THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

RAISING TODDLERS:
A NATURALISTIC, LONGITUDINAL EXAMINATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN PARENTAL SOCIALIZATION MESSAGES AND PRACTICES WITH TODDLERS IN HIGH-RISK ENVIRONMENTS

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To Scott Allen Shippy and W. Kenneth Isarowong Shippy,
my husband and son,
for their patience, love, and support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

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ABSTRACT

Practitioners, policy-makers, and researchers have relied on empirical knowledge based on samples of European American/White and middle-class samples as standards for the evaluation of racial and ethnic minority children and families. Despite much effort to curb the pervasiveness of the deficit and pathological perspective, racial and ethnic minority children and families continue to be evaluated using standards that decontextualize their environmental, cultural, racial, and economic realities. This exploratory examination of everyday socialization messages and practices of urban, low-income African American families with their young children during toddlerhood contributes to a small body of existing basic research literature that document the parenting and socialization processes of non-European American/White and/or middle class children and families. In addition, the study sought to support and invigorate continued efforts to use empirical methodology and knowledge to challenge the pervasive and persistent deficit and pathological perceptions of urban, low-income African American families.

This study utilized secondary longitudinal, qualitative data, selected from a unique set of multi-hour, naturalistic video observations of urban, low-income African American families living in high-risk environments. One-hour video segments of 17 families at children's ages 12, 24, and 36 months were transcribed to include verbal and nonverbal interactions captured on the videos. A two-tiered coding structure was developed to capture socialization message events and the parenting practices used to convey those messages. Socialization messages were based on Social Domain Theory's three social knowledge domains and 9 associated categories that cover a wide range of everyday parental socialization topics including children's personal safety, others' safety and fairness, food and mealtime, family routines and chores, orderly behavior, social relationships, traditions, and etiquette, self-care, ownership and care of property, and self-

knowledge, identity, and personal choice. Parenting practice codes were conceptualized around the dimensions of parental power assertion which includes high power, moderate power, low power, and 14 associated categories, each with at least two subcategories. Mixed quantitative and qualitative methods were utilized to analyze the data including ANOVA, multiple regression, and qualitative comparative analysis.

Generally, this study found that urban, low-income African American families actively socialized their children around a wide variety of social knowledge concerns that covered all categories across the three ages and nearly all categories at each age. To convey those message events, families employed a large magnitude of a variety of parenting practices. In addition, there's strong evidence that families shifted both the number and types of messages conveyed and practices used as their children got older. For example, families in the study decreased their socialization efforts around children's personal safety as children increased in developmental capacities and skills, consistent with existing conceptual and empirical knowledge. The findings also suggest that two areas that feature prominently in overall body of literature, moral development and parental use of physical discipline, make up very small proportions of the socialization efforts that families focus on day-to-day.

The findings are discussed relative to the surprisingly few existing publications regarding the everyday socialization efforts of families with their toddlers in the majority and minority racial and ethnic groups. Overall, the socialization efforts of urban-low-income African American families with their toddlers appear to parallel the socialization efforts of families in the larger population, including the majority group. The dissertation closes with a conceptual discussion that frames how findings from this study can be understood within the context of the social, racial, cultural, and economic realities of urban, low-income African American families.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The transition from infancy into toddlerhood is marked by rapid cognitive and language development of enormous magnitudes compared to other stages of development. Cognitively, toddlers have been described as little scientists, exploring, experimenting, and observing everything around them. They begin to make connections between real objects and their symbolic representations and engage in imaginary play. Toddlers experience an explosion in communication skills, including both their ability to comprehend language and express their thoughts through language. By 18-19 months, their working vocabulary catapults from about 50 words to learning approximately 5-10 new words every day (Anglin, 1993; Carey & Bartlett, 1978).

To many parents, toddlerhood is best described as the "terrible twos", when toddlers demonstrate an emerging understanding of themselves as separate social beings from others in their environment. Toddlers' new found mobility and rapid advances in comprehension feed into an emerging sense of social competence and willful independence and autonomy—the sense of "wanting to do it oneself" (Geppert & Küster, 1983). In addition, research has documented the spiking of negative emotions such as fear and anger during toddlerhood (Goodenough, 1931; Scarr & Salapatek, 1970). Other negative emotions such as sadness become more clearly differentiated from anger (Camras, Oster, Campos, Miyake, & Bradshaw, 1992) and the range of emotional expressions expand to include self-conscious or moral emotions such as embarrassment, pride, guilt, and shame (Stipek, Gralinski, & Kopp, 1990; Zahn-Waxler & Robinson, 1995).

It is no coincidence—given increased cognitive-linguistic skills as well as children's desire to assert their personal desires—that during toddlerhood, parents begin to employ, in earnest, strategies to guide, control, teach, and instill in their children the knowledge, skills, behaviors, and values that will ensure safety for self and others and facilitate their navigation of the world around them (Brownell & Kopp, 2007; Dunn & Munn, 1985; Emde, Johnson, & Easterbrook, 1987; Greenacre, 1950; Hoffman, 1975b; Kagan, 1981; Kopp, 1982; Luria, 1961). Recognizing their toddlers' capacity to explore, engage, learn, and communicate, parents and caregivers increase the usage of socialization strategies in their repertoire to influence "right" behaviors and values that ensure safety and conform to social and cultural norms and goals (Forman, 2007; Perez & Gauvain, 2007; Thompson & Goodvin, 2007). As children continue to develop, parents shift their messages, goals, and practices to meet their toddlers' increasing capacity to learn and regulate (Forman, 2007). However, there is little literature on the specific content of parental socialization efforts over the toddler period (Brownell & Kopp, 2007).

In addition, existing child development research examining parental socialization messages, goals, and practices with toddlers has relied on theoretical perspectives, values, and empirical works developed and conducted using samples of primarily White/European American middle-class families (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; Jackson, 1991; McLoyd, 1990a; Smetana, Kochanska, & Chuang, 2000; Yasui & Dishion, 2007). Across social science disciplines, theoretical perspectives and empirical research suggest that families of different racial and ethnic backgrounds, socioeconomic status, and geographic locations vary in cultural norms, local values and traditions, and behaviors related to parental socialization efforts (Baumrind, 1972; Belsky, Steinberg, & Draper, 1991; García Coll, Crnic, Lamberty, Wasik, Jenkins, Garcia, & McAdoo, 1996; LeVine, 1988; McLoyd, 1990b; Ogbu, 1981; Rogoff, 2003; Shonkoff, 2010). While the

body of literature examining cultural variation in parenting goals and practices is growing, few studies have examined the everyday socialization efforts of minority parents with their young children. Recognizing this gap, some developmental scholars have called for more empirical scholarship examining the normative developmental processes of minority children (Fisher, Jackson, & Villarruel, 1998; García Coll *et al.*, 1996; Garcia Coll, Meyer, & Brillon, 1995; Garcia Coll & Vazquez Garcia, 1995; Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006; McLoyd, Cauce, Takeuchi, & Wilson, 2000; Swanson, Spencer, Harpalani, Dupree, Noll, Ginzburg, & Seaton, 2003).

This dissertation systematically explores, analyzes, and documents parental socialization messages and goals, and efforts to influence young children's social development among a sample of urban, low-income African American families living in high-risk environments. It seeks to fill in the gap in the literature regarding the everyday parental socialization efforts of young minority children using longitudinal, naturalistic video observations of children and families in their homes. This chapter summarizes the existing literature on parental socialization messages and goals and parenting practices during toddlerhood, in general, and for African American families, specifically.

Parental Socialization Messages and Goals during Toddlerhood

The socialization literature suggests that parental socialization goals, methods, and methods are dynamic and influenced by factors ranging from the societal and cultural level to the regional and local community level to the individual developmental level (LeVine, 1988). On a societal level, different political, social, and economic systems influence parental socialization messages and goals differently depending on a multitude of factors including prospects for

survival, availability of resources, accessibility of education, and chances for economic prosperity. Similarly, parents in cultures that value interdependent relationships and group identity engage in different patterns of socialization behaviors to convey those values than parents in cultures that value independence and autonomy.

On the local community and developmental level, LeVine (1974, 1988) theorized that parents across cultures are greatly concerned about safety and survival issues for their children at the earliest ages. Parental perceptions of their children's developmental capacities and the local environmental conditions that either protect children or put them at risk of harm or death influence parental goals over time. A limited body of research suggests that parental socialization messages and goals during the first year after birth primarily address concerns around child safety (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; LeVine, 1974, 1988; Richmond, Miller, & Solomon, 1988; Smetana *et al.*, 2000). By the end of the first year, parents begin to increase the amount of messages regarding rules and "right" behaviors (Dunn & Munn, 1985; Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; Smetana, 1989) with expectations of compliance (Kagan, 1981; Kaler & Kopp, 1990; Kochanska, Coy, Tjebkes, & Husarek, 1998; Kopp, 1982; Lytton, 1980; Minton, Kagan, & Levine, 1971). Important themes in socialization messages for toddlers include respecting others' property (Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1995), manners and morals (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; Richmond, Miller, & Solomon, 1988; Smetana *et al.*, 2000), building confidence, independence, self-discipline, self-control, (Hastings & Grusec, 1998), self-care (Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1995), and self-awareness (Nucci & Weber, 1995). Although few, longitudinal studies indicate that parental goals communicated to toddlers shift over time as children continue to develop (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; Smetana et al., 2000).

In a study using self-report surveys and open-ended, semi-structured interviews of primarily European American middle- and upper-middle-class families with toddlers, Gralinski and Kopp (1993) found that during toddlerhood, mothers made primarily safety-related requests and prohibitions which included avoiding objects considered to be dangerous (*e.g.*, knives), unclean, and/or unhealthy (*e.g.*, toilet water, cat litter), not engaging in dangerous activities (*e.g.*, jumping off furniture or stairs) and/or taking safety precautions (*e.g.*, holding adult hands to cross street). Although to a much lesser extent, mothers also made requests in areas related to independence (*e.g.*, motor – walking or climbing stairs; verbal – using words and learning names; cognitive – trying to do puzzles and games), family routines (*e.g.*, activities that maintains an orderly household such as putting away toys and throwing out trash), and self-care (*e.g.*, toileting independently, dressing self, washing hands and face oneself). Gralinski and Kopp (1993) reported that the amount of requests and prohibitions that parents made changed significantly as children got older with increases in requests related to interpersonal behaviors and family routines and decreases in requests related to safety.

A later study by Smetana *et al.* (2000), utilizing self-report surveys with a sample of primarily European American Midwestern families to expand on Gralinski and Kopp's (1993) results, found that mothers communicated significantly more behavioral rules and expectations to their 14-month old toddlers in the areas of safety and property damage than any other areas including interpersonal issues, meal-time routine, obedience/order, chores, personal issues, and self-care. By 24 months, mothers communicated more rules and requests in all areas listed than at 14 months. In addition, mothers who communicated relatively more rules at 14 months continued to communicate more rules at 24 months, suggesting that continuity of parental rule-giving maintained stability between 14 and 24 months.

The findings from both Gralinski and Kopp (1993) and Smetana *et al.* (2000) are consistent with LeVine's (1974) theory that as children develop through toddlerhood, the focus of parental concerns (messages and goals) shift, extending from primarily safety and survival to include increasingly more rules regarding family and local norms and cultural standards.

Parenting Practices: Strategies and Behaviors

There is a vast body of literature on parental socialization efforts and most focus on specific practices that parents use to influence children's beliefs, values, and behaviors. Parenting practices, in this dissertation, are the intentional parenting *strategies* and intuitive or habitual parenting *behaviors* utilized to teach, guide, inform, train, and influence children's social development. The major themes in the literature on parenting practices are around parental assertion of power and control and parental use of inductive discipline.

Parental Power Assertion and Control

The first major theme, parental power assertion and control, falls on a continuum from low to high parental assertion of power and includes verbal and physical strategies and behaviors. Most verbal control behaviors and strategies are "do" and "don't" commands and suggestions. Other practices include threats, criticism, and praise. Types of physical control behaviors and strategies range from high control actions such as physical discipline and physical redirections to low control actions like touches or distal signals as reminders.

Developmental theory and empirical evidence suggest that high power parenting practices such as coercive or forceful physical redirection, physical discipline, and strong expressions of anger are associated with lower sense of autonomy and noncompliant or defiant

behaviors in young children. Though there is disagreement about the positive utility of high power parenting behaviors, there is agreement that high power practices have negative influence on children's development when used arbitrarily, severely, and non-pragmatically. Some scholars claim that high levels of power assertion stifle children's prosocial development (Grusec, 1983; Lepper, 1981). Baumrind (1996) argues that parents who engage in high power practices and are supportive (Baumrind, 1971), non-punitive (Hoffman, 1963), authentic, and sensitive will not stifle children's prosocial development (Baumrind, Larzelere, & Cowan, 2002). Research suggests that high levels of power assertion are more effective at obtaining children's short-term compliance than reason or mild suggestions in general, and especially for toddlers (Larzelere, 2000; Larzelere & Kuhn, 2005; Lytton & Zwirner, 1975; Schaffer & Crook, 1980), but does not encourage internalization of preferred behaviors, beliefs, and values (Hoffman, 1975b ; Kuczynski, 1984). Some studies have found that a combination of reasoning and commands or punishment encourages internalization of values more effectively than reasoning alone (Baumrind & Black, 1967; Larzelere, Sather, Schneider, Larson, & Pike, 1998; Lytton & Zwirner, 1975; Walters & Grusec, 1977).

Empirical evidence for the impacts of moderate power practices such as directives and prohibitions, have been mixed (Crockenberg & Litman, 1990). Some studies have found association between parental use of commands and young children's defiant behaviors (Feldman & Sarnat, 1986; Kuczynski, 1984; Kuczynski *et al.*, 1987) and some did not (Londerville & Main, 1981; Stayton, Hogan, & Ainsworth, 1971). Overall, parental power assertion is reported to be negatively associated with children's long-term compliant behavior. Practices with lower levels of parental power assertion such as suggestions predicted higher levels of children's compliance long term compared to direct commands and prohibitions (Kuczynski, 1984; Lytton, 1980).

The literature on parental use of physical discipline is in itself large. There is general consensus in the scientific community that overly severe physical discipline carry both ethical and detrimental outcomes for children. This consensus amongst others was the result of a scientific conference on corporal punishment (Friedman & Schonberg, 1996). Included on the list were statements that recommends that spanking, defined as physically non-injurious discipline that is intended to modify behavior and is administered with an open hand to children's extremities or buttocks, is not recommended as a disciplinary strategy for children under 2 years of age as a due to the risk of physical injury to the child should escalation of anger and parental loss of control occur. Despite the creation and publication of the 13 consensus statements, there still remain multiple areas of disagreement about the general effectiveness and utility of physical discipline as a parenting practice. Empirical research of primarily European American, middle-class samples found that parental use of harsh, authoritarian parenting and physical discipline during early and middle childhood are associated with later antisocial behaviors such as adolescent and adult aggression (Eron, Huesmann, & Zelli, 1991), adolescent delinquency (Farrington & Hawkins, 1991), and adult criminality (McCord, 1991). Larzelere & Kuhn (2005) conducted a meta-analysis that cited and addressed four threats to the validity of past research on physical discipline. They compared physical discipline and alternative tactics including compliance reasoning, time-outs, privilege removal, and love withdrawal. The study reported that physical discipline had a stronger association with lower rates of noncompliance and antisocial behavior for children ages 2 to 6 years old; however, physical discipline was found to have detrimental effects on outcomes when used severely or as the primary disciplinary tactic (see Larzelere & Kuhn, 2005). Other research findings suggest that the impact of physical discipline may vary by

cultural norms, and parental goals, values, expectations, and practices. Results from studies using a U.S. sample representative of the population suggest that race and ethnicity may moderate the relationship between physical discipline and children's adjustment (see Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 1996; Gunnoe & Mariner, 1997; Lansford, Deater-Deckard, Dodge, Bates, & Pettit, 2004; Polaha, Larzelere, Shapiro, & Pettit, 2004). An international study across 6 countries found that parental use of physical discipline was related to greater problem behavior for children ages 6–17 years old than non-physical discipline. Higher use of physical discipline was associated with greater levels of aggression and anxiety in all countries. However, countries with the lowest use of physical discipline showed the strongest relationship between parental use of physical discipline and children's adverse outcomes, suggesting the association of cultural beliefs and norms about physical discipline with the impact of physical discipline on children's outcomes (Lansford, Dodge, Malone, Bacchini, Zelli, Chaudhary, Manke, Chang, Oburu, Palmérus, Pastorelli, Bombi, Tapanya, Deater-Deckard, & Quinn, 2005).

Parental Use of Inductive Discipline

The second major theme, parental use of inductive discipline, comes from early literature examining the role of parents in the moral development of children by scholars such as Aronfreed, Allinsmith, and Hoffman. Inductive discipline is distinguished from other disciplinary practices by low levels or lack of overt parental assertion of power with children, and is usually represented as parental use of "reasoning." Inductive discipline identifies and emphasizes the consequences, to self and others, resulting from transgression and the benefits resulting from preferred or prosocial behaviors. Through understanding, children are theorized

to internalized right and wrong behaviors and conform to expected values and norms (Eisenberg *et al.*, 2006; Hoffman, 2001; Patrick & Gibbs, 2012). Types of inductive discipline include asking children to reflect on their wrong behaviors, allowing children the chance to repair without being punished, using explanations or reasoning to address behavioral transgressions (Hoffman, 1963; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Straus & Fauchier, 2007). The research suggests that parental use of explanations, reasoning, and persuasion positively influences children's prosocial interactions (Kuczynski, 1982; Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, & King, 1979), emotional competence (Dunn, Brown, & Beardsall, 1991), and understanding of social rule and values (Baumrind, 1978, 1989, 1991; Hoffman, 1970, 1983; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Zahn-Waxler & Chapman, 1982). The act of withholding of parental attention or affection, or love withdrawal, was later considered separate from other inductive disciplinary practices in the literature due to its punitive nature and, along with expressions of disappointment, have been inconsistently related to moral internalization (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Krevans & Gibbs, 1996; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Shoffiett, 1971). Hoffman & Saltzstein (1967) found that middle-class 7th grade boys and girls of mothers who frequently used explanations and reasoning and infrequently asserted power and control demonstrated significantly greater levels of internalization of moral values than children with mothers who frequently asserted power and control and infrequently used explanations and reasoning. Zahn-Waxler, Radke-Yarrow, and King (1979) reported that children as young as two years of age whose mothers responded to moral transgressions by explaining the impact of their actions on others were more likely to offer comfort or help when they see others in distress. These children were thought to have higher levels of internalized moral values compared to children who did not exhibit similar social behaviors. Kuczynski (1984) found that mothers of 4-year-

olds used reasoning more frequently and in greater variety if they self-reported having orientations towards long-term child compliance goals. The race and ethnicities of the samples from these three studies were not reported.

Given the large body of research on parenting, relatively few studies have focused on toddlers, and even fewer are longitudinal in design, to examine how parenting strategies change within this developmental period (Brownell & Kopp, 2007). One study, though not longitudinal, examined 70 primarily European American and middle-class mother-toddler dyads. Children's ages ranged from 18 months to 42 months (Kuczynski, Kochanska, Radke-Yarrow, and Girnius-Brown, 1987). Kuczynski and colleagues found that parents used more verbal and less physical strategies and behaviors with older toddlers than with younger toddlers (also see Fagot & Kavanagh, 1993). While they did not interpret parenting practices along the dimensions of control and affect, their findings suggest that, parents infrequently used high physical or negative verbal control strategies and behaviors with their toddlers. Despite infrequent use of practices such as attention redirection (*e.g.*, ranging from touches and taps to holding children's arms or chins) and enforcement (*e.g.*, ranging from gentle pulling child away to holding child's hand forcefully), the authors found a moderately significant decrease in use of physical restraint for older toddlers. Parental verbal reprimands, including criticism, also occurred infrequently, but were found to be more frequent for older toddlers. Parents used direct commands for a majority of intervention events. About a third of events included indirect commands (*i.e.*, suggestions and requests). There were no differences found in parental use direct and indirect commands between younger and older toddlers. However, unclear commands (*e.g.*, directives or prohibitions that often use exclamations or utterances but carry no explicit meaning; "Hey!" p. 802) were less frequent than direct or indirect commands

but were significantly more frequent for younger toddlers than older toddlers, while verbal reprimand and bargaining were significantly higher for older toddlers. Parental physical interventions generally used during routine activities that assist children in their task occurred in about one-fifth of the events overall, but was significantly less frequent for older toddlers. Reasoning, an inductive disciplinary practice, occurred in about one third of intervention events, and was significantly more frequent for older toddlers.

The findings from Kuczynski *et al.* (1987) suggest that parents utilized more control behaviors that involved physical engagement with younger children and more control behaviors that involved verbal engagement with older children. For example, parents utilized matter-of-fact physical practices such as physical redirection and distractions with no co-occurring verbal behaviors on significantly more occasions with children in the younger group. By contrast, there were significantly more occasions when parents used no physical engagement at all with children in the older group. While parential use ofverbal direct and indirect commands were not different by age of the children, inductive discipline practices such as reasoning and explanations were used more frequently with older children. In summary, the findings from Kuczynski *et al.* (1987) suggest that parents shift their mode of communication to incorporate more verbal components to match their children's receptive and expressive language and cognitive growth, decreasing the use of physical control strategies and behaviors in all categories.

Summary

This chapter reviewed the literature regarding parental socialization messages, goals, and practices with particular attention to parental efforts during the toddlerhood period. This

review suggests that there have been few studies that examined the everyday socialization efforts of parents with young children and most existing literature utilized parent report and laboratory study designs. In addition, the large body of parenting practices research that exist tend to focus of specific parenting practices. A hand full of studies was found that examined the types of parenting practices that parents used in relationship to the type of socialization message and goals that they are attempting to convey. And only two were focused on children in the toddler age range.

The gap in the literature widens further for existing empirical works that examined everyday parental socialization efforts of racial and ethnic minority families with toddlers, in general, and of African American families, specifically. Chapter 2 will review the literature that pertain to the everyday parental socialization messages, goals, and practices of African American families with particular attention to studies about raising toddlers.

CHAPTER 2

AFRICAN AMERICAN FAMILIES

Although this study does not specifically engage in a systematic analysis of social structural factors that influence variations in African American parental socialization efforts, it is important to briefly consider the literature on the social, political, and economic realities of African American families, before moving into the review of the literature regarding African American parental socialization messages, goals, and practices. While this consideration should be afforded to research populations of all racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, and geographic groups, including the majority, the body of literature that perpetuates the deficit and pathological perspective, whether intentionally or not, takes for granted that there exists a common lived reality—that of the majority population—that everyone shares (e.g. Fernald & Weisleder, 2015; Hart & Risley, 1995). It suggests that regardless of variations in race, culture, gender, geography, or socioeconomic status, standards should be based upon that common reality (Slaughter & McWorter, 1985). This perspective is not congruent with the aim of this study nor the core professional values upon which this research was built (National Association of Social Workers, 2008).

African American Families in Context

During the writing of this dissertation, the racial climate in the United States saw multi-city demonstrations and continued acts of civil disobedience against systematic police brutality against Black citizens in cities and states across the country. A few years prior, Michelle Alexander (2010, 2012) published *The New Jim Crow*, systematically documenting and analyzing the structural mechanisms contributing the mass incarceration of African Americans

despite the election of President Obama and the hailing of the post-racist era. And almost two decade before, the publication of *American Apartheid* (Denton & Massey, 1993) provided empirical evidence of racism behind the racial and ethnic segregation, the sharp contrast in the level of segregation between African American communities and other minority groups, and the devastating consequences stemming from the social and spatial isolation of those communities. Taken in aggregate with the history of public lynching, the "old" Jim Crow, and slavery, it is hard to argue that the social, political, and economic realities of African American families can be indistinguishable from those of White/European middle-class American families. Many studies have documented how the experiences of subtle and overt racism impact how parents socialize their children including socialization specifically around coping with racism (Burt, Simons, Gibbons, 2012; Hughes, Rodriguez, Smith, Johnson, Stevenson, & Spicer, 2006; Odom, Garrett-Peters, Vernon-Feagans, & Family Life Project Investigators, 2014; Ogbu, 1978; Peters, 2002; Peters & Massey, 1988; Scanzoni, 1971) and the need to navigate the social world in the African American community as well as the mainstream society (Dixon, 1971; Willie, 2010; Young 1974). These socialization efforts are reported to encourage the development of positive racial identity, self-esteem, self-confidence, and community belonging; however, the authors of these studies suggest that the goals of these seemingly personal fulfillment attributes hold strong implications for children's safety and self-preservation in a racially hostile society.

In addition, despite strong evidence of a large variations within the African American population (Cook & Wiley, 2014; Franklin & James, 2015), the literature that utilized the deficit approach has perceived the African American population as monolithic built upon research conducted on specific societal problems, such as gangs, violence, and drugs and/or

low-income African Americans compared to middle-class and/or European Americans (Peters, 2007). This has led to widely held perceptions or stereotypes of African Americans parents as harsh and authoritarian (Hill, 2001; Peters, 2007). They rarely explain, let alone talk to their children, but prefer to spank, 'whup,' and/or abuse their children. Presently, the debate persists regarding the culpability of the racial gap in educational achievement, health, mental health, and legal justice outcomes (e.g. Fernald & Weisleder, 2015; Gass & Laughter, 2015; Grande, Sherman, Shaw-Ridley, 2013; Milner, 2013). The persistence of the deficit perspective and racial stereotypes have strong implications to how professionals engage with families struggling in impoverished conditions who they perceive liable for their own situations.

African American Parental Socialization Goals and Messages

The literature reviewed in Chapter 1 and child development research and theories in general have tended to rely on samples, perspectives, and values that are predominantly European American (Edwards & Liu, 2002; Njoroge, Benton, Lewis, & Njoroge, 2009; Yasui & Dishion, 2007) and must be understood from within that cultural context (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1993; Lewis, 2000). Scholars have called into question the empirical adequacy and cultural relevance of current conceptual models of parenting for examining and understanding African American families (Bradley, 1998; Deater-Deckard *et al.*, 1996; Edwards & Liu, 2002; McLoyd *et al.*, 2000; Swanson *et al.*, 2003). In a revision of his cultural evolution position, LeVine (1988) expanded his consideration of variation in parenting goals and practices to include adaptation to local, "historically conditioned" environmental benefits and threats (p. 6). He posits that these locally contextualized parenting behaviors are what "affect the health, welfare, and psychological development of children" (p. 8) (also see Baumrind, 1972; Belsky,

Steinberg, & Draper, 1991; Ogbu, 1981). Thus, variation in parenting messages, goals, and practices with young children should reflect the variation in culture and socioeconomic status in all societies (García Coll & Pachter, 2002; Harkness & Super, 1996; LeVine, 1988).

In a recent study comparing socialization goals and values across four ethnic groups in the United States, Suizzo (2007) examined survey data from 343 parents with at least one child between the ages of one day old and 6 years old recruited from two major southwestern cities. Socioeconomic status was not reported; however, the average level of education of parents in the sample was between 1 to 3 years of college. Forty-three African American parents were included in the sample. The study found that African American parents highly valued spirituality and community for their children, supporting previous research that identified spirituality and rituals as highly valued themes in African American cultural practice (Constantine, Gainor, Ahluwalia, & Berkel, 2003; Utsey, Adams, & Bolden, 2000) and empirical studies that linked positive spiritual and communal valuation to positive child and adolescent social outcomes (Belgrave, Cherry, Cunningham, Walwyn, Letlaka-Rennert, & Phillips, 1994; Brody, Stoneman, & Flor, 1996; Woods & Jagers, 2003). African American parents seem to place high importance for goals in areas of independence of thought and action, personal choice and gratification, and a sense of openness to change. Suizzo (2007) suggests that the history of slavery and continued discrimination places a premium on self-directed, unfettered decision making ability. Additionally, the positive association between parental education and goals of independence and self-direction for African American parents provides some insight into the value of education in the present day experiences of African American families. It suggests a consistent continuity with historical evidence showing that education was highly valued and viewed as the primary route to social and economic

advancement (McAdoo, 2002). Lastly, according to Suizzo's (2007) findings, the level of education parents attained appear to influence how important they feel goals of status prestige, control, and dominance over others as well as personal success gained through merit based on social standards are for their young children. Parents with more education were less concerned about socializing their children toward recognition, prestige, athleticism, wealth, and higher education. The author suggests that perhaps parents with higher education are more assured that their children will attain sufficient power and achievement without having to establish socialization goals. Overall, Suizzo's (2007) findings expand prior research on African American parental goals for their adolescents to the early childhood age group (see Oyserman & Harrison, 1998).

As a part of a larger study, Jagers, Bingham, and Hans (1996) explored the social judgements of African American kindergarteners living in public housing in a major Midwestern city. Utilizing hypothetical situations that presented common moral transgressions (universally wrong) and conventional transgressions (contextually wrong), the study found that children identified two of three common moral transgressions, "taking a toy" and "hitting another child", as serious transgressions. The third, "not sharing" was rated significantly lower in seriousness. Similarly, children rated "talking while others are talking" as less likely to be a transgression compared to "walking around during story session", and "playing with a toy during class". Interestingly, the study found that children did not rate the seriousness and inappropriateness of moral and conventional transgressions to be significantly different. The authors suggest that children in the sample may be less sensitive to acts of hitting given the early and frequent exposure to more serious violence within their larger neighborhood and communities. In addition, the study reported that children did not make moral or conventional distinction based

on whether the transgression was deserving of punishment. They felt that all transgressions deserved punishment. The study did not differentiate for the severity of punishment. In addition, the children's mothers were asked to rate four preselected socialization values in order from most important to least important for their children. The results indicated that mother's rated conforming to rules and respecting authority significantly higher than the remaining three, being self-reliant, being imaginative and independent thinking, and being socially cooperative.

The literature reviewed in this section are informative for a broad range of themes for research in parental socialization including education and economics, racial and ethnic identity, culture and community, and social knowledge and behaviors. The socialization goals that Suizzo (2007) found to be of high value to African American parents of young children may be related to parents' racial socialization efforts to establish a strong sense of self as protection against potential discrimination (Ogbu, 1994). The results from Jagers *et al.* (1996) provide some insight into the important role that the local, historical context in which children and families live may influence the socialization messages and goals that parents convey to their children. Together these studies provide empirical support that variations in parenting messages and goals exist between racial, cultural, ethnic and socioeconomic groups. Although not reviewed here because it is not within the scope of this study, there are also important variations in parental socialization messages and goals based on the gender of the parents and children, as its own factor and in intersection with race, culture, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status.

African American Parental Socialization Practices

Parenting practices (*i.e.*, behaviors and strategies) are the means by which parents communicate goal-oriented messages in their effort to influence children's values and behaviors.

If parental goals and values vary with culture and local conditions, it follows than that parenting strategies and behaviors will also vary across cultural and local contexts as LeVine (1974, 1988) theorized. Scholars of cultural variation in parenting practices generally agree that African Americans parents socialize children as members of the African American culture and community while adapting parenting practices to influence their children's values, behaviors, and understanding of the world to most effectively cope with the impacts of racism, discrimination, and poverty (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990; Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey, 1994; Oyserman & Harrison, 1998). This section will review the existing literature on African American parenting practices based on the major themes discussed above—parental use of power assertion and control and inductive discipline.

Parental Power Assertion and Control

Existing research suggest that African American parents utilize higher levels of parental power assertion and control (Dornbusch, Ritter, Leiderman, Roberts, & Fraleigh, 1987; Furstenberg, Cook, Eccles, Elder, & Sameroff, 1999; McLoyd, Kaplan, Hardaway, & Wood, 2007) and physical discipline (Blau, 1981; Deater-Decker *et al.*, 1996; Grogan-Kaylor & Otis, 2007; McLoyd *et al.*, 2007) than European American parents. However, some empirical studies suggest that race may moderate the negative child behavioral outcomes associated with authoritarian parenting practices and physical discipline. Deater-Decker *et al.* (1996) and Lansford *et al.* (2004) reported that there were no significant relationship between African American parents' use of physical discipline and children's aggressive behavior across the ages of 5 to 13 years old. Slade and Wissow (2004) found that higher frequency of spanking before age 2 years was not associated with more behavior problems at school age for African American

children but was positively associated for European American children. The cultural variation model attributes these findings to cultural norms (Lansford *et al.*, 2004; McLoyd *et al.*, 2007) as well as adaptation to local and societal factors (Julian, McKenry, & Mckelvey, 1994). However, the jury is not yet out on the impacts of physical discipline with multiple studies reporting links between elementary, middle, and high school children's anti-social behavior and parental use of physical discipline across racial groups including African Americans (*e.g.*, Grogan-Kaylor, 2005; Lau, Litrownik, Newton, Black, & Everson, 2006; Pardini, Fite, & Burke, 2008).

Very few research studies exploring specific African American parenting practices with toddlers were found, with the exception of strict parenting and physical discipline. In a qualitative study using secondary interview data from a sample of 51 single, low-income African American mothers of 12 to 19 month old children, LeCuyer, Christensen, Kearney, and Kitzman (2011) reported that 77% of mothers used verbal practices in combination with physical discipline. Verbal practices used as examples appeared to primarily fit under the power assertion and control dimensions such as directives and prohibitions, repetition, and utilization of tone to gain children's attention. Jagers *et al.* (1996) indicated that African American mothers living in public housing utilized "talking" and "ignoring" most frequently with their kindergarten age children. "Talking" was differentiated from "yelling" but not further in the study.

Parental Use of Inductive Discipline

The general gap in research examining African American parenting practices with toddlers is wider on the theme of parental use of inductive discipline. When parental use of inductive discipline is examined in research with low-income African American families, it is often secondary or alternate to physical discipline or harsh parenting. For example, a study

comparing parental disciplinary responses to transgressions by kindergarten-age children included parental use of verbal inductive practices with young children such as explanations, reasoning, and proactive guidance as the alternative parenting response to physical discipline. Inductive practices were measured in aggregate as *supportive parenting* (*e.g.*, Pinderhughes, Dodge, Bates, Pettit, & Zelli, 2000). By referring to *supportive parenting* as the alternative practice implies that physical discipline is not only the focus but potentially the norm and opposite to *supportive parenting* when some evidence exists that physical discipline and inductive disciplinary practice may be used in conjunction with one another. For example, Deater-Deckard *et al.* (1996) reported that African American parental use of physical discipline with kindergarten to 3rd grade students was positively related to parental reasoning and warmth. Additionally, the aggregate measure of *supportive parenting* does not provide any insight about how parents are supportive to their children within the context of their lives. Such insight is possible.

In their analysis of interviews with single, low-income African American mothers of toddlers, LeCuyer *et al.* (2011) reported that 22% of the mothers utilized discipline practices that asserted lower levels of parental power such as sending children to bed early and restricting them from activities or privileges similar to time-outs. The mothers described these practices as punishment and thought them to be more appropriate for older children who could better understand the meaning of the punishment. Interestingly, almost 70% of mothers reported that they were concerned about being "too strict" with their children. According to the authors, being "too strict" connoted negative rigidness. Practices that restrict children's activities and privileges may be viewed as being rigid and influence the mothers' willingness to utilize these types of disciplinary practices. Nevertheless, mothers stated that discipline was necessary to teach their

children right and wrong including lessons such as caring for other's property, personal safety and safety of others, being respectful, and not engaging in illegal activities.

Early qualitative studies on African American socialization practices documented some parenting techniques used by inner city parents such as providing their infants with an abundance of warmth, nurturance, and affection and ceasing in "postinfancy" (Ogbu, 1981). An ethnographic study of inner city African American childcare cooperative observed mothers facilitating "contest" relationships with children two years and older that were characterized by children's resistance to mothers' warning and threats and a sense of "playfulness and alertness to the moves of the other" (Young, 1974, p. 408). Young noted that children were rewarded for demonstrating persistence in their display of self-independence in "contests", often resulting in victory at the mothers' discretion. Mothers were observed to inconsistently and arbitrarily enforce rules and limits, responding with "verbal rebuffs," and frequently used corporal punishment. Inconsistent enforcement of prohibited behaviors gave the impression that mothers were not claiming moral authority, but authority in that particular instance when the rules were being enforced. The transgression was not "wrong" but prohibited at that time. In addition, children were encouraged to shift their social focus from adults to siblings and peers at about age three (Young, 1974), earlier than what middle-class norms would dictate as normal (Ogbu, 1981). This shift resulted in the formation of peer groups that were expected to regulate children's play and relational conflicts (Young, 1974). The functions of such techniques were thought to prepare older toddlers for competent adaptation to the local environment, where adult attention is focused on infant children and daily routines and challenges. These early parental socialization efforts in low-income African American families were also hypothesized to prepared children to cope, adjust, and negotiate with the greater socio-cultural climate rife with

social and institutional discrimination in work, housing, and educational opportunities (Jarrett, 1999; Ladner 1978; Lewis, 2000; Nobles & Traver, 1976; Schulz, 1968, 1977; Spencer, 1983; Webster 1974; Young 1974).

Summary

The gap in the literature examining culturally specific parental socialization messages, goals, and practices stifles ongoing efforts to move research, practice, and policy away from a deficit and pathological perspective of children and families not of the majority population in general and low-income, African American children and families, specifically. While the concept of cultural and contextual variation in parenting is well recognized and generally accepted, racial and ethnic minority children and families living in impoverished and high risk communities continue to be compared to and evaluated by White/European American, middle-class standards. Doing so not only decontexualizes the lives and parenting efforts of racial and ethnic minority and low-income families but perpetuates stereotypes that feed into the deficit perspective that is further disseminated in the literature used to train future practitioners, policymakers, and researchers. Both quantitative and qualitative research utilizing ecological frameworks, recent and more distal (*e.g.*, Jagers *et al.*, 1996; LeCuyer *et al.*, 2011; Suizzo *et al.*, 2008; Young, 1974), provide important insights into low-income African American parenting practices; however, further efforts are necessary. Studies that seek qualitative depth, including this dissertation, tend to have small sample sizes making generalizability difficult. As a trade-off, qualitative studies are better able to provide detailed contextual information that has the ability to shift the reader's lens on the behaviors being examined. For example, without a detailed accounting of the mothers' interactions with their children, Young's observations of inconsistent

and arbitrary enforcement of rules could be perceived simply as bad parenting; however, with further discussion that stated the possible socialization goal of adjusting to situational authority, one could imagine that what those children learned in safe interactions with caring adults could apply to situations in the larger society where they may have to appropriately deal with situational discrimination or suffer potentially life threatening consequences.

