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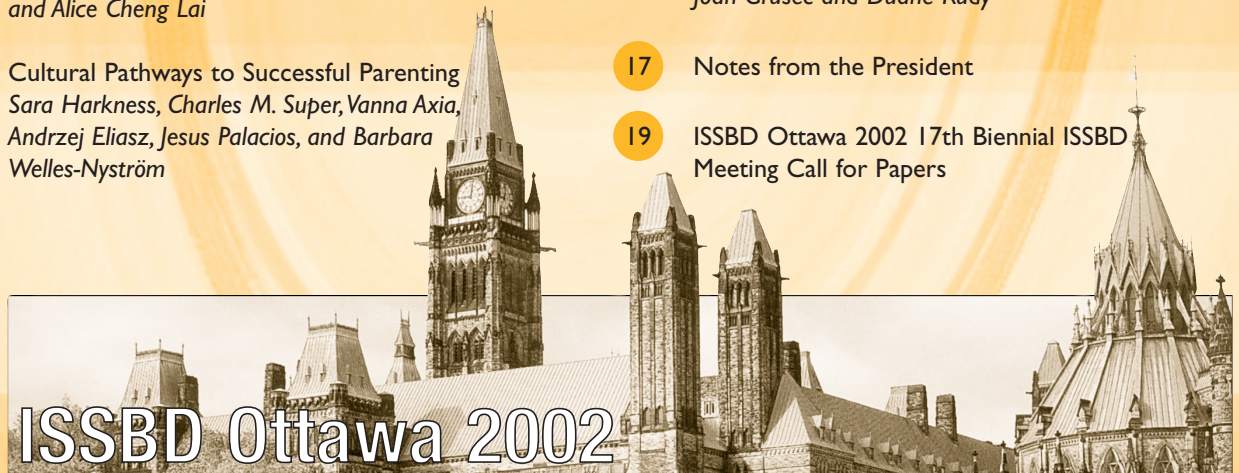
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Contents

ISSBD SPECIAL SECTION CULTURE AND PARENTING

Page

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1 Culture and Parenting: An Overview
<i>Joan G. Miller and Xinyin Chen</i></p> <p>1 Some Questions for a Science of "Culture and Parenting" (...but certainly not all)
<i>Marc H. Bornstein</i></p> <p>4 The Rise and Fall of Children's Communal Sleeping in Israeli Kibbutzim: An Experiment in Nature and Implications for Parenting
<i>Abraham Sagi and Ora Aviezer</i></p> <p>7 Parenting in Mainland China: Culture, Ideology, and Policy
<i>David Y.F. Ho, Si-qing Peng and Alice Cheng Lai</i></p> <p>9 Cultural Pathways to Successful Parenting
<i>Sara Harkness, Charles M. Super, Yanna Axia, Andrzej Elias, Jesus Palacios, and Barbara Welles-Nyström</i></p> | <p>13 Commentary: Culture and Parenting: Cross-Cutting Issues
<i>Jacqueline Goodnow</i></p> <p>14 Commentary: Culture and Parenting: Beyond Description of Alternative Beliefs and Practices
<i>T.S. Saraswathi</i></p> <p>15 Commentary: No Parenting Independent of Culture
<i>Lothar Krappmann</i></p> <p>16 Commentary: Culture and Parenting: Expanded Horizons
<i>Joan Grusec and Duane Rudy</i></p> <p>17 Notes from the President</p> <p>19 ISSBD Ottawa 2002 17th Biennial ISSBD Meeting Call for Papers</p> |
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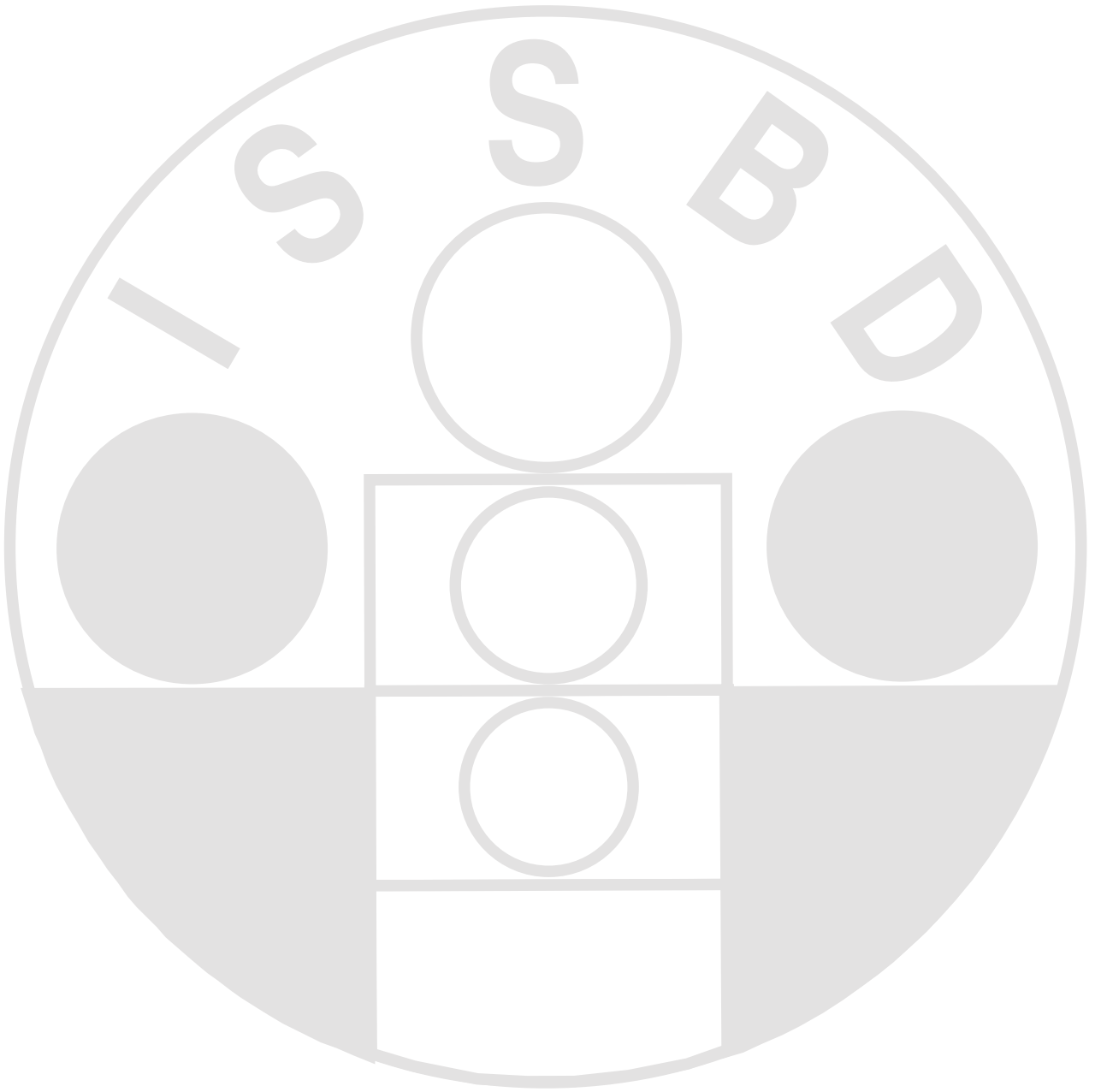
17TH BIENNIAL ISSBD MEETING CALL FOR PAPERS

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Culture and Parenting

An Overview

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The topic of culture and parenting holds interest on many different levels. Parenting represents both a universal, if not taken for granted, feature of everyday family life and of individual autobiographical experience, even as it also varies markedly across different cultural, social, and historical contexts. Implicated in processes of psychological development and intergenerational influence, parenting is fundamental to human survival as well as to processes of cultural transmission and change.

Adopting a socio-culturally and historically situated perspective in examining the nature and consequences of parenting, the essays in the present Special Section address theoretical issues that are central to life span human development. The essays provide insight into the contexts of human development, in highlighting the need to understand the impact on parenting of cultural beliefs and practices, socio-political and demographic forces, globalization, and cohort-related historical shifts. They also raise central questions regarding the nature of socialization and of developmental change. Consideration is given to the degree to which socialization involves processes that are deliberate and overt as compared with processes that are unplanned and implicit, and to respects in which socialization processes within the family and larger community both embody and function to communicate core cultural beliefs and values. In examining child outcomes across cultural settings and over historical time, the essays also raise critical questions concerning the degree to which development is characterized by plasticity versus is constrained by features linked to an assumed universal human nature. Finally, in terms of implications for social policy, attention is given to the conditions which give rise both to adaptive and maladaptive parenting outcomes and to the role of culture in defining what constitutes successful parenting.

The Special Section includes authors and commentators whose own programs of research have centered on questions involving the nature and consequences of parenting. The contributors forward global perspectives on parenting that take into account macro processes, while retaining an attention to everyday cultural meanings and practices that capture the subtleties of local outlooks.



Some Questions for a Science of “Culture and Parenting”

(...but certainly not all)

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INTRODUCTION

Each day more than three-quarters of a million adults around the world become new parents; *that many?*

What would a science of *culture and parenting* look like? What are the questions which culture and parenting scientists would most like to have answered? What would such a science contribute to cultural studies? to parenting studies? Reciprocally, what disciplines would culture and parenting scientists represent? Where in the world would they come from? How would contributions to culture and parenting be made? How would the consumers of theory and research in culture and parenting evaluate the theoretical import of the work? its empirical value? its practical worth? Has culture and parenting equally as much to do with parenting as with culture?

Culture

Why a science of “culture and parenting”? Aren’t we perennially curious about parenting in cultures not our own? Who normatively takes responsibility for parenting in a culture? How does that “who” vary with culture? How do parents in different cultures conceive of parenting? of childhood? How does culture shape the expression of parenting? when to parent? the meaning of parenting? responses to parenting? How do cultures contrast in the competencies parents promote in children? in the paths parents follow to instill in children the desire for achieving goals? in the developmental timetables parents wish their children to meet? Aren’t cross-cultural descriptions necessary



to capture the most comprehensive view of parenting? Can parenting in any one culture be considered “normative”? Are not cross-cultural studies critical to establishing realistic and valid norms for parenting? Is it not the case that awareness of alternative modes of parenting enhances our understanding of the nature of our own parenting? Won’t a science of culture and parenting furnish a check against ethnocentric worldviews of parenting?

Furthermore, doesn’t it take crossing cultures to understand forces that determine the nature and effects of parenting? Isn’t a cross-cultural approach critical to parsing parenting that is culture-dependent from parenting that may transcend culture? Aren’t cultural studies requisite to providing natural tests of circumstances that unconfound variables thought to influence parenting, but which are compromised in monocultural investigation?

Parenting

Isn’t our understanding of parenting limited by the fact that only a small number of parents from a small number of cultures have ever been studied? that only a smaller number of researchers from a much smaller number of cultures have ever studied parenting? that the parenting literature is only available to a minute number of parents in different cultures?

Who, other than parents generically construed, are responsible for children and supply their experiences? Who, other than parents, co-construct children’s environments? Who else but parents normally prepare children for the physical, psychosocial, and economic environments and cultures in which they grow and develop? Are not parents the “final common pathway” to childhood oversight and caregiving, adjustment, and success?

What have theories in psychology (psychoanalysis, personality theory, and behavior genetics, for example) to contribute to culture and parenting? How do cross-cultural studies of caregiving challenge theories of parenting? How do cross-cultural psychologists and cultural psychologists variously construct “culture and parenting”? How can culture and parenting scientists harmonize the cross-culturalist’s compelling motive to investigate phenomena within the context of existing knowledge with the cultural psychologist’s motive to operate within the worldviews of particular cultures?

Children construct parents, as personality characteristics contribute to parenting, but don’t ecology and culture contribute in a major way? How do parents’ beliefs and behaviors reflect the culture in which they grew up or now live? Are parents equally so influenced across cultures? What are the ways in which cultural traditions influence parenting?

