. Thus, "the notion of an activity setting with its motive provides a means

for relating socio-institutional and individual psychological phenomena" (Wertsch, 1985, p.

215).

Although Vygotsky emphasized social activity as the main source of development, to

concentrate only on the individual and interpersonal levels is to omit the source of meaning

for the interaction between those two levels--the culture. It is clear from Vygotsky's writing

that three, rather than two, levels of interaction are involved in the process of social

development--the individual level, the social or interpersonal level, and the cultural or societal

level. That is to say, social activity involves the individual's functioning on an independent

level, his or her interactions with others in the course of social activity, and the cultural-

historical context that gives meaning to the activity (Tudge & Putnam, in press).

Overview and implications. How do these seemingly separate elements of Vygotsky's

theory fit together to explain the interrelations between development and cultural context?

First, it is assumed that development is socially constituted, in the sense that children are born

into social worlds which are structured on the basis of values and beliefs constructed over

time. Thus the history of a particular culture has much to do with its present organization.

Developing children are not passive recipients of cultural knowledge in that context however.

Certainly, in the course of their everyday lives, in shared activities with peers and adults, they

internalize culturally valued knowledge. When the social partner in these activities is more

competent, cultural learning is likely to take place. Once internalized, each individual child

processes that knowledge in a unique way (which is a function of his or her unique set of

experiences in that particular cultural context). Internalized knowledge thus transformed

advances the development of the higher psychological functions. In this way, each individual

is a participant in the co-construction of his or her own development. Furthermore, in the

course of communication with social partners, the developing child externalizes personally

transformed knowledge, thus participating in the co-construction of context him or herself.

One critical implication of adopting this contextual theory is that research should not

treat context as a separate variable outside the developing individual. It should capture more

than one level of analysis in the study of development. Children must be studied, not alone, but in social interaction, and the interactions must be interpreted in the light of cultural meaning systems. By this it is meant that cultural value systems and the stage of development of a culture in historical time is the organizing force behind the kinds of tools and signs available for use in communication, the kinds of activities available to children as they develop, the kinds of knowledge believed to be important to impart to children, and the way in which a child's role in their social world is construed.

Another implication of the adoption of cultural-historical theory is that a level of complexity generally avoided in the majority of developmental studies must be accepted. One reason that context is often treated as a separate variable outside the person is that the study of a phenomenon perceived to be interdependent with context is considered to be too complex for psychological research. This is the rationale for reductionism. Vygotsky did not offer guidelines as to how this complexity can be managed in the research process without resorting to reductionism. His methodology focuses largely on the microgenetic level, and particularly on problem-solving. This is perhaps one reason why such little research has focused on the dyad as the minimum unit of analysis.

Another implication also arises from the basis of the theory in dialectical philosophy. That is, the true cause or origin of a phenomenon cannot be identified. A dialectical approach implies that it cannot be ascertained whether novel psychological behaviors (manifestations of development) are either purely individual or social in origin. Since an individual has participated in the construction of the social/cultural world, it cannot be said that any influence is purely social or cultural. Likewise, the individual's personality and thinking has been constructed in interaction with the environment, and so no influence on development is

purely individual in origin. As a central goal of traditional psychological research is to identify sources of causality it is not surprising that, in spite of widespread interest in Vygotsky's ideas, there has not been a great deal of research that has fully adopted his theory. The quest for causality was not Vygotsky's concern however. His aim was to understand processes of development and to further develop socio-genetic theory. His goal has not been advanced significantly in recent decades. While there has been an increase in declarations that development is socially-based, these have been more numerous than explanations of the mechanisms involved. The principle of socio-genesis is followed only the most general terms, and very few specific ideas about how it proceeds have been put forward. Perhaps as a result of the issues outlined above, there has been very little research that would help to extend the theory and that would support the argument for socio-genesis and advance understanding of its mechanisms.

Ecological Systems Theory

The central assumption of ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1989, 1993, under review) is that development must be understood as a process of person-environment interrelatedness, that development takes place in physical, social, and historical contexts. Context has several levels, ranging from distal macro-levels such as the broad cultural patterns of a society, and more proximal or micro levels, such as the characteristics of the home environment. The developing child is at the center of a number of interconnected systems, including those that are directly related to the child's development (contexts at the microsystems and mesosystem level), and those which are related to the child's development indirectly (exosystem and macrosystem levels). In addition, the chronosystem captures the idea that over historical time contexts change, and will influence development differently

depending on the age of an individual at specific periods in historical time (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). The essence of the ecological orientation then, is to account for the interrelations between the person and the immediate environment, and how the relationship is mediated by forces from the larger social milieu, at a particular period in time. From this perspective the question underlying every research problem becomes: "how does the particular combination of environmental and personal characteristics, defining a particular ecological niche, operate to influence human development?" (Bronfenbrenner, 1989, p. 194).

Bronfenbrenner's work grew out of dissatisfaction with the dichotomy of person and environment in traditional psychology, and the positivist position that social science was best served by following the physical sciences in controlling for the effects of context in empirical research (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, 1979). He called for research that was socially relevant, taking place in the natural environments of developing individuals, and argued that scientific rigor need not be foregone in order that research be relevant:

> [E]specially in recent decades, research in human development has pursued a divided course, with each direction tangential to genuine scientific progress...The emphasis on rigor has led to experiments that are elegantly designed but often limited in scope. This limitation derives from the fact that many of these experiments involve situations that are unfamiliar, artificial, and short-lived and that call for unusual behaviors that are difficult to generalize to other settings (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 193).

When he wrote The ecology of human development (1979), most studies of development, especially those dealing with cognition, ignored the role of context. His aim was to provide a more differentiated and complex sense of the different settings or systems in which development takes place, and the interrelations among them. Just as Vygotsky's thinking was influenced by other scholars, so too was Bronfenbrenner's. Indeed, the work of Vygotsky is

one source that Bronfenbrenner has drawn on in the development of his model

(Bronfenbrenner, 1993). These scholars share a focus on the interrelations between

development and context, and a primary interest in process, the mechanisms that "activate or

sustain development" (Bronfenbrenner, 1989, p. 192). Bronfenbrenner was also strongly

influenced by the work of Kurt Lewin (1935), particularly in his conceptualization of context

as differentiated systems.

Bronfenbrenner's theory has changed over time. His early work (e.g. 1979, 1986)

emphasized investigation of the influences of the social world on development, and gave little

attention to the role played by the developing person. Bronfenbrenner (1989) acknowledged

this fault in his conceptualization of an ecological paradigm, and took steps to redress it. In

his recent work (1993, 1994, under review) he conceptualizes individual characteristics in

terms of their tendency to attract or repel features of the environment that are connected to

development. He also conceptualizes the process by which these individual characteristics and

features of the environment work together to produce psychological change. Furthermore, he

has extended the model to stress the importance of studying development over time, and in

changing contexts.

Process-Person-Context Design. The assumptions and propositions of this model call

for a "process-person-context" design, which can be expressed symbolically as $Dt_2 = f (ppc)$

$t_1 - t_2$ "that is, the developmental outcome at time two is a joint function of the characteristics

of process, person, and context over a preceding period in the life of the person extending

from time 1 to time 2" (Bronfenbrenner, under review, p. 6). Process-person-context designs

are rare in the literature, although a number of authors have recently claimed to have adopted

Bronfenbrenner's model (Tudge et al., in press-a). As discussed above in the review of the

socialization literature, many studies of development have adopted social address models, which simply state that certain characteristics are associated with certain social groups, inferring a causal sequence, but without explanation as to how the two are linked (Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1983; Elder, Van Nguyen, & Caspi, 1985). Process-context designs come closer to satisfying the requirements of an ecological systems design, in that the linking mechanisms between social address and outcome are at least partly explained. Kohn's (1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990) work on social class and parental values constitutes such a design, in that it does not identify characteristics in the individual child that could have contributed to the actual behavior of parents, nor does it provide any data on actual behaviors. The studies by Bloch (1989), Whiting and Edwards (1988), and Tudge and Putnam (in press), cited earlier, could all be characterized as ecological studies, given their focus on child-environment interrelatedness. None, however, expressly follow a process-person-context design. While these studies allow us to say that different activities are valued for young children across the cultures studied, they do not provide the kind of data about the contexts (specifically about the values and beliefs of caregivers) in which the activities took place that would allow us to explain the process by which children actively acquire culturally valued behaviors.

Macrosystems. A core notion of this ecological model is that human life-experience must be understood in terms of its relations within a broad social context. In the ecological model this distal level of the social world is conceptualized as the macro-system, and includes the over-arching patterns or characteristics of the systems within a culture or subculture:

"The macrosystem consists of the overarching pattern of micro- meso- and exosystems characteristic of a given culture, subculture, or other extended social structure, with particular reference to the developmentally-instigative belief systems, resources, hazards, lifestyles, opportunity structures, life course options and patterns of social interchange that are embedded in such overarching systems." (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 25).

Culture or subculture can be at the level of nationality but can also be at the level of race and social class. Social class refers to an aggregate of individuals who are similarly placed in a socio-economic hierarchy that cuts across societies. At each level of that hierarchy, conditions of life are different, and give rise to differences in value and belief systems (Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990). By virtue of enjoying (or suffering) these variable conditions of life, members of different social classes come to see the world differently, "to develop different conceptions of social reality, different aspirations, and hopes and fears, different conceptions of the desirable" (Kohn, 1977 p. 7). Because social class is a relatively stable and self-perpetuating societal cultural grouping (Jones & Wallace, 1990), and is engaged in the passing on of patterns of valued behaviors, customs, activities, goals, and beliefs to younger generations, it can be considered to constitute culture.

Recently, Kohn and Slomczynski (1990) have differentiated between social class and social stratification. They see social class as "groups defined in terms of their relationship to ownership and control over the means of production, and their control over the labor power of others" (p. 2). Social stratification, on the other hand, is defined as "the hierarchical ordering of society in terms of power, privilege, and prestige" (p.2), the criteria for which are educational attainment, occupational status, and job income.

Microsystems. The most proximal level is the setting in whcih the developing individual is situated:

> A microsystems is a pattern of activities, roles, and interpersonal relations experienced by the developing person in a given face-to-face setting with particular physical, social, and symbolic features that invite, permit, or inhibit, engagement in sustained, progressively more complex interactions with, and activity in, the immediate environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 15).

The physical, social, and symbolic features to which Bronfenbrenner refers are captured in the notion of "developmentally-instigative characteristics of the environment" (Bronfenbrenner, under review, p. 65), and are critical to our understanding of development. Such characteristics stimulate or constrain a child's exploration, learning, manipulation, and restructuring of the environment. They include characteristics of family members, such as parenting values, beliefs, and behaviors. They also include characteristics of social partners and caregivers in other immediate settings, such as peers and teachers at school.

Mesosystems. Knowledge about activities and personalities in each of the microsystems of the developing person is not sufficient for a comprehensive understanding of the developmental process, according to Bronfenbrenner. It is also necessary to understand the linkages between microsystems.

> A mesosystem comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings containing the developing person. Special attention is focused on the synergistic effects created by the interaction of developmentally instigative or inhibitory features and processes present in each setting" (1993, p. 22).

A study comparing disciplinary strategies at home and at school, for example, would focus on mesosystem linkages.

Exosystems. Developing individuals are affected not just directly, by events taking place in the settings they occupy, but also indirectly, by events and processes in settings they never enter. The developing child is influenced, for example, by the interactions taking place between his or her parents and their social partners in work or recreation settings. By

influencing parents directly, events in these settings influence children indirectly, since parents

constitute a critical aspect of children's immediate contexts.

> The exosystem comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings, at least one of which does not contain the developing person, but in which events occur that indirectly influence processes within the immediate setting in which the developing person lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 24).

Chronosystems. In discussing the importance of situating research in cultural space

and time, Bronfenbrenner emphasized the importance of recognizing the dynamic nature of

context. Thus, a study of child development might be expected to yield different results in

the 1990s than it would have in the 1950s, in the United States. Values for children, beliefs

about childrearing, styles of interaction between adults and children and among children, are

all subject to change with the passage of time. In ecological systems terms, any design that

incorporates consideration of such changes can be said to fit into a chronosystem model. The

value of such a model is in introducing into the design the means by which to "identify the

impact of prior life events and experiences, singly or sequentially, on subsequent

development." (Bronfenbrenner, 1988, p. 41)

Developmentally-instigative characteristics. Not only is it expected that features of

the child's environment, such as parental beliefs and values, effect changes in the child's

development--but the child's own personality at any given time is thought to call forth

responses from the environment that are also instrumental in affecting development. As

Bronfenbrenner argues, the child is both partial producer and partial product of his or her

own environment; "[T]he socialization process depends not only on the behavior of the

socializing agent but also on the characteristics of the person being socialized" (1993, p. 33).

Developmentally-instigative characteristics of the child are those personal characteristics of the

individual that are "[M]ost likely to influence the course of subsequent psychological growth..[in that they]..either foster or undermine constructive proximal processes" (Bronfenbrenner, under review, p. 61).

Bronfenbrenner delineates four forms of developmentally-instigative characteristics: personal-stimulus characteristics, selective responsivity, structuring proclivities, and directive beliefs. Personal stimulus characteristics are defined as those personal qualities which invite or repel reactions from others that are important in the process of developmental growth. Examples include temperament, attractiveness, hyperactivity or passivity and birth weight, and are frequently referred to as "personality." The remaining three forms do not merely evoke different reactions from the social world, they infer a differential responsiveness of the individual him or herself to the physical and social environment. Selective responsivity refers to differential reactions to the environment, in attraction to it, and to what is explored and how. Directive beliefs are the increasing abilities of the developing child to conceptualize experiences. Finally, children's structuring proclivities are defined as the "tendency to engage and persist in progressively more complex activities," that is, in elaborating, restructuring and creating features of the environment (Bronfenbrenner, under review, p. 64).

Process. The person-process-context design demands that possible mechanisms that explain the ways in which different environments are related to differential outcomes for children are identified and tested. Process is addressed on two levels in this type of design, first at the level of a linking mechanism that, for example, explains the relation of social class to parenting, and second at the more proximal level of everyday activities that serve to explain the mechanism by which parents' and children's characteristics interrelate in development. Process is defined in the first and second propositions of ecological systems

theory. The first proposition deals with direct, immediate, and regular interactions between a developing individual and elements of his or her environment:

> In the last analysis, development takes place through processes of progressively more complex, reciprocal interaction between an active, evolving bio-psychological human organism and the person, objects and symbols in its immediate environment. To be effective, the interaction must occur on a regular basis over extended periods of time. Such enduring forms of interaction in the immediate environment are referred to.... as proximal processes. (Bronfenbrenner, under review, p. 4)

According to Bronfenbrenner (under review, p. 4), proximal processes are "the ultimate engines of development," and they are shaped moreover by the social context in which they are embedded. This is dealt with in the second proposition:

> The form, power, and direction of the proximal processes 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; and of the developmental outcomes under consideration (Bronfenbrenner, under review, p. 4).

Thus the practical definition of proximal processes depends on the research question.

Overview and implications. Bronfenbrenner's theory (1989, 1993, under review) has two principal features. First, it is a systems theory of the interrelations between changing individuals and their environments. Second, it provides a design framework to guide the study of those relations. The theory recognizes the power of the broader social context to influence development, and requires that at least two distinct contexts for development are studied--or two macrosystems. The theory also recognizes the importance of studying development over time, and the design requires that features of the context, of the child, and proximal process be studied at more than one point in time.

Recent reformulations of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (1989, 1993, under review) can be described as fitting better into the category of a "contextual" than a "contextualizing" theory of human development, as defined by Valsiner and Winegar (1992). A contextual worldview implies that effects are not unilinear but bi-directional or

transactional/dialectical and that context is not viewed as an external variable existing separately from the developing individual. Although in its earlier stages ecological systems theory made a very clear distinction between context and person, and indeed the individual was largely overlooked, giving the impression that context had a unilinear effect on the developing child, these problematic aspects of the theory have been recognized and are being addressed by Bronfenbrenner. Bronfenbrenner continues to reformulate his theory, and in doing so has come progressively closer to sharing Vygotsky's approach to human development. The ecological model now requires that attention is paid not merely to features of the settings which are influential in the child's development but to the processes by which child and environment are interrelated. Thus, a study is not truly ecological if proximal processes are not addressed. Like the concept of activity in cultural-historical theory, the level of analysis is the child in the course of interaction with the environment. This is not a reductionistic model. Context, personal characteristics, and process are all described in their relation to each other. Also like cultural-historical theory, there is an assumption of non-linearity of effects. Features of the context (such as parental values, beliefs, and actions) are influenced by features of the changing child, and vice versa.

Proposed Theoretical Framework

The theoretical perspectives of Vygotsky and Bronfenbrenner outlined above are clearly compatible. They share many core principles. The rationale for inclusion of both theories must therefore be explained. The rationale for this choice of theories is based on several factors. The first is the compatibility of key underlying assumptions of each. Both theories emphasize person-environment interrelatedness, the social nature of development, the effects on development of historical changes and events, and the active agency of the

developing individual. They stress the dialectical or transactional nature of development as opposed to taking the view that effects are linear. Each views the ongoing everyday interactions with the world (for Vygotsky, activities; for Bronfenbrenner, proximal process) as critical to understanding developmental process. They are in agreement, moreover, that these activities are organized by the social contexts in which they take place, given meaning by those contexts, and should therefore be interpreted with respect to them.

The second factor relates to their complimentary power as descriptive and explanatory tools. Whereas Vygotsky's theory describes and explains the course of development in context, the ecological perspective of Bronfenbrenner provides a means by which to conceptualize context. It provides the structure for a research design in a way that Vygotsky's theory does not. Vygotsky's own research can guide certain types of microgenetic research, for example in the areas of problem-solving. It does not, however, structure the arena of culture into distinct, but inter-related, areas for study, for example, into proximal and distal levels of context. Vygotsky would surely agree however, that meaning in the social and symbolic systems in which children develop are defined, not just by the broader culture, but by many levels of culture, some with potential to affect development directly, some indirectly. Bronfenbrenner's theory conceptualizes context as a series of interrelated systems in relation to a developing individual, allowing single levels within the system (such as the home, at the microsystems level) to be brought into focus, without losing sight of influences on development from other levels of the system. It provides a means by which to retain the conceptual complexity that is demanded by the dialecticism of Vygotsky without resorting to reductionistic methods, and the operationalization of differential levels of context.

It is clear that while these two theories have much in common, the question of how

the developing individual and his/her context together influence social and cognitive development can comprehensively be addressed by adopting them in unison.

Description of Study

The focus of this study was on the social development of young children, and particularly on the development of autonomous, self-directed behavior patterns. It involved analysis of parental beliefs, values, and behaviors as well as the activities that feature in children's lives. The aim was to understand how children and their primary caregivers together take part in the process through which children become competent members of their cultures.

The study was in part an extension of a study began three years ago (Tudge et al., 1993; Tudge & Putnam, in press). At that time, twenty children were followed and observed using a spot observation method for what amounted to a full day in the life of each child (20 hours of data per child). Participating families were recruited from two communities in a South Eastern city, named "Holden," a community in which parents tended to work in the professional sphere, and "Summit,"
where parents worked in the non-professional sphere. From the Holden community, six females and five males were observed, and from Summit, five females and four males. The target children were preschoolers. No data were collected about the values and beliefs of their parents, and so conclusions about the role played by these factors in the children's development were somewhat limited. That is to say, while observational data were collected that provided evidence about the behaviors of caregivers towards their children, particularly in terms of the types of activities made available by them for children and the degree to which they were social partners for their children, there were no data about parental goals, values,

and beliefs that could help explain the cultural and individual meaning systems that gave rise to the observed behavior patterns. This first study found support for Kohn's theory that, due to social class differences in parental values, children differ in their tendency to be self-directive, as opposed to conforming, in their social behavior. Children in the Holden community (middle class) were more likely than children from the Summit community (working class) to initiate the activities in which they were involved on a day to day basis. Specifically, Holden children were more likely to initiate lessons and to initiate play with academic objects than were Summit children. They were also more likely to initiate their own involvement in these kinds of activities when they were already ongoing. In addition, gender differences were found in the kinds of lessons to which children were exposed, with girls receiving a higher proportion of interpersonal lessons than boys, and boys (particularly middle class boys) were involved in more academic lessons than girls.

The present study entailed a follow-up of the original participants from the Holden and Summit communities and provided a more in-depth analysis of the process by which children develop cultural competence. Cultural competence was defined with reference to what each cultural group considers to be appropriate behavior for children, according to their values. It was expected, on the basis of Kohn's hypothesis, that middle class parents would perceive a tendency to initiate activities as a manifestation of competence, while working class parents would be likely to consider obedience to represent competent social behavior.

The study followed the Vygotskian principle that development takes place in the course of social interaction (activities), and that the role of individual, interpersonal, and cultural factors in social development must be taken into account to understand development. It also followed the design requirements of Bronfenbrenner's (1989, 1993, under review)

ecological systems theory. The two cultural communities of Holden and Summit were compared, thus fulfilling Bronfenbrenner's design stipulation that the features of at least two macrosystems be studied. The two communities compared constitute macrosystems as defined by Bronfenbrenner: "...[S]ocial classes, ethnic or religious groups, or persons living in particular regions, communities, neighborhoods, or other types of broader social structures constitute a subculture whenever the above conditions [shared beliefs systems, conditions of life, and so on, that are reproduced from generation to generation] are met" (Bronfenbrenner, 1989, p. 229). Thus this research relates to macrosystems at both the community and social class level since the belief systems and conditions of life experienced by families in the two groups are considered.

The study also incorporated the microsystem of the home, since children were observed in their routine activities in this environment. While mesosytem and exosystem data were not collected directly by this investigator, it was recognized that events occurring in other settings, such as direct effects on the child in school and other microsystems (mesosystem effects), and indirect effects from settings not frequented by the child, such as the parents' workplace (exosystem effects) are of developmental relevance to events in the home.

Adopting the process-person-context design outlined below, the role played by characteristics of the cultural contexts of children and their own characteristics in contributing to developmental outcomes are explored.

Process. The processes by which cultural values and beliefs come to be formed were not addressed here. However, process was addressed at the level of proximal process, through the study of everyday activities of children. According to Bronfenbrenner (under

review, p. 4), proximal processes are "the ultimate engines of development," shaped by the social context in which they are embedded. Children's routine activities, including lessons, work, play, and conversations were observed in terms of the extent to which children were engaged in them, and whether they were involved in initiating them. This unit of analysis captures the child, interaction with social partners, and the cultural system that gives meaning to the activities.

Person. Individual factors, or developmentally-instigative characteristics, were assessed in this study in part using data gathered 4 years ago (Time 1). One of the characteristics of interest was the child's tendency to initiate activities, and initiate his or her own involvement in them. High scores on initiation were taken to reflect self-directedness or autonomous behavior, and low scores to reflect conforming behavior. Children's temperament was not be assessed per se, since no measures were taken that began at the perinatal period. However, it was assumed that children's degree of self-directedness at Time 1 would influence their self-directedness and perceived competence at Time 2--that is, stability was expected. Child outcomes were assessed in two ways; in terms of how competent parents perceive them to be, and in terms of their tendency to initiate activities and their involvement in them at Time 2. Parents in Holden were expected to judge those children with the highest tendency to be self-directive to be most competent, while parents in Summit were expected to judge children who displayed most conforming, obedient behavior to be most competent.

Context. Several contextual factors were included in this study. Three kinds of parental characteristics were considered to constitute part of children's immediate context. First, the values parents have for how their children will turn out, and in particular whether they have a higher value for self-directedness or conformity were investigated. Second,

parents' beliefs about childrearing were assessed--the extent to which they think children should be supported or constrained as they develop, and their beliefs about their efficacy to influence their own children's development. It was expected, for example, that to a greater degree than for Summit parents, Holden parents would value self-directedness and achievement. This expectation was based on Kohn's theory and findings that middle class parents value self-direction more than working class parents. It was also expected that Holden parents would be more likely than Summit parents to believe that children should be provided with a higher degree of support than constraint in their activities. This follows from Kohn's (1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980) idea that higher SES parents, who generally tend to value self-direction would emphasize internal control, and would be expected to support their children to develop inner, self-regulated restraints on their own behavior on the basis of their own reasoning. Working class parents, on the other hand, tending to concentrate on external standards for behavior given their greater value for obedience and conformity, would be expected to place a greater emphasis on placing constraints on their children's behavior. Following the work of Luster and his colleagues, it was expected that general beliefs about "support" and "constraint' would be manifested in specific ideas about appropriate childrearing practices. Thus, it was expected that parents who valued self-direction would emphasize being responsive to their children, rather than worrying about creating a spoiled child by being too responsive, and would also emphasize the importance of talking and reading to their children. Furthermore, these parents would tend to believe that few restrictions should be placed on children's freedom to explore their environment, and they would de-emphasize the importance of placing restrictions on children and on discipline. In contrast, it was expected that parents who valued conformity would emphasize their providing

restraint as a key element of the parenting role, and especially the placing of limits on their children's aversive behaviors. In addition, they were expected to believe that effective parents are strict disciplinarians who exercise a good deal of control over their children's behaviors and freedom to explore their environments, and that being overly responsive to children's cries can create a child who is overly demanding. In short, it was expected that beliefs about support would be stronger for middle class parents, and beliefs about constraint would be higher for working class parents. It was also expected, on the basis of Kohn's theory, and on the findings of Luster and Kain (1987), that middle class parents would be more likely to believe that they, as parents, could effectively influence their own child's development than working class parents.

Parents' behavior was also addressed, in terms of their self-reported tendency to use reasoning and physical punishment. In line with Kohn's hypothesis, it was expected that middle class parents would be more likely to explain their reasoning, in order to support children in the development of inner constraints based on understanding of the nature of their transgressions. Working class parents, on the other hand, were expected to focus less on explanations that might lead to inner constraints, and to make greater use of physical punishment.

Another way that context was addressed was in terms of the kinds of activities available in children's environments. Since children were the target of observation with their various social partners, parental practices per se was not a focus of observation. However, the immediate consequences of parental actions can be inferred from this information about activities, since it is in part by means of actions that such activities are structured. It was be expected, for example, on the basis of Kohn's hypothesis, that middle class parents, who tend

to value self-directedness more than working class parents, would value self-initiation of activities in their children more than would working class parents, and that corresponding differences between the two groups in the degree to which this is encouraged would be observable in everyday life. Observations of activities were drawn from two data collection points, Time 1 (3-4 years ago) and Time 2 (current study), allowing for assessment of stability over time. Four kinds of activities were coded--lessons, work, play, and conversation. The focus of the analyses was on lessons and on play with academic objects, since it is here that parents might be expected to have most opportunity to attempt to impart culturally-valued information to children. Lessons were conceptualized as taking one of three forms--academic (school-related), interpersonal/religious (e.g. manners, appropriate behavior, how to say a prayer), and skill-nature (how and why things work). Since culture was defined here as a set of enduring patterns of ways of thinking and behaving over time shared by a particular group, it was expected that the patterns of engagement in activities observed at Time 1 would also be observed at Time 2, particularly in terms of lessons and play with academic objects.

