DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 183 285 PS 011 274

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TITLE Qualitative Evaluation of Parent Education Workshops and the Use of Parenting Models.
INSTITUTION Southwest Educational Develcpment Lab., Austin, Tex.
PUB DATE Apr 80
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association (Boston, MA, April 7-11, 1980)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Beliefs; *Child Rearing; *Discipline; *Models; *Mother Attitudes; Parent Education; *Parent Workshops; Program Evaluation; Research Methodology

ABSTRACT

Qualitative methods were used to evaluate the impact of a parent education package, "Ways to Discipline Children" on 31 low income multi-ethnic mothers at four sites in Austin, Texas. Methods included one-hour pre- and post-interviews using open-ended questions about parenting models and discipline techniques, home observation schedules and participation-observation during the four sessions lasting 1 1/2 to 2 hours. The parenting models focused on three variables: (1) How does the parent direct and control learning? (+/-control); (2) How does the child learn? (+/- others) and (3) Is mediation or control of the envircnmen* by the parent important for learning to take place? (+/- environment). The study found that the parents could be categorized in terms of seven parenting models. The parenting models helped explain certain kinds of impact: Parents who had been abused as children had similar parenting models and reported similar kinds of changes: the use of positive discipline techniques is correlated with the self-other development variable and not with the control variables: changes in the parenting model were toward being less controlling and the dissonance between normative beliefs and parenting experience helped explain some of the changes the parents experienced in the workshop. (Author/SS)

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QUALITATIVE EVALUATION OF PARENT EDUCATION WORKSHOPS AND THE USE OF PARENTING MODELS

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Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association
Boston, Massachusetts

April 7-11, 1980

QUALITATIVE EVALUATION OF PARENT EDUCATION WORKSHOPS AND THE USE OF PARENTING MODELS

Introduction

For the past two years, I have conducted research related to parents' beliefs about child rearing. During October 1978-November 1979, I evaluated the effects of 4 parent education workshops on 31 participants, all of whom were mothers. The workshop was titled, "Ways to Discipline Children," and my goal was to discover the "range of effects" on the parents. In conceptualizing the study, I made a number of assumptions, based on my anthropological training, which led to the conceptualization of seven "parenting models" which will be the subject of this paper. First, I would like to briefly outline the assumptions and conceptualization of the "Impact Study" as it was called. Then, I would like to describe the parenting models we developed and how these parenting models were correlated with some of the effects the parents experienced. I will suggest some ways in which the conceptualization of models of beliefs about child rearing can be useful for understanding other kinds of situations where parents are involved.

The Impact Study resulted in a number of findings, of which only some will be reported here. These findings were about ethnic differences in impact, about the importance of prior experience in the adult learning process, and about the effectiveness of this particular kind of parent education workshop (SEDL Final Report 1978; SEDL Final Report 1979). In this particular paper, I will concentrate on a description of the parenting models and how they have helped explain certain kinds of impact. This choice reflects a continuing research concern with placing an emphasis on the "native's model," so to speak, of parenting. We are continuing our research in

refining the parenting models to include variables which have been derived from a cross-cultural search of the literature. Thus, the conceptualization of the parenting models presented here is already in a state of being scrutinized and changed.

One of a series of products of the Early Childhood Program at SEDL were fifteen multimedia training packages in parent education designed for low-income parents. The format is an informal group of 8-15 people, with a "leader" and "co-leader" trained in small group skills. The package contains short films, taped vignettes on cassettes, games, flipcharts and handouts, along with a "leader's manual" which provides explicit instructions. There are four sessions lasting 1½ hours on discipline techniques--listening, setting limits, rewarding and punishment.

The concept of "impact" was conceived to include the range of anticipated and unanticipated effects. The developers of the package had anticipated a more narrow range of effects, namely that parents attending the sessions, ideally, would listen more, set reasonable limits, use rewards as opposed to bribes to encourage good behavior, and spank less and only for repeated offenses. It was also hypothesized that there might be effects that neither the researchers or the developers of the materials had anticipated.