Is the goal of culture and parenting studies to identify monolithically species-general phenomena in parenting? universal, culture-free parenting? culture-specific idiosyncrasies? individual variability? How else, but with cross-cultural study, can culture and parenting scientists define species-typical parenting behaviors and parent-provided environments? What are the universal goals that parents wish for themselves? for their children? What are the culture-specific goals? Does being a parent in a given culture in any way guarantee that one’s parenting represents that culture? or translates into shared parenting perspectives or

practices? How can the tensions between the universal and the specific in parenting be reconciled?

What is the composition of parenting? How varied are the contents of parent-child interactions? infinitely so? so much that culture and parenting scientists cannot hope to capture their richness and variety? Are some parenting activities compulsory, in the sense that parents in all cultures must execute them? Would they be genetic in origin? Selected for in evolution? Are some discretionary, in the sense that child survival does not depend on them, although the quality of child life and the child’s preparedness for maturity may? Is there less cultural variation in compulsory and more in discretionary parenting?

Does culture and parenting expect consistent culture profiles? Are parents in different cultures more or less likely to exhibit one or another parenting belief? behavior? Why do parents in one or another culture adhere more or less to a belief? engage more or less in some behavior? Because the same parenting behaviors can have the same or different outcomes depending on the style, isn’t it critical to assess perception, practice, and style in different cultures? How does the symmetry of parent-child contributions to mutual interactions vary across cultures?

What functions do parents’ beliefs serve? Do they generate parenting behaviors? mediate their effectiveness?

affect parents’ sense of self? What functions do parents’ behaviors serve? How do these functions vary with culture? How else but through parental beliefs and behaviors is the transmission of culture effected? Do parental beliefs or behaviors equivalently affect child competencies in different cultures? Are the effects of parenting facilitated in some cultures relative to others? If so, why? How closely correspondent

are parents’ beliefs and behaviors? Are they more so in one culture than another? If so, why?

Is the structure of parenting beliefs or behaviors in different cultures unidimensional or multidimensional? Is there a universal “good enough,” “sensitive,” “warm,” or “adequate” parent? Would s/he be the same in all cultures? Is parenting “trait-like”? Can a tight organization of parenting beliefs or behaviors co-exist with cultural variation? Does low cross-cultural coherence in parenting suggest independence, plasticity, and flexibility?

Are relationships between parents and children generalized, or are they culturally specific? Does the overall level of parenting affect children’s overall level of functioning? Or, are parent-child associations particular to culture? If parent-child association is strong across cultures, is there still room for cultural variation? Does low parent-child correspondence across cultures suggest independence, plasticity, and flexibility in the organization of parent-child behavior generally?

Development

Are principles and pathways of development? the mechanisms of action? the roles of parenting beliefs? and behaviors? similar or different over the course of child development in different cultures? How do parental beliefs articulate with beliefs of the larger culture on the one hand and interpret children’s behavior or development on the other? Do parenting beliefs and behaviors vary by culture with child age or stage?

A science of culture and parenting furnishes a check against ethnocentric world views of parenting



METHODS

The Participants

Do culture and parenting scientists need to study parenting in every culture? If they cannot expect, or cannot afford, the comprehensive strategy, how should they sample? Settle for samples of convenience ... even if they're not really so convenient? What would constitute adequate sampling to pin down "universals" of parenting? What would culture and parenting scientists need to do, and where would they need to go, to find exceptions? Is the culture and parenting enterprise compromised because urbanization, modernization, and Westernization have aggregated to erode cultural traditions? because human cultures are "disappearing" in the age of mass media and cultural homogenization? Do culture and parenting scientists settle for knowing nothing about some cultures because they are difficult to access? resistant to study? Is the science of culture and parenting limited because most cultures that are available for comparison are more similar than different? If parenting varies pervasively or even marginally in available cultures, does that not underscore the significance of cultural influence on parenting?

Which parents qualify for study in culture and parenting? Are biological or adoptive parents the main participants of interest? Are siblings, grandparents, or other familial caregivers not equally important? What about nonfamilial caregivers—adults or peers—in the child's life? Can culture and parenting scientists continue the fiction of parents = mothers? Don't culture and parenting scientists need to determine the degree to which a parent endorses and manifests parenting in the tradition of the culture to know the parent's culture as well as the degree of the parent's identification with the culture?

What of the problem of matching parents across cultures? Is controlling for education? SES? or like factors feasible across cultures? Which covariates should culture and parenting scientists take into account? Can they equate parenting so that *ceteris paribus* parenting is what they study? Is covariation always necessary? What are the circumstances where culture and parenting scientists want to allow significant between-group differences freedom to vary because they are, not nuisance variables, but real descriptors of parenting cultures? Don't culture and parenting scientists also need to account regularly for possible child influences on parents?

Designs in Culture and Parenting

Can culture and parenting much longer settle for univariate, cross-sectional, two-culture comparisons? How else but with multivariate studies can culture and parenting capture the true breadth of individual variation in parenting? How else but with longitudinal study to expose developmental processes? How else but with multiple cultures to know true cultural variation? In the end, doesn't real progress in culture and parenting depend on multivariate longitudinal multicultural studies?

What new designs in culture and parenting are on the horizon? Should culture and parenting scientists not look to within- in addition to between-culture comparisons? What are the special implications of acculturation for culture and parenting? How do parental beliefs and behaviors migrate from culture of origin to culture of destiny? Are they on the same temporal track? Shouldn't culture and parenting scien-

tists show the parenting of parents in a culture to other parents in the same culture for assessment? Shouldn't they show the parenting of parents in one culture to parents in other cultures for assessment? Don't culture and parenting scientists need to distinguish and study both stability of individual differences in parenting as well as continuity in group mean level of parenting through time ... and across culture? Isn't the most valuable approach to study beliefs and behaviors of children and their parents, and then study the same children again before and after they become parents themselves in different cultures?

Which Procedures

How is parenting operationalized? (Can it be?) What aspect of parenting should culture and parenting scientists measure? beliefs? micro-level behaviors? macro-level dyads? How should they solve the multiple problems of linguistic and conceptual equivalence of beliefs and behaviors across cultures? Even if culture and parenting scientists adjust the language and conceptions of their measures of parenting, could there still be inherent ethnocentric biases in the study of parenting?

How is culture operationalized? (After all these years since Tylor, should we even go there?) Isn't the central concept of culture that different peoples possess different beliefs as well as behave in different ways with respect to childrearing? Isn't "culture" the unique constellation of parenting beliefs and behaviors that maintain from generation to generation? Is it not parents in one generation that inculcate and transmit culture to the next generation?

How feasible are other possible procedures? Is it possible to study electrophysiological functions in parents in different cultures? endocrinological processes of parenting around the planet? a possible genetics of parenting on a worldwide scale? Shall culture and parenting scientists observe parents under natural and unobtrusive conditions, or in controlled laboratory-based assessments? How do "homes" differ in different cultures? Can they find laboratories in different cultures? How does parental reactivity to observation vary in different cultures?

Do observation, self-report, and psychophysiology of parenting play themselves out equivalently in different cultures? How do culture and parenting scientists reconcile the apparent variance between parental attitudes and actions? Do they weight one more than the other? Behaviors have biological substrates, but what are they in parenting? how closely tied are biology and parenting? Might there be closer ties between biology and beliefs or between biology and behaviors in one or another culture?

How can culture and parenting scientists combine an intimate knowledge of each culture they study with the need to conduct meaningful multicultural studies?

RESULTS

Do parents in different cultures create shared life experiences for children, or are parent-provided experiences culturally unique? How does the answer vary with level of analysis? How do culture and parenting scientists represent patterns of similarities and differences in parenting across cultures without sacrificing the unique meaning of each? How can culture and parenting scientists best represent the fact that the same beliefs or behaviors have the same or

different meanings across cultures? that different beliefs or behaviors have the same or different meanings across cultures? Don't we wish they had more to say?

DISCUSSION

Wither *culture and parenting*? What do people in the science want to know? What piques outsiders' interests? What constitute the compelling but quotidian problems of culture and parenting?

Are not parenting inquiries that cross cultures critical to exploring cultural uniformity versus diversity? What might account for parents in different cultures believing or behaving in *similar* ways? Is it possible that a common core of family experiences underwrites shared parenting? Or, that common beliefs and/or behaviors in parenting reflect factors indigenous to children and their biology? Or, perhaps common characteristics are instinctual to a parenting "stage" in the human life cycle—it being in the nature of being a parent to optimize the development and probability of success of one's offspring, possibly to ensure the success of one's own genes? Or, that shared economic or ecological factors shape parents to think or act in similar ways?

What accounts for attitudes and actions of parents that *differ* across cultures, that are culturally specific? Could it be that certain unique biological characteristics of children promote parental attitudes and activities that vary across cultures? Or, might adults in different cultures parent differently on account of their own differing biological characteristics? Or, might ecological or economic conditions specific to different cultures promote specific parental attitudes and actions, ones differentially geared to optimize adjustment and adaptation in offspring to the circumstances of the local situation? As neither parent nor child develops in a vacuum, but both develop in culture, how does the local or larger culture articulate with the home environment in terms of parental beliefs? behaviors?

How can culture and parenting scientists distinguish among these different possible causes of parenting similarities and of parenting differences across cultures?

Can culture and parenting scientists continue to afford to let their paradigms be dominated by beliefs and behaviors that are parochially Western? If the goal of studying human parenting is to understand its meaning, don't culture and parenting scientists need to study parent meaning-making across cultures? Isn't culture the prime context for determining associations between parenting activity and parenting meaning? And isn't parenting in culture the prime situation for examining how the meanings of parenting are shaped and acquired? How does meaning develop if not (largely or exclusively) through parenting in culture? What about emerging findings that one culture's engaging in one kind of parenting is adaptive, whereas in another culture the self-same parenting is maladaptive?

Limitations of this Study

Aren't there always? Isn't it always the case in science that answering some questions leads to posing new questions? Is it reasonable to expect one brief paper to raise all the pertinent questions ... much less provide answers?

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The Rise and Fall of Children's Communal Sleeping in Israeli Kibbutzim: An Experiment in Nature and Implications for Parenting

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The focus of this target article is on a unique "experiment in nature" that had taken place for approximately 60-70 years in Israeli kibbutzim, namely, collective upbringing of children. Its most distinctive characteristic was the practice of children's sleeping together in children's houses away from their parents. This child-rearing practice involved normal children of middle class families being raised in institution-like conditions that are typically found in services for multi-problem families and low SES populations. It thus offered a unique opportunity for quasi-experimental observation of the impact of unusual child rearing conditions, without confounding it with SES. Over the past three decades we have been following the development of children who were sleeping together in children's houses away from their parents. We believe that the data from this "experiment in nature" provides exciting information about how natural manipulations that are culture-specific may contribute to our understanding of universal aspects of development and parenting.

The Israeli kibbutz is no longer new to sociological and psychological research. Its characteristics as a social experiment and as a natural child-rearing laboratory were first discussed by Beit-Hallahmi and Rabin (1977), and the setting has been used in previous studies of attachment (e.g., Aviezer, Sagi, Joels & Ziv, 1999; Aviezer, Van IJzendoorn, Sagi & Schuengel, 1994; Fox, 1977; Maccoby & Feldman, 1972; Sagi et al., 1995). In this article we argue that communal sleeping had evolved under special circumstances in the early days of kibbutzim in the 1920s-1930s, and that its eventual collapse, in the early 1990s, was inevitable. This



Kibbutz toddlers are having a meal in the children's house with their caregivers (metaplot).



claim will be supported by information from two sources: natural observations of daily practices in kibbutz upbringing and some attachment data.

We begin with a brief description of the kibbutz and its child care practices. Each kibbutz is a cooperative community with an average population of 400-900 people. All men and women members work for the kibbutz economy, and, in turn, are provided, by the community, with all their needs on an equal basis. Given that acceptance of new members is based on membership voting and based on kibbutz socio-economic organization, it is hard to assess socioeconomic status using the traditional indices. However, kibbutz members are customarily considered as being middle class.

All kibbutz mothers return to work approximately three months following the birth of their children and all infants are cared for in the children's house, which was typically comprised of a group of six infants cared for by two caregivers. The term children's house reflects the fact that, in the past, especially when communal sleeping was practiced, all children's daily needs were provided for there in much the same way as non-kibbutz children's needs are provided for at home. All children's houses are arranged such that there are convenient spaces for custodial functions, such as feeding, bathing and sleeping, and each child is provided with sufficient private space as well as with room for making contact with peers.