The study of normative socialization is particularly salient during toddlerhood because it is understudied, despite the recognition that parents significantly increase their socialization efforts to meet the demands that accompany their children's rapid developmental progress. The exploratory nature of this study makes important contributions to the understanding of everyday socialization messages and practices of African American families raising their toddlers in light of resource disadvantages in high-risk, urban neighborhoods. Better understanding what and how disadvantaged families socialize their children at the youngest ages informs the earliest foundational socialization efforts upon which families encourage and promote safety, survival, and coping characteristics, strategies, and skills as children grow into middle childhood, adolescence, and adulthood. Taking into consideration the social, political, and economic realities of African Americans living in urban, high-risk environments, this study aims to expand the base of knowledge on parental socialization messages and practices and contribute to ongoing efforts to shift research, practice, and policy from the deficit and pathological perspective that impacts perceptions, engagement, service provision, and ultimately, outcomes for children and families already strained by existing environmental and structural risk factors.

CHAPTER 3

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODS

Introduction to Conceptual Framework

Scholar have recognized the paucity of empirical knowledge about normative developmental and socialization processes within racial and ethnic minority families, in general, and African American families with young children, specifically (Fisher, Jackson, & Villarruel, 1998; García Coll *et al.*, 1996; García Coll, Meyer, & Brilon, 1995; García Coll & Vazquez García, 1995; Harrison, *et al.*, 1990; McLoyd, *et al.*, 2000; Swanson, *et al.*, 2003). The literature review in Chapter 2 suggests that the gap in knowledge persists. Despite the call for within group examinations and innovations to account for social position (*i.e.*, racial and ethnic minority, poverty) and the mechanisms (*i.e.*, racism, prejudice, discrimination) through which social position negatively impacts children's developmental outcomes (García Coll *et al.*, 1996), the development of minority children continue to be assessed through the majority lens as deficient or pathological (Hill, 2001; Peters, 2007). The works of Ogbu (1981), Young (1974), and other notable scholars have paved the way for culturally relevant research; however, much more work is needed to truly understand the impacts of historically conditioned, high-risk environments in which a disproportionately large number of African American families live and raise their children.

The purpose of this dissertation is to fill the gap in the literature and contribute to a relatively small body of empirical and theoretical knowledge regarding the normal development of African American children living in high-risk environments. This study focuses on the everyday parental socialization messages, goals, and parenting efforts to influence children's

social development during toddlerhood. Systematically examining parental socialization messages, goals, and efforts require a framework that conceptually links sets of parenting behaviors to specific parental objectives. LeVine's empirical work that supports his cultural evolution perspective offers a broad comparative framework for examining childcare on the three major parenting goals from his theoretical work—survival, economics, and cultural/local adaptation (*i.e.*, LeVine, Dixon, LeVine, Richman, Leiderman, Keefer, & Brazelton, 1996). This framework offers little guidance for examining specific parenting goals and practices and may undermine the effort to understand what messages parents want to convey to influence the social development of their toddler children and how they go about conveying those messages. To that end, conceptual frameworks that can guide the identification and coding of parental socialization messages and practices are needed.

Parental Socialization Goals and Messages: Social Knowledge Domains

There are no well-established conceptual frames for examining parental socializations goals and messages. Social Domain Theory, which has been used in the study of moral development, however, presents a framework for categorizing social knowledge into three (3) general domains: *Moral*, *Conventional*, and *Psychological* (for background see Nucci, 1996; Smetana, 1995, 1997; Tisak, 1995; Turiel, 1983, 1998). Because these domains have been used in studies with primarily European American samples, special attention was given to avoid basing analyses of socialization messages and goals on European American values and norms. However, the domains of social knowledge are specific enough to allow for rich systematic analyses of everyday parental socialization messages but general enough to allow for variation in the meaning of messages and how they are conveyed. In addition, the domains have already been

used in research that examined parental socialization efforts with toddlers. For these reasons, Social Domain Theory's domains of social knowledge present as an appropriate starting framework of parental socialization messages and goals for the families being observed in this dissertation. This study utilized the three general domains of social knowledge—*Moral*, *Conventional*, and *Psychological*—to guide the coding and analyses of parental socialization messages and goals.

Interpersonal-Moral Domain

The *Moral* domain from this point forth will be referred to as the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain to reflect the *Interpersonal* nature of interactions while taking caution in interpreting behaviors as *Moral* for the families in this sample (see Jagers *et al.*, 1996). The parental socialization goals in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain are to ensure that children understand and protect the rights and welfare of others within the context of their social interactions. It also aims to help children understand when their own rights and welfare are being infringed upon. *Interpersonal-Moral* knowledge informs the "right" and "wrong" behaviors in society. *Interpersonal-Moral* evaluations of social interactions are triggered by behaviors that threaten the *safety of others* (harm), *trust* (betrayal), *fairness* (sharing), or *dignity of others* (dehumanizing/disrespect) (Smetana, 1997; Smetana, 1999). For example, parents of toddlers may prohibit negative behaviors such as taking toys away from other children, being too rough with other children, hitting other children and adults, and teasing or making fun of other children. On the other hand, parents may encourage positive behaviors such as sharing, taking turns, and playing nicely (Smetana *et al.*, 2000). The system of values and rules in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain is generally characterized by the pressures of social obligation, perceived as universal,

unchanging, and impersonal, and "determined by criteria other than agreement, consensus, or institutional convention" (Smetana, 1997, p. 166; elaboration see Nucci, 1996; Smetana, 1995a; Tisak, 1995; Turiel, 1983, 1998). Below are examples of parental statements to toddlers in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain taken from the dataset used in the dissertation:

> "Stop kicking me, Tammy. Put your foot down, Tammy. You gonna hurt somebody." [*Safety of others*]
>
> "Donald, ain't nothing funny. Don't laugh at him." [*Respecting others*]

Conventional Domain

Parental socialization goals in the *Conventional* domain are to maintain appropriate social behavior and facilitate social interactions so that children function smoothly and efficiently in their social environment. According to social domain theory, *Conventional* social knowledge is distinct from *Interpersonal-Moral* social knowledge conceptually and developmentally. Development of *Conventional* social knowledge requires the children to understand the social systems, social organizations, and social conventions to which they are regularly exposed (Davidson, Turiel, & Black, 1983; Nucci, 1981; Smetana, 1983; Smetana, 1995b; Turiel, 1979, 1983; Turiel & Davidson, 1986). Knowledge under the *Conventional* domain regulates social interactions through uniform, arbitrary rules and values that have been consensually agreed upon by the members of the social systems or social organizations (Smetana, 1997). *Conventional* rules and values are characterized to be more pliable and contingent on context and authority (Helwig, Tisak, & Turiel, 1990; Smetana, 1995b) and generally reflect the collective knowledge of social systems and the determined rules of *social engagement* and *interpersonal etiquette* (Smetana, 1997, 1999). More specifically, in the family context, parents may employ strategies to regulate their toddlers around issues of *obedience* and *orderly behavior* (*e.g.*, doing what

parents say, not talking back, waiting, and not shouting, yelling, or displaying "wild" behavior) and *family* and *daily routines* (*e.g.*, sitting and eating with the family, table manners, not spilling, putting toys away, keeping room neat, helping with family chores, social manners) (Smetana *et al.*, 2000). Below are examples of parental statements pertaining to the *Conventional* domain taken from the dataset used in the dissertation:

> "Ok. Let me comb Sheena's hair. Come on, Tammy. Let me comb Sheena's hair." [*Order* or *learning to wait*]
>
> "Don't do that. Here, sit up here like Sheena sitting up here. You wanna lay down and fall out." [*Obedience/Order* or *doing what parent likes/not doing what parent dislikes*]

Psychological Domain

The *Psychological* domain consists of two sub-domains of social knowledge—*Prudential* and *Personal* (Smetana, 1999). The parental goals pertaining to *Prudential* social knowledge aim to help children ensure personal safety, comfort, and health (Shweder, Turiel, & Much, 1981; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Tisak, 1993; Tisak & Turial, 1984). *Prudential* rules and values regulate behaviors that may cause immediate *physical injury* or *harm to self* (Smetana, 1999). Specific examples of safety issues parents may address with their toddlers include not touching dangerous things like knives or the hot stove, avoiding unsanitary objects and places, being sanitary, not going into the street, not climbing on furniture, and taking extra care around or avoiding certain areas like stairs as well as other *self-care* issues like washing, brushing teeth, personal grooming, toileting, and getting ready for bed. In addition, research suggests that parents generally consider the *protection of property* to also fall under the *Prudential* domain. In lieu of a safety concern, parents feel that socializing kids to be stewards of their environment has a pragmatic purpose. *Pragmatic Prudential* rules may include not tearing or throwing books, not

coloring on walls, and keeping away from prohibited objects like valuable dishes or figurines (Smetana *et al.*, 2000). Below are some examples of parental statements to toddlers in the *Psychological Prudential* domain taken from the dataset used in the dissertation:

> "Come on outta the window, Sheena. Come outta the window, Sheena. Now. She coming out, Tammy. Cause see, you gonna hurt yourself in that window. Come on." [*Harm to self*]
>
> The child is playing with a toy car. "Stop trying to break it up!!" [*Protect property*]

The parental goals in the *Personal* social knowledge sub-domain are to encourage children's ability to assert and negotiate their wants and needs and instill their sense of self and autonomy with the demands and expectations the social systems and social organizations in which they live (Nucci & Lee, 1993). *Personal* rules and values generally refer to children's *expression of preferences* and *choice* of people, objects, and activities within their social systems and social organizations such as friends, toys, food and drink, and play, and level of privacy (Nucci, 1981; Nucci & Lee, 1993; Nucci & Weber, 1995; Smetana, 1983; Tisak, 1993; Turiel, 1983). *Personal* social knowledge is thought to be connected to children's sense of autonomy and distinctiveness from those around them (Nucci & Lee, 1993; Nucci, 1981). Preference and choice act as boundaries between self and the social world that can be negotiated and/or renegotiated within families. In addition, *Personal* social knowledge involves *being aware of* and *regulating the internal and external state of one's body* and is connected to rules and values regarding *self-care* such as toileting, brushing, and appropriate dressing (Smetana, 1983; Turiel, 1983). Research focused on children's development of *Personal* social knowledge found support in observations that are indicative of social conflicts between the observed children and their parents or peers (Nucci & Weber, 1995). However, more recent research has shown that some

behaviors considered to be *Personal* social knowledge for parents of preschoolers were considered to be part of the *Prudential* sub-domain for those same parents when the children were in early toddlerhood, including selecting cloths, dressing self, toileting, selecting food, and selecting playmates (Smetana *et al.*, 2000). Below are some examples of parental statements to toddlers in the psychological personal domain taken from the dataset used in the dissertation:

> "Put them crackers down. You don't want them crackers. See I knew you were…You want two? Cause I'm putting' them up." [*Parental verbalization of child's preference*]
>
> "Go get on your pillow, so I can change your diaper. Go get on your pillow." [*Parental guidance in self-care*]

Smetana *et al.* (2000) categorized specific behaviors and hypothesized the domain to which each category belonged. Ratings by mothers in the study, who were primarily European American from varying income levels, were used to test whether the behaviors and behavior categories fit the construct of each domain (Smetana *et al.*, 2000). It is possible that African American parents might rate these behaviors differently. Nevertheless, the categories provided structure to assist in the development of the coding manual for this dissertation (see Appendix B, p. 183).

Parenting Practices: Parental Assertion of Power and Inductive Discipline

As a guiding framework for coding, parenting practices was organized around the major themes discussed in the literature review—parental power assertion/control and inductive discipline. In the absence of an existing framework that encompasses all the potential parenting strategies and behaviors, these major themes provided a wide coverage of parenting practices with few overlaps and redundancies.

As a continuum, parental power assertion has been separated into *High Power* and *Moderate Power*; however, it may be difficult to accurately determine the level of power beyond coders' perception. The analytical process relied primarily on the actual observed behaviors and care was taken to not make unsubstantiated claims to levels of parental power assertion.

High Power

High Power parenting strategies and behaviors significantly restrict children's ability to assert their autonomy. To avoid unwarranted coder interpretation, the *High Power* dimension did not include parenting strategies and behaviors that asserts negative psychological or emotional power. Examples of *High Power* practices include physical redirection or restrictions, physical discipline, and physical forcefulness, and threats (Crockenberg, 1987; Kuczynski, 1984; Kuczynski *et al.*, 1987; Londerville & Main, 1981; Lytton, 1980; Oldershaw, Walters, & Hall, 1986; Power & Chapieski, 1986; Smetana, 1997; Trickett & Kuczynski, 1986). Below are some examples of *High Power* practices taken from the dataset used in this dissertation:

> "Touch that again and I'm getting the belt."
> [High Power: *Verbal threat of physical punishment*]
>
> "I told you to stay in the living room!" [Low Power: *Reminder*] Mother gives one firm spank on child's bottom [High Power: *Physical discipline*] and leads him back to the living room holding his hand [High Power: *Physical redirection*].

Moderate Power

Moderate Power parenting strategies and behaviors utilize parental power assertion measured in balance with levels of perceived child autonomy. *Moderate Power* strategies and behaviors include parental direct verbal directives and prohibitions (*i.e.*, commands), indirect verbal directives and prohibitions (*e.g.*, suggestions), unclear commands (*e.g.*, undefined

utterances), and the use of bribes. Below are some examples taken from the dataset used in the dissertation:

> A toddler is about to grab a glass figurine on the side table. Mother says, "Uh uh!" [Moderate Power: *Unclear command*]
>
> Mother says, "Put that in the trash for me." [Moderate Power: *Direct verbal command*]

Low Power

Relative to the *High Power* and *Moderate Power* practices, *Inductive Discipline* practices present with low levels of parental assertion of power. The *Inductive Discipline* category consists of parenting strategies and behaviors that utilize cognitive and emotional approaches to identify and emphasize the consequences of children's transgressions and the benefits of prosocial or preferred behaviors and values. Inductive disciplinary practices can be child- or other-oriented such as *negotiations*, *reminders*, *explanations*, *persuasion*, *questioning*, and *reasoning*. While not included as part of *Inductive Discipline*, love withdrawal and other punitive practices such as restricting children's activities (*i.e.* time-outs), access to preferred items (*i.e.* toys, tv, video games, etc.), and food items de-emphasizes the presence of explicit or coercive assertion of parental power. Instead, parents utilize the implicit authority through language, emotions, and objects to gain children's cooperation. Together with *Inductive Discipline*, this group of practices that utilized lower levels of explicit parental assertion of power was labeled *Low Power* and incorporated along the continuum of parental power assertion. Below are examples taken from the dataset used in the dissertation:

> "Come on out of the window, Sheena. Come out of the window, Sheena. Now [Moderate Power: *Direct verbal command*]. She coming out, Tammy [Low Power: *Persuasion*]. Cause see, you gonna hurt yourself in that window [Low Power: *Explanation*]. Come on [Moderate Power: *Direct verbal command*]."

> Child is fidgety and not able to stay still. Mother says, "Get up here [Moderate Power: *Direct verbal command*]. Stop falling out like that [Moderate Power: *Direct verbal command*]. You don't do that [Low Power: *Reminder*]. You don't do that. [Low Power: *Reminder*]" There's a brief pause. "You want a cookie? You want a cookie?" [Low Power: *Inquiry – asking a question to encourage the child to think about what she might be trying to communicate by "falling out."*]

High Power, *Moderate Power*, and *Low Power* make up the dimensions of parental power assertion groups that guided the development of the Parenting Practice section of the coding manual (Appendix B, p. 197). The associated categories and subcategories of parenting practices were compiled from multiple sources in the literature reviewed for this study (*e.g.*, *Threats* and *Bribes* from Crockenberg & Litman,1990; *Matter-of-fact Redirection* and *Unclear Commands* from Kuczynski *et al.*, 1987) and supplemented through brainstorming efforts and sample coding.

Research Questions

This dissertation examines parental efforts to encourage the development of children's social knowledge at ages 12 months, 24 months, and 36 months in a sample of urban, low-income African American families living in high-risk, urban environments. In reference to the various adults observed in the videos who engage in caretaking, *parents and caregivers* will from this point on be referred to as *families*. Utilizing longitudinal, multi-hour, naturalistic video observations of children and families in their homes without researcher-prescripted dyadic tasks, this study addresses the following research questions:

Social Knowledge Messages

- What social knowledge messages are families conveying in their day-to-day interactions with their toddlers?
    a. Which domains of social knowledge are being addressed by families most frequently?
    b. Which categories of social knowledge socialization messages do families address most frequently?
    c. Do social knowledge domains and categories that families address in their day-to-day interactions with their toddlers change as children become older?
    d. In what contexts do families convey social knowledge messages and do contexts change over time?

Parental Socialization Practices

- What parenting practices—behaviors or strategies—do families employ to convey social knowledge messages?
    a. What parenting practices do families use most frequently?
    b. Do parenting practices change as children become older?
    c. What are the qualities and content of parenting practices that families used?

Relationships between Social Knowledge Messages and Parenting Practices

- What is the relationship between the social knowledge messages families conveyed and the parenting practices families used to convey them during the toddlerhood period?
    a. Does the number of parenting practices that families use vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?

b. Does the type of parenting practice that families use vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?
    - Specifically, does the level of parental power assertion vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?
    - More specifically, do parental use of physical discipline vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?
c. Does the type of parenting practice that families use to convey social knowledge messages change as children become older?

Methods

This dissertation is a longitudinal examination of the parenting socialization efforts with toddlers utilizing naturalistic observational data of a sample of low-income African American families living in high-risk urban environments.

Secondary Longitudinal Qualitative Data Source

This data comes from the Infant and Child Development Project (ICDP) collected between 1982 and 2001 (Norton, 2010). Families who participated in the ICDP were determined to be eligible for inclusion in the original study if they met criteria for neighborhood, family, and child-level factors. Neighborhood and family-level factors were defined as "high-risk" using compiled data from the 1982 Chicago Area Geographical Information Service on neighborhood quality of life for the entire city at the Census tract level. Census tracts with five or more neighborhood structure indices listed in *Table 3.01* that were above or below the city's median

percentages, depending on the specific structure index, were considered high-risk and eligible for inclusion in the study.

Table 3.01 Criteria for 'High-Risk' Definition

Indices ABOVE City Median Percentage	Indices BELOW city Median Percentage
Neonatal mortality	Per capita income
Housing density	Health care
Vacant housing	Median value of single homes
Mean number of persons per housing unit	
Crime rate	
Unemployment	
Poor condition of housing units	
Transience	

Note: Indices from Chicago Area Geographical Information Service, 1982

Families were recruited during a four-month period from two major hospital maternity wards located in or near neighborhoods designated as "high-risk" using the above criteria. The hospitals were also chosen because they primarily served African-Americans to ensure that adequate number of births from the target demographic population. The research design limited the sampling size to 40 children to balance the required intensive and comprehensive longitudinal data collection with a rigorous evaluation and analysis (Norton, 2010).

Four additional family-level criteria were used to define "high-risk" at the family-level: 1) The child's mother/parents did not live with their own parents or any older relative (Doolittle, 1995) at the time of recruitment; 2) the child's mother was between 18 and 21 years of age, with looser restrictions on the upper limit; 3) the child's mother had no more than a high school education at the time of recruitment; and 4) the child's mother worked no more than half-time or not more than 20 hours per week (Norton, 1983, 1993).

There was one child-level criteria for participation. The child did not hold a diagnosis for one or more congenital disabilities. The rationale for the original study was to conduct within group analyses for a demographically homogeneous group of children and families to make more salient the transactional factors that differentiate children's outcome in the future (Norton, 1985).

Mothers who gave birth at the two hospitals and met neighborhood and family-level criteria were asked to participate. There were three documented refusals with the primary stated reason coming from the boyfriend or husband not wanting strangers in the home with video cameras. Informed consents approved by the Institutional Review Board were obtained from mothers who agreed to participate. The child whose birth immediately preceded the recruitment of participant families was identified as the "target child". Mothers were paid for each video-recording session.

Data Collection

The mother-infant dyads were video-recorded for thirty (30) minutes in the hospital on the second day after birth upon receipt of consent. Four-hour video-recording sessions were completed in participants' homes every six (6) weeks for the first year and every three (3) months the second and third years. After children's third birthday, video-recording sessions were shortened to two (2) hours.

At every video-recording session, the camera followed the target children throughout the entire visit regardless of the activities in which the children were engaged, within reason (*i.e.*, generally no bathrooms for older children but there are accounts of potty-training for younger children). Timing of visits varied between morning and afternoon in attempts to capture as much of children's whole day as possible. In addition, research assistants who were video operators

were instructed to take notes about off-camera interactions and activities to supplement video observations. Video-recording began in 1982 and ended in 2001.

Basic demographic and birth information data were collected during the recruitment and in-take process. Additional data on mothers collected include social and cognitive measures and semi-structured interviews and scales regarding child rearing habits and aspirations, expectations, and values when children were 2, 6, 10, and 16 years old. Children's teachers were interviewed when children were 10 and 16 years old. Children were interviewed at age 16 years old. Child-level standardized measures included the McCarthy Scales of Children's Abilities (MSCA) at ages 3 and 6, the Wechsler Intelligence Scale for Children (WISC-III) at child ages 10 and 16, and the Achenbach Youth Self-Report, Teacher Report, and Parent Report at age 16. The project collected children's report cards and school achievement test results from the families when possible.

ICDP Sample Description

The final sample included 37 African American mothers (Norton & Huttenlocher, 1985). Mothers' mean age was 21.3 years at the time they entered the study. Mothers' mean age of their first pregnancy was 16.9 years. Mothers' mean education level was 11.5 years. Five (5) mothers (13%) lived alone with their children, fourteen (14) mothers (35%) lived with husbands or boyfriends with the remainder living with siblings, friends, or peer relatives such as cousins. The majority of mothers (28 or 70%) were not married. The mean birth weight of focus children was 6 pounds 6 ounces and all had Apgar scores within the normal range (7-10). Fourteen (14) of the focus children were boys (37%).

Sample Selection for Dissertation

Of the 37 families who participated in the ICDP, this study utilized videos of 17 families that had complete and functioning videos at children's ages 12, 24, and 36 months. Multiple time points provided the opportunity to observe children's developmental progression and changes in parental socialization efforts as the children aged. These time points were chosen to fit the early, middle, and end of the toddlerhood period. By 12 months, most children were walking independently while others crawled, scooted, or cruised, but in all cases, children have gained a significant level of mobility within their environment. At around 36 months, some children were preparing for preschool while others were not, depending on their parents' attitudes, beliefs, and access to resources and programs.

Since all video recording sessions during the three time points were 4 hours, this study used one-hour long segments of video beginning at least one hour into the video-recording session and ending one hour later. The rationale for the one-hour lag was to allow for children and families to acclimate to having the camera and its operator in their environment and to ensure as close to naturalistic observation as possible by minimizing intrusiveness of the research staff. If the initially selected segment showed the child not interacting with anyone, then the beginning of the sampling segment was shifted to a later point in the tape where child-other interactions can be observed. In the event that the only appropriate time in the video occurred during the first hour, an exception was made. Overall, the study used 17 hours of video at each age, totaling 51 hours of videos across the three age points for coding and analysis.

Data Transcription

This dissertation utilized the *NVivo* 9.0 qualitative research software to transcribe videos. The software was chosen for its flexibility and function including concurrent video viewing during transcription. A time-stamp feature was available but not utilized due to complications related to the way message events were coded.

The one-hour segments of video for each child at each age were transcribed to capture all occasions when the target children were engaged with parents or other adults in their environment. Transcriptions included all verbal and non-verbal exchanges initiated by adults or children. This included occasions when the child cries or whines, looks towards someone—when identifiable, reaches for or touches someone, or calls out for someone. In addition to the specific verbal and physical behaviors, transcriptions included initial descriptions of the setting such as lighting and ambiance, background objects and noise (*i.e.* TV, radio, traffic), and who were present visually and audibly. Persons who cannot be identified will receive generic labels (*e.g.*, man, woman, older boy or younger boy relative to the target child, etc.). When possible and appropriate, the transcription noted changes in environmental conditions and noted their interference with visual or auditory clarity of observations. Because the videos followed target children throughout the segment, parents and other adults may not be in view of the camera. This can have significant impact on consistent observation and coding of parental use of physical or nonverbal practices. There were occasions when the coder did not know definitively that parents were speaking to the target children and not someone else in the home. All completed transcripts were reviewed with the videos for accuracy and clarity by the principle investigator.

Coding Method

This study has a two-tiered coding system using non-sequential, systematic observation. Systematic observations assists researchers in the process of quantifying behaviors. Since this study only explored parental socialization efforts without children's responses, a non-sequential method was appropriate for the research questions being addressed (Bakeman & Gottman, 1997). The two-tiered coding system was guided by the development of the coding manual.

Social Knowledge Messages

For the first tier, social knowledge domain and category codes (see *Table 3.02*), decision rules, and examples were established *a priori* and detailed in the first section of the coding manual (Appendix B, p. 184) based on previously utilized codes from Smetana *et al.*, (2000).

Table 3.02 Domains and Categories of Social Knowledge

Domain		Coded Category
Interpersonal-Moral		Others' Safety and Fairness
Conventional		Orderly Behavior
		Food and Mealtime
		Family Routines and Chores
		Social Manner
Psychological	Prudential	Personal Safety
	Prudential Pragmatic	Protect Property
	Personal Prudential	Self-Care
	Personal	Personal and Choice

Table 3.02 lists the domains of social knowledge, *Interpersonal-Moral*, *Conventional*, and *Psychological*; *Psychological* sub-domains, *Prudential*, *Prudential Pragmatic*, and *Personal Prudential*, and *Personal*; and the nine (9) categories making up the domains and

sub-domains, *Others' Safety and Fairness*, *Orderly Behavior*, *Food and Mealtime*, *Family Routines and Chores*, *Social Manner*, *Personal Safety*, *Property Protection*, *Self-Care*, and *Personal and Choice*.

As the first tier code, social knowledge messages were coded in units of events with categories of social knowledge codes. Message events were allowed to vary in duration to accommodate the different ways that families socialize their toddlers about different social knowledge categories. Letting families determine the duration of message events more closely reflected the realities of parental socialization efforts within the context of each family and with each child at each age. The duration of message events were determined by when the messages ended. For example, a family could address a *Food and Mealtime* message in an instant or continue to reinforce, continuously or sporadically, the same message throughout a 30 minute meal. The disadvantage of event coding was that the coder was tasked with deciding when the events ended and the amount of time was not an accurate reflection of the duration of the event (Bakeman & Gottman, 1997). In addition, message events sometimes overlapped complicating the task of quantifying message and practice codes in *NVivo*; however, there were no message events that carried more than one social knowledge category code.

Finally, *NVivo* offered the coder opportunities to include *in vivo* coding that added another dimension to the depth of the data not accounted for by *a priori* established codes.

Parental Socialization Practices

For the second tier, parenting practice category (see *Table 3.03*) and subcategory codes, decision rules, and examples were established and detailed in the second section of the coding

manual (Appendix B, p. 197) based on the three dimensions of parental power assertion (see *Table 3.03*).

Table 3.03 Parenting Practices: Dimensions of Parental Power Assertion and Categories

Dimensions of Parental Power Assertion	Categories of Parenting Practice
High Power	Physical Discipline
	Redirection
	Threat
Moderate Power	Bribe
	Direct Command
	Indirect Command
	Unclear Command
Low Power	Deprivation
	Modeling
	Negotiation
	Persuade Reason Explain
	Reprimand
	Reminder
	Reward

High Power dimension practices include *Physical Discipline*, *Redirection*, and *Threat*. Subcategories for these practices attempt to capture whether the physical discipline was done using hands or tools like a belt, if children resisted parental physical redirection, and whether threats were verbal or physical and the implicit/explicit consequences, respectively. Parenting practices in the *Moderate Power* dimension include *Bribe*, *Direct Command*, *Indirect Command*, and *Unclear Command*. Subcategories for these categories capture the indicated incentive used in trade for children's compliance and whether commands were physical gestures, verbal, or a combination of verbal and gesture. *Low Power* dimension practices are *Deprivation*, *Modeling*, *Negotiation*, *Persuade Reason Explain*, *Reprimand*, *Reminder*, and *Reward*. Subcategory codes

for these practices, respectively, attempt to capture what are being withheld from children, whether parents are modeling physically, verbally, or using a combination of verbal and physical, who initiated the negotiation, whether the focus of the persuasion or explanation was the children, someone else, or objects, if the criticism was focused on the children or their behavior, and how parents rewarded the children.

Only parenting practices contained within each social knowledge message event were coded for categories of parenting practice and subcategories of parenting practice when possible. Because the second tier codes were embedded within the first tier, the analyses were able to examine the relationship between social knowledge message events and parenting practices. So while event coding did not allow for the use of time as a measure of message event duration, the number of embedded practice codes provided a measure of magnitude and quality of parental effort that went into conveying each message event.

Training and Refining

After reviewing the codes for social knowledge messages and parenting practices, the coder was randomly assigned a transcript from each age to code. The coder was instructed to first code social knowledge message categories then return to each transcript to code the parenting practices. Upon completion, the coder reviewed and reflected on the coding process with an expert consultant to identify aspects that were clear and worked well as well as aspects that were confusing or difficult. The coding manual was revisited to clarify decision rules and behavioral standards for each code. The coder conducted a second round of test coding using the revised coding manual on another set of randomly chosen transcript, one at each age. The coder used the same process of tiered coding as in the first round. Once completed, the coder reviewed

and reflected on the coding process with an expert consultant and more revisions were made to the coding manual. Once decision rules were established in the coding manual, the coder began the coding of transcripts at each age in random order using the tiered process in conjunction with the videos, beginning with 12 months transcripts.

Table 3.04 Example Coding

Speaker	Transcript	Tier 1 Message Event	Tier 2 Parenting Practice
	[TB is touching the stuffed lion. TB walks away from the lion towards the camera. TB stops and stares at the camera. TB walks back towards the lion and pulls it off the chair onto the floor. TB walks away from the lion.]		
M	Come here, Arnell.	ORDR (*Orderly Behavior*)	Direct Command
	Arnell.		Unclear Command
	Come on.		Direct Command
	Come back here.		Direct Command
	[M walks towards TB.]		
M	See, everything is closed.		Persuade Reason
	There's nothing back here.		Persuade Reason
	Come on.		Direct Command
	[M takes TB's hand and leads her back to the living room.		Redirection
	[M stops and leans over TB to fix TB's shoes.]	CARE (*Self Care*)	Redirection
	[M finishes with the shoes and remains sitting.]		
	[M notices TB is looking at the camera.]		
M	Ok, say "hi."	SOCI (*Social Manner*)	Direct Command
	Say "Hello."		Direct Command
	"Hello."		Modeling
	[M picks up one of TB's arms and waves it at the camera.]		Redirection
	[TB begins to walk towards the camera.]		
	[M let's TB's arm go, gets up, and walks off camera in another direction.]		

There was one major revision after all the coding was completed for all children at all three age points. Preliminary analyses indicated that one of the social knowledge categories had very low frequencies. This category, *Obedience*, was initially included to account for events when parents provided only "because I said so" as the reason for children's compliance. The category was eliminated and incorporated into other categories using context clues. Otherwise, when "obedience" appeared to be the only rationale possible, the event was coded as *Social*

Manners as a conventional interpersonal expectation for children when interacting with adults in the family.

The results reported in this dissertation does not include a reliability test using a second trained coder. To execute the reliability test, the second coder will be trained in a similar fashion. The individual will receive pre-coding instructions and two rounds of test coding with reviews and reflections in between completion of each round.

Table 3.04 provides a brief example of actual coded message events and parenting practices using the most recent version of the coding manual. The presentation of the table does not reflect what coders used for coding.

Data analyses

Given the exploratory nature and sample size, the analyses utilized simple statistical methods such as one- and two-sample, means and proportions difference tests, one- and two-way analysis of variance, and simple and multiple regression models. Some quantitative analyses of the coded data were augmented using qualitative comparative analyses of message contents and practice subcategories to illustrate and deepen understanding of the findings.

Analyses of Social Knowledge Message and Parenting Practices

For social knowledge message events and parenting practices, the analyses primarily relied on one- and two-sample proportions test. By comparing proportions, the frequencies of message event categories were standardized to account for differences in total counts. In addition, one- and two-way proportions tests utilized the frequencies of message events as the sample sizes rather the number of families, increasing the statistical power to detect

differences. On the other hand, this method also increase the possibility of Type I error, when significance is found where none exists. When utilizing proportions to analyze data across time points, extra caution was taken in the interpretation of results. The direction of change in frequencies may not match the direction of change in proportions due to differences in the total frequencies at each age.

The analyses of social knowledge message events utilized results from *in vivo* coding for targeted qualitative comparative analyses to deepen the specificity of findings, even when frequencies of *in vivo* codes were generally too small for statistical analyses. For parenting practices, more in-depth analyses utilized data from subcategory codes as well as qualitative comparison of context and content in which the parenting practice was utilized. *NVivo* provided a function that allowed all sections of transcripts that were coded with one code to be aggregated into one file. This allowed for close content analyses of specific parenting practices and possible patterns in qualitative content when families used that specific practice.

Analyses of the Relationship between Parenting Practices and Social Knowledge Messages

Two-tiered, event coding of social knowledge messages with embedded parenting practices allowed for the use of simple and multiple regression models for the analyses of the relationship between social knowledge message events and parenting practices. To simplify and guide the analytical process, one- and two- way analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used to determine the significant differences in the average (mean) number of practices per message event. Instead of proportions, the analyses in this section utilized two-way mean scores as the standardized data for comparison across domains and categories of social knowledge, between categories of parenting practices within domains and categories of social knowledge, and within

and across age points. To analyze the relationship between social knowledge messages and parenting practices across the age points, a social knowledge message by age (domain×age and category×age) interaction term was included as a factor in two-way ANOVAs and as independent variable in the multiple regression model.

Two-Way ANOVA equation:

$$Parenting\ Practice_{ijk} = \mu + Message_j + Age_k + (Message \times Age)_{jk} + \varepsilon_{ijk}$$

Multiple Regression model:

$$Parenting\ Practice = \beta_0 + \beta_1(Message) + \beta_2(Age) + \beta_3(Message \times Age) + \varepsilon$$

These analyses were able to account for the main effects of the domains or categories of social knowledge message events and ages on parenting practices as well as determine whether parenting practices varied with social knowledge message events over the three ages.

This concludes the review of the conceptual framework and methods utilized to conduct this systematic examination of parental socialization efforts in naturalistic video observations over three ages. The following chapters will report the results obtained from the analyses of overall coded data from 51 hours of videos and age specific data from 17 hours of video at 12 months, 24 months, and 36 months.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS 1: PARENTAL SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE MESSAGES

This chapter presents the results from the analyses of the coded data for the three social knowledge domains, including *Interpersonal-Moral*, *Conventional*, and *Psychological*, as well as the 9 social knowledge categories, including *Others' Safety and Fairness*, *Orderly Behavior*, *Food and Mealtime*, *Family Routines and Chores*, *Social Manner*, *Personal Safety*, *Protect Property*, *Self-Care*, and *Personal and Choice*, reviewed in Chapter 3. The analyses address the first set of research questions for this dissertation regarding parental use of social knowledge messages.

- What social knowledge messages are families attempting to convey in their day-to-day interactions with their toddlers?
    a. Which domains of social knowledge are being addressed by families most frequently?
    b. Which categories of social knowledge messages do families address most frequently?
    c. Do social knowledge domains and categories that families address in their day-to-day interactions with their toddlers change as children become older?
    d. In what contexts do families convey social knowledge messages and do contexts change over time?

Seventeen families were observed in 1-hour video segments at children's ages 12 months, 24 months, and 36 months. Parental socialization message events were coded for all 51 hours of video segments.

4.a. Which domains of social knowledge are being addressed by families most frequently?

Overall, families conveyed 1895 socialization message events. On average, families conveyed more than one message event per 2 minute per hour. On the most general level, families conveyed the most messages in the *Psychological* domain which includes behavioral categories such as *Personal Safety*, *Property Protection*, *Self-Care*, and *Personal and Choice*. As summarized in *Table 4.01*, almost half of all socialization message events (49.5%) fell in the *Psychological* domain with 937 message events. A one-sample one-tail proportions test indicated that the percent of *Psychological* domain message events was significantly higher than the 843 message events (44.5%) in *Conventional* domain ($z = 3.0601$; $p < 0.05$) and the 114 message events (6.0%) in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain ($z = 29.8652$; $p < 0.001$).

Table 4.01 Domains and Categories of Socialization Message Events by Age (Percent & Sources)

Socialization Message Domains & Categories	12 Months Events (% & Sources)	24 Months Events (% & Sources)	36 Months Events (% & Sources)	Domain & Category Total (%)
Interpersonal-Moral	34 (5.37%)	36 (5.72%)	44 (6.95%)	114 (6.02%)
Others' Safety/Fairness	34 (12)	36 (11)	44 (11)	114 (6.02%)
Conventional	248 (39.18%)	297 (47.22%)	299 (47.24%)	844 (44.54%)
Orderly Behavior	78 (17)	92 (17)	115 (17)	285 (15.04%)
Food/Mealtime	40 (14)	36 (12)	36 (14)	110 (5.91%)
Family Routines/Chores	43 (15)	57 (15)	33 (12)	134 (7.02%)
Social Manner	87 (16)	112 (16)	115 (17)	314 (16.57%)
Psychological	351 (55.45%)	296 (47.06%)	290 (45.81%)	937 (49.45%)
Personal Safety	109 (17)	60 (15)	34 (12)	203 (10.71%)
Property Protection	78 (16)	79 (14)	96 (14)	253 (13.35%)
Self-Care	84 (17)	51 (15)	53 (15)	188 (9.92%)
Personal and Choice	80 (16)	106 (17)	107 (17)	293 (15.46%)
Total	633	629	633	1895

Domains of Social Knowledge Messages by Age

When comparing longitudinally between the three age points, the total number of parental socialization message events remained statistically stable through toddlerhood. Families conveyed 633 message events (33.40%) at 12 months, 629 message events (33.19%) at 24 months, and 633 message events (33.40%) at 36 months. The pattern changed when domains were examined at each age.