The research questions were: (1) What kinds of attitudinal and behavioral changes occur to parents and their children as a result of participation in a parent education workshop? (2) Which variables are most crucial in understanding the impact on parents, such as the parent's prior experiences, the leadership skills, social interaction with other parents and leaders, and the content of the training package? We were also interested in finding ethnic differences in impact, and whether the workshop's materials were culturally sensitive.

The use of qualitative research methods evolved out of the results from field testing of the parent education package. The pen and pencil tests of knowledge retention were not picking up the range of effects that interviews with leaders were reporting (SEDL, Early Childhood, 1976:175). Further, an analysis of the implementation process suggested that the leader's innovativeness, knowledge and small group skills could influence the degree of impact (SEDL, Early Childhood, 1977:112-114). The decision to investigate both intended and unintended "range of effects" grew out of these considerations. This led to a qualitative approach to evaluation.

Qualitative research differs from quantitative research in a number of assumptions. First, there is the view that what constitutes social reality or social change may vary, depending on the referent.

> Qualitative methodologies assume there is value to an analysis of both the inner experience and outer behavior of a subject as viewed by both the research and the participants, an approach emphasizing the understanding of human behavior from the actor's own frame of reference (Rist, 1979:19).

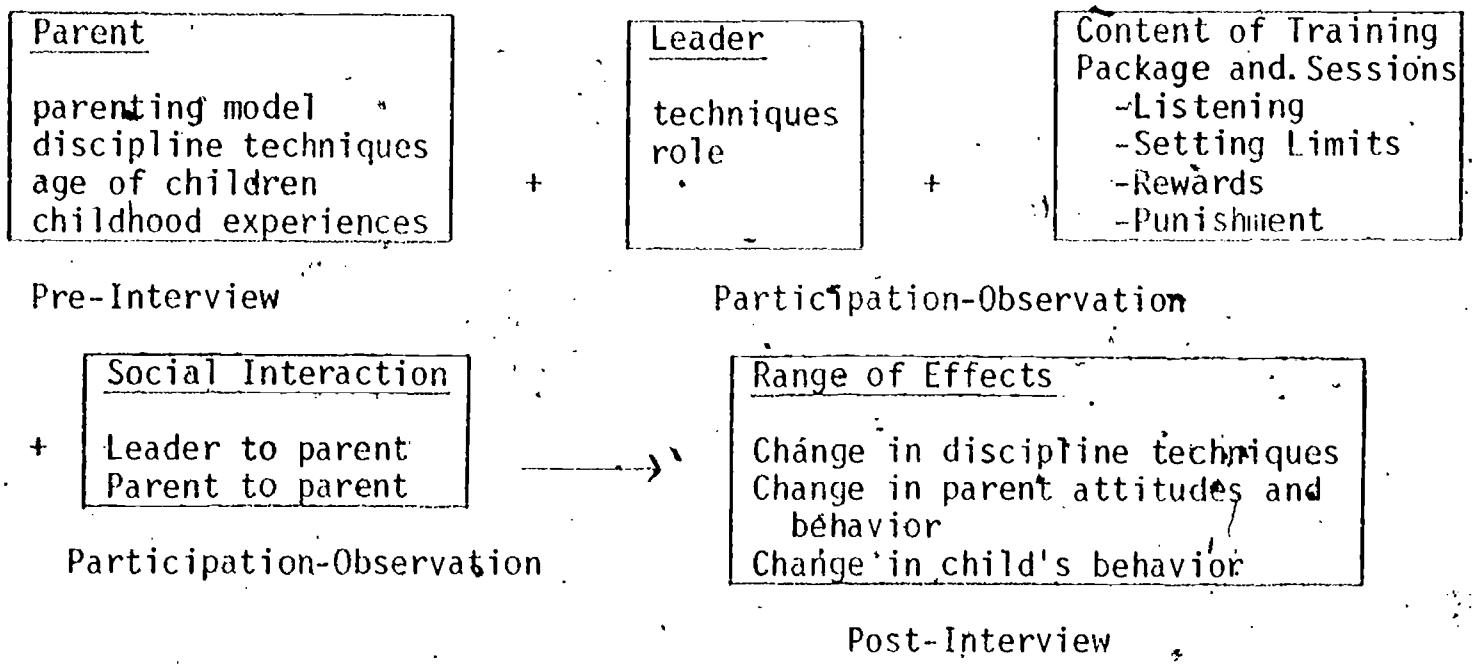
This led us to rely on self-reported change and the use of open-ended questions in our goal to explore unintended as well as intended changes.