When communal sleeping was still in effect, children and infants spent all day at the children's house under the care of professional caregivers much like other daycare arrangements, while family time was exercised in the late afternoon and early evening when both parents tried to be fully available (Aviezer et al., 1994). At bedtime parents brought their children back to the children's house and put them to bed. Children then remained in the children's house under the care of a familiar caregiver or parent who was later replaced for the night by two unfamiliar watchwomen, whose assignment was based on weekly rotations that included all the women and who supervised the sleep of all kibbutz children under age 12.

Deep concern for the well being of kibbutz children has characterized the underlying thought and practices of collective education and was manifested in its excellent daycare system (Sagi & Koren-Karie, 1993). However, kibbutz founders instituted collective sleeping during a special period in the history of the kibbutz movement, when they were young, idealistic and radical pioneers. Their political aspirations dictated their settlement in remote locations, where they were constrained to cultivate barren land in a hostile environment. In these circumstances, the decision to raise children collectively contributed to the protection and well being of the young. Furthermore, living among peers from an early age was thought to present children with a supportive environment for dealing with sharing and consideration for others, which were perceived to be at the core of kibbutz life (Aviezer, et al., 1994).

Over the years, the belief in communal sleeping had eroded, as ideological identifications with the collective had weakened and familism, which was expressed by more intense parental involvement with the care of their children, became more dominant. Hence, communal sleeping had

lost its conventional status and was gradually perceived by more and more people as an obstacle for parents and children, as well as considered an interference in their relations. Moreover, many parents of communally sleeping children recognized that their children were fearful at the children's house and had a hard time separating from them for the night. Consequently, they were able to reorganize their care-giving strategies and, despite inherent conflicts with the prevailing norms, they were able to recruit compensating mechanisms, such as occasionally taking their children home or visiting the children's house frequently (Oppenheim, 1998). It is interesting to note that doubts about communal sleeping for children had been already voiced after Israel's War of Independence and this practice was completely abandoned during the 1991 Gulf War in which Israelis were faced with life threatening missile attacks. Thus, clearly parents no longer felt that communal sleeping contributed to the protection of their children.

The research presented next can be viewed as offering corroborating scientific documentation for independently occurring social processes. Our research program goes back to the 1970s and is still underway. Only major findings and

The belief in communal sleeping had ended, as ideological identifications with the collective had weakened

principal trends that emerged from our work are summarized here. We focus on infant attachment data, adult attachment data, and intergenerational transmission of attachment. We observed substantially higher rates of attachment insecurity among communally sleeping infants as compared to family sleeping kibbutz infants as well as normative non-kibbutz samples in Israel and worldwide (van IJzendoorn & Sagi, 1999). It was concluded that the responsibility for the higher rate of insecurity rested in the practice

of communal sleeping, because of the inconsistent responsiveness that was inherent in the day-to-day reality of communally sleeping infants. Clearly, these children's nighttime experiences were characterized by maternal inaccessibility and non-availability, combined with exposure to numerous unfamiliar adults who were naturally unable to respond promptly and sensitively to the children's needs.

Moreover, if the child-rearing ecology created by communal sleeping was problematic from an attachment perspective, then this should also be manifested in processes of attachment transmission from one generation to the next. Bowlby (1982) argued that parents' representations of their own past attachment experiences influence their parenting behaviors and the quality of their children's attachment to them. Sagi et al. (1997) found no difference in rates of autonomous attachment representations between mothers from collective sleeping and home sleeping kibbutzim. However, attachment transmission in dyads whose infants were sleeping communally was poorer compared to attachment transmission in dyads whose infants were sleeping at home. Thus, transmission of attachment across generations appears dependent upon the specific child-rearing arrangements and contextual factors, such as communal sleeping, and may override the influence of parents' attachment representations and their sensitive responsiveness. This finding highlights the limits of a context-free universal model of intergenerational transmission.

Though the findings of the study supported the contention that communal sleeping constituted a difficult child rearing ecology, they did not explicate the possible moderating effects that were involved in this practice. It was therefore necessary to further explore the dynamic aspects of attachment formation, i.e., the interaction between mothers and their infants. Aviezer et al. (1999) found that the vast majority of kibbutz mothers were sensitive when interacting with their infants and the emotional availability displayed in the interaction of these kibbutz dyads was rather high. Second, it was found that both autonomous representations in mothers as well as secure attachment in infants were associated with higher emotional availability in dyadic interaction. These findings support the assumption that attachment representations of mothers as well as attachment classification of infants are associated with mothers' and infants' experiences in ordinary interactions with each other. However, distinctive differences were found between dyads from communal sleeping and dyads from family sleeping, as only in family sleeping was higher maternal sensitivity associated with infant attachment security. Thus, these data indicate that reciprocal connectedness between representations of attachment and actual behavioral processes might be conditional on the ecological context of childcare, in which target relationships may be constrained by environmental factors that emanate from different levels of the social complex (Hinde, 1988).

However, as compelling as these findings and explanations appear to be, we cannot ignore another apparent fact in the above studies: About 50% of communally sleeping children were securely attached to their mothers in spite of the difficult circumstances provided by communal sleeping. Apparently, despite the disruption, the surrounding support network provided a secure base, which was adequate for some children. Such discontinuity between unfavorable rearing conditions and positive outcomes certainly needs to be studied further.

Unique child rearing characteristics that exist naturally only in some cultural settings may further clarify universal issues of parenting. As implied by the title of this article, communal sleeping is no longer practiced. As far as parenting is concerned, it is exactly the rise of such extreme child-rearing practices as well as their fall, which makes these processes universally important. It is clear that communal sleeping for infants and children presented kibbutz parents and children with obstacles to their relationships. It is also clear that overcoming these obstacles involved much striving, and ultimately was evidently insurmountable for some families, resulting in insecure attachment relationships for their infants. Although the only solution for families who were discontent with communal sleeping in the early days of kibbutzim was to leave the kibbutz, such sentiments served, however, as major motivations for social change that eventually resulted in the abandonment of this child rearing practice.

Furthermore, child rearing practices can be viewed as cultural products from which cultural values can be inferred. Thus, defining children's communal sleep as normative and functional for the upbringing of future kibbutz members indicates that it was represented as a social institution whose

value was derived from the culture-level's value system. However, in order that individuals will function effectively in social institutions, the priorities in a society need to consider the psychological dynamics of human nature and universal aspects of social interaction (Schwartz, 1994). It appears that, in the case of communal sleeping, the priorities of such social institutions complicated the fulfillment of people's deepest individual needs, such as caring for their young. Consequently, communal sleep was perhaps doomed from the outset, because it represented culture-level values that prevailed over individual-level values and ignored the psychological dynamics inherent in human nature and in universal aspects of social interaction. Hence the abandonment of collective sleeping as a normative child rearing practice in collective education was predestined and unavoidable, and it may even be surprising that it had not been abandoned sooner. The rise and fall of communal sleep demonstrates the limits of the adaptability of parents and children to inappropriate childcare arrangements.

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Parenting in Mainland China: Culture, Ideology, and Policy

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Parenting in contemporary mainland China demands urgent research attention for good reasons. First, it concerns how children are transformed into adults in the world's largest geopolitical community—also one with the longest unbroken cultural heritage. Second, radical ideology and policies have been introduced since the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1949, resulting in tumultuous social changes. Ideologically, inculcating socialist values is proclaimed the guiding principle for parenting. The one-child policy, enacted as a legislative decree in 1971, amounts to social engineering of such radical nature and unprecedented magnitude that the world has never before seen and is unprepared for it. The open-door policy opens the door to Western influence which, like a tidal wave, is bound to have psychosocial consequences of gigantic proportions. What is the impact of ideology and policies on parenting?

A Review of the Evidence

In a previous review of the extant literature, Ho (1989) found a remarkable continuity with the traditional pattern of parenting, particularly with respect to the care of infants and young children, and the emphasis given to impulse control, obedience, moral training, and academic achievement (excepting the years during the Great Cultural Revolution). However, discontinuities in socialization were also evident. Public educational institutions and peer relations played a greater role in socialization beginning early in life, resulting from the massive placement of young children in nurseries and kindergartens. Breaking with the past was pronounced as the official ideology. The national purpose was to translate socialist values into educational practice, not just for children but also for adults; thus, emphasis was placed on socialization beyond childhood as well. Uniformity of views on the ideals of socialization was officially maintained throughout the country. However, Ho suggested that the goal of translating these ideals into practice was far from being realized, especially in rural areas. Significant urban-rural differences in parenting, as in other aspects of social life, remained. But there was no solid evidence to permit drawing a conclusion about differences in personality development between only and nononly children.

Since then, more empirical research has been conducted. Increasingly, reports of collaborative research between Chinese and foreign researchers are being published in international journals. Lau, Lew, Hau, Cheung, and Berndt (1990) found that, for both fathers and mothers, greater perceived parental dominating control was related to less perceived parental warmth, and greater parental warmth and less parental control were related to greater perceived family harmony. Chen and Rubin (1994) found that parents with higher educational and occupational levels reported greater acceptance of the child and were more likely to use inductive reasoning. Parental educational level and occupational status were positively associated with indices of social and school adjustment (e.g., peer acceptance and academic achievement) and negatively with externalizing problems (e.g., aggression and disruption). These results are in concert with those reported in the West. In contrast, family capital resources (including income and housing conditions) were positively associated with social and behavioral problems. This result is consistent with the report by Chen, Zhu, Xu, Jing, and Xiang (1990) that children from poor families were maturer in judging social and moral issues than those from richer families. It appears, however, contrary to typical findings in Western societies. Educational and occupational status, it should be noted, are not good indicators of economic status in the PRC. Much publicity has

Radical ideology and policies have been introduced since the founding of the People's Republic of China

been given to the arrogance, immorality, and even criminal behavior of children of high-level cadres ("The Princely Gangs")—a pattern that is continuous with the traditional corruptibility of children from rich families.

A cross-cultural study (Rao & McHale, 2000) reported that, among both Chinese and Indian mothers, valuing filial piety was associated with authoritarian parenting, whereas valuing socioemotional development was associated with authoritative parenting. Studies comparing mainland China and other Chinese communities are rare, but are important to gaining a better knowledge of variation across geographical locations. Berndt, Cheung, Lau, Hau, and Lew (1993) compared perceptions of parenting in three Chinese societies, mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. They reported that, not surprisingly, mothers were generally perceived as warmer and less controlling than fathers. Daughters perceived their fathers as warmer and as less controlling than did sons. Also, Hong Kong adults perceived both parents as less warm and more controlling than adults from the other two communities. This result is consistent with that of a more recent study: Lai, Zhang, and Wang (2000) reported that mothers in Beijing, in comparison with mothers in Hong Kong, were less controlling and less authoritarian in disciplinary style, but were more inclined to show affection and to emphasize their children's achievement.

Only children appear to enjoy advantages in environmental and health conditions, and tend to have broader interests, better cognitive development, and higher intellectual ability than children with siblings (Rosenberg & Jing, 1996). However, results in the areas of personality and social functioning have been rather inconsistent. Chen, Rubin, and Li (1994) reported no significant differences between urban only and nononly children in social behavior, peer relationships, school-related social competence, and

academic achievement. Falbo and Poston (1993) found that, where differences were present, only children were taller and weighed more than others and were most likely to outscore others in verbal tests. Very few only-child effects were found in personality evaluations. This study, based on representative samples of 1,000 schoolchildren from four provinces, is comprehensive and methodologically rigorous. Hence more weight may be given to its findings.

From a methodological point of view, it is important to consider interaction effects between the rural-urban and only-nononly factors. In terms of demographics, only children come disproportionately from urban areas. Because of large rural-urban differences, as a group only children would have larger size, higher academic skills, and less desirable personalities (lacking in traditional virtues such as selflessness and enthusiasm for manual labor; Falbo & Poston, 1993). This may contribute to the stereotype of only children, held by naive observers, failing to consider rural-urban differences. That is, rural-urban differences may have been mistaken to be only-child effects. A second methodological point is that extensive nursery and school experiences may modify home influences. A third point, most important to be considered, is that family size has been reduced drastically. This means that only-child effects are restricted to those derived from comparisons between only children and those who have very few siblings. So, instead of talking about only-child effects, we should be addressing the effects of reduced family size, which are more likely to be pronounced. The alarmist view is that China is producing a generation of "little emperors"—nononly children included.