At 12 months, families conveyed the most message events in the *Psychological* domain with 351 message events (55.45%) in the *Psychological* domain, significantly more than the 248 message events (39.18%) in the *Conventional* domain ($z = 5.7977$; $p < 0.001$), and the 34 message events (5.4%) in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain ($z = 19.3668$; $p < 0.001$). At 24 months, families conveyed as many *Conventional* domain message events (297 or 47.2%) as *Psychological* domain message events (296 or 47.1%), and each had significantly more message events than the 36 message events (5.7%) in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain ($z = 16.6320$ and 16.6799; $p < 0.001$). Similarly, at 36 months, families conveyed as many *Psychological* domain message events (290 or 45.8%) as *Conventional* domain message events (299 or 47.2%), both of which were significantly more than the 44 message events (7.0%) in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain ($z = 15.6883$ and 16.1252; $p < 0.001$).

The overall breakdown of domains of socialization messages is clear that families are conveying the fewest message events in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain at all three ages examined. Families conveyed the most messages in the *Psychological* domain at 12 months; however, at 24 and 36 months, the amount of *Psychological* and *Conventional* domain messages were not statistically different from each other. To better understand the multifaceted pattern of

parental use of social knowledge domain messages, behavioral categories with each domain were examined at each age point.

4.b. Which categories of social knowledge messages do families address most frequently?

Message event frequencies and sources of behavioral categories within each domain of social knowledge are summarized in *Table 4.01*. The *Interpersonal-Moral* domain has one message category referred to in this dissertation as *Others' Safety and Fairness*. The *Conventional* domain consists of 4 socialization categories: 1) *Orderly Behavior*, 2) *Food and Mealtime*, 3) *Family Routines and Chores*, and 4) *Social Manner*. The *Psychological* domain consists of 4 categories: 1) *Personal Safety*, 2) *Property Protection*, 3) *Self-Care*, and 4) *Personal and Choice*.

Table 4.02 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Social Knowledge Message Events Overall (*n* = 1895)

Social Knowledge Categories	Total Frequency (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	*z*-statistics
Social Manner	314 (16.57%)	-	-	-
Personal and Choice	293 (15.46%)	–21	–1.11%	0.9299
Orderly Behavior	285 (15.04%)	–8	–0.42%	0.3613
Property Protection	253 (13.35%)	–32	–1.69%	1.4897 #
Personal Safety	203 (10.71%)	–50	–2.64%	2.4969 **
Self-Care	188 (9.92%)	–15	–0.79%	0.8005
Family Routines/Chores	133 (7.02%)	–55	–2.90%	3.2094 ***
Others' Safety/Fairness	114 (6.02%)	–19	–1.00%	1.2496
Food/Mealtime	112 (5.91%)	–2	–0.11%	0.1378

#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Table 4.02 summarizes results from analyses of the nine behavioral categories overall, ordered from highest to lowest frequencies and percentages. The table presents differences (Δ) in

frequencies and percentages between categories compared to the category immediately preceding, with asterisks (*) and hash marks (#) indicating the level of significance determined by a one sample, one-tailed proportions test. The results indicate that families conveyed the highest proportion of messages overall in the *Social Manner* category with 16.57% and 314 events. The *Personal and Choice* category followed with 15.46% and 293 events; however, the proportions test indicated that the proportion of *Social Manner* and *Personal and Choice* category message events were not different beyond chance. The 15.04% (285 events) of *Orderly Behavior* category message events was not significantly lower than the *Personal and Choice* category. The *Property Protection* category followed with 13.35% of the total message events (253 events), and was trending toward difference beyond chance ($z = 1.4897$; $p < 0.10$) compared to the *Orderly Behavior* category. The proportion of *Property Protection* category message events that families conveyed was significantly higher than the 10.71% (203 events) of the *Personal Safety* category ($z = 2.4969$; $p < 0.01$). The proportion of *Personal Safety* and *Self-Care* (9.92%, 188 events) category message events were not statistically different from each other. Families conveyed significantly fewer *Family Routines and Chores* category message events (7.02% or 133 events) compared to *Self-Care* category messages events ($z = 3.2094$; $p < 0.001$). Finally, over all three ages, families did not conveyed significantly more message events in the *Family Routines and Chores* category compared to *Others' Safety and Fairness* (6.02% or 114 events), but slightly more compared to the 5.91% (112 events) in the *Food and Mealtime* category ($z = 1.3870$; $p < 0.10$). The *Others' Safety and Fairness* and *Food and Mealtime* categories were not different beyond chance.

Overall, six of the nine categories of social knowledge made up approximately 10% or more of the total amount of socialization message events—*Social Manner*, *Personal and Choice*,

Orderly Behavior, *Property Protection*, and *Personal Safety* in descending order. The next section will examine the categories of social knowledge that families used most at each age point. Significant differences between proportions of categories were determined using the one sample, one-tailed proportions test.

Categories of Social Knowledge Messages at 12 Months

The results from 12-month analyses of categories of social knowledge message events that families conveyed to their toddlers are summarized in *Table 4.03*. Families conveyed the most message events in the *Personal Safety* category with 17.22% (109 events) of the total 12-month message events. Subsequently, families conveyed significantly fewer *Social Manner* category message events with 13.74% (87 events) ($z = 1.7095$; $p < 0.05$) compared to message events in the *Personal Safety* category. The proportion of message events in the *Social Manner* category was not different beyond chance from the 13.27% (84 events) of message events in the *Self-Care* category; the proportion of *Self-Care* message events was not different beyond chance from the 12.64% (80 events) of message events in the *Personal and Choice* category; and the proportion of *Personal and Choice* message events was not significantly different from the proportion of message events in the *Orderly Behavior* and *Property Protection* categories, both with 12.32% (78 events). Families conveyed significantly lower proportion of message events in the *Family Routines and Chores* category at 12 months with 6.79% (43 events) compared to *Orderly Behavior* and *Property Protection* message events ($z = 3.3456$; $p < 0.001$). The proportion of *Family Routines and Chores* message events was not different beyond chance from the 6.32% (40 events) of *Food and Mealtime* category message events. Finally, the proportion of *Food and Mealtime* message events was not significantly different from the 5.37% (34 events) of

message events in the *Others' Safety and Fairness* categories. All nine categories of social knowledge had more than 70% of families contribute to the frequencies of message events at 12 months, with a range of 12 to 17 families.

Table 4.03 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Social Knowledge Message Events at 12 Months (n = 633)

Social Knowledge Categories	Total Frequency (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	z-statistics
Personal Safety	109 (17.22%)	-	-	-
Social Manner	87 (13.74%)	–22	–3.48%	1.7095 *
Self-Care	84 (13.27%)	–3	–0.47%	0.2467
Personal and Choice	80 (12.64%)	–4	–0.63%	0.3348
Orderly Behavior	78 (12.32%)	–2	–0.32%	0.1701
Property Protection	78 (12.32%)	0	–0.00%	-
Family Routines/Chores	43 (6.79%)	–35	–5.53%	3.3456 ***
Food/Mealtime	40 (6.32%)	–3	–0.47%	0.3407
Others' Safety/Fairness	34 (5.37%)	–6	–1.07%	0.7859

#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Categories of Social Knowledge Messages at 24 Months

The results of analyses at 24 months (*see Table 4.04*) indicate that families conveyed the highest proportion of message events in the *Social Manner* category making up 17.81% (112 events) of the total at 24 months. The *Personal and Choice* category followed with 16.85% (106 events) and was not significantly different from the proportion of *Social Manner* category message events. The *Orderly Behavior* category, at 14.63% (92 events) of message events, was not different beyond chance from the proportion of *Personal and Choice* category message events. Families conveyed 12.56% (79 events) of message events at 24 months in the *Property Protection* category which was not different beyond chance from the proportion of message events in the *Orderly Behavior* category. Families conveyed 9.54% (60 events) of message

events in the *Personal Safety* category, 9.06% (57 events) in the *Family Routines and Chores* category, and 8.11% (51events) in the *Self-Care* category. All three categories had significantly lower proportions compared to the *Property Protection* category ($z = 1.7089$; $p < 0.05$) but were not different beyond chance from one another. The final two categories, the *Food and Mealtime* and *Others' Safety and Fairness* categories, with the lowest proportion of message events each made up 5.72% of message events with 36 events. Both had significantly lower proportions compared to the *Self-Care* category ($z = 1.6670$; $p < 0.05$). All the categories of social knowledge had more 60% of families contribute to the amount message events at 24 months, with a range of 11 to 17 families.

Table 4.04 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Social Knowledge Message Events at 24 Months ($n = 629$)

Social Knowledge Categories	Total Frequency (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	*z*-statistics
Social Manner	112 (17.81%)	-	-	-
Personal and Choice	106 (16.85%)	–6	–0.95%	0.4470
Orderly Behavior	92 (14.63%)	–14	–2.23%	1.0840
Property Protection	79 (12.56%)	–13	–2.07%	1.0691
Personal Safety	60 (9.54%)	–19	–3.02%	1.7089 *
Family Routines/Chores	57 (9.06%)	–3	–0.48%	0.2913
Self-Care	51 (8.11%)	–6	–0.95%	0.6039
Food/Mealtime	36 (5.72%)	–15	–2.39%	1.6670 *
Others' Safety/Fairness	36 (5.72%)	0	0.00%	-

$^{\#}p < 0.10$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{***}p < 0.001$

Categories of Social Knowledge Messages at 36 Months

At children's age 36 months (*see Table 4.05*), families conveyed the most message events in the *Social Manner* and *Orderly Behavior* categories. Each category made up 18.17% of message events with 115 events when children were 36 months old. The *Personal and Choice*

followed with 16.90% (107 events) and was found to not be significantly different from the proportion of *Social Manner* and *Orderly Behavior* categories message events. The *Property Protection* category made up 15.17% of message events with 96 events was not different beyond chance compared to the proportion of *Personal and Choice* category message events. Families conveyed significantly fewer message events in the *Self-Care* category with 8.37% (53 events) compared to the *Property Protection* category ($z = 3.7502$; $p < 0.001$). The 6.95% (44 events) of message events in the *Others' Safety and Fairness* category was not different beyond chance compared to the *Self-Care* category. Similarly, the final three categories, *Food and Mealtime* with 5.7% (36 events), *Personal Safety* with 5.37% (34 events), and *Family Routines and Chores* with 5.21% (33 events) were not significantly different in proportion compared to the category immediately preceding them. All nine categories had more than 60% of families contribute to their message event frequencies, with a range of 11 to 17 families.

Table 4.05 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Social Knowledge Message Events at 36 Months ($n = 633$)

Social Knowledge Categories	Total Frequency (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	*z*-statistics
Orderly Behavior	115 (18.17%)	-	-	-
Social Manner	115 (18.17%)	0	0.00%	-
Personal and Choice	107 (16.90%)	–8	–1.26%	0.5909
Property Protection	96 (15.17%)	–11	–1.74%	0.8427
Self-Care	53 (8.37%)	–43	–6.79%	3.7502 ***
Others' Safety/Fairness	44 (6.95%)	–9	–1.42%	0.9511
Food/Mealtime	36 (5.69%)	–8	–1.26%	0.9242
Personal Safety	34 (5.37%)	–2	–0.32%	0.2460
Family Routines/Chores	33 (5.21%)	–1	–0.16%	0.1256

#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

4.c. Do social knowledge domains and categories that families address in their day-to-day interactions with their toddlers change as children become older?

The percentages of social knowledge domains and categories of message events at each age and the differences in those percentages between 12 and 24 months and 24 and 36 months are summarized in *Table 4.06*. Columns 5 and 6 provide the difference (Δ) in percentage. Two-sample, one-tailed proportions tests were used to determine whether changes in the percentages of socialization message events were different beyond chance. Significance levels are indicated by the asterisks (*) and the hash mark (#). While a number of statistical tools can be used to determined significant change from age to age, the two-sample one-tailed proportions had two primary benefits. It did not require the sample to be normally distributed and it utilized the total message event count at each age as its sample size.

Table 4.06 Changes in Percent of Social Knowledge Domains and Categories across Ages

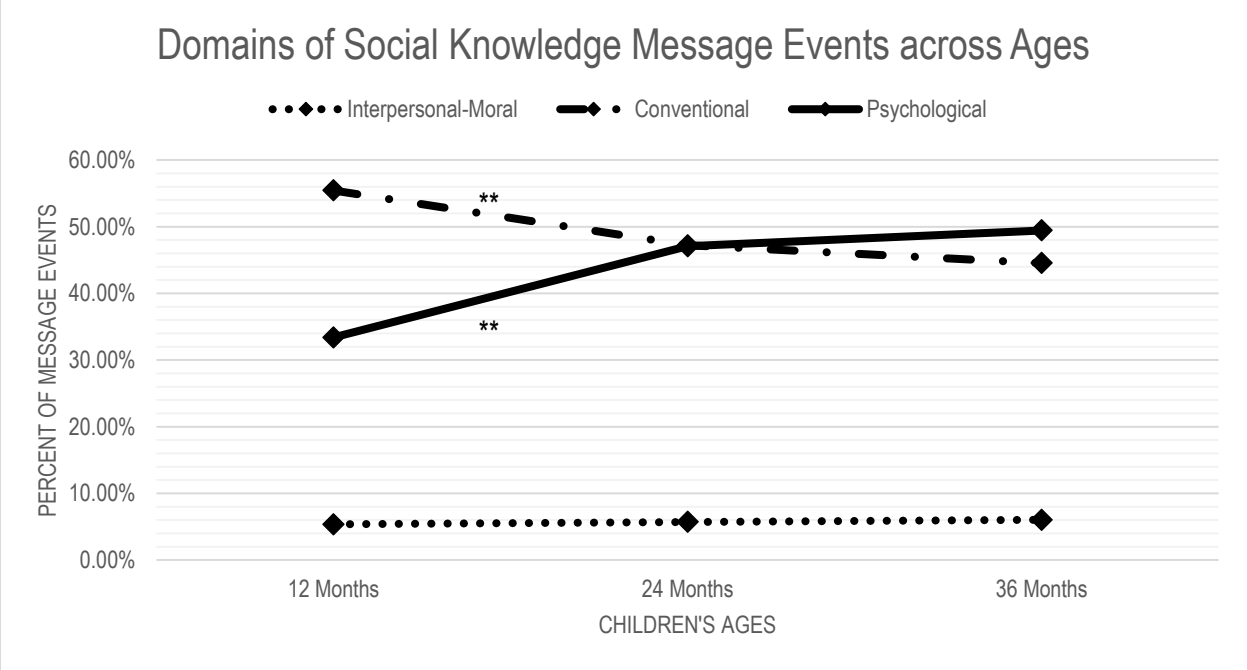
Social Knowledge Domains & Categories	12 Months	24 Months	36 Months	Δ 12 months to 24 months	Δ 24 months to 36 months
Interpersonal-Moral	5.37%	5.72%	6.95%	–0.35%	–1.23%
Others' Safety/Fairness	5.37%	5.72%	6.95%	–0.35%	–1.23%
Conventional	39.18%	47.22%	47.24%	–8.14% **	–0.02%
Orderly Behavior	12.32%	14.63%	18.17%	–2.30%	–3.54% *
Food/Mealtime	6.32%	5.72%	5.69%	0.60%	0.04%
Family Routine/Chores	6.80%	9.06%	5.21%	–2.27% #	3.85% **
Social Manner	13.74%	17.81%	18.17%	–4.06% *	–0.36%
Psychological	55.45%	47.06%	45.81%	8.39% **	1.25%
Personal Safety	17.22%	9.54%	5.37%	7.68% ***	4.17% **
Property Protection	12.32%	12.56%	15.17%	–0.24%	–2.61% #
Self-Care	13.27%	8.11%	8.37%	5.16% **	–0.27%
Personal and Choice	12.64%	16.85%	16.90%	–4.21% *	–0.05
Total	33.40%	33.19%	33.40%	0.21%	–0.21%

#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Domains of Social Knowledge Messages across Ages

An analysis of the differences between the overall frequencies of social knowledge message events at each age point indicated that families did not conveyed statistically different amount of message events between 12, 24, and 36 months. The overall frequencies at each age made up approximately one third of the total, with 33.40% at 12 months, 33.19% at 24 months, and 33.40% at 367 months.

Figure 4.01 Domains of Social Knowledge Message Events across Ages



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Examining socialization message events at the domain level suggested that families shift the focus of some day-to-day socialization efforts as their children grow and develop. The results indicated that the increases of 0.35% between 12 and 24 months and 1.23% between 24 and 36 months in the number of message events in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain were not statistically significant. The shifts in message events are more pronounced for the *Conventional*

and *Psychological* domains between 12 and 24 months (*see Figure 4.01*). Families significantly increased their expression of *Conventional* domain message events by 8.04% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 2.8871$; $p < 0.01$) but did not change the amount beyond chance between 24 and 36 months. The reverse shift is observed for the *Psychological* domain message events between 12 and 24 months. Families significantly decreased their expression of *Psychological* domain messages events by 8.39% ($z = 2.9818$; $p < 0.01$) but did not change the amount beyond chance between 24 and 36 months.

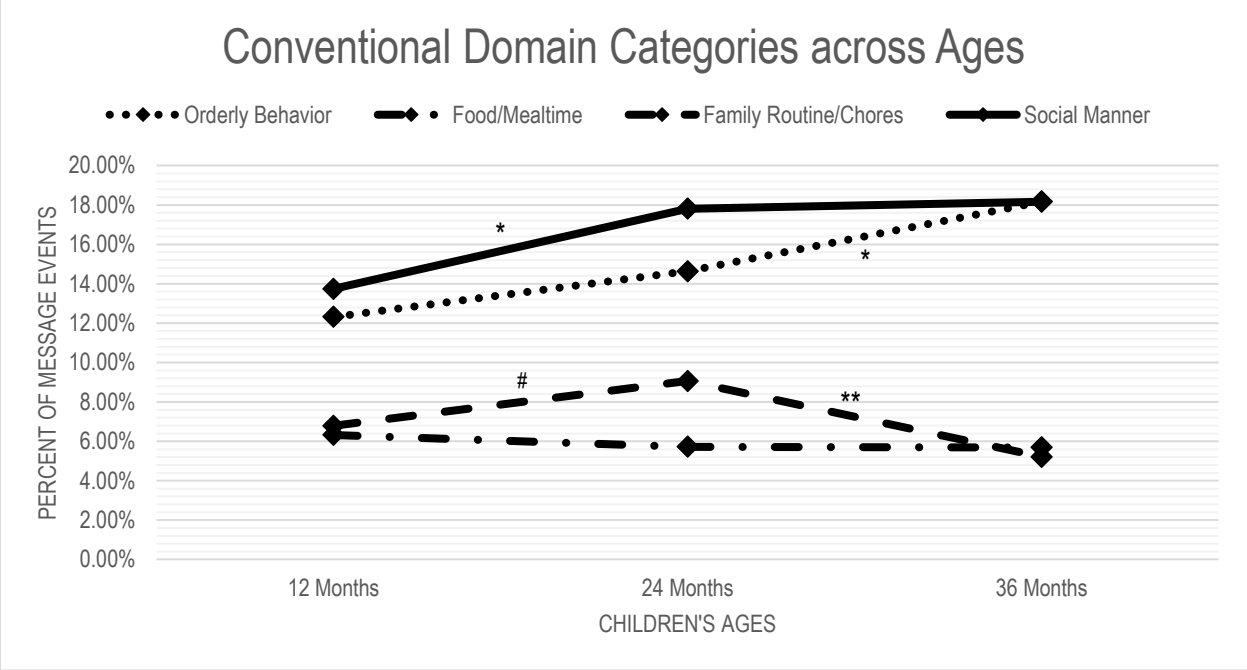
Categories of Social Knowledge Messages across Ages

Examining message events at the category level within each domain revealed more complexity in the pattern of parental use of socialization messages with toddlers across toddlerhood. The two-sample, one-tailed proportions test was utilized to determine whether differences in frequencies were statistically significant between 12 and 24 months and 24 and 36 months.

Figure 4.02 is the graphic representation of the percentages of message events for *Conventional* domain categories summarized in *Table 4.06* over the three age points. There was a 2.30% increase in *Orderly Behavior* category message events from 12 to 24 months and a 3.54% increase from 24 to 36 months. While the 12 to 24 month increase was not different beyond chance, the increase between 24 and 36 months was statistically significant ($z = 1.6985$; $p < 0.05$). The changes in proportion of *Food and Mealtime* category message events—a decrease of 0.60% from 12 to 24 months and an increase of 0.04% from 24 to 36 months—were not different beyond chance. Families' conveyed 2.27% more *Family Routine and Chores* category message events between 12 and 24 months, a slight but significant increase ($z = 1.4921$;

$p < 0.01$). Between 24 and 36 months, families conveyed significantly fewer *Family Routine and Chores* message events ($z = 2.6566$; $p < 0.01$) with a decrease of 3.85%. Finally, the *Social Manner* category message events increased from 12 to 24 months by 4.06%, a significant increase ($z = 1.9797$; $p < 0.05$); however, the 0.36% increase between 24 and 36 months was not a significant difference.

Figure 4.02 Conventional Domain Categories of Social Knowledge Message Events across Ages

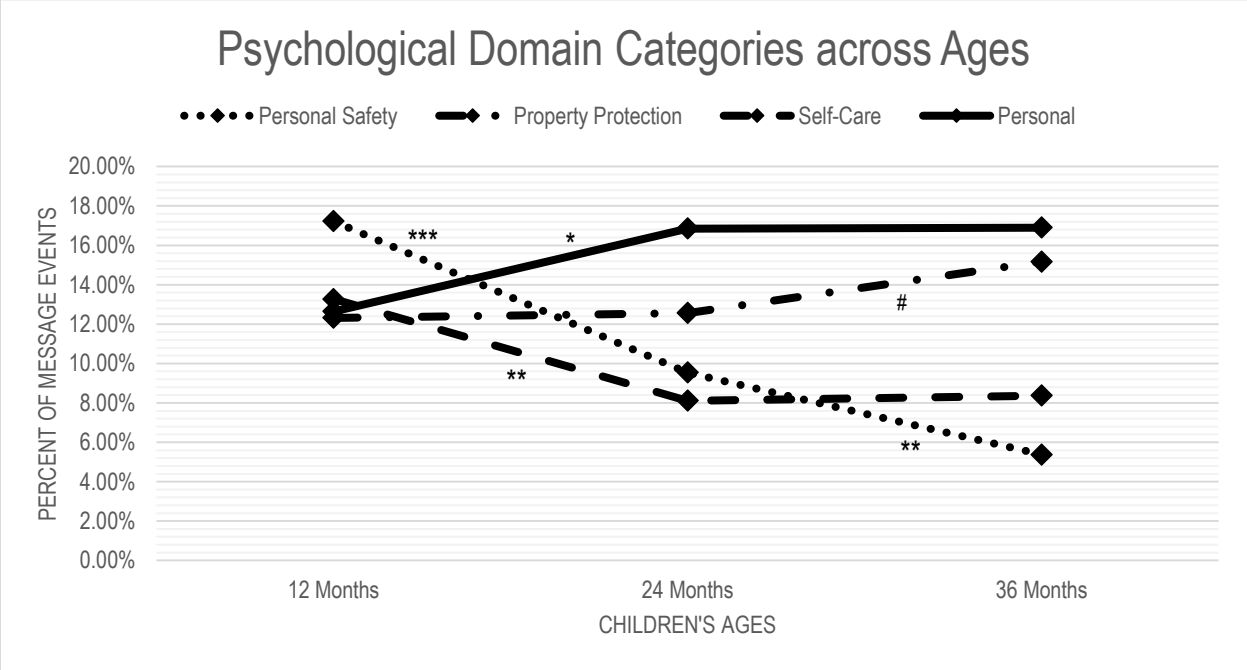


#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Analyses of message events in the *Psychological* domain categories found additional shifts in parental socialization message events across 12, 24, and 36 months. *Figure 4.03* is the graphic representation of percentages of *Psychological* domain category message events across the three age points shown in *Table 4.06*. Results indicated that families significantly decreased the number of socialization message events they conveyed in the *Personal Safety* category with their toddlers by 7.68% from 12 to 24 months ($z = 4.0061$; $p > 0.001$). Families further

significantly decreased the proportion of *Personal Safety* message events by 4.17% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 2.8195$; $p > 0.01$). The increase of 0.24% in the proportion of *Property Protection* category message events between 12 and 24 months was not statistically significant; however, the proportion of *Property Protection* message events significantly increased by 2.61% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 1.3395$; $p < 0.10$). For the *Self-Care* category, there was a significant decrease of 5.16% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 2.9665$; $p < 0.01$), but the 0.26% increase between 24 and 36 months was not different beyond chance. Finally, the proportion of *Personal and Choice* category message events that families conveyed to their toddlers significantly increased by 4.21% ($z = 2.1115$; $p < 0.05$) between 12 and 24 months, but was not significantly different with the 0.052% decrease between 24 and 36 months.

Figure 4.03 Psychological Domain Categories of Social Knowledge Message Events across Ages



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

4.d. In what contexts do families convey social knowledge messages and do contexts change over time?

Because one of the goals of this study was to better understand children's experience of socialization methods in context, follow up analyses were conducted for each type of socialization message to explore in more detail the specific situations in which families convey messages to their children and whether those contexts changed as the children became older. *In vivo* codes, or codes developed while manualized coding took place, were utilized to parse out the context of "how," "when," and "for what" families conveyed socialization messages in the categories above. Results from four select categories of socialization messages are discussed in this chapter: 1) socialization messages related to *Others' Safety and Fairness*, 2) socialization messages related to *Personal Safety*, 3) socialization messages related to *Family Routines and Chores*, and 4) socialization messages related to *Self-Care*.

Others' Safety and Fairness

Socialization messages in the *Others' Safety and Fairness* category are located within the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain and was selected for this analysis because of the importance of moral development in existing child development literature. As stated previously, *Interpersonal-Moral* knowledge informs the "right" and "wrong" behaviors in society. Moral evaluations of social interactions are triggered by behaviors that threaten the *safety of others* (harm), *trust* (betrayal), *fairness* (sharing), or *dignity of others* (dehumanizing/disrespect) (Smetana, 1997; Smetana, 1999). Through *in vivo* coding, additional insights were gleaned from the situations or content of each message event in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain and *Others' Safety and Fairness* category. *Table 7* provides a summary of the findings.

Due to the relatively small number of message events in this category at all age points (34, 36, and 44 message events) and the variety of content areas, patterns in message events were difficult to identify. Taking a step back to the literature, the general conceptualization of moral social knowledge posits that moral transgressions are considered to be "wrong" because of their impact on the rights and welfare of others (Smetana, 2006). Contents of message events coded included, but was not limited to, hitting, biting, pulling hair, sharing, letting others sleep, stealing, and lying. An analysis of the coded content for each *Interpersonal-Moral* message event resulted in the dichotomous categorization of content codes based on whether families were concerned about children's understanding of the physical harm to others or about children's psychological conceptualization of the rights of, fairness to, and respect for others. When the codes were broken down into concrete physical concerns and less tangible psychological understanding, a clear pattern emerges from the content of families' message events in the *Others' Safety and Fairness* category (*see Table 4.07*).

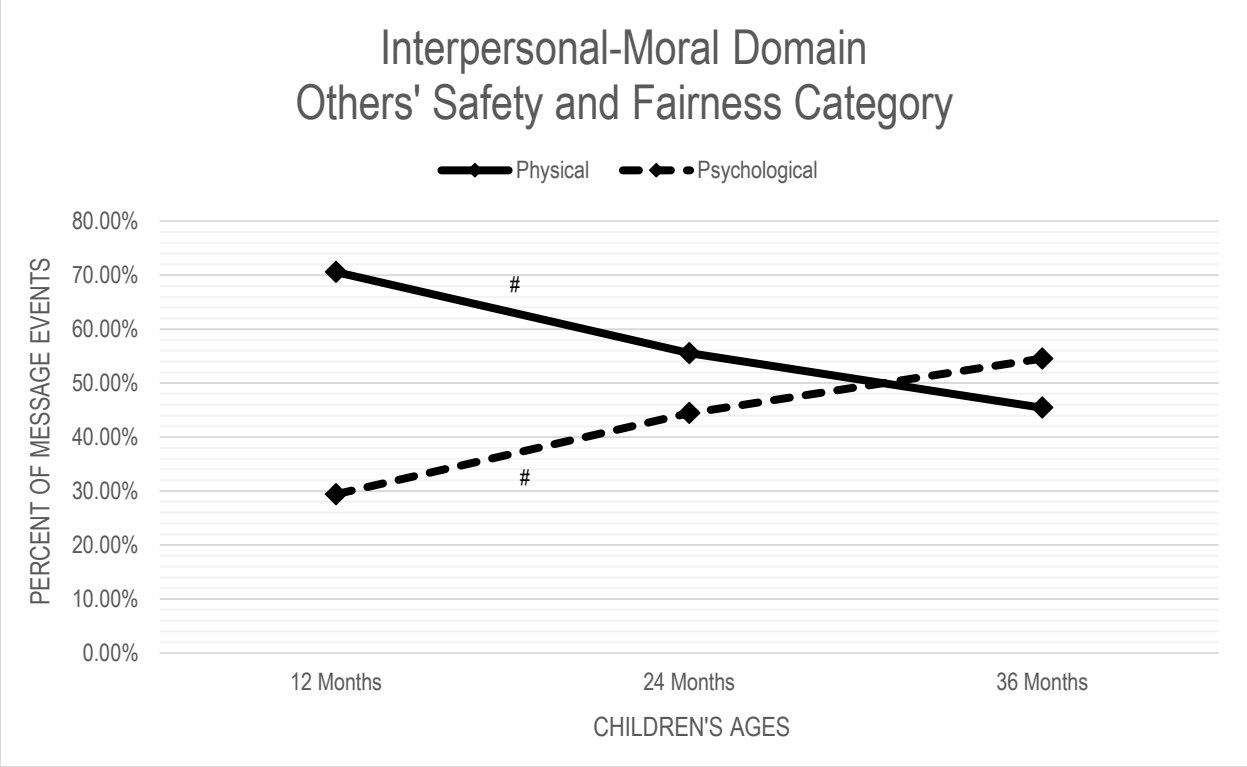
Table 4.07 Interpersonal-Moral Domain/Others' Safety and Fairness Category Message Content across Ages

12 Months (34 Events)		24 Months (36 Events)		36 Months (44 Events)	
Physical	Psychological	Physical	Psychological	Physical	Psychological
24 Events	10 Events	20 Events	16 Events	20 Events	24 Events
70.59%	29.41%	55.56%	44.44%	45.45%	54.55%
1-7 sources	1-4 sources	1-4 sources	1-5 sources	1-6 sources	1-7 sources

At 12 months, families expressed 70.59% of messages related to physical concerns around a variety of behaviors including hitting, biting, and/or other ways of harming others, hair pulling, endangering others of sickness or infection, and harming animals. The remaining 29.41% of messages expressed at 12 months addressed topics such as sharing, letting others

sleep, and the rights of others. At 24 months, families conveyed 55.56% of messages around physical concerns hitting, biting, and/or other ways of physically harming others, endangering others of sickness or infection, and defending oneself. The remaining 44.44% of messages expressed around psychological understanding included topics such as sharing, letting others sleep, taking others' things, and provoking others' negative emotions. At 36 months, families addressed physical concerns around hitting, harming, and hair pulling with 45.45% of messages. The majority of moral messages at 36 months, 54.55%, conveyed a broad range of topics around psychological understanding such as humiliation, fairness, sharing, interpersonal conflict, letting others sleep, taking others' things, lying, provoking others' negative emotions, and being disrespectful. As shown in *Table 4.07*, no more than 41.18% of families (7 or fewer) at each age conveyed physical or psychological content message events.

Figure 4.04 Interpersonal-Moral Domain/Others' Safety and Fairness Category Content across Ages



#$p < 0.10$

Even though there were no changes in the amount of messages families conveyed regarding the rights and welfare of others between 12, 24, and 36 months, the frequencies and percentages shown in *Table 4.07* suggested that families were focused more on physical harm to others when their toddlers were 12 months old. As children got older, families decreased their focus on physical harm to others and increased their focused on psychological understanding. *Figure 4.04* is a graphic presentation of how percentages of physical and psychological content areas change over time. The percentages of physical and psychological content message events at 12 months were strongly statistically different ($z = 3.3955$; $p < 0.001$), while the differences were not different beyond chance at 24 and 36 months. When examined over the three age points, results indicated that families slightly decreased the amount of physical content message events and slightly increased the amount of psychological content message events between 12 and 24 months ($z = 1.3010$; $p < 0.10$), but not between 24 and 36 months.

Personal Safety

The *Personal Safety* category was chosen for further exploration of socialization context because, of all the categories of socialization messages coded, it alone showed significant changes across the three ages, decreasing between 12 and 24 months and decreasing further between 24 and 36 months. *Table 4.08* provides a summary of all *Personal Safety* category message event content areas that accounted for 10% or more of all content areas at each age. The results indicated that families most frequently conveyed *Personal Safety* category messages around their concern that children might get hurt "falling off" furniture or other places of height at all three age points.

At 12 months, 14 families conveyed messages around "falling off" that made up 26.85% (29 events) of *Personal Safety* messages, slightly more than messages events around "falling down" ($z = 1.6368$; $p < 0.10$). With all but 4 children walking independently, 10 families attended to the potential for children to "fall down" while testing their balance or moving about the home with 17.59% (19 events) of *Personal Safety* message events. Finally, 9 families expressed 16.67% (18 events) of message events around concerns that their toddlers were putting "objects in their mouths". Other *Personal Safety* category content areas that accounted for less than 10% of message events include avoiding dirty foods and objects (9.26% from 5 sources), getting burned (4.63% from 5 sources), bumping heads on furniture (4.63% from 4 sources), hitting or hurting self (4.63% from 4 sources), choking on food or objects (3.70% from 4 sources), avoiding electrical cord (3.70% from 4 sources), walking out the door (1.85% from 2 sources), and toppling bike, playing with cigarette, putting object in the ear, getting pinched, getting poked, and getting stuck (each with 1 message event).

Table 4.08 Personal Safety Category Message Content across Ages (~10% or higher)

12 Months (108 Events)			24 Months (60 Events)			36 Months (34 Events)		
Content	Count (%)	Source	Content	Count (%)	Source	Content	Count (%)	Source
Fall off	29 (26.85%)	14	Fall off	22 (36.67%)	9	Fall off	8 (23.53%)	6
Fall down	19 (17.59%)	10	Dirty	6 (10.00%)	4			
Mouthing	18 (16.67%)	9						

Concurrently to the significant decrease in the amount of *Personal Safety* category message events by 24 months, there was also a decrease in the number of message events concerned with children "falling off" furniture, "falling down" (3 events, 2 sources), and putting "objects in their mouths" (3 events, 2 sources). However, while families conveyed fewer message events around "falling off" furniture, these 22 message events made up a slightly higher

percent of *Personal Safety* message events at 24 months (36.67%) than at 12 months ($z = 1.3264$; $p < 0.10$). This result suggests that while families were, overall, less focused on children's personal safety, they were overwhelmingly more concerned about children falling off furniture and getting hurt than other content areas ($z = 3.4537$; $p < 0.001$). Only one other content area accounted for 10% or more of *Personal Safety* category message events at 24 months. Four (4) families expressed 10.00% (6 events) of *Personal Safety* message events to socialize their 2 year olds about dirty food, objects, and the floor that could potentially exposed them to harmful germs. "Falling down" and "Objects in mouths" each constituted approximately 5.0% of *Personal Safety* category message events at 24 months. Other content areas in the *Personal Safety* category expressed by families at this age included playing too rough, getting burned, hitting or hurting self, getting poked, falling out of windows, choking on food and objects, avoiding electrical cords and sockets, avoiding other dangerous objects, bumping heads on furniture, defending self, running a fever, and toppling furniture over.

At 36 months, families again significantly decreased their expression of *Personal Safety* category message events. Families continued to be concerned primarily about children falling off furniture and getting hurt ($z = 1.6471$; $p < 0.05$) with 23.53% (8 events) of message events compared to the next highest content areas—"putting objects in mouth", "taking caution", and getting burned"—that each make up 8.82% (3 events) of *Personal Safety* category message events. There was a slight decrease, beyond chance, in the proportion of "falling off" message events from 24 months ($z = 1.3132$; $p < 0.10$). "Falling off" was also the only content area that constituted 10% or more of *Personal Safety* category message events at 36 months. Other content areas were similar to messages at 12 and 24 months such as getting burned, putting objects in mouth, hurting self, getting poked, bumping head on furniture, choking on food or

object, avoiding electrical cords and sockets, falling down, avoiding dirty food and objects, getting pinched, and playing too rough. Although only one family addressed each of the following content areas in one message event each, this analysis noted that families only addressed safety concerns around dangers that require more complex understanding such as crossing the street, avoiding the danger of cigarette smoke, and answering the door safely at 36 months.

Family Routines and Chores

The *Family Routines and Chores* category was chosen for further analyses as an example from the *Conventional* domain of social knowledge and because results indicated a strong decrease in the number of message events conveyed by families between 24 and 36 months. These follow-up analyses seek to glean additional insights into how families use and shift their expressions of *Family Routines and Chores* category message events during toddlerhood. Message content in this category generally is concerned with routine tasks primarily in the household that helps to keep the home environment organized and clean. Examples of more specific coded content tasks include picking up things that are out of place; putting and bringing things to designated locations; cleaning by sweeping, mopping, wiping or organizing; making a mess; preparing food; helping out; and doing the laundry.

Table 4.09 provides a summary of content tasks that make up 10% or more of message events in the *Family Routines and Chores* category at each age. Interestingly, the only content areas with 10% or more of message events at all three age points are *Pick Up*, *Clean*, and *Put It*. The *Pick Up* content task includes picking up bottles, toys, blankets, and other common objects. The *Clean* content task includes wiping clean surfaces like tables and high chairs, sweeping,

mopping, cleaning up play areas and organizing things, and cleaning the table after meals, and doing dishes. The *Put It* content task usually involves putting designate objects at designated locations, such as putting garbage in the trash, dishes in the sink, mop in the closet, and milk back in the refrigerator.