Second, qualitative research focuses on the context of the learning situation, what some have called the "naturalistic setting." Learning is not assumed to be a stimulus-response situation, rather the context of learning is important in understanding why learning took place. This assumption led us to want to understand the two contexts: the prior experiences (or learning) that took place before entering the workshop and the dynamics of the learning situation during the workshop. This meant finding out about parenting beliefs and parenting experiences of the participants as well as observations of the participants during the workshop sessions.

Since the research focuses on the socialization of adults (adult learning) in a semi-structured educational setting whose subject matter is the socialization of children, the study had to wed the two socialization components into one. Socialization was viewed as a teaching and learning process. The question naturally arose, how does the parent participant view the teaching and learning process, and will understanding the parents' view help us to understand the adult learning process? From this, we developed the conceptual framework called the "parenting model," a cognitive model of parents' beliefs about children which, methodologically, allowed us to explore the parent's view of child socialization, laying the foundation for understanding the changes the parents might experience in the workshop. The assumption was that actions or changes are grounded in belief systems, and one cannot understand change without understanding beliefs.

The conceptualization and implementation of the Impact Study can be graphically represented as follows:

HEURISTIC MODEL OF HOW PARTICIPANT TRAINING OUTCOMES MAY OCCUR



The Parenting Model

What are the crucial variables that form the parameters of belief systems about child rearing? It is assumed that all behavior is purposeful in that it is tied, however consciously or unconsciously, to a larger construct consisting of values and/or beliefs--beliefs about the interrelationship's among the nature of man, child and society and the nature of the universe. This belief system operates to integrate individual behavior; it is a high order abstraction that individuals operationalize through their behavior.

Parents operationalize their belief systems as they interact with children. The manner in which the interaction between child and parent occurs suggests that parents have certain notions that guide their behavior. These notions stem from belief systems. Thus, a parent may have, as part of his/her belief system, the notion that children are born with a "bad" and untamed nature and their responsibility as parents is to "tame the beast." Other parents may have the notion that the child has a "natural" inclination for learning and growing, and the parental role is designed to maximize freedom for the child to explore and develop.

The study postulated that, in order to understand parents' changes in discipline techniques, one needs to understand their underlying assumptions about child rearing, called "the parenting model." The parenting model is a set of coherent and interrelated beliefs about the nature of children which includes (1) rationale which explains why they believe what they do, and (2) specific ways of teaching and learning, parental limitations and how the parent views her roles in the teaching/learning process. The parenting model focused on three variables:

(1) Does the parent direct and control learning?

+ Control — Yes, the parent directs learning through instilling information or through conditioning

- Control — No, the parent does not direct learning or exhibit control

(2) How does the child learn?

+ Others — The child learns through the help of significant others

- Others — The child can learn through self-regulation or self-actualization

(3) Is mediation or control of the environment by the parent important for learning to take place? (Note: The environment here is viewed as the social environment and physical environment.)

+ Environment — The control of the environment is important to child socialization and needs to be mediated by the parent

- Environment — The control of the environment is not important for learning because the child makes his own interpretation

Of the possible parenting models based on a combination of the three variables, the parents fell into seven parenting models, some of which overlapped with contemporary child rearing models.*

*Of the possible combinations, two were not found (- control, + others, - environment, and - control, + others, + environment). These two models assume that neither the parent nor the child is responsible for socialization, rather it is significant others (+ others) that is responsible for the socialization. These would be what one would call "communal responsibility" models, a type of parenting model that would be uncommon in our society, except possibly in utopian communes, but would be more common in communal societies, particularly in societies where the primary responsibility for socialization lies in kinspersons other than the parents.