Since families in Holden and Summit had participated in this study, which is quite intrusive, over a three year period, there was some concern about the stability of the findings. In order to test whether the values and beliefs of parents in these communities were unique a survey was undertaken of parents with similar demographic profiles in the same region. It was expected that no differences would be found between parents in Holden and Summit and two larger groups with which they were matched.

<u>Research Questions and Hypotheses</u>

Based on the theoretical formulation outlined above, several research questions were identified. These are stated below, together with their associated hypotheses.

<u>Research question 1.</u> Are there differences in the types of lessons in which children from each community are generally engaged, and in the degree to which children initiate lessons?

Hypothesis 1-1: The proportion of interpersonal lessons in which the children engage will be higher for Summit than for Holden children and the proportion of academic lessons and academic play will be higher for Holden children than for Summit children.

Hypothesis 1-2: Children in Holden will initiate more lessons and their involvement in them than Summit children.

<u>Research question 2.</u> Are there differences in parental values between Holden and Summit?

Hypothesis 2-1: Holden parents will have a higher value for self-direction than conformity in their children, while Summit parents will have a higher value for conformity than self-direction in their children.

<u>Research question 3.</u> Are there differences in parental beliefs between Summit and Holden?

Hypothesis 3-1: Holden parents will be more likely to believe that a parent's role is to support their child's behavior than to constrain it, and Summit parents will be more likely to believe that a parent's role is to constrain their child's behavior than to provide support.

Hypothesis 3-2: Holden parents will have a stronger perception of self-efficacy than Summit parents.

Research question 4. Are there differences in reported parental behaviors between Holden and Summit? What is the nature of the relation between parental beliefs and reported parental values in Holden and Summit?

Hypothesis 4-1: Holden parents will report using more reasoning with children than will Summit parents, and Summit parents will report using more direct discipline, including physical punishment with their children, than will Holden parents.

Hypothesis 4-2: The stronger the belief that a parent's role is to provide support than to impose constraint the greater the reported use of reasoning than direct forms of discipline and control.

Research question 5. What is the nature of the relation between parental values and beliefs in Holden and Summit?

Hypothesis 5-1: A higher value for self-direction than conformity will be positively related to the beliefs that a parent's role is to provide support, and a higher value for conformity will be positively related to the belief that a parent's role is to impose constraints.

Research question 6. Are the patterns of differences found between Holden and Summit parents' values and beliefs reflected in the larger samples of parents?

Hypothesis 6-1: Middle class parents in the larger sample will have a higher value for self-direction than working class parents. Middle class parents will have a stronger belief in support than working class parents.

Hypothesis 6-2: There will be no differences between Holden parents and Greensboro

middle class parents in value for self-direction and beliefs about childrearing. There

will be no differences between Summit parents and Greensboro working class parents

in value for self-direction and beliefs about childrearing.

Hypothesis 6-3: In the larger samples belief in support will be positively related to

value for self-direction.

Research question 7. What role do children's characteristics play in their own social

development in the context of Holden and Summit communities?

This question concerns the co-constructive process in social development. It is of an

exploratory nature and does not lend itself to hypothesis testing. Instead, I will approach this

question from a descriptive standpoint, using information about child characteristics gathered

at the first and second data collection points and focusing on children's interactions with their

social partners.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

This study emphasized the interdependent participation of both caregivers and children in child development, focusing on children's activities within the home, and on the contextual features that give them meaning. It is in part an extension of a study began 4 years ago by Tudge and his colleagues (Tudge et al., 1993, 1994; Tudge & Putnam, in press) which involved collection of observational data on children in 20 families, half of which were middle class and half working class. In the present study additional data were collected on these families, using multiple measures; observational, interview, questionnaire, and Q-sort. Approval for this project using the methodology described here was obtained from the Institutional Review Board of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Participants and Procedures

Data are drawn from two sources. The first comprised the families who participated in the earlier study. The second source of data was parents in the larger Greensboro area, the city in which the first two communities are located. The behaviors, beliefs, and values of families who participated in the current wave of data collection may have been influenced by their earlier participation and what they knew about the project. In order to counter this potential problem in interpreting results that point to differences between the two groups,

some of the measures were administered to the two larger samples of families in Greensboro. These data were used to investigate whether the patterns of behaviors found in Holden and Summit were reflected in these larger groups with similar demographic profiles, and the likelihood that the original participants had changed their values and beliefs as a consequence of participation. From this latter group, data were gathered about parental beliefs and values. From the former group, observational data, and data on parents' perceptions of children's levels of social competence, were also collected.

Holden and Summit communities: Time 1. The families who previously participated in the earlier study of Tudge and his colleagues were 20 caucasian families, including 20 mothers, 19 fathers (one divorced non-residential father was not observed), and 20 target children, residing in two cultural communities in a southeastern city of the U.S. The communities were differentiated by geographical area and by the typical occupation of parents residing there. In "Holden" parents tended to work in the professional sphere, while "Summit" parents' work was primarily non-professional. The 20 young children ranged in age from 28 to 45 months ($\underline{M}$ = 36.65 months, $\underline{SD}$ = 1.31) at the first data collection point. Six of the eleven participating children from the Holden community were female and five male. Five of the Summit children were female and four male.

Communities were defined as urban areas surrounded on all sides by significant boundaries, such as major roads, railways, etc., and were of approximately 1.5 to 2 square miles in size. These geographical areas were considered to be relatively homogeneous racially and in terms of type of housing. To recruit participants the investigators compiled a list, using local birth records, of all children born in that area between two and four years previously. Families were contacted initially by letter, when it appeared that they were still

living in the area (based on local records and telephone books), and were subsequently

contacted by telephone.

Participating families met the following criteria--they lived in the identified

communities and corresponded to predetermined educational and occupational profiles. For

Holden participants it was required that at least one parent have a college degree and an

occupation judged to be professional according to the Hollingshead (1979) criteria. The

criteria for Summit participants was that neither custodial parent have a college degree (one

non-residential, divorced father had a degree) and occupations in the non-professional range

on the Hollingshead index.

Twenty eight families in the Holden community were contacted. Ten did not wish to

participate. Seven did not meet the requirements and eleven participated. Eighteen families

were contacted in the Summit community. Four did not wish to participate, a further five did

not meet the requirements, and nine participated. Families who participated in the study

received a $250 savings bond. The profiles of the two communities at the first point of data

collection (Time 1) are summarized in Table 1.

In Holden, participating families worked in the professional sphere, ranging on the

Hollingshead Index from 7 to 9. The median occupation was 8 on this index, representing

administrators and lesser professionals. In Summit, occupations were in the non-professional

sphere, ranging on the Hollingshead index from 2 to 5. The median was 4, representing

skilled manual workers. In Holden, mother's median educational attainment was a Bachelor's

degree, but ranged from some college to graduate degrees. The average number of years

spent in full-time education for Holden mothers since age 14 was 8.1 ($\underline{SD}$=1.23). In

Summit, mothers' median educational attainment was some college (all had finished high

school), and the average number of years spent in full-time education was 4.9 ($\underline{SD}$ = 1.54)

after age 14. In Holden, fathers' median educational attainment was a Bachelor's degree, but

two fathers had doctoral degrees, and the average number of years in education after age 14

was 8.9 years ($\underline{SD}$ = 1.7). For Summit fathers, the median educational level attained was

completion of high school, and ranged from "less than high school" to "some college." The

average number of years spent in full-time education after age 14 was 4.6 ($\underline{SD}$ = 1.62).

Families were asked to provide a range of income, for example, $40,000-$55,000, $85,000

and above, and so on. The annual family income range for Holden families was $40,000 to

$85,000, with a minimum median family income of $70,000. The annual family income

range for Summit families was $10,000 to $40,000, with a median of $25,000. Family

income was not, however, a criterion for inclusion or exclusion.

Table 1

Demographic Profile of Holden and Summit Families at Time 1

	Holden	Summit
Median family income	$70,000	$25,000
Family income range	$40,000-$85,000+	$10,000-$40,000
Median Hollingshead ranking	8[a]	4[b]
Hollingshead ranking range	7-9[c]	2-5[d]
Mothers' median education	Bachelor's degree	some college
Mothers' mean years full-time education after 14	8.1 (SD = 1.23)	4.9 (SD = 1.54)
Fathers' median education	Bachelor's degree	Completed high school
Fathers' mean years full-time education after 14	8.9 (SD = 1.7)	4.6 (SD = 1.6)

Note. Families responded to an income range; figures reported are those at the bottom of the range.

[a] 8 (administrators, lesser professionals)

[b] 4 (skilled manual workers)

[c] 7-9 (smaller business owners, managers, minor professionals to higher executives, proprietors of large businesses and major professionals)

[d] 2-5 (unskilled workers to clerical and sales workers and small business owners)

Holden and Summit participants: Time 2. For the purposes of the second wave of data collection in this study (Time 2), former participants in Holden and Summit were re-contacted by letter (see Appendix A) and a follow-up by telephone call, when it was explained what continued participation would involve. A $50 savings bond in the child's name was offered for continued participation.

When families consented (indicated by signing a consent form, see Appendix B) to continue to participate in the study the researcher scheduled an evening when data could be collected at the family home. Parents were asked to choose a weekday evening for the observation that was likely to reflect the target child's typical activities and environment. The time period of approximately 6 pm to 8 pm was chosen for observation of the target child since this was a time of day when most family members were likely to be home during the child's waking hours. Parents were advised that while this observation period would be based in the home, rather than at school or day-care, this should not deter the family from pursuing any typical weekday activities that took them outside the home, for example, to baseball practice, the library, a friend's house, and so on. Home visits were restricted to week nights (Monday to Thursday) to control for the possible confounding effects of differences in family schedules and typical activities on school nights and week-ends.

The home visit also involved conducting interviews separately with both parents where possible. In one case, only one parent was home on the evening of observation of the target child, and the second parent was interviewed at a later date. In another case, where one parent was also away from home on the evening of observation, both parents were interviewed on a subsequent night. Typically however, a second researcher came to the family home at an appointed time after the observational coding had been completed.

Separate rooms were used for the parental interviews. The interviews typically lasted about one to one and a half hours. At the end of the interview (see Appendix F for interview protocol), each parent was asked to complete the Parental Values Q-sort (Kohn & Schooler, 1969) (see Appendix G). Each parent was also given a set of questionnaires, and asked to complete them in their own time, without consulting their spouse. The set consisted of a demographic information sheet (see Appendix E), the Parental Opinions Survey (see Appendix H), the Social Skills Rating System questionnaire for parents of elementary school aged children (Gresham & Elliott, 1990) (see Appendix K), and a set of questions extracted from the National Survey of Families and Households (Bumpass & Call, 1988) (see Appendix J). The completed instruments were picked up from parents at an appointed time approximately 5-6 weeks after the interviews.

All 20 families on whom data were collected at Time 1 participated in some way in the data collection at Time 2. 10 of the 11 Holden target children, and 7 of the 9 Summit children were observed at home. Of those who declined the home visit at Time 2, one family had relocated to Arizona (a Holden family), and the other two (Summit families) cited busy schedules as their reason. Both parents of 16 of the target children participated in interviews and completed the Q-sort measure: 9 Holden and 7 Summit families. Again, busy schedules and relocation were the reasons cited for declining. In all 11 of the Holden families and 7 of the Summit families, both parents completed part or all of the questionnaires.

There were some changes in the demographic profiles of parents in Holden and Summit parents during the interim between data collection at Time 1 and Time 2. One Summit mother was close to graduating with a 4-year college degree, otherwise no changes in education were noted. There were no substantial changes in occupation. Since income was

not a criteria for selection of participants, change in family income was not analyzed for this study.

Larger Greensboro sample. The larger Greensboro sample was obtained as follows. Birth records from the Guilford County Court House were used to identify potential participants. A list was compiled of parents who had a child born between June 1987 and August 1989, who were white and had a Guilford County address (a current Greensboro telephone book was used to check addresses and only those with an address in and around Greensboro were approached). The sample was restricted in this way for several reasons: First, the goal was to match this sample on the demographic variables of child's age, race, and geographical location with the children of the Holden and Summit communities for purposes of comparison; a second goal was to control for any race effects--a later study is planned that focus on members of other ethnic backgrounds; and third, to control for the effects of children's age on what parents perceive to be important.

Several steps were involved in efforts to recruit participants. First, a letter was sent to each family identified as a potential participant (see Appendix C), giving information about the study. The letter was followed within a few days by a telephone call. The study was again summarized for the parents, and any questions they had were answered by the researchers. Parents were asked if they would be willing to complete a questionnaire if it was mailed to them. Regardless of willingness to participate, parents were asked to provide some basic demographic information (such as education level and occupation) to allow comparisons to be drawn between those who agreed and those who declined.

If the response was positive, a date was arranged for the researcher to pick up the completed questionnaire at the participant's house. This approach was taken in the hope of

maximizing the response rate of those who agreed to participate by providing a deadline. The surveys were then mailed, and one or two days prior to the arranged pick up date, parents were again telephoned to remind them of the deadline.

Of the approximately 520 families identified using court house records, 114 families were contacted using the Greensboro telephone directory. Those who could be contacted were families who were living at the same address stated on the birth record. Of those who were contacted, 21 families declined (18%). Those who declined to participate cited mainly reasons of time constraints and invasion of privacy. Of those who initially agreed to participate ($\underline{n}$ = 93, 82%) there were 18 (19%) families where neither parent completed the questionnaire. The majority (73%) who did not fill out the survey did give some basic demographic information. There were no significant differences between those who filled out the questionnaire and those who did not, in terms of educational level achieved.

Of the 114 families located, 85 families (75%) are included in the sample. Both parents were asked to complete the survey. In the majority of cases both parents did so (62 of 75, 83%). Responses were obtained from only one member of a family in 13 cases. Of these, 3 had only one possible respondent due to being widowed ($\underline{n}$ = 2) or divorced ($\underline{n}$ = 1). Thus, 147 individual parents are included in the sample (76 mothers, 71 fathers). The target children were born between 1987 and 1989. In the sample, all but 3 of the subjects were currently married to and living with the biological parent of the target child.

For the purposes of analyses conducted in this particular study, two groups of parents, one middle class, corresponding to the profile of Holden parents, and one working class, corresponding to the profile of Summit parents, were selected on the basis of education. To match Holden parents, all parents in the Greensboro sample who had a college degree or

higher level of education were selected as the Greensboro middle class group. A total of 76

parents (41 mothers and 35 fathers) comprised this group. To match the Summit group of

parents, all parents in the Greensboro sample who had more than a grade school education but

less than a college degree were selected as the Greensboro working class group. A total of 52

parents (24 mothers and 28 fathers) comprised this group. Analyses were performed

separately for mothers and fathers to retain independence of the units of analysis.

Measures

Data from the Holden and Summit communities were obtained using observational

methodology, interviews, Q-Sort (oral), and a number of questionnaires (demographic

information sheet; Parental Opinion Survey; Social Skills Rating System (parent form); Q-sort

measure of parental values (written); and items abstracted from the National Survey of

Families and Households. Data from the larger Greensboro sample were collected using a

survey, comprising a demographic sheet, the Parental Opinions Survey, and a Q-sort measure

of parental values.

Demographic information. Parents were asked to provide demographic information

that allows for interpretation of the results in the light of the socio-economic status of

families. For both Holden and Summit communities and the larger Greensboro sample,

position on the Hollingshead Four-Factor Index of Social Status (1979), which allows for

ranking occupation on a scale from zero (unemployed) to nine (professional) and years of

education, were the primary criteria used. Information on education, occupation, and family

and individual income in the previous year was requested from all participating parents.

Interviews. Interviews afford opportunities to ask open-ended questions of

participants, thereby potentially accessing information that might not have been reflected in

answers to pencil-and-paper instruments. One issue raised by use of this instrument is the accuracy of parental recall of aspects of childrearing practices and of their children's development (Robbins, 1963). This problem can be offset, however, by use of multiple measures, and especially by use of observational methodology, as is the case in the present study.

I constructed the interview protocol to assess influences on parenting, parenting style, and parents' perceptions of their young school-aged child's social and behavioral characteristics. The 67-item protocol incorporated the following areas of interest: Current parental values and goals; parental beliefs about child-rearing; parents' history as an influence on parenting; occupational influences on parenting; religious influences on parenting; parenting education; child report; parenting style. Several items were adapted from Kohn's (1977) interview questionnaire. For the purpose of the present study, only interview data that related to discipline and control were used (for the analysis of the kinds of disciplinary methods employed by parents in hypotheses 4-1 and 4-2).

Parental Values Q-Sort. The rationale for the Q-sort methodology is Kohn's belief that values are manifested in choices. He expected that parents would rate all qualities as important if not forced to choose among them. Therefore, to determine the most and least important characteristics to parents, parents must be forced to indicate the relative importance of a number of qualities. The critical question, Kohn believed, was "whether [the] parent values honesty more or less than self-control, or obedience, or some other valued characteristic" (Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990, p. 56), rather than simply that they valued any of these characteristics. In designing this measure, he deliberately chose an approach that he believed would avoid an index of values that would "put a premium upon articulateness or

imagination, which may be primarily reflective of formal education" (p. 56).

Several issues are raised, however, by the use of the Q-sort technique. One arises from the use of "choice" to determine an individual's values (linear dependency in their valuation of the characteristics on the set of all others). Another arises from limiting the choice to a fixed set of characteristics which may not be exhaustive or adequately reflect the range of qualities valued by the parents of interest. Nonetheless, the advantages of the Q-sort outweigh the disadvantages, particularly as more open-ended responses were obtained through interviews.

Two categories of parental values, based on Kohn's work, were identified for the purpose of this study; values for self-direction (internal standards of control) and values for conformity (external standards of control). Two forms of a Q-sort measure were used--oral and written. Both forms were administered to Holden and Summit parents, while in the larger Greensboro sample measure only a written form was administered, as part of the Work and Child Scale (see Appendix D), a scale developed for this project. The correlation between the oral and written forms for Holden and Summit parents was high (r = .67).

Kohn's interview protocol provided the Q-sort items from which a Self-direction-Conformity value score was calculated for both versions of the measure. In the written form, parents were asked to give a partial ranking of the set of characteristics by choosing, from thirteen, the three they considered to be most desirable, the one that was most desirable of all, the three that were least important (even if desirable), and the one that was least important of all for any seven year old to have. From these, they were further asked to indicate the one most important and the one least important quality. In the oral form, parents were asked to make these rankings also, specifically for the target child. Self-direction items included "have

self-control," "have good sense and sound judgement," and "are interested in how and why things happen." Conformity items included " have good manners," "obey their parents well," and "is neat and clean." Those items that did not reflect either self-direction or conformity values included "gets along well with other children," "tries hard to succeed," and "is honest."

A point worth noting about this usage of Kohn's Q-sort is that it reflects his more recent thinking about which of the thirteen values correspond to self-direction, conformity, and to neither of the two. Specifically, the characteristic "honesty" is used in this study as a filler item, reflecting something that many parents value highly, but reflecting neither a value for self-direction or conformity. The Q-Sort was used to calculate an overall Self-direction score for each parent used to test Hypotheses 2-1, 5-1, 6-1, 6-2, 6-3, and Research Question 7.

Parental Opinions Survey. The Parental Opinions Survey provides a pencil-and-paper self-report measure of parents' beliefs about childrearing, a complimentary source of data in addition to interview and observational data. It is a standardized instrument, previously used by Luster and his colleagues (Luster, 1985; Luster et al., 1989), whose research questions and theoretical foundations are close to those in this study. The scale was developed by Luster and his colleagues (Luster, 1985; Luster et al., 1989) for use with mothers of infants. It was adapted by Hogan and Tudge (1994) for use with parents (mothers and fathers) of school-aged children. The Parental Opinions Survey incorporates the Parental Beliefs scale, designed to capture parental beliefs about optimal childrearing strategies, and the Parental Efficacy scale, which provides information about the degree to which parents believe themselves to be competent, and to have a meaningful role in influencing their child's development.

The parent is asked to circle the response that best represents his/her opinion, for each of the 59 items, on a 6-point Likert scale. Responses range from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (2). The subscales are listed below with Cronbach's alphas from Luster's data (based on a sample of mothers) reported in parentheses. Parental Beliefs Survey: Beliefs regarding spoiling the child, 7 items (.86); beliefs regarding floor freedom, 6 items (.58); beliefs regarding discipline and control, 4 items (.78); and beliefs regarding talking and reading to the child, 3 items (.55). Perception of Parental Efficacy: Perceived contingency, 6 items (.75); perceived competency, 2 items (.82); perceived importance of extrafamilial influences, 6 items (.68); and fatalistic versus nonfatalistic outlook on child's future, 6 items (.63).

In the present study, internal consistency reliability data were obtained for the entire pool of participants. In the current study both mothers and fathers participated, while data reported by Luster and his colleagues is based on a sample of mothers only. Reliability coefficients, listed below with the number of cases on which each is based, were similar to those obtained by Luster and his colleagues. Parental Beliefs Survey: Beliefs regarding spoiling the child, 7 items (.77; n = 178); beliefs regarding floor freedom, 6 items (.50; n = 179); beliefs regarding discipline and control, 4 items (.67; n = 180); and beliefs regarding talking and reading to the child, 3 items (.62; n = 179). Perception of Parental Efficacy: Perceived contingency, 6 items (.51; n = 179); perceived competency, 2 items (.74; n = 182); and perceived importance of extrafamilial influences, 6 items (.58; n = 175). The final subscale, fatalistic versus non-fatalistic outlook on the child's future, was dropped from analyses due to difficulties in interpreting the items and ambiguity about how that subscale contributes to overall perceptions of parental efficacy.

In the adapted Parents' Opinion Survey, items in subscales 2, 3, and 4 of the Parental Beliefs survey were revised as appropriate to reflect an older age group (school age). Items in subscale 1 were maintained as infant-focused and were taken as parents' retrospective views about spoiling the child.

For each of the subscales, a total score was computed by obtaining the mean score over the total number of individual items in the subscale (some items were reversed to reflect the appropriate belief). These scores are used to calculate a "support" score (see Hypotheses 3-1, 4-2, 5-1, 6-1, 6-2, and 6-3) and a "perceived parental efficacy" score (Hypothesis 3-2). For further information on scores obtained using these instruments see Scoring below.

Social Skills Rating System. The Social Skills Rating System (SSRS), developed by Gresham and Elliott (1990), was designed as an instrument for the assessment of children's social skills. It is made up of several standardized, norm-referenced scales, that measure the perceived frequency and importance of behaviors that influence the developments of social competence in children. Unlike many instruments designed for this purpose, the SSRS was not developed using a clinical population, and its main focus is on non-clinical behaviors of children. The test is comprised of several forms, each of which can be used alone or in combination. There are separate parent and teacher forms for each of three developmental levels: preschool, elementary school (grades K through 6), and secondary school. In this study the parent form of the elementary school level was used. The SSRS assesses children on three dimensions--social skills (5 subscales; Cooperation, Assertion, Responsibility, Empathy, Self-control), problem behaviors (3 subscales; Externalizing, Internalizing, Hyperactivity), and academic competence. The domain of social skills is assessed most comprehensively. Academic competence is not included on the parent form.

The SSRS should take a maximum of 25 minutes to complete. The parent form has 57 items, including 38 on social skills and 17 on problem behaviors. Each social skills subscale has ten items and each problem behaviors subscale has six items. The parent is instructed to rate the child on the frequency with which he or she display certain behaviors (never, sometimes, very often), and the importance the raters assign to them (not important, important, critical).

Internal consistency reliability estimates across all forms of the SSRS are high, reported as .90 for Social Skills and .84 for Problem Behaviors (Gresham & Elliott, 1990). On some of the subscales there are lower estimates. The Responsibility subscale estimates ranged from .58 to .69 (male), which may reflect the small number of items in the subscales. The internalizing subscales were reported as having reliability estimates ranging from .48 to .69. Overall, there appears to be relatively high subscale homogeneity. Discriminant validity was supported, with low correlations reported between different subscales within individual forms of the SSRS. Construct validity was also supported. Consistent with the authors' expectations, sex differences were found in scores, with girls likely to score higher than boys on social skills and academic competence. Factor analysis showed all items to have factor loadings higher than .3. This instrument is norm-referenced but raw scores can also be interpreted. This scale is used in the discussion of Research Question 7--see Scoring below for information about calculating a social competence score for each child.

Questions from National Survey of Families and Households. Each parent was also asked to complete a questionnaire comprised of six types of questions extracted from the National Survey of Families and Households (NSFH: Bumpass & Call, 1988). This is a well validated and reliable instrument which was used in this study primarily for the purposes of

allowing informative comparisons to be drawn between results found at the community level in the present study and results at the national level. While no conclusions can be drawn from this comparison, it will help to guide further research on this topic. A description of the items and the response frequencies for the national sample are given below.

In the present study only one item relating to parents' disciplinary styles was used in the analyses. Parents were asked to indicate the frequency with which they spank or slap their child. Scoring was on a five point scale, ranging from 1 for never to 5 for very often. These data were used in analyses corresponding with Hypotheses 4-1 and 4-2.

Observational data. Modified spot observations of the children in their everyday activities yields information on their current patterns of social behavior and involves methodology of the type typically used by cultural anthropologists such as Whiting and Edwards (1988) and their colleagues and by cultural psychologists such as Rogoff (1990) and her colleagues. The modified spot observation method involves picking a point in time and a focus on a target individual. At the chosen time, the activities of that person, any partners they may have, the physical setting, and others present in the setting are noted. A number of observations of this kind are made over a period of time, and at different times during the day, so that the researcher can gain a good sense of the typical way in which that individual spends his or her time, with whom, and the nature of the setting in which activities take place (Ellis, Rogoff, & Cromer, 1981; Munroe & Munroe, 1971; Rogoff, 1978; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). The greatest benefit of observational data is perhaps its potential to measure what actually takes place, rather than what individuals report. Use of this method compensates in part for the disadvantage of inaccuracy in self-report and child report mentioned above in discussions of interviews with parents and paper-and-pencil instruments.

This kind of methodology was used for data collection at Time 1 to code children's activities, partners, respective roles, and so on. The coding scheme was developed by Tudge and his colleagues (Tudge, Sidden & Putnam, 1990). Families were asked to keep to their daily routines as much as possible while coding is taking place. Following a habituation period during which time the target child could become accustomed to the presence of the investigator, the focal child was followed for a two hour period. Activities were coded during 30-second "windows" every 5.5 minutes. The data gatherer was signaled as to the timing of the windows by means of an endless loop tape recording, audible only to her. Children were followed wherever they went during the observation time, and they wore a wireless microphone (audible only to the researcher) to allow conversations to be overheard while a reasonable distance was maintained from the child (to avoid intrusiveness).