Table 4.09 Family Routines and Chores Category Message Content Tasks across Ages (~10% or higher)

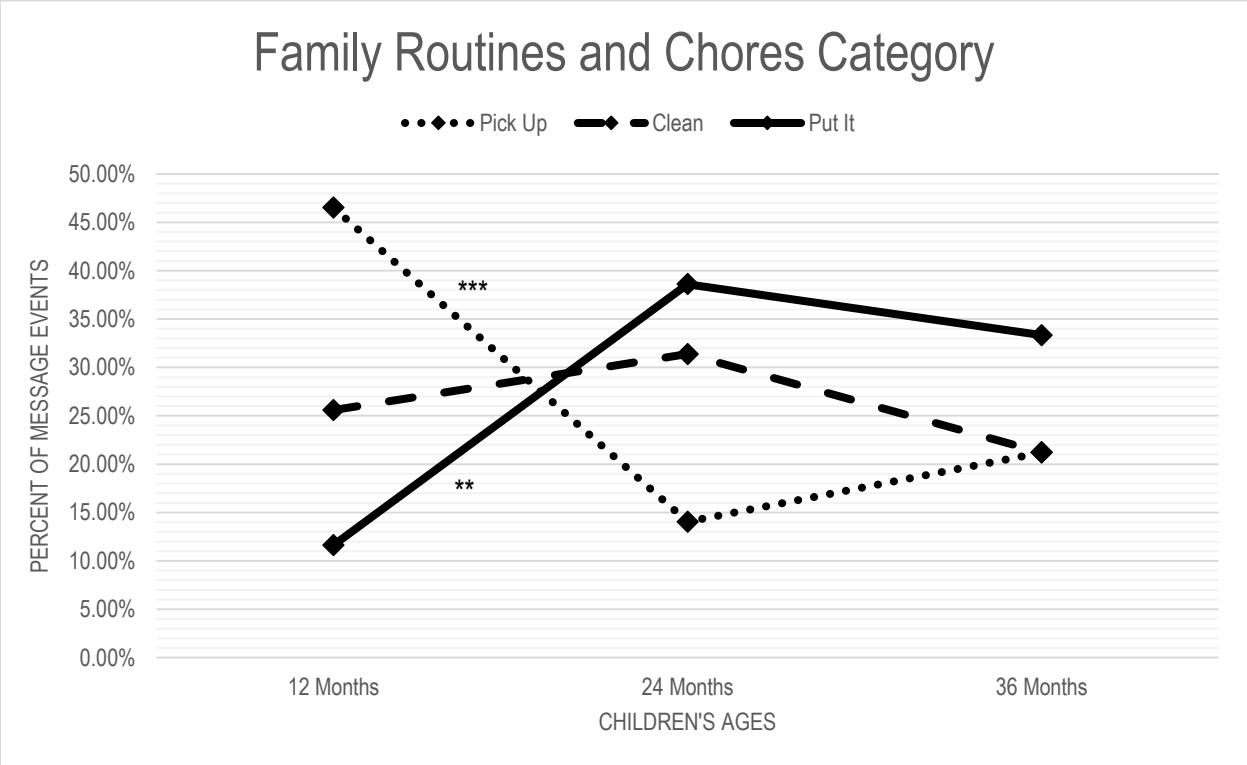
12 Months (43 Events)			24 Months (57 Events)			36 Months (33 Events)		
Content	Count (%)	Source	Content	Count (%)	Source	Content	Count (%)	Source
Pick Up	20 (46.51%)	11	Put It	22 (38.60%)	9	Put It	11 (33.33%)	8
Clean	11 (25.58%)	7	Clean	18 (31.58%)	11	Clean	7 (21.21%)	5
Put It	5 (11.63%)	5	Pick Up	8 (14.04%)	8	Pick Up	7 (21.21%)	4

At 12 months, families most frequently conveyed messages around *Pick Up* with 46.51% (11 events) of *Family Routines and Chores* category message events. The percent of *Pick Up* messages was significantly higher ($z = 2.0214$; $p < 0.05$) than the 25.58% percent of *Clean* messages (11 events). Percent of *Clean* messages was significantly higher ($z = 1.6626$; $p < 0.05$) than the 11.63% of *Put It* messages (5 events). The *Not Make Mess* and *Do Laundry* content tasks followed with 6.98% (13 events) and 4.65% (2 events) of messages. The final two content tasks, *Kill Roach* and *Lock Door*, both made up 2.33% (1 events) of messages each.

At 24 months, families most frequently conveyed messages around *Put It* with 38.60% (22 events) of *Family Routines and Chores* category message events; however, the percent of *Put It* messages was not different beyond chance from the 31.58% (18 events) of *Clean* messages. The next highest content tasks, *Not Make Mess* and *Food Prep*, each made up 5.26% (3 events). The final two content areas at 12 months were *Help Out* and *Answer Door* and made up 3.51% (2 events) and 1.75% (1 event), respectively.

At 36 months, families continued to convey the highest percent of messages in the *Put It* content task with 33.33% (11 events) of *Family Routine and Chores* category message events; however, the 21.21% of the *Clean* and *Pick Up* content task message events were not significantly lower than *Put It*. The remaining content tasks that did not contribute 10% or more of message events include the *Not Make Mess* content task with 9.09% (3 events) of message events, the *Do Laundry* and *Help Out* content areas with 6.06% (2 events) each, and the *Food Prep* content task with 3.03% (1 event) of messages.

Figure 4.05 Family Routines and Chores Category Message Content Tasks across Ages



*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

When analyzed across the three age points, a pattern emerged in how the content of focus in *Family Routines and Chores* category message events changed as children grew and developed, as shown in *Figure 4.05*. Of the three content areas that make up 10% or more of

message events, two of them show clear shifts in frequency between 12 and 24 months. The percentage of *Pick Up* messages significantly decreased between 12 and 24 months ($z = 3.5810$; $p < 0.001$), while the percentage of *Put It* message events increased significantly ($z = 3.0073$; $p < 0.01$) during the same period. The *Clean* content task did not show significant change over time, and there were no significant changes in *Put It* and *Pick Up* between 24 and 36 months.

Self-Care

The *Self-Care* category was chosen for further analyses as another example from the *Psychological* domain of social knowledge and because results indicated a strong decrease in the number of message events conveyed by families between 12 and 24 months. These follow-up analyses seek to draw additional insights into families' expressions of *Self-Care* category message events during toddlerhood. Message content in this category is concerned with activities that families want to teach children with the purpose of caring for themselves. Examples of coded content areas include personal cleanliness and care, dressing, grooming, using the bathroom, calming when upset, adapting to internal and external discomforts, and making developmental gains. Results are summarized in *Table 3.10*.

Table 4.10 Self-Care Category Message Content across Ages (~10% of more)

12 Months (84 Events)			24 Months (51 Events)			36 Months (53 Events)		
Content	Count (%)	Source	Content	Count (%)	Source	Content	Count (%)	Source
Cleanliness	19 (22.62%)	11	Dressing	15 (29.41%)	11	Dressing	19 (35.85%)	11
Dressing	17 (20.24%)	10	Cleanliness	13 (25.49%)	9	Cleanliness	12 (22.64%)	7
Calming	14 (16.67%)	8	Groom-Hair	9 (17.65%)	7	Groom-Hair	9 (16.98%)	7
Develop	10 (11.91%)	6	Toileting	7 (13.73%)	6	Body Survey	6 (11.32%)	4
Groom-Hair	10 (11.91%)	6						
Toileting	8 (9.52%)	6						

At 12 months, families conveyed the highest percent of *Self-Care* category message events around the personal cleanliness which includes cleaning and wiping hands, face and other body parts with 22.62% (19 events). The next highest content area was *Dressing* with 20.24% (17 events) was not different beyond chance from the percent of *Cleanliness* message events and includes putting on and taking off clothes, fixing clothes, and putting on and taking off socks and shoes. Families encouraged or assisted their toddlers to regulate their emotions with 16.67% (14 events) of messages events around calming when upset. The *Calming* content area was not statistically different from the *Dressing* or *Cleanliness* content areas. Families conveyed 11.91% (10 events) of message events around grooming and taking care of hair and also around encouraging specific developmental gains such as walking independently and using words to make requests. The *Groom-Hair* and *Develop* content areas were significantly lower than *Cleanliness* ($z = 1.8373$; $p < 0.05$) and slightly lower than *Dressing* ($z = 1.4704$; $p < 0.10$), but not different beyond chance from *Calming*. The final content area that made up approximately 10% or more of *Self-Care* category message events was around diapers and toileting events called *Toileting*, which accounted for 9.52% (8 events) of message events, slightly lower than the *Calming* content area ($z = 1.3722$; $p < 0.10$) but not significantly different from *Develop*. The remaining content areas that did not contribute to 10% or more of *Self-Care* category message events included cooling off when feeling warm and taking care of a cough.

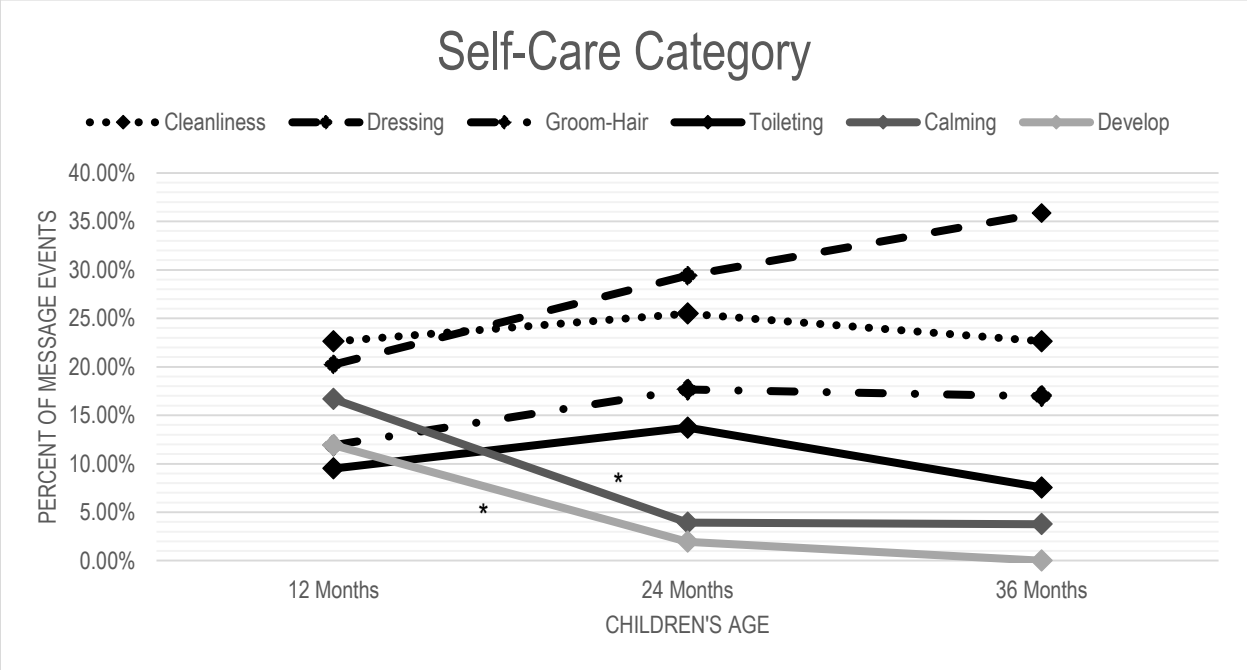
At 24 months, four content areas that made up 10% or more of *Self-Care* message events are *Dressing*, *Cleanliness*, *Groom-Hair*, and *Toileting*. Families conveyed the highest percentage of messages around getting dressed and undressed, fixing clothes, and putting on socks and shoes with 29.41% (15 events) of message events; however, the percent of *Dressing* content area messages was not statistically higher than the 25.49% (13 events) of *Cleanliness* content area

messages. *Groom-Hair* content area followed with 17.65% (9 events) and was found to not be different beyond chance compared to *Cleanliness*, but was slightly lower beyond chance than *Dressing* ($z = 1.4006$; $p < 0.10$). Similarly, the content area around using the toilet and toileting accidents followed the *Groom-Hair* content area and was not statistically different compared to the percent of *Groom-Hair* but was slightly lower beyond chance compared to *Cleanliness* ($z = 1.4964$; $p < 0.10$). The remaining content areas that did not contribute to 10% or more of *Self-Care* category message events at 24 months were around meeting personal needs with 7.84% (4 events), emotional regulation or soothing with 3.92% (2 events), and adapting to internal and external discomforts with 1.96% (1 event).

At 36 months, there are four content areas that made up 10% or more of message events in the *Self-Care* category, *Dressing*, *Cleanliness*, *Groom-Hair*, and *Body Survey*. Families conveyed the highest percentage of messages events around getting dressed and undressed, fixing clothes, and putting on sock, shoes, and boots. The 35.85% (19 events) of *Dressing* content message events was slightly higher beyond chance ($z = 1.4946$; $p < 0.10$) compared to the *Cleanliness* content area that made up 22.643% (12 events) of *Self-Care* category messages. The percent of *Cleanliness* events was not statistically higher than the 16.98% (9 events) of the *Groom-Hair* content area. The *Body Survey* content area made up 11.32% (6 events) of message events and included messages concerned with surveying and examining children's bodies for scratches, scars, and other discomforts expressed by children. The percent of *Body Survey* message events was not significantly lower than *Groom-Hair*, but was slightly lower beyond chance ($z = 1.5521$; $p < 0.10$) compared to the *Cleanliness* content area. The remaining three content areas that did not contribute 10% or more of message events in the *Self-Care* category at

36 months were around using the bathroom with 7.55% (4 events), calming when upset with 3.77% (2 events), and treatment of sickness with 1.89% (1 event).

Figure 4.06 Self-Care Category Message Content across Ages



*$p < 0.05$

All content areas that contribute to 10% or more of *Self-Care* category message events at 12 months were examined to better understand how families shifted their expression of message events across time. *Figure 4.06* is the graphic representation of 6 content areas including *Cleanliness*, *Dressing*, *Groom-Hair*, *Toileting*, *Calming*, and *Develop*. The results show that families significantly decreased their expression of message events around calming when upset (*Calming*: $z = 2.2212$; $p < 0.05$) and encouraging of developmental gains such as walking independently and making verbal requests (*Develop*: $z = 2.0476$; $p < 0.05$) between 12 and 24 months. It is noted that while the amount of *Self-Care* category message events as a whole significantly decreased between 12 and 24 months like *Calming* and *Develop*, the *Dressing*

content area represented in *Figure 6* slopes upward between 12 and 24 months and between 24 and 36 months, although neither of these apparent increases were statistically significant between adjacent age points. When *Dressing* was tested between 12 and 36 months, however, the increase was statistically significant ($z = 2.0219$; $p < 0.05$).

Overall, substantial decreases in two content areas accounted for the overall decrease in message events in the category. By 24 months, the 5 (five) children who were not yet walking independently at 12 months had become proficient walkers and no longer required the verbal and physical encouragements from their families. In addition, at 24 months, when children became angry or frustrated, families were more likely to address their frustrations based the specific reasons that made the children upset rather than picking up and comforting them as was more typical at 12 months. The analysis also indicated a shift in *Self-Care* content area between 24 and 36 months that had no impact on the overall frequency of message events in the category. While messages regarding dressing, cleanliness and grooming and hair remained the top three topics between 24 and 36 months, families shifted from messages regarding toileting to messages that assisted children in surveying their bodies for sources of discomfort. At 24 months, most children were no longer wearing diapers and were being reminded, directed, and assisted with toileting. By 36 months, toileting was addressed as occasional reminders and for accidental wettings.

Summary

Up to now, the analyses have considered the number of message events of social knowledge domains, categories, and some chosen content areas. These results suggest that urban, low-income African American families socialize their toddlers a lot around a variety of topics. Socialization patterns for families in this study appear to parallel the literature in their emphasis,

based on quantity of message events, on conventional rules and concerns such as property protection, personal safety, behavior regulation, and ways of relating to others in the family and social etiquette. In addition, emphasis in the *Social Manner* and *Personal and Choice* categories may reflect families' early racial socialization efforts, prominent in African American parenting and child development literature, to encourage children's development of personal identity and self-esteem, appreciation for racial and cultural heritage, and their sense of belonging to a kinship network and wider community.

Seemingly inconsistent with the literature is the low frequency of Interpersonal-Moral message events, although very little literature exists that document the magnitude to which families of young children teach about moral issues. Although moral development has a long history and prominent place in child development research, it is unclear from the few existing studies that rely primarily on parent report whether the importance of children's moral development is reflected in how much families social their children around moral concerns.

The results also suggest that families in the study change their socialization focus as children got older. For example, consistent with the cross cultural parenting literature, families addressed children's personal safety concerns significantly less as children increased in skills and capacities. The presence of similar content areas at each age suggests that families continued to have similar concerns for their children throughout toddlerhood, but were addressing those concerns at different quantities as children got older, depending on children's capacity and mastery of skills.

While the frequencies of message events may act as indicators of socialization concerns that families have for their children, they do not account for the level of effort that families put forth to convey particular socialization messages. The measure of effort is captured by what and

how much families do, the parenting practices, to convey particular socialization messages. An account of the methods or practices by which families address domains, categories and specific content areas may provide additional insight into the multifaceted complexity of parental socialization efforts as children grow and development, expanding in their repertoire of skills and understanding about the world around them. Social knowledge domains and categories will be revisited in relation to the practices that families utilized to convey message events in Chapter 6. This will include further analyses of the specific categories and their content areas analyzed above. That examination may help to expand understanding about what families do to convey domain and category level message events as well as the amount of effort families put forth for particular domains, categories, and content areas.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS 2: PARENTAL SOCIALIZATION PRACTICES

The previous chapter explored the messages that the 17 urban, low-income African American families living in high risk neighborhoods in the sample conveyed to their toddlers at 12 months, 24 months, and 36 months of age. Those messages, organized within the frame of Social Domain Theory's Domains of Social Knowledge, addressed topics that help children understand themselves and how they related to other people and objects in their world. In this chapter, the analyses will examine the practices, the full range of unintentional behaviors to thoughtful strategies, that families utilize to convey the messages explored in Chapter 4 and will focus on the second set of research questions for this dissertation regarding parenting practices.

- ❖ What parenting practices—behaviors or strategies—do families employ to convey social knowledge messages?
    a. What parenting practices—behaviors and strategies—do families use most frequently overall and at each age point?
    b. Do parenting practices—behaviors and strategies—change as children become older?
    c. What are the qualities and content of parenting practices that families use and do those qualities and contents change as children become older?

The same 1-hour video segments of the 17 families at children's ages 12 months, 24 months, and 36 months and parenting practices contained within each coded message event was coded for all 51 hours of video.

5.a. What parenting practices do families use most frequently?

Table 5.01 provides a summary of the frequencies of parenting practices grouped by categories described in Chapter 3 when children were 12, 24, and 36 months. Overall, families used 12,681 strategies and behaviors to convey the 1,894 message events examined in Chapter 4. During the 51 hours of video observation over the three age points families utilized approximately 250 practices per hour per child. Approximately 7 verbal and nonverbal parenting practices were used for each message event.

Table 5.01 Frequencies of Parenting Practice Categories at 12, 24, and 36 Months (% & Sources)

Groups & Categories of Parenting Practices	12 Months (% & Sources)	24 Months (% & Sources)	36 Months (% & Sources)	Category Subtotal (%)
High Power	1021 (23.51%)	635 (14.29%)	358 (9.20%)	2014 (15.88%)
Physical Discipline	66 (9)	31 (9)	23 (9)	120 (0.95%)
Redirection	881 (17)	527 (17)	264 (16)	1672 (13.19%)
Threat	74 (10)	77 (13)	71 (11)	222 (1.75%)
Moderate Power	1700 (39.14%)	1602 (36.04%)	1150 (29.54%)	4452 (35.11%)
Bribe	21 (6)	25 (5)	4 (3)	50 (0.39%)
Direct Command	1258 (17)	1299 (17)	1004 (17)	3561 (28.08%)
Indirect Command	188 (16)	156 (16)	67 (17)	411 (3.24%)
Unclear Command	233 (17)	122 (16)	75 (5)	430 (3.39%)
Low Power	1622 (37.35%)	2208 (49.67%)	2385 (61.26%)	6215 (49.20%)
Deprivation	21 (6)	18 (7)	10 (9)	49 (0.39%)
Modeling	283 (16)	326 (16)	161 (15)	770 (6.07%)
Negotiation	3 (2)	11 (4)	4 (2)	18 (0.14%)
Persuade Reason Explain	246 (16)	394 (17)	341 (16)	981 (7.74%)
Reprimand (Criticism)	45 (12)	57 (13)	37 (10)	139 (1.10%)
Reminder	966 (17)	1312 (17)	1780 (17)	4058 (32.00%)
Reward (Incentive)	58 (12)	90 (13)	52 (9)	200 (1.58%)
Age Subtotal	4343 (34.38%)	4445 (35.19%)	3893 (30.82%)	12681

The first set of results reported are from the analyses of practices organized around the three dimensions of parental power assertion initially conceptualized in Chapter 3. These dimensions are *High Power*, *Moderate Power*, and *Low Power*. The *High Power* group consists of the *Redirection*, *Threat*, and *Physical Discipline* categories which are considered in the literature to be parenting practices that carry the highest levels of parental power assertion because children are presented with little or no option to comply. The *Moderate Power* group include the *Bribe*, *Direct Command*, *Indirect Command*, and *Unclear Command* categories. With *Moderate Power* practices, parents assert their authority through directives and prohibitions (commands) or by presenting themselves as the keeper of incentives on the condition of compliance. As the name suggests, *Low Power* practices generally exhibits lower levels of parental power assertion to children, even though parental power is always implicitly present. Categories in this group includes *Deprivation*, *Modeling*, *Negotiation*, *Persuade Reason Explain*, *Reprimand*, *Reminder*, and *Reward*.

Overall, families used 15.88% of practices in the *High Power* group across the three age points, significantly less compared to the 35.11% of practices in the *Moderate Power* (z = 35.1261; $p < 0.001$) and the 49.20% of practices in the *Low Power* (z = 56.3444; $p < 0.001$) groups. Practices in the *Low Power* group was used most overall with a significantly higher proportion compared to *Moderate Power* practices (z = 22.4242; $p < 0.001$).

At 12 months, utilized practices in the *Moderate Power* group significantly more with 39.14% of practices compared to the *Low Power* (37.35%; z = 1.7221; $p < 0.05$) and the *High Power* (z = 15.7073; $p < 0.001$) groups. *High Power* practices were used the least with a proportion significantly lower compared to the *Low Power* group (z = 14.0152; $p < 0.001$). *High Power* practices was again used significantly less with 14.29% of practices compared to both

Moderate Power ($z = 23.6331$; $p < 0.001$) and *Low Power* ($z = 35.7700$; $p < 0.001$) practices at 24 month. Families used *Low Power* practices most with 49.67% of practices which was significantly higher compared to the 36.04% of *Moderate Power* practices ($z = 12.9883$; $p < 0.001$). At 36 months, families used the most practices in the *Low Power* group with 61.26% of practices, significantly higher compared to *Moderate Power* ($z = 28.1118$; $p < 0.001$) and *High Power* ($z = 48.0900$; $p < 0.001$) practices. The 9.20% of *High Power* practices was significantly lower compared to the 29.54% of *Moderate Power* practices ($z = 22.7126$; $p < 0.001$). These results indicate that *High Power* practices were used the least over the toddlerhood period as well as at every age point in the study.

What categories of parenting practices do families use most frequently overall?

The next set of analyses will examine the categories overall and at each age point. The results are summarized in *Table 5.02*. The overall frequencies and percentages were ordered from highest to lowest and examined to determine what categories families utilized most to convey socialization messages over the three age points. The one sample, one-tailed proportions test was utilized to determine significant differences between adjacent ordered categories. The third and fourth columns provide the change (Δ) in frequencies and percentages with the asterisk (*) indicating the level of significance compared to the category directly above. The results from the proportions test detected significance for very small differences because of the large sample size. While all significant differences are reported in *Table 5.02* (and subsequent *Tables 5.03*, *5.04*, and *5.05*), the accompanying discussions will focus primarily on the 3 categories of parenting practices with the highest frequencies overall (and at each age point). The categories *Redirection*, *Threat*, and *Physical Discipline* will be discussed in addition if they were not one of

the highest three categories. As parenting practices considered to carry the highest levels of parental power assertion, these practices have been prominently featured in the literature in general but particularly in studies regarding African American parenting.

Table 5.02 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Parenting Practices Overall Ordered from Highest to Lowest (n = 12681)

Parenting Practices	12 Months (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	z
Reminder	4058 (32.00%)	-	-	-
Direct Command	3561 (28.08%)	–497	–3.92%	6.8088 ***
Redirection	1672 (13.19%)	–1889	–14.90%	29.3110 ***
Persuade Reason Explain	981 (7.74%)	–691	–5.45%	14.1773 ***
Modeling	770 (6.07%)	–211	–1.66%	5.2264 ***
Unclear Command	430 (3.39%)	–340	–2.68%	10.0551 ***
Indirect Command	411 (3.24%)	–19	–0.15%	0.6671
Threat	222 (1.75%)	–189	–1.49%	7.6053 ***
Reward (Incentive)	200 (1.58%)	–22	–0.17%	1.0831
Reprimand (Criticism)	139 (1.10%)	–61	–0.48%	3.3354 ***
Physical Discipline	120 (0.95%)	–19	–0.15%	1.1881
Bribe	50 (0.39%)	–70	–0.55%	5.3879 ***
Deprivation	49 (0.39%)	–1	–0.01%	0.1022
Negotiation	18 (0.14%)	–31	–0.24%	3.7864 ***

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

Cumulatively over the three age points, the parenting practice category that families utilized the most was *Reminder*, making up 32.00% with 4058 actions. The proportion of *Reminder* practices was significantly higher than the 28.08% of *Direct Command* category practices (z = 6.8088; p < 0.001) with 3561 actions. The *Redirection* category followed with 1672 actions, less than half the frequency of *Direct Command*, making up 13.19% of practices. The 14.90% difference in proportion between *Direct Command* and *Redirection* was significant (z = 29.3110; p < 0.001). The *Threat* category was 8th of 14 categories and had a frequency of

222 actions making up 1.76% of practices across the three age points. *Physical Discipline* was 11th of 14 categories with an overall total of 120 actions that made up less than 1% of practices.

What categories of parenting practices do families use most frequently at each age?

Categories of parenting practices at 12, 24, and 36 months were ordered from highest to lowest frequencies and percentages of practices by categories that families used to convey socialization messages at each age. The one sample, one-tailed proportions test was utilized to determine significant differences between ordered categories.

Table 5.03 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Parenting Practices at 12 Months Ordered from Highest to Lowest (n = 4343)

Parenting Practices	12 Months (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	z
Direct Command	1258 (28.97%)	-	-	-
Reminder	966 (22.24%)	–292	–6.72%	7.1781 ***
Redirection	881 (20.29%)	–85	–1.96%	2.2287 *
Modeling	283 (6.52%)	–598	–13.77%	18.8360 ***
Persuade Reason Explain	246 (5.66%)	–37	–0.85%	1.6602 *
Unclear Command	233 (5.37%)	–13	–0.30%	0.6104
Indirect Command	188 (4.33%)	–45	–1.04%	2.2480 *
Threat	74 (1.70%)	–114	–2.63%	7.1517 ***
Physical Discipline	66 (1.52%)	–8	–0.18%	0.6808
Reward (Incentive)	58 (1.34%)	–8	–0.18%	0.7227
Reprimand (Criticism)	45 (1.04%)	–13	–0.30%	1.2914
Bribe	21 (0.48%)	–24	–0.55%	2.9619 **
Deprivation	21 (0.48%)	0	0.00%	-
Negotiation	3 (0.07%)	–18	–0.42%	3.6828 ***

*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

The results for parenting practices coded from videos when children were 12 months of age are summarized in *Table 5.03*. The 3 categories with the highest frequency accounted for

more than 70% of practices at 12 months. The parenting practice category that families utilized the most at 12 months was *Direct Command* with 1258 actions making up 28.97% of practices. Families used direct commands significantly more than practices in the *Reminder* category which made up 22.24% of practices with 966 actions ($z = 7.1781$; $p < 0.001$). The *Redirection* category had significantly lower percent of practices compared to *Reminder* ($z = 2.2287$; $p < 0.05$) with 881 actions making up 20.29% of practices. The *Threat* category was 8th of 14 categories, at 12 months, and had 74 action making up 1.70% of practices. In 9th, the *Physical Discipline* category had 66 actions that made up 1.52% of practices and was not statistically different from *Threat*.

Table 5.04 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Parenting Practices at 24 Months Ordered from Highest to Lowest ($n = 4445$)

Parenting Practices	12 Months (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	*z*
Reminder	1312 (29.52%)	-	-	-
Direct Command	1299 (29.22%)	–13	–0.29%	0.3022
Redirection	527 (11.86%)	–772	–17.37%	20.2673 ***
Persuade Reason Explain	394 (8.86%)	–133	–2.99%	4.6286 ***
Modeling	326 (7.33%)	–68	–1.53%	2.6438 **
Indirect Command	156 (3.51%)	–170	–3.82%	7.9609 ***
Unclear Command	122 (2.75%)	–34	–0.77%	2.0720 *
Reward (Incentive)	90 (2.03%)	–32	–0.72%	2.2246 *
Threat	77 (1.73%)	–13	–0.29%	1.0174
Reprimand (Criticism)	57 (1.28%)	–20	–0.45%	1.7413 *
Physical Discipline	31 (0.70%)	–26	–0.59%	2.7863 **
Bribe	25 (0.56%)	–6	–0.14%	0.8047
Deprivation	18 (0.41%)	–7	–0.16%	1.0670
Negotiation	11 (0.25%)	–7	–0.16%	1.2974

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

The frequencies and percentages of parenting practices coded from videos when children were 24 months of age are summarized in *Table 5.04* ordered from highest to lowest. The

frequencies of the top three practice categories account for more than 70% of practices at 24 months. Families utilized practices in the *Reminder* and *Direct Command* categories the most. Practices in the *Reminder* category made up 29.52% with 1312 actions and was not different beyond chance compared to the 1299 actions that made up 29.22% of practices in the *Direct Command* category. *Redirection*, the next highest category had significantly fewer practices compared to *Direct Command* with 527 actions that made up 11.86% of practices ($z = 20.2673$; $p < 0.001$). The *Threat* category was 9th of 14 categories making up 1.73% of practices with 77 actions. The *Physical Discipline* category was 11th of 14 and had 31 actions making up 0.70% of practices.

Table 5.05 Differences in Frequencies and Percentages of Categories of Parenting Practices at 36 Months Ordered from Highest to Lowest ($n = 3893$)

Parenting Practices	12 Months (%)	Δ Frequency	Δ Percentage (%)	*z*
Reminder	1780 (45.72%)	-	-	-
Direct Command	1004 (25.79%)	–776	–19.93%	18.3488 ***
Persuade Reason Explain	341 (8.76%)	–663	–17.03%	19.8767 ***
Redirection	264 (6.78%)	–77	–1.98%	3.2599 ***
Modeling	161 (4.14%)	–103	–2.65%	5.1369 ***
Unclear Command	75 (1.93%)	–86	–2.21%	5.6843 ***
Threat	71 (1.82%)	–4	–0.10%	0.3350
Indirect Command	67 (1.72%)	–4	–0.10%	0.3444
Reward (Incentive)	52 (1.34%)	–15	–0.39%	1.3845
Reprimand (Criticism)	37 (0.95%)	–15	–0.39%	1.6021
Physical Discipline	23 (0.59%)	–14	–0.36%	1.8114 *
Deprivation	10 (0.26%)	–13	–0.33%	2.2678 *
Bribe	4 (0.10%)	–6	–0.15%	1.6029
Negotiation	4 (0.10%)	0	0.00%	-

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Table 5.05 summarizes the results of the analyses of parenting practice categories coded from videos of families when children were 36 months old. The top three highest frequency categories accounted for more than three-quarters of the practices at 36 months. Families used 1780 actions or 45.72% of practices in the *Reminder* category, a significantly higher amount compared to the 1004 actions in the *Direct Command* category that accounted for 25.79% of practices ($z = 18.3488$; $p < 0.001$). The third highest category at 36 months was the *Persuade Reason Explain* category. With 341 actions that made up 8.76% of practices, *Persuade Reason Explain* had significantly fewer practices compared to *Direct Command* ($z = 19.8767$; $p < 0.001$). The *Redirection* category was significantly lower compared to *Persuade Reason Explain* as 4th of 14 categories with 264 actions making up 6.78% ($z = 3.2599$; $p < 0.001$). At 36 months, *Threat* was 7th of 14 with 71 actions that accounted for 1.82% of practices. The *Physical Discipline* category was 11th of 14 making up 0.59% of practices with 23 actions.

Interestingly, with the exception of the 36 months age point, the top three categories with the highest practices overall, at 12 months, and at 24 months were the *Reminder*, *Direct Command*, and *Redirection* categories. At 36 months, *Redirection* dropped to 4th in the order of highest to lowest and was replaced by *Persuade Reason Explain* while *Reminder* and *Direct Command* remained the top two categories. The *Threat* category accounted for less than 2% overall and at all age points. The *Physical Discipline* category accounted for less, accounting for less than 1% overall and at 24 and 36 months. At 12 months, *Physical Discipline* was 9th of 14 in order from highest to lowest, the highest in the order the category got, accounting for a little more than 1.5% of practices. While not the lowest overall or at any age point, these results indicate that *Physical Discipline* accounts for very little of what families do to socialize their toddlers. In the next section, the analyses will explore how parental use of parenting practice

change as children get older. Following that, the analyses will further examine the quality content of select parenting practices to glean further insight about what parents do and how they do it.

5.b. Do parenting practices change as children become older?

This section begins with an examination of the *High Power*, *Moderate Power*, and *Low Power* groups of parenting practices. *Table 5.06* summarizes the results from the analyses of these power dimension groups across the three age points. The results are graphically depicted in *Figure 5.01*.

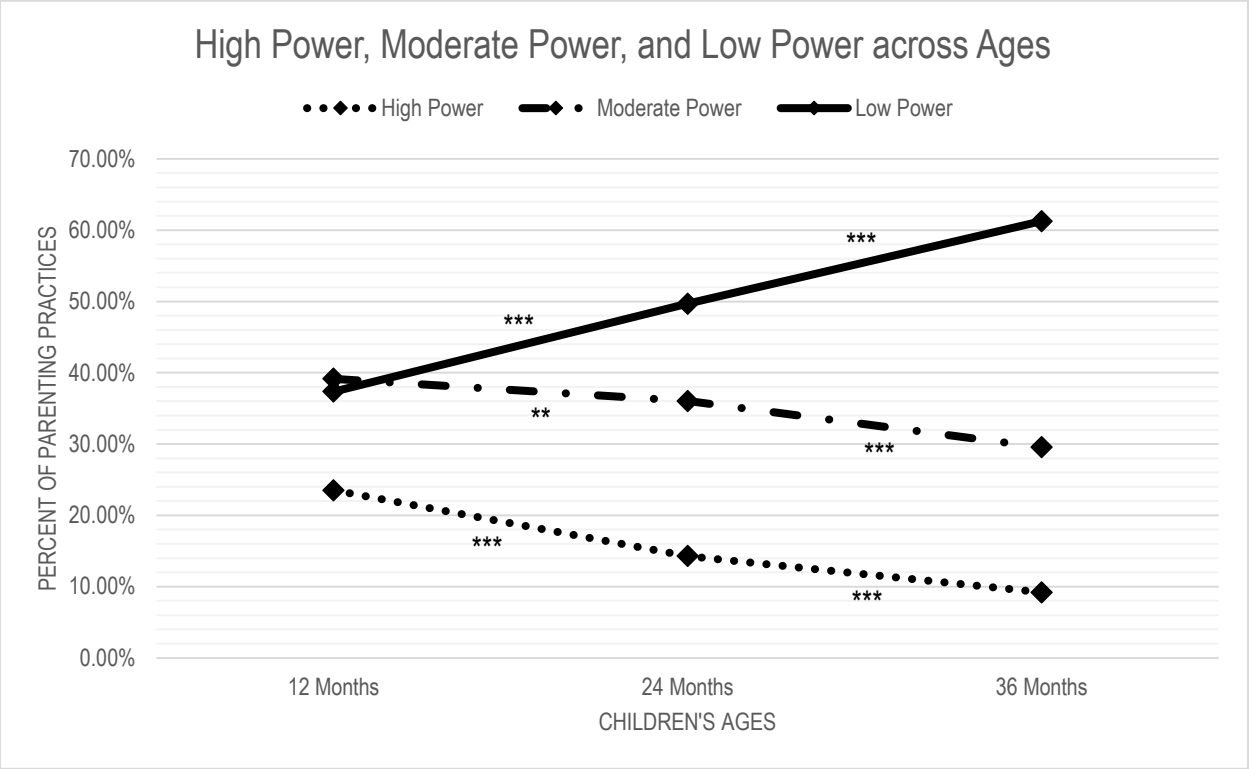
Table 5.06 High Power, Moderate Power, and Low Power Practices across Ages

Parenting Practices	12 Months (%) n = 4343	24 Months (%) n = 4445	36 Months (%) n = 3893	Δ % 12 to 24 Months	Δ % 24 to 36 Months
High Power	1021 (23.51%)	635 (14.29%)	358 (9.20%)	–9.22% ***	–5.09% ***
Moderate Power	1700 (39.14%)	1602 (36.04%)	1150 (29.54%)	–3.10% **	–6.50% ***
Low Power	1622 (37.35%)	2208 (49.67%)	2385 (61.26%)	12.33% ***	11.59% ***

#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

High Power practices significantly decreased by 9.22% or 386 practices between 12 and 24 months ($z = 11.0538$; $p < 0.001$) and continued to significantly decrease by another 5.09% or 277 practices between 24 and 36 months ($z = 7.1590$; $p < 0.001$). Similarly, *Moderate Power* practices significantly decrease by 3.10% or 98 practices between 12 and 24 months ($z = 3.0029$; $p < 0.01$) and significantly decreased again by 6.50% or 452 practices between 24 and 36 months ($z = 6.2972$; $p < 0.001$). Finally, families significantly increased use of *Low Power* practices by 12.33% or 586 practices between 12 and 24 months ($z = 11.6515$; $p < 0.001$) and significantly increased *Low Power* practices again by 11.59% or 177 practices between 24 and 36 months ($z = 10.6150$; $p < 0.001$).

Figure 5.01 High Power, Moderate Power, and Low Power Practices across Ages



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

These results suggest that not only did families use *High Power* practices the least at each of the considered age points, as discussed in the previous section, they continued to decrease the amount of *High Power* as well as *Moderate Power* practices they used as their children got older. Since *High Power*, *Moderate Power*, and *Low Power* practices account for 100% of practices at each age point, the results suggest that the proportion of *High Power* and *Moderate Power* practices that families eliminated were replaced with *Low Power* practices.

Do families change their use of categories of parenting practices as children become older?