TABLE I
A COMPARISON OF THE PARENTING MODELS AND CHILD REARING MODELS IN THE LITERATURE

	PARENTING MODELS	CONTROL	OTHER	ENVIRONMENT	EUGENE MEAD*	JONAS LANGER+	PARENTS MAGAZINE++
NON AUTHORITARIAN	A. Maslow Existential/ Phenomenological Model	-	-	-	Same	Organic Lamp	Rousseau
NON AUTHORITARIAN	B. Gesell Developmental Maturational Model	-	-	+	Same	Organic Lamp	Rousseau
AUTHORITATIVE TRANSITIONAL	C. Obedience and Self Reliance Model	+	-	-	None	Organic Lamp	None
AUTHORITATIVE TRANSITIONAL	D. Authoritative Transitional	+	-	+	None	Organic Lamp	
AUTHORITATIVE TRADITIONAL	E. Adlerian/Socio Teleological Model	+	+	-		Mechanical Mirror	Locke
AUTHORITARIAN POSITIVE	F. Behaviorist Model	+	+	+	Same	Mechanical Mirror	Locke-Watson
AUTHORITARIAN NEGATIVE	G. Calvinist Model	+	+	+	Psychoanalytic	Mechanical Mirror	Calvin

*Eugene Mead, Six Approaches to Child Rearing, Brigham Young University press, 1976
+Jonas Langer, Theories of Development, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1969
++Parents Magazine Filmstrip Series No. 8, "Three Basic Theories," 1976

Following McGillicuddy-Delisi's and Sigel's research on belief systems, the parent's belief system

> ...is not an attitude since it is not limited to a single object nor is it defined as a predisposition to act...parent's behavior is better understood through knowledge of the beliefs than knowledge of the attitude (McGillicuddy-Delisi, et al, 1979).

The parenting model, as a belief system about child rearing, allowed us to ask "Are certain parenting models receptive to certain kinds of change?"

Most of the parents believe in some form of control over the child,* a characteristic of American child rearing beliefs noted by many researchers. Some parents control the child primarily through the parent-child relationship and other parents emphasize controlling the "quality" of the environment for the child. Some parents use both equally and other parents de-emphasize all kinds of control. The configuration of the three variables (parent-child, child-others/environment and parent-others/environment) is relative: the degree to which a parent emphasizes one part of the triad over the other is what distinguishes different kinds of parenting models. The other characteristics which distinguish the most controlling parenting models is the positive or negative "quality" of the control. It should be noted that each parenting model represents a composite of the parents interviewed. The parenting models are derived primarily from the population interviewed and secondarily from the child rearing models in the literature. They were developed as a heuristic device to shed light on the prior conditioning or beliefs of the parents.

What follows is a highly condensed description of each of the parenting models. In the original study (PRIMO Final Report, 1979) the parenting models

*Current research is being conducted on refining the belief systems of the parents, with de-emphasis on the "control" variable.

were described in more detail and each parenting model had a case example taken from the parents interviewed (lable 3).

A. The Maslow Model (- control, - others; - environment)

There is little or no parental control. The parent should abandon the right to use power. The child learns through non-directed experiencing. The child needs autonomy to actualize him/herself, and out of the child's experiences will come a positive self-concept. The positive self-concept will then create good relations with parents and others. The value orientation is towards self-exploration. Historical influence of the model comes from Rousseau's idea that a child, in its natural state, has all the internal potential for self-development. The environment, then, is not dangerous or hostile, but rather there to be explored. It is up to the child to learn. The parent's role is as a friend who provides "guidance" when asked; "You don't tell a child what to do, you ask him." The child's view is equal to the parent's.

B. The Gesell Model (- control, - others, + environment)

The child develops on his own through well-defined "stages of growth." There is little or no parental control. The child tends toward self-regulation and self-exploration. The parent's role is to create the right conditions within the environment for optimal growth. The only control the parent exerts on the child is indirectly through the control of the environment. The child is free to develop the kind of relationship with the parent that the child desires. Parents with this model tend to allow "choices" within the environment, and tend to view themselves as "protective" with an emphasis on providing the right conditions for the child. There is an emphasis on what the parent "should do" and not what the child should do. Historically, this model gained popularity in the 1930's and continues today.