Investigative Research

Unfortunately, most research studies conducted have been synchronic rather than diachronic. To assess changes through time, we have conducted investigative research whenever opportunities arise for us to search for answers to intriguing questions about parenting in the PRC. Described by Ho, Chan, and Chau (2000), investigative research relies primarily on disciplined, naturalistic, and in-depth observations over prolonged periods in diverse settings. This method has the important advantage of allowing the investigator to come close to the phenomenon under investigation.

What stands out from our investigative research is that ideology pales in comparison with changing socioeconomic realities in determining parental attitudes and behavior. Tradition has survived the onslaught of radical ideology, but will be tested to the limit in the face of changing socioeconomic realities, stemming from both internal and external forces at work. The most potent of internal forces stems from structural changes in population consequential to the one-child policy. External forces come from increasing exposure to the outside world, an unavoidable consequence of the open-door policy. Parents are responding to these forces. Their interest in popular psychology concerning child rearing and development reaches a level unheard of in the past. Children are now valued, even pampered, by their parents and grandparents more so than ever before. Chinese society is showing signs of becoming less age centered and more child centered. Our observation is that child centeredness leads to the ascendancy of individualism: placing greater value on personal autonomy and self-interests. In turn, this will add momentum to cultural change.

Increasingly, parents are placing emphasis on the development of competence. In particular, academic success reigns supreme in the scale of parental values. A common belief is that, to ensure success, it is vital to start early by getting the child admitted into a prestigious kindergarten or even nursery school. Some mothers even practice antenatal training in the hope of producing superbabies that will sail through the educational system. Preoccupation with getting the child to do homework can become a nightmare. The resulting mutual torture between parents and children sometimes reaches tragic proportions. Xu Li, 17 years of age, struggled to meet his mother's demand that he place within the top 10 of his class. He managed the 18th place; his mother refused to let him play football with his friends and threatened to break his legs. In a moment of rage, the quiet and well-behaved youngster bashed her head with a hammer. Of course, reading too much into a single case of violence should be avoided. Nonetheless, the case of Xu Li has touched a raw nerve, prompting all of China to talk about education, bearing testimony to the fact that the homework problem has reached national consciousness.

Conclusion

The case of the PRC compels us to alter our thinking about the role of culture in parenting. We tend to think of culture as being conservative in nature: enduring, resilient, and largely resistant to alteration. However, the rapid pace with which changes have taken place in the PRC means that the temporal dimension becomes salient: Culture can no longer be treated as a static variable in research, as if it were frozen in time. Another point is that we cannot consider the role of culture in isolation. Both official ideology and policies constitute an onslaught on cultural tradition. Ideology directs parents to bring up children with a socialist worldview, which in large measure clashes with traditional values. Population policy undermines the traditional kinship fabric on which Chinese society is based, redefining the parent-child relationship in the process. The open-door policy leads to an acceleration of cultural change. In sum, culture is intertwined with socioeconomic realities in producing effects on parenting.

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The Parenting-21 research teams have met periodically to plan, report findings, and build lasting collegial relationships. From left to right: Charlie Super, Alfredo Oliva, Jesus Palacios, and Harry McGurk chat at an evening get-together, during a meeting hosted by Vanna Axia in Padua during the summer of 1997.

Cultural Pathways to Successful Parenting

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As our beloved friend and colleague the late Harry McGurk used to say, there are many ways to bring up children successfully. Nevertheless, as Harry noted, the literature on parenting is replete with studies of parents "at risk" and failures of parenting; there is little research to be found on successful parenting. Perhaps it was Harry's energetic and optimistic approach to life that led him to suggest that there is something important to be learned by focusing on the positive—and his own experiences working closely with colleagues from other countries that directed him to

cross-cultural interests. It was his opinion that cross-cultural studies of normal, well-functioning families can illuminate different pathways to successful parenting, thereby making it possible to see our own culturally designated routes in a new light as well. In this commentary, which we dedicate to Harry's memory, we present our current thinking on the cultural construction of successful parenting, and illustrate with brief descriptions from the emerging findings of Parenting-21: The International Study of Parents, Children and Schools, of which Harry McGurk was a lead investigator until his untimely death in 1998.

Culture and parenting has long been a topic of interest to anthropologists (Harkness & Super, 1995), but it has only recently come to the fore in psychological research and thinking (Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Bornstein, 1991). Our approach draws from both disciplines, and has evolved to an increasing emphasis on the importance of parents' cultural belief systems, or parental ethnotheories, as the nexus through which elements of the larger culture are filtered, and as the source of parenting practices and the organization of daily life for children and families (Harkness & Super, 1996; Palacios & Moreno, 1996; Welles-Nyström, 1996; Axia, Prior & Carelli, 1992; Elias, 1990). This approach is an elaboration of a critical component of the "developmental niche," a theoretical framework for understanding the interface between child and culture (Super & Harkness, 1997; Harkness & Super, 1999).

As a research strategy, awarding a privileged position to parental ethnotheories leads us to focus on several questions:

1. What is the nature of parental ethnotheories, and how are they organized in relation to each other and to more general cultural belief systems?
2. How do parental ethnotheories relate to the other two components of the developmental niche, namely customs of care and the organization of the child's physical and social settings of daily life?
3. How are parental ethnotheories constructed in the first place?
4. What is the nature of cross-cultural and intra-cultural variability in parental ethnotheories?

- How are parental ethnotheories used to understand and respond to individual differences in children?

Parenting-21: The International Study of Parents, Children, and Schools

The Parenting-21 project, a collaborative effort in seven countries, has provided a wealth of data with which to explore these questions. With core support from the Spencer Foundation, an international research team brought together by Sara Harkness and Charles Super met in Leiden, The Netherlands in October 1995 to begin work on a project to investigate parents' and teachers' cultural belief systems, practices at home and at school that instantiate these beliefs, and the normative issues that children encounter in the transition from home to school. The lead investigators brought to this project a rich mixture of disciplinary backgrounds and research interests: they included Giovanna Axia (U. of Padova, Italy), Jesus Palacios (U. of Seville, Spain), Andrzej Elias (Advanced School of Social Psychology and Polish Academy of Sciences, Warsaw, Poland), Barbara Welles-Nyström (U. of Stockholm, Sweden), as well as Harry McGurk, who was at that time the Director of the Australian Institute of Family Studies. Sara Harkness and Charles Super (now at the University of Connecticut, USA) have been the lead investigators for the Dutch and American research in addition to coordinating the overall project.

In each cultural site, we recruited a sample of 60 families with target children divided evenly into five age-groups balanced for birth order and sex: 6 months, 18 months, 3 years, 4.5 years, and 7 to 8 years. The sample families, recruited mostly through community networks, were broadly middle-class, with one or both parents employed and no major health problems; most of them were nuclear families with both parents present in the home; and parents in each sample were all native-born to that culture. Using a combination of psychological and ethnographic methods, we collected parallel data in each sample on parents' and teachers' ideas, on many aspects of child and family life, and on child temperament. Here, we briefly describe emerging findings from the project as they speak to the theoretical questions listed above.

The Nature of Parental Ethnotheories

Parental ethnotheories are cultural models that parents hold regarding children, families, and themselves as parents. The term "cultural model," drawn from cognitive anthropology, indicates an organized set of ideas that are shared by members of a cultural group (D'Andrade & Strauss, 1992; Quinn & Holland, 1987). Like other cultural models related to the self, parental ethnotheories are often implicit, taken-for-granted ideas about the "natural" or "right" way to think or act, and they have strong motivational properties for parents. It is this characteristic - the relationship between ideas and goals for action—that ties parental ethnotheories to the other two components of the developmental niche. Essentially, we can think of customs of care and the organization of children's daily lives as instantiations of parental ethnotheories, although it is clear that other considerations, such as parental workload, also play determining roles in the cultural ecology of child life.

Parental ethnotheories are related to each other both across domains and in hierarchical fashion. As Figure 1 indicates, the top of the hierarchy contains implicit, linked



A Swedish child enjoys his bunk-bed with built-in slide, typical of child-centred furniture.

models of child, family and parent; further down the hierarchy we find more specific and consciously held ideas about particular aspects of child development, parenting, and family life. These ideas inform parents' perceptions of their own children, as well as providing a basis for evaluating oneself and others as parents. Ultimately, parental ethnotheories are related to group differences in parental behavior and child development.

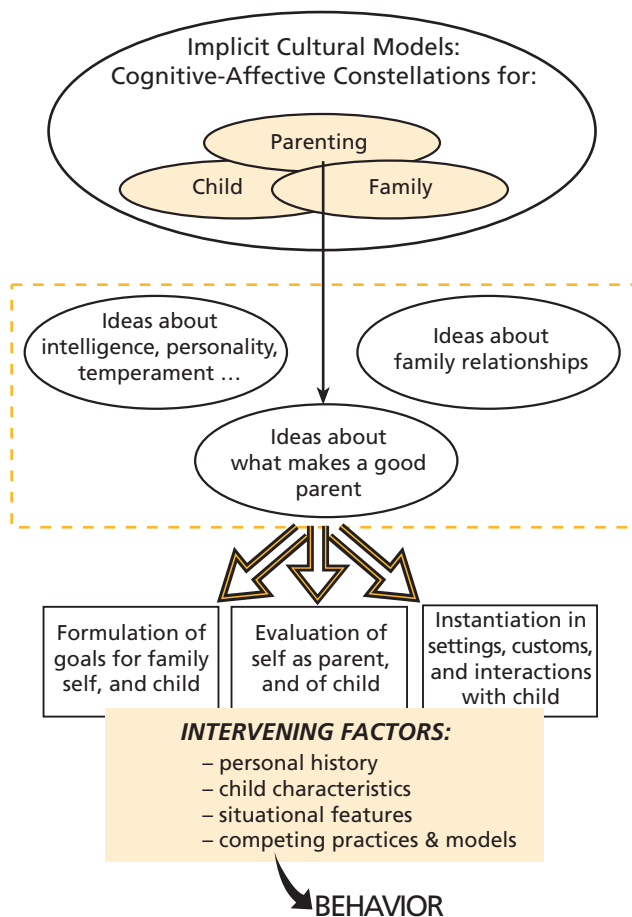


Figure 1. Parental Ethnotheories

Linking parental ethnotheories at all levels of specificity are pervasive cultural themes, which Quinn and Holland have called “general, all-purpose cultural models that are repeatedly incorporated into other cultural models developed for special purposes” (Quinn & Holland, 1987, p. 11). For example, the theme of “emotional closeness” has been identified in multiple contexts in the Italian sample, including ideas about family life, parental support for children’s success in school, and the child’s most important developmental needs. In the Swedish sample, on the other hand, the concept of “rights” appears frequently in parents’ talk about family relationships, such as in the child’s “right” to have access to physical closeness with parents at any time. It is important to note that the themes of “emotional closeness” and “rights” do not necessarily conflict with each other; rather, they seem to be addressed to different culturally shared yet unspoken premises.

The Relationship of Parental Ethnotheories to Customs and Settings

Just as ethnotheories are linked to each other and to larger cultural themes, so are they tied to other aspects of the child’s niche—and hence to the child’s development. As we have described elsewhere (Super et al., 1996), differences between Dutch and American parents’ ethnotheories of child care and development are evident in customs of care and the organization of daily routines in the two cultural settings. In particular, the Dutch motto of the “three R’s”: *rust* (rest), *regelmaat* (regularity), and *reinheid* (cleanliness) is instantiated in practices that emphasize getting plenty of sleep and maintaining a regular and calm daily round of activities (including the daily bath). In conjunction with this set of beliefs, the Dutch parents in our sample expected all babies to sleep through the night at an early age, and virtually none reported having problems establishing this routine—in fact, some parents faced a dilemma with young infants of whether to wake them up after 8 hours as recommended by the national health-care clinics, or whether to let them continue to sleep which they perceived as more desirable for the baby. In contrast, the American parents we studied had a more complex and conflicting set of cultural beliefs regarding sleep and rest on the one hand, and the importance of stimulation on the other; along with this, the US parents reported more problems with getting the baby to sleep through the night. Parental diaries from the two

cultural samples showed that the Dutch babies actually were getting quite a lot more sleep; and likewise, behavior observations indicated that the Dutch babies were in general calmer while awake. Data from the other European sites indicates that current cultural trends in each place may actually be driving children’s sleep patterns farther apart than they were a generation ago: for example, regular nighttime child-parent co-sleeping is quite prevalent in both the Swedish and Polish samples, whereas it is mostly restricted to a morning snuggle in the Dutch sample.