The results in this section, summarized in *Table 5.07*, will address the question regarding the patterns of changes in parenting practices as children get older during toddlerhood. Categories in *Table 5.07* are ordered from highest to lowest at 12 months. The analyses utilized

the one and two sample, one-tailed proportions test to determine whether there was significant shifts in the amount of parenting practices between children's ages 12 months, 24 months, and 36 months. The change (Δ) in proportion from one age to the sequent age are listed in columns 5 and 6 and the asterisks (*) indicate the level of significance.

Table 5.07 Percentages of Parenting Practice Categories across Ages

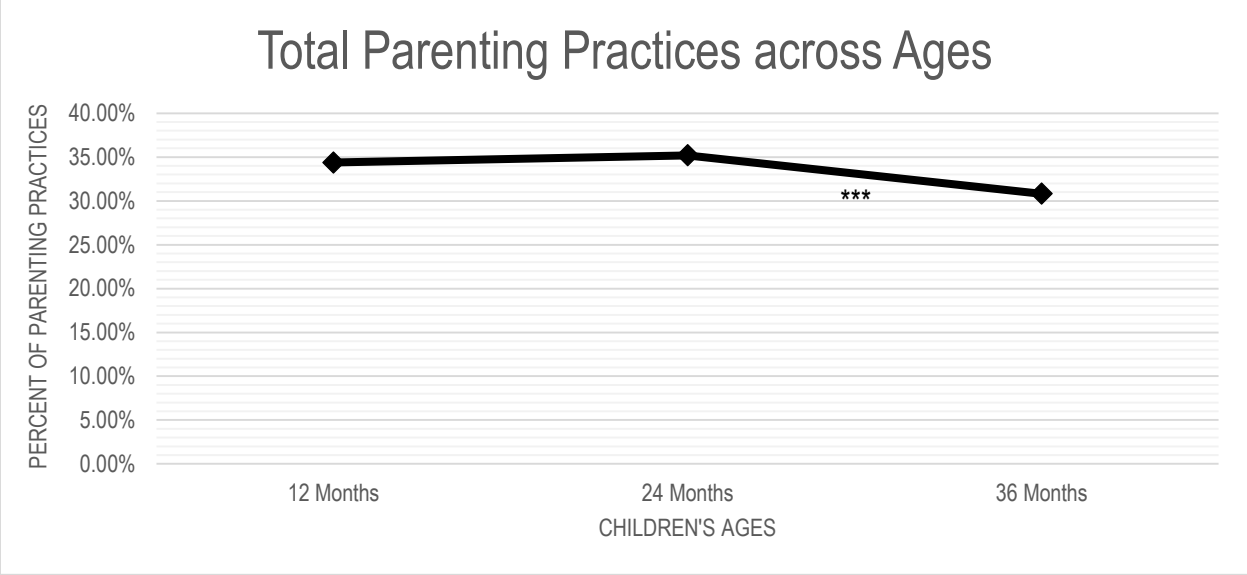
Domains & Categories of Social Knowledge	12 Months	24 Months	36 Months	Δ 12 months to 24 months	Δ 24 months to 36 months
Direct Command	28.97%	29.22%	25.79%	0.26%	–3.43% ***
Reminder	22.24%	29.52%	45.72%	7.27% ***	16.21% ***
Redirection	20.29%	11.86%	6.78%	–8.43% ***	–5.08% ***
Modeling	6.52%	7.33%	4.14%	0.82%	–3.20% ***
Persuade Reason Explain	5.66%	8.86%	8.76%	3.20% ***	–0.11%
Unclear Command	5.37%	2.75%	1.93%	–2.62% ***	–0.82% **
Indirect Command	4.33%	3.51%	1.72%	–0.82% *	–1.79 ***
Threat	1.70%	1.73%	1.82%	0.03%	0.09%
Physical Discipline	1.52%	0.70%	0.59%	–0.82% ***	–0.11%
Reward (Incentive)	1.34%	2.03%	1.34%	0.69% **	–0.69% **
Reprimand (Criticism)	1.04%	1.28%	0.95%	0.25%	–0.33%
Bribe	0.48%	0.56%	0.10%	0.08%	–0.46% ***
Deprivation	0.48%	0.41%	0.26%	–0.08%	–0.15%
Negotiation	0.07%	0.25%	0.10%	0.18% *	–0.10%
Total	34.38%	35.19%	30.82%	0.81%	–4.37% ***

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

When the total of 12,681 parenting practices coded were examined at each age, the results show that there were 4343 practices at 12 month, 4445 practices at 24 months, and 3893 practices at 36 months (refer back to *Table 11*). These total frequencies at each age accounted for 34.38%, 35.19%, and 30.82% of practices, respectively (see *Table 5.07*). The two sample, one-tailed proportions test was utilized to determine how the proportions of parenting practices changed as children got older. Results from the analyses indicated that there was a slight increase

of 0.81% or 102 practices between 12 and 24 months ($z = 1.3508$; $p < 0.10$). Between 24 and 36 months, the results showed that families significantly decreased the amount of parenting practices used by 552 actions or 4.37% ($z = 7.4000$; $p < 0.001$). The results are graphically depicted in *Figure 5.02*.

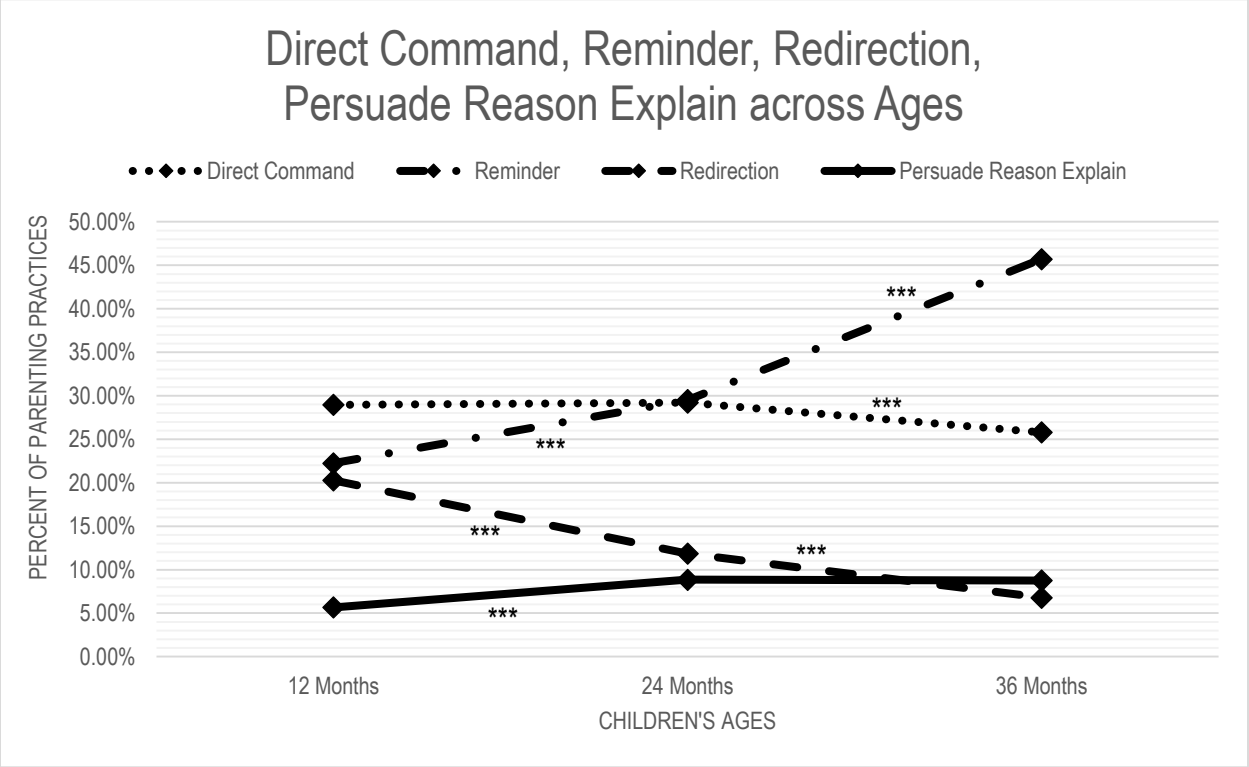
Figure 5.02 Total Parenting Practices across Ages



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

To present how categories of parenting practices changed as children got older, the categories were separated into groups. The first group consisted of the four categories that had frequencies in the top three highest position at one or more age points. These categories were *Reminder*, *Direct Command*, *Redirection*, and *Persuade Reason Explain*. The second, third, and fourth groups were placed into their respective power dimension group. Since the first group of top three categories had one *High Power* category, one *Moderate Power* category, and two *Low Power* categories, the second, third, and fourth groups will present only the remaining categories in each power dimension group.

Figure 5.03 Highest Frequency Categories of Parenting Practices across Ages (Direct Command, Reminder, Redirection, Persuade Reason Explain)

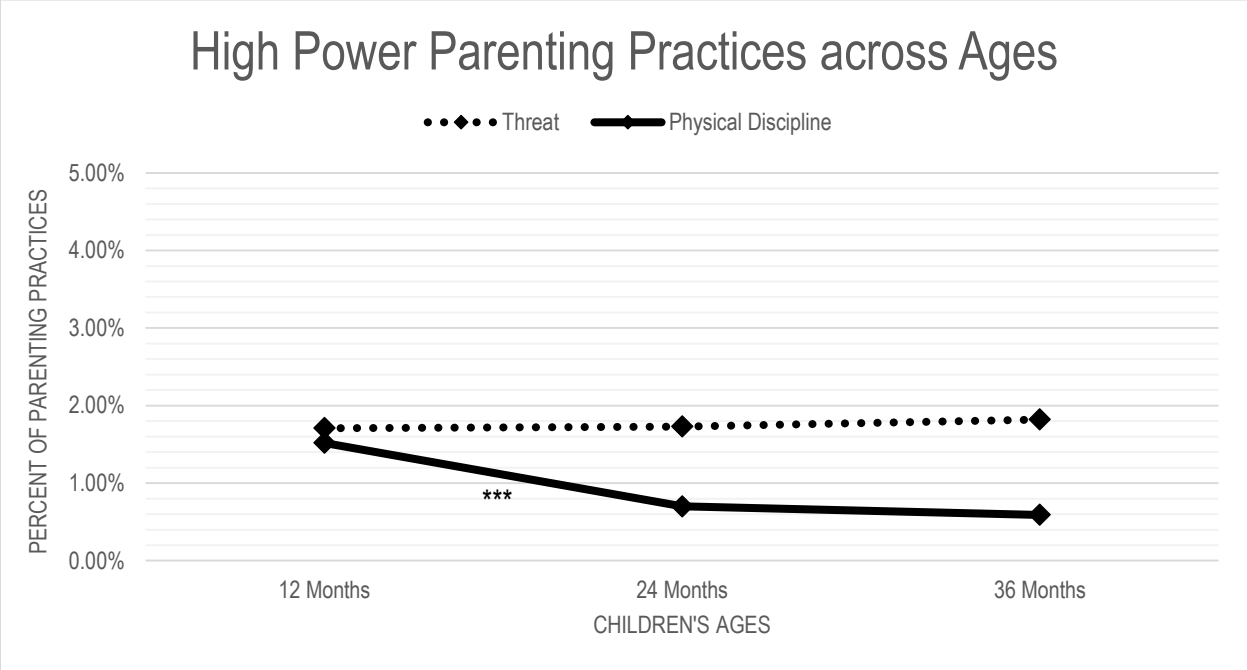


*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

For the first group of top three categories, *Figure 5.03* graphically show the percentage of *Direct Command*, *Reminder*, *Redirection* and *Persuade Reason Explain* category practices at 12, 24, and 36 months. As indicated by the line plot, the percent of *Direct Command* category practices did not change beyond chance between 12 and 24 months but significantly decreased by 3.43% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 3.4988$; $p < 0.001$). The *Reminder* category had significant increases of 7.27% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 7.7790$; $p < 0.001$) and 16.21% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 15.2855$; $p < 0.001$). The proportion of practices in the *Redirection* category had a significant decrease of 8.43% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 10.7714$; $p < 0.001$) and continued to significantly decrease another 5.08% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 7.8899$; $p < 0.001$). The *Persuade Reason Explain* category increased significantly

by 3.20% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 5.7718$; $p < 0.001$) but did not significantly change between 24 and 36 months.

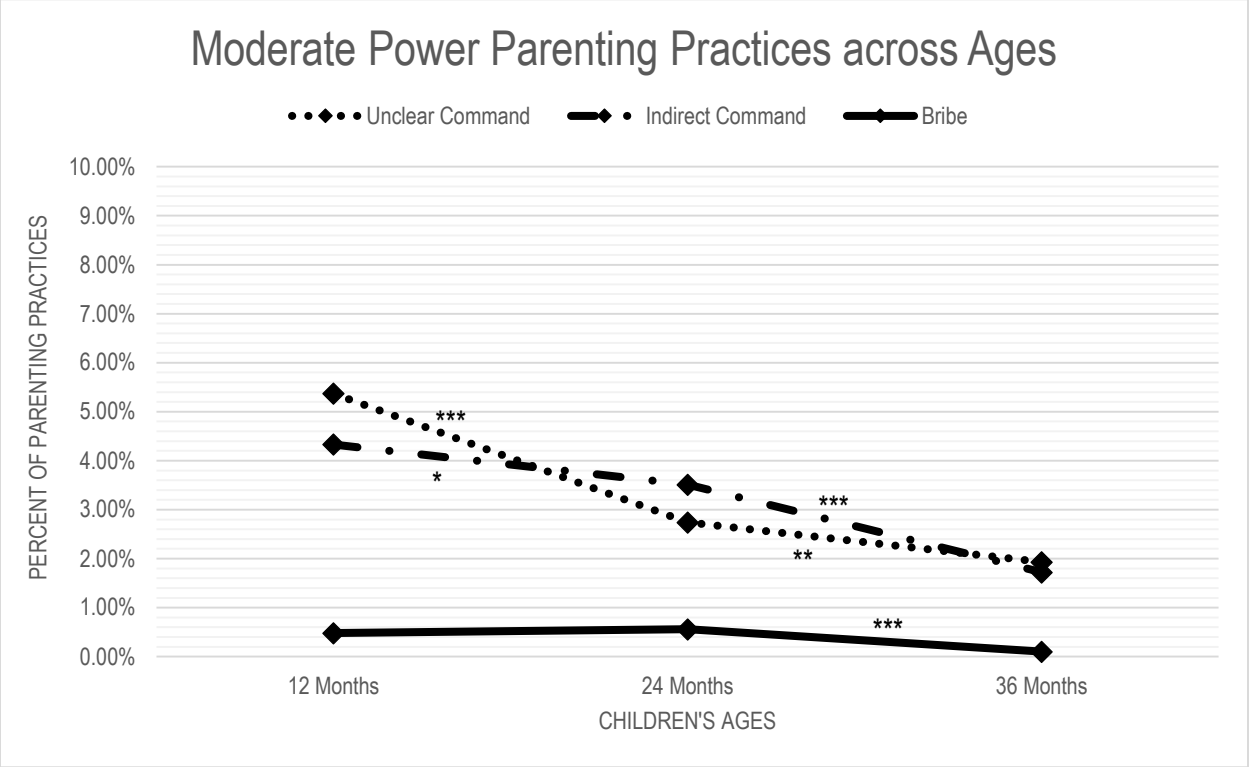
Figure 5.04 High Power Parenting Practice Categories across Ages (Threat, Physical Discipline)



*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

The second group consists of the two remaining *High Power* categories, *Threat* and *Physical Discipline*, shown in *Figure 5.04*. *Redirection* was included in the first group as a top three category. Results indicate that the proportion of *Threat* category practices families utilized did not significantly change over the three age points. However, the proportion of *Physical Discipline* category practices decreased by 0.82% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 3.6920$; $p < 0.001$) but was not different beyond chance between 24 and 36 months.

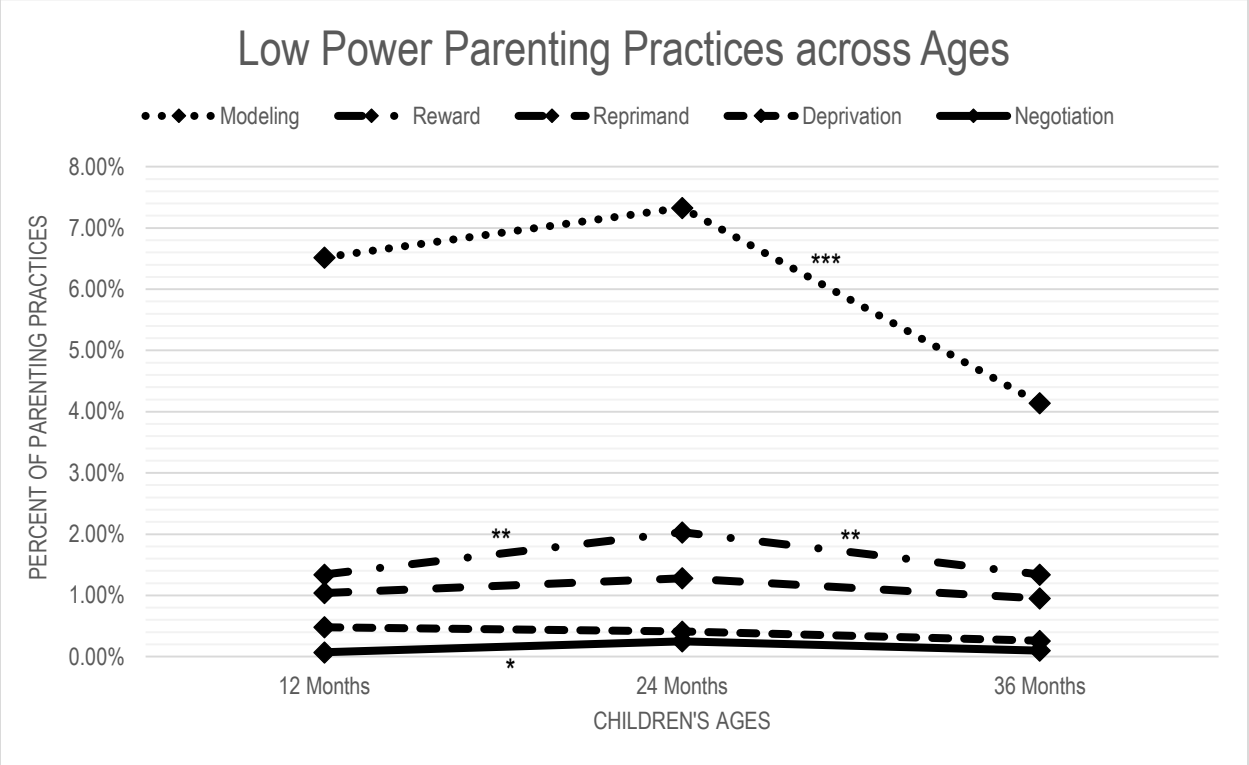
Figure 5.05 Moderate Power Parenting Practice Categories across Ages (Unclear Command, Indirect Command, Bribe)



*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

The third group, graphically depicted in *Figure 5.05*, consists of *Moderate Power* categories less *Direct Command*, a top three category. This group includes the *Unclear Command*, *Indirect Command*, and *Bribe* categories. The results indicate that the proportion of practices in the *Unclear Command* category significantly decreased by 2.62% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 6.2368$; $p < 0.001$) and had a smaller but significant drop of another 0.82% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 2.4533$; $p < 0.01$). The *Indirect Command* category had a small but significant decrease of 0.82% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 1.9792$; $p < 0.05$) and decreased more significantly by 1.79% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 5.0513$; $p < 0.001$). The proportion of *Bribe* category practices did not differ beyond chance between 12 and 24 months, but significantly decreased by 0.46% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 3.5524$; $p < 0.001$).

Figure 5.06 Low Power Parenting Practice Categories across Ages (Modeling, Reward, Reprimand, Deprivation, Negotiation)



*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

The fourth and final group, shown in *Figure 5.06*, consists of the *Low Power* categories except for *Reminder* and *Persuade Reason Explain* because they are part of the top-three-categories group. The remaining Low Power categories are *Modeling*, *Reward*, *Reprimand*, *Deprivation*, and *Negotiation*. *Modeling* had a slight increase of 0.82% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 1.5096$; $p < 0.10$) followed by a significant decrease of 3.20% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 6.2124$; $p < 0.001$). Results indicate that families significantly increased the proportion of *Reward* category practices by 0.69% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 2.5093$; $p < 0.01$), then significantly decreased *Reward* category practices by 0.69% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 2.4258$; $p < 0.01$). The proportion of *Reprimand* practices was not different beyond chance between 12 and 24 months and slightly decreased by 0.33% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 1.4328$; $p < 0.10$). The next category in this group, *Deprivation*, had no change beyond chance

across all three age points; however, *Negotiation*, the final practice category had a significant increase of 0.18% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 2.1021$; $p < 0.05$) and a slight decrease of 0.10% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 1.5571$; $p < 0.10$).

The results reported in this section provides some insight into what families do to convey socialization messages to their children during toddlerhood; however, the coding structure allows for further analyses that may help to glean more nuanced insights into how families interact with their young children in the attempt to pass on the knowledge, skills, and values that will help them navigate the social world around them. In the following section, the analyses will focus on the content of select parenting practices that stand out in the data or as an area of study in the child development and socialization literature.

5.c. What are the qualities and content of parenting practices that families used?

In addition to coding the categories of parenting practices, the coding manual also accounted for subcategories in each category. This section will examine the subcategories in a select number of categories. The first three sections below will examine the three categories that dominated parenting practices across toddlerhood—*Direct Command*, *Reminder*, and *Redirection*. Extending on the analyses of practices in the *Redirection* category, and because of the strong interest within the socialization literature on high power practices, the analyses will also explore subcategories in the *Threat* and *Physical Discipline* categories to better understand how parents use practices considered in the literature to be highest in the level of parental power assertion. The analyses continued to utilize the one and two sample, one-tailed proportions test to determine statistical differences when appropriate.

Direct Command Subcategories

Parenting practices in the *Direct Command* category can best be understood as directives or commands expressed to children to provide instructions for what families want them to do and not do, such as "Come here," "Stop," "Don't tear that up," "Get that out of your mouth," and "You go over there on that couch." In addition, to verbal expressions of directives, families also express directives nonverbally with physical gestures and using a combination of words and physical gestures simultaneously. An example of a physical directive would consist of a description such as "Parent holds a bottle out to the child" where the intent is for the child to take the bottle from the parent. An example of a verbal and physical directive combination would include the previous description "Parent holds a bottle out to the child" accompanied by a verbal utterance such as "Take your bottle."

The frequencies and percentages of *Direct Command* subcategories are shown in *Table 5.08*. The *Verbal* subcategory made up a great majority in the total amount of *Direct Command* practices with 83.21% and 2963 actions compared to 3.36% and 131 actions of *Physical* (z = 67.6999; $p < 0.001$) and 13.11% and 467 actions of *Combination* (z = 59.1929; $p < 0.001$) subcategory practices. Similarly, frequencies of the *Verbal* subcategory also made up the great majority of *Direct Command* category practices at each age. At 12 months, *Verbal* made up 81.00% of practices with 1019 actions compared to the 5.88% and 74 actions of *Physical* (z = 38.0083; $p < 0.001$) and 13.12% and 165 actions of *Combination* (z = 34.1105; $p < 0.001$) subcategories. At 24 month, 82.83% and 1076 actions of *Direct Command* category practices were *Verbal* compared to 3.39% and 44 actions of *Physical* (z = 40.8841; $p < 0.001$) and 13.78% and 179 actions of *Combination* (z = 35.2169; $p < 0.001$) subcategories. Finally, the *Verbal* subcategory made up 86.45% of *Direct Command* practices with 868 actions compared to 1.29%

and 13 actions of *Physical* ($z = 38.4500$; $p < 0.001$) and 12.25% and 123 actions of *Combination* ($z = 33.2537$; $p < 0.001$) subcategories at the 36 months.

Table 5.08 Direct Command Subcategories

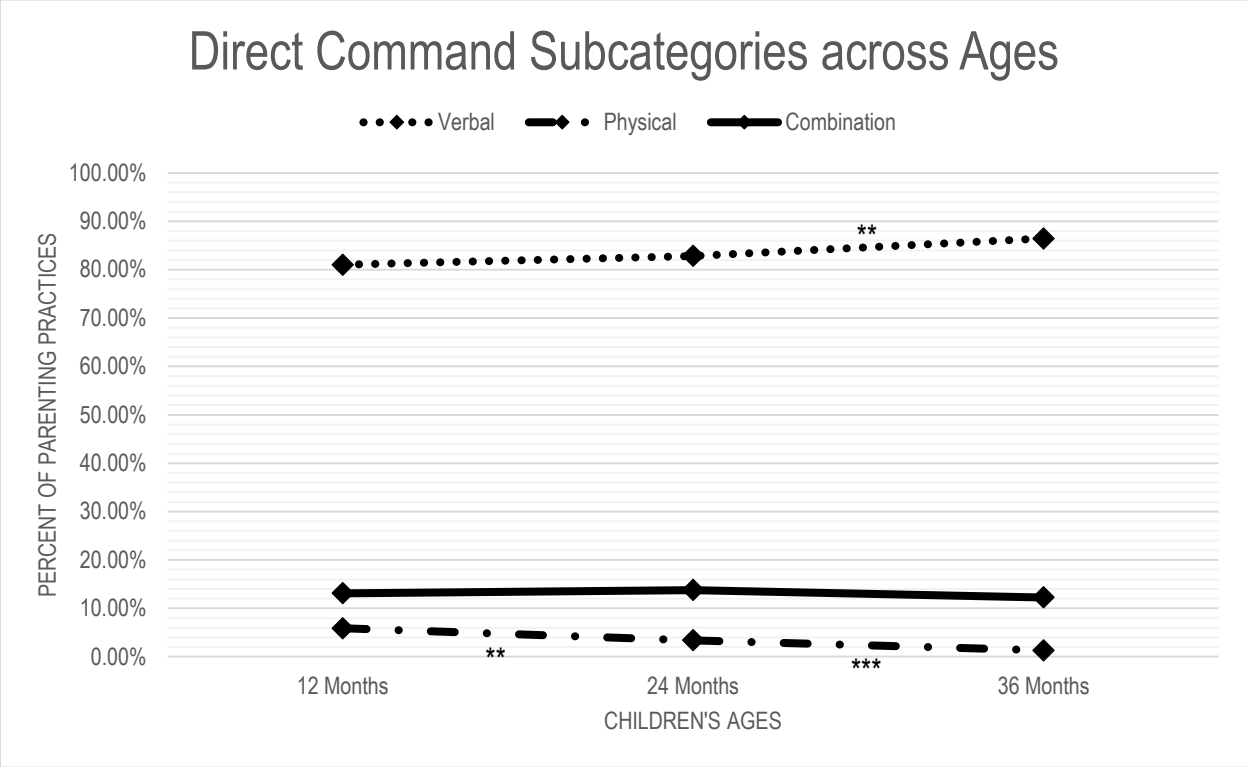
	Direct Command Category					
Subcategory	12 Months (%) *n* = 1258	24 Months (%) *n* = 1299	36 Months (%) *n* = 1004	Total (%) *n* = 3561	Δ % 12 to 24 Months	Δ % 24 to 36 Months
Verbal	1019 (81.00%)	1076 (82.83%)	868 (86.45%)	2963 (83.21%)	1.83%	3.62% **
Physical	74 (5.88%)	44 (3.39%)	13 (1.29%)	131 (3.68%)	–2.50% **	–2.09% ***
Combination	165 (13.12%)	179 (13.78%)	123 (12.25%)	467 (13.11%)	0.66%	–1.53%

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Next, the *Direct Command* subcategories were examined across the three age points to explore whether families changed how they used *Direct Command* practices with their toddlers as they got older. Changes in *Direct Command* subcategory percentages are summarized in *Table 18* and *Figure 5.07* is the graphic presentation of how each subcategory change between children's ages 12, 24, and 36 months. The results indicate that there was no significant difference in the proportion of *Verbal* subcategory practices families used at 12 and 24 months, however, families significantly increased the proportion of verbal directives between 24 and 36 months ($z = 2.3755$; $p < 0.01$). It was noted that while the proportions of *Verbal* subcategory *Direct Command* practices increased significantly between 24 and 36 months, the frequency of *Verbal* subcategory practices decreased by 208 actions. This is likely explained by the smaller sample size ($n = 1004$) used as the denominator to calculate the proportion at 36 months as well as the magnitude of change in the other subcategories. For the *Physical* subcategory of *Direct Command* practices, results indicate that families significantly decreased the proportion by 2.50% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 3.0064$; $p < 0.01$) and continued to significantly decrease the proportions 2.09% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 3.2044$; $p < 0.001$). Lastly, the proportion

of *Combination* subcategory practices that families used were not different beyond chance across the age points.

Figure 5.07 Direct Command Subcategories across Ages – Verbal, Physical, & Combination



*p < 0.05; **p < 0.01; ***p < 0.001

Reminder Subcategories

Parenting practices in the *Reminder* category assist children to think about or recall the rules and behaviors preferred or prohibited by parents and other adult caregivers. The three *Reminder* subcategories were created to reflect the methods by which children may be reminded, by statement or reiteration of rules and preferred or prohibited behaviors, by questions related to the rules and preferred or prohibited behaviors, and by physical gestures that cues children to rules and preferred or prohibited behaviors. The following is an example of when a parent used reminder statements: “You see that, but you can’t mess with it. You can’t mess with it,

Rebecca." The statement was used when the child walked over to and tried to play with some electronic equipment. An example of when a parent used a reminder question is "Did you ever go one the floor?" This question was asked by a parent who actively participated in developing the child's ability to walk independently. An example of a physical reminder in the transcript appears as descriptions of the parents' physical gestures such as "mom holds a barrette in front of the child" with the intention to show the child the object and not to give it to the child. This description occurred when the mother was doing her daughter's hair and was about to put on the barrette.

Table 5.09 Reminder Subcategories

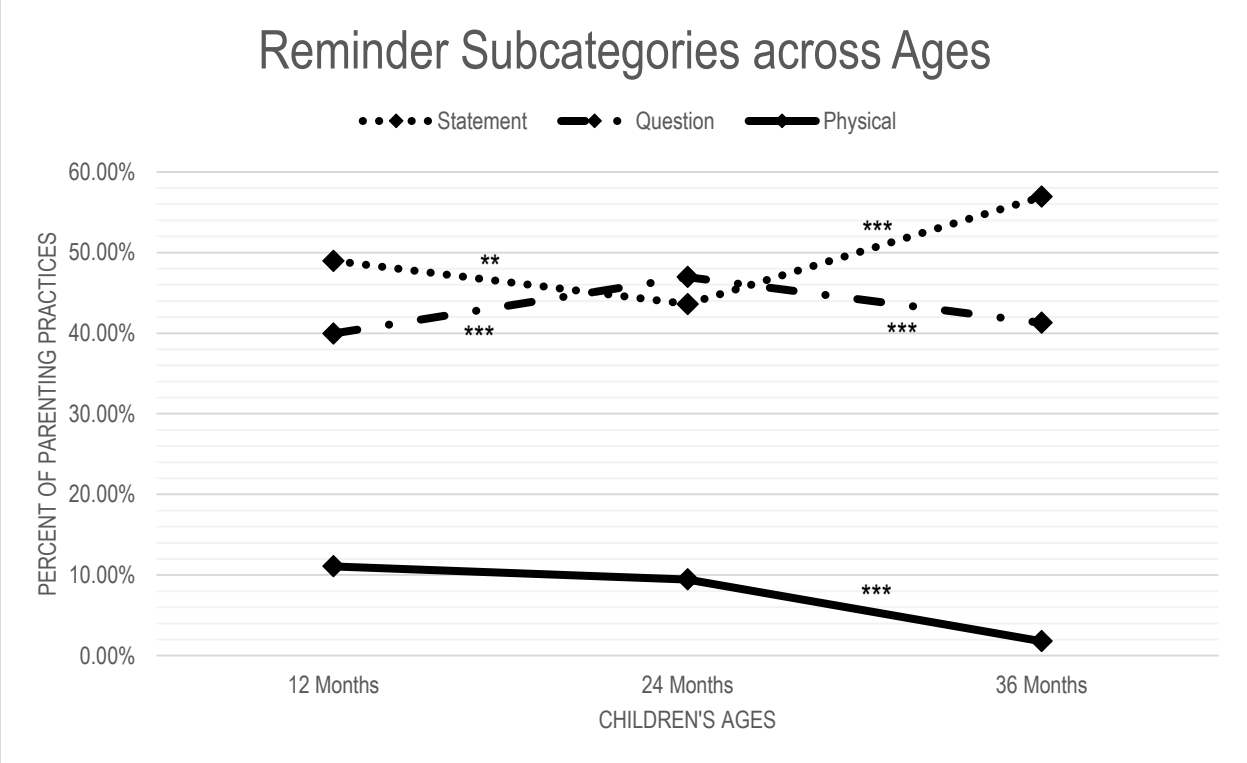
	Reminder Category					
Subcategory	12 Months (%) *n* = 966	24 Months (%) *n* = 1312	36 Months (%) *n* = 1780	Total (%) *n* = 4058	Δ % 12 to 24 Months	Δ % 24 to 36 Months
Statement	473 (48.96%)	572 (43.60%)	1013 (56.91%)	2058 (50.72%)	–5.37% **	13.31% ***
Question	386 (39.96%)	616 (46.95%)	735 (41.29%)	1737 (42.80%)	6.99% ***	–5.66% ***
Physical	107 (11.08%)	124 (9.45%)	32 (1.80%)	263 (6.48%)	–1.63%	–7.65% ***

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

The results from the analyses of subcategories of *Reminder* practices are summarized in *Table 5.09*. Overall, families used practices in the *Statement* subcategory most with 50.72% and 2058 actions of all *Reminder* category practices. The one sample, one-tailed proportions test confirmed that the proportion of *Statement* practices was significantly higher compared to the 42.80% and 1737 actions of *Question* ($z = 7.1419$; $p < 0.001$) and 6.48% and 263 actions of *Physical* ($z = 44.0935$; $p < 0.001$) subcategory practices. At 12 months, families used reminder statements most with 48.97% and 473 actions of *Reminder* category practices compared to the 39.96% and 386 actions in the *Question* subcategory ($z = 3.9831$; $p < 0.001$) and the 11.08% and 107 actions in the *Physical* subcategory ($z = 18.1668$; $p < 0.001$). At 24 months, families used

significantly more practices in the *Question* subcategory with 616 actions or 46.95% of practices compared to the 572 actions or 43.60% of *Statement* ($z = 1.7253$; $p < 0.05$) and the 124 actions or 9.45% of *Physical* ($z = 21.3448$; $p < 0.001$) subcategory practices. At 36 months, families returned to using a significantly higher proportion of practices in the *Statement* subcategories with 56.91% and 1013 actions of practices compare to the *Question* subcategory ($z = 9.3201$; $p < 0.001$) with 41.29% of practices and 735 actions and the *Physical* subcategory ($z = 36.1047$; $p < 0.001$) with 1.80% of practices and 32 actions.

Figure 5.08 Reminder Subcategories across Ages – Statement, Question, & Physical



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

The subcategories were examined across ages to determine whether families change how they use *Reminder* category practices as their children got older. The results are shown in *Figure 5.08*. Families significantly decreased the proportion of *Statement* subcategory practices by

5.37% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 2.5405$; $p < 0.01$). Between 24 and 36 months, families significantly increased the proportion of *Statement* practices by 13.31% ($z = 7.3193$; $p < 0.001$). Families' use of the *Question* subcategory had the reverse pattern compared to the *Statement* subcategory. Families significantly increased the proportion of *Question* practices by 6.99% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 3.3226$; $p < 0.001$) and significantly decreased it by 5.66% between 24 and 36 months ($z = 3.1355$; $p < 0.001$). Finally, families did not change their use of Physical practices beyond chance between 12 and 24 months, but use a significantly lower proportion with a 7.65% decrease at 36 months compared to 24 months ($z = 9.6092$; $p < 0.001$).

Like the *Direct Command* category, there were noted discrepancies in the direction of change between the proportions and actual frequencies of subcategories from one age point to the subsequent age point. Specifically, the change in the proportions versus the frequencies of reminder statements and physical reminders from 12 months to 24 months and reminder questions from 24 to 36 months. These discrepancies are likely explained by the differences in the total number of *Reminder* category practices used as the denominator to calculate proportions at each age and the magnitude of change in the frequencies of other subcategories at that age point. This suggests that the pattern of change for *Reminder* subcategories does not parallel the pattern of the category. *Figure 5.08* shows that, proportionately, families shifted from using more reminder statements than reminder questions at 12 months to more reminder questions at 24 months and back to more reminder statements at 36 months.

The next three categories, *Redirection*, *Threat*, and *Physical Discipline*, were chosen for further analyses of content and quality because they conceptually fall in the high range on the continuum of the parental power assertion. The *Redirection* was also one of three categories that dominated parenting practices across toddlerhood.

Redirection Subcategories

Parenting practices in the *Redirection* category are nonverbal actions that distracts children's attention from and prevents non-preferred behaviors or draws attention to and encourages preferred behaviors. *Redirection* practices are primarily differentiated by the level of parental power/authority parents are asserting and the lack of choice given to children. The two subcategories under the *Redirection* category are *Forceful* and *Matter-of-Fact*. An example of a practice in the *Redirection* category would be a parent picking up a child to get her away from a wall socket. The child was not given a choice and the actual or potential behavior of the child playing with the socket was prevented. The *Forceful* subcategory would be designated if the child resisted being picked up and taken away. For children who did not resist or were willing to be picked up, the *Matter-of-Fact* subcategory would be designated. In either case, the child was not given the choice to comply. In another example, a parent who prevents her child from going into the bathroom by holding on to her would be coded as using a "forceful redirection." A parent that closes the bathroom door to prevent her child from entering the bathroom would be coded as using a "matter-of-fact redirection." In both cases the child was not given a choice regarding entry into the bathroom. However, one included an assertion of parental authority through interactional physical intervention, while the other asserts parental authority without parent-child struggle.