Activities were coded as "available" if they occurred within easy ear- or eye-shot of the child. If children are physically participating or are watching closely they are coded as being "involved" in the activities. The following activities were identified and coded at Time 1 and Time 2: Lessons (4 categories); work (5 categories); play (10 categories); conversation (3 categories); and other (6 categories). Activities were categorized as follows: Lessons consisted of academic (spelling, counting, etc.); interpersonal (teaching "good" behavior); skill-nature (how things work, why things happen); and religious activities. All were defined as a deliberate attempt to impart or receive information. Work activities were defined as those "that either have economic importance or contribute to the maintenance of life" (Tudge et al., 1990). Work was categorized as involving no technology, technology adapted for a child's use, or adult technology. Play included activities engaged in for fun and having no apparent curriculum or not having any apparent economic importance attached. Play included

exploration and entertainment. Conversation was defined as "talk that was not related to the on-going activity and had a sustained or focused topic." (Tudge et al., 1993). Talk was not coded as conversation if it accompanied and was concerned with the ongoing work, play, or a lesson. Other activities included sleeping, eating and other bodily functions, being idle, and activities that were "uncodable."

Inter-rater reliability of coding children's activities was assessed before data gathering began using video-taped footage of data gathered at Time 1 and comparing codes to agreed-upon versions developed by Tudge and his colleagues at the first point of data collection. A minimum of 80% reliability on all codes was required before data gathering began. Reliability was reassessed shortly after data collection. Inter-rater reliability was high throughout, ranging from 87% to 100% at Time 1 and from 83% to 100% at Time 2.

The variables of interest in the present study were those relating to initiation of activities and of initiation of involvement in activities, particularly the initiation of lessons. The availability of certain activities was also of interest--particularly lessons and academic play. Observational data were used in analyses associated with Hypotheses 1-1 and 1-2 and in the discussion of Research Question 7.

Scoring

For the purposes of analyses, several variables were constructed using the measures described above. The scoring procedures used in the creation of these variables is now explained.

Initiation of and engagement in activities. For the purposes of this study "engagement" in activities was differentiated from "exposure" to available activities. Children were considered to be engaged in an activity when they had a role of some kind (for example,

observing, facilitating, avoiding). If not, children were considered to be "exposed" to an activity in which they had no role but which was, potentially at least, available to them.

Two types of initiation were coded. First, a child was coded as initiating an activity if he or she, alone or with a partner, began a new activity. If the child was not involved in initiating the activity, it was coded as other-initiated. Second, a child was coded as initiating his or her own involvement in an activity, if he or she, alone or with a partner, joined in an ongoing activity. If someone else got the child involved, then involvement was coded as other-initiated.

Self-direction. Parental values were scored on a 5-point scale, based on Kohn's methodology. Values were assigned as follows:

5 = the one quality cited as most important;

4 = two other qualities cited as most important, but not the most important;

3 = all qualities in the scale that do not represent self-direction or conformity;

2 = two of the qualities selected as least important, but not the least important;

1 = the least important quality cited.

Items representing self-direction (Have self-control; Have good sense and sound judgement; Are considerate of others; Are responsible; Are interested in how and why things happen) were scored directly from this scale. Conformity items (Have good manners; Are neat and clean; Obey their parents well; Are good students) were reversed scored. There were three items in the scale that were "fillers"--they did not reflect either self-direction or conformity (Tries hard to succeed; Honest; Gets along well with other children). These were given a score of 3 if cited, regardless of how they were ranked. These scores were then summed to obtain a self-direction score. A higher score on this scale represents a higher value for self-

direction compared to conformity to external authority.

Support. The variable "support" was created by adding together scores on the four subscales of the Parental Beliefs Survey. Although subscales had different numbers of items, each subscale was given equal weight in the scoring of support. These subscales were as follows: "Spoiling"--high scores reflected the belief that children can be spoiled by over-responsiveness of parents to children's cries and demands; "freedom"--high scores reflected the belief that children should be given considerable freedom to explore their physical environments; "control"--high scores reflected the belief that the primary role of parents is to provide discipline and impose constraints on their child's behavior, particularly aversive behavior; "talking"--high scores reflected the belief that parents should talk and read to their child even at a young age, because it is good for their development.

To create the variable "support" the subscales spoiling and control were reversed, so that high scores on all subscales corresponded to a more general belief that the best way to raise children is to encourage their independence and autonomy by encouraging them to explore their environments, to learn communication and reading skills, and by responding to their expressed demands without fear of "spoiling" their characters. A high support score also reflected a de-emphasis on the role of parents as primarily disciplinarians, concerned with constraining aversive or unacceptable behaviors. A low score indicated a general belief that parents should place constraints on their children's behaviors, through limiting their freedom to explore and through discipline, that there is little or no benefit attached to talking and reading to young children, and that they are likely to become spoiled by too much attention. Items within subscales were also reversed to reflect the appropriate direction of beliefs.

Perceived parental efficacy. The variable "perceived parental efficacy" was created

by adding scores from three of the subscales of the parental Opinions Survey. Each subscale

was given equal weighting. Subscale 1: Perceived contingency of parenting, high scores on

this subscale reflected a parent's belief that his or her child's development is contingent on

parenting--that is, of one's own parenting as being an influential factor shaping that child's

development. Subscale 2: Perceived competence, high scores on this subscale corresponded

with the perception of oneself as being a competent parent who is confident about being able

to cope well with the demands of parenting. Subscale 3: Role of extra-familial influences,

high scores reflected the belief that influences outside the family and beyond one's control can

affect a child's development adversely.

The final subscale was reversed so that a high score on overall perceived parental

efficacy reflected the perception of oneself as a skilled and confident parent, with the ability

to influences how one's child develops socially and without fears about having little control

over potentially negative outside influences. A low score indicated a lack of such an image of

oneself as an efficacious and competent parent. In analyses conducted by Luster and his

colleagues (Luster et al., 1989) a further subscale was included in scoring perceived parental

efficacy.

Physical punishment. This construct pertains to hypotheses 4-1 and 4-2. Data were

drawn from two sources; interview transcripts and questionnaires. Both forms of data were

self-report, but only the survey data were in numerical form, apart from one interview

question regarding frequency of physical punishment. Unfortunately, the questionnaire data

alone did not provide sufficient information to answer the question comprehensively, since

parents were asked only to indicate the frequency with which they used physical punishment

and not for the relative frequency with which they used other forms of discipline such as reasoning or appeals to conscience. The available data allowed each parent to be assigned a frequency of physical punishment score.

Parents' use of other forms of discipline were also scored using answers to open-ended interview questions pertaining to parents' typical and recently employed disciplinary actions. When a parent mentioned in any of the interview questions relevant to discipline that they have used or currently use in the past used "spanking," "popping on the rear-end," "whipping," or any other terms that implied the use of physical means to exert control, then that parent was coded as using physical punishment. Parents who mentioned that they used or had used reasoning or appeals to conscience or guilt were coded as using reasoning. Finally, analysis of transcript data allowed for exploration of whether there were discernible differences in the meanings parents attach to different types of discipline.

Social competence. An overall social competency score was computed by obtaining the mean scores across all five social skills subscales. For the purposes of this study individual subscale scores were not computed.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Several different types of data collection were used, as described in the preceding

chapter; observational data, survey data, and interview data. Likewise, several different

forms of data analyses were used to explore the research questions and test hypotheses. It

should be noted that although inferential statistics are used in these analyses, Holden and

Summit, the two cultural communities from which 20 families were drawn, were not intended

to be representative samples of broader populations at the outset. As such, any observed

differences between the two groups are real differences. The question arises, however, as to

how meaningful such differences are, and whether they distinguish between two distinct

groups on the relevant variables. Inferential statistics are used to distinguish between

differences that are meaningful and those that are not (i.e., that are so small as to be likely to

be due to error or chance). Probability levels provide a decision rule for making this

distinction. In a number of cases, analysis of variance was used to address hypotheses.

Inferential statistics such as those associated with ANOVAs are more often used to make

inferences from representative samples to the larger populations from which they were drawn.

In the present study, however, the aim was simply to identify patterns that distinguished the

two communities from one another. It should be noted that for one hypothesis (6-2), the General Linear Model was used to test whether the values and beliefs of parents observed at the community level were representative of the values and beliefs of parents with similar demographic profiles in the larger Greensboro area. This constituted a traditional use of inferential statistics. It should also be noted that the majority of hypotheses were directional, and that, unless otherwise stated, an alpha level of .1 was used. It was expected that there would be differences between these two communities on the relevant variables, but that, since the two groups were located within the same city, there would also be some degree of overlap. Considerable within-group variance was also expected, given the small group size.

Research Question 1

Are there differences in the types of lessons in which children from each community are generally engaged, and in the degree to which children initiate lessons?

The first two hypotheses concerned the observational data and addressed the questions of whether there were differences across the two groups of children in the tendency to initiate activities and their involvement in them, and in the degree to which they tended to be engaged in certain types of activities in their everyday lives. 10 Holden children and 7 Summit children formed the two groups.

Hypothesis 1-1. The proportion of interpersonal lessons engaged in will be higher for Summit children than Holden children; and the proportion of academic lessons and academic play engaged in will be higher for Holden children than Summit children.

At Time 1, when the children were preschoolers, they were coded for 20 hours each, and a total of 3,584 observations were taken of them, 1,967 for Holden (11 children) and 1,617 for Summit (9 children). Because more than one activity could be going on during the

"window" of observation, a total of 5,799 activities were coded, 2,676 for the Summit group

and 3,123 for the Holden group. At Time 1, lessons were not common in the lives of any of

the children, and play was by far the most common activity. At that time, Holden children as

a group were exposed to and engaged in proportionally more academic and skill/nature

lessons and in more play with academic objects than were Summit children. There was also

considerable within-group variability. However, as a whole, Holden children had

significantly more lessons available to them ($\underline{M}$ = 15.2, $\underline{SD}$ = 6.63) compared to Summit

children ($\underline{M}$ = 10.56, $\underline{SD}$ = 4.19) (Putnam, 1995; Tudge et al., 1993; Tudge & Putnam, in

press). The aim of the first hypothesis was to assess whether these patterns continued to exist

when the children were aged 6-7, at Time 2.

At Time 2, a total of 341 observation were taken of the children who continued to

participate in this part of the study, 200 for Holden (10 children) and 141 for Summit (7

children). Of these, 10 took place while children were asleep, 6 in Holden and 4 in Summit.

For the purposes of the present analysis, the total number of activities in which children in

each community were engaged (that is, excluding activities where the child had no role) was

calculated. Holden children were engaged in a total of 229 activities and Summit children in

150 during the 2-hour coding period. Proportions reported below were calculated in relation

to these totals.

Hypothesis 1-1 was addressed first by looking at the raw data. It was clear that there

were no differences between Holden and Summit children in the proportion of the three

categories of lessons and academic play in which they were engaged. Figure 1 shows the

mean numbers of each of these categories of activities in which children in the two

communities were engaged.

Figure 1

Average Number of Lessons Engaged in, by Community
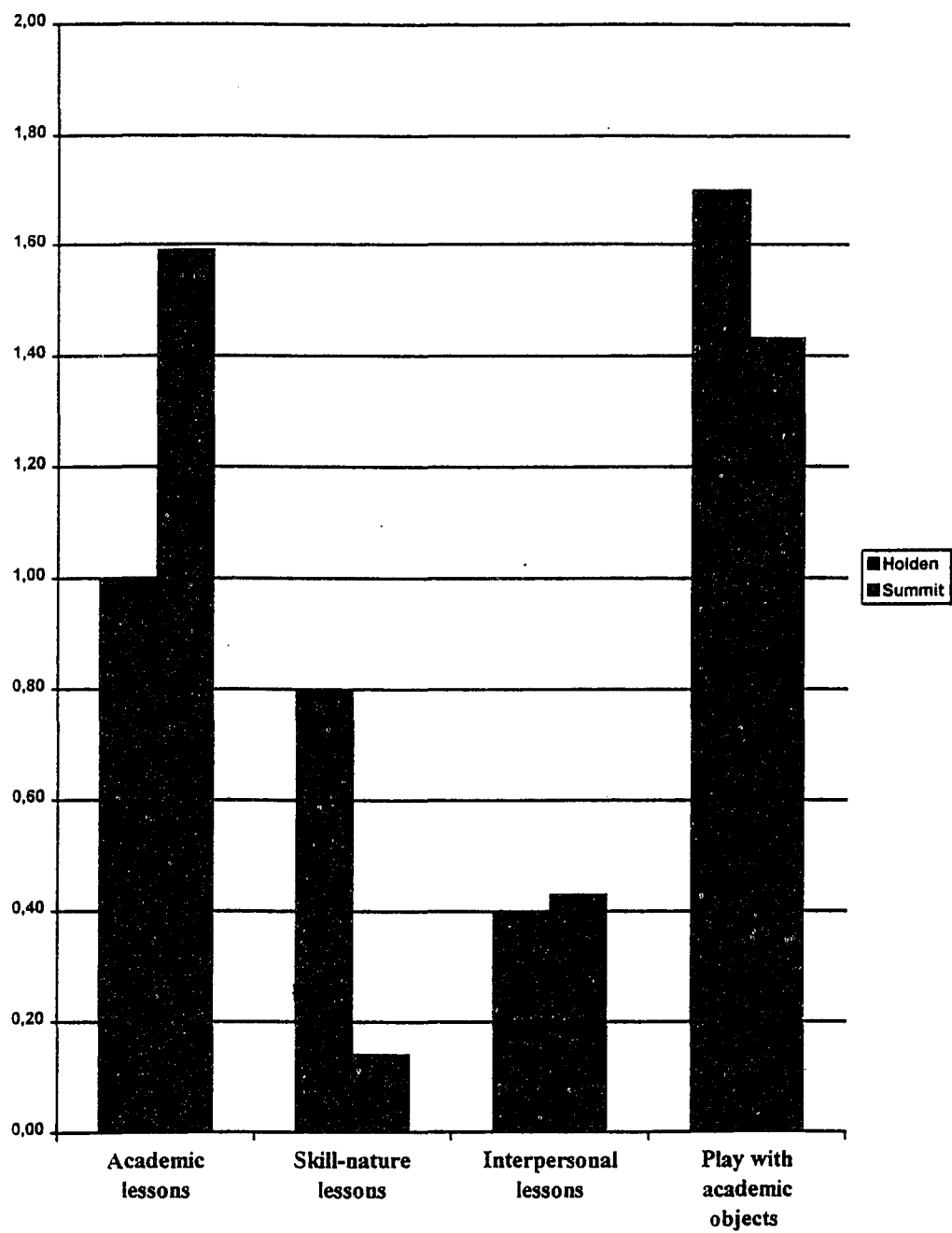
Out of all activities in which they were engaged, the proportion of interpersonal/religious lessons in which the children were engaged was 2% for both Holden and Summit children. The proportion of academic lessons engaged in by Holden children was 4% and by Summit children was 7%. The proportion of play with academic objects (also out of all activities) engaged in was 7% for both Holden and Summit children. It is also worth noting that 4% of the activities engaged in by Holden children, but less than 1% of those engaged in by Summit children, were skill-nature lessons.

Because the proportions of these activities in which the two groups of children were involved were so similar, no statistical tests were performed, and the null hypothesis of no differences between the two groups was accepted.

Hypothesis 1-2. Children in Holden will initiate more lessons and their involvement in them than children in Summit.

At Time 1, as preschoolers, Holden children were more likely to initiate lessons and their involvement in them (alone and with a social partner) than were Summit children. The difference was significant for academic lessons, but not for skill/nature lessons. At this age, children do not initiate many lessons on their own, especially lessons of an academic or interpersonal nature, and most initiation of lessons was by the child's social partner (Putnam, 1995; Tudge et al., 1993; Tudge & Putnam, in press).

To test whether, as 6- to 7-year-olds, this pattern still held, the data were first analyzed by comparing the numbers of lessons initiated by children (alone or with another) in Holden and Summit. The data are presented in Figure 2.

Figure 2

Frequency of Initiation and Initiation of Own Involvement in all Lessons, by Community
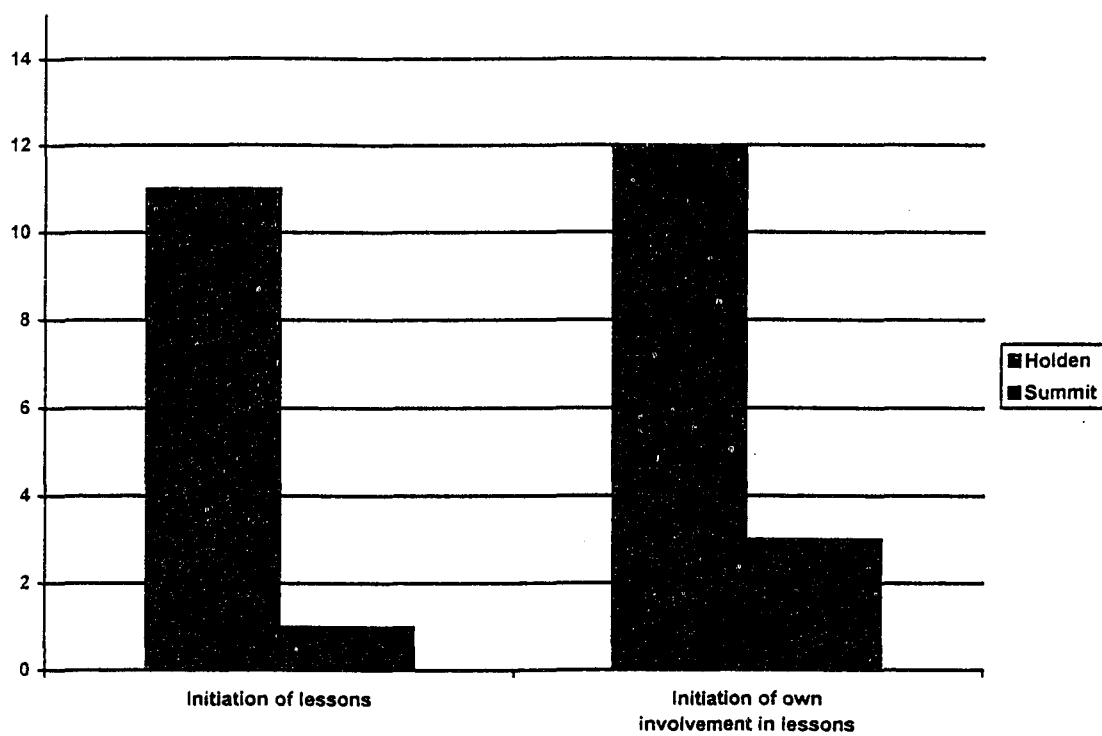
In this form, the data give no indication of variance within communities and its role in differentiating the two groups. For this reason, the data were also analyzed using analysis of variance, having first given each child an "initiation" score on each type of lesson. This consisted of the number of times the child initiated each type of lesson alone or with a partner. An "involvement" score represented the number of times each child, alone or with a partner, initiated his or her own involvement in an activity that was ongoing. Holden children initiated an average of 1.10 lessons ($\underline{SD}$ = .88), and Summit children an average of .14 ($\underline{SD}$ = .38).

Since the numbers for individual categories were small, only the total number of lessons was included in the analysis of variance that was used to test whether there were any differences between Holden and Summit children in their initiation of and initiation of their own involvement in lessons. Results revealed that Holden children were significantly more likely than Summit children to initiate lessons, $\underline{F}(1, 16) = 7.29$, $\underline{p}$ = .016, but that there were no differences between the two groups of children in tendency to initiate their own involvement in lessons that were on-going, $\underline{F}(1, 16) = 2.40$, $\underline{p}$ = .142. The data, therefore, provide partial support for the hypothesis, and evidence of stability in tendency to initiate activities in these two groups of children.

Research Question 2

Are there differences in parental values between Holden and Summit?

This question concerns the degree to which parents are likely to value independent, autonomous behavior in their children (self-direction), compared to obedience and following of rules (conformity).

Hypothesis 2-1. Holden parents will have a higher value for self-direction than will

Summit parents.

Self-direction scores were calculated based on the Q-sort measure administered in the

individual parental interviews and the questionnaire form. While every participating parent

completed one or other form of the Q-sort, not all parents completed both. In order to

include all parents in the analyses, I used the mean score on the two forms of the instrument

because they were are highly correlated ($r = .67$). Using analysis of variance, the null

hypothesis that the average self-direction score for Holden and Summit was equal was tested

against the alternative hypothesis that the average self-direction score for Holden parents was

higher. Although the Q-sort measure asks parents to rank order a number of valued

characteristics and therefore yields ordinal level data, the ranks were subsequently

transformed into a 5-point scale at the interval level (see Scoring above), thus satisfying the

ANOVA assumption that data are either at the interval or ratio level of measurement. A

higher self-direction score represents more value placed on self-direction compared to

conformity to external authority. The mean score on this scale for the 22 Holden parents who

participated was 21.14 ($\underline{SD} = 2.34$). Of the participating 16 Summit parents, the mean was

18.81 ($\underline{SD} = 2.54$). Table 2 breaks the data down further, showing more differences in the

scores. In Holden, mothers indicated valuing self-direction more than fathers, while the

opposite was true in Summit. However, fathers' values tended to be more variable regardless

of community; there was more within-group variance among fathers than among mothers

across the two communities.

Table 2

Parental Value Mean Scores and Standard Deviations by Community and Parent Gender

Group	$\underline{N}$	$\underline{M}$	$\underline{SD}$
Holden parents	22	21.30	2.29
Mothers	11	21.68	1.60
Fathers	11	20.91	2.85
Summit parents	16	18.81	2.54
Mothers	8	18.56	2.44
Fathers	8	19.06	2.77

When mothers and fathers were grouped together, results indicated that Holden parents scored significantly higher than Summit parents, $\underline{F}(1, 36) = 9.94$, $\underline{p} = .003$. The question of independence of units of analysis arises, however, since mothers and fathers of individual children cannot be assumed to have values that are independent. For this reason, ANOVAs were performed for mothers and fathers individually. These analyses revealed that differences in mean scores across the two communities were more distinct for mothers than for fathers. Holden mothers scored significantly higher than Summit mothers on value for self-direction, $\underline{F}(1, 17) = 11.37$, $\underline{p} = .0036$, while the difference in mean scores between Holden fathers and Summit fathers, though in the expected direction, was not statistically significant, $\underline{F}(1, 17) = 1.99$, $\underline{p} = .1767$. The null hypothesis of no differences between Holden parents on

value for self-direction must be retained for fathers, but can be rejected for mothers, in favor of the alternative hypothesis that Holden mothers value self-direction more than do Summit mothers.

Research Question 3

Are there differences in parental beliefs between Holden and Summit?

This question relates to parental views in two areas—first, their views about appropriate and effective childrearing, and specifically about the extent to which parents should emphasize support and constraint in childrearing, and second, their perceptions of their own efficacy as parents.

Hypothesis 3-1. Holden parents will score higher on the belief that parents should support their child than will Summit parents.

To test this hypothesis regarding the relative emphasis placed by Holden and Summit parents on the belief that their role as a parent was to support their child rather than to place constraints on his or her behavior, mothers and fathers were first analyzed together. Holden parents had a mean score of 17.98 (SD = 2.29), while Summit parents had a mean score of 15.54 (SD = 1.53) on the support variable.

Analysis of variance was performed to test whether these differences were statistically significant. When mothers and fathers were considered together, Holden parents were significantly more likely than Summit parents to believe that their role is to provide support to their child, $F(1, 36)$ = 13.67, p = .0007. On the individual subscales, scores were all in the expected direction. On beliefs regarding spoiling the child ("spoiling"), as predicted Summit parents were more likely than Holden parents to believe that their child could become spoiled and demanding by responsive and affectionate parental behavior, $F(1, 36)$ = 16.47, p =

.0003. On beliefs regarding floor freedom ("freedom"), Holden parents were somewhat more likely (though not significantly so) than Summit parents to believe that the child should be given a good deal of freedom to explore the home environment $F(1, 36) = 1.34$, $p = .2542$. Also as predicted, Summit parents scored higher than Holden parents on beliefs regarding discipline and control ("control")--they were more likely to emphasize the importance of controlling children's behavior and of disciplining, $F(1, 36) = 9.32$, $p = .0042$. Finally, Holden parents were somewhat more likely (though not significantly so) to emphasize the importance of talking and reading to the child than were Summit parents, $F(1, 36) = 1.83$, $p = .1837$. The data are presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations for Parental Beliefs Survey: Parents by Community

	Holden[a]		Summit[b]	
	M	SD	M	SD
Support	17.98	2.29	15.54	01.53
Spoiling	2.13	0.76	3.05	00.59
Freedom	3.80	0.76	3.53	00.61
Control	3.18	1.64	4.09	00.63
Talking	5.50	0.80	5.16	00.66

Note. For all subscales, [a]n = 22 for Holden, and [b]n = 16 for Summit.

The question of independence of units of analysis arises again, however, since mothers and fathers of individual children cannot be assumed to have beliefs that are independent. For this reason mothers and fathers scores were analyzed separately using analysis of variance. Holden fathers scored significantly higher than Summit fathers on beliefs about support, $F(1, 17) = 11.16$, $p = .0039$. On the individual subscales, scores were in the expected direction, with Holden fathers scoring higher on the belief that children should be given considerable freedom to explore the home environment, $F(1, 17) = 1.69$, $p = .2110$, and on the belief that parents should talk and read to their child, $F(1, 17) = .60$, $p = .44$. These differences were not significant. Summit fathers scored significantly higher on the belief that children can be spoiled by attention, $F(1, 17) = 5.18$, $p = .0360$, and on the belief that the primary role of parents is to control their child, $F(1, 17) = 7.61$, $p = .0134$. The data are presented in Table 4.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations for Parental Beliefs Survey: Fathers' Beliefs by Community

	Holden[a]		Summit[b]	
	M	SD	M	SD
Support	17.82	1.81	15.62	0.47
Spoiling	2.40	0.79	3.05	0.19
Freedom	3.79	0.42	3.54	0.40
Control	2.98	0.88	4.03	0.73
Talking	5.43	0.83	5.17	0.50

Note. For all subscales, [a]n = 10 for Holden, and [b]n = 7 for Summit.