The Construction of Parental Ethnotheories

Parental ethnotheories are socially shared yet constructed in the minds of individual parents. As indicated above, one important source of parental ethnotheories is general cultural models. The question remains, however, of how such general ideas get transformed into particular practices. In earlier work with American middle-class parents, Harkness, Super and Keefer (Harkness, Super & Keefer, 1992) identified three processes that seem to be important: reconstruction of the personal past in light of the present, use of informal knowledge networks, and consultation with formal, “expert” sources of information and advice.

Findings from the Parenting-21 study also shed some light on cultural variability in the availability and use of different sources of information. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the American sample contrasts to *all* the other samples in their relative social isolation and, relatedly, their greater reliance on formal sources such as the media and professionals. At the other extreme are the Spanish and Polish samples, where parents report having daily contact with relatives and relying on them to a much greater extent for guidance. We believe that sources of cultural knowledge about parenting influence the way that this knowledge is experienced. Informal sources such as family members, when readily available, can provide reliable yet flexible interpretations of child behavior, lending themselves to fine tuning of general ethnotheories to the challenges of a particular child.

Cross-Cultural and Intra-Cultural Variability

Parenting-21 is an unusual cross-cultural study in that all the samples are drawn from Western, mostly middle-class communities. In fact, some observers have argued that such samples are not really cross-cultural at all, and that one must



A Dutch mother ferries her children to school by bicycle (little sister goes along for the ride).



A Spanish father relaxes with his young son during a late evening interview.

go much further—say, to New Guinea—to find meaningful cultural differences. On the other hand, Palacios and his colleagues have documented important sub-cultural differences in parents' ideas in Spain (Palacios & Moreno, 1996). The emerging results of the Parenting-21 study portray both commonalities and differences across and within the samples of our study. An example is our analysis of parents' responses to a questionnaire in which the task was to rate different child descriptors (e.g. "Understands quickly," "shy") in relation to their importance for success in school (Feng, et al., 2000). Factor analysis of the correlations among items yielded four common factors (e.g. "Cognitive qualities," "social qualities") that are defined in terms of a core of shared items. The factors vary across the samples, however, both in terms of their relative importance (how much variability they predict) and in their composition (which other, non-core terms are included). Thus, for example, the "cognitive qualities" factor in Sweden includes the terms "calm" and "even-tempered" in addition to the core items "understands quickly," "long attention span," and "concentrates well"; in the Italian sample, the additional items are "intense" and "clever." Patterns of correlation across the samples show very high levels of agreement on how important the 41 items are for success in school—from .68 to .96 for various pairs of samples; but there are interpretable differences, with agreement highest between the U.S. and Australia, and between The Netherlands and Sweden, and lowest between The Netherlands and Spain. Furthermore, consensus analysis indicates that although general agreement is high, there are nevertheless identifiably different cultural models that differentiate the various samples, as well as sub-cultural differences for the Spanish and Italian samples. Together, these data provide an interesting illustration of how it is that we can recognize the "same" concepts across cultures, yet fail to understand exactly what they mean in a different cultural context.

The Cultural Structuring of Parents' Responses to Individual Differences in Children

Although parental ethnotheories are rooted in shared ideas and practices, they function for individual parents as flexible systems, always in a process of construction and adaptation in relation to the demands of the moment. Thus, parental ethnotheories provide not only a set of general ideas about the nature of the child, but also ways of understanding and responding to individual differences among children. Parents' ideas about child temperament illustrate this feature. Analyses of parents' free descriptions of their own children have shown that there are cultural differences in which features of temperament parents choose to focus on: for example, the American parents more often described their children as "intense" and "difficult" by comparison with Dutch parents who focused more on "regularity" (or "needing regularity") as a defining feature. The Dutch parents also gave more attention to the dimension of cautiousness versus impulsiveness as central in their descriptions of their children. Parents' responses to the Carey and McDevitt temperament questionnaires for children from 3 to 7 years showed cultural differences in mean ratings on the 9 dimensions of temperament as well as correlations between particular dimensions (e.g., "Activity") and parents'

overall impressions of how "difficult" their child was. For example, the Italian parents rated their children highest on Activity but lowest on Intensity, which may relate to the cultural model of the "vivace" but "sereno" child as an ideal. Swedish parents' temperament ratings are notable for their general positive bias: these parents rated their children highest of all the samples on Adaptability, Approach, Positive Mood, and Persistence, and likewise lowest on Distractibility, as well as least difficult overall. In parents' free descriptions, likewise, the Swedish children appear to be almost angelic. We believe that this positive bias may reflect Swedish cultural models of the child as innately good and of parental criticism as bad, a hypothesis we will explore through more detailed analysis of the parental interviews.

Cultural Pathways to Successful Parenting

As Harry McGurk suggested, the Parenting-21 study is providing some new perspectives on the many different ways to be a successful parent. Parental ethnotheories provide a framework for understanding the ways that parents think about their children, their families and themselves, and the mostly implicit choices that parents make about how to rear the next generation. In learning about parents' ideas, our international research team has had to stretch its cultural imagination about parental success, and also its tolerance for methods drawn from several traditions of research. Studying parental ethnotheories and their instantiation in cultural practices is a complex endeavor, but it yields many opportunities for cross-validation of findings. For those who are interested in helping parents within any given cultural environment to become more successful, the study of cultural beliefs about children and families provides a valuable entry into behavioral patterns that might otherwise not be well understood

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COMMENTARY: Culture and Parenting: Cross-Cutting Issues

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This set of reports is at first daunting in the diversity it presents. That diversity, however, is fairly representative of current work on culture and parenting, making the effort to see how they belong together all the more worthwhile. To do so, I take two central questions from Bornstein's provocative set: a set that tells us how broad the field may be and why choosing a focus is essential. These two questions cut across the more empirical reports. They have to do with "why" (Why look at parenting in various cultural groups?) and with "how" (How to define "culture" and "parenting"? And how to proceed?).

In the paper by Ho, Peng, and Lai, the reasons offered for studying parenting in China are of two kinds. Here is "the world's largest geopolitical community". If the parenting phenomena that Europeans and North Americans have become accustomed to are not found here, the results cannot be written off as occurring

in some small "exotic" place. The situationally dependent nature of those results will need to be recognized. Here also is a group with "the longest unbroken cultural heritage", currently experiencing several winds of change: change from social engineering (e.g., one-child families) and from a more open door to Western influences.

It makes sense then that the core topics are of two kinds. One is the extent to which some of the effects of parenting styles reported in U.S. studies are replicated in China. The other has to do with issues of change and continuity. Are there some values that withstand change? What factors especially promote change?

Questions about change begin with Ho's (1989) analysis of historical continuity in traditional emphases on impulse control, obedience, moral training, and academic achievement. They occur again in a report by Chen, Zhu, Xu, Jing, and Xiang (1990) on the effects of a family's "capital resources": a report that brings out "the traditional corruptibility of children from rich families" and challenges any easy assumption that poverty is automatically a risk for child development. They occur also in reports of a shift toward Chinese society becoming more child-centered and less age-oriented (Ho, Chan & Chau, 2000).

the emergence of a theory of change and continuity

We can begin then to see why Ho and his colleagues argue for "observations over prolonged periods", with culture "no longer treated as a static variable". We can also anticipate that one of the major conceptual gains will be the emergence of a theory of change and continuity, one that can bring together the reports of what is happening within China, and among Chinese communities outside of mainland China. To be anticipated also is the pursuit of the proposal that what shapes changes in parenting are less the introduction of new ideologies (e.g., from the West) than changes in socioeconomic conditions and in social structure (e.g., shifts in the population structure).

Interestingly, the paper by Sagi and Aviezer is also a study of change within a particular cultural group, and an argument for observations made over a prolonged period of time. The focus is on the rise and fall of a particular practice: children sleeping in a "children's house" in Israeli kibbutzim. Here is a cultural group in the sense of being seen by others and itself as distinctive in its ideology and its practices and in the sense of making an effort to preserve its distinctiveness: an important break from the usual equating of culture with nationality.

In this report, observations over time cover both any consequences for children and the extent to which the practice changed. Sagi and Aviezer describe the specific features of the practice (it included an "excellent daycare system", arrangements for time with parents at the end of the day, and the presence at night of "two unfamiliar watchwomen...on weekly rotations"). They also report a series of studies on the quality of attachment among kibbutz children and the extent to which attachment was transmitted across generations.

One advantage to this focus lies in the opportunity to separate some specific aspects of context from one another: in this case, the parents' own responsiveness, their representations of attachment, and the particular practice of sleeping in the children's house. Where insecurity of attachment appeared among the children, the critical factor emerged as the practice of sleeping over. We have then a situation where "relationships may be constrained" by "the ecological context of childcare".

One reason for studying particular cultural situations then lies in the opportunities to separate parts of a social or physical context. A further advantage, Sagi and Aviezer note, is that we can observe what happens to unusual arrangements and why they are not

sustained. In this case, the dominant factor is seen as a conflict between the parents' concern for the child (many children were felt to be fearful at night) and the parents' attachment to the ideology of collective values. The concern for the child won out and the practice was changed.

The last of the papers to be considered—the paper by Harkness and Super—seems at first to strike a different note. There is a concern with change, in the sense that the paper argues at the end for people who seek to change the nature of parenting to pay attention to the beliefs that parents hold, especially when the parents differ in background from those offering advice. That concern is increasingly shared (e.g., Goodnow, in press).

More broadly, this is a paper that tackles the difficult question of asking what marks a culture and how cultures differ. The emphasis is on parents' beliefs or ethnotheories, one of the components of Harkness and Super's "developmental niche" (the others are "customs of care" and the physical or social settings in a child's daily life). Differences between cultures may then occur in the content of the theories held (e.g., in the qualities seen as associated with success in school), in their structure (e.g., their internal coherence), their links to practices (these may be highly congruent or barely in alignment), and their sources (e.g., the extent to which people turn to the media or rely on professional advice).

This paper follows a route often expected in cultural analyses. The emphasis is more on ideologies than on practices and on structural factors. The method is also more focused on comparing groups with one another than on the analysis of changes within a group. Time, I expect, will bring together the several lines of interest and approach. In the meantime, we may all benefit from their diversity and richness.

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COMMENTARY: Culture and Parenting: Beyond Description of Alternative Beliefs and Practices

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Whether viewed from the perspective of cultural or cross-cultural psychology, a study of parental beliefs and practices and their significance for child development provides tremendous scope for understanding universal and culturally unique practices. Parental ethnotheories provide an excellent ground for testing how culture and several aspects of individual development interface and constitute each other. For the same reason, studies of parenting also lend themselves to capturing social change, because the adjustments made in parental practices (if not beliefs) reflect their accommodation to major changes in the macro system, be it economic or political. On

the other hand, resistance to change, and reactions to transgressions of values and practices considered important, also provide good indicators of the priority accorded to varied beliefs and practices in any given culture at a given socio-historical time.

The four papers that appear in the present newsletter provide an overarching perspective and merit close attention for several reasons. Bornstein's contribution entitled "Some questions for a science of culture and parenting", is a research scholar's dream come true, as it examines in a systematic, comprehensive and well integrated fashion, several dimensions of research in the area of culture and parenting. These range from the conceptual framework to possible implications of the research findings. Questions raised with reference to methodology warrant special attention, considering that there is often a bandwagon effect, with certain methods and research questions assuming prominence because they become known, while other critical aspects remain unanswered, because they are off the beaten path.