Table 5.10 Redirection Subcategories

	Redirection Category					
Subcategory	12 Months (%) *n* = 881	24 Months (%) *n* = 527	36 Months (%) *n* = 264	Total (%) *n* = 1672	Δ % 12 to 24 Months	Δ % 24 to 36 Months
Forceful	207 (23.50%)	88 (16.70%)	28 (10.61%)	323 (19.32%)	–6.80% **	–6.09% *
Matter-of-Fact	674 (76.50%)	439 (83.30%)	236 (89.39%)	1349 (80.68%)	6.80% **	6.09% *

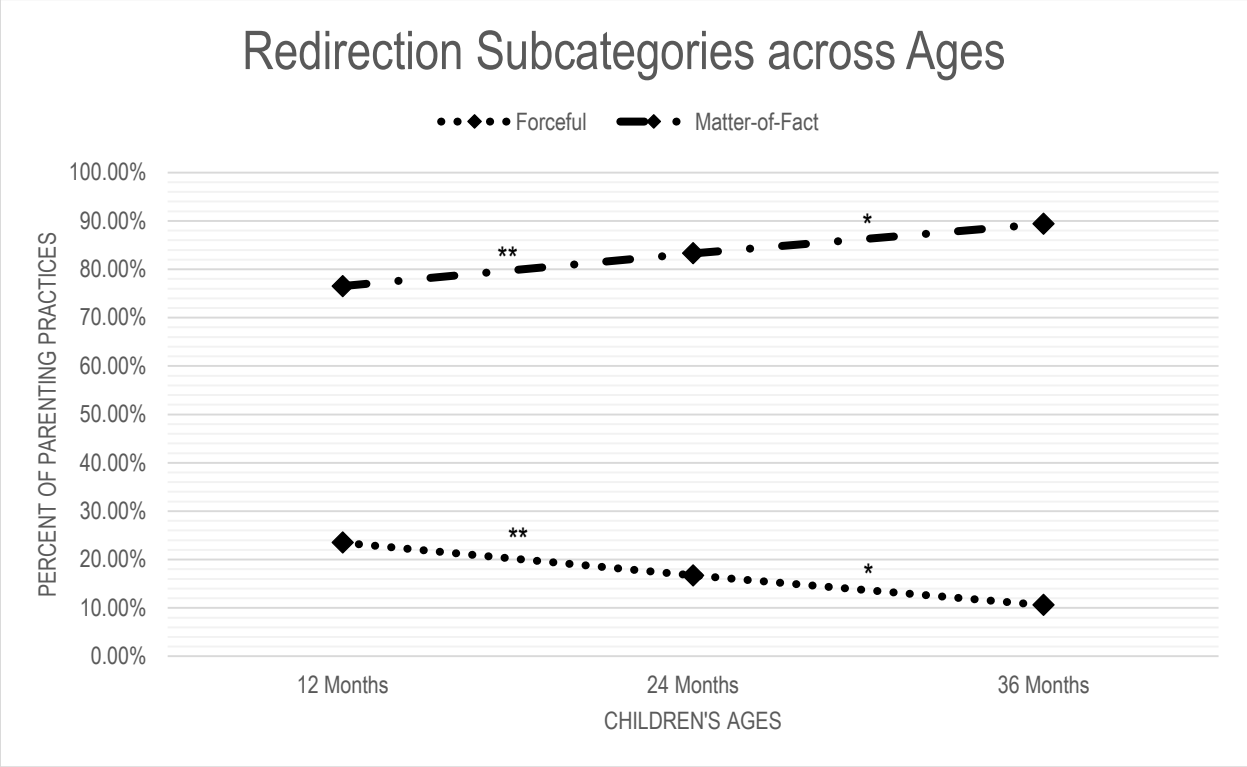
$^{\#}p < 0.10$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{***}p < 0.001$

Subcategory analyses of *Redirection* parenting practices are summarized in *Table 5.10*. Overall, the great majority of *Redirection* category practices that families used were in the *Matter-of-Fact* subcategory over the three age points. With 80.68% of *Redirection* practices, the proportion of *Matter-of-Fact* was significantly higher compared to the 19.32% of *Forceful* practices ($z = 35.4852$; $p < 0.001$). When the *Redirection* subcategories were examined at each age, the results showed a similar pattern with *Matter-of-Fact* practices making up the great majority of the practices. At 12 months, the 76.50% of *Matter-of-Fact* practices was significantly higher compared to the 23.50% of *Forceful* practices ($z = 22.2507$; $p < 0.001$). The 83.30% of *Matter-of-Fact* practices at 24 months was significantly higher compared to the 16.70% of Forceful practices ($z = 21.6232$; $p < 0.001$). At 36 month, the 89.39% of *Matter-of-Fact* practices was significantly higher than the 10.61% of *Forceful* practices ($z = 18.1041$; $p < 0.001$).

The next set of analyses examine how subcategories of *Redirection* practices change over the three age points. The results are summarized in *Table 5.10* and graphically depicted *Figure 5.09*. Because the proportion of *Matter-of-Fact* and *Forceful* add up to 100%, accounting for the total frequency of *Redirection* practices at each age, the magnitude of change from one age to the next for the two subcategories will be the same but in opposite directions. Between 12 and 24 months, the proportion of "matter-of-fact redirection" practices significantly increased by 6.80% while the proportion of "forceful redirection" practices significantly decreased by the same amount, 6.80% ($z = 3.0333$; $p < 0.01$). Similarly, the proportion of *Matter-of-Fact* increased significantly by 6.09% while *Forceful* significantly decreased by 6.09% ($z = 2.2839$; $p < 0.05$). It was noted that *Matter-of-Fact* frequencies decreased while the proportions increased across ages. This is likely explained by the decrease in the total frequencies of *Redirection* practices across ages used as the denominator to calculate proportions along with the decrease in the frequencies

of the *Forceful* subcategory across ages. This suggests that as families use less and less *Redirection* category practices, they used higher and higher proportions of *Matter-of-Fact* subcategory practices.

Figure 5.09 Redirection Subcategories across Ages – Forceful & Matter-of-Fact



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Threat Subcategories

Parenting practices in the *Threat* category include verbal and nonverbal behaviors that warn children of impending negative consequences for not complying with parental directives or established rules. Verbal threats may be statements such as "leave that alone or I'm a come and get you" or questions such as "Do you want a whuppin?" Nonverbal threats include descriptions of physical gestures that clearly conveys the impending consequence such as "father raises his

hand and leans towards the child" and "mother grabs the plate as if ready to take it away." Because Threat category practices that used physical gestures were few in frequency, subcategories were collapsed and organized based on the type of negative consequences explicated or implicated in the verbal and nonverbal behaviors including *Physical Discipline*, *Redirection*, *Deprivation*, and *Miscellaneous*. *Miscellaneous* is a subcategory for consequences that the child may perceive as negative but does not fit within the other three subcategories such as combing out hair and being wiped, cleaned, or changed.

Table 5.11 Threat Subcategories

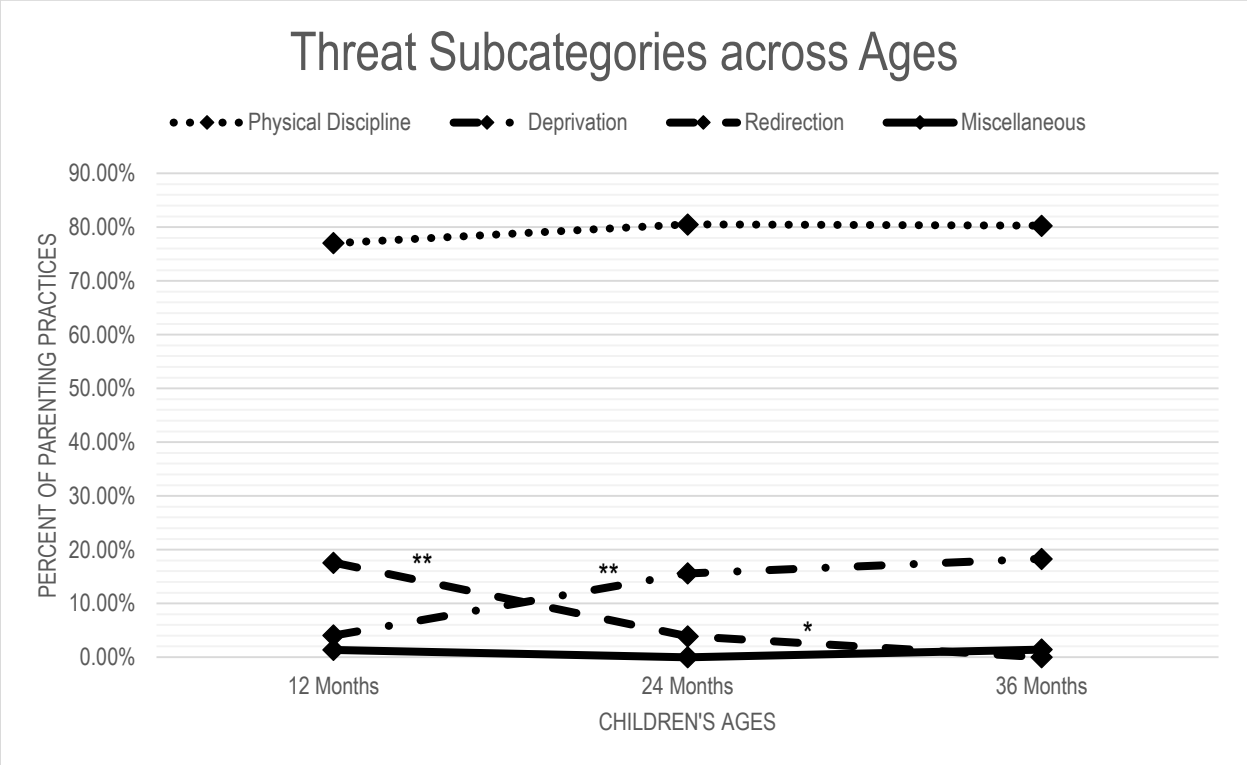
	Threat Category					
Subcategory (*threats of…*)	12 Months (%) *n* = 74	24 Months (%) *n* = 77	36 Months (%) *n* = 71	Total (%) *n* = 222	Δ % 12 to 24 Months	Δ % 24 to 36 Months
Physical Discipline	57 (77.03%)	62 (80.52%)	57 (80.28%)	176 (79.28%)	3.49%	–0.24%
Deprivation	3 (4.05%)	12 (15.58%)	13 18.31%	28 (12.61%)	11.53% **	2.73%
Redirection	13 (17.57%)	3 (3.90%)	0 (0.00%)	16 (7.21%)	–13.76% **	3.90% *
Miscellaneous	1 (1.35%)	0 (0.00%)	1 (1.41%)	2 (0.90%)	–1.35%	1.41%

#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Table 5.11 summarizes the results from the analyses of *Threat* subcategories. Overall, families expressed the great majority of threats using physical discipline as the negative consequence. Across the three age points, 79.28% of all *Threat* category practices were in the *Physical Discipline* subcategory. The proportion of *Threat Physical-Discipline* subcategory practices was significantly higher than the 12.61% of *Threat-Deprivation* ($z = 14.0938$; $p < 0.001$), 7.21% of *Threat-Redirection* ($z = 15.3271$; $p < 0.001$), and 0.90% of *Threat-Miscellaneous* ($z = 16.8495$; $p < 0.001$) subcategory practices. At 12 months, families used physical discipline as the negative consequence for the great majority of *Threat* category practices, 77.03%. The proportion of *Threat-Physical Discipline* subcategory was significantly

higher than the 17.57% of *Threat-Redirection* ($z = 7.2441$; $p < 0.001$), the 4.05% of *Threat-Deprivation* ($z = 9.0408$; $p < 0.001$), and the 1.35% of *Threat-Miscellaneous* ($z = 9.4294$; $p < 0.001$) subcategory practices. Threats of physical discipline made up the great majority of *Threat* category practices at 24 and 36 months as well. At 24 months, *Threat-Physical Discipline* with 80.52% of practices was significantly higher compared to the 15.58% of *Threat-Deprivation* ($z = 8.0643$; $p < 0.001$) and the 3.90% of *Threat-Redirection* ($z = 9.6263$; $p < 0.001$) practices. There were no threats of miscellaneous negative consequences. At 36 months, the 80.28% of *Threat-Physical Discipline* subcategory practices was significantly higher compared to the 18.31% of *Threat-Deprivation* ($z = 7.3855$; $p < 0.001$) and the 1.41% of *threat-Miscellaneous* ($z = 9.5605$; $p < 0.001$) practices. There were no threats of redirection.

Figure 5.10 Threat Subcategories across Ages – Threats of Physical Discipline, Deprivation, Redirection, and Miscellaneous



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

When *Threat* subcategories were examined across the three age points, the results indicated that the proportion of *Threat-Physical Discipline* did not significantly change between 12 and 24 months nor between 24 and 36 months (*see Figure 5.10*). Families used significantly decreased threats of redirection by 13.76% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 2.7414$; $p < 0.01$). The proportion of *Threat-Redirection* subcategory practices decrease significantly again between 24 and 36 months by 3.90% ($z = 1.6803$; $p < 0.05$). *Threat-Deprivation* subcategory practices significantly increased by 11.53% between 12 and 24 months ($z = 2.3679$; $p < 0.01$) but was not different beyond chance between 24 and 36 months. Finally, *Threat* category practices using miscellaneous consequences had no change beyond chance across the three age points.

Physical Discipline Subcategories

Parenting practices in the *Physical Discipline* category include a wide range of physical consequences. Generally, parents' behaviors were coded as *Physical Discipline* if they could be described as a "hit," "tap," "pat," "swat," "slap," or "spank" and occurred after children committed transgressions. Some examples of description of parental behaviors that was coded as *Physical Discipline* are "father gently hits child on her bottom," "mother taps child's hand," and "mother pats child on the bottom a few times." The subcategories of *Physical Discipline* include *Hand* and *Tool*, indicating whether the parent used their hand or an object such as a belt or comb. Results from the analyses of subcategories of *Physical Discipline* are summarized in *Table 5.12*. Overall, families used hands to physically discipline children 86.67% of the time over the three age points. The proportion of the *Hand* subcategory was significantly higher compared to the 13.33% of *Tool* subcategory practices ($z = 11.3609$; $p < 0.001$). At 12 months, the *Hand* subcategory with 92.42% of practices was significantly higher compared to the 7.58% of the

Tool subcategory ($z = 9.7483$; $p < 0.001$). Similarly, the 96.78% of *Hand* practices was significantly higher compared to the 3.23% of *Tool* practices at 24 months ($z = 7.3660$; $p < 0.001$). However, the proportion of *Hand* practices at 36 months, 56.52%, was not different beyond chance from the 43.48% of *Tool* practices.

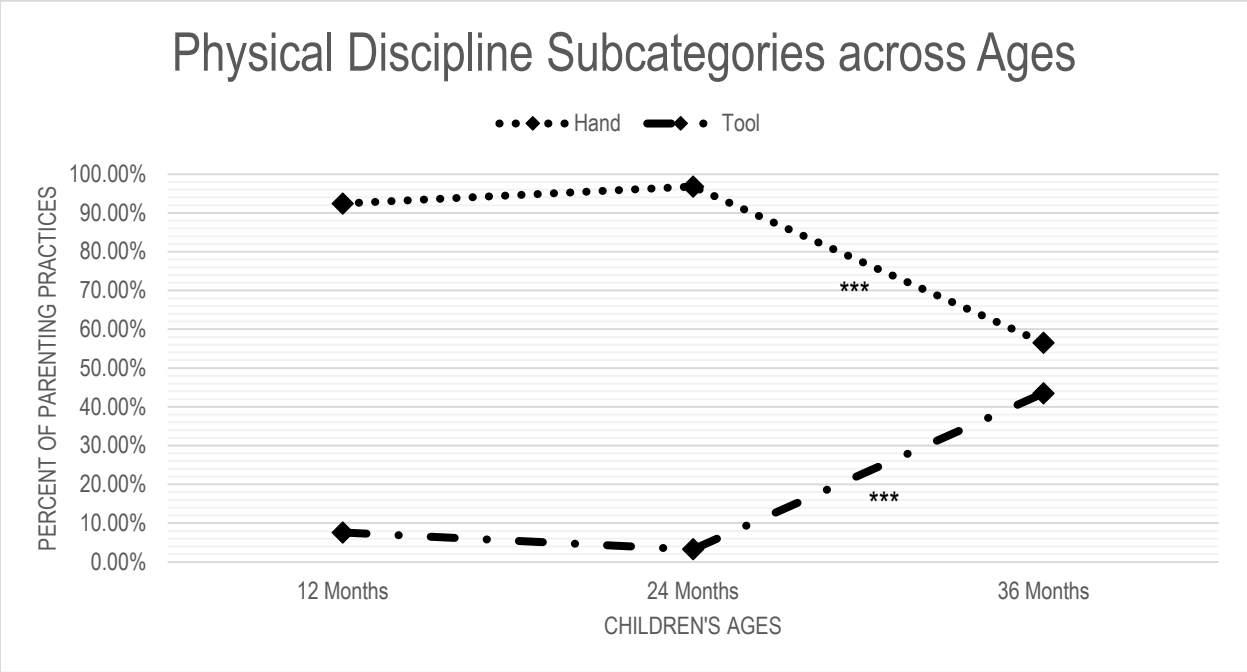
Table 5.12 Physical Discipline Subcategories

	Physical Discipline Category					
Subcategory	12 Months (%) *n* = 66	24 Months (%) *n* = 31	36 Months (%) *n* = 23	Total (%) *n* = 120	Δ % 12 to 24 Months	Δ % 24 to 36 Months
Hand	61 (92.42%)	30 (96.77%)	13 (56.52%)	104 (86.67%)	4.35%	–40.25%
Tool	5 (7.58%)	1 (3.23%)	10 (43.48%)	16 (13.33%)	–4.35%	40.25%

$^{\#}p < 0.10$; $^{*}p < 0.05$; $^{**}p < 0.01$; $^{***}p < 0.001$

With two subcategories whose sum accounted for 100% of the *Physical Discipline* category practices at each age, a shift in the proportion of one subcategory means that the other subcategory shifts by the same amount in the opposite direction. *Figure 5.11* shows the graphic presentation of *Physical Discipline* subcategories over the three age points. Between 12 and 24 months, the *Hand* subcategory increased by 4.35% while the *Tool* subcategory decreased by 4.35%; however, the two sample, one-tailed proportions test indicated that this change in proportion was not significant for either subcategory. Between 24 and 36 months, the *Hand* subcategory decreased significantly while the *Tool* subcategory increased significantly by 40.25% ($z = 3.6316$; $p < 0.001$). The discrepancy in the direction of change from 12 to 24 months between the frequency and proportion of *Hand* subcategory practices is likely explained by the decrease in the overall frequency of *Physical Discipline* category practices along with the decrease in frequency of Tool subcategory practices.

Figure 5.11 Physical Discipline Subcategories across Ages – Hand & Tool



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

To better understand the quality of parenting practices in the *Physical Discipline* category, further analyses were conducted using *in vivo* codes based on the descriptions in the transcript. While all *Physical Discipline* category practices followed children's transgressions, not seemed to be intended by parents or taken by children to be negative consequences. Practices were determined to be negative consequences based on several contextual factors including parents' affect, the manner and forcefulness of the behavior, and children's reaction. Those that were not determined to be negative consequences to transgressions were described in the transcripts by words such as "tap," "pats," "lightly," "gently," and "playful." These occasions seemed to be intended by parents to act as reminders. From these determinations, *Hand* and *Tool* subcategory practices were separated into two groups, *Reminder/Playful* and *Negative Consequence*. The summary of these analyses are shown in *Table 5.13*.

Table 5.13 Content Quality of Physical Discipline Subcategories

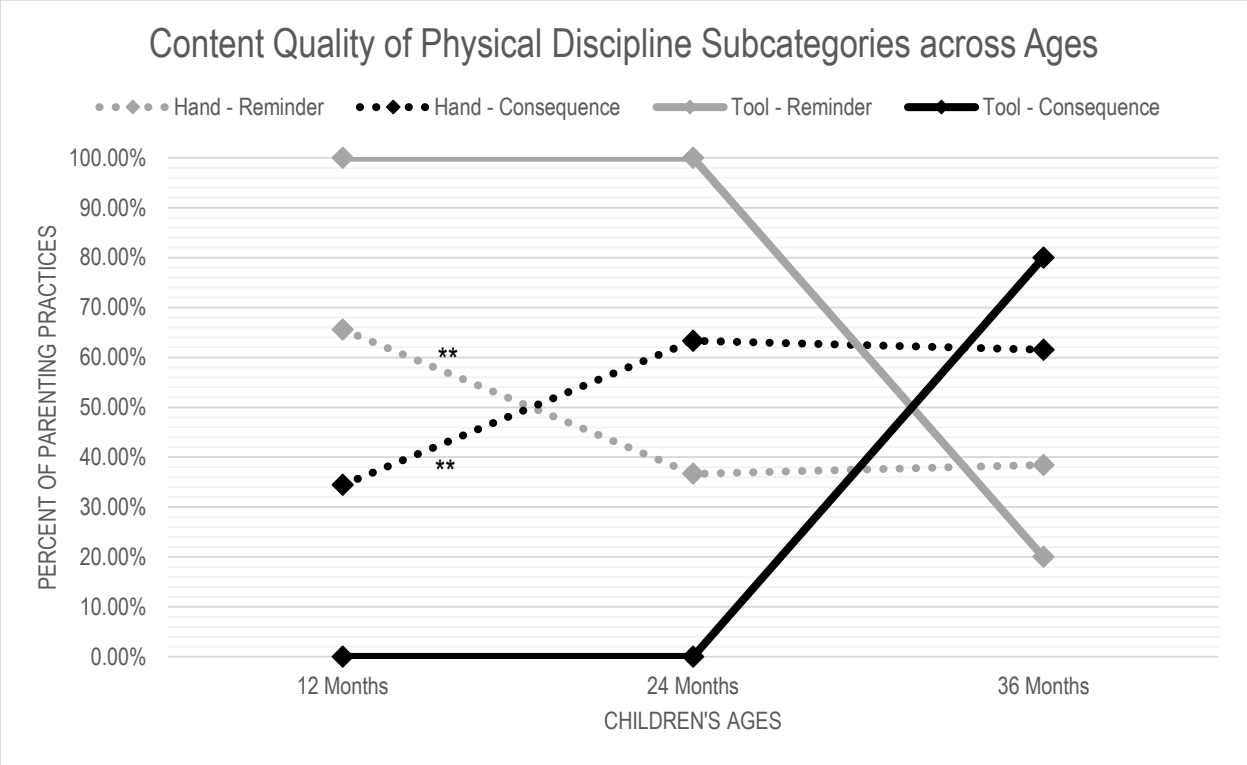
	Physical Discipline Subcategory					
	Hand			Tool		
	12 Months (%)	24 Months (%)	36 Months (%)	12 Months (%)	24 Months (%)	36 Months (%)
Content	61 Actions	30 Actions	13 Actions	5 Actions	1 Actions	10 Actions
Reminder/ Playful	40 (65.57%)	11 (36.77%)	5 (38.46%)	5 (100%)	1 (100%)	2 (20.00%)
Negative Consequence	21 (34.43%)	19 (63.33%)	8 (61.54%)	0 (0.00%)	0 (0.00%)	8 (80.00%)

The analyses utilizing the one sample, one-tailed proportions test to determine whether the proportion of *Reminder/Playful* practices was different beyond chance from the proportion of *Negative Consequence* practices for the *Hand* and *Tool* subcategory at each age. At 12 months, the 65.57% of *Hand-Reminder/Playful* practices was significantly higher compared to the 34.43% of *Hand-Negative Consequence* practices ($z = 3.4404$; $p < 0.001$). At 24 months, the 63.33% of *Hand-Negative Consequence* practices was significantly higher compared to the *Hand-Reminder/Playful* practices ($z = 2.0655$; $p < 0.05$). The proportions test was not able to detect significant differences between the proportion of *Hand-Reminder/Playful* practices and *Hand-Negative Consequence* practices at 36 months due to the low number of observations. Similarly, the number of observations of *Tool-Reminder/Playful* and *Tool-Negative Consequence* practices were insufficient to appropriately test at the 12, 24, and 36 months age points.

The content quality of practices were examined across ages to see if additional insight can be drawn by how families change their use of *Physical Discipline* category practices as children got older. The graphic presentation of results are shown in *Figure 5.12*. With two content quality descriptions that account for 100% of *Hand* and *Tool* subcategory practices, changes in proportion of *Reminder* (shortened for *Reminder Playful*) and *Consequence* (shortened for *Negative Consequence*) practices in each subcategory at each age will be the same

but in opposition directions. Between 12 and 24 months, *Hand-Reminder* practices (gray dotted line) significantly decreased by 28.91% while the proportion of *Hand-Consequence* practices (black dotted line) significantly increased by the same amount ($z = 2.6118$; $p < 0.01$). There were no differences beyond chance between 24 and 36 months for *Hand-Reminder* and *Hand-Consequence* practices. Again, low observation numbers prevented the *Tools* subcategory content quality descriptions from being analyzed appropriately; however, the line plots for *Tool-Reminder* and *Tool-Consequence* (gray and black solid lines) visually suggest that families shifted to using *Physical Discipline* as negative consequences for transgressions in higher proportions with their older toddlers.

Figure 5.12 Content Quality of Physical Discipline Subcategories across Ages



#$p < 0.10$; *$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Summary

The results from this chapter suggest that urban, low-income African American families living in high risk environments use do a lot to convey the social knowledge messages reported in Chapter 4. These results that only reflect the analyses of parenting practices indicate that families in this study relied primarily on practices with low and moderate levels of parental power assertion. This finding appears to be contrary to a large majority of research on African American parenting that leaves the impression that African American families use only or mostly practices with high levels of parental power assertion with their children at all ages. In addition, the results indicate that the practices that dominate the high power assertion dimension were physical interventions that did not allow children the choice to comply but were unobtrusive or were not met with resistance or negative emotionality from children. Physical discipline made up less than 1% of the total number of practices used during the 51 hours of naturalistic video observations. On the other hand, there is some evidence that these results parallel parenting practice patterns in White/European American middle-class families.

Consistent with the general body of literature, families in this study shifted the methods they used with their children as children got older, increasing the number of practices with low parental power assertion and decreasing high power assertion practices. Direct commands, remained highly used throughout toddlerhood. Interestingly, although not surprising, as the number of physical discipline decreased as children got older, the proportion of physical discipline practices used as negative consequences increased. This suggests that families had higher expectations for rule compliance with their 3-year-old children, than they did when children were 1 year old or 2 years old.

While the number of social knowledge message events indicated that families hold to some level of importance the rules, norms, values, and beliefs represented by the domains,

categories, and content areas analyzed, the parenting practices used to convey those messages provide better accounting for the level of effort that families employed to convey particular socialization messages, both in type and in magnitude of practices used. This chapter's examination of parenting practices gives insight into what and how much families do in their effort to teach, guide, control, and instill particular socialization messages. The next chapter will revisit social knowledge domains and categories to examine their relationship to the parenting practices that families utilized to convey message events.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS 3: RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE MESSAGES AND PARENTING PRACTICES

The results discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 laid the groundwork for the analyses in this chapter. Chapter 4 focused on the domains, categories, and contexts of social knowledge message events that the sample of low-income, urban African American families conveyed in their day-to-day interaction in their homes with their children at 12, 24, and 36 months. Chapter 5 examined the parenting practices that families used in their day-to-day interactions with their children during the toddlerhood period. This chapter explores the relation between the social knowledge socialization messages families expressed and the parenting practices used to convey those messages at 12, 24, and 36 months. The general focus of this chapter is how families allocate their socialization effort—the types and magnitude of parenting practices—that they used to convey different types of social knowledge messages. To structure the analyses and reporting of results, this chapter addresses the following questions:

- Do the parenting practices that families used vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?
  - **a.** Does the number of parenting practices that families used vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?
  - **b.** Does the type of parenting practices that families used vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed? Within this question, two more focused questions will be of particular interest. Does the degree of parental power assertion used vary by the type of

social knowledge message being conveyed? Does parental use of physical discipline vary by the types of social knowledge message being conveyed?

c. Does the type of parenting practice that families used to convey social knowledge messages change as children become older?

The following analyses utilized the same social knowledge message events and the parenting practices contained within each message events from all 51 hours of 1-hour video segments of the 17 families in the sample at 12, 24, and 36 months. The study utilized a coding structure that embedded parenting practices codes within each coded socialization message events.

6.a. Does the number of parenting practices that families use vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?

Existing literature suggests that the methods parents use to convey socialization messages reflect the short- or long-term goals parents have for their children. This section examines parenting practices across domains of social knowledge to better understand if the magnitude of parenting practices used is associated with the particular social knowledge messages.

The analyses utilized simple regression models. A regression model generates an *F*-statistic that tests the overall fit of the model to determine whether the independent variables (IV, social knowledge domains or categories) reliably predicts the dependent variable (DV, parenting practices). A significant *p*-value means that the independent variables do reliably predict the dependent variable. The regression model also generates *t*-statistics for each social knowledge domains or category (IV) that test whether the estimated differences in the average number of practices were equal to the designated reference domain or category. For example, the

social knowledge domain with the highest average number of practices was designated as the reference group to which the averages for the other domains are compared. The regression model allowed for flexibility in choosing the reference group and testing differences in averages in a single analysis. *Table 6.01* summarizes the average and differences in the number of total parenting practices by domains of social knowledge overall at 12, 24, and 36 months. More detailed information from which these numbers are aggregated are found in *Tables A.01*, *A.02*, *A.03* and *A.04* (Appendix A, p. 174).

Table 6.01 Averages and Differences in Number of Parenting Practices per Message Event by Domain of Social Knowledge Overall and at 12, 24, and 36 Months

	Domains Of Social Knowledge			ANOVA	*t*-statistics		
Parenting Practices	Interpersonal-Moral [I-M]	Conventional [C]	Psychological [P]	*F*	C – I-M	P – I-M	P – C
Overall	*n* = 144	*n* = 844	*n* = 937				
	4.94	7.77	5.94	**5.21 ****	**2.12 ***	0.76	**2.89 ****
12 Months	*n* = 34	*n* = 248	*n* = 351				
	5.47	8.60	5.77	**3.89 ***	1.36	0.13	**2.71 ****
24 Months	*n* = 36	*n* = 297	*n* = 296				
	4.50	7.67	6.78	0.75	1.15	0.82	0.69
36 Months	*n* = 44	*n* = 299	*n* = 290				
	4.89	7.17	5.29	2.27	1.23	0.22	**1.99 ***

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

The total number of parenting practices were examined overall across and at each age point. The results indicated that there were significant differences in the average number of practices between the three domains overall ($F = 5.21$; $p < 0.01$). With an overall average of 7.77 practices per message event, the number of practices used to convey *Conventional* domain message events was significantly higher compared to the average of 4.94 actions per message event used for the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain ($t = 2.12$; $p < 0.05$) and the average of 5.94 actions per message event for the *Psychological* domain ($t = 2.89$; $p < 0.01$). At 12 months, the difference in the average number of practices per event between the three social knowledge

domains was also significant ($F = 3.89$; $p < 0.05$). The practice average used to convey *Conventional* domain message events was significantly larger compared to the practice average for *Psychological* domain message events ($t = 2.71$; $p < 0.01$). At 36 months, the differences in averages across the three domains was trending toward but not significant; however, the practice average used for *Conventional* message events was significantly larger than the practice average for *Psychological* message events ($t = 1.99$; $p < 0.05$). The smaller frequency of *Interpersonal-Moral* domain message events at 12, 24, and 36 months (34, 36, and 44 message events, respectively) likely contributed to the reason significant differences were not detected between practice averages for *Interpersonal-Moral* and *Conventional* message events at 12, 24, and 36 months individually.

These results suggest that families tended to use more parenting practices to convey *Conventional* domain message events than they used to convey *Interpersonal-Moral* and *Psychological* domain message events. Since these analyses were conducted at the domain level, an additional question arises to further delve into the more specific categories that make up the data: *Does the number of parenting practices families used depend on particular within-domain categories of social knowledge message event being conveyed*? To address this question, the total number of parenting practices were examined across categories of social knowledge overall across and at 12, 24, and 36 months. Simple regression models were utilized to determine differences in practice averages across (*F*-statistics) and between categories (*t*-statistics). *Table 6.02* summarizes results aggregated from *Tables A.05*, *A.06*, *A.07*, and *A.08* (Appendix A).

The analyses detected significant differences in the average number of practices per event across categories of social knowledge for the total number of parenting practices overall across the three ages ($F = 3.77$; $p < 0.001$) and at 12 months ($F = 3.20$; $p < 0.01$). The difference in the

average number of parenting practices per event across categories of social knowledge was near significance ($F = 1.89$; $p < 0.10$) at 24 months and not significant ($F = 1.06$) at 36 months.

Table 6.02 Differences in Average Number of Parenting Practices per Category of Social Knowledge Message Event by Age, Overall and at 12, 24, and 36 Months

	Overall		12 Months		24 Months		36 Months	
Social Knowledge	Average	*T*	Average	*t*	Average	*t*	Average	*t*
Categories	*F* = 3.77 ***		*F* = 3.20 **		*F* = 1.89		*F* = 1.06	
Others' Safety/Fairness	4.94	3.31 **	5.47	2.71 **	4.50	2.37 *	4.89	0.80
Orderly Behavior †	9.82	-	12.42	-	11.75	-	6.50	-
Food/Mealtime	7.53	1.55	8.25	1.72	7.78	1.30	6.47	0.01
Family Routines/Chores	4.86	3.55 ***	3.33	3.83 ***	4.11	2.92 **	8.18	0.74
Social Manner	7.22	2.39 *	7.94	2.30 *	6.09	2.59 *	7.77	0.83
Personal Safety	4.27	4.54 ***	4.42	4.32 ***	3.92	3.04 **	4.41	0.93
Property Protection	7.05	2.41 *	6.33	3.04 **	7.91	1.61	6.92	0.26
Self-Care	6.80	2.41 *	7.14	2.69 **	8.51	1.19	4.62	0.99
Personal/Choice	5.58	3.83 ***	5.60	3.43 **	6.72	2.27 *	4.44	1.34

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; † Orderly Behavior was designated as the reference social knowledge category.

To examine the differences in the average number of parenting practices per event between categories, *Orderly Behavior* was designated as the reference category because, with the exception of the 36 months age point, the *Orderly Behavior* category of social knowledge had the largest average practice per message event. The results, summarized in *Table 6.02*, indicate that the average number of parenting practices per event used to convey *Orderly Behavior* category message events was significantly higher than averages for all other categories of social knowledge except *Food and Mealtime*, overall across the three ages and at 12 months. At 24 months, the average number of practices per event was significant higher compared to averages for *Others' Safety and Fairness*, *Family Routines and Chores*, *Social Manners*, *Personal Safety*, and *Personal and Choice*. The average number of practice per event for Orderly Behavior not significantly different compared to the averages for *Food and Mealtime*, *Property Protection*, and *Self-Care*. At 36 months, the practice average for *Family Routines and Chores* category

message events was the largest; however, results from the regression model did not detect significant differences in practice averages across categories of social knowledge, or between categories when *Orderly Behavior* was designated as the reference category.

The results also indicated consistently low average number of practices used to convey *Personal Safety* and *Others' Safety and Fairness* category message events. These two "safety" categories were of particular interest in Chapter 4 and were examined further for content and quality. To further those efforts, analyses presented in *Table 6.02*, were recalculated so that these categories were designated as reference groups for the regression models (not shown in *Table 6.02*). The overall average number of practices used per *Personal Safety* event across the three age points was significantly lower compared to averages for *Food and Mealtime* ($t = 2.08$; $p < 0.05$), *Social Manner* ($t = 2.46$; $p < 0.05$), *Property Protection* ($t = 2.22$; $p < 0.05$), and *Orderly Behavior* ($t = 4.54$; $p < 0.001$). The overall average number of practices per *Others' Safety and Fairness* message event across the three age points was only significantly lower compared to *Orderly Behavior* ($t = 3.31$; $p < 0.01$). No additional significant differences were detected at 12, 24, and 36 months.

In summary, these results suggest that families employed different number of practices to convey different socialization messages. They tended to use more practices for *Conventional* messages, particularly for *Orderly Behavior* and *Food and Mealtime* categories. This provides additional support for existing literature that parents, in general, socialize children more in these areas during the toddlerhood period and extends those findings to urban, low-income African American families living in high risk environment. Fewer practices used to convey *Personal Safety* and *Personal and Choice* category message events contributed to the lower average number of practices per event used for the *Psychological* domain. Interestingly,

consistently low average numbers of practices used to convey *Personal Safety* and *Others' Safety and Fairness* category message events over the three age points suggest that when families address concerns around personal safety and the safety of others with their toddlers, they tended to use fewer actions per event, presumably to ended the circumstances of concern relatively quickly and remove the potential for physical harm, implying the use of practices with higher levels of parental power assertion. Given these results, two additional question arises, that may help to better understand what families do to address *Personal Safety* and *Others' Safety and Fairness* concerns: *What types of parenting practices do families use to address* Personal Safety *message events? And what types of parenting practices do families use to address* Others' Safety and Fairness *message events*? These question will be addressed in the following sections in this chapter.

6.b. Does the type of parenting practice that families use vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?

This section first examines whether the types or categories of parenting practices vary by the domains or categories that families convey. Drawing from data summarized in *Tables A.01* and *A.05* (Appendix A), the three highest parenting practice categories were identified for each domain and category of social knowledge (by column) across the three age points. The aggregated results of the top three categories of parenting practices are summarized in *Table 6.03* with practices averages and significant difference of means results indicated by the asterisks (*) comparing first to second and second to third ordered averages.

As expected, when categories of parenting practices were examined in each domain overall across ages, the four (4) categories of practices most used in Chapter 5 continued to

dominate across all the types of social knowledge messages. Those four categories of parenting practices were *Reminder*, *Direct Command*, *Redirection*, and *Persuade Reason Explain*, in descending order from highest overall, as discussed in Chapter 5. *Table 6.03* below illustrates the results clearly. For the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain, the difference in means test indicate that *Reminder* and *Direct Command* practices did not differ in average number of actions per event but were significantly higher compared to the *Persuade Reason Explain* practice average ($t = 3.61$; $p < 0.001$). For the *Conventional* domain, *Direct Command* and *Reminder* practice averages were not significantly different from each other but were significantly higher compared to the *Redirection* practice average ($t = 6.96$; $p < 0.001$). For the *Psychological* domain, the average for *Reminder* practices was significantly higher compared to the *Direct Command* practice average ($t = 5.01$; $p < 0.001$), which in turn was significantly higher compared to the *Redirection* practice average ($t = 5.96$; $p < 0.001$).