C. Obedience and Self-Reliance Model (+ control, - others, - environment)

The parent has the ultimate authority and prerogative with the child, but the child develops and learns on his/her own. There is an emphasis on self-discipline, self-exploration, and self-reliance. Each person, including the child, bears individual responsibility for socialization. A parent should be obeyed because that is the parent's role. The parent cannot control the outside environment and can in no real sense "protect" the child from the world; it is the child's responsibility to figure out how to "get along." The parent desires both obedience and self-reliance on the part of the child.

D. Authoritative-Transitional Model (+ control, - others, + environment)

The parent's role as authority is given; further, the parent believes in controlling the environment for the child. The child has the internal potential to develop on his/her own, but generally there is conflict with the parent. The most salient feature of this model is

the parent is in a state of transition. The parent is questioning the importance of asserting her authority since she believes in the child's self-development. There is conflict between believing in controlling the child and the environment and believing in letting the child self-develop. (Note: All the parents in this model were abused as children.)

E. The Adlerian Model (+ control, + others, - environment)

This model focuses on the parent-child-others relationship and there is little focus on the parent's control of the environment. The "environment" is group interests. The child is born with a goal setting desire to strive from a position of powerlessness to a position of social power; the child is also born with an innate desire to work toward group and social interests, which Adler called "altruism" (1937). The role of the parent is to teach the child the "proper" behavior to work towards group interests. Power and authority are givens and the parent recognizes her authority and power. Her role is to use it with respect and demonstrate, through her example, how to develop social interests. The parent is a necessary presence for the child to learn "right from wrong."

F. Behaviorist Model (+ control, + other, + environment)

Power and control are inevitable and all learning experiences of the child is due to external stimuli (operant conditioning). Reinforcement is necessary for learning or change to take place. The role of the parent is to control the external stimuli in a positive way, to provide the necessary reinforcement for the child to learn. The emphasis is on the parent-environment relationship mediating the learning of the child. Historically, the model has it's roots in John Locke and the passive view that man grows to be what he is made to be by his environment (Langer, 1969:4).

G. The Calvinist Model (+ control, + other, + environment)

The child is born with undesirable passions which are "sinful." The parent's duty is to teach proper behavior, set a good example, and internalize the norms in the child through punishment and instilling guilt. The child tends toward evil, and the parent views the environment as dangerous and hostile, so both must be controlled equally by the parent. The child is basically irrational and thus needs reinforcement from authority, i.e., the parent. There is an internal conflict between the individual's sinful/animal desires and the needs of society. Socialization requires learning through the proper external control. Like the behaviorist model, it is a stimulus-response model of socialization. Historically, the Calvinist view was prevalent in Anglo-Saxon countries and is close to Freud's assumptions about the nature of the individual.

Methods and Techniques

Qualitative research methods were used to gather the data for the study. These included open-ended interview schedules administered before the workshop and four weeks after the workshop. During each of the four sessions of the four workshops, at least two interviewers participated and observed. Participation was "passive" insofar as the interviewers asked interrogative questions, and made non-commital remarks. Parents were asked in the pre- and post-interviews about their values, goals for their children, how they are raising their children as compared with the way they were raised and the techniques of discipline they used. Each interview lasted approximately one hour. Interviews were taped and transcribed, and the transcript ran approximately 30-40 pages for each interview.

A pilot study for testing and revising the interview and observation schedules was conducted at a Title XX day care center in November 1978. Evaluation of the parent training package took place at three sites in Austin, Texas. Two sites were day care centers and one site was a program in child development for CETA day care workers. All the sites had ongoing parent education programs.

The Participants

The parents voluntarily participated in the education workshop and were recruited by the program directors. The data were gathered by eight interviewers over a period of four months in 1979. Data were gathered on 31 low income mothers from four different parent education programs. There were 10 Anglos, 9 Blacks and 12 Chicana parents. Thirteen of the parents were single parents, 12 had nuclear families, 4 were part of extended families and 2 were living with non-relatives (Table 2).

Findings

The Impact Study has resulted in a number of findings which are relevant to an understanding of the impact and implementation of parent education workshops, to an understanding of the role of parenting models and ethnic differences in understanding changes in parents, and to an understanding of parents who were abused as children. The major findings of the study can be summarized as such:

- The parenting model and its role in understanding impact.