A careful examination of the questions raised by Bornstein persuades me to make a strong plea for a meta-review and a meta-analysis, using the existing anthropological and psychological literature related to parental beliefs and child rearing practices. Such an exercise, similar to the work on adolescence by Schlegel and Barry (1991), would serve not only to consolidate the fund of knowledge available in the area and provide a comprehensive perspective on parenting, but also serve to generate questions suitable for the next

stage of development in this subject area and appropriate methods to answer them. The strategy adopted by Tobin, Wu and Davidson (1989) of having participants in each culture view child behavior in other cultures and respond to them may yield additionally useful data regarding what Bornstein aptly terms as parents' "meaning making".

The choice of reports from Israel (Sagi & Aviezer) and mainland China (Ho, Peng, & Lai) are particularly appropriate as they provide information on two large scale naturalistic experiments that have revolutionized traditional beliefs regarding child rearing practices within a short socio-historical time span. Sagi and Aviezer's contribution makes an interesting point that Israeli parents who were themselves reared in the kibbutz and were committed politically and emotionally to the ideology, increasingly opt for an ideological shift from the collective to familial care giving, with close and intense parental involvement. It is noteworthy that 50 percent of the children in the communal sleeping arrangement did show secure attachment, drawing attention to the significance of other moderating factors. Concern regarding the generation of the 'little emperor syndrome' in China's one child families, with the excessive attention paid by several adults to the only child in the family, has engaged the attention of developmental psychologists during the past decade. Ho, Peng, and Lai's discussion is useful in this context.

One wishes for similar data from Russia and other allied countries that have experienced a radical change in their socio-historical context following the dissolution of the former Soviet Union. Data emerging in the context of these large-scale macro-level changes would serve to raise research questions and set research trajectories different from those generated in stable conditions. Furthermore, unique child rearing practices that exist only in some cultural settings could serve to further clarify universal issues of parenting.

The "developmental niche" framework postulated by Harkness and Super (1996) is extremely useful for conceptualizing relationships among parental belief systems, customs, and practices of child rearing and the organization of physical and social settings for children's daily lives. As elaborated by Harkness et al in the present issue, parental

the difficult question of asking what marks a culture and how cultures differ



ethnotheories may be viewed as cultural models that parents hold regarding children, families and themselves as parents. Daily life practices provide exemplars of instantiations of parental ethnotheories.

Harkness and her co-investigator's contribution to the present newsletter, draws primarily from their current work on the Parenting-21 Project initiated in collaboration with Harry McGurk. Even while restricted to the Western and essentially middle class samples, the findings highlight a wide range of variations in beliefs, practices, and outcomes. The Parenting-21 study appears to have fulfilled its major objective of providing some new perspectives on the alternative pathways to successful parenting. One can look forward to the several useful publications that will result from this ambitious project.

Reflecting on the articles presented in the Newsletter, two possibilities appeal to me. One possibility is to plan collaborative cross-cultural research choosing cultural groups for study on the basis of a clear theoretical rationale, related to expected variations in the competencies parents desire to promote in their children, as based on eco-cultural variations (as exemplified in the study by Harwood, Miller, & Irizarry, 1989) and more significantly, testing for predictions regarding developmental outcomes in child behavior. The latter aspect is emphasized by Harkness and Super (1996) who argue that "demonstrating relationships between parents' cultural belief systems and child outcomes is a complex challenge, but one worth undertaking as the major variations in development are to be found at the level of cultural rather than individual differences (p. 18)". Taking alternative ethnotheories of parenting seriously, we would begin to identify new dimensions of child outcomes that presumably could be attended to universally and that might be important to examine, even in a culture in which such dimensions are not salient or culturally promoted (e.g., empathy or other-orientedness). The second possibility is to conceptualize for publication at a future date, either a newsletter or a special journal issue with theoretical commentaries based on metaanalysis or meta-review on cross-cultural variations in parental beliefs and practices, inclusive of the impact of social change. The June 2001 ISSBD Workshop at the University of Haifa is likely to see the convergence of ideas regarding research on parenting, and also the initiation of plans for future work.

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COMMENTARY: No Parenting Independent of Culture

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One way to respond to an invitation to comment on research about culture and parenting reported in the Newsletter is to write an article, as Marc Bornstein did, packed with question upon question. Indeed Bornstein raises so many questions that researchers may begin to

doubt whether they should do research on culture and parenting at all. Such a question-asking strategy is provocative and stimulating, but it can also be detrimental. It is possible to downgrade research in most topics by posing questions that no researcher can answer in a single study. Most researchers try to exclude or control a range of background factors to which issues under study are connected, because good research has to focus on a few variables in order to control relations and their interactions. For research on parenting, however, it would be detrimental to isolate some variables only as being worthy of research and to neglect the societal and cultural contexts that shape the processes of care and education. Fortunately, research is based on cooperative efforts, so that observation and analyses conducted by individual researchers can jointly look for answers to the many questions.

As illustrated by the articles collected for this issue of the Newsletter, there is interesting research being done in this field. Ho, Peng, and Lai remind us of the "tumultuous social changes" that have taken place in China during the last decades. Politicians attempted to change the conditions of growing-up through the use of tremendous institutional, legal, and material means of intervention into the parent-child relationship. However, all of a sudden, after the heavy constraints on family life were reduced, many of the correlational patterns between parental behaviors and child development reported from other cultures emerged in Chinese families as well. But this is only one side of the story. At the same time, families are shown to be highly adaptive, as they react to the challenges of modernization in their society. Thus, some of the typical correlations are even reversed, yet still represent a "smart" adaptation to new conditions of life. Culture seems to have two faces, because culture obviously plays a role both when families resist the dissolution of traditional structures as well as when they accommodate to the changed conditions of their lives. It is hard to judge whether these accommodations are successful or not. We do not know, for example, which competencies children will develop under these new conditions. Nevertheless, this outcome is a decisive criterion when we look at the interchange between culture and parenting. Are the numerous only-children, suspiciously called "little emperors", on their way to developing autonomous decision-making competencies highly needed in modern societies or are they developing self-centered opportunist behaviors?

In the case of kibbutz parenting arrangements described by Sagi and Aviezer, we learn about the outcome produced by the kind of kibbutz education that was organized by the preceding generation of parents. The generation compelled to sleep in the children's center does not want to continue this arrangement. Surely, the parents of the past mid-century did not expect that their children would guard their (grand)children against sleeping outside the family's home. Was this revision influenced by attachment research that found low security rates in children who experienced communal sleeping, or is it that former children and now parents who were exposed to sleeping in centers remembered that they suffered from missing the experience of intimacy with mothers and fathers? Whatever the explanation, this is another instance in which families demonstrate their adaptability. Today's kibbutz parents no longer regard their situation as the situation of pioneers in a hostile environment and re-establish conventional family patterns. Was the past phase of children's communal sleeping a test on the limits of adaptability—and even a test with a negative outcome? High portions of insecure children are found also under more usual conditions of family life and, therefore, this result in itself cannot be understood as a refutation of a collective form of caring and educating the children. It would be worthwhile to explore, whether it is not communal sleeping, but the shared belief in a preferred pattern of raising children that contributes to the success or failure of widely varying parenting arrangements.

Also Harkness, Super, Axia, Elias, Palacios, and Welles-Nyström draw our attention to parents' beliefs. The authors make clear that these beliefs are not so much individual inventions but rather ethnotheories that translate core meanings of the embedding culture into the domain of parental activities. Ethnotheories do not contain a fixed set of rules and prescriptions. They encompass flexible systems of ideas and practices that may be applied to adapt to changed circumstances of family and social life. By their flexible nature these ethnotheories of parenting allow mothers and fathers to transmit both the general culture to their children as well as to foster their children's autonomy. At least in "developed" western societies, we understand the parenting tasks as involving these two aspects and expect that they may be balanced in different ways from culture to culture as the authors point out.

All contributions demonstrate that it is difficult to talk about parenting without including information about the culture in which the interactions and relationships between parents and children take place. We learn that culture is not adequately represented if it is conceived of only as a background variable that has to be controlled in research designs. Culture is a generative support system that offers tools for the re-construction of the tradition and for new co-constructions in order to face the challenges of change. Within a broad range of behaviors it is not primarily important what parents actually do, but whether they can give an accepted meaning to their interactions with children.

We must further conclude that human potentials can be fostered in younger generations under very different circumstances of parenting, including situations in which parents share the task of parenting with many others. The most important condition seems to be that there are cultural beliefs that enable parents and their co-educators to raise children in life circumstances that are new and open to change. There are some indications in societies characterized by rapid change that parents do not feel supported by such a generative system. In this context, I wonder whether it is possible to have parenting without culture, or culture without parenting? This last question shows that this issue is not only relevant to a better scientific understanding of human development, but also to protect this vital task against destruction in the social reality of young adults preparing for parenthood — more than three-quarters of a million each day.

COMMENTARY: *Culture and Parenting: Expanded Horizons*

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Many people see recent advances in biological research as key to understanding the essence of human development. Just as important in this understanding, however, are recent advances in cross-cultural research. The present set of papers underlines that importance. Bornstein's essay provides an excellent (whimsical?) introduction to a science of culture and parenting, and the accompanying papers provide good exemplars of several of the points he makes.

The basic point, of course, is that the investigation of parenting as it is carried out in the widest variety of cultural contexts provides dispersion in variables of interest. Thus there are more chances of finding relations between features of parenting and child outcomes

than in more homogeneous populations and, therefore, greater opportunity to gain a sense of what "truths" about parenting and children are universal and what are an outcome of different cultural impositions. Most cultures, for example, do not allow the kind of radical experiment in social engineering, the limitation of family size, described by Ho, Peng, and Lai. But when it occurs we learn that that only children do better intellectually and physically, with less apparent impact on personality (the authors warn us of possible confounds, however; that cloud the picture). Harkness et al. observe that Dutch babies sleep more and are calmer when awake than American babies: This finding is clearly related to significantly different sets of ethnotheories held by their parents and demonstrates the importance of parental expectations in child development.

Cross-cultural research also allows examination of alternative routes to achieving specific socialization goals, an expansion on which to base conceptual analyses of developmental events. Communal sleeping, described by Sagi and Aviezer, is an example. It served two fundamental goals for Israeli parents: protection of children and promotion of children's consideration for others. For some children, however, it was detrimental with respect to protection-related goals. (We do not know about its success with respect to the second goal of orientation to the needs of others.) This negative outcome provides useful information about basic developmental mechanisms. It also highlights the fact that in certain ecological niches, for example, where external danger requires separation of parent and child, it may be more difficult to accomplish basic parenting tasks. A different example of alternative routes is Harkness et al.'s discussion of cognitive qualities necessary for success in school. There is a basic core of qualities, but cognitive capacity includes, additionally, peripheral factors of calmness and even-temperedness for the Swedes and intensity and cleverness for the Italians. Is one set of peripheral factors inherently and universally a better predictor of school success than the other? Or have they developed in response to culture-specific conditions?

Bornstein raises the important question of cultural change in the age of mass media and cultural homogenization. Of course homogenization makes the identification of "pure" cultural samples problematic. However it allows us to see where change occurs easily and where it occurs with difficulty. Interestingly, Harkness et al. note that meaningful cultural differences can be found even in Western European and Anglo-American countries, differences that seem to be maintained in spite of geographical proximity or linguistic relatedness. On the other hand, Ho et al. state that, although Chinese childrearing practices have remained largely unaffected by internal ideological forces, exposure to external values seems to be changing the culture in a child-centered direction that focuses on personal autonomy and self-interest rather than the traditional group-centered respect for authority. Why do changes come more easily in some areas than others, and what features of human beings cause them to be more responsive to or more influenced by some ideas than others? The changes in China, as well as those in Israeli communal sleeping arrangements, indicate that at times there is a tension between parenting practices used to pursue cultural ideals and parenting practices more consonant with human nature.

As change occurs, of course, the meaning of parental practices in a particular culture changes. What is normative and seen as in the best interests of the child becomes non-normative and may reflect or be seen to reflect less benign parental intentions. An important implication here is that parents are not the only agents of socialization in a culture: The media, teachers, peers, and peers' parents socialize children as well. Children can be expected to construct the meaning of their parents' practices by considering them in relation to what is normative in the surrounding culture, a point not to be forgotten in any science of parenting, whether it focuses on culture or not.