Holden mothers, as predicted, scored significantly higher than Summit mothers on the overall belief that a parent's role is to support their child, rather than to impose constraints (support), $F(1, 17) = 5.10$, $p = .0374$. On the individual support subscales, scoring was in the predicted direction. Summit mothers scored significantly higher on beliefs about spoiling the child, $F(1, 17) = 12.28$, $p = .0027$ and higher (though not significantly so) on beliefs about discipline and control, $F(1, 17) = 2.70$, $p = .2964$. Holden mothers scored slightly higher on beliefs about freedom to explore, $F(1, 17) = .44$, $p = .5175$, and talking and reading to the child, $F(1, 17) = 1.16$, $p = .2964$. Although these scores were also in the predicted direction, the differences were not significant. The data are shown in Table 5.

Table 5

Means and standard deviations for Parental Beliefs Survey: Mothers' Beliefs by Community

	Holden[a]		Summit[b]	
	M	**SD**	**M**	**SD**
Support	18.14	2.77	15.47	2.18
Spoiling	1.85	0.66	3.05	0.85
Freedom	3.80	1.02	3.52	0.79
Control	3.39	1.23	4.16	0.57
Talking	5.58	0.81	5.17	0.84

_____

Note. For all subscales, [a]n = 10 for Holden, and [b]n = 7 for Summit.

These results indicate that there are meaningful differences in mothers' and fathers' beliefs between Holden and Summit, with both mothers and fathers scoring higher on beliefs about support that Summits mothers and fathers.   The null hypothesis was, therefore, rejected.

Hypothesis 3-2. Holden parents will have a stronger perception of self-efficacy than Summit parents.

To test this hypothesis, an overall perceived parental efficacy score ("efficacy") was computed. Parents' scores on this variable, as well as on individual subscales, were compared using analysis of variance.

As predicted, Holden parents scored higher overall on efficacy compared to Summit

parents, $F(1, 36) = 2.93$, $p = .0957$. Of the individual subscales, however, only one, the

perceived importance of extra-familial influences ("extra") significantly differentiated the two

groups. Holden parents scored very slightly higher on perceived contingency of parenting

("percont"), $F(1, 36) = .14$, $p = .7130$, and on perceived competence of parenting

("percomp"), $F(1, 36) = .37$, $p = .5470$, while Summit parents scored higher on perceived

importance of extra-familial influences ("extra"), $F(1, 36) = 9.96$, $p = .0032$. However, it

was only on perceived importance of extra-familial influences that there was a significant

difference. These results appear in Table 6. The question of independence of units of

analysis must again be considered, and therefore it is necessary to compare mothers' and

fathers' scores separately.

Table 6

Means and standard deviations for Perceived Parental

Efficacy Scale: Parents by class

	Holden[a]		Summit[b]	
	M	SD	M	SD
Efficacy	12.46	1.45	11.72	1.14
Percont	4.65	0.66	4.72	0.50
Percomp	4.05	0.96	3.88	0.67
Extra	3.23	0.74	3.88	0.41

Note. For all subscales, [a]n = 22 for Holden, and [b]n = 16 for Summit.

Holden fathers scored slightly higher, but not significantly so, than Summit fathers on overall perceived parental efficacy, $F(1, 17) = .71$, $p = .4115$. Although scores on some of the subscales were marginally in the expected direction they were insignificant. Holden fathers scored very slightly higher on percont, $F(1, 17) = .20$, $p = .6638$, and on percomp, $F(1, 17) = .35$, $p = .5637$. On the final subscale, extra, Summit fathers scored slightly higher, $F(1, 17) = 2.76$, $p = .1151$. See Table 7 for fathers' data.

Table 7

Means and Standard Deviations for Perceptions of Parental Efficacy Scale: Fathers' Beliefs by Community

	Holden[a]		Summit[b]	
	M	SD	M	SD
Efficacy	12.26	1.45	11.73	1.20
Percont	4.62	0.67	4.75	0.53
Percomp	3.95	1.15	3.69	0.65
Extra	3.32	0.55	3.71	0.44

Note. For all subscales, [a]n = 11 for Holden, and [b]n = 8 for Summit.

Holden mothers scored somewhat higher than Summit mothers on overall perceived parental efficacy, $F(1, 17)$ = 2.33, p = .1456, but this difference was not statistically significant. On the individual subscales, results were somewhat less clear cut than for the fathers. Contrary to prediction, there were no differences between Holden mothers and Summit mothers on perceived contingency of parenting, $F(1, 17)$ = .00, p = .95, nor on perceived competence, $F(1, 17)$ = .05, p = .83. The only area in which a significant difference was found was between Holden and Summit mothers was in perceived importance of extra-familial influences--as predicted, Summit mothers scored higher, $F(1, 17)$ = 7.12, p = .0162. See Table 8 for mothers' data.

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Perceptions of Parental Efficacy Scale: Mothers' Beliefs

by Community

	Holden[a]		Summit[b]	
	M	SD	M	SD
Efficacy	12.68	1.49	11.70	1.16
Percont	4.67	0.69	4.69	0.18
Percomp	4.14	0.78	4.06	0.68
Extra	3.14	0.92	4.05	0.32

Note. For all subscales, [a]n = 11 for Holden, and [b]n = 8 for Summit.

Overall, when the data were analyzed separately for mothers and fathers, there were few

meaningful differences between Holden mothers and Summit mothers in their perceptions of

themselves as efficacious parents based on these measures. Thus, partial support was found

for this hypothesis, in terms of mothers' beliefs about extra-familial influences.

Research question 4

Are there differences in reported parental behaviors between Holden and Summit?

What is the nature of the relation between parental beliefs and behavior in Holden and

Summit?

This question addresses the issue of how parents actually behave with their children,

particularly in terms of their approach to discipline and control. It looks at the connection between what parents believe about childrearing and the parenting behaviors they actually use.

Hypothesis 4-1. Holden parents will report using more reasoning with children than will Summit parents, and Summit parents will report using more direct discipline, including physical punishment, with their children than will Holden parents. Indirect discipline refers here to reasoning but may also include time-out, since both methods aim to induce the child to behave using his or her own judgment. Direct discipline refers to physical punishment.

The obtained data were insufficient to address this hypothesis as stated. Instead, analyses focused on the broader research question of whether Holden and Summit parents differed in their respective approaches to discipline and control of children. Data were drawn from the interview transcripts and from a questionnaire item from the NSFH. Both forms of data were self-report, but only the survey data were in numerical form. Furthermore, the questionnaire data alone did not provide sufficient information to answer the question comprehensively, since parents were asked only to indicate the frequency with which they used physical punishment and not for the relative frequency with which they used other forms of discipline, such as reasoning or appeals to conscience. The available data allowed for the computation of a frequency of physical punishment score for each parent using the single questionnaire item. An impression could also be gained as to the pattern of punishment use (direct or indirect) from answers to open-ended interview questions. Answers to these questions could also help to shed light on whether there were discernible differences in the meanings parents attached to different types of discipline.

The first way in which the research question was addressed was by comparing the reported frequency with which parents in the two communities used physical punishment

(spanking), based on their response to the item "How often do you spank or slap [target child]?" Holden parents reported spanking an average of 1.89 times ($\underline{SD}$ = .67), while Summit parents reported using it an average of 2.62 times ($\underline{SD}$ = .77). Analysis of variance was used to test whether this difference was significant. When all parents were included in the analysis, results indicated a significant difference between the two groups, with Summit parents reporting more frequent use of spanking, $\underline{F}$(1, 29) = 7.78, $\underline{p}$ = .009. When mothers' and fathers' data were analyzed separately, however, it became clear that much of the difference between the two groups could be attributed to differences between mothers; Summit mothers were significantly more likely than Holden mothers to spank their child, $\underline{F}$(1, 14) = 8.99, $\underline{p}$ = .0096. The data are shown in Table 9. These results provided partial support for the hypothesis and indicated that, at least for mothers, there were meaningful differences in the frequency with which physical punishment was used.

Table 9

Use of Spanking, by Community and Parent Gender

Community

	Mothers			Fathers		
	$\underline{n}$	$\underline{M}$	$\underline{SD}$	$\underline{n}$	$\underline{M}$	$\underline{SD}$
Holden	9	1.89	.60	9	1.89	.78
Summit	7	2.86	.69	6	2.33	.82

The second way in which the data regarding discipline were analyzed involved sections of the interview transcripts pertaining to parents' typical and recently employed disciplinary actions. In order to gain an impression of the patterns of approaches to discipline across the two communities (including reasoning, time-out, and physical punishment, but also the other methods used by parents), answers to interview questions were coded. When a parent mentioned in the course of the interview that they had in the past used, or currently used, any method of discipline, they were coded as "using" that method. Coding was therefore at the nominal level. For example, when a parent mentioned "spanking," "popping on the rear-end," "whipping" or any other terms that imply the use of physical means to exert control, then that parent was coded as using physical punishment. Seven categories of disciplinary actions were created, based on parents' descriptions of the kinds of techniques they use. All parents were directly asked about whether they used physical punishment, but no other disciplinary methods were mentioned by the interviewers. The data presented below in Figure 3 show the proportions of parents in each community who mentioned having at any time used each of the seven categories of disciplinary actions.

Figure 3

Proportions of Parents using Seven Categories of Disciplinary Methods, by Community
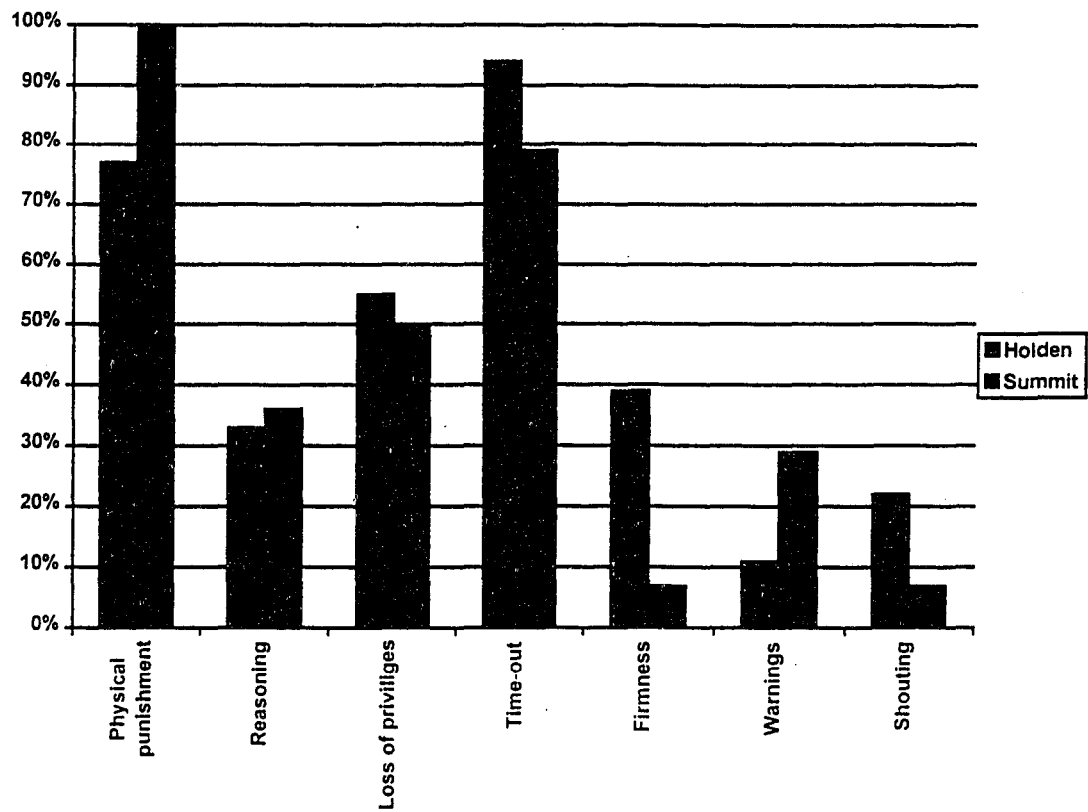
The following disciplinary methods were mentioned by parents.

1. Physical punishment: In Holden 4 of 18 parents said they had never used any physical punishment. The remaining 14 said that they had, at least on occasion, used spanking or "popping" or "swatting." In Summit all 14 parents interviewed said that they had used some form of physical punishment.

2. Reasoning: Reasoning with children, explaining why they should behave in a certain way, "re-directing" them through persuasion, and making them feel guilty, were mentioned by six of 18 Holden parents and 4 of 14 Summit parents. However, while Holden parents seemed to use this as an alternative to physical punishment, Summit parents appeared to be more likely to use it in addition to physical punishment. For example, one Holden parent said that his typical reaction when his child disobeyed was to pull the child aside and tell him to think about what he's doing and try to make him see the other person's side. Another Holden parent said that her usual strategy was to "try talking to [target child] and asking her why she did whatever she did--why she was unkind, and why she didn't listen, and what was most important, and who she is supposed to listen to." Summit parents' discussions of using some form of reasoning or explanation was usually linked to a particular punishment. For example, "We usually sit down with them and explain to them, we ask them 'do you know what you are being punished for?' And 9 times out of 10 they do."

3. Time-out: Here no differentiation is made between the technique of "time-out" and putting the child in his or her room or putting the child to bed early. One parent did distinguish between these, but in general parents seemed to perceive these as variations on the same type of punishment. Time-out usually involves placing the child in an identified physical space for a specified period of time. For some parents, this place was the steps

(inside or outside the house), a rocking chair in the corner, and most typically the child's own room. All variations of this method involve removing the child from the activity and forcing him or her to spend time alone in a situation where interaction with others is forbidden, although the activity in which the child was engaged may continue and may be visible to the child (e.g., a child might be asked to stand at the sidelines while a baseball game in which he or she had been participating continues). The apparent goal is to give the child the opportunity to calm down and think in private about his or her own behavior. In Holden 17 of 18, and in Summit 11 of 14 parents, said that they used one or more variations of this control technique. Three Summit parents said that time-out did not work, but one of these continued to use it.

4. Taking away privileges: 10 of 18 Holden parents, and 7 of 14 Summit parents said that they used restriction of a child's privileges as a form of discipline. This involves taking away or restricting something that is of value to the child, such as T.V. watching time, play-time, chewing gum or candy, allowance money.

5. Firmness: 7 of 18 Holden parents reported using a firm voice as a matthew of discipline, and no Summit parents mentioned using this approach. Three Holden mothers said that they raised their voices when they were being firm.

6. Shouting: Three Holden parents and two Summit parents reported that they "yelled," "shouted," or "hollered" at their children as a method of disciplining them.

These analyses indicate that, while Holden and Summit parents differed in the frequency with which they used spanking, there were no differences between the two communities in terms of whether of not they used more indirect forms of discipline such as reasoning and time-out. Thus, it can be concluded that partial support was found for the

hypothesis.

Hypothesis 4-2. In Holden and Summit, parental belief in support will be positively related with use of reasoning rather than direct forms of discipline and control such as physical punishment.

The limitations in the available data described under hypothesis 6 also apply to hypothesis 7. For this reason, this hypothesis was addressed simply by looking at the relation between beliefs about childrearing and reported frequency of use of physical punishment. Correlation analysis revealed that, for Holden and Summit parents ($\underline{n}$ = 31), there was a negative relation between beliefs about childrearing (support) and spanking, but this was not significant ($\underline{r}$ = -.26, $\underline{p}$ = .15). As expected, the relation between frequency of physical punishment (spanking) and the subscale "control" was positive ($\underline{r}$ = .30, $\underline{p}$ = .09), indicating that parents who scored higher on the belief that a parent's role is to place constraints on their child's aversive behavior and to provide discipline were also likely to use more physical punishment. The relation between spanking and the belief that children should be given a good deal of freedom, on the other hand, was negative ($\underline{r}$ = -.34, $\underline{p}$ = .06). Therefore, in so far as the hypothesis could be addressed given the limitations of the data, partial support was found for the hypothesis that beliefs about support are negatively correlated with use of physical punishment.

Research question 5

What is the nature of the relation between parental values and beliefs in Holden and Summit?

This question concerns the relation between how parents want their children's personalities to develop on the one hand and their beliefs about appropriate childrearing on

the other.

Hypothesis 5-1. Valuing for self-direction will be positively related to the belief that a parent's role is to provide support.

This one-tailed hypothesis concerns Holden and Summit parents and was tested using a Pearson Product Moment correlation. Data from both the interview Q-sort and the written Q-sort were analyzed and correlated with the variable support, as measured by the Parental Opinions Survey. The relations between parental values and beliefs about appropriate childrearing practices are presented in Table 10. Based on Kohn's thesis it was expected that parents who valued self-direction in their child would have a stronger belief in support. In other words, these parents would tend to believe in placing few restrictions on their child's freedom to explore the home environment as an infant ("freedom") and emphasize the importance of talking, reading, and responding to their child from an early age ("talking"). At the same time these parents would emphasize the importance of being responsive to their child's cries and demands rather than be concerned about spoiling the child by being over attentive ("spoiling") and would de-emphasize the importance of controlling their child's aversive behaviors. That is, these parents were expected to want their child to be guided primarily by internal rather than external standards of behavior. The data were consistent with this hypothesis. An overall belief in support (support) was positively related to value for self-direction ($r = .45$, $p = .0045$).

Table 10

Correlation Table: Parental Beliefs Subscales and Self-direction Values

Childrearing beliefs	Self-direction values r
Support	.45*
Spoiling the child	-.35*
Freedom	.25
Control	-.45*
Talking	.17

Note. n = 38 for all subscales.

*p < .05.

Looking at the individual subscales, correlations were in the expected directions, although only the correlations between spoiling and self-direction and control and self-direction were significant. The relations between freedom and self-direction and between talking and self-direction were in the expected direction but were not significant. However, the relation between self-direction and freedom approached significance at the .1 level (p = .14).

Since parents' beliefs and values cannot be assumed to be independent from one another within families, the data were analyzed separately for mothers and fathers. For

fathers there was a positive correlation between belief in support and self-direction ($\underline{r} = .41$, $\underline{p} = .08$) on the overall scale, as predicted. On the individual subscales the relations between self-direction and freedom, control, and support were significant and in the expected directions. The relation between talking and support was also in the expected direction, but was not significant. One surprising result was that, for fathers, there was no relation between spoiling and support. Results are summarized in Table 11 below.

Table 11

Correlation Table: Parents' Beliefs and Self-direction Scores,

by Parent Gender

	Self-direction values	
	Fathers	Mothers
Childrearing beliefs	$\underline{r}$	$\underline{r}$
Support	.41$^+$	.52*
Spoiling the child	.015	-.67**
Freedom	.49*	.16
Control	-.42$^+$	-.52*
Talking	.18	.16

Note. $\underline{n} = 19$ for mothers and for fathers.

$^+\underline{p} < .1$. *$\underline{p} < .05$. **$\underline{p} < .01$. ***$\underline{p} < .005$.

For mothers, there was also a positive relation between belief in support and value for self-direction (r = .52, p = .02). On the individual subscales, as predicted, spoiling was negatively correlated with support, (r = -.67, p = .002). Also as predicted, there was a negative relation between control and support (r = -.52, p = .02). A positive correlation was found between freedom and support, and between talking and support, but neither was significant.

The null hypothesis of no relation between parental beliefs and self-direction values was rejected for both fathers and mothers, in favor of the alternative hypothesis that there is a positive relation between beliefs about support and value for self-direction.

Research question 6

Are the patterns of differences found between Holden and Summit parents' values and beliefs found in the larger sample of parents?

These research questions and the associated hypotheses address the question of whether parents in Holden and Summit are different from parents in the wider Greensboro area. Are the parents from these two communities unique, because they initially agreed to participate in a rather intrusive study, and have been studied over a 3-year period, or can they be considered to be a representative sample of parents in the larger Greensboro area? This question was tested in three ways: First, by looking at whether similar findings were obtained using this larger data set, as were found for Holden and Summit, in terms of their values and beliefs and the relations of these to socio-economic status; second, by testing whether there were any significant differences between each community and its counterpart from the larger sample; and third, by examining the relation between values and beliefs in the larger sample.

Hypothesis 6-1. In the larger sample middle-class parents will have a higher value for self-direction than working-class parents. Middle-class parents will have a stronger belief in support than working-class parents.

This hypothesis was tested by looking at the correlations between parent education level, a commonly used proxy for social class, and parental values and beliefs. The data presented here include all parents who participated in the study, other than Holden and Summit parents. The data (shown in Table 12) were again analyzed separately for mothers and fathers.

Table 12

Parental Education Level, Values, and Beliefs, by Parent Gender

| | Parent education level | | | |
	Fathers	n	Mothers	n
Self-direction	.37**	63	.30*	66
Support	.37**	61	.23[+]	65
Spoiling	-.24[+]	62	-.31*	66
Control	-.29*	62	-.12	66
Freedom	.09	62	-.004	66
Talking	.28*	61	.21[+]	65

[+]$p < .1$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$.

The correlation analysis indicates that, as both fathers' and mothers' level of education increases, their value for self-direction also increases. This effect was somewhat stronger for fathers (r = .37, p = .003) than for mothers (r = .30, p = .02) and indicates quite a strong role of parental education on values. The relation between childrearing beliefs and parents' level of education was not as clear. On the overall support construct (the belief that parents should provide support rather than constraint in the parent-child relationship), there was a positive correlation between parent education level and support for both parents, but again, this effect was stronger for fathers (r = .37, p = .003) than for mothers (r = .23, p = .07). On the individual subscales, education level was most strongly related to beliefs about spoiling, control, and talking, for fathers, and to spoiling and talking for mothers. As can be seen from Table 12 the strength of these relations differs for fathers and mothers. For fathers, education level is most strongly related to beliefs about control (r = -.29, p = .02) and to beliefs about talking and reading to the child (r = .2, p = .03), whereas for mothers, there is almost no link between education level and beliefs about control and a moderate relation to beliefs about talking (r = .21, p = .09). On the other hand, for mothers, educational level was more strongly related to beliefs about spoiling (r = -.31, p = .01). For neither mothers nor fathers was there a relation between education and belief in allowing infants floor freedom.

Overall, the pattern of value for self-direction as it relates to socio-economic status, measured by parent education level, supported the hypothesis that socio-economic status is positively related to value for self-direction and beliefs about support. Middle-class parents were more likely to value self-direction and to emphasize a support-oriented parent-child relationship than were working-class parents.

These analyses included all parents from the larger Greensboro sample who participated only in the survey part of the study. In order to establish whether parents in the two communities, Holden and Summit can be seen to be a representative sample of middle- and working-class parents in the larger Greensboro area, their values and beliefs were compared to two groups drawn from that larger sample, and matched on education level and occupation level with Holden and Summit parents.

Hypothesis 6-2. There will be no difference between Holden parents and Greensboro middle-class parents on value for self-direction and beliefs about childrearing. There will be no difference between Summit parents and Greensboro working-class parents on value for self-direction and beliefs about childrearing.

To address this the null hypotheses that there are significant differences between Holden parents and middle-class Greensboro parents and between Summit parents and working-class Greensboro parents in terms of value for self-direction and belief in support, were tested using the General Linear Model for unbalanced designs. The self-direction score used was derived solely from the Q-sort scores obtained by questionnaire, since all participating parents completed this form of the measure. Value for self-direction is addressed first. Descriptive statistics are provided in Table 13.

Table 13

Value for Self-direction by Group and Parent Gender

| Group | Value for self-direction | | |
	n	M	SD
Holden parents	21	20.76	2.64
Mothers	11	21.18	2.36
Fathers	10	20.30	2.98
Summit parents	16	18.25	2.38
Mothers	8	17.75	2.38
Fathers	8	18.75	2.43
Greensboro middle-class parents	49	19.87	2.67
Mothers	41	19.69	2.95
Fathers	35	20.09	2.32
Greensboro working-class parents	52	18.42	2.49
Mothers	24	18.41	1.91
Fathers	28	18.43	2.94

First, the null hypothesis that Holden parents and Greensboro middle-class parents differ significantly in their value for self-direction and beliefs about support was tested. The null hypothesis could be rejected, since no significant differences were found, for self-direction, $F(1, 95) = 1.85$, $p = .1770$, and the alternative hypothesis of no significant differences between these two groups of parents accepted. Second, the null hypothesis that Summit parents and Greensboro working-class parents differ significantly in their value for self-direction was tested. The null hypothesis could again be rejected, since no significant differences were found, $F(1, 66) = .06$, $p = .8069$, and the alternative hypothesis of no significant differences between these two groups of parents accepted.

Considering fathers and mothers separately by social class, on value for self-direction, there were no significant differences between Holden fathers and middle-class Greensboro fathers, $F(1, 43) = 0.06$, $p = .8101$, or between Holden mothers and middle-class Greensboro mothers, $F(1, 50) = 2.41$, $p = .1270$. There were also no significant differences on this variable between Summit fathers and working-class Greensboro fathers, $F(1, 34) = 0.08$, $p = .7795$, or between Summit mothers and working-class Greensboro mothers, $F(1, 30) = .65$, $p = .4269$. The null hypothesis that Holden and middle-class Greensboro parents, differ in their value for self-direction, and likewise that Summit parents and working-class Greensboro parents differ on this variable, can be rejected, and the hypothesis of no differences accepted.

The null hypothesis that Holden parents and Greensboro middle-class parents, and Summit parents and Greensboro working-class parents, differ significantly in their childrearing beliefs (support) was also tested. No significant differences were found between Holden parents and Greensboro middle-class parents, $F(1, 94) = .14$, $p = .71$. However,

Summit parents and Greensboro working-class parents differed significantly in their

childrearing beliefs, $F(1, 75) = 7.70$, $p = .0072$. These data were analyzed separately for

mothers and fathers.

No significant differences were found between Holden fathers and middle-class

Greensboro fathers, $F(1, 42) = .97$, $p = .3303$, or between Holden mothers and middle-class

Greensboro mothers, $F(1, 50) = .02$, $p = .8803$, on beliefs about support, as predicted.

Also as predicted, no significant differences were found between Summit fathers' beliefs and

working-class Greensboro fathers' beliefs, $F(1, 34) = 1.35$, $p = .2539$. However, contrary to

expectations, a significant difference was found between the beliefs of Summit mothers and

working-class Greensboro mothers, $F(1, 29) = 9.29$, $p = .0049$. The null hypothesis of a

significant differences between these groups was therefore rejected for all cases, except for

Summit mothers and Greensboro working-class mothers. On the basis of these analyses, for

all cases except Summit mothers, parents in Holden and Summit can be seen as representative

samples of the larger groups of Greensboro parents with whom they were matched. See

Table 14 for descriptive statistics.