  - This study has developed a preliminary basis for understanding the parenting models of parents, some of which correspond to experts' models and some which don't correspond. The parenting models have illuminated the kinds of changes parents experienced and the kinds of discipline techniques parents use, based on three variables that constitute the parenting model.

  - No correspondence was observed between authoritarian parental position (+ control in the parenting model) and the use of physical punishment as a discipline technique, as indicated in the General Mills Study (1977). No evidence was found for the hypothesis that the more controlling the parenting model, the greater the use of negative discipline techniques (Table 4 and Table 5).

  - If the parenting model is self-development oriented (- others), the parents tend to use positive discipline techniques more than parenting models that are other-development oriented. That is, a parent's use of discipline techniques is associated more with her/his view about the nature of the child's development (-/+ other) than with the parent's role as the authority or her control of the environment. This suggests that the key to the use of positive discipline techniques lies in the parent's view of the child's development process, rather than the parent's view of their need to express parental control (Table 6).

  - Whether the parenting model is controlling or non-controlling, most of the parents tend to use positive discipline techniques.

  - Parents who were abused as children tend to develop the same parenting model (D) which is authoritative and self-development oriented.

  - The more controlling, other-development oriented parenting models were the most likely to change their discipline techniques, more notably to more active listening and less physical punishment (Table 4 and Table 5).

- Parents with the less controlling, self-ddevelopment oriented parenting models were receptive to an increase in self-confidence, to becoming more assertive in the disciplinarian role, and to being less punishing.

- The parenting model least receptive to change was the model most similar to the assumptions of the parent education workshop (the Adlerian Model E). The hypothesis "parents whose values and techniques of child rearing most closely correspond with those of the training package will experience a greater positive reinforcement in the area of self-confidence and discipline techniques" was found to be true insofar as it created a mild reinforcement, but it was not coded as a change.

- Changes in the parenting model were toward being less controlling and/or toward recognizing that the child can learn without the presence of the parent.

The most intriguing of the unanticipated results was the data that emerged when the parents were asked, "Are you raising your children the way you were raised?" There were three groups of answers (1) those parents who had a "good" relationship with their parents (58%), (2) those parents who were "critical" of their childhood upbringing (26%), and (3) those who were beaten too harshly (13%) or physically abused (16%). The latter category results in an astounding 29% of the parents who had experienced very harsh physical punishment as children. What is even more intriguing is that all of the abused* parents are Anglo and three of the five or 60% had the same parenting model, the Authoritative Transitional Model which emphasizes (1) a belief in the parent as controller, (2) a belief in self-development tendencies of the child, and (3) a belief in the parent controlling the environment. These same parents had a self-consicious ambivalence. They were also some of the most receptive to change (i.e., had a relatively high impact score). Since none of the parents were abusing

*"Abused" meant that in 4 of the 5 cases, the parent, as a child, was removed from her home, and in the last case, the parent reported that she had lasting "mental scars" and classified her upbringing as "abused" although she was not removed from her home.

parents themselves and participation in the workshops was voluntary, the study suggests that (1) parents abused as a child, at some point, may become very receptive to change their discipline techniques with their children; this is a self-conscious decision and may be a strong motivating factor in seeking a vehicul for change, such as a parent education workshop; and (2) there are a number of parents who were abused as children, who are not currently abusing their children, yet who are more controlling with their children than they want to be. These parents constitute a "hidden" group of potential abusers who are conscious of rejecting their childhood model, but who may exhibit behavior with their children they do not approve of. The conceptualization of the parenting models proved invaluable in understanding this unanticipated finding.

Conclusion

The use of qualitative research methods requires an approach which (1) uses the referent's viewpoint in describing the social reality and (2) assumes an interrelatedness of phenomenon. Data collection is intertwined with data analysis, allowing the generation and refining of hypotheses. This approach to the evaluation of 4 parent education workshops proved fruitful in uncovering some unanticipated effects on the participatns. The qualitative approach postulated a parenting model that would help explain the parents' discipline techniques, the subject of the workshop. The postulation of the parenting model is a direct consequence of assuming a prior context to the learning situation, and the interrelatedness of beliefs and actions.