Table 6.03 Top Three Parenting Practice Categories with Highest Averages Overall by Domains and Categories of Social Knowledge, Ordered from Highest Average

Social Knowledge	Top Three Parenting Practices		
Domains & Categories	First	Second	Third
Overall	Reminder *	Direct Command ***	Redirection
Interpersonal-Moral	Reminder	Direct Command ***	Persuade Reason Explain
Others' Safety/Fairness	Reminder	Direct Command ***	Persuade Reason Explain
Conventional	Direct Command	Reminder ***	Redirection
Orderly Behavior	Direct Command ***	Reminder ***	Redirection
Food/Mealtime	Direct Command	Reminder **	Redirection
Family Routines/Chores	Direct Command **	Reminder	Redirection
Social Manner	Reminder ***	Direct Command *	Modeling
Psychological	Reminder ***	Direct Command ***	Redirection
Personal Safety	Direct Command **	Reminder *	Redirection
Property Protection	Reminder	Direct Command ***	Redirection
Self-Care	Redirection	Reminder	Direct Command
Personal/Choice	Reminder ***	Direct Command **	Redirection

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$. Significance levels indicated by the asterisk (*) are results from difference of means test in comparison to averages to the right adjacent.

When the top three categories of parenting practices were examined by categories of social knowledge, there were three noted observations. First, the *Persuade Reason Explain* practice category was only present in the *Others' Safety and Fairness* category, the only message category within the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain. Second, the *Modeling* practice category was the third highest practice category used to convey *Social Manner* message events overall. Third, with the one exception of the *Modeling* category just reported, the same four (4) categories of parenting practice, *Direct Command*, *Reminder*, *Redirection*, and *Persuade Reason Explain*, constituted the top three practice averages in each category of social knowledge. In the *Conventional* domain, families predominantly used *Direct Command* practices for *Orderly Behavior* ($t = 3.59$; $p < 0.001$) and *Family Routines and Chores* message events ($t = 2.63$; $p < 0.01$) and *Reminder* practices for *Social Manner* message events ($t = 3.93$; $p < 0.01$). In the *Psychological* domain, families overwhelmingly preferred the use of *Reminder* practices to convey *Personal and Choice* messages ($t = 10.90$; $p < 0.001$) and *Direct Command* practices for *Personal Safety* messages ($t = 2.78$; $p < 0.01$).

In summary, these general results suggest that the type of parenting practices that families used appear to vary very little by the domain or category being conveyed. Regardless of the domain or category, families tend to use the *Direct Command*, *Redirection*, *Reminder*, and *Persuade Reason Explain* categories of parenting practices most. However, of those top three practice categories, families tended to use more *Direct Command* practices for *Conventional* domain categories of social knowledge and *Reminder* practices for *Psychological* domain categories.

Does the level of parental power assertion vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?

This section explores differences in the three dimensions of parental power assertion, conceptualized and defined in Chapter 3 and explored in Chapter 5, by domains and categories of social knowledge. The average number of *High Power*, *Moderate Power*, and *Low Power* practices used per social knowledge message event were analyzed utilizing the means difference test by domain and category of social knowledge. *Table 6.04* summarizes the results.

The results indicated that families utilized *Low Power* practices significantly more regardless of domain of social knowledge. The overall average number of *Low Power* practices per message event across the three age points was significantly higher compared to *Moderate* and *High Power* averages used for the *Interpersonal-Moral* (*Moderate*: $t = 3.07$; $p < 0.01$; *High*: $t = 5.84$; $p < 0.001$), *Conventional* (*Moderate*: $t = 2.33$; $p < 0.05$; *High*: $t = 7.72$; $p < 0.001$), and *Psychological* (*Moderate*: $t = 6.35$; $p < 0.001$; *High*: $t = 10.86$; $p < 0.001$) domains of social knowledge.

Table 6.04 Average Dimensions of Parental Power Assertion Practice per Message Event by Domains and Categories of Social Knowledge Overall

Domains	Dimension of Power Assertion Practices			Difference of Means, *t*-statistic		
Categories	High [H]	Moderate [M]	Low [L]	H - M	M - L	H - L
Interpersonal-Moral	0.79	1.55	2.60	4.29 ***	3.07 **	5.84 ***
Others' Safety/Fairness	0.79	1.55	2.60	4.29 ***	3.07 **	5.84 ***
Conventional	1.07	2.97	3.72	9.54 ***	2.33 *	7.72 ***
Orderly Behavior	1.27	4.78	3.77	8.01 ***	1.28	3.06 **
Food/Mealtime	1.47	3.09	2.96	3.69 ***	0.28	4.04 ***
Family Routines/Chores	0.75	1.89	2.22	2.83 **	0.95	2.50 **
Social Manner	0.88	1.75	4.58	3.42 ***	6.96 ***	7.94 ***
Psychological	1.09	1.88	2.97	7.36 ***	6.35 ***	10.86 ***
Personal Safety	1.01	1.74	1.52	3.93 ***	0.95	2.87
Property Protection	1.15	2.64	3.26	6.84 ***	1.51	5.36 ***
Self-Care	2.02	2.30	2.48	0.92	0.55	1.61
Personal/Choice	0.49	1.06	4.03	3.48 ***	9.98 ***	10.02 ***

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

When examined by categories of social knowledge, *Low Power* practices had the highest average number of practices per message event for six (6) of the nine (9) social knowledge categories including *Other's Safety and Fairness*, *Family Routines and Chores*, *Social Manner*, *Property Protection*, *Self-Care*, and *Personal and Choice* categories. *Moderate Power* practices had the highest average number of practices per message event for the remaining three (3) categories of social knowledge including *Orderly Behavior*, *Food and Mealtime*, and *Personal Safety*. There were no social knowledge category indicated for which families used the highest average number of *High Power* practices per message event. While *Low* and *Moderate Power* practice averages were significantly higher than *High Power* averages for most categories of social knowledge, *Low Power* practice averages were only significantly higher compared to *Moderate Power* practice averages when used to convey *Others' Safety and Fairness* ($t = 3.07$; $p < 0.01$), *Social Manner* ($t = 6.96$; $p < 0.001$) and *Personal and Choice* ($t = 9.98$; $p < 0.001$) category message events.

Interestingly, the average number of practices per *Self-Care* message events were not significantly different for any of the three power dimension groups; however, the 2.02 actions per events *High Power* average that families used to convey *Self-Care* messages was significantly higher compared to *High Power* averages used for all other categories of social knowledge except *Food and Mealtime*. Recalling results from Chapter 5, practices in the *Redirection* category made up the majority of practices in the *High Power* dimension of parental power assertion. In addition, *Matter-of-Fact* subcategory practices made up the majority of *Redirection* category practices. With these previous results in mind, further analyses were conducted examining the averages for the *Redirection* category and *Matter-of-Fact* subcategory of practices used to convey *Self-Care* message events compared to other categories of social knowledge. Results are shown in *Table 6.05*

with columns 5, 6, and 7 reporting the *t*-statistics of the difference (Δ) comparing *High Power*, *Redirection*, and *Matter-of-Fact* practices used for *Self-Care* messages with the same practices used for other categories of social knowledge. The results suggest that families prefer the use of *Matter-of-Fact*, *Redirection* practices to convey *Self-Care* social knowledge messages compared to other categories of social knowledge. In other words, when families were socializing their toddlers around taking care of themselves such as toileting, wiping faces, washing hands, and dressing, children did not have the choice to not comply but parenting behaviors were either not intrusive or children did not resist adults changing their diapers, wiping their faces, washing their hands, or putting on or fixing their clothes.

Table 6.05 Average High Power, Redirection, and Matter-of-Fact Parenting Practices per Self-Care Message Event Compared to Other Categories of Social Knowledge Overall

Social Knowledge Categories	Parenting Practices					
	High Power	*t*	Redirection	*t*	Matter-of-Fact	*t*
Self-Care †	2.02	-	1.92	-	1.77	-
Others' Safety/Fairness	0.79	3.69 ***	0.50	4.93 ***	0.34	7.15 ***
Orderly Behavior	1.27	2.84 **	0.96	4.19 ***	0.50	8.03 ***
Food/Mealtime	1.47	1.63	1.25	2.31 *	1.22	2.73 **
Family Routines/Chores	0.75	3.98 ***	0.62	4.71 ***	0.62	6.06 ***
Social Manner	0.88	4.39 ***	0.75	5.25 ***	0.62	7.43 ***
Personal Safety	1.01	3.55 ***	0.88	4.24 ***	0.72	6.18 ***
Property Protection	1.15	3.22 **	0.88	4.46 ***	0.76	6.25 ***
Personal/Choice	0.49	5.82 ***	0.42	6.63 ***	0.28	9.46 ***

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; † Self-Care designated as reference social knowledge category.

In summary, examining across domains of social knowledge, families tended to prefer practices with low and moderate levels of power assertion over higher power assertion socialization practices. Nevertheless, when families did use *High Power* practices, they showed a preference for using *Matter-of-Fact, Redirection* practices to convey *Self-Care* messages more than other categories of social knowledge.

Do parental use of physical discipline vary by the social knowledge messages being conveyed?

Following on the attention given to the *Physical Discipline* category in Chapter 5 and in the child development literature broadly, this section will examine how parents utilized physical discipline in relationship to the domains and categories of social knowledge. The results reported here derive from *Tables A.01* and *A.05* (Appendix A), examining the *Physical Discipline* category of parenting practice by and across domains and categories of social knowledge. *Table 6.06* restructures the data from *Tables A.01* and *A.05* to present results for the difference (Δ) between parental use of *Physical Discipline* to convey *Interpersonal-Moral* domain and *Others' Safety and Fairness* category compared to other domains and categories of social knowledge.

Examining *Physical Discipline* by domain of social knowledge, results summarized in *Table A.01* indicate that averages of *Physical Discipline* practices per event were relatively small in each domain. When examined across domains, *Physical Discipline* was used more to convey message events in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain compared to the *Conventional* ($t = 2.20$; $p < 0.05$) and *Psychological* ($t = 2.51$; $p < 0.05$) domains (see *Table 6.06*). While the average number of parenting practices per event in the *Threat* and *Deprivation* categories of parenting practices also appeared to be higher (*Table A.01*) for the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain message events than the averages used for *Conventional* and *Psychological* domains, they were not significantly different from one another.

When examined by categories of social knowledge (see *Table A.05* in Appendix A for details), *Physical Discipline* category practices continued to have the highest average number of practices per event when used to convey *Others' Safety and Fairness* category message events. *Table 6.06* summarizes the results of statistical testing that compared *Physical Discipline* practice average used for *Others' Safety and Fairness* message events compared to *Physical*

Discipline practice averages used for the other eight categories of social knowledge. *Physical Discipline* was used significantly more for *Others' Safety and Fairness* message events than for *Food and Mealtime* ($t = 2.03$; $p < 0.05$), *Family Routines and Chores* ($t = 2.41$; $p < 0.05$), *Social Manner* ($t = 2.62$; $p < 0.01$), *Personal Safety* ($t = 1.99$; $p < 0.05$), *Self-Care* ($t = 2.78$; $p < 0.01$), and *Personal and Choice* ($t = 3.33$; $p < 0.01$) message events, but not for *Orderly Behavior* and *Property Protection*.

Table 6.06 Average Physical Discipline Practice per Interpersonal-Moral/Others' Safety and Fairness Message Event Compared to Other Domains and Categories of Social Knowledge Overall

Domains	Physical Discipline					
Categories	Domains	Δ MORAL †	*t*-statistics	Categories	Δ INTP †	*t*-statistics
Interpersonal-Moral †	0.15	-	-			
Others' Safety/Fairness †				0.15	-	-
Conventional	0.06	–0.09	2.20 *			
Orderly Behavior				0.12	–0.03	0.78
Food and Mealtime				0.04	–0.10	2.03 *
Family Routines/Chores				0.03	–0.12	2.41 *
Social Manner				0.04	–0.11	2.62 **
Psychological	0.05	–0.10	2.51 *			
Personal Safety				0.06	–0.09	1.99 *
Property Protection				0.12	–0.03	0.61
Self-Care				0.02	–0.13	2.78 **
Personal/Choice				0.01	–0.14	3.33 **

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; † Interpersonal-Moral (MORAL) and Other's Safety and Fairness (INTP) were designated as the reference social knowledge domain and category. Note: Others' Safety and Fairness is the only category within the Interpersonal-Moral domain

In summary, these analyses suggest that when families used physical discipline, the area of concern tended to be around the safety and rights of others—the core of the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain. In addition, these results answered, in part, the question that arose in section 6.a. that asked: *What types of parenting practices do families use to address* Others' Safety and Fairness *message events*? The next section includes analyses across age to better understand if families change how they conveyed social knowledge message events as children got older.

6.c. Does the type of parenting practice that families used to convey social knowledge messages change as children become older?

The analyses in this section utilized analysis of variance (ANOVA) to test whether there were significant differences in average number of parenting practices per event using the total number of parenting practices over the three ages as the dependent variable (DV) by social knowledge messages at the domain and/or category levels, age, and the interaction term of social knowledge message by age (see Model 1 below) as the independent variables (IV). A significant interaction term indicated that there were significant differences in averages of parenting practice per event used to convey the particular social knowledge message across the three age points. If difference was detected, multiple regression analysis (see Model 2 below) was used to determine between which age points the differences in the average number of practices per message event of the interaction term (β_3) were significant, controlling for the main effects of social knowledge message and age.

Model 1: Two-Way ANOVA equation

$$Parenting\ Practice_{ijk} = \mu + SK_j + Age_k + (SK \times Age)_{jk} + \varepsilon_{ijk}$$

Model 2: Multiple Regression

$$Parenting\ Practice = \beta_0 + \beta_1(SK) + \beta_2(Age) + \beta_3(SK \times Age) + \varepsilon$$

Note: *SK = social knowledge domain or category*

The two-way ANOVA tested the equation in Model 1 above, using the total number of parenting practices over the three ages as the DV, with the null hypothesis that the average number of parenting practices per message event used to convey each domain or category of social messages at each age were equal (where SK = social knowledge domain or category):

$$H_0: \bar{X}_{SK\times 12\ months} = \bar{X}_{SK\times 24\ months} = \bar{X}_{SK\times 36\ months}$$

The ANOVA for each domain of social knowledge, *Interpersonal-Moral*, *Conventional*, and *Psychological*, failed to reject the null hypothesis as shown in column 5 of *Table 6.07* (SK×Age), controlling for the main effects of the domains of social knowledge and ages. These results suggested that families did not significantly use more or less actions per message event to convey *Interpersonal-Moral*, *Conventional*, and *Psychological* domain messages as children got older.

Table 6.07 Averages and Differences of Parenting Practices per Message Event by Domains and Categories of Social Knowledge Messages at 12, 24, and 36 Months

Domains	Average Practice per Event			ANOVA (*F*)	Regression (*t*)		
Categories	12 Months	24 Months	36 Months	SK†×Age	Δ12-24	Δ24-36	Δ12-36
Interpersonal-Moral	5.47	4.50	4.89	0.11	0.38	0.44	0.04
Others' Safety/Fairness	5.47	4.50	4.89	0.11	0.38	0.44	0.04
Conventional	8.60	7.67	7.17	0.64	1.13	0.53	0.61
Orderly Behavior	12.42	11.75	6.50	4.91 **	0.39	2.49 *	2.80 **
Food/Mealtime	8.25	7.78	6.47	0.07	0.23	0.13	0.36
Family Routines/Chores	3.33	4.11	8.18	2.09	0.19	1.79	1.86
Social Manner	7.94	6.09	7.77	1.41	1.17	1.61	0.35
Psychological	5.77	6.78	5.29	0.80	1.27	0.69	0.58
Personal Safety	4.42	3.92	4.41	0.15	0.23	0.55	0.40
Property Protection	6.33	7.91	6.92	0.31	0.69	0.03	0.69
Self-Care	7.14	8.51	4.62	0.72	0.50	1.18	0.80
Personal/Choice	5.60	6.72	4.44	0.34	0.82	0.48	0.29

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; † SK (Social knowledge domain or category).

Further analyses were conducted using each category of social knowledge in place of domains. The ANOVA equation in Model 1 above was utilized using the total number of parenting practices over the three ages as the DV, to examine the nine (9) categories of social knowledge over the three age points. The null hypothesis stated that the average number of practices per message event for each category at each age were equal. For example,

$$H_0: \bar{X}_{SelfCare\times 12\ months} = \bar{X}_{SelfCare\times 24\ months} = \bar{X}_{SelfCare\times 36\ months}$$

Controlling for the main effects of each category of social knowledge and age, the model failed to reject the null hypotheses for all categories of social knowledge except *Orderly Behavior*.

Significant differences in the average number of parenting practices per event used to convey *Orderly Behavior* messages was detected between the three age points compared to average number of practices used to convey other categories of social knowledge between the three ages ($F = 4.91$; $p < 0.01$). The regression analysis indicated that parenting practices used to convey *Orderly Behavior* message events significantly decreased between 24 and 36 months ($t = 2.49$; $p < 0.05$) and 12 and 36 months ($t = 2.80$; $p < 0.01$) but not between 12 and 24 months. Practice averages per event for other categories of social knowledge messages remained stable in comparison.

Table 6.08 Averages and Differences of Parenting Practices per Message Event Used to Convey Orderly Behavior Category Message at 12, 24, and 36 Months

	Average Practice per ORDR Event			ANOVA (*F*)	Regression (*t*)		
Parenting Practices	12 Months	24 Months	36 Months	ORDR†×Age	Δ12-24	Δ24-36	Δ12-36
High Power	2.90	0.98	0.40	8.03 ***	3.25 **	0.39	3.76 ***
Physical Discipline	0.21	0.12	0.05	1.30	0.51	1.06	1.55
Redirection	2.35	0.72	0.23	6.89 **	3.07 **	0.25	3.44 **
Threat	0.35	0.14	0.12	3.59 *	2.26 *	0.11	2.45 *
Moderate Power	6.58	5.49	2.98	6.78 **	1.12	2.47 *	3.54 ***
Bribe	0.17	0.08	0.03	3.23 *	2.11 *	0.16	2.35 *
Direct Command	5.00	4.26	2.45	6.07 **	1.18	2.24 *	3.38 **
Indirect Command	0.53	0.82	0.24	5.60 **	2.42 *	3.22 **	0.58
Unclear Command	0.88	0.34	0.25	7.15 ***	3.25 **	0.03	3.41 **
Low Power	2.95	5.28	3.12	2.69	1.22	2.32 *	0.96
Deprivation	0.03	0.01	0.04	1.47	0.34	1.62	1.21
Modeling	0.19	1.33	0.17	4.23 *	2.63 **	2.40 *	0.43
Negotiation	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.77	0.24	1.17	0.88
Persuade Reason Explain	0.60	1.30	0.49	4.56 *	1.78	3.00 **	1.04
Reprimand	0.10	0.15	0.02	1.94	0.52	1.90	1.29
Reminder	1.76	2.21	2.35	0.75	0.15	0.97	1.10
Reward	0.26	0.26	0.03	3.31 *	0.44	1.97 *	2.35 *

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; † ORDR (*Orderly Behavior* category of social knowledge)

Further exploration was conducted for the types of parenting practices used to convey *Orderly Behavior* category message events. The results, summarized in *Table 6.08* indicate that

the average number of parenting practices per *Orderly Behavior* message event in the *High* (t = 3.76; $p < 0.001$) and *Moderate Power* ($t = 3.54$; $p < 0.001$) dimensions of power assertion significantly decreased as children got older (12 to 36 months). Parenting practices with higher levels of power assertion significantly decreased between 12 and 24 months while practices with moderate levels of power assertion significantly decreased between 24 and 36 months. The patterns of change in the high and moderate dimensions of power assertion are reflected in the significant decreases in *Redirection* and *Threat* category practices between 12 and 24 months for *High Power* and *Direct Command* category practices between 24 and 36 months for *Moderate Power*. As families decreased their use of practices with high and moderate levels of power assertion to convey *Orderly Behavior* messages, they increased their use of practices with lower levels of power assertion between 12 and 24 months, although not significantly, then significantly decreased those practices between 24 and 36 months ($t = 2.32$; $p < 0.05$). Significant changes in *Modeling* and *Persuade Reason Explain* category practices appear to contribute to the increase-decrease pattern of the *Low Power* dimension of power assertion across the three age points.

While analyses in Chapters 4 and 5 indicated significant increases and decreases in social knowledge message events and parenting practices as children got older, when social knowledge messages and parenting practices were examined together, few changes were detected between the age points. These results suggest that families did not shift the amount of practices they used to convey domains and categories of social knowledge messages as children got older, except for messages in the *Orderly Behavior* category. For social knowledge messages around waiting, not being too active or noisy, and remaining in designated areas, families used much fewer practices when children were 36 months old than they did when children were 12 or 24 months.

Personal Safety

The results in section 6.a. suggested that the overall practice averages used to convey *Personal Safety* message events were relatively low compared to averages used for other categories of social knowledge and remained relatively even across ages. This was confirmed by ANOVA and regression models that tested for significant differences in practices used for *Personal Safety* message events as children got older ($F = 0.15$; 12 to 24 months: $t = 0.23$; 24 to 36 months: $t = 0.55$; 12 to 36 months: $t = 0.40$). These results suggested that families may have utilized practices that quickly resolved concerns for their toddlers' safety even as children got older and raised the question: "*What types of parenting practices do families use to address* Personal Safety *message events as children get older*?"

Table 6.09 Averages and Differences of Parenting Practices per Message Event Used to Convey Personal Safety Category Messages at 12, 24, and 36 Months

	Average Practice per SAFE† Event			ANOVA (*F*)	Regression (*t*)		
Parenting Practices	12 Months	24 Months	36 Months	SAFE†×Age	Δ12-24	Δ24-36	Δ12-36
High Power	**1.31**	**0.78**	**0.44**	0.15	0.24	0.19	0.40
Physical Discipline	0.08	0.03	0.03	0.09	0.13	0.12	0.24
Redirection	**1.14**	**0.68**	**0.38**	0.03	0.33	0.25	0.54
Threat	0.09	0.07	0.03	0.16	0.28	0.18	0.43
Moderate Power	1.74	1.78	1.65	0.11	0.31	0.55	0.85
Bribe	0.00	0.00	0.00	-	-	-	-
Direct Command	1.39	1.55	1.53	0.16	0.19	0.51	0.71
Indirect Command	0.06	0.00	0.03	0.25	0.10	0.85	1.01
Unclear Command	0.29	0.23	0.09	0.54	0.98	0.43	0.36
Low Power	1.37	1.35	2.32	0.48	0.68	0.48	0.05
Deprivation	0.03	0.02	0.03	0.25	0.17	0.56	0.47
Modeling	0.09	0.08	0.06	0.17	0.11	0.43	0.38
Negotiation	0.00	0.00	0.00	-	-	-	-
Persuade Reason Explain	0.31	0.33	0.50	0.29	0.72	0.68	0.13
Reprimand	0.05	0.07	0.12	0.33	0.95	0.06	1.08
Reminder	**0.85**	**0.78**	**1.62**	0.62	0.77	0.17	0.46
Reward	0.04	0.07	0.00	0.32	0.15	0.02	0.14

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; † SAFE (*Personal Safety* category of social knowledge)

Table 6.09 summarizes results examining differences in the categories of parenting practices used to convey *Personal Safety* messages between 12, 24, and 36 months. There were no significant differences across ages in the types of parenting practices used for *Personal Safety* message events. However, some patterns were noted (in **bold**) despite the lack of statistical significance. First, the average *High Power* practice per *Personal Safety* message event at 12 months was almost twice more compared to 24 months and more than 3 times compared to 36 months. Those *High Power* practices appear to be accounted for by *Redirection* category practices. Second, *Reminder* practices average doubled between 12 and 36 months. These results suggest a shift from higher assertion of parental power when children were younger, including picking children up and blocking them from falling, to low levels of power assertion when children were older, primarily in the form of reminders and warnings of dangers. However, despite these noted shifts and the significant decrease in the number of *Personal Safety* message events reported in Chapter 4, families did not utilize more practices per message event for *Personal Safety* messages.

Others' Safety and Fairness

Results from sections 6.a. raised the question: "*What types of parenting practices do families use to address* Others' Safety and Fairness *message events as children get older*?" In addition, results in section 6.b. suggested a relationship between *Physical Discipline* practices and *Others' Safety and Fairness* message events. Analyses in this section explored that relationship further utilizing the ANOVA to determine significant differences in practice averages used to convey *Others' Safety and Fairness* message events between ages during toddlerhood.

Table 6.10 Averages and Differences of Parenting Practices per Message Event Used to Convey Others' Safety and Fairness Messages at 12, 24, and 36 Months

	Average Practice per INTP† Event			ANOVA (*F*)	Regression (*t*)		
Parenting Practices	12 Months	24 Months	36 Months	INTP†×Age	Δ12-24	Δ24-36	Δ12-36
Physical Discipline	0.32	0.06	0.09	3.07 *	2.36 *	0.58	1.90

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$; † INTP (*Others' Safety and Fairness* category of social knowledge)

Overall, the ANOVA did not detect significant differences in practice averages per event used to convey *Others' Safety and Fairness* messages across the three age points compared to practice averages per event used for other categories of messages (see *Table 6.07*). When the analysis considered only the *Physical Discipline* category of parenting practice (see *Table 6.10*), the ANOVA detected significant differences in average *Physical Discipline* practices per event used to convey *Others' Safety and Fairness* messages between the three ages compared to the averages used for other categories of social knowledge message ($F = 3.07$; $p < 0.05$). The regression analysis provided more details about how families shifted their use of *Physical Discipline* practices as children got older. The results indicated that families significantly decreased their use of *Physical Discipline* practices to convey *Others' Safety and Fairness* message events between 12 and 24 months ($t = 2.36$; $p < 0.05$), while averages between 24 and 36 months were not different beyond chance.

Table 6.11 Content Quality of Physical Discipline Practices Used to Convey Others' Safety and Fairness Message Events at 12, 24, and 36 Months

	Total				Others' Safety/Fairness×Physical Discipline			
Children's Age	Other's Safety/Fairness		Physical Discipline		Other's Safety/Fairness		Physical Discipline	
12 Months	34 total	24 harm	66 total	45 remind/play	6 total	4 harm	11 total	7 remind/play
24 Months	36 total	20 harm	31 total	12 remind/play	2 total	2 harm	2 total	2 neg. cons.
36 Months	44 total	20 harm	23 total	7 remind/play	1 total	1 harm	4 total	4 remind/play

A qualitative accounting of parental use of *Physical Discipline* to convey *Others' Safety and Fairness* message events provides additional insight into the context and quality of the interactions. *Table 6.11* summarizes the results of the content quality analyses at 12, 24, and 36 months.

Of the 34 *Others' Safety and Fairness* category message events addressed by 12 families at 12 months reported in Chapter 4, *Table 4.01* (p. 52), four (4) families used 11 *Physical Discipline* practices out of 66 instances of physical discipline practices reported in Chapter 5, *Table 5.12* (p. 111), during six (6) message events. Four (4) message events were in response to children's behavior that may physically harm others, including hurting, pulling hair, pulling earring, and spreading germs to others. One deterred harm to the family pet cat and addressing the cat's right to use the bathroom and one addressed allowing a sibling to sleep. All 11 instances of physical discipline used hands. Seven (7) of the instances fell under the *Reminder/Playful* content quality (defined and discussed in Chapter 5, *Table 5.13*) indicated by descriptions such as "tap," "lightly," "gently," and "playful." Of the remaining four (4) used in a punitive manner (*Negative Consequence* content quality), three (3) were in defense of the family pet cat and one was to deter contact with and potential harm to a very young infant sibling.

At 24 months, there were 36 *Others' Safety and Fairness* category message events addressed by 11 families reported in Chapter 4. Of those, two (2) families used two (2) *Physical Discipline* practices out of 31 instances reported in Chapter 5, to convey two (2) *Others' Safety and Fairness* messages events regarding harm to others. Both instances of physical discipline were *negative consequences* for hitting or swatting at another person.

At 36 months, one (1) of 11 families used four (4) of 23 *Physical Discipline* practices to convey one (1) of 44 *Others' Safety and Fairness* category message events. The message event

addressed physically harming others. The four (4) instances of physical discipline used hands in a playful manner.

Thus far, analyses have provided statistical and categorical understanding of how families use physical discipline to convey messages around physical harm to and psychological understanding of rights and fairness for others, the following data help to clarify the interactions in which these message events occur. First is an example of a transcribed account of parental use of physical discipline from the *Reminder/Playful* content quality within an *Others' Safety and Fairness* category message events when the child was 12 months of age. The **bolded** phrases indicate the instances of coded *Physical Discipline* practices.

> Jason smiles and laughs. He pushes mom's face away with his hands. Mom turns her face away from TB in a playful manner. She grabs Jason's hand and pretends to bite it. She pretends to bite his cheeks. Jason pushes mom's face away and grabs her hair.
>
> Mom, "Ahhh." Mom smiles and takes Jason's hands away from her hair. Mom tickles Jason and he laughs. Jason grabs mom's hair again.
>
> Mom, "Ahh. No. I'm gonna pull your hair." **Mom pulls Jason's hair gently.** Jason continues to pull on mom's hair.
>
> Mom, "Owww." She laughs. "You stop."
>
> Jason, "Daaa."
>
> Mom, "You stop." Mom points at Jason.
>
> Jason, "Daaa."
>
> Mom, "Stop." **Mom gently hits Jason's hand.**
>
> Mom, "You stop." **She hits his hand again.** "You stop. Bad boy."
>
> **Mom gently hits Jason's hand.** She kisses him and sits him back on her chest and tickles him. Jason lays down across mom's lap.

Next is an example of a transcribed account of parental use of physical discipline from the *Negative Consequence* content quality within an *Others' Safety and Fairness* category

message events when children were 12 months of age. The **bolded** phrases indicate the instances of coded *Physical Discipline* practices.

> Mom, "Leave that cat alone."
>
> Amber continues to walk towards the back of the house.
>
> Mom, "Why you over there, poo poo?" Mom picks Amber up, walks her back to the living room, and puts Amber on her lap, holding her as she sits back down.
>
> Grandma, "She pee out there. (Inaudible, 49:29) litter box."
>
> Mom, "She's going to go [to the bathroom] now. Why she won't go? I'm not gonna open that door back up (Inaudible, 49:42)."
>
> Grandma, "I hope so." Amber slides off of mom's lap and starts walking away.
>
> Mom, "You come back." Mom gets up and grabs Amber. Amber makes noise and struggles to get away. **Mom spanks Amber a few times on her legs.**
>
> Mom, "No!" Amber begins to cry and **mom spanks her a few more times**.
>
> Mom, "No!" Amber swats at mom who is behind her.
>
> Mom, "Quit hitting me back. Everybody's got the right to use the bathroom."
>
> Amber has been trying to pull away from mom as mom continues to hold on to Amber.
>
> Mom, "No!" **Mom spanks Amber on her bottom once** and walks back to her chair. Amber sits on the floor, facing mom and begins to cry.
>
> Mom, "Come back. I know where you're going to go. N-O. No." Amber continues to cries for several more seconds on the floor.

In summary, the number of parenting practices that families used to convey social knowledge messages varied very little by the types of social knowledge message being conveyed as children got older. The only exception were messages in the *Orderly Behavior* category. Over the course of toddlerhood, families used significantly fewer practices with high and moderate levels of parental power assertion to convey messages around waiting, being too active, and staying in designated areas. Families also appeared to use fewer practices with high and

moderate levels of power assertion and more with low levels of power assertion to convey messages concerned with children's safety as children got older. Finally, decrease in the use of high power assertion practices was also reflected in the decrease in parental use of physical discipline, primarily in gentle and playful manner or as reminders, to convey messages concerned with the safety, rights, and fairness of others. A survey of the literature reveal no existing empirical findings that these results can be compared, generally or for African American families specifically.

CHAPTER 7

DICUSSION, LIMITATIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

The findings from the analyses conducted for this dissertation make contributions to a small body of empirical knowledge about everyday socialization efforts of urban, low-income African American families living in high-risk environments (Boykin & Toms, 1985; Dembo, 1988; McAdoo, 1988). Decades of scholarship have challenged the deficit and pathological perspective of African American families and parenting efforts (Haveman & Wolfe, 1993). The persistence of this perspective is evidenced in present day political debates and in existing and new public policies based on negative perceptions that poor and vulnerable communities suffer plights of their own making (Hill, 2001). And despite acknowledged and documented differences in race, culture, and environmental, experiential, and economic resources, minority and low-income children and families continue to be evaluated by White/European American and middle-class standards (Tamis-LeMonda, Briggs, McClowry, & Snow, 2008; for discussion see Dickerson, 1995).

In their seminal book, "*Meaningful Differences*," Hart and Risley (1995) undertook the challenge of examining the early everyday experiences of children from welfare, working class, and professional families. Their findings have provided important insight into the importance of early childhood experiences and the types of early language experiences that promote positive academic outcomes. The results indicated that Professional group parents used significantly more "high quality" language interactions compared to the Working-Class group parents and much more so than Welfare group parents with the astounding gap of 30 million words by the time children are 3 years of age. Despite Hart and Risley's desired focus on socioeconomic

differences and the explicit and implied language socialization context advantage of professional families, their study carried strong racial implications. The 6 families representing the study's Welfare group were all African American compared to the 10 of 23 in the Working-Class group and 1 of 13 in the Professional group.

Interestingly, in an article published in 2003 in the *American Educator* journal of the American Federation of Teachers, titled, "The Early Catastrophe," Hart and Risley (2003) stated in an accounting of their observations of families in their study:

> While we were observing in the homes, though we were aware that the families were very different in lifestyles, they were all similarly engaged in the fundamental task of raising a child. All the families nurtured their children and played and talked with them. They all disciplined their children and taught them good manners and how to dress and toilet themselves. They provided their children with much the same toys and talked to them about much the same things. Though different in personality and skill levels, the children all learned to talk and to be socially appropriate members of the family with all the basic skills needed for preschool entry (p. 7).

While this Hart and Risley statement was based on their observational impressions, existing literature suggest that parental socialization efforts during early childhood around social knowledge concerns may be more similar between socioeconomic, cultural, and racial groups than they are different (*e.g.* Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey, 1994).

The purpose of this dissertation study is to systematically examine normal everyday parental socialization messages and practices with children during the toddlerhood period. Utilizing a unique dataset of multi-hour naturalistic video observations of urban, low-income African American children and families at children's ages 12, 24, and 36 months, the study explored, documented, and analyzed parental efforts to teach and guide their children about a variety of types of social knowledge that will help them navigate their social world as they grow and develop. In this effort to expand scientific understanding of parental efforts to socialize their

toddlers, this study aspires to contribute to the utilization of empirical data to challenge the deficit and pathological perspective of urban, low-income African American parents and families. In doing so, it is important to state up front that one mechanism by which the deficit and pathological perspective persists is through the inappropriate generalization of findings from studies conducted using samples of the majority, White/European American and middle-class population as standards to populations of different racial, ethnic, cultural, socioeconomic, and socio-historical context (Ogbu, 1985; Tamis-LeMonda *et al*., 2008). In line with this frame, the findings in this study is understood to pertain to the urban, low-income African American families raising toddlers in this study, tenuously to other urban, low-income African American families, and not at all to anyone else. The limitation of an intentional with-in group design that focuses on a seemingly homogeneous sample of urban, low-income African American families is informed by the theoretical position that parental socialization goals, messages, and practices reflected the variations in socio-historical, economic, geographic, and cultural contexts. This chapter closes the presentation of this dissertation with discussions of the key findings in relationship to existing literature, the limitations of the study, the practice and policy implications, and the directions for further research.

Magnitude of Social Knowledge Message Events and Parenting Practices

The first of the general key findings is the sheer magnitude of the social knowledge messages events that parents conveyed and the parenting practices they used to convey those messages to their children over the course of toddlerhood. Few existing studies were found that systematically documented and reported magnitudes of socialization messages and parenting practices, and most relied on parent report data.

Social Knowledge Messages

During the 51 hours of naturalistic video observations in families' homes over three age points, families conveyed 1895 message events, averaging out to approximately 37 message events per hour or 1 message event every 2 minutes. To convey the 1,895 message events, parents used 12,681 practices, averaging about 7 parenting practices per message event. These results are not surprising given what research has shown regarding the significantly larger amount of time parents spend engaged in care for infants and toddlers compare to older children (Fleming, Ruble, Flett, & Van Wagner, 1990; Hill & Stafford, 1980). It is surprising, however, that a survey of the literature found very little empirical documentation of the magnitude of everyday parental socialization messages and practices with children of any age or any racial or ethnic group, including the majority group. The literature that exist are more appropriate in discussion of social knowledge domains and categories.

Families in this study conveyed almost half of all social knowledge message events in the *Psychological* domain particularly around children's understanding of themselves and their personal preferences, the protection of property, and children's personal safety. About 45% of message events were from the *Conventional* domain, with emphasis around familial interpersonal rules, culture, and traditions and the regulation of children's activity level and location. These results are consistent with existing literature examining socialization of toddlers that found that parents addressed standards of behavior most around property protection, personal safety (Dunn & Munn, 1987; Kagan, 1981; Minton, Kagan, & Levine, 1971; Power & Chapieski, 1986), regulation of activity and location, and social etiquette (Dunn & Munn, 1987; Power & Parke, 1986). In addition, this study's results support existing knowledge regarding socialization concepts important in African American families that inform the relatively large

body of literature regarding parental racial socialization. Scholars of African American family life posit that African American families emphasize fostering children's sense of personal identity and self-esteem concurrent to and in support of their cultural heritage as well as their sense of belonging in the larger kinship network and racial and cultural community (Billingsley 1974; Jagers *et al.*, 1993; Peters, 2002). These values are also reflected in Suizzo's (2007) findings that indicated that African American parents valued goals regarding community, independence of thought and actions, personal choice, and gratification for their young children. While this study did not document any explicit, child-directed statements regarding race, racial identity, or racism during the 51 hours of observation, families conveyed the highest proportion of message events in the *Social Manner* and *Personal and Choice* categories with specific references to appropriate and inappropriate behaviors with adults and other children, commentaries about children's features, personalities, and behaviors, and involvement of children in making decisions of personal preferences. Both the *Social Manner* and *Personal and Choice* categories of social knowledge were conceptually broad and would have benefited from subcategory codes to further break down the purposes of the messages conveyed. Expanding on the coding and analyses of these two categories may provide additional insight into parental early childhood racial socialization efforts during toddlerhood.