Table 14

Beliefs about Childrearing (Support) by Group and Parent Gender

Groups	n	M	SD
Holden parents	22	17.98	2.29
Mothers	11	18.14	2.77
Fathers	11	17.83	1.81
Summit parents	16	15.55	1.53
Mothers	8	15.47	2.18
Fathers	8	15.62	0.47
Greensboro middle-class parents	74	17.81	1.79
Mothers	41	18.25	1.85
Fathers	33	17.64	1.57
Greensboro working-class parents	51	17.07	2.01
Mothers	23	17.76	1.71
Fathers	28	16.51	2.09

Hypothesis 6-3. In the larger sample, belief in support will be positively related to a

value for self-direction.

Similar to Hypothesis 5-1, this hypothesis addresses the nature of the relation between

parental values and childrearing beliefs. Here, however, analyses were restricted to middle-

class and working-class Greensboro parents. Including both mothers and fathers in the

analyses, a significant correlation was found between value for self-direction and belief in

support ($r = .19$, $p = .03$). On the individual subscales contributing to support, correlations

were in the expected directions, as summarized in Table 15 below. Only the correlation

between control and value for self-direction ($r = -.28$, $p = .001$) was statistically significant.

Table 15

Correlation Table: Parental Beliefs Survey Subscales and Values for Self-direction

	Self-direction Values	
Childrearing Beliefs	r	n
Support	.19*	131
Spoiling the child	-.05	133
Freedom	.13	133
Control	-.28*	133
Talking	-.006	131

*$p < .05$.

The data were also analyzed separately for mothers and fathers. For fathers, the relation between support overall, and value for self-direction approached, but did not achieve, significance. The correlations between the individual subscales of the beliefs scale and value for self-direction were in the expected direction, except for the relation between beliefs spoiling and value for self-direction which was positive. The only statistically significant correlation was between beliefs about control and value for self-direction (r = -.29, p = .01). For mothers, a non-significant positive correlation was found between value for self-direction and beliefs about support. On the individual beliefs subscales, all correlations were in the expected direction, except between beliefs about talking and value for self-direction, which was slightly negative, but only the relation between beliefs about control and value for self-direction was significant (r = -.28, p = .02), as can be seen in Table 16.

Table 16

Correlation Table: Parental Value for Self-direction and Beliefs about Childrearing, by Parent

Gender

| | Self-direction values | | | |
| | Fathers | | Mothers | |
Childrearing beliefs	n	r	n	r
Support	63	.20	68	.18
Spoiling the child	64	.05	69	-.15
Freedom	64	.16	69	.16
Control	64	-.29*	69	-.28*
Talking	63	.04	68	-.05

Note. These data include only parents in the larger Greensboro samples.

*p < .05.

It was therefore concluded that partial support was found for the hypothesis that a positive

correlation would be found between beliefs about support and value for self-direction.

Research Question 7

What role do children's characteristics play in their own development in the context of

Holden and Summit communities?

This question concerned the co-constructive process in social development in cultural

context. Since it was of an exploratory nature, no explicit hypotheses were proposed. The aim was to look at the relations between a number of contextual factors that might play a role in children's social development, and to discuss the implications for a dialectical theory of development in the light of the findings regarding patterns of cultural differences in parenting across the two communities.

For the purposes of this study, the question was addressed by looking at the data in two ways. The first set of analyses examined the relation between children's tendency to initiate lessons, both as preschoolers and at age 6-7, and parents' assessments of children's social competence. The second set of analyses examined the relation between children's tendency to initiate lessons, also across time, and parents' values.

First, was there a different relation between self-direction in children and parents' perceptions of their social competence in Holden and Summit? At Time 1, Holden parents' perceptions of their children's social competence was positively correlated (though non-significantly) with the tendency of children to initiate lessons ($r = .25$, $p = .36$), while in Summit this relation was negative ($r = -.25$, $p = .38$). At Time 2, the relation was positive for both sets of parents, but the strength of that relation was a good deal higher for Holden parents ($r = .77$, $p = .001$) than for Summit parents ($r = .38$, $p = .20$). Looking at mothers and fathers separately, at Time 1 Holden mothers' perceptions of competence in their children was somewhat negatively related to their initiation of lessons ($r = -.36$, $p = .43$), and positively related at Time 2 ($r = .52$, $p = .29$), while for fathers, this relation was positive both at Time 1 ($r = .52$, $p = .15$) and at Time 2 ($r = .91$, $p = .002$). For Summit mothers, the relation between children's initiation of lessons at Time 1 and perceived social competence was strong and negative ($r = -.76$, $p = .05$), and at Time 2 was slightly positive

($\underline{r}$ = .14, $\underline{p}$ = .79). For Summit fathers, the relation between these variables was slightly negative at Time 1 ($\underline{r}$ = -.02) and positive at Time 2 ($\underline{r}$ = .53, $\underline{p}$ = .22).

Turning to the relation between the child's tendency to initiate lessons and parental value for self-direction, correlation analyses revealed that the higher the parental value for self-direction, the more likely children were to initiate lessons as preschoolers ($\underline{r}$ = .40, $\underline{p}$ = .013), although the relation was not significant at Time 2 ($\underline{r}$ = .23, $\underline{p}$ = .13). Looking at mothers and fathers separately, the relation was similar for fathers ($\underline{r}$ = .41, $\underline{p}$ = .08) and for mothers ($\underline{r}$ = .39, $\underline{p}$ = .097) at Time 1. At Time 2, for fathers, the correlation of values with children's tendency to initiate lessons ($\underline{r}$ = .37, $\underline{p}$ = .141) was stronger than for mothers ($\underline{r}$ = .14, $\underline{p}$ = .59).

The implications of these results for our understanding of the co-construction of social competence in children are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

This study was set within the framework of Vygotsky's (1978, 1987) cultural-

historical theory, and Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1989, 1993, 1994) ecological systems theory.

Two small white communities in a southeastern city in the US were studied, distinguished by

their socio-economic backgrounds. The aim was to identify patterns of daily activities,

values, beliefs, and behaviors, specific to each community, that could help explain the process

by which children come to be competent members of their own cultures, and the role of social

structural factors (here socio-economic status) in that process.

Children's Activities and the Development of Social Competence

Vygotsky argued that is in the course of their everyday activities that children come to

be competent members of their cultures. For Bronfenbrenner too, activities, as the location of

proximal processes, are the key to understanding development in cultural context. As

preschoolers, Holden and Summit children led quite different lives, in terms of activities.

Although play was the activity dominating the daily routines of children in both communities,

their experiences of other activities, particularly those associated with learning, pointed to

different, culturally-organized, daily lives. For example, Holden children experienced

proportionally more lessons of an academic nature (reading, counting, and so on), and

participated in more play with school-related materials, while Summit children participated in somewhat more lessons of an interpersonal kind--for example about manners, proper ways of behaving, and so on (Tudge & Putnam, in press). Although the differences between the two communities were not in all cases statistically significant, they clearly indicated the presence of culturally-driven differences in the structure of the everyday lives of preschool children, implying that parents made certain activities more or less available, according to cultural expectations and resources. Since communities were differentiated solely on the basis of socio-economic factors (with Holden approximating a middle-class profile and Summit a working-class profile) the principal organizing force in these communities would appear to be social class, situated within the broader context of US society in the 1990s.

Too often, cross-cultural psychologists have treated societies, particularly the US, as though they are homogeneous (Hogan, Tudge, Snezhkova, & Kulakova, 1996). However, a number of studies have revealed the power of cultural expectations at the social class level to canalize parenting (McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1985; Ninio, 1979), and therefore this evidence of within-society heterogeneity should not be surprising. Indeed, even more local levels of organization should be expected, since the parenting task not only involves meeting cultural expectations, but also adaptation to constraints (actual or perceived) imposed by the nature and availability of resources at the community and family level (Weisner, Matheson, & Bernheimer, 1996). There was also evidence for this in the early part of the study, with considerable within-group variability observed.

Since culture is a relatively stable and enduring phenomenon, it was expected that the different structuring of daily lives observed when the children were preschoolers would be continuous when data were collected for the present part of the study. Thus, it was

hypothesized that Holden children would be engaged in more academic lessons and academic play, while Summit children would be engaged in more interpersonal lessons. The hypothesis was not supported. Indeed, in relation to the categories of activities targeted, the children's frequency of engagement was strikingly similar across the communities. What can explain this change? One explanation may be that at this second point of data collection, children were observed for a much shorter period of time, and therefore the apparent similarity in the everyday lives of children in the two communities may be a reflection of the lack of variability captured in this short time span. Another explanation may be that, as children enter school (a societal-level institution), the structure of their lives becomes organized more noticeably in relation to the societal level of culture, rather than to the social class level. It may be that as children grow older, their interactions with peers and teachers at school come to wield a stronger influence on the structure of their time than was the case when they were pre-schoolers--influencing them, for example, to watch certain fashionable TV shows, to participate in peer-group approved sports, or simply to interact with others in ways that they had not done before. It may also be the case that the activities of greatest relevance in differentiating between the everyday lives of 6- to 7-year-old children are not the same as those that were relevant to preschoolers. Perhaps, however, the importance of activities lies not so much in the frequency with which children are engaged in one or other kind, but the way in which these activities are experienced. One dimension of the nature of children's engagement in activities looked at in this study was the manner in which children come to be involved in an activity. More specifically, did the child, him or herself, have a role in initiating that activity, and in initiation of his or her own involvement in the activity if it was already on-going?

As preschoolers, Holden children tended to initiate more lessons and their involvement in lessons that did Summit children, implying that Holden children showed a greater propensity to be self-directed in their behaviors in this particular activity. Since this too could be viewed as evidence of culturally-organized behavior patterns, encouraged and supported by parents, it was predicted that Holden children would initiate more lessons, and their involvement in them, at age 6-7, than Summit children. Support was found for the former, but not for the latter, of these predictions. While the two groups of children did not differ in initiation of their own involvement in lessons (they were equally likely to join in a lesson of their own accord rather than at someone else's prompting), Holden children continued to be more likely to initiate lessons--to ask a question, request information, and so on. In summary, at age 6-7, as when they were preschoolers, but only in the actual initiation of lessons, Holden children were more self-directed than Summit children.

How generalizable are these findings about children's activities and behaviors? Holden and Summit were not intended to be representative samples of any specified populations. While there are indications that parents in these communities do, in fact, constitute representative samples of middle-and working-class parents in the larger Greensboro area in terms of child-related values and beliefs (as discussed further below), there is no comparable evidence about children's activities or behaviors. Therefore, it is not possible to generalize beyond these two communities about the structure of daily life and children's tendency to be self-directed. What can be said, however, is that the time periods during which impressions of children's activities were obtained are likely to be representative of the actual lives and behavior patterns of those children. Coding of children's activities in the two-hour period of the home visit took place at time-sampled 5.5 minute intervals, for a 30

second period, of which the child and his or her social partners were unaware. We did not

deliberately choose to code particular activities--although the observer kept track of all

activities during the entire coding period, only those occurring within the 30 second window

were coded. In a two-hour period, therefore, coding of activities took place for a total of 10

minutes. If two lessons were coded during this 10 minutes, these may be considered

representative of the number of lessons occurring over a 10 minute period, and not over a two

hour period, in the everyday life of that child. In addition, since the participants were

unaware of the coding windows, and these were randomly selected, there was no reason to

believe that the 10 minutes coded were different from any other 10 minutes. Given that all

home visits took place on a week night (Monday to Thursday), the findings are generalizable

to children's week-night activities at the age of 6 or 7.

What are the implications of these findings for Holden and Summit children, and for

the development of social competence in cultural context? The tendency to be self-directed is

an individual characteristic of the child, and therefore, from both Vygotsky's and

Bronfenbrenner's perspectives, constitutes a critical element in the development of both the

child and the cultural context. For Bronfenbrenner, children's developmentally instigative

characteristics, "those that induce of inhibit dynamic dispositions toward the immediate

environment" (1993, p. 11) captures this idea, and for Vygotsky, the child is an active agent

of his or her own development. Both theorists view individual level characteristics as

inseparable from interpersonal and contextual factors--all three levels give meaning to each

other. In this case, we can only understand children's tendency to initiate lessons (which is

an interpersonal activity, since it involves approaching another person with a request for

knowledge) when we also understand the features of the context that support and encourage

those behaviors. Without this knowledge, we can only assume that the behavior patterns we see in each community are those that are valued and promoted by parents in those communities. For this reason, parents in Holden and Summit were asked about their values for their children and about their beliefs about childrearing and their typical parenting behaviors.

<u>Parental Values</u>

To reiterate a basic principle of Vygotsky's theory, children's everyday lives are characterized by their social interactions in the course of activities. These activities, as Bronfenbrenner argues, take place in microsystems of the child's life that include home, school, neighborhood, and so on. Among the most salient of these is the home environment, where children are regularly exposed to developmentally instigative features of their environments that "invite, permit, or inhibit, engagement in progressively more complex interactions with, and activity in, the immediate environment" (Bronfenbrenner, 1993, p. 15). These characteristics include parenting values, beliefs, and behaviors. In other words, the nature and frequency of children's activities are constrained within the microsystem, at least in part, by the manner in which they are parented. Bronfenbrenner reminds us however, that parents' characteristics, as proximal features of context for the child, are reciprocally related to aspects of more distal levels of context such as macrosystems and chronosystems. Parenting, therefore, is a contextual factor in children's development that must be understood in relation to culture and historical time.

Evidence from a number of cross-cultural studies (both within and across societies) indicates that childrearing practices differ across cultural contexts (Harkness & Super, 1985; Hoffman, 1988; Whiting & Edwards, 1988). Parental values are the affective, evaluative

components of ideas, and are restricted to particular classes of outcomes. As such, they are

conceptually close to goals and objectives (Goodnow, 1984). Social class differences in

parents' values for self-direction or conformity in their children have been found by a number

of researchers whose work has been based on the theory and findings of Kohn and his

colleagues (Kohn, 1977, 1979; Kohn & Schooler, 1980; Kohn & Slomczynski, 1990). In

Kohn's work, values refer to that which parents consider to be desirable for the pathways of

social development taken by their children. The results of the present study support the thesis

that middle-class parents are more likely to value self-direction for their children, and

working-class parents are more likely to value conformity.

This study differs from previous work in its targeted group; Kohn's main focus was

on fathers, and other research has targeted mothers and teachers (Ispa, 1994, 1995; Luster et

al., 1989; Spade, 1991). In the present study children were the targets, and the values of

both of their parents were explored. The data were analyzed separately for mothers and

fathers, since parents within the same families could not be considered to have independent

values. It was hypothesized that Holden parents would value self-direction more than Summit

parents. This was clearly supported for mothers. For fathers, the patterns were as expected,

but the results were not statistically significant, and, therefore, by the decision rule adopted,

were concluded to have no meaning. However, this discrepancy in the findings for mothers

and fathers can perhaps be attributed to the presence of two outlying scores in the Holden

fathers group--two fathers had scores that were substantially lower than those of the rest of

the group, and both of these fathers expressed traditional values in interviews. Without these

two fathers, it seems likely that significant differences in value for self-direction would have

been found. The findings also point to differences between mothers and fathers in their

conceptions of desirable personality traits for their 6- to 7-year-old child, particularly in middle-class communities. Holden mothers scored higher than Holden fathers, on average, while Summit fathers scored higher (though only very slightly) than Summit mothers.

These findings suggest that parental education and occupation (indices of social class) have important ramifications for parents' goals for their children's social development. Although the differences between fathers were non-significant statistically, the predicted pattern was found, and failure to achieve significance may be attributable to the small sample sizes, which contributes to reducing the power of the test. A more fundamental point perhaps is that regardless of significance levels, the patterns found by other researchers were supported here. The pattern was quite clear for mothers, and points to different conceptions of what constitutes a desirable personality in one's own child between middle-class and working-class mothers; parents with higher education and occupational status were, as Kohn predicted, more likely to want their children to follow internal standards for behavior than parents with lower educational achievement and occupational status, who have a higher value for characteristics that reflect the following of rules, or of external standards of behavior.

When these findings were compared to data collected from the larger Greensboro sample, it was found that there were no significant differences between parents in these two small communities and groups of parents with whom they were matched in terms of level of education achieved, although parents in Holden and Summit had been deliberately and not randomly chosen, and had participated in this longitudinal study over a 4-year period. This implies that these parents were not unique, as a result of the way in which they were selected or due to their participation in the study, and that the findings could be generalized beyond the two communities to middle-class and working-class parents in the larger Greensboro area.

How can the value differences between Holden and Summit parents be explained? It was not the aim of this study to investigate the origins of socio-economic differences in parental values or to test a causal model of the relationship between socio-economic status and parental values. According to Kohn, one's place in the social structure, or social class membership (as defined by one's control over the means of production) is associated with a set of conditions of life that lead to different conceptions of what is desirable. For Kohn, the most important of these class-based conditions of life is occupation, and specifically, the extent to which one's job affords opportunities for self-direction. Since individuals with a college level education or higher are likely to have more autonomy at work (professional occupations) than those who do not, they are also more likely to value autonomy--since this facilitates their own work. The opposite is true for individuals without a college education, and with lower level (non-professional) occupations. Work is undoubtedly an important area of life that has serious implications for how parents perceive their children and the goals they have for them (Alvarez, 1985; Bronfenbrenner & Crouter, 1982; Crouter & McHale, 1988). A limitation of Kohn's conceptualization of the class-occupation-values relation was his almost exclusive focus on men's occupations, and assumption that, even when women did not work outside the home, they would acquire the same values as their husbands. There is now evidence, however, that occupational self-direction may have different implications for women's work than it does for men's (Etz, 1995; Spade, 1991). This may account for the discrepancies found among mothers and fathers in the present study.

Bronfenbrenner (1958) has argued that parents are in tune with societal needs and that they tailor their parenting accordingly, albeit with a time lag in their response to social changes. He found that, in the wake of a number of societal changes, including rising

liberalism, mothers' increased control over discipline of their children (perhaps due to fathers' increased absence from the home due to changes in work demands), middle-class parents had moved from traditional middle-class value for conformity, neatness, etc., to greater permissiveness. Youniss (1993) has echoed Bronfenbrenner's argument--he views parents as watchful and cognizant of the qualities children will need to carry out the jobs/functions they are likely to perform in the future in a given culture. All three scholars posit a functional approach to understanding how parents come to have certain values. Kohn's approach however, is not future-oriented, nor is it child-oriented. In his view, fathers have certain general value orientations because of what currently works for them in their occupations, and these become translated into values for their children--their parental values do not arise out of projections about the future needs of their children.

The argument that values are indirectly related to SES through occupational experience (for parents, a micro-system effect, and for children, an exo-system effect) is widely accepted. There may also be other aspects of social class related conditions of life that influence parenting values. One of these may be education itself, which to date has received little attention, but which may be the primary source of social class differences in value for self-direction (Spade, 1991: Wright & Wright, 1976).

In discussions of the origins of parental goals and values, characteristics of the child are typically overlooked. Kohn's class-values-personality model is clearly unidirectional, with social class causing parents to have particular values, and parents's values causing children to have particular personalities. As Goodnow (1984) has pointed out, however, little attention has been given to Kohn and Schooler's (1983) proposition that parental values may arise, at least in part, in reaction to their children's ease or difficulty in developing particular

characteristics--specifically, parents may come to value those characteristics that are difficult for their child to attain. It is quite possible that the extent to which children are self-directed influences the degree to which their parents value that characteristic. In this study no attempt was made to assess parental values prior to the birth of the child or when the children were preschoolers, that might help to identify the extent to which children's characteristics influenced parental values. In my discussion of co-construction of development (see below), this issue is discussed further. However, it is important to point out here that in a dialectical model, the mutual interdependence of person and environment must be addressed. This implies that parental values are not simply external variables, connected to the developing child solely by means of their effects upon that child. That is not to say that parental values do not have canalizing effects on children's developmental pathways; it is simply to acknowledge that although values are properties of parents (and therefore of children's contexts) they originate in part in the children, or more accurately, in parents' interactions with their children.

There are, of course, likely to be factors other than children's individual characteristics and idiosyncratic reactions to their parents' efforts to enculturate them that make the relationship between child development and parents as agents of culture complex, as Bronfenbrenner would argue--for example, children's development may be influenced by individuals in the microsystem other than their parents, such as siblings, grandparents, friends, and so on. Children's social partners, including their parents, may be influenced by factors, not just at the level of the broader culture or macrosystem, but by events in other settings, so although parents may express a particular value, there is potential from many sources for the attempted transmission of those values to their children to be intercepted and

changed.

Parental Beliefs

A second aspect of parental characteristics examined in this study was parents' beliefs about childrearing. Parental beliefs constitute the cognitive component of parents' ideas about their children. They are parents' views about such matters as cause-effect relations (for example, "if I spank my child, she will become aggressive"), the nature of children and development (for example, "children's personalities have already been formed by age three"), how parents can help their children achieve valued outcomes (for example, "parents should talk and read to their child to help them develop good communication skills"), and views about the nature of the parent-child relationship (for example, "as a parent, I see my main role as disciplinarian" or "children should be encouraged to negotiate in the setting of rules"). Beliefs can also include parents' views about their own efficacy (for example, "I have a good deal of control over how my child's personality will turn out").

As with parental values, there is evidence that parents' beliefs differ both across and within societies (Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Ninio, 1979), and that these differences have implications for children's development that can help us to understand the cultural construction of social competence. Most of the studies focus on cognitive development, and consider mothers,' but not fathers,' beliefs. Previous research indicates a moderate relation between parental beliefs and children's development (Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Johnson & Martin, 1983; McGillicuddy-DeLisi, 1985; Rubin et al., 1989).

The present study used measures developed by Luster and his colleagues who argued that, in Kohn's model of the relation between social structure and children's personality development, one missing component was parental beliefs, which mediates the relationship

between parental values and child outcomes. The beliefs assessed here, as in a study by Luster and his colleagues (Luster et al., 1989), were of two main kinds; first specific normative and predictive beliefs relating to the valued outcome of self-direction in children, and second, beliefs about efficacy. Whereas Luster and his colleagues assessed only mothers' beliefs, this study included both mothers and fathers. The goal of the present study was not to test the causal model posited by Kohn, Luster, and their colleagues, but to try to understand the role of parental beliefs in the development of children's social competence in the context of social class.

Beliefs about support and constraint. It was hypothesized that Holden parents would be more likely to believe that parents should encourage and support their child to develop self-directed behavior (belief in support), while Summit parents, at the other end of the continuum, would be more likely to believe in setting limits and restraining their child in the interests of promoting conformity (belief in constraint, reflected in a de-emphasis on support). The rationale for this prediction was derived from Kohn's (1979) conceptualization of social class differences, associated with values, in parenting behavior. Kohn argued that parents with higher occupational status and level of education would be more likely to perceive children as being their equals and to encourage them to express their needs and desires as individuals, while de-emphasizing discipline. He described this as a "support" orientation. Parents of lower occupational status and levels of education would be more likely to view the parent-child relationship as hierarchical, with authority clearly vested in parents, and to emphasize setting limits and controlling aversive behavior. Kohn referred to this orientation as "constraint," and argued that middle-class parents, given their occupational experiences and value for internal standards of control/self-direction would display a higher ratio of support to

constraint in the parent-child relationship. The present study found partial support for the

hypothesized pattern of parental beliefs about childrearing, and for earlier studies of mothers'

beliefs and their relation to social class (Ispa, 1994; Luster et al., 1989), although there were

some discrepancies between mothers' and fathers' beliefs.

In the present study, both Holden fathers and mothers were found to subscribe

significantly more than Summit fathers and mothers to the general belief in providing their

child with support--that is, to a perception of the parent-child relationship as being

democratic, egalitarian, and supportive. Thus, the results appear to support Kohn's

support/constraint hypothesis of the relation of social class to the parent-child relationship, as

discussed above. These results indicate that social class plays an important role in parents'

childrearing beliefs, as they relate to the way parents think about how children should be

raised and some possible outcomes of particular parenting actions. However, on closer

analysis of the specific areas of beliefs that constitute an overall belief in support or

constraint, and the extent to which Holden and Summit parents subscribe to those beliefs, the

picture becomes more complex.

Luster and his colleagues argued that differences in specific parental beliefs, arising

out of their different value orientations and approaches to the parent-child relationship would

be discerned between middle-class and working-class parents, and found evidence for this in a

study of mothers. The four specific areas of parental beliefs, all of which were included in

this study, were beliefs about spoiling the child, about giving children freedom to explore

their environments, about the importance of discipline and control in the parenting role, and

about the importance for child development of talking and reading to one's child.

Across these small groups of fathers, the patterns of beliefs followed the same pattern

found by Luster and his colleagues in their study of mothers' beliefs--Holden fathers were somewhat more likely to believe that children should be given relatively unrestricted freedom to explore their environments, and that parents should talk and read to their child. Summit fathers were significantly more likely than Holden fathers to believe that over-attentiveness can create a spoiled, demanding child, and that the primary role of the parent is to provide discipline and control. Mothers' beliefs followed this pattern also, on the whole, but the only significant differences found between the two communities were in mothers' beliefs about spoiling the child.

A surprising finding of this study was that SES appears to be more important in differentiating parental beliefs for fathers than mothers. Neither fathers nor mothers differed significantly across the two groups in their beliefs about the degree to which children should be given freedom, nor about the importance of talking and reading to their child. Fathers differed significantly in the extent to which they believed that their child could become spoiled if the parent was overly attentive, and in the extent to which they believed the role of parent to be about setting limits and controlling child's behavior. In both cases, Summit fathers tended to have stronger beliefs, reflecting their greater endorsement of these views. Mothers, on the other hand, tended to have similar beliefs regardless of community/SES, about control and discipline. This discrepancy between mothers and fathers arises from the fact that Holden mothers were more likely to subscribe to the view that control and discipline are key elements of parenting than are Holden fathers, as can be seen by comparing mean scores in Tables 4 and 5. It is interesting to note that, on the average, Summit mothers and Summit fathers expressed similar views on this issue. On the issue of spoiling, mothers differed significantly, Holden mothers' beliefs were not as strong as Holden fathers,' and Summit fathers' and

Summit mothers' views were virtually identical. Overall, there appear to have been greater similarities in beliefs between Summit mothers and fathers than between Holden mothers and fathers., as can be seen in the overall support scores.

Comparison of these findings with data obtained from the larger Greensboro sample indicated that for all cases, except Summit mothers, parents in Holden and Summit can be seen as representative samples of the larger groups of Greensboro parents with whom they were matched.

What can explain these patterns in the beliefs of parents of these two communities? One obvious explanation is that Kohn's thesis about social class, value orientation, and approach to the parent-child relationship has merit, and that the extension of that model to include parental beliefs about appropriate and effective childrearing is also valid. However, given that somewhat different patterns were found for mothers' and fathers' beliefs, this explanation cannot be accepted without reservation. One indication of the strength of the model is the inter-correlations between specific beliefs about childrearing and value for self-direction. If the model is valid, and these beliefs are in fact measuring elements of the general belief that parenting should involve a "support' or "constraint" orientation, then for both mothers and fathers, value for self-direction should be positively related to beliefs about freedom to explore and about talking and reading to the child, and negatively related to beliefs about spoiling and about the importance of control and discipline. However, the data indicate that mothers' and fathers' beliefs related differently to value for self-direction. For example, mothers' value for self-direction was strongly and negatively related to beliefs about spoiling and control (as expected), but while father's beliefs about control were negatively related to value for self-direction, their beliefs about spoiling were unrelated to value for self-direction.