A major conclusion we came to after evaluating the impact of parent education workshops is that the focus of parent education programs should concentrate more on ideological rather than economic constraints. More

specifically, what emerged was that parents experience a dissonance between the normative beliefs they have accepted and their own parenting experiences. The parents who attended the workshop were affectionate, accepted their role as parents, and were not experiencing difficulty fulfilling their responsibilities as competent caretakers; half the parents in this study were single parents and yet this was not seen as a major obstacle. The difficulty they were experienceing had to do with an uneasiness with fundamental beliefs about raising children that did not correspond with their own experiences. These assumptions, to name a few, were (1) you cannot raise a child without the use of physical punishment. Their comments demonstrated that physical punishment didn't "work" (it made them or their children feel bad, it didn't prevent bad behavior), despite the fact that the society legitimizes it, (2) the parent is the authority and has the right to exercise this authority in any way she sees fit. This belief didn't "work" for them (sometimes they knew they weren't right), (3) the parent is superior to the child in knowledge, wisdom, experience, competence and power. This assumed an essential inequality between parent and child that many parents felt uncomfortable with. The assumption of parental superiority is legitimized by the normative beliefs of the society. Most parents want to be "friends" and feel uncomfortable in a power relationship with a child, although they find themselves having that kind of relationship because it is sanctioned by their peer group and family.

It appears, then, that parent education programs should focus on the belief systems and its constraints rather than the economic constraints.

*Research by Irving Sigel, Ann McGillicuddy-Delisi and James Johnson (1980:165) found that parental belief constructs have more predictive power for child's behavior than parents' communication strategies.

The dissonance between the cognitive model of parenting and the implementation of the model is a key to understanding the kinds of changes the parents experienced in the workshop.

It would be interesting to find out the extent to which parents' models of child rearing (or, analogously, teaching) correspond to teachers' models of teaching. Exploring this avenue of research might illuminate some of the discrepancies between teachers' teaching styles and parents' teaching styles and their implications for student behavior and parent-teacher communication.

APPENDIX

TABLE 2: CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPANTS BY SITE

	SITE 1	SITE 2	SITE 3	SITE 4	TOTAL
TOTAL NUMBER	7	12	6	6	31
ETHNICITY					
Anglo	3	1	0	6	10
Black	0	7	2	0	9
Chicana	4	4	4	0	12
EDUCATION					
Below 12th	3	1	2	3	9
12 or GED	2	3	0	1	6
Above 12	2	8	4	2	16
INCOME					
-3,000	4	1	0	2	7
3,000-5,000	3	3	0	1	7
5,000-7,000	0	7	3	1	11
7,000-9,000	0	1	2	1	1
10,000 +	0	0	0	1	1
N.A.	0	0	1	0	1
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION					
Single Parent	4	5	1	0	10
Nuclear	3	2	5	2	12
Male/Female Friend	0	2	0	0	2
Extended Family	0	3	0	1	4
Separated	0	0	0	3	3
NUMBER OF CHILDREN					
1	0	4	0	2	6
2	4	5	4	2	15
3	2	1	1	2	6
4 or more	1	2	1	0	4
AGES OF CHILDREN					
1 year or less	2	3	2	2	9
2-4 years	8	3	2	4	17
5-6 years	6	5	4	5	20
8 years	0	6	4	1	11
9 and over	3	9	3	0	15
TOTAL	19	26	15	12	72
Average Number of Children	2.71	2.16	2.5	2.0	2.32
OCCUPATION					
Managerial	0	0	1	0	
Service (maid, waitress, cook)	2 (1PT)*	0	0	1 (PT)	
Clerical/Secretarial	1 (PT)	0	4	2	
Operatives	0	0	0	1	
Crafts	2	0	0	1	
Student	2 (PT)	0	1	1 (PT)	
AFDC	0	0	0	1	
CETA	0	12	0	0	
TOTAL	7	12	6	6	