Notes from The President

In this report, I describe the activities of the President since the publication of the second issue (Serial No. 37), 2000 *ISSBD Newsletter*.

In many respects, the period between the meetings of the Executive Committee in Beijing, and the transition into the New Year has been one of relative stability. Meetings and workshops are being planned, or are immediately forthcoming; none have taken place since the publication of the previous edition of the *Newsletter*.

However, the Society has been rather active on several fronts. To begin with, at the Executive Committee meetings in Beijing, the Membership Secretary reported a significant decline in membership since 1996. This is particularly disconcerting because the finances of the Society are doing splendidly and the two publications are providing the Society with a solid reputation in the Developmental Sciences. It was upon learning of the decline in membership that I approached W. Andrew Collins (USA), and requested that he take on the task of chairing the Membership Committee for the biennium 2000-2002. In agreeing to do so, he co-wrote a letter with Richard Tremblay, in which members of the *Society for Research in Child Development* were urged to consider membership in *ISSBD*. Then, in March of this year, I composed a similar letter and sent it to developmental scholars in Europe. It is hoped that these solicitations will bring with them new memberships as well as renewals of memberships that have lapsed over the years. Developmental Scientists have much to gain from membership in *ISSBD* and I would call upon the readers to take it upon themselves to bring new members into the fold. Indeed, if you have names and addresses of potential members, please forward them to me, and I will send each a personal invitation to join the Society. A membership form has been included in this *Newsletter*. I would urge you to make copies of the membership form and help us generate a significant increase in membership.

Other activities by the President have included: Regular consultation with Barry Schneider, Chair of the next biennial meetings of the Society in Canada; the provision of feedback re: prospective *Newsletter* and workshop topics; the selection of Huichang Chen (Beijing Normal University) as Regional Coordinator for China, *ISSBD*'s largest regional office; and regular communication with members of the Steering Committee about budget, external support for workshops and conferences, membership, and publications. With regard to the latter, the collection of essays commissioned by Willard Hartup and Rainer Silbereisen that appeared in the 'Millennium 2000' issues of the *International Journal of Behavioral Development* will be re-published by *Psychology Press* as a separate compendium. On behalf of the Society, I congratulate Bill and Rainer for their wonderful editorial and promotional work in this regard.

Insofar as workshops and conferences are concerned, I would like to remind the reader that in the previous issue of this *Newsletter*, I called for proposals to host the *ISSBD* meetings in *Europe in 2004*. To my dismay, not a single proposal has reached my office, despite the published

deadline of February 2001. Clearly, the preferred, and most member-friendly manner in which to identify venues for the Society's biennial meetings is to have groups of individuals come forward with an initially brief proposal to host the meetings. Upon receipt, active communication among Steering and Executive committee members can result in the provision of aid to produce a more formal convention proposal. However, when proposals are not received, the onus falls on the members of the Executive Committee to find a suitable venue for the Biennial Meetings of the Society. With this in mind, I am extending the deadline for the receipt of proposals to host the 2004 *ISSBD* to June 2001 with the hope that an interested group of colleagues in Europe will come forward. Should proposals not be received by the end of June, it will require that the Executive Committee of the Society be proactive in identifying a suitable venue.

Relatedly, in the previous issue of this *Newsletter*, I called for proposals to host *ISSBD* sponsored workshops. The deadline for receipt of proposals to host a workshop in 2002 was February 1, 2001. Given the lack of proposals received, this deadline is extended to June 30, 2001. I am also issuing a call for proposals to host *ISSBD* sponsored workshops in the year 2003. As of this writing, one such proposal has already been received. Our colleagues in Africa are proposing to hold their 6th Workshop in Yaounde in 2003. It is highly likely that *ISSBD* will support this proposal. But, this leaves a clear opportunity to plan a second workshop in 2003. The deadline for receipt of proposals to host workshops in 2003 is August 31, 2001.

Given that guidelines to propose workshops have not appeared in previous issues of the *Newsletter*, I have provided a helpful summary in the section that follows below. It is incumbent on every member to make her or his wishes known about Workshop topics and venues. And to be sure, I would be delighted to aid those interested in hosting a workshop prepare a proposal. We are certainly due to have a workshop in Eastern Europe.

Of no small significance is the possibility that *ISSBD* will collaborate with the *Society for Research in Child Development* to host a series of workshops for young scholars. During the past months, I have been in communication with Patricia Settini of *SRCD* who has expressed an interest in developing a joint international workshop series. Hopefully there will be more news of this venture in coming months.

Continuing on the topic of Biennial Meetings and Workshops, I am pleased to note that plans for the 2002 *ISSBD* conference in Ottawa (Canada) are proceeding very well. Barry Schneider, Chair of the meetings, will file a report at the up-coming Executive Committee meetings in April. In addition, Jane Ledingham is organizing a pre-conference workshop on the topic of "Observational research methodologies in Developmental Science". A formal proposal for this workshop will be discussed by the Executive Committee in April. Calls for participation and presentation at these meetings are forthcoming.

In June 2001, *ISSBD* and Haifa University (Israel) will co-sponsor a workshop on 'Parenting and parent-child

continued overleaf



relationships in a life-span perspective'. The organizers of this workshop include Avi Sagi, Rachel Seginer, and Samia Dawud-Noursi. Attendees will include young scholars from the Middle-East and Mediterranean communities; speakers include senior scholars from North America, Europe, and the Middle-East. Those interested in participating in this workshop may contact Avi Sagi at: sagi@psy.haifa.ac.il

In July 2002, a workshop on 'Research and social policy: Families, peers, and schools as developmental contexts' will be held in Lima, Peru. This workshop, to be held at the cultural center of the Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Peru is being chaired by Margarita Azmitia, Mary Louise Claux, and

Brett Laursen. Speakers include Terezinha Nunes, Jesus Palacios, and Harold Stevenson. Further information about this workshop may be obtained from Margarita Azmitia: Azmitia@cats.ucsc.edu

Lastly, by the time you have read these notes, the Society will have heard from Richard Tremblay, Chair of the Nominations Committee, about the identities of those nominated for President-Elect and the three openings on the Executive Committee. The forthcoming election as well as other business of the Society will be discussed at the next Executive Committee meeting to be held at the SRCD meetings in Minneapolis on April 22.

ISSBD Workshop Proposals: A Guideline

ISSBD sponsors workshops on a regular basis. Typically, workshops are proposed to introduce scholars to new methods, up-dates of substantive areas of research, and reviews of given topics. Participants include young scholars from developing and under-developed countries. Oft-times, participants are also drawn from developed countries and regions of the globe (Western Europe; North America). In such cases, the goal is to introduce young scholars from different regions of the world in an effort to promote unity and collaboration.

Workshops typically take place from between 3-to-6 days. Senior researchers usually deliver formal addresses and lead discussion groups. Junior scholars may present posters or short papers on topics related to the Workshop theme.

The venue for proposed Workshops varies. However, it is usually the case that a Workshop immediately precedes or follows the biennial meetings of the Society. Workshops are also held, on a regular basis, in Africa, Asia, Eastern and Western Europe, Latin America, the Middle-East, and North America.

ISSBD has set a budget limit of up to \$18,000 per annum to support its Workshop series. Additional support may be generated via the writings of proposals to local sources (e.g., institutional support), local governments, and to supportive Foundations. ISSBD will support up to three Workshops per year, although two is preferable.

Proposals should be directed to the President of the Society. A description of the proposed workshop, the prospective participants, names of senior speakers (if possible) should accompany a full budget. The Executive Committee of ISSBD will review each proposal either upon receipt or upon revision following commentary and guidance from the President.

Once the Executive Committee has approved a Workshop proposal, it will be submitted to a funding agency by the Treasurer of ISSBD. Funds granted to the Workshop will be received and distributed by the Treasurer.

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17TH BIENNIAL ISSBD MEETING CALL FOR PAPERS

Welcome to the 17th Biennial Meeting

The International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development (ISSBD), with 1,200 members promotes the discovery, dissemination, and application of scientific knowledge about behavioural development throughout the life span. Your colleagues at the University of Ottawa and Carleton University invite you to the 17th biennial meeting to be held in Canada's Capital from August 2-6, 2002.

As Canada's capital, Ottawa offers cultural resources far richer than normally found in a city of its size. The unique Canadian Museum of Civilization and the National Gallery of Canada are world-renowned both for their exhibits and their innovative architecture. At Parliament Hill, participants can tour the Gothic-style buildings or watch the Changing of the Guard. The National Gallery is the home of the world's largest collection of Canadian art, with interior garden, extensive international collections and visiting exhibitions. Just across the river in Québec, the Canadian Museum of Civilization includes the Great Hall, devoted to West Coast Native peoples, Canada Hall, recreating 1000 years of Canadian History, a creative children's museum, an IMAX cinema/movie theatre, and the Postal Museum.

Ottawa is located in an area of great natural beauty. Just outside the door of our conference hotel are the Rideau Canal and Rideau River, with landscaped paths that continue for many kilometres/miles. Parkland, lakes, and hills can be accessed in a 20-minute ride from the city centre. The outdoor Byward Market, a two-minute walk from the conference site, is a market by day; the neighbourhood surrounding the market is the hub of nightlife in Ottawa.

Social events and local tours will include the welcome reception, the ISSBD International Golf Classic, whitewater rafting, canoeing, hiking, a lecture on Inuit art, wine-tasting, and French cooking demonstration. Day tours will include visits to

the Diefenbunker Cold War Museum, Wakefield Village and artists' studios. We invite accompanying parents and children to tour the Omega Wildlife Park, Museum of Science and Technology, the Eco-Musée, and Cascades Waterslide. Evening events will include highlights from the Ottawa Chamber Music Festival, World Fireworks Championship, and a gala banquet at the Château Laurier.

Pre-conference tours will include: 1) Niagara Falls and Vineyards [2 days]; 2) Laurentian Hills and Lakes (with choice of the gourmet Sapinière or family Grey Rocks hotels [3 days]; and 3) a canoeing adventure in Algonquin Park [3 days].

Post-conference tours include: 1) the Rockies, featuring Waterton National Park, followed by a scenic train ride to Vancouver [7 days]; 2) Kingston and the Thousand Islands; 3) Stratford Shakespeare Festival; 4) Nunavut – Canada's Arctic territory; and 5) a wilderness adventure in the Muskokas. Information on all tours is available at the website, or upon request.

Recent improvements to the transportation network have made Ottawa a very easy place to get to. In a typical summer week, more than 300 flights arrive at MacDonald-Cartier International Airport from major U.S. points and from London-Heathrow, not to mention frequent service from all major Canadian points. Air Canada (www.aircanada.ca) is the official airline of the 17th biennial meeting. When booking your Air Canada flight, please remember to provide the Event number CV858951. You will be entitled to a discount on the lowest fare available, or to a special conference fare with very few restrictions. Air Canada will also contribute to a travel fund for students and for colleagues from developing countries in proportion to the fares paid by participants. Trains and buses connect Ottawa and Montreal in about two hours.

Visit us at www.issbd.uottawa.ca

Programme Overview

Scientific Programme

English is the official language of the meeting. The scientific programme will consist of a pre-conference workshop on observational methods, invited and keynote addresses, paper and poster symposia, and individual posters.

Invited Program

Keynote speakers (morning of August 3)

Laura L. Carstensen (lifespan development, emotional regulation, social motivation)

Angela Friederici (language development)

Arnold Sameroff (developmental psychopathology)

Other invited speakers

Michael Chandler, Joan Grusec, Claudio Hutz, Elias Empofn, Terrie Moffitt, Wolfgang Schneider, Margaret Spencer, Marinus van IJzendoorn, Zhou Xiaolin

Pre-Conference Workshop on Observational Methodology

This two-day workshop will focus on the current status of observational methodologies in developmental research. A review of observational taxonomies will be presented, including coding systems designed for the study of topics such as social interaction and expressed emotion in infants and older children, both in naturalistic situations (daycare settings, school playgrounds) and in the laboratory. Recent technological advances in recording and coding behaviour will also be reviewed. The importance of culture for observational research will also be examined.

We are applying for grant funding to enable scientists from developing countries to participate in this workshop.