Similarly, while a positive correlation would be expected between beliefs about freedom to explore and self-direction, only fathers' beliefs followed this pattern. Neither mothers' nor fathers' beliefs about talking and reading to the child were significantly correlated with value for self-direction, although the relation was positive for both, as expected. These discrepancies call into question the construct validity of the scales used as measures of specific beliefs about support and constraint.

The conceptual link between the two different general perceptions of appropriate childrearing hypothesized by Kohn (support versus constraint) and specific beliefs about control, can easily be seen--parents who value conformity and have a constraint orientation are likely to perceive discipline and control as an important parental function, while those who have a self-direction/support orientation are not. Therefore, working-class parents were expected to score higher on beliefs about control. By the same reasoning, the belief that children should be encouraged to explore their environments with relative freedom (freedom) should be more prominent in middle-class than working-class parents. However, the link may have been weakened by the fact that the items are predominantly about floor freedom and applied to infants and toddlers rather than to 6- to 7-year-olds.

The theoretical links between beliefs about spoiling an infant through excessive parental attention, and about the importance of talking and reading to a child are not as direct, and therefore warrant closer examination. The subscale "spoiling" involves measurement of the extent to which parents subscribe to the view that there is a causal relationship between parental actions such as picking up a crying baby or giving a great deal of attention to a child, and a child outcome of spoiled, demanding behavior. Parents who emphasize internal standards of control and support-oriented parent-child relationships are expected to be less

likely to subscribe to this view (Luster et al., 1989). Presumably, the rationale for inclusion

of this specific category of parental beliefs by Luster and his colleagues was that one

manifestation of a support orientation is encouragement of children's expressions of their

individuality through attentive, responsive parental behavior--listening to their demands and

desires, and perhaps negotiating with them. Therefore, parents who emphasize support, as

Kohn uses this term, would expect attentive parental behavior to be associated with a positive

child outcome--from their perspective, increasingly autonomous, self-directed behavior. On

the other hand, parents who emphasize adherence to external standards of control would be

more likely to believe that frequent responding to babies' cries and children's demands will

have a negative outcome. For a parent who values conformity and obedience to parental

authority, a "spoiled" child is one who demands that his or her individual needs and desires

are met. Reticence in responding to children's cries and demands is therefore a preferred

approach to parenting. The principal weakness in the theoretical link between this specific

parenting belief and Kohn's support/constraint hypothesis is that "over-attentive parenting"

only very loosely implies the encouragement of children to develop internal standards of

thought and action through self-expression, while reticence in responding to children's cries or

demands also only very indirectly implies restricting self-directed behavior. A similar

argument can be applied to the inclusion of a measure of parents' beliefs about the importance

of talking and reading to their child as a measure of relative emphasis on support or

constraint--parents who wish their child to develop internal standards for behavior may view

communication skills as important--however the theoretical link is extremely weak, and any

relationship to value for self-direction may be spurious.

It is possible that the discrepancies found between mothers' and fathers' beliefs and the weaknesses noted in the relations of these beliefs to value for self-direction can be attributed to these weaknesses in the measures. This may also help to explain the questionable stability of the findings about beliefs in Holden and Summit, compared to the stability of the findings regarding self-direction.

There are of course, other potential explanations for the patterns of beliefs about childrearing found in this study. These are discussed further below.

Beliefs about parental efficacy. Another area of parental beliefs explored in this study was beliefs about parental efficacy. It was hypothesized that Holden parents would have a stronger perception of themselves as effective parents than Summit parents. This prediction was made on the basis of previous findings by Luster and Kain (1987) regarding middle- and working-class parents. Contrary to this prediction there were no overall differences between parents in the two communities in the degree to which they saw themselves as competent parents and believed their children's social development to be contingent on their parenting behavior. These results indicated that, in general, parents' views about their own competence in raising their child were not related to their educational and occupational background. This finding, although apparently contradicting the notion of cultural differences in parental beliefs, can also be taken as evidence for different definitions of competence across cultures--a phenomenon noted by other researchers (Ogbu, 1989, 1990) and which is consistent with the view that cultural contexts constitute different worlds of meaning (Vygotsky, 1978, 1987).

In one specific area of these beliefs, however, differences were found; Summit mothers were significantly more likely than Holden mothers to perceive themselves as being unable to counteract the potentially negative effects on their children of influences outside the

family (for example, their experiences at school, in the neighborhoods in which they live, and with their peers). These results suggest that social class does play a role in one aspect of their perceptions of themselves as competent parents. This can perhaps be explained by class-related differences in the neighborhoods in which parents live, and the resources to which they have access. A number of scholars have pointed out that neighborhood may have important influences on parenting, and especially with regard to perceived competence and parenting strategies (Cohen, 1981; Garbarino, 1990; Okagaki & Divecha, 1990). Middle-class families are likely to live in more affluent, safer, neighborhoods, and this was certainly the case for these two communities. Mothers and children in working-class neighborhoods, which have greater susceptibility to social deprivation and its related problems of crime, drug-use etc., may be exposed to a greater potential for negative social influences outside the family than those in Holden. They may, therefore, feel less empowered to counteract influences of this kind. For Holden mothers, or middle-class mothers generally, these influences may be more apparent than real, and therefore appear less threatening. In economic terms, middle-class parents have greater resources at their disposal, and would, for example, be in a better position to place their child in a private school if he or she appeared to be subjected to negative influences in public school.

Fathers in both communities, however, although concerned about their efficacy in counteracting such potential influences of neighborhood, peers, and schools, did not differ in their confidence in their ability to counteract this. Perhaps this discrepancy can be explained in terms of mothers' and fathers' different experiences with children, and with schools and neighborhoods. Mothers had more positive views of their own competence and effectiveness than fathers did about theirs. Mothers generally have more immediate contact with children

on an everyday basis, and it is primarily mothers who deal with school and who have most

contacts within the neighborhoods. This may result in them having a greater feeling of

control over their influences on their children.

    <u>Origins of beliefs.</u> In this study, parental beliefs about childrearing and beliefs about

efficacy were found to be connected, at least in part, with social class membership. Some

explanations for this have already been offered. Other explanations for social class

differences in parental beliefs that have been proposed in the literature include different access

to expert opinion (Clarke-Stewart, 1973), and particularly that middle-class mothers are more

likely to seek professional help (Ninio, 1979), while working-class mothers are more likely to

base their beliefs on more informal sources, such as neighbors and relatives. Inter-

generational influences on parental knowledge remains an understudied phenomenon, but

would seem to be another likely explanation for cultural patterns of parental beliefs. As with

parental values, children's influences on parental beliefs are rarely addressed in the literature.

Yet parents' beliefs cannot be assumed to reflect only cultural knowledge and cultural

expectations. Beliefs about parenting are subject to change, perhaps to a greater extent than

values, because parents receive conformation or disconfirmation of their beliefs through their

experiences with their own children. This study did not assess the effects of children's

personalities and behaviors on parents' beliefs. During interviews, however, the majority of

parents said that their experiences with their own child had changed them and their views

about children in some way. Many said that they treated the target child in some special way

(either contrary to their prior beliefs or differently from their other children) due to some

aspect of that child's personality or behavior. Characteristics of children mentioned in this

respect were sensitivity, activity level, and self-esteem. This is not to argue that beliefs are

not culturally organized but to make clear that data solely at the cultural level of analysis are insufficient to understand the development of children's social competence.

These findings must also be understood in the context of present US society. Parents in this study subscribed to various degrees to the childrearing beliefs about which they were asked. Yet in other contexts, especially in societies where the basic survival of children is an issue, children's social-emotional development may not have salience (LeVine, 1988), and these beliefs may have no meaning at all.

Parental Behavior

Like values and beliefs, parental behaviors constitute features of the contexts in which children's social development occurs. In the present study one aspect of parental behavior, their approach to discipline, was explored. It was expected that class differences in emphases on internal or external standards of control, and in orientation to the parent-child relationship (support or constraint), would be associated with corresponding differences in approach to discipline. It was predicted that Holden parents would be more likely to use reasoning rather than physical punishment, and that this would be related to their greater emphasis on support than on constraint in the parent-child relationship. These predictions were partly supported. However, for the most part, limitations of measurement precluded full testing of the hypotheses.

The most serious problem arose from the assumption that parents who reasoned more would use physical punishment comparatively less. Data were not available to test this assumption, since parents were asked, in the questionnaire, for the frequency with which they used physical punishment over a defined period of time, but not for the comparative frequency with which they used reasoning, appeals to guilt, or explanations as alternative

forms of discipline. In addition, it must be noted that parents were not prompted to discuss reasoning in the interviews--they were asked to describe how they typically disciplined their child. Perhaps only some parents viewed reasoning as a form of discipline, while others saw it simply as a form of interaction, or as a type of instruction in morality, and therefore did not think to mention it in the context of the questions posed. Therefore, these data did not allow us to estimate the extent to which reasoning was actually used by parents in Holden and Summit. Furthermore, the frequency with which parents used physical punishment was assessed using a single item measure. For these reasons, the analyses did not adequately address the hypotheses as stated. Instead, using the single item measure, and information from parental interviews, I assessed the frequency with which parents in each community used spanking, and the nature of the other kinds of methods. The relation between frequency of spanking and beliefs about support was also assessed. These analyses yielded partial support for the hypotheses and revealed some interesting patterns in parental behavior in Holden and Summit.

One dimension along which these two groups of parents appeared to differ was is in the frequency with which they used physical punishment--and this is reflected both in responses to the questionnaire item and in their answers to interview questions. However, these differences could be attributed predominantly to mothers. Holden and Summit parents did not differ, however, in whether or not they used physical punishment--the majority of parents in both groups reported using some form of physical punishment. Nor were there any differences in whether or not reasoning was used--few parents in either community mentioned this as a form of discipline. In addition, while frequency of spanking was not significantly related to overall beliefs about support, it was positively related to the specific belief that a

key role of parenting is discipline and control, and negatively related to the belief that

children should be allowed a good deal of freedom to explore. These results indicate that

parental beliefs are culturally organized, that they are related to the manner in which parents

discipline their children, and that this relation is particularly important for mothers.

A more important point, however, may be the meaning attached to use of different

kinds of discipline in the two communities and the contexts in which parents typically use

them. For example, there is a difference between believing that spanking is an appropriate

method of punishment and generally condemning the use of physical means but giving the

child a "pop" on the bottom in a moment of frustration or anger. A number of Holden

parents, when discussing their use of physical punishment, appeared to view this practice as a

manifestation of their own loss of control, due to frustration or poor judgment. Two parents

mentioned having apologized to their child after having slapped them, and most Holden

parents used the term "popping" their child as a means of differentiating their own practices

from more severe forms of physical punishment. A number of Summit parents, on the other

hand, appeared to perceive spanking or whipping as a valid alternative to time-out or any

other form of discipline. Some parents mentioned that they typically explained the reasons

for a spanking to their child, either before or after they received it. They appeared to use

spanking as punishment or retribution (necessary for more severe misbehavior), rather than as

a last resort means to induce a child to obey. For example, one Holden father said: "I think

there was one time when I lost it and spanked her on the bottom." When asked what he

spanked her for, he replied: "Probably the kind of thing that on a normal day wouldn't have

bothered me, but it had been a bad day. But the times it has happened, once I got control of

myself, I just went in and said '(child's name), that was a mistake and I'm sorry, I over-

reacted.'" One Summit parent, in her description of the kinds of discipline she usually used said: "I spank her about once a month with a switch, just to keep her still in line."

The combined questionnaire and interview data suggest that physical punishment had different meanings and differences in the extent to which it was used in Holden and Summit. Holden parents seemed to believe in more indirect measures (such as time-out), and to use less physical punishment, especially among mothers. Parents' beliefs about childrearing, and particularly their beliefs about the extent to which parents should emphasize constraint and discipline, is connected to how, in practice, they chose to control their child. It appears that a belief in the importance of control and discipline may translate into a greater tendency to resort to use of physical punishment.

The results of these analyses of parental values, beliefs, and behaviors creates a picture of parenting as a somewhat similar process in the Holden and Summit communities, but having, at the same time, quite distinct differences on some dimensions and a good deal of variability within the communities. The overall impression is that parenting manifests cultural (here social class) expectations and ideology. It should not be forgotten, notwithstanding these findings, that parents themselves are individuals and should not be expected to behave identically simply due to their membership in a particular cultural group. We should not expect parents to passively receive values, beliefs, or practices from the culture any more than we should expect a child to. Parental beliefs and actions are canalized by their personal histories (Valsiner & Litvinovic, 1996), and a multitude of factors influence their own development, including, for example, their own experiences of being parented. These come to bear on their individual interpretations of, and interactions with, the cultural organization of parenting.

Development as a Co-Constructive Process

       What do these findings regarding children's activities and characteristics, and features

of parenting, contribute to our understanding of the development of social competence? First,

I will review the findings of the present study and their implications for children's

development in the context of the Holden and Summit communities, and consider some

further findings that may help to clarify the interrelations of these factors.

       Previous work in the project as a whole presented above contribute to the

identification of Holden and Summit as two discrete cultures. The two communities were first

chosen primarily on the basis of educational and occupational factors--they were deliberately

chosen as communities that were quite homogeneous internally, but quite different from each

other on these dimensions. The profile of Holden parents can be described as middle-class--

parents work predominantly in the professional sphere and have college degrees. Parents in

the Summit community work in the non-professional sphere and for the most part, do not

have college educations--their profile can be described as working-class. At the first phase of

data collection, extensive observations of the everyday activities of preschoolers in their own

environments revealed that the lives of children in the two communities were in some ways

similar, but in others quite different. All children spent the majority of their time playing,

but children in Holden were more likely to be engaged in academic and skill/nature lessons,

and in play with academic objects. This suggested that different types of activities were

valued across the two communities. There was also evidence that Holden and Summit

children differed in one aspect of their social behavior--the former were more likely to initiate

lessons--to seek learning opportunities of their own accord. This can be interpreted as an

indication that parents in the two communities valued and encouraged different social

behaviors in their children. When the children were observed again at age 6-7, it was found that their lives were now quite similar overall. There was evidence, however, of stability in individual characteristics of children--Holden children were still more likely to initiate lessons than were Summit children, in spite of the small numbers of lessons that occurred during the coding period. These results appeared to add further to the evidence that Holden and Summit constitute discrete cultures, in which parents attach different importance to activities and social behaviors and, therefore, place different emphases on them--promoting culturally-valued social competence as they each perceive it.

If indeed these findings point to differences in the patterns of values and beliefs of two cultures, we would expect to find that parents in the two communities differed in their value for self-direction, and in their beliefs about childrearing. This, too, was supported. Both mothers and fathers in Holden were more likely to value self-direction in their children than their Summit counterparts and were more likely to perceive effective and appropriate childrearing in terms of a support rather than a constraint orientation to the parent-child relationship.

Additional evidence that Holden and Summit constitute two cultural groups could be obtained from different evaluations of children's behavior by parents in the two communities. If indeed value for self-direction or conformity is a dimension along which the two communities differ, it would be expected that Holden parents would evaluate children who exhibit more initiative (initiate more lessons) as being the more socially competent, while Summit parents would be expected to interpret the meaning of social competence quite differently, and therefore be less likely to evaluate children who initiate more lessons as more socially competent. This was also supported--Holden parents' perceptions of their children's

social competence was positively correlated with the tendency of children to initiate lessons, while in Summit this relation was negative, at Time 1. At Time 2, the relation was positive for both sets of parents, but the strength of that relation was a good deal higher for Holden than for Summit parents.

If we define culture as a cohesive pattern of values, beliefs, behaviors, and meaning systems that differentiate one group of people from another, and that are relatively enduring through successive generations, these findings regarding child behaviors and parental characteristics suggest that Holden and Summit constitute two separate cultures that are socio-economic in origin. In the light of these findings, it might be tempting to conclude, following Kohn's unidirectional model, that the development of social competence in children is simply a matter of parental socialization of children--a handing down of the values, beliefs and behaviors from one generation to the next. Yet from the perspective of both Vygotsky's and Bronfenbrenner's theories, development is not that simple--children are not simply willing and passive vessels for the inter-generational transmission of cultural patterns. If this were the case, novelty would be non-existent. But if the developmental process is dialectical--if parents, as agents of culture, do exert efforts to raise their children according to culturally-prescribed formulas, but children, as individuals, react differently to those efforts--how can we separate the singular influence of children's characteristics in contributing to their own development? In a dialectical process, by definition, each component continuously changes the other, and so the cultural-contextual patterns described here must be seen as incorporating the changes wrought by the children, just as the children are changed by the culture.

To address the question of the role played by children's own characteristics in their development, the relation between parental values for self-direction and children's tendency to

initiate lessons was examined, assuming that the latter is a behavioral manifestation of self-direction in children. If there were, as Kohn would predict, a unidirectional, causal relationship between parental values and children's development, a very strong and positive correlation would be expected between the parental value and the child behavior. While data gathered in Holden and Summit certainly suggest a discernible pattern of differences in the child characteristics valued by parents in these two communities, the correlations between value for self-direction and child initiation of lessons are modest. Across the two communities there is a positive relationship between both mothers' and fathers' value for self-direction and children's tendency to initiate lessons as preschoolers. The fact that these correlations are quite modest is indicative of individual variability. In other words, some parents who value self-direction highly have children who score low on tendency to initiate lessons, and some parents whose value for self direction is low have children who tend to score high on initiation of lessons. If child development in cultural context were purely a process of top-down socialization, this kind of variability would not be found. The strength of this relationship between parental values and child behaviors declines somewhat for fathers, and substantially for mothers when we look at children's tendency to initiate lessons in the home environment at age 6 to 7. This may, however, simply be due to the fact that only two hours of observational data were collected at Time 2 at home, compared to 20 hours of data on each child at Time 1. There were very few lessons, at home at Time 2 for all children, and little variability. There were also fewer participants at Time 2.

The observed variability may be attributable to a number of processes, but it is likely, from a Vygotskian perspective, that the re-creation of culturally-valued knowledge occurs in the psychological process of internalization and externalization. Thus, a preschooler

internalizes the knowledge that parents wish them to behave in certain ways, that some activities are sanctioned,. while others are not, and so on, but they transform that knowledge; they interpret and react to parental actions and words in idiosyncratic ways. This personal filtering process is reflected in subsequent behaviors in the social world, such that the cultural knowledge that is externalized follows cultural patterns, but is somewhat altered. It is this process of internalization and externalization that serves to maintain cultural practices and ways of thinking as stable and enduring, yet novel and variable, over time.

Limitations of the Study

There were several methodological weaknesses in the current study. One of these relates to the use of the Q-sort methodology. The assumption was made (following Kohn) that value for self-direction and value for conformity represent two ends of the same continuum. This assumption was not tested. A single values score was used to represent parental values, and a high score on value for self-direction was interpreted as reflecting a lack of value for conformity. In reality, parents may value both self-direction and conformity simultaneously. To test this assumption, factor analysis would be necessary.

Another weakness of the study was the untested assumption that respect for authority and conformity to rules facilitates adherence to external standards of behavior but not the development of internal standards of behavior. Other researchers have suggested that the implications for these behaviors for the development of self-direction or conformity are contingent on the level of development of the child (Curtner-Smith, Bennett, & O'Rear, 1995). Simply asking parents whether or not they value the following of rules may be less important than asking them the meaning they attach to that behavior--at least one instance where the following of rules might indicate a highly developed internal standard of behavior is

to be found in the moral decision to follow rules in the interest of the greater good of society, rather than through fear of punishment.

Two other limitations of the study have been addressed above. One concerns the construct validity of the beliefs subscales, and another the inadequacy of the measures used to assess parental disciplinary behavior.

Conclusion

The development of social competence--acquiring and exhibiting culturally-approved social-emotional and interpersonal behaviors, is a socio-genetic process. It begins at birth, when children first encounter the complex system of meaning and practices by which the context they have entered is organized. Yet their very arrival into this world of meaning transforms it, most visibly at local levels of context (such as the home environment)--a fact to which any parent will attest. Their earliest behaviors are variously encouraged and frowned upon by parents whose ideas about what childhood, and particularly this child should be, grow out of a complex interaction between day-to-day experiences with the child, their own lives and experiences up to that point, and the ideas and expectations of the cultural context in which they interact with the child. Out of this complexity, we frequently see the emergence of patterns of behaviors that distinguish the social behaviors of children in one cultural context from those of another. It is likely, however, that many observers of those differences will attribute them to the culture, to something particular to the child, or to both, but as separate, perhaps additive, effects. They may also conclude that one group of children is less competent, relative to the other group.

The goal of the present study was to explore the development of children's social competence in two small communities in a North Carolina city, taking the view, promoted in

the work of the theorists Lev Vygotsky and Urie Bronfenbrenner, that development is a dialectical process--that it emerges over time in the day-to-day interactions between child and culture as mutually constructed entities. The development of social competence, therefore, was viewed as a co-constructive process, involving inter-relations over time between children and other members of their cultures, and it was expected that social competence would have somewhat different meanings, equally valid, in each of the communities.

When children in these two communities were observed in their everyday activities, it was found that children in the middle-class community of Holden appeared to be more self-directed than those in the working-class community of Summit; they were more likely to actively seek knowledge from the environment by asking questions, requesting information, creating learning experiences for themselves. Summit children appeared more reticent in this regard. They were as likely as Holden children to get themselves involved in on-going lessons, to participate of their own accord, but not as likely to take that initial first step. In short, the children in the two communities were differentiated by the extent to which they acted independently. This phenomenon was found to be stable over time, from preschool age to age 6-7. We also found that, for Holden parents, this manifestation of self-direction was associated with perceptions of their children as socially competent. The meaning of social competence for Summit parents, however, had a much weaker link to children's self-directed behavior. To try to understand the emergence of these patterns of behavior we looked at parenting as one aspect of context. We found that the observed differences in children's characteristics and in the meaning of social competence were linked to parental values, and specifically to the extent to which parents valued self-direction rather than conformity. Furthermore, these values were linked to views about childrearing and to some parental

behaviors. Thus, the study provided some evidence that parents structure family life and raise

their children in accordance with their values and beliefs, and that one important way in

which children come to be "socio-culturally competent" is through social interactions in the

home environment. More evidence is needed, however, to understand this mechanism. We

still do not understand how, at a micro-genetic level, parents and children are involved in the

process of co-constructing self-direction and conformity--either their development as a

characteristic of the child, or their social construction as cultural values. In other words, we

have not yet fully "unpackaged" culture (Whiting, 1976).

Vygotsky stressed the importance of including information about cultural context,

interpersonal interactions in the course of everyday activities, and features of the individual,

in the study of child development. In a similar vein, Bronfenbrenner encourages us to look at

process, person, and context simultaneously. Taken alone, each level contributes to our

understanding of social development, and helps to answer the question "how do children

become competent members of their own cultures?" Yet when each level, the cultural, the

interpersonal, and the individual is only considered in isolation, critical information is

ignored. When considered together, and furthermore, when the relation between the

individual and the context are viewed as interdependent, information from these three levels

helps us to form a more cohesive and comprehensive picture of how the child and culture are

related. In this study, if we had only considered individual characteristics of the children and

their interpersonal interactions in the course of activities, we would not be able to say

anything about the cultural context in which they emerge and that gives them meaning.

Similarly, to have looked at contextual factors alone, ignoring children's characteristics and

children's interpersonal interactions, would have been to ignore the ways in which the values,

beliefs, and behaviors of parents come to have developmental significance for these children. Taking these levels together, we gain a better understanding of how social development emerges, at least in part, as children experience the realities of their cultural contexts in their interactions with their parents.

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Appendix A

Wave 2 parental follow-up letter
To be printed on Departmental letterhead

Dear Parents:

As you remember, [child] and you were observered for a week approximately three years ago. The project has been continuing, although slower than we had anticipated, and currently we have data also from South Korea, Russia, and Estonia. Plans are underway to collect data in Finland, Kenya, and Brazil over the course of the next couple of years.

Three years ago we mentioned that we might like to approach you again, to see whether you would be interested in participating in a brief follow-up. At this time, we would be interested in observing [child] for a much shorter period of time--just two hours one evening. We would also be interested in knowing whether we could interview you and have you complete some short questionnaires. The information that we are interested in has to do primarily with the ways in which you were raised as a child, and your own current values and beliefs about child rearing. In addition, we would like some more specific information about your current work.

One of us will be calling you within the next few days to find out whether or not you would be interested in continuing to assist us in this project.

Yours sincerely,

Jonathan Tudge   Diane Hogan
Associate Professor   Graduate Assistant

Appendix B

Parental Consent Form
(Wave 2)

Participants' names (please print):

Date:

I hereby consent to continue to participate in the research project entitled: "Cultural Ecology of Young Children." The aim of this phase of the project is to describe the daily activities of your child by observing him or her for 2 hours during one evening. The researcher will respect family members' requests for privacy.

I also understand that I will be interviewed, and asked to complete some questionnairies. This process will take approximately 1 1/2 hours. I have already been shown the interview and the questionnaires, and am happy to participate--with the knowledge that if I do not want to answer any of the questions, I do not need to, and if I want to stop the interview or not complete any of the questionnaires I am able to do so.

I understand that the data will be destroyed after coding and analyses have been completed.

An explanation of the procedures to be followed and their purpose, including any experimental procedures, was provided to me by Dr. Tudge. I was also informed about any benefits, risks, or discomforts that I might expect, and I understand that participants in this research will receive no compensation or treatment should anyone be injured in conjunction with the project. Any questions I had regarding the research were answered, and I was told that I am free to withdraw my consent to participate in the project at any time without penalty or prejudice to myself or my child. I understand that I will not be identified by name as a participant in this project. I also understand that any new information that developed during the project will be provided to me if that information might affect my willingness to continue participation in the project.

The research and this consent form have been approved by the UNC Greensboro Institutional Review Board which insures that research involving people follow federal regulations. Questions regarding the research and my reights as a participant in this study can be answered by calling Beverly Maddox-Britt at 910 334-5878. Other kinds of questions will be answered by Dr. Tudge at 910 334-5307.

I understand that, as an appreciation of my and my child's involvement in this project, that a $50.00 saving's bond in my child's name will be issued approximately 2 weeks after completing the study.

____ I would like a copy of the results of this study.

Child is ___ years old, and unable to sign.