*PT=part time

TABLE 3: PARENTING MODELS BY ETHNICITY

PARENTING MODELS	ETHNIC GROUPS					
	ANGLO PARENTS		CHICANA PARENTS		BLACK PARENTS	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A (-/-/-)*	1	10.0	1	11.1	1	11.1
B (-/-/+)	3	30.0	4	33.3	1	11.1
Subtotal	4	40.0	5	41.6	2	22.2
C (+/-/-)	1		1		3	
D (+/-/+)	3		0		0	
Subtotal	4	40.0	1	8.3	3	33.3
E (+/+/-)						
Subtotal	1	10.0	1	8.3	0	
F (+/+/+)						
Subtotal	1	10.0	2	16.6	4	44.4
G (+/+/+)						
Subtotal	0	0.0	3	25.0	0	0.0
TOTAL	10	100.0	12	100.0	9	100.0

*(-/-/-) = -Control, -Other, -Environment.

BREAKDOWN OF TABLE 3 BY EACH VARIABLE

Variables in Parenting Model	Number and Percent of Parents by Ethnicity					
	Anglo Parents n = 10		Chicana Parents n = 12		Black Parents n = 9	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
+ Control	6	60.0	7	58.4	7	77.7
- Control	4	40.0	5	41.6	2	22.2
- Other	8	80.0	6	50.0	5	55.5
+ Other	2	20.0	6	50.0	4	44.4
+ Environment	7	70.0	9	75.0	5	55.5
- Environment	3	30.0	3	25.0	4	44.4

TABLE 4: PARENTING MODELS AND DISCIPLINE TECHNIQUES BY ETHNICITY: PRE-INTERVIEW

PARENTING MODEL	RELIANCE ON POSITIVE TECHNIQUES			RELIANCE ON NEGATIVE TECHNIQUES	
G				C	CC
F	B** BB	A	B C	C	
E	A C				
D	A	A		A	
C	BB A C	B			
B	AA CC CC	A B			
A	A	B C			
Total	17	7	2	3	2
	Listen Praise Don't Spank	Listen Praise Spank	Don't Listen Praise Don't Spank	Don't Listen Praise Spank	Don't Listen Don't Praise Spank

controlling / non-controlling; other development / self-development

** A=Anglo; B=Black; C=Chicana

*The Calvinist Model has a built-in assumption of use of negative discipline techniques.

TABLE 5: PARENTING MODELS AND DISCIPLINE TECHNIQUES BY ETHNICITY: POST-INTERVIEW

PARENTING MODEL	RELIANCE ON POSITIVE TECHNIQUES			RELIANCE ON NEGATIVE TECHNIQUES		
G		C C			C	
F	A* C C B B B B					
E	A C					
D	A		A		A	
C	B B A B		B			
B	A A A C C C C		B			
A	A		B C			
Total	22	2	5		2	
	Listen Praise Don't Spank	Listen Don't Praise Don't Spank	Listen Praise Spank	Don't Listen Praise Don't Spank	Don't Listen Praise Spank	Don't Listen Don't Praise Spank

*A=Anglo, B=Black, C=Chicana

TABLE 6: PARENTING MODELS AND DISCIPLINE TECHNIQUES: PRE-INTERVIEW

		Discipline Techniques						Parenting Model Number of Parents							
		Listen	Praise	Reward	Set Limit	Take Away Privilege	Punish	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	
	1.	+	+	-	-	-	-		1						
	2.	+	+	+	+	-	-			1					
Listen Praise Don't Spank	3.	+	+	+	-	+	-		1						
	4.	+	+	-	-	+	-	1							
	5.	+	+	-	+	-	-		2	1					
	6.	+	+	-	+	+	-		1	2		2			
	7.	+	+	+	+	+	-		1		1		3		17
	8.	+	+	-	+	+	+			1			1		
Listen Praise Spank	9.	+	+	+	-	+	+	2							
	10.	+	+	-	-	+	+		1		1				
	11.	+	+	+	-	-	+		1						7
Don't Listen Praise Don't Spank	12.	-	+	+	+	+	-						1		
	13.	-	+	-	+	+	-						1		2
Don't Listen Praise Spank	14.	-	+	-	+	+	+				1		1		
	15.	-	+	+	-	-	+							1	3
Don't Listen Don't Praise Spank	16.	-	-	-	-	-	+						1		
	17.	-	-	-	+	+	+							1	2

+ = parent reports use of this technique

- = parent reports non-use of this technique

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