International Program Committee

General Chair: Barry H. Schneider (Canada)

Co-chairs: Robert J. Coplan (Canada) and Xinyin Chen (Canada)

Members: Gerald R. Adams (Canada), Avshalom Caspi (UK), Silvia H. Keller (Brazil), Willem Koops (Netherlands), Augustine B. Nsamenang (Cameroon) Anne C. Petersen (USA), Kenneth H. Rubin (USA), Avraham Sagi (Israel), Rainer K. Silbereisen (Germany), Marcel van Aken (Netherlands), Meng Zhaolan (China)

Local Organizing Committee

Chair: Barry H. Schneider (University of Ottawa)

University of Ottawa members: Pierre Gosselin, Jane E. Ledingham, Alastair J. Younger

Carleton University members: Robert J. Coplan, Tina Daniels, Jo-Anne Lefèvre, Brian Little, Monique Sénéchal

Pre-Conference Workshop Committee

Pierre Gosselin, Jane E. Ledingham

Coordinator of Publishers' Book Exhibits

Alastair J. Younger



The Museum of Civilization

Members of Review Panels

Sigrun Adalbjarnardottir (Iceland), Gerald Adams (Canada), Lieselotte Ahnert (Germany), Françoise Alsaker (Switzerland), Lewis Aptekar (USA), Jeffrey Arnett (USA), Ora Aviezer (Israel), Lars Bergman (Sweden), Ellen Bialystock (Canada), Jeffrey Bisanz (Canada), Kathleen Bloom (Canada), Klaus Boehnke (Germany), Jeanne Brooks-Gunn (USA), Peter Bryant (England),

John Bynner (England), Luigia Camaioni (Italy), Catherine Cooper (USA), Lisa Crockett (USA), Ann Crouter (USA), Pierre Dasen (Switzerland), Serdar Degirmencioglu (Turkey), Michel Deleau (France), Anik de Ribaupierre (Switzerland), Alain Desrochers (Canada), Judith S. Dubas (Netherlands), Lutz Eckensberger (Germany), Constance Flanagan (USA), Nancy Galambos

(Canada), Xiaojia Ge (USA), Alexander Grob (Switzerland), Megan Gunnar (USA), Paul Hastings (Canada), Christopher Hertzog (USA), Brian Hopkins (UK), Margaret K. Kerr (Sweden), Thomas Kindermann (USA), Reinhold Kliegl (Germany), Silvia H. Koller (Brazil), Nina Koren-Karie (Israel), Lothar Krappmann (Germany), Michael Lamb (USA), Kang Lee (Canada),



Submissions

The Programme Committee invites submissions for the 2002 Meeting of ISSBD in Ottawa, Canada. Submissions are welcome from ISSBD members and non-members, students, faculty, and researchers. Submissions are encouraged from all fields of behavioural development.

A **symposium** should include presentations on a specific theme and involve an integration of findings from different research projects. There are typically two co-convenors (preferably from different continents), multiple presenters, and a discussant.

Paper symposia will be scheduled for one hour and 40 minutes. They will include 3-4 presentations and one discussant. A **poster symposium** consists of 6 to 8 posters organized around a central theme. Posters in a symposium will be displayed in a usual format of a poster session, but in a separate room from the other posters. For part of the scheduled time, the audience will be able to view the posters and speak with the presenters individually, and part of the time will be spent on presentations and group discussion. Poster symposia will be scheduled for one hour and 40 minutes. Both poster and paper symposium proposals will be reviewed by international review panels. Each proposal will be reviewed by two experts. In case of a substantial discrepancy, the opinion of a third expert will be sought. All proposals for paper and poster symposia must be **received by October 15, 2001** (decision by December 15, 2001). Because symposia proposals will be sent to international review panels for evaluation **we will be unable to accept any submission of symposia proposals after the deadline**. In fairness to all, no exceptions can be made.

Individual posters will be accepted for the presentation of research findings, either theoretical or empirical. The deadline for the **receipt** of poster proposals is **January 30, 2002** (decision by March 30, 2002). Proposals for individual posters will be reviewed by a local programme committee.

The scientific programme will span four days, beginning the morning of Saturday, August 3, 2002. Please indicate at the time of submission any religious reason for being unable to present on any of the four days. Otherwise, submission indicates willingness to present on any of the four days.

Decisions about submissions will normally be transmitted by e-mail. Submitters who do not have access to private e-mail should notify us, so that other arrangements can be made. Contact us by e-mail at issbd@uottawa.ca, or by letter to: ISSBD, School of Psychology, University of Ottawa, 120 University St., Ottawa Canada K1N 6N5, or by fax to +1 613 562 5147.

Review Panels

1. Infancy
2. Perceptual, Sensory, Motor, & Psychobiological Processes
3. Children at Risk & Atypical Development
4. Adolescence
5. Language
6. Cognition
7. Educational Issues & School Context
8. Social Development & Peer Relations
9. Affect & Temperament
10. Parenting, Family, & Kinship Relations
11. Cultural & Cross-Cultural Studies
12. History, Theory, & Interdisciplinary Issues
13. Adult Years & Aging
14. Methodology and Statistics

Electronic submission of abstracts is strongly preferred. All forms are available at www.issbd.uottawa.ca. If electronic submission is impossible, please request submission forms from: ISSBD, School of Psychology, University of Ottawa, 120 University St., Ottawa, Canada K1N 6N5. E-mail: issbd@uottawa.ca

Members of Review Panels *continued*

Jackie Lerner (USA), Morag MacLean (UK), Alfons Marcoen (Belgium), Zopito Marini (Canada), Greg Moran (Canada), Carmen Moreno (Spain), Ellen Moss (Canada), Tullia Musatti (Italy), Adam Niemczynski (Poland), Peter Noack (Germany), Gil Noam (USA), Jari-Erik Nurmi (Finland), David Oppenheim (Israel), Hellgard Rauh (Germany), M. Clotilde Rossetti-Ferreira (Brazil), Colette

Sabatier (France), Abraham Sagi (Israel), Wolfgang Schneider (Germany), Christof Schuster (USA), Rachel Seginer (Israel), Monique Sénéchal (Canada), Felicissima Serafica (USA), Shmuel Shulman (Israel), Rainer K. Silbereisen (Germany), Margaret B. Spencer (USA), Christiane Spiel (Austria), Dale Stack (Canada), Ursula Staudinger (Germany), Howard Steele (UK), Harold

Stevenson (USA), Elizabeth Susman (USA), Doug Symons (Canada), Keiko Takahashi (Japan), John Taplin (Australia), Georges Tarabulsky (Canada), Odile Tessier (Canada), Marcel van Aken (The Netherlands), Anna von der Lippe (Norway), Fred Vondracek (USA), Alexander von Eye (USA)

Housing

All conference housing is within walking distance of the headquarters hotel, the Château Laurier. Because of the heavy demand for hotel space during the high season, please reserve early. The exact prices will be posted in October 2001. The Ottawa Tourism and Convention Authority will handle all hotel reservations.

Three categories of accommodation will be available. At the basic level, rooms at the University of Ottawa residences can be booked by any conference participant. These are simple accommodations, with washrooms down the corridor and no air conditioning. We expect the prices to be in the range of \$25 US dollars per night. Middle-range accommodations will be available at several downtown hotels, including some that feature suites with kitchen facilities. These facilities offer air conditioning and private washroom facilities. We expect the prices to range from \$75 to \$120 US dollars per night. Our headquarters hotel, the Château Laurier, offers luxury accommodation and very attentive service. Rooms are decorated with a Victorian touch. All are air-conditioned, but with windows that open, and have tastefully decorated washrooms. The Art Deco swimming pool is an Ottawa landmark. There is also a popular Health Club. We expect the nightly rate to be about \$150 US dollars per night.

Full entry and washroom access for persons with physical disabilities is available at the Château Laurier, Les Suites, Cartier Place, and Marriott Residence Inn. Some of the other hotels provide partial access. Please make your needs known at the time of reservation.

Visit us at www.issbd.uottawa.ca

Conference Registration

Registration forms will be posted on the website www.issbd.uottawa.ca in January 2002. They will also be sent to all ISSBD members as part of the ISSBD Newsletter. Non-members who wish to receive copies by mail/post should contact us.

Registration Fee

The registration fee includes the welcome reception on August 2, 2002, access to the full scientific programme from August 3-6, coffee breaks, and the abstracts on CD-ROM.

The early registration fee, for members who register no later than March 1, 2002, will be \$200 US or the Canadian equivalent. The early registration fee for non-members will be \$285 US. For participants registering between March 2 and July 15, the fees are \$260 US for members, \$345 US for non-members. After July 15 or on-site, the fees are \$310 US for members, \$395 US for non-members.

Venue

A historical landmark, the Château Laurier Hotel, will be the headquarters of the meeting. Conceived as the flagship hotel in a chain of railway hotels stretching across Canada, the Château was commissioned in 1907 by Charles Melville Hays, the flamboyant general manager of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada. Hays wanted the hotel to reflect the architecture of the French Renaissance, yet harmonize with Ottawa's neo-Gothic Parliament buildings nearby. The Château occupies a majestic setting overlooking Parliament Hill, the Rideau Canal, Confederation Square and Major Hill Park.



The Château Laurier

Reduced fees will be available to students with proper identification. The early registration fee for student members is \$90 US; \$137 US for non-members, if received no later than March 1, 2002. The fee for student registration between March 2 and July 15 is \$115 US for student members, \$162 US for student non-members. After July 15 or on site, the student registration fee is \$130 US for members, \$177 US for non-members.

The registration fee for participants from countries with currency restrictions recognized for ISSBD membership is: \$90 US for members who register no later than March 1, \$100 US for non-members. Between March 1 and July 15, the fees are: \$100 US for members, \$110 US for non-members. After July 15 or on-site, these fees are \$110 US for members, \$120 US for non-members.



INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF BEHAVIOURAL DEVELOPMENT
2001 New Member Application for members from North America

I wish to become a member of the INTERNATIONAL SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF BEHAVIOURAL DEVELOPMENT. I understand that membership dues entitle me to receive the International Journal of Behavioral Development, ISSBD Newsletters, a Directory of Members, and all other rights and perquisites of members in good standing.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Membership Status

The student rate is available for no more than three years. Student applications must be accompanied by a letter from a Professor or university official attesting to current student status.

Check category of membership

One Year Membership (2001)

Full (US \$85) Student (US \$47) Emeritus (US \$47) Spouse (US \$47)

Name of spouse paying Full dues: _____

Two Year Membership (2001 and 2002)

Full (US \$150) Student (US \$80) Emeritus (US \$80) Spouse (US \$80)

Name of spouse paying Full dues: _____

Payment

Choose one of the following two options. No other forms of payment can be accepted. Do not send cash.

1. Check: Checks must be drawn in US dollars on a US bank or a US bank affiliate. Make check payable to ISSBD. Your name and address should appear on the check.

2. Credit Card: Only Visa or MasterCard can be accepted. Indicate type of credit card and expiration date, write credit card number in large, clear numerals, and sign your name.

Visa MasterCard

Expiration Date: _____

Card Number: _____

Signature: _____

Membership encompasses the calendar year. Applications received prior to October are credited to the current year (and include back issues of publications). Mail application and payment to Dr. Brett Laursen, ISSBD Membership Secretary and Treasurer, Department of Psychology, College of Liberal Arts, Florida Atlantic University, 2912 College Avenue, Fort Lauderdale FL 33314-7714, USA. E-mail inquiries may be addressed to LAURSEN@FAU.EDU. Membership information is also available at <http://www.issbd.org>.

Membership Information

Name (Given/Middle/Family): _____

Title: _____

Mailing Address: _____

Work Telephone: _____

Home Telephone: _____

E-Mail: _____

Fax: _____

Please visit our website at www.issbd.org or contact us for information about reduced regional membership for members from certain developing countries, and for the addresses to which dues may be mailed from overseas.





AFFIX
STAMP
HERE



NEW MEMBER APPLICATION

Brett Laursen
ISSBD Membership Secretary and Treasurer
Department of Psychology
College of Liberal Arts
Florida Atlantic University
2912 College Avenue
Fort Lauderdale
FL 33314-7714
USA