_____

Parents' Signatures

Witness to Presentation and Signatures: _____ Date: _____

Appendix C

Date

Name
Address
City, State

Dear Mr. and Mrs. [name]:

We are studying children and their parents in different parts of the world, including Russia, Estonia, Finland, South Korea, Kenya, Brazil and the United States. We would like to invite you to participate in this study looking at how parents raise their young children and parent's work experience. Your names and address were selected from the list of all parents in Greensboro who had a baby in 1987 or 1988.

This study is being conducted by Dr. Jonathan Tudge of Child Development and Family Studies at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro, and his research assistants, Diane Hogan, Dolphine Odero, and Kathy Etz. We would like to ask both you and your spouse to fill out several short questionnaires focusing on your workplace experiences and your childrearing beliefs.

We will contact you by phone this week to find out if you would like to take part in this study. If you decide to participate, we will mail you a questionnaire packet and ask that you fill it out in the week after you receive it. When we speak with you on the phone we will arrange a date that we can stop by to pick up the questionnaire, either when you are home or at a time when you can leave it outside for us. All information collected will be handled confidentially and will be used for research purposes only. We will send you the findings of the study as it is completed if you desire.

Your participation in this very important work on families is critical, since your family is part of a small sample representing Greensboro. We hope that you will agree to participate. If you have any questions about the study, please feel free to call us at 334-5307.

Sincerely,

Jonathan Tudge, Ph.D.   Kathy Etz   Diane Hogan
Professor   Research Assistant   Research Assistant

Appendix D

The Cultural Ecology of Young Children
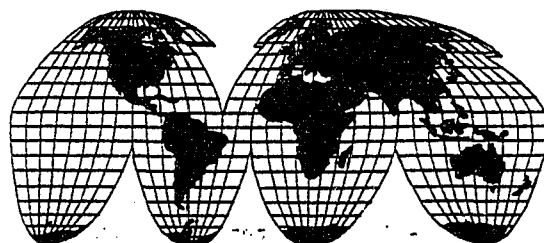
A cross-cultural study of parents, their children,
and their parents' beliefs about them.

❖ Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this study. Please complete the questionnaires on your own. without consulting with your spouse. if he or she is also participating. This is important. as we are interested in finding out whether there are differences in mothers' and fathers' childrearing beliefs.

❖ Please try to complete all the questions in the survey. First reactions are usually best. Many of the questions ask you to indicate if you agree or disagree with a statement. There are no correct or incorrect answers: different people have different responses to them. In some cases you are given a scale of 1 to 4. in others a scale of 1 to 5. and in others a scale of 1 to 6. In each case. we show what the numbers stand for immediately above. Please circle the number that best corresponds with your response.

❖ For example:

---

1 = strongly disagree: 2 = moderately disagree: 3 = slightly disagree: 4 = slightly agree: 5 = moderately agree; 6 = strongly agree

Allowing children to decide on family rules makes them question authority. 1 2 ③ 4 5 6

This person disagrees slightly with this statement.

❖ Thank you very much for your help. Jonathan Tudge. Kathy Etz. and Diane Hogan

Work and Child Scale

Please indicate whether the following statements are true or false.

I work unpaid overtime.	True	False
I am paid for overtime.	True	False
I receive a salary.	True	False
I receive hourly pay.	True	False
There are employees under me.	True	False
There are employees under me that I supervise.	True	False

If so, how many people do you supervise? (Give number) _____

Following is a list of personal qualities. Based on your experience, please pick the answer that best describes how important these qualities are for you to do well at your work. Please rate on a scale of 1 to 5. 1 = Not at all important, 5 = Extremely important. Please circle your answer.

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very	Extremely
A. Strict obedience to superiors	1	2	3	4	5
B. Knowing my strengths and weaknesses	1	2	3	4	5
C. Intelligence	1	2	3	4	5
D. Doing neither more nor less than is required	1	2	3	4	5
E. Being likable	1	2	3	4	5
F. Sticking to a job until it's finished	1	2	3	4	5
G. Being ambitious to improve one's position	1	2	3	4	5
H. Knowing how to work with others	1	2	3	4	5
I. Knowing how to avoid trouble	1	2	3	4	5
J. Being able to sacrifice today for tomorrow's results	1	2	3	4	5
K. Respect for rules	1	2	3	4	5
L. Being imaginative	1	2	3	4	5
M. Trust in oneself	1	2	3	4	5
N. Being honest	1	2	3	4	5
O. Having a genuine interest in one's work	1	2	3	4	5
P. To "put up" with others	1	2	3	4	5
Q. Being responsible/dependable	1	2	3	4	5

Of the above qualities, please choose the three most important qualities and write them below, 1 being the most important.

1.

2.

3.

About how many hours a week do you work?

About how many hours a week at work do you spend:

Reading or writing? (Includes written materials, letters, files, memos, books or blueprints)
Hours:

Working with hands, tools, using or repairing machines? (including any work with hands - operating drill,
moving furniture, playing piano)
Hours:

Dealing with people? (Only work-related conversations, for example: talking to boss, teaching, supervising,
selling, advising clients).
Hours:

Which of these three is the MOST important for doing your job? (Circle number)
1. Working with written materials
2. Working with your hands
3. Working with people

Which of these three is the LEAST important for doing your job? (Circle number)
1. Working with written materials
2. Working with your hands
3. Working with people

Please think about your 6, 7, or 8 year old child and indicate how difficult the following qualities are for
him or her. Please rate on a scale of 1 to 5. (1=Not at all difficult to 5=Extremely difficult)

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very	Extremely
Being popular with other children	1	2	3	4	5
Having good manners	1	2	3	4	5
Being ambitious	1	2	3	4	5
Being neat and clean	1	2	3	4	5
Acting in a serious way	1	2	3	4	5
Having self-control	1	2	3	4	5
Being affectionate	1	2	3	4	5
Being a happy child	1	2	3	4	5
Ability to play by him/herself	1	2	3	4	5
Being honest	1	2	3	4	5
Being dependable	1	2	3	4	5
Being considerate of others	1	2	3	4	5
Getting along well with other children	1	2	3	4	5
Being well liked by adults	1	2	3	4	5
Being responsible	1	2	3	4	5
Having curiosity about things	1	2	3	4	5
Obeying his/her parents well	1	2	3	4	5
Ability to defend him/herself	1	2	3	4	5

Now think of any 7 year old. Please rate the following qualities based upon how important you feel they are for a boy or girl of 7 years old to have. (Note: not your child) Please rate the importance of each quality on a scale of 1 to 5. (1 - Not at all important, 5 - Extremely important) Please circle your answer

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Very	Extremely
A. Good manners	1	2	3	4	5
B. Try hard to succeed	1	2	3	4	5
C. Are neat and clean	1	2	3	4	5
D. Are honest	1	2	3	4	5
E. Have self control	1	2	3	4	5
F. Have good sense and sound judgment	1	2	3	4	5
G. Act like a boy/girl should	1	2	3	4	5
H. Get along well with other children	1	2	3	4	5
I. Obey their parents well	1	2	3	4	5
J. Are considerate of others	1	2	3	4	5
K. Are responsible	1	2	3	4	5
L. Are interested in how and why things happen	1	2	3	4	5
M. Are good students	1	2	3	4	5

Of the above 13 qualities, please put the letter of the three you feel are MOST IMPORTANT for a 7-year-old child to have in the blanks below:

1._____ 2._____ 3._____ Of these, which is the MOST important?_____

Of the above 13 qualities, please put the letter of the three you feel are LEAST IMPORTANT for a 7-year-old child to have in the blanks below:

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ Of these, which is the LEAST important?_____

For the following, please choose which is more important between the two options.

Please circle each choice.

It is more important for children either to...

1. ...be independent   or   ...follow the rules

2. ...understand how to act   or   ...behave with good manners

3. ...have good sense   or   ...obey adults

4. ...understand what they do wrong   or   ...do what they are told

ABOUT YOU:

Gender: Male   Female   Your Age:

Please list all the people living in your household. Include their relationship to you and their age.
For example, if your 16-year-old son is living with you, you'd write "son" and "16" on the lines below.

RELATIONSHIP (SON, STEPSON, WIFE...)   AGE

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

_____   _____

What is the highest grade you completed in school? (Circle number)

1. Grade School   2. Some High School   3. High School or Equivalent   4. Some College

5. College Degree   6. Some graduate school   7. Graduate degree

Approximately what was your family's total income in 1994? (Circle the number)

1. Less than $5,000	8. Between $35,000 and $39,999	15. Between $70,000 and $74,999
2. Between $5,000 and $9,999	9. Between $40,000 and $44,999	16. Between $75,000 and $79,999
3. Between $10,000 and $14,999	10. Between $45,000 and $49,999	17. Between $80,000 and $84,999
4. Between $15,000 and $19,999	11. Between $50,000 and $54,999	18. Between $85,000 and $89,999
5. Between $20,000 and $24,999	12. Between $55,000 and $59,999	19. Between $90,000 and $94,999
6. Between $25,000 and $29,999	13. Between $60,000 and $64,999	20. Between $95,000 and $99,999
7. Between $30,000 and $34,999	14. Between $65,000 and $69,999	21. Greater than $100,000

Which of the above categories best describes your own individual income last year (before taxes)?
Write the number here:

Are you employed?   _____

1. FULL TIME   2. PART TIME   3. UNEMPLOYED   4. FULL TIME HOMEMAKER   5. RETIRED

What is your job title (or what do you do at work)?

Of all the persons above you at your place of employment, who has the most control over what
you actually do on the job? (Mark the one that applies.)

_____ I am self employed

_____ The person immediately above me has the most control.

_____ The person above them has the most control.

_____ Someone higher still has the most control.

_____ Someone in another chain of command has the most control.

Please answer the following questions about your 6, 7, or 8 year old child.

Child's age: My child is _____ years and _____ months old.

Child's sex: Male____; Female ____;

Child's race: White __; Black __; Native American __; Hispanic __; Oriental __; Other __;

Appendix E

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Name _____

Address _____

Date of birth _____

Are you: (please circle one) Married / single / divorced / widowed ?

Are you presently living with a spouse or partner? _____

How many children do you have? _____

How old were you when your first child was born? _____

Do you have any other dependents? Yes   No
If yes, how many? _____

Who else lives in the household? (please list)

_____

_____

_____

Please list the names, ages, sex, occupation and highest grade completed by each of your children in school

Name	Age	sex	occupation	Highest Grade completed in school

Which of these, if any, are children from previous marriages, foster children, or adopted children?

_____

_____

_____

Please answer the following questions about your own education and training:

What was the highest grade you completed in school?   _____
If some grade school:
     a. What was the highest grade you completed?   _____

If some high school/college/graduate work:
    b. How many years of (high school/ college/ graduate work)
    did you complete?   High school   _____
                                    College   _____
                                    Graduate school_____

If some college:
    What did you major in (as an undergraduate)?   _____
If advanced degree / beyond:
    c. Which degree?   _____
If beyond degree:
    d. How many years of graduate work beyond the degree?

                                                    _____

If went to graduate or professional school:
    c. What field were you in, in graduate or professional
    school?   _____

Do you have any other training or qualifications (such as
professional training at work)? If so, what, and how long did the
training last?

_____

_____

Do you have any other skills, such as foreign languages, computer
skills, etc. ? Please describe

_____

_____

What is your current yearly income? Please indicate below:

    up to $10,000
    $11,000 - $20,000
    $21,000 - $30,000
    $31,000 - $40,000
    $41,000 - $50,000
    $51,000 - $75,000
    over $75,000

Are you: a house owner; renting; living with parents or other
family members; in public housing ?

Thank your for your participation

Appendix F

THE CULTURAL ECOLOGY OF YOUNG CHILDREN

PARENTAL INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

D. M. Hogan (1994)

Family:
Date:

      Thank you for agreeing to continue to participate in our study. I am going to ask you a number of questions over the next hour. I would be grateful if you would attempt to respond to all the questions as best you can. If you feel unable to answer any question, please let me know.

Interviewer's comments:

---

* *I would like to ask you some questions about your background.*

1. How would you describe your own parents' childrearing style?
        a. What do you think their main goals were for you? (probe: what do you think they wanted you to do with your life, what kind of a person did they want you to be)
        b. What strategies did they use to try to achieve these?

* I would now like to ask you some questions about work.

15.   Are you employed?   Yes / No
      (If not, skip to question 24)

16.   What is your job is called?

      Job title:

18.   About how many hours a week do you spend dealing with people (does not include passing the time of day, but does include talking to boss, teaching, supervising, selling, advising clients)
      If any time at all
        a. What kinds of things do you do during that time [be sure to ascertain what they do and to whom]
            (i) If more than one activity:
            at which of these do you spend the most time?

21. When your boss wants you to do something, does he/she:
    - usually just tell you to do it;
    - usually discuss it with you;
    - or is it about half and half?

    (if respondent replies they do what they want to do, boss does not have to tell them, ask what happens when something unusual comes up).

22. Does your work involve:
    - doing the same thing in the same way repeatedly;
    - the same kind of things in a number of different ways
    - or a number of different kinds of things.

23. When you begin a day's work:
    a. can you predict what kinds of things are going to happen on the job that day, or is it a job in which you can't tell what might come up?

    b. (If reason not given ask for explanation as to why it is predictable, or why unpredictable)

*I would now like to ask you some questions about your child
--------, and your parenting strategies.*

24. How would you describe how your child behaves with other children of the same age?

25. What kinds of activities does your child like to get involved in?

26. How obedient is your child?

27. How would you describe your child's personality/ character ?

28. Which traits do you like and which do you dislike?

29. What kind of disciplinary techniques do you favor?

30. When was the last time you punished your child?

31. What was the nature of the punishment?

32. What happened that made you decide to punish your child then and in this way?

33. How do you typically react when your child is disobedient?

34. When your child's misbehavior puts him or her in immediate danger, what kind of discipline do you use then? (probe: is it different from the kind you usually use?)

35. Who else, if anyone, is involved in disciplining your child?

36. When is the last time you remember physically punishing your child -- spanking or hitting him/her
   a. What was it for?
   b. How would you say the child felt about it?
   c. During the past six months how often have you physically punished the child?

37. Which of you would you say is stricter on your child, you or your spouse? (repeat for each of following):   Self/Spouse
   a. Which of you is more warm and affectionate   Self/Spouse
   b. Which of you is more likely to restrict child's freedom   Self/Spouse
   c. Which of you is quicker to praise child for things he/she does well   Self/Spouse
   d. Which of you is more likely to lay down the law when child misbehaves Self/Spouse
   e. Which of you is more likely to dominate him/her   Self/Spouse

38. Could you describe the way you were disciplined as a child?

39. What do you like about having children, compared to not having children at all?

40. What kind of qualities do you hope your child will develop?
   a. In what way will these be important or useful?

41. What kind of qualities would you <u>not</u> like to see your child develop?
   a. Why?

42. When you think of a boy/girl of your child's age, are there any things that you look for as most important or most desirable?
   Probe: I'm thinking of things like the ways in which they behave with other people and at home in the family, eg honest, considerate of others, willing to share, kind.

43. What are your goals for your child (probe: this has two parts: what do you hope they will be doing, and what do you hope they will be like?)
   a. Over the next 2 years?
   b. Over the next 5 years?
   c. Over the next 10 years?
   d. In the longterm, as an adult?

44. Is there any particular occupation or type of occupation you'd like to see you child get into as an adult?
   If yes:
      a: What?   b: Why?

45. How far would you like your child to go in school?
   a. How far do you think he/she probably will go in school?

46. What qualities do you believe children have when they are born? (probe: do they have a personality/temperament? what is it like?)

47.   What influences how children develop?

48.   Do you ever read anything about parenting? Yes/ No
           a. If so, what kind of material?

49.   Did you ever take a class on child development or on parenting? Yes/ No
           a. If yes, where and at what level?

50.   If you think you can influence (your child) -------
       to develop the qualities you would like him/her to have, how do you think you can best
       do so?

51.   Can you think of any ways you have changed as a result, not of being a parent, but of
       being a parent to (child)------?

52.   How would you describe your child's temperament as an infant? I'm thinking about things
       how activity he/she was; whether he/she cried a lot; whether he/she was persistent or
       easily frustrated; how much he/she responded to other people.

53.   Can you think of anything about this child's individual personality/behavior that
       influences how you treat him/her?

I want to ask you a few questions about religion.

62.   Do you consider yourself to be affiliated to any organized religion?   Yes / No
       If yes, which denomination:

63.   What does your religion say about bringing up children?
       (probe: discipline; children's natural tendencies)
           a. With which of these do you agree, disagree?

64.   If you disagree with your church's teaching on parenting, what do you do?

65.   What responsibilities do you think your church has when it comes to the raising of your
       children?

66.   What is the most important thing your religion /church has to say about children and the
       way they grow up?

Appendix G

PARENTAL VALUES Q-SORT (Kohn & Schooler, 1969)

Instructions to participants:

1. Rank the characteristics on these cards, choosing the 3 most <u>desirable</u> characteristics for a child to have.

2. Of these 3, choose the 1 most desirable.

3. Choose the 3 lease important characteristics for a child to have (may be desirable).

4. Of these 3, choose the 1 that you think is least important.

That he/she is considerate of others
That he/she is interested in how and why things happen
That he/she is responsible
That he/she has good manners
That he/she is neat and clean
That he/she acts like a boy/girl should
That he/she has self-control
That he/she is a good student
That he/she obeys his/her parents well
That he/she has good sense and sound judgement
That he/she gets along well with other children
That he/she is honest
That he/she tries hard to succeed

<u>Results of Q-Sort</u>

Top 3 ranked   _____
                    _____
                    _____

Top ranked   _____

Bottom 3 ranked

                    _____
                    _____
                    _____

Bottom ranked   _____

Appendix H

PARENTS' OPINION SURVEY

Incorporating the Parental Beliefs Survey (Luster, 1985) and
Perception of Parental Efficacy Scale (Luster & Rhoades, 1989)

Adapted for use with parents of young children.
by Hogan, D. M., and Tudge, J. R. H. (1994)

Department of Human Development and Family Studies
University of North Carolina at Greensboro

\# _____

Instructions

The following statements are commonly held opinions. There are no right or wrong answers. You will probably agree with some items and disagree with others. We would appreciate your honest opinions as parents on these matters. Your insight as a parent will be very helpful to us.

Read each statement carefully. Decide if you agree or disagree and the strength of your opinion. Then circle the appropriate response. First impressions are usually best. Responses range from "strongly disagree" to "strongly agree".

Example:

DDD = strongly disagree
DD = moderately disagree
D = slightly disagree
A = slightly agree
AA = moderately agree
AAA = strongly agree

1) It is important to read to young children every day. DDD DD D A AA (AAA)

2) Parents should set rules for their children and always stick with them. DDD DD (D) A AA AAA

In this example, the parent strongly agrees with the statement that "It is important to read to young children every day", and slightly disagrees with the statement that "Parents should set rules for their children and always stick with them".

Give Your Opinion on Every Statement

If you find that the responses to be used in answering do not adequately reflect your own opinion, select the one closest to the way you feel. Thank you for participating.

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Circle your answer choice.

DDD = strongly disagree
DD = moderately disagree
D = slightly disagree
A = slightly agree
AA = moderately agree
AAA = strongly agree

1) It is important for the development of children that they get out of the house several times per week with parents or a caregiver.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

2) It is likely that you will spoil your baby if you respond to most of his/her cries.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

3) Children need to learn to play by themselves and therefore should spend a few hours each day with little adult supervision.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

4) Parents should be strict with their young children or they will be difficult to manage later on.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

5) There is much a parent can do to make his/her child smarter.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

6) The way children turn out often has little to do with how their parents raise them.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

7) I am a more competent parent than most parents I know.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

8) When my child is in school, his/her behavior will be probably influenced more by his/her friends than by my expectations.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

9) I am convinced that my child faces a very bright future.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

10) Children's learning results mainly from being presented basic information again and again.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

11) A mother can spoil her child by giving him/her a great deal of attention.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

12) As long as the child is safe and the object will not be damaged, he/she should be allowed to play with almost any object in the home that interests him/her.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

13) The most important task of parenting is disciplining the child.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

14) A baby is spoiled when he/she gets into the habit of being held and rocked frequently.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

15) I believe that the way I treat other people will greatly influence the way in which my child behaves towards others.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

16) I am more confident about my parenting skills than most other parents (of the same sex as me) I know.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

17) After my child has been in school for a while, his/her teachers will probably influence his/her thinking more than I will.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

18) I believe that my child will have an opportunity to get a college degree at a good college or university if that is his/her goal.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

19) Responding quickly to an infant's crying encourages him/her to be demanding.　　DDD　DD　D　A　AA　AAA

DDD = strongly disagree
DD = moderately disagree
D = slightly disagree
A = slightly agree
AA = moderately agree
AAA = strongly agree

20) In order to keep a child out of mischief (that is, pulling things out of their proper places, playing with things that aren't toys, etc.) parents should strictly limit the area of the house in which the child is allowed to play.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

21) One of the best ways to prepare a young child to be a good student is to teach him/her to be obedient.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

22) Once my child is in school, the school has the main responsibility for his/her education.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

23) Successfully rearing a child has much to do with luck.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

24) A young child can learn a great deal by watching television.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

25) I worry about spoiling my child by being an over-attentive parent.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

26) Children should learn early on that a parent's desire to have a neat and orderly house is to be respected.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

27) It is more important for a child to learn to think for himself/herself than to learn to obey adults.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

28) Often it is difficult for me to stay interested when playing with my child.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

29) I worry that some of the people who live in my neighborhood could be a bad influence on my child.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

30) The occupational opportunities available to my child will depend largely on the economic policies of the government.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

31) I believe that involving my child in activities that are challenging to him/her at home improves his/her ability to learn things at school.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

32) I am not very knowledgeable about child development.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

33) I believe that the less my child watches television while young, the better off he/she will be.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

34) I believe that my child will have the opportunity to get a high salary, high responsibility job if he/she wants such a job.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

35) Babies cry sometimes shortly after they have been fed and changed; if there is no apparent reason why they are crying, it is generally best to ignore these cries.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

36) Children will learn more if they can play freely in and around the home.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

37) Since children cannot be trusted to do the right thing, their chances to misbehave must be limited.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

38) I believe that it is important to spend a lot of time talking to my children.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

39) Many of the parents I know seem to have adjusted to the demands of parenting more easily than I have.   DDD DD D A AA AAA

DDD = strongly disagree
DD = moderately disagree
D = slightly disagree
A = slightly agree
AA = moderately agree
AAA = strongly agree

40) I am concerned that the examples set by some of the other children in my neighborhood will be a bad influence on my child as he/she grows older. DDD DD D A AA AAA

41) If my child ends up taking a dead end job that he/she does not enjoy, that is his/her fault, because other opportunities are available to almost everyone. DDD DD D A AA AAA

42) When children feel that family rules are unreasonable, they should be encouraged to tell their parents that they disagree with the rules. DDD DD D A AA AAA

43) There is not very much that a parent can do to influence the development of his/her child's intellectual abilities. DDD DD D A AA AAA

44) Children who are held to firm rules grow up to be the best adults. DDD DD D A AA AAA

45) Talking to a young child probably has no effect on the child. DDD DD D A AA AAA

46) If my child mixes with bad company in school, I will have a difficult time keeping him/her out of trouble. DDD DD D A AA AAA

47) I think that my child's chances of being successful as an adult are better than those of the majority of children who are his/her age and sex. DDD DD D A AA AAA

48) Parents who are very affectionate to their babies are likely to have children who grow up being overly dependent on their parents. DDD DD D A AA AAA

49) A family, like all other organizations, needs a list of clearly defined rules that everyone must follow without exception. DDD DD D A AA AAA

50) I am concerned that ideas and values contrary to my own will be adopted by my child after he/she is in school for a while. DDD DD D A AA AAA

51) Because schools and courses have changed so much in recent years, it will be difficult for me to help my child learn what is being taught at school. DDD DD D A AA AAA

52) Infants are often spiteful to their parents. DDD DD D A AA AAA

53) The most important difference between children who are good students and children who do poorly in school is the amount of ability they are born with. DDD DD D A AA AAA

54) It is important for a child's development that parents consistently respond to them when they talk. DDD DD D A AA AAA

55) Some children are born with undesirable personality characteristics and there is not much that a parent can do to change these characteristics. DDD DD D A AA AAA

56) Reading to a young child probably has little effect on the child. DDD DD D A AA AAA

57) If children watch violence on television, they are more likely to behave aggressively (hitting, kicking, name calling) toward other children. DDD DD D A AA AAA

58) Parents who emphasize school achievement are likely to have children who worry too much about not meeting their parents' expectations. DDD DD D A AA AAA

59) Parents should limit how much they express the affection they feel towards their baby by limiting the amount of rocking, cuddling, and holding they do. DDD DD D A AA AAA

PLEASE NOTE

Materials in this document have not been filmed at the request of the author. They are available for consultation, however, in the author's university library.

PAGES
212 -215

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Appendix J

Please answer the following questions as they apply to your child _____.

1) How many days last week did you eat breakfast and dinner with at least one of the children (please check the appropriate boxes)?

	a. breakfast	b. dinner
None	☐	☐
1 day	☐	☐
2 days	☐	☐
3 days	☐	☐
4 days	☐	☐
5 days	☐	☐
6 days	☐	☐
7 days	☐	☐
Inapplicable	☐	☐

2) How many days last week did you spend time with the child . . .

(please check one box for each question)

a. . . . in leisure activities away from home (picnics, movies, sports, etc)

Never or rarely	Once a month or less	Several times a month	About once a week	Several times a week	Almost every day	Inapplicable
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

b. . . . at home working on a project or playing together

Never or rarely	Once a month or less	Several times a month	About once a week	Several times a week	Almost every day	Inapplicable
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

c. . . . having private talks

Never or rarely	Once a month or less	Several times a month	About once a week	Several times a week	Almost every day	Inapplicable
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

d. . . . helping with homework

Never or rarely	Once a month or less	Several times a month	About once a week	Several times a week	Almost every day	Inapplicable
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

3) Listed below are several ways that parents behave with their children. Please indicate how often you do each.

a. praise child

Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Inapplicable	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

b. allow child to help set rules

Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Inapplicable	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

c. spank or slap child

Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Inapplicable	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

d. hug child

Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Inapplicable	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

e. yell at child

Never	Seldom	Sometimes	Often	Very often	Inapplicable	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements. Please check one box for each question.

4) Parents should encourage just as much independence in their daughters as in their sons.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't want to answer	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

5) The Bible is God's word and everything happened or will happen exactly as it says.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Don't want to answer	Don't know
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

6) How important is it to you that your child . . .