Parenting Practices

To convey social knowledge messages, parents used many and varied parenting practices. Across the three age points, almost half of all practices (49.20%) that parents used involved lower levels of parental power assertion. The highest and fourth highest practice categories, *Reminder* (32.00%) and *Persuade Reason Explain* (7.74%), are located within the dimension of

Low Power assertion. The second and third most used practices, *Direct Command* (28.08%) and *Redirection* (13.19%), came from the *Moderate* and *High Power* dimensions of parental power assertion, respectively. Patterns of the most used parenting practices from this study shared similarities with findings from previous research conducted in the laboratory setting. For example, parental use of direct commands have been documented in previous research as a common control strategy. Kuczynski *et al.* (1987) reported in their study of children's compliant and noncompliant behaviors that more than half (57%) the control strategies that parents used in their study were direct commands. In addition, 31% of the parenting strategies were documented as "reasoning" and 21% were unobtrusive physical interventions, similar to this study's matter-of-fact, *Redirection* category practices.

Of the 14 categories of parenting practices in this study, four (4) were used less than 1%. These practices included *Physical Discipline*, *Bribe*, *Deprivation*, and *Negotiation*. Another two categories, *Threat* and *Reprimand*, were used less than 2%. The low frequencies of these categories were consistent with findings from Kuczynski *et al.* (1987), but inconsistent with the overall emphasis in the literature on parental use of physical discipline.

Social Knowledge Messages and Parenting Practices

When social knowledge messages and parenting practices were examined in conjunction, the findings indicated that families used the highest average number of parenting practices per message event to convey messages around children's activity level and remaining in appropriate designated areas (*Orderly Behavior*), mealtime behavior and etiquette (*Food and Mealtime*), social etiquette, relationships, and traditions (*Social Manner*), and the ownership and protection of property (*Property Protection*). With the exception of messages in the *Food*

and Mealtime category, these categories also had relatively high frequencies, meaning that not only are families addressing them in higher numbers of message events, but they are doing more to convey each message event to their children. Again, this finding was consistent with existing literature regarding the focus on these socialization areas of parenting during early childhood generally (Dunn & Munn, 1987; Kagan, 1981; Minton, Kagan, & Levine, 1971; Power & Chapieski, 1986; Power & Parke, 1986) and for African American families (Billingsley 1974; Peters, 2002; Suizzo, 2007).

Drawing from previous empirical work, how parents convey social knowledge message events may indicate whether particular social knowledge categories are part of their short- or long-term goals for their young children. Kuczynski (1984) found that parents chose parenting strategies based on whether they desired short- or long-term outcomes for their 4-year old children. The implications of his findings were in line with the broader literature in suggesting that parenting practices with lower levels of parental power assertion, such as reasoning and explanations, were more effective for encouraging children's internalization of social norms, values, beliefs, and preferred behaviors (*i.e.* Augustine & Stifter, 2015; Cheyne & Walters, 1969; Hoffman, 1970; Kuczynski, 1983; Parke, 1969). On the other hand, parental use of higher levels of power assertion have been found to be effective in obtaining short-term compliance (*i.e.* Chapman & Zahn-Waxler, 1982; Lytton & Zwirner, 1975; Owen, Slep, & Heyman, 2012). The families in this study used more parenting practices with low power assertion to convey messages around the safety of and fairness for others (*Others' Safety and Fairness*), social etiquette and traditions (*Social Manner*), ownership and protection of property (*Property Protection*), and understanding oneself and personal choice (*Personal and Choice*). Based on Kuczynski's (1984) findings, these social knowledge categories would make up families' long-

term goals for their children. Families in this study used more practices with moderate levels of parental power assertion such as directives and prohibitions to convey messages around children's activity level and remaining in designated areas (*Orderly Behavior*), mealtime behavior and etiquette (*Food and Mealtime*), housekeeping routines (*Family Routines and Chores*), and children's safety and wellbeing (*Personal Safety*). For concerns around children's self-care activities such as wiping hands and face, washing hands, and toileting (*Self-Care*), families used strategies that ensured compliance by unobtrusively doing the task for children or not forcefully assisting children in completing the task. Although these practices were coded as high power assertion because children had no choice in compliance, parents' actions were not harsh as evidenced by the absence of children's protest and other negative responses, such as crying or aggressiveness. For the latter two groups of social knowledge categories conveyed using moderate and high power assertion practices, families appeared to desire short-term compliance over long-term internalization; in other words, families were more concerned about managing behaviors and completing tasks than about children's understanding about why they should comply with the rules and norms in these categories.

Summary

These findings illustrates that urban, low-income African American families living in high risk environments actively parent their toddlers around a wide variety of topics. All 17 families in the study conveyed social knowledge messages in 8 of the 9 categories during at least one of the age points. Only one (1) family did not address *Others' Safety and Fairness* concerns with their toddler during any of the observed hour at each age. In addition, these finding indicated that families in the study employed a variety of parenting practices that ranged across the dimension of

parental power assertion, including those with high levels of power assertion; however, contrary to how African American parents, in general, and those of lower socioeconomic status, specifically, have been portrayed in the literature, these families demonstrated that they preferred and used significantly more practices with low levels of power assertion with their toddlers.

The discussion so far has considered the overall results using aggregated data of social knowledge message events and parenting practices from 12, 24, and 36 months; however, the examination utilized a longitudinal design to examine if and how families in this study adjusted their socialization efforts based on children's growing developmental capacities. The next section discusses the results from Chapters 3, 4, and 5 regarding the changes in parental socialization effort as their children got older.

Effects of Children's Age on Parental Social Knowledge Messages and Parenting Practices

The second general key finding confirms the theoretical position and existing empirical evidence that parents change or alter their socialization efforts, both in type and in magnitude of messages and in methods by which they convey those messages based on children's actual and perceived developmental capacities (Bacon & Ashmore, 1986; Goodnow & Collins, 1990; Grusec & Lytton, 1988; Kuczynski *et al.*, 1987; LeVine, 1974; Miller, 1988; Ng, Tamis-LeMonda, Godfrey, Hunter, & Yoshikawa, 2012; Sameroff, 2009; Sigel, McGillicuddy-DeLisi, & Goodnow, 2014). These findings extend the conceptual and empirical literature to include urban, low-income African American families raising toddlers in high risk environments. The following sections discuss the findings for social knowledge messages, parenting practices, and the messages in relations to the practices as children become older during the toddlerhood period.

Social Knowledge Message

For the families in this study, the overall number of social knowledge message events did not change as children got older; however, changes in the frequencies were present when message events were examined by domains. Families decreased the number of *Conventional* message events and increased the number of *Psychological* message events between children's ages 12 and 24 months. There were no changes between 24 and 36 months. The number of *Interpersonal-Moral* domain message events did not change between the three ages examined. These general results did not appear to be consistent of existing literature that suggest that parents increase the number and types of everyday rules they felt were important and had recently conveyed to their toddlers as they got older (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; Smetana *et al.*, 2000); however, previous findings differed methodologically, utilizing open-ended parent report survey and checklists of *a priori* determined everyday rules that parents feel are important and have used with their children recently without specific time parameters.

Examining within the domains of social knowledge revealed patterns in message events conveyed as children got older more consistent with the literature that suggest that early parental socialization goals primarily addressed concerns around child safety and survival. As children grow in capacity and competence to understand and ensure their own safety, parental socialization goals shift to the development of self, self-care, and appropriate everyday involvement in family and cultural standards and norms (Bacon & Ashmore, 1986; Grusec & Lytton, 1988; LeVine, 1974). For the families in this study, this is evidenced by the continuous decrease in the number of *Personal Safety* message events that families conveyed between 12, 24, and 36 months and the increases in the number of message events around social etiquette, familial relationships, and traditions, household routines and chores, and understanding of self

and personal preferences between 12 and 24 months and ownership and care of property between 24 and 36 months. *Personal Safety* will be discussed in more detail later. Interestingly, families conveyed fewer message events regarding *Self-Care* between 12 and 24 months and *Family Routines and Chores* between 24 and 36 months, not consistent with existing literature that suggest increases or no change in these areas of socialization efforts (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; Power & Parke, 1986). Decreases in messages regarding self-care was consistent with children's increased developmental capacities in mobility and toileting. This study's self-care results regarding independent walking and toileting were consistent with the literature that estimates the age of independent walking at about 10.9 months (Capute, Shapiro, Palmer, Ross, & Wachtel, 1985) and initiation of toilet training at 18 months for African American families (Horn, Brenner, Rao, & Cheng, 2006; Schum, McAuliffe, Simms, Walter, Lewis, & Pupp, 2001).

Parental socialization around routines and chores may have decreased as children became able to accomplished some tasks on their own or have become accustomed to familial routines and chores that they were involved with or occur around them, requiring fewer instances when parents must engage them to complete the task for or with them.

Parenting Practices

Scholarship in parenting practices has strong consensus on the assumption that what and how much parents do with children are dependent on parents' beliefs and values as well as their perception of their children's developmental capacity (Adamson & Bakeman, 1984; Bellinger, 1980; Carew, 1980; *e.g.* LeVine & LeVine, 1988; McLaughlin, White, McDevitt, & Raskin, 1983). The variation in parenting practices is further complicated by empirical documentation of wide variations even among seemingly homogeneous populations (Hart & Risley, 1995).

Previous research comparing parenting control episodes with younger and older children suggest that parents engaged in significantly fewer control episodes with older children than with younger children (Kuczynski *et al.*, 1987). Longitudinally, Hart and Risley (1995) found that all families, although different in magnitude, demonstrated consistent increases in the average number of minutes parents spend interacting with their children between 12 and 24 months, corresponding with the increase in the average number of utterances directed towards children. However, as children approached 36 months, the average number of minutes and utterances decreased for the Welfare group families while averages for the Working-Class and Professional groups remain even and increased, respectively (see Appendix B in Hart & Risley, 1995). This decrease in the average number of minutes and utterances as children approached 36 months of age appear to be consistent with this study's findings regarding parenting practices. Families in this study use approximately equal numbers of parenting practices between 12 and 24 months, but significantly decreased the numbers between 24 and 36 months.

When examined by dimensions of parental use of power, families in this study significantly decreased their use of *High* and *Moderate Power* practices while they significantly increased their use of *Low Power* practices as children got older. The significant decreases in families' use of *Matter-of-Fact Redirection* and *Physical Discipline* appear to be consistent with previous cross-sectional findings comparing younger and older cohorts that indicate that parents' physical parenting practices, including unobtrusive physical intervention and forceful guidance, were negatively associated with children's age (Kuczynski *et al.*, 1987). In other words, parents of older children used significantly fewer of the stated physical practices than parents of younger children. Kuczynski *et al.* (1987) also reported significant positive association between parental use of explanations and reminders and children's age, suggesting that parents of older children

used significantly more practices with lower power assertion than parents of younger children. Similarly, families in this study used significantly higher proportions of explanations and reasoning and reminders between 12 and 24 months and 12, 24, and 36 months, respectively. Finally, Kuczynski *et al.* (1987) reported significant differences in parental use of verbal and physical practices with children between the younger and older cohorts. Even though this study did not analyze practices categorized along the verbal and physical distinctions, the coding structure allowed for a follow-up exploration. *Table 7.01* summarizes the new analyses. Families in this study used significantly lower proportion of Physical Only practices and significantly higher proportions of Verbal Only practices between 12 and 24 months and 24 and 36 months, confirming the findings from Kuczynski *et al.* (1987) with longitudinal results.

Table 7.01 Physical Only and Verbal Only Practices across Ages (12, 24, and 36 Months)

	12 Months		24 Months		36 Months		*z*- Statistics	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Δ 12-24 Months	Δ 24-36 Months
Physical Only	1284	29.56%	829	18.65%	372	9.56%	11.9658 ***	11.7929 ***
Verbal Only	2665	61.36%	3307	74.40%	3345	85.92%	13.0971 ***	13.0663 ***

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$

Social Knowledge Messages and Parenting Practices

An extensive survey of the literature revealed a gap in the literature regarding changes in parenting practices used to convey specific domains or categories of socialization message as children got older. This study contribute to the literature by extending on Kuczynski's (1984) findings that suggest that how parents convey socialization messages depend on whether the socialization goals are short-term or long term. Strikingly, families in this study did not make significant shifts in how they conveyed particular domains or categories of social knowledge,

except for the *Orderly Behavior* category. Families decreased the number of practices they used to convey an increasing number of messages around children's activity level, waiting, and remaining in designated locations between 24 and 36 months. There was no difference between 12 and 24 months. The finding suggests that families shifted from using high power, unobtrusive or non-forceful physical interventions at 12 months to low power, verbal reminders at 36 months to encourage children to calm their activity level, defer gratification, and remain in the designated location. This shift from physical to verbal practices is consistent with findings from the new analyses in the previous section and existing literature.

Summary

These findings provide strong evidence that supports the theoretical position that families adapt their socialization messages and parenting practices to children's growing developmental capacities during the toddlerhood period and extend the empirical evidence to include urban, low-income African American families. Families in this study shifted from their primary concern regarding children's personal safety at 12 months to socialization messages regarding social etiquette, familial relationships and traditions, household routines and chores, understanding of self and personal preferences, and care of property as children got older. Similarly, families in this study used fewer practices with high and moderate levels of parental power assertion and more practices with low levels of parental power assertion as children got older, relying significantly more on verbal rather than physical interactions with their children. However, while families shifted their focus on the types of and the methods by which they convey social knowledge messages as children got older, the analysis revealed little variation in the types and magnitudes of practices the families used to convey specific domains and categories of social

knowledge. Additional analyses of the content of social knowledge messages in conjunction with the parenting practices that families used to convey those content areas may reveal that shifts in the types and magnitude of parenting practices occur at a more nuanced level.

The next three sections discuss the findings regarding two specific categories of social knowledge, *Personal Safety* and *Others' Safety and Fairness*, and one category of parenting practice, *Physical Discipline*. All three have relative prominence in the literature and were chosen as focus categories for this reason.

Personal Safety Category

Parents' primary concern around protecting their young children from physical harm, injury, and death (LeVine, 1974, 1988) has universal acceptance in child development research and the results in this study provides empirical support for urban, low-income African American families. Despite this universal recognition, a survey of the literature reveal little systematic examination of what and how parents socialize their toddlers around personal safety.

As previously mentioned, the families in this study conveyed the highest number of message events around children's personal safety concerns at 12 months and significantly decreased messages in this category by 24 months, and again by 36 months. The content of families' messages in the *Personal Safety* category revealed interesting insights. Across the three ages, the number of types of safety concerns that families addressed did not vary with 17, 16, and 19 at each consecutive age. Similarly, the types of concerns that parents address at the three ages did not vary much ranging from the children falling off furniture, putting things in their mouths, getting burned by hot objects, playing with electrical cords, and being hurt or harmed in a variety of situations. Families only addressed them less frequently as children got older.

To address personal safety concerns, families in the study used about the same average number of practices per message event to convey those message. This means that at 12 months, more families addressed the same types of personal safety concerns than at 24 and 36 months. So while the number of types of concerns did not change, there were fewest overlap in the types of personal safety concerns at 36 months across the 17 families. Meanwhile, families continued to use about the same number of practices to address each personal safety concern, resulting in a decrease in the number of parenting practices but no detectable differences in the number of practices per *Personal Safety* Message event between 12, 24, and 36 months.

Families in this study used moderate power assertion practices such as prohibitions and directives most often, followed by low power assertion practices such as verbal reminders and explanations, to convey socialize their toddlers about their personal safety. This appear to be consistent with a previous qualitative study with 10 urban, low-income African American single mothers of older, school-aged girls (Brodsky & DeVet, 2000). While the identified dangers from which they sought to protect their daughters were different, mothers reported using primarily "Instructive/Verbal/Lecture/Explain," "Monitor/Set Limits," and "Positive Strategies" to address their goal to protect their daughters from present and future dangers (p.166, 172).

Additionally, the analyses noted shifts in the average number of practices per *Personal Safety* message that families in this study used as children got older, although they were not statistically significant. Families appeared to decrease their use of unobtrusive physical interventions and increased verbal reminders between 12 and 36 months, while the average number of directives and prohibitions remained about the same. For example, families were concerned most about children falling off of furniture and other places of height at each of the three ages; however, they primarily employed unobtrusive physical interventions to address their

concerns at 12 months and directives and prohibitions at 24 and 36 months. At 24 months, families were also noted to use explanations, reasoning, and persuasion to address their concerns, which they did not use at 12 months. By 36 months, families increase their use of explanations, reasoning, and persuasion to address their concerns about their toddlers falling off furniture from 11.11% at 24 months to 20% at 36 months. These findings also appear to be consistent with existing literature regarding the methods parents use to protect their 12 month old children from harm (Richman, Miller, & Solomon, 1988) and provides additional evidence that urban, low-income African American families match their message and methods to their children's changing developmental capacities.

The literature regarding parental strategies that help to ensure young children's safety suggest that parents restrict children's movement and set limits on where children may go (Brodsky, 1996; Jarrett, 1997; Richman, Miller, & Solomon, 1988). When the families in this study made explicit that their reasons for keeping their children within designated areas of the home were for safety, that event would be coded as a personal safety event; however, there were numerous message events when families conveyed to children about staying within designated areas that did not have explicit alternate purpose such as for safety. These events were coded as *Orderly Behavior*. Without the possibility of consulting with families about their intentions, it is possible that the results undercounted *Personal Safety* events and inflated *Orderly Behavior* frequencies. Finally, the racial socialization literature also suggest that socializing children to have strong positive racial identities (Brodsky, 1996; Hill, 2001; Peters, 2002; Thomas & Speight, 1999) could be considered long-term *Personal Safety* social knowledge messages that encourage the development of qualities that buffer the impact of racism. Again, without follow-up consultation with the families, this study was not able to parse out these nuanced intentions of

families' socialization efforts during toddlerhood. Long-term socialization goals to help children protect themselves from future harm through social knowledge messages in the *Personal and Choice* and *Social Manners* categories could contribute important insights for further research in parental racial socialization efforts.

Interpersonal-Moral Domain

Moral development has a long and rich empirical history as a part of child development research. The study of moral development in general and in young children specifically has evolved and expanded to incorporate a diversity of theoretical perspectives from the various areas of psychology, the neuro- and biological sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. There is general agreement that moral development and its influences begin very early in the human life course as a part of young children's emerging sense of themselves as separate from others around them as they negotiate between their wants and needs and those of others. In the broadest sense, this dissertation study confirms that parental efforts to teach and instill moral values with their toddlers has already begun by the time children completed their first year of life. The urban, low income African American families in this study engaged in moral socialization at all three age points concurrently to their efforts to guide, expose, and control children's behaviors in conventional social rules around food and mealtime, activity level and self-control, and social etiquette and psychological rules that encourage children's understanding about themselves through understanding of situations that put them at risk for harm, that property are owned and need to be care for, that their physical bodies require maintenance and care, and that they are separate from others in characteristics as well as preferences.

The results from this study regarding social knowledge messages in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain do not appear to support findings from studies of parental everyday rules with toddlers that utilized parent report data from primarily White, middle-class families (Gralinski & Kopp, 1993; Smetana *et al.*, 2000). Utilizing a parent report survey of recently conveyed rules and a checklist of 25 behavior standards of common everyday social rules, Gralinski and Kopp (1993) found that interpersonal (moral) rules regarding prosocial behaviors such as sharing and controlling aggressive behaviors towards others had the second highest overall frequency of the eight coded categories reported by parents answering open-ended questions about behaviors and values they prohibit or encourage with their children. They found that parents indicated higher proportions of behavior standards that they have recently conveyed to their children in the interpersonal (moral) category overall and at each of the examined ages, such as "Not taking toys away from other children" and "Not being too rough with other children" (p. 576). Smetana *et al.* (2000), utilizing a checklist of 30 items, had findings consistent with Gralisnki and Kopp (1995) for the interpersonal (moral) category. When examined by and across each age point, both studies found that parents checked increasingly higher proportions of standard behaviors in the interpersonal group as children got older. Gralinski & Kopp (1995) also found that parents reported increasingly higher proportions of interpersonal (moral) rules in their response to the open-ended survey questions as their children got older, building on the number and types of rules they conveyed to their children.

In contrast, the results from this study reported in Chapter 4, found that families conveyed message events in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain relatively infrequently with 6.02% overall compared to the 44.45% of *Conventional* and 49.45% of *Psychological* domain message events. As their children got older, the families in this study conveyed higher frequencies of

Interpersonal-Moral message events; however, the increases were not statistically significant. On the other hand, consistent with Gralinski and Kopp (1995) and Smetana *et al.* (2000), families in this study conveyed a larger variety of types of *Interpersonal-Moral* message events as children got older. At children's ages 12 and 24 months, families addressed 9 areas of concern that ranged from hitting and harming to passing germs to sharing and fairness. At children's age 36 months, families address 12 areas of concerns. As families increase the variety of concerns they conveyed to their developing children, they also made a significant shift from concerns regarding the physical welfare of others to children's psychological understanding of fairness and the rights of others. Between 12 and 36 months, families significantly decreased the proportion of *Interpersonal-Moral* domain message events concerned with the physical harm and welfare of others from 70.59% to 45.45% and increased the proportion of psychological understanding of fairness and rights of others from 29.41% to 54.55%.

In addition to differences in sample demographics, there are several methodological differences that could contribute to the differences in the findings in this study and Gralinski and Kopp (1995) and Smetana *et al.* (2000). This study utilized coded one-hour segments of naturalistic observations of children and families in their homes and likely did not capture all the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain rules that parents felt were important and conveyed to their children throughout the day; however, relying on parent report of rules they find important and have at some point conveyed to their children does not provide insight into how often parents convey those rules and in what context.

Parental Use of Physical Discipline

Physical discipline, in this study, was operationalized broadly to include any parental physical response to children's transgressions with the hand or a tool. Examples from the transcripts include descriptive verbs such as "hit", "tap", "pat", "spank", "whup", and "flick". Parental use of physical discipline was chosen as a focus topic for this dissertation because of its prominence in the literature around parenting practices, generally, and around African American parenting, specifically. Much of the existing literature on physical discipline rely on parent report and focuses on the negative impacts of physical discipline compared to other parenting practices and lines have been drawn among scholars between "corporal punishment" (CP) opponents and proponents (Taillieu, Afifi, Mota, Keyes, & Sareen, 2014). The literature consists of a wide range of positions including those that condemn the use of all physical discipline as violent and harsh and associated with short and long term negative outcomes (Gershoff, 2010; Knox, 2010; Strassberg, Dodge, Petit, & Bates, 1994; Straus, 2001) to those that consider physical discipline as one parenting practice that may not always lead to negative child outcomes (Baumrind, 1996; Knutson & Selner, 1994; Larzelere & Kuhn, 2005).

Concurrent to the debate in the world of academia and scholarship, a debate is playing out in the socio-political arena as well. Since the ratification of the United Nation's Conventions on the Rights of the Child in 1979, naming CP as violence against children, 193 countries have signed on to an agreement to enforce the conventions. The United States has not, to date, signed on to participate in this enforcement effort. As of August 2010, only 24 countries have banned the use of corporal punishment, 19 of which are European countries. On the other hand, studies have shown that the prevalence of parental use of physical discipline in the United States has decreased very little overall, with more significant decreases noted amongst more recent

generation of parents, men, and White families (Taillieu *et al.*, 2014). Hart & Risley (1995) noted that all but one of the 42 families across socioeconomic categories in their study spoke about having used or their prospective use of spanking with their children. In a 2002 national poll by ABC News, more than half of parents surveyed reported spanking and approximately 67% of all respondents approved of spanking as a parenting practice (Crandall, 2002). This was consistent with results from an analysis of the General Social Survey (GSS) which reported that approximately 70% of the respondents either "strongly agree" or "agree" that "it is sometimes necessary to discipline a child with a good, hard, spanking" (Child Trend, 2015). Interestingly, there is a general impression that parental use of physical discipline supersedes the use or importance of other parenting practices (Friedman & Schonberg, 1996; Socolar & Stein, 1996) even though, very little empirical evidence exists that documents the extent to which families use physical discipline amongst their repertoire of parenting practices (Wissow, 1996).

Some literature on parenting practices suggest that parents may be strategic about what practices they use with their children depending on the socialization message or goal (Kuczynski, 1984; Brodsky & DeVet, 2000). Only one recent study, testing the use of naturalistic auditory observations of 33 mothers of 2 to 5 year olds screened for angry yelling at least twice per week, has documented the frequency of CP (Holden, Williamson, & Holland, 2014). The recordings occurred during the evening hours from the time the family gets home to children's bedtime. The study found that CP, defined as spank or slap, occurred in 15 of the 33 families with a total of 41 identified incidents and a median rate of 0.22 per hour. Their findings suggest that parents may use CP more frequently then they report on surveys and much more frequently than the 18 times per year reported in a previous study (Straus & Stewart, 1999).

Families in this study was observed to use physical discipline, broadly defined, on 120 occasions throughout the 51 hours of video observation. This averages out to approximately 2.35 incidents of physical discipline per hour. Physical discipline was used most frequently at 12 months with the rate of 3.88 per hour and significantly decreased to 1.82 by 24 and 1.35 by 36 months. Overall, physical discipline made up less than one percent of the total number of parenting practices used across the three age points and at 24 and 36 months. It accounted for approximately 1.52% of parenting practices at 12 months.

When analyzed as practices used to convey message events, families used approximately 0.06 physical discipline practices per message event overall across the three age point, with averages of 0.10 at 12 months, 0.05 at 24 months, and 0.04 at 36 months. Importantly, the qualitative analyses provide additional insights to how families in this study used physical discipline. *A priori* established subcategory and *in vivo* codes were used to establish two orthogonal content groups within the physical discipline incidents, 1) whether the discipline was done by hand or by tool and 2) whether the physical discipline was playful or used as a reminder or intended to serve as negative consequences. Families in this study, primarily used physical discipline, both by hand and by tool, playfully or as reminders (65.6%) at 12 months. At 24 months, families primarily used physical discipline, by hand, as negative consequences in reaction to children's transgressions (63.3%). At 36 months, most physical discipline, by hand, were used as negative consequences (61.5%). It is at 36 months when families more frequently used tools for physical discipline compared to 12 and 24 months, and a majority of incidents by tool were as negative consequences. If the analyses only considered physical discipline used as negative consequences, the frequency would drop from 120 to 46 across the three ages.

Although, this study did not formally analyze children's behaviors, a survey of the transcripts provided a count of occasions when physical discipline, used as negative consequences, resulted in children's expression of distress or crying. Overall, across the three age points, there were 9 occasions when physical discipline resulted in children crying. Two occasions were at 12 months in one family, 4 at 24 months in 4 families, and 3 at 36 months in 3 families. At 12 months, one incident was in response to the child grabbing an electrical cord and the second was the consequence for chasing the family cat. Both occurred after four or more attempts to address the transgressions. Incidents of physical discipline at 24 month ranged in transgressions from swatting at a parent, leaving a designated area multiple times, knocking over things on the parent's dresser, and having a toileting accident. All incidents at 12 and 24 months were accounts of physical discipline by hand. At 36 months, transgressions included turning on the stereo without permission, leaving the designated area and not returning when told, and playing with forbidden objects on "mom's" table after being reminded and warned. Of the three incidents, only one used an object rather than a hand; however, overall, the use of objects, primarily belts, was strikingly more frequent at 36 months, even if the physical discipline did not result in children's distressed response.

Finally, this study found that when families did use physical discipline, broadly defined, they tended to use it to address *Interpersonal-Moral* domain or *Others' Safety and Fairness* category messages. That use decreased as children got older. Only one study was identified to have documented parental use of physical discipline in relationship to socialization messages or goals. Brodsky & DeVet (2000) found that half of the urban, single mothers of 4th, 5th, and 6th grade girls in their study reported using spanking to "correct behavior" (p.166).

Limitations

There are many and varied limitations related to the design of this study that impact the generalizability of findings; however, the trade-offs for these limitations allowed for deep and detailed systematic exploration of naturalistic, secondary qualitative data. This sections acknowledges those limitations and discusses the ways in which those limitation were addressed or incorporated into the design of the study.

The first limitation of the study lay in its immediate scope to examine parenting socialization efforts and does not examine children's reactions or response in relationship to parental efforts. An expansion of the study that incorporates children's role in the bi-directional transaction between parents and children is included as a future direction of research.

This study utilized a unique collection of naturalistic video observations of children and families in their homes. Since participants were not asked to engage in any specific activities or tasks but asked to go about their daily lives as the camera follows the target children, the videos offer richness and relative authenticity of parent-child interactions that minimizes efforts by families to meet researcher expectations since no expectations were stated. However, it was unavoidable that a research staff was present in the home during the recording, introducing unmeasured variables into the environment that likely impacted the behaviors of children and adults in the home (Gardner, 2000). The video segments selected for use in this study represent an attempt to minimize participant discomfort. By selecting segments at least an hour into the multi-hour sessions when possible, the hope was that families would begin to feel more comfortable with the presence of the staff and the camera. In addition, by age 12 months, the staff member recording the families would have become quite familiar with the families. The relationship built overtime, first thought to be a detriment to the data, appeared to allow families

to relax and behave more naturally (Norton, Vincson, & Wilhelm, 2012). Finally, even with measures to minimize adult discomfort or unauthentic behaviors, the children, particularly during the early childhood years, behaved as they normally would in their home environment and hopefully, eliciting their families' natural and authentic selves in their care behaviors.

Methodologically, this study relied on the perception of trained coders to identify message events and determine the domains and categories that message events belonged. Because this study utilized secondary video data, it did not have access to families in the study to confirm their intended socialization message. While this study cannot validate the accuracy of coded message events with families' intentions for their children, it can examine the consistency, or inconsistency, of the perception of trained coders who have backgrounds as social worker professionals. The study reported here has not yet conducted a coding reliability test. The results from that test will help to determine whether, using an *a priori* established coding manual, two clinically trained professionals who work regularly with young children and families can consistently identify and label message events in social knowledge domains and categories.

As a longitudinal study, this study sought to capture how families shifted their socialization efforts as their children got older over the 2 year period; however, as noted previously, the one-hour segments of video represents a snapshot at each age for each child that helps to inform a sampling of the magnitude and types of socialization messages and parenting practices possible throughout the daily life of children and families. However, the findings from this study seems robust with results that indicate that every family convey social knowledge messages in every domain and category, except one category at one age.

The small sample size of this study did not allow for more sophisticated quantitative analyses such as multi-level modeling. However, analytical tools such as Hierarchical Linear

Modeling (HLM) could be utilized even there were missing data. It may be possible to include additional families from the video collection that did not have complete video data at each of the examined ages. However, for this dissertation, families with complete video data were chosen intentionally to simplify the quantitative analyses while including in-depth qualitative content analyses to assist in bringing the socialization efforts of urban, low-income African American families to life.

The age of the videos also present another possible limitation to the reliability of the study. The video segments used in this study were recorded between 1983 and 1986. This limitation is less likely about changes in how families socialize their toddlers around social knowledge, and more about changes in the socio-political and economic landscape that impact the daily lives between the early- and mid-1980s and today. All but one of the families in the study were receiving public assistance and many of the parents stayed at home with their young children, generally because Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) made it possible to do so. The 1996 reform of welfare that replaced AFDC with Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) introduced stricter work requirements that made it less likely that parents would or could stay home to care for their young children (Schumacher, Greenberg, & Duffy, 2001). In addition, the dismantling of public housing such as the Robert Taylor Homes and others nearby where many of the families in this study resided have made finding affordable housing in the city more difficulty (Goetz, 2011) with no evidence of improved outcomes that the dismantling sought to affect (Jacob, 2003).

Finally, this study did not analyze data by gender of the adults or children present in the video observations; however, analyses base on the gender of the participants are possible as an

expansion to the analyses reported in this dissertation. Findings may provide insight into the differences and similarities of the socialization efforts by fathers and mothers of toddlers.

Implications

Basic research in child development and parental socialization has relied on theories and perspectives informed historically by European or European American, White, and middle-class values and norms. Findings from this dissertation contributes to current knowledge and understanding about everyday parental socialization efforts with toddlers of urban, low-income African American families living in high risk environments. A deeper and multi-faceted understanding of parenting goals, messages, and practices may have important implications for practice, policy, and future research.

Social service agencies and clinical practitioners in general and those who serve infants, toddlers, and their families, specifically, rely on standardized tools and clinical training rooted in science based on White, middle-class standards. Immersed in the context of the majority culture, racial and ethnic minority children and families may benefit from knowing and understanding the developmental and educational pathways that lead to success in White, middle-class America; however, utilizing standardized tools and clinical training normalized to the majority population have important implications on the reinforcement of what the literature evidenced to be the historically persistent deficit and pathological perspective of racial and ethnic minority children, families, and culture. That is, the failures to achieve is rooted in the individuals and cultures, rather than the context or environment in which they live and develop. This is partly evident in the disproportionate over-representation of African American, Native American, and Latino children in the child welfare, special education, and the juvenile justice system as well as

the invisibility of Asian and Asian American sub-groups struggling to improve similar socioeconomic and academic outcomes. This lens takes racial and ethnic minority children out of their daily context and compares them to children whose families and parents, at the very least, do not have to cope with the underlying racial and xenophobic cultural and structural aggression of everyday life. Socioeconomic and environmental context further challenge and change how parents approach childrearing, socialization, and prioritization in their care of children, passing on the skills and knowledge that they used to survive and adapt. In contributing to the knowledge of everyday parenting goals, messages, and practices of urban, low-income African American families, one implication for this dissertation is to inform contextually-based adaptive and culturally specific parenting perspectives for child and family practitioners and policy makers. This is in contrast to the perception of parenting of racial and ethnic minority children in high risk environments as deficient or pathological.

This study found that urban, low-income African American families living in high-risk environments socialize their toddlers around all social knowledge domains and categories earnestly, using a large magnitude and wide variety of developmentally-informed practices. Social knowledge domains and categories cover a wide range of norms, values, beliefs, skills, and behaviors that will help children navigate and negotiate their social world. While the study did not systematically examine children's responses or outcomes, it was clear that by age three, all the children in the study walk, talk, use the bathroom, help dress, eat with utensils, celebrate birthdays, and do a variety of other tasks with relative age-appropriate proficiency, as would be expected of three year old children from every racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic background.

Having completed a systematic examination of how families socialized their toddlers around social knowledge domains and categories, this study has come to the same conclusion

that Hart & Risley (1995) stated based on their observational perception. This study provides empirical evidence that, at the very basic level, urban, low-income African American parents and most parents in the United States and around the world, will successfully convey to their toddlers these social knowledge norms, values, beliefs, behaviors, and skills, or as Ogbu (1985) may refer to them, instrumental competencies. However, at this point of convergence, there also exist paths of divergence in how practitioners, policy makers, and researchers can understand these similarities and the gap in children's academic outcomes. In stepping back to see these paths, the words of Ogbu (1985) may help act as the guide.

> This research perspective portraying white middle-class patterns as the standard by which others are judged must be rejected for the following reasons. First, populations in different societies, within the same society, may differ in cognitive, linguistic, motivational and social competencies, not merely because they use different methods of childrearing, but because they live under different cultural imperatives requiring different instrumental competencies. The cultural imperatives of a given population (Cohen, 1971)—the political, social, and economic realities of the population—dictate the cultural tasks (*e.g.* subsistence tasks or economic activities) of its members and it is these activities that determine the adaptive or functional personal attributes prevalent in the population. Such competencies usually become the qualities which parents and other childrearing agents perceive as desirable to foster in children (LeVine, 1967). Current studies of black childrearing and development either do not take into account the requirements of black cultural imperatives, or they erroneously assume that blacks and whites share the same cultural imperatives. In any case, by narrowly focusing on intrafamilial relationships (Inkeles, 1968a) these studies decontextualize competence from realities of life. In so doing they confuse the process by which adaptive and culturally valued instrumental competencies are transmitted with the reason for their very presence or absence in a given population. (p. 46-47)

The families in this study all live in high risk environments with poor infrastructures, low performing schools, few enriching resources, and unsafe neighborhood conditions. As children grow and develop out of toddlerhood, these are the "political, social, and economic realities" that dictate how families will help their young children transition to preschool, navigate their expanding social world into school and neighborhood settings, and ultimately, participate in the

cultural tasks or economic activities. Following this train of thinking, it seems basic to imagine that the Professional and Welfare group parents from the Hart & Risley's (1995) study would have very different cultural imperatives, or social, political, and economic realities. In fact, their cultural imperative is what defines their membership in the Professional and Welfare groups. It is then logical that parents in each group would impress upon their young children very different cultural tasks (economic activities) and different sets of instrumental competencies. Ogbu (1985) goes on to say,

> At the level of social policy, the theory of social change implicit in the universal model is unsupported by historical and cross-cultural evidence. The case for early intervention is based on the belief that…an effective strategy to improve the social and economic status of black Americans lies in changing their childrearing practices so that they would be more successful in school (Hunt, 1969). The latter argument is weak for two reasons. First, there is no historical or cross cultural evidence that any population has ever achieved a significant social and economic change by first changing its method of childrearing. It is usually the case that social and economic changes precede changes in childrearing practices (Aberle, 1968; Kaplan & Manners, 1970). (p. 48)

The crux of the problem in the deficit perspective is the attribution of racial and ethnic minority children's poor academic outcomes to their parents' failure, decontextualized from their social, political, and economic realities. Parents are blamed for not talking to children enough, not using high quality talk, not teaching right from wrong, not socializing children for school success and college graduation, and so on (Harris & James, 2014). Given families' social, political, and economic realities, it is likely that what parents do not teach their children are not the adaptive and functional personal attributes that they have utilized for their own personal economic activities.

Ogbu (1985) points to the policy implications of having a contextualized understanding of the lives of African Americans. He suggests that to impact lasting social change, policy should address the cultural imperative, or the social, political, and economic realities, of African

Americans in the United States. There is evidence that when families perceive the real possibility for upward social mobility, they engage in "anticipatory socialization" with their children to support their readiness for economic success (Scanzoni, 1971).

The implications for practice lies heavily on schools of social work and on individual social work practitioner. This study provides empirical evidence that contributes to challenging the deficit perspective by shifting the paradigm on how urban, low-income African American families are understood. Based upon the core values and principles of the social work profession, social work education programs are required to integrate the concept of person-in-environment, in-line with Ogbu's notion "cultural imperatives," in the curriculum. Making a commitment to utilizing empirical material that take into consideration the social, political, and economic realities of diverse populations will help expose and orient social work students to better understand the populations they will serve as professionals.

The implications for social work research are similar. As future social work scholars, social work doctoral students must be exposed to, reminded of, and guided through the processes of conceptualizing, designing, and implementing research that contextualizes their sample population in their social, political, and economic realities or run the risk of perpetuating the deficit perspective among populations they intend to help. That said, more research is needed to identify ways in which social work practitioners, policymakers, and researchers can engage in work that shifts the social, political, and economic realities of families. Whether this occurs in large systems, local communities, or through individual, family, or group processes, social workers are