1 = Not at all important ... 7 = Extremely important

(please circle the appropriate number or check one of the boxes)

								Inapplicable	Don't know
a. always follow family rules	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
b. do well in school	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
c. be independent	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
d. be kind and considerate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
e. control their temper	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
f. always do what you ask	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
g. carry out responsibilities on their own	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
h. do well in creative activities	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
i. keep busy by themselves	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
j. get along with other kids	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
k. do well in athletics	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐
l. try new things	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	☐	☐

Appendix K

The Cultural Ecology of Young Children

Coding Manual

(September 1994 edition)

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DEFINITION OF ACTIVITY

The unit of study is the child in activity. The focal child, any partners, and roles of all participants are coded as they relate to the activities under consideration. There are four "focal" activities: lessons, work, play, and conversation; in addition, other activities are coded, but in less detail. The focal child's activities and the activities going on around him or her are monitored continually (apart from the time taken to enter the codes), but are not continually coded. Rather, the coding is of the focal activities that occur during a timed "window". The window is open for 30 seconds in every 6-minute period. For an activity to be coded it must either (a) be engaged in or observed by the focal child or (b) be potentially available to the child by virtue of being (1) within easy ear- or eye-shot and (2) a focus of attention by another person during this 30-second window. (An exception to this rule, is that when the TV, radio, or related things are going on "under their own steam" within easy ear- or eye-shot of the focal child, they can be coded as potentially available even if no-one is focusing attention on it.)

Write down, briefly, the significant activities, roles, partners, etc. that are going to be (or just have been) coded (i.e., those on-going during the window) in the space at the bottom of the coding sheet. In addition, non-window activities (those occuring outside the 30 second window) may be noted at the side of the coding sheet if they are deemed interesting/relevant. The window notes and the non-window anecdotal notes will be the equivalent of field notes, and will serve to furnish examples of the activities, roles, etc. that go on--the "flesh" to cover the bare bones of the raw codes.

To be coded, an activity need only occur for a portion of the window; that is, if it has been the focus of attention prior to the window and continues into the window, even if by only a second or two, it should be coded. Similarly, if an activity gets underway a short time prior to the closing of the window and continues afterwards, it should be coded.

Any activity can change over the course of the 30 seconds, for example from generic pretend to emulation of an adult role. Code whichever appears to have occupied the greatest time during the window.

For an activity to be considered a focus of attention, it must be more than a momentary activity, or a shift in attention. Compare the following examples:

Sarah, a toddler, is helping her mother prepare food during the window. Her attention and that of her mother are clearly focused on that activity. During the window, Sarah's mother moves a knife out of her easy reach, but says nothing and Sarah pays no attention. There is no sense that either participant were focusing their attention on the movement, and so "lesson" should not be coded.

Contrast this with a second example:

Jonathan, a toddler, is helping his mother prepare food during the window. His attention and that of his mother are clearly focused on that activity--"work." During the window, Jonathan tries to pick up a knife. His mother says: " That's not a good knife to use: it's too sharp and will cut you" and she moves it out of his reach. Despite the brevity of the comment, it constituted a focus of attention and should be coded as "skill/nature lesson."

Similar points can be made with regard to observation of an activity. Again, momentary shifts in attention do not qualify as a focus. For example:

Judy is playing with some toys. Her mother is working nearby. Judy looks up momentarily to see what her mother is doing, but continues to play and does not appear to have focused attention on her mother's work. Code "play", and Judy's role in it, and code "work" but give Judy no role in it.

Contrast this scenario with another:

Sarah is playing with some toys prior to the window opening. As the window opens, and for all of the 30 seconds she is looking at her mother working, however, and only goes back to her play after the window has closed. As her attention is focused on her mother's work, code "work" and Sarah's role as "observer" or "eavesdropper" (see role codes).

If, on the other hand, Sarah had returned to her play even if only for a few moments before the window closed but continued playing thereafter, both activities could be coded and Sarah would have a role in each. Play can be coded because it was occurring prior to the window opening and because it continued after the window closed. So, although it did not occupy much time during the window itself, knowledge of the broader context of Sarah's activities allow us to realize that this is an activity on which Sarah is focused.

Suppose that Judy is playing, and looks up at what her father is working on during the window. Play is coded, as is work, and Judy has a role in play. However, the decision must be made about whether the "look up" is sufficient for Judy to be coded as a partner. A decision must be made about whether . . .c: Judy was really focused on her father's activity. Look for non-verbal cues that suggest that she is doing more than simply gazing around before giving her a role (as eavesdropper or observer) in work.

Coding the focal activities

For one of the focal activities to be coded, it clearly does not have to be engaged in by the focal child. If he or she is not engaged in it, she is given no role (code 0) and the participants are not coded at all. The activity must be "available" to the focal child, however. That is, it must be an activity that is on-going within easy ear- or eye-shot of the focal child; it is something upon which the child could focus attention or in which she could participate (or try to participate). The only exception to this is if the focal child is asleep, in which case code on-going focal activities, participants, etc., even though the child could not actually participate.

Coding the non-focal activities

If the child has a role in any of the focal activities, but is also engaged in one of the non-focal activities (sleep, eating, bodily functions, idle, or "other"), simply provide the code for that activity but do not code the child's role, the partners or their roles for that non-focal activity.

If the child has no role in any of the focal activities, but is either engaged in one of the non-focal activities or is observing someone who is engaged in one of them, code the activity, the partners, and the respective roles in the same manner as for the focal activities.

If people other than the focal child are engaging in non-focal activities, do not code them--they are available as people but their non-focal activities can be ignored.

If the activities are really un-codable (following in car and can't tell what's happening, or if you've "lost" the focal child), code "Other" as 5 and indicate the problem in the window notes. Then go on to next window.

ACTIVITIES

Lessons

To count as a lesson, there must be an attempt to impart information (albeit implicit) or to receive information (in the case of a child asking a question). Note that lessons may be shorter-lived than other activities, and that interpersonal lessons may be implicit.

1. academic A

Information that relates to schooling or pre-school skills, abilities, etc. This includes labelling colors, getting the child to count, help read a story, more/less information, clear attempts to get the child to remember some event (where the goal is not for the partner to get information, but rather to help the child develop memory skills). Note that the focus must be on trying to impart or receive information; playing a game with academically related objects (where there is no such focus) would be coded under "play with academic object."

2. interpersonal I

Conveying or requesting information about culturally appropriate behavior, etiquette, values, etc. Getting a child to say "please" or "thank you" counts, as does commenting on poor eating habits, not interrupting other people, spitting, etc. Note that simple discipline commands ("stop," "don't do that" etc.) should not be coded, but "stop that; it's not polite" when it's clear that the person speaking is commenting about appropriate etiquette, values, etc. would be coded as an interpersonal lesson.

3. skill/nature lessons S/N

Conveying or requesting information about the workings of the material or natural world--lessons on how to tie shoe laces, use a mortar and pestle, how to sew clothes, weave, operate a TV or computer, etc., or information about the natural world, seasons, time, behavior of animals, etc. The focus here is upon a skill to be learned or facts about nature. Include here lessons on health and safety.

4. religious/spiritual lessons R

Conveying or requesting information on matters of religious or spiritual affairs, or rituals associated with these matters. If simply participating in such rituals, with no lesson involved, code under "religious/spiritual activities" (other--code 6).

Work

Tasks, errands, chores which may be assigned to children, but also work that typically is not done by children--ironing, washing dishes, fixing the car, saddling a horse, caring for a child (but not the focal child), shopping, washing clothes, using the computer to write (rather than play), etc. In general, activities that either have economic importance or contribute to the maintenance of life. Note the difference between "play-emulation of adult role" and "work"; the latter must at least be intended to be of economic or subsistence-related importance, even if an adult has assigned it as a task when it would be easier for the adult to do it him/herself.

1. transparent or no technology

Transparent technology is technology the workings of which are clear to the child--sweeping with a broom (but not with a vacuum cleaner), fixing a torn page with tape (but not fixing a car), etc. No technology includes such things as running an errand, undressing a child, etc.

1. child-modified Tc (Transparent, child-modified)

some technological device is being used, but it has been purposefully modified for use by a child--a miniature hammer, broom, etc.

2. adult Ta (Transparent, adult)

some transparent technological device being used, but not modified for use by a child.

3. not applicable N/A

where no device is being used at all

2. opaque technology

Where the mechanics of the tool being used are not likely to be understandable by the child

1. child-modified Oc

2. adult Oa

<u>Play, exploration and entertainment</u>
>Activities that being enaged in for fun, their own sake, or to master some skill--but not because they have economic value or contribute to the maintenance of life, which would be "work."

1. pretend/role play
>Any play activity that has the child assuming the role of another, whether other person, thing, creature.
>
>>1. generic pretend or role play Pg (Pretend, generic)
>>>Any pretend or role play not in 2 below.
>>2. emulation of adult roles Pem (Pretend, emulation)
>>>Role play in which typical roles from normal human situations are adopted, and in which at least one of the participants is taking on a more competent role--playing mother/father, whether working or not, mother/baby, teacher at school, etc.. Do not include playing heroic roles (Batman, etc.) which are not "typical" adult roles. To be included here the role being taken must be clear.

2. non-pretend play and exploration
>Play or exploration that does <u>not</u> feature taking on a role. Play with objects is not well distinguishable from exploration, so do not try to distinguish them.
>
>>1. with academic object AC
>>>Learning is inherent to both play and exploration; hence include play with academic object here. Academic materials include anything typically used in school or preschool and that have been designed for learning purposes; leaves, etc., may be used but have not been designed for academic purpose, and so do not code here. Include here reading a story, if the focus is not on naming objects, colors, filling in the missing words, etc.
>>2. with child-oriented (non-academic) object CO
>>>Any object that is designed, modified, or prepared with the child in mind <u>except</u> objects that have been designed with an academic purpose. Include blocks, tea-sets, balls, dolls, cars, miniature versions of adult tools (unless better coded as "work"--in which case there must be a clear attempt to accomplish something of economic or subsistence-importance). Look for evidence that the object has been either brought in or prepared in some way for a child to use (painted, cleaned, no sharp-edges) rather than has been simply discarded and the child is playing with it.
>>3. with adult-oriented object AD
>>>Any object from the adult world that has not been designed, modified, or prepared for children (if so prepared, should be coded as child-oriented). Include materials that have been taken by children (unbeknownst to adults) or <u>discarded</u> from the adult world--old tires, pieces of machinery, etc.
>>4. with natural object NAT
>>>Any natural object--sticks, mud, sand, plants, etc. irrespective of where they are found (ie, even if inside the classroom). Include in this category animals (pets, etc.) If using any child-modified object in addition to the natural object (such as a shovel in the sand), code under "child-modified".
>>5. with no object NO
>>>Any play (except role play) that does <u>not</u> involve the use of an object--games of chase, etc. Include here word or verbal play, if it's being done for sense of pleasure--rather than noises to bother someone.

3. spectator of performance

    Any activity in which the individual is watching or listening to a performance, for entertainment or relaxation. Movies, plays, videos, puppet plays, listening to music or the radio or on tape, watching (not participating in) sports events, etc. would be counted. If singing along, or being a more active spectator, code role as participant. If simply watching a performance, code as eavesdropping on it.

    1. academic Sac (Spectator, academic)

        Performances (non-TV) that have clear academic (school or preschool) material--a focus on counting, letters, etc.

    2. child-oriented Sch (Spectator, child-oriented)

        Performances (non-TV) that are produced with children (<10) in mind, but which do not have an academic focus at the time of watching. Look for programs that have a predominance of child or puppet actors, or adults deliberately speaking to children.

    3. adult-oriented Sad (Spectator, adult-oriented)

        Performances (non-TV) that do not have children in mind, even if the content may appear childish. Look for a targeted population > 9.

    4. TV academic TVac (TV, academic)

        Performances that have clear academic (school or preschool) material--a focus on counting, letters, etc.

    2. child-oriented TVch (TV, child-oriented)

        Performances that are produced with children (<10) in mind, but which do not have an academic focus at the time of watching. Look for programs that have a predominance of child or puppet actors, or adults deliberately speaking to children, such as cartoons (with the exception of some adult-oriented cartoons), Sesame St., Mr Rogers, etc. If there is a mix of academic and non-academic parts embedded within a child-oriented program, code "academic" if that portion is a focus during the window.

    3. adult-oriented TVad (TV, adult-oriented)

        Performances that do not have children in mind, even if the content may appear childish. Look for a targeted population > 9.

Conversation

    To code this, conversation must be the focus of activity, and it should not be talk about some on-going activity. Look for 2 or 3 exchanges, that are sustained or focused--and the focus must be clear. That is, if people are talking about something that they are doing at the time (whether play, work, etc.) this does not count as conversation--it's part of the on-going verbal accompaniment to the action. However, if people are engaged in one task (playing bridge) but talking about something unconnected with that immediate activity (the fact that they like bridge better than tennis, how poorly a mutual friend plays bridge or something totally unconnected--what they're going to eat for dinner) both play and conversation can be coded. If, on the other hand, they are talking about their bidding, this is part of the activity of playing, and conversation should not be coded. If two people are talking, but you can't detect what they're talking about don't code as conversation--it could be talk about work, play, be a lesson, etc.

    1. child-child (<10) conversation only CC

        Count "peers" (<6) and "children" (6-9-year-olds) as children for the purposes of conversation.

    2. child-adult conversation CA

        Include youths (>9) as adults for the purposes of conversation.

    3. adult-adult conversation AA

        Include youths (>9) as adults for the purposes of conversation. Moreover, if the child is not engaged in conversation, but both adult-adult conversation and child-child conversation are available to the child, code the adult-adult conversation.

Other

1. Sleep S

If the focal child is sleeping, code the other activities going on (that would have been potentially available to the child were s/he to be awake) and the people engaged in them, but do not code the child as having a role in them.

2. Eating E

Do not include here food preparation (which should be coded as "work"), but code this if the focal child (or a potentially available partner) is eating food or engaging in related meal-time activities.

3. Bodily functions B

Code this if the focal child is getting or being dressed, using the toilet, being washed/bathed. Giving a child medicine, putting a band-aid on, etc. Note, however, that if another person is being bathed, etc., and the focal child is watching or participating in this activity, code as "Work" and give the focal child and all participants roles as would normally be the case

4. Idle, hanging out I

No focus of attention on any activity--gazing into space, walking round kicking dirt, etc. Also code transition times if the child is not on his/her way to do a new activity--in which case code the activity the child is going to. However, if the child is simply unfocused, taking a time-out from the previous activity and has not yet fixed on a new one, you may code as "idle/hanging out."

5. Other or Uncodable O

Anything that cannot be fitted into any other activity, activities that cannot be made sense of, or cases in which the focal child has been "lost" (for example, when following him/her by car, and can't tell what's happening) or when the child is engaging you at the window. In this case, simply code 5 under "other" and write notes on why it was uncodable.

6. Religious/spiritual R

Participating in any religious or spiritual ritual, for example prayers, ancestor-related rituals.

<div align="center">ROLES, INITIATIONS, AND PARTNERS</div>

FOCAL CHILD'S ROLE

If the role changes over the course of the activity, and each constitutes a "legitimate" role (i.e., not momentary) choose in the order (1, 2, or 3) before 4, and these before 5 or 6.

0. no role 0

Activity simply available to the child, who has no part in it.

1. trying to manage or direct the activity M

Look for evidence of <u>actively</u> trying to keep an activity going or impel it in a certain direction. Note: this is more than simply initiating the activity, and it's more than just participating in it; there must be evidence of trying to keep it going or change it in some clear way. Look for evidence of the person occupying this role trying to overcome the inertia of the person being managed.

2. trying to prevent, discontinue, or avoid an activity A

The opposite of 1, above--<u>actively</u> trying to stop an activity or prevent it from happening, or trying not to engage in an activity. If there is evidence of trying to direct it in some way (rather than stop it altogether), code 1.

3. facilitating F

Look for evidence that the person being coded is trying to make it easier for the other participant (whether focal child or other person) to be actively involved in the activity, helping him or her to hold a knife, pushing on the swing set, etc. Look for evidence that the person occupying this role is altering the activity or altering the situation in such a way so as to make possible what otherwise would be difficult or not be possible at all for the person being helped to do alone. (For example, pulling up a chair to allow a child to observe, encouraging the child to bring up the chair to allow her to see, bringing the mortar and pestle down to the child's level, etc.) The person being helped <u>must</u> be actively involved, for person being coded to be coded as facilitating.

4. participating P

There must be evidence of active involvement in the activity--more than observing it. If watching a performance, look for singing along, answering the performer's questions, etc.

5. observing Ob

A less active type of participation--watching or listening to an activity which is being done by a partner who is <u>clearly aware</u> of child's presence or is <u>modifying</u> in some way the activity to allow the child to observe. This degree of modifying on the part of the partner does <u>not</u> count as facilitation. Look for evidence that the person engaged in the activity is open to the child's participation (at least as an observer).

6. eavesdropping E

Watching or listening to an activity which is being done by a partner who is either <u>unaware</u> of the child's presence and is in no way modifying the activity. If the partner is clearly modifying the activity to allow the child to see or listen, code the child as "observing". Examples of watching or listening as an eavesdropper include watching TV, listening to the radio, or watching some spectator sport.

WHO INITIATED THE ACTIVITY?

The activity in question is the one that is currently being coded--if a lesson is embedded within play, code the person who initiated the lesson, not the play. If the activity continues over several "windows" continue to code the original initiator <u>unless</u> the child moves away from the activity for an appreciable time (sufficient for the intervening activity to be counted as a focused activity). When the child returns to the former activity you need to make a new decision about who initiated it--it could be the original initiator (who is still involved) or the child could now constitute the initiator.

0.   unknown ?
1.   target child C
2.   child with other person (include person's ID, for example C + M (for child + mother, or 2-1121 for child with nuclear adult female single person) C + [part]
3.   other person (include person's ID) [part] (put partner's code)

WHO INITIATED CHILD'S INVOLVEMENT?

as for initiator of activity
0. unknown ?
1. target child C
2. child with other person (include person's ID) C + [part]
3. other person (include person's ID) [part]

PARTNERS IN ACTIVITY WITH FOCAL CHILD

Partners are people who are actively engaged in the activity that the focal child is engaged in. A person can be involved for only a portion of the window to be counted as a partner. For example, a sibling who contributes to an interpersonal lesson after it began can be counted as a partner. Coding is slightly different when the focal child's role is "eavesdropping" in which case code the partners as those who are engaged in the activity being eavesdropped on, their roles in that activity, etc. If one or more people are also eavesdropping and are doing so <u>in conjuction with</u> the focal child (that is, it is clear that the group or dyad members are mutually involved in this activity), they may also be coded as the focal child's partners. **See over page for relevant letter codes**

1. related nuclear
        Count mother, father, siblings, and include surrogate nuclear family here.
2. related non-nuclear
        Grandparents, cousins, uncles/aunts, and people who are considered to occupy a "related" position in the family. If uncertain, ask an informant.
3. non-related
        Anybody else.

<u>cross with</u>
1. adult (16 and above)
2. youth (10-16)
3. child (6-9)
4. peer (1 1/2 -5)
5. infant (0- 1 1/2)
        <u>cross with</u>
        1. male
        2. female
        3. mixed gender
                Only to be used in cases when partners of different genders are occupying precisely the same role and are being coded together (see next section).
                <u>cross with</u>
                1. single
                2. 2 or more (if 2 or more people of same age occupying same role as child).

LETTER CODES FOR PARTNERS

Members of nuclear related
Father F; Mother M; Brother (provide age) B [+age]; Sister S [+age]

Members of non-nuclear related
Grandfather on Father's side FF; Granfather on Mother's side MF;
Grandmother on Father's side MF; Granmother on Mother's side MM;
Uncle Un; Aunt Au; Cousin, male Csm [+age]; Cousin, female Csf [+age]

Non-related people
Adult (male, female) (16 and above) A (m) or A (f)
Youth (male, female) (10-16) Y (m) or Y (f)
Child (male, female) (6-9) Ch (m) or Ch (f)
Peer (male, female) (1.5-5) P (m) or P (f)
Infant (male, female) (0-1.5) I (m) or I (f)

If a group of same age partners, signify with a G in front. If a group of males, signify with (m), if a group of females, with a (f), and if a group of mixed gender, with a (mf). So, a group of adult males would be GA(m); a group of female children GCh(f); and a mixed group of peers GP(mf).

PARTNER'S ROLE
As for child's role, except no 0.

PARTNER'S OTHER ACTIVITY
0. no other focused activity No
1. yes Yes
    Partner is simultaneously dividing attention between target child and someone or something else. The partner may be shifting focus back and forth between two or more activities, or simultaneously engaged in two or more activities.

PARTNERS POTENTIALLY AVAILABLE
Within easy eye or ear-shot and within child's social space. Social space is determined by a sense that the child could, if he or she wanted to, engage that person; it could be a teacher on the other side of a room, it could be a child working within ear-shot. The person must be within easy eye- or ear-shot. To code this requires attending to what the focal child is focused on. For example, if the focal child is looking around a classroom or playground, and people are spread throughout, the social space is necessarily much larger than if the child is intently focused on one particular thing. Note that if the people around are strangers to the child, look for evidence of any prior indication that the child considered them to be available as partners (had previously engaged them in some way) before coding them as available.

Need to also focus on what the other people in the environment are doing, to ascertain whether they are behaving in some way that appears to make them available to the child. For example, a teacher may be aware of what is going on in the classroom or on the playground and would be ready to engage the child or intervene in some activity even if she is not particularly close to the child and the child does not appear aware of her presence. Similarly, other children in the classroom may be walking by the focal child, looking at what he is doing, and thereby could be coded as being in the child's social space, even if the child does not engage them.

Note that this code is designed to pick up people who could be partners of this child during this window but who are not in fact taking on that role during the window. Do NOT code the observer as potentially available, despite all indications to the contrary.
1. adult
    1. one 2. two 3. three 4. four 5. five or more
2. youth (as above)
3. child (as above)
4. peer (as above)
5. infant (as above)

LOCATION

1. own environs Own

   In own home, car, or yard, or in any other place that is the private domain of the child's family.

2. other's environs Oth

   The private domain of another individual, family, or organization (except school--see below). "Private" means not accessible to the public for use or visit without some form of permission. Family day care should be coded here, but if the child is in family day care write this in the field notes.

3. school S

   Any institutional place that has been explicitly set up for school-related purposes, whether public or private.

4. public space P

   Any area accessible to the public without some form of permission, or to which entry is possible by payment.

   cross with

   0. not modified for child's care or entertainment no
   1. modified for child's care or entertainment mod

      Location modified for the child, either in its entirety (building or room designed for the child, with children's pictures, things at child's level, etc.) or the part of the area which the child is using--sitting in a high chair, on a swing set, etc.

MOTHER'S LOCATION

0. not within hailing range no
1. within hailing range yes

   Could be called for. Note that this distance is further than "available".

FATHER'S LOCATION

0. not within hailing range no
1. within hailing range yes

   Could be called for. Note that this distance is further than "available".

WEATHER AND APPROXIMATE TEMPERATURE (in Fahrenheit)

1. sunny
2. cloudy
3. rainy
4. snow/ice
5. dark

DAY

1. Monday
2. Tuesday
3. Wednesday
4. Thursday
5. Friday
6. Saturday
7. Sunday

ACTIVITIES

Lessons
1. academic A
2. interpersonal I
3. skill/nature S/N
4. religious spiritual R

Work
1. transparent or no technology
    1. child-modified Tc
    2. adult Ta
    3. not applicable N/A
2. opaque technology
    1. child-modified Oc
    2. adult Oa

Play. exploration and entertainment
1. pretend/role play
    1. generic pretend and imaginary Pg
    2. emulation of adult roles Pem
2. non-pretend play and exploration
    1. with academic object AC
    2. with child-oriented (non-academic) object CO
    3. with adult-oriented object AD
    4. with natural object NAT
    5. with no object NO
3. spectator of performance
    1. academic Sac   4. TV acad TVac
    2. child-oriented Sch   5. TV child TVch
    3. adult-oriented Sad   6. TV adult TVad

Conversation
    1. child-child (<10) CC
    2. child-adult (>9) CA
    3. adult-adult (>9) AA

Other
    1. Sleep S
    2. Eating E
    3. Bodily functions B
    4. Idle/hanging out I
    5. Other O
    6. Religious/spiritual R

WEATHER (Include approximate temperature, in F)
1. sunny S
2. cloudy C
3. rainy R
4. snow/ice SN
5. dark D

DAY
1. Monday M
2. Tuesday Tu
3. Wednesday W
4. Thursday Th
5. Friday F
6. Saturday Sa
7. Sunday Su

FOCAL CHILD'S ROLE
0. no role 0
1. trying to manage or direct the activity M
2. trying to prevent, discontinue, or avoid an activity A
3. facilitating F
4. participating P
5. observing Ob
6. eavesdropping E

WHO INITIATED THE ACTIVITY?
0. unknown ?
1. target child C
2. child with other person (include partner's ID) C+part
3. other person (include partner's ID) part [put partner]

WHO INITIATED CHILD'S INVOLVEMENT?
0. unknown ?
1. target child C
2. child with other person (include partner's ID) C+part
3. other person (include partner's ID) part

PARTNERS IN ACTIVITY WITH TARGET CHILD
1. related nuclear   Can use: F M FF FM MF MM (parents/grandps)
2. related non-nuclear   B (age) S (age) (siblings)
3. non-related   Un Au Cs (m age) Cs (f age) (other rels)
cross with
    1. adult (16 and above)   A (m) A (f)
    2. youth (10-16)   Y (m) Y (f)
    3. child (6-9)   Ch (m) Ch (f)
    4. peer (1 1/2 -5)   P (m) P (f)
    5. infant (0- ! 1/2)   I (m) I (f)
    cross with
    1. male   GA (m) GA (f) GA (mf) (group of adults)
    2. female   GY (m) GY (f) GY (mf) (group of youths)
    3. mixed gender   GC (m) GC (f) GC (mf) (group of children)
    cross with   GP (m) GP (f) GP (mf) (group of peers)
    1. single   GI (m) GI (f) GI (mf) (group of infants)
    2. 2 or more
PARTNER'S ROLE
[as for child's role, except no 0]

PARTNER'S OTHER ACTIVITY
0. no other focused activity No
1. yes Yes

PARTNERS POTENTIALLY AVAILABLE
1. adult [code 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5+]
2. youth [code 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5+]
3. child [code 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5+]
4. peer [code 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5+]
5. infant [code 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5+]

LOCATION
1. own environs Own
2. other's environs Oth
3. school S
4. public space P
cross with
    0. not modified for child's care or entertainment no
    1. modified for child's care or entertainment mod

MOTHER'S LOCATION
0. not within hailing range no
1. within hailing range yes

FATHER'S LOCATION
0. not within hailing range no
1. within hailing range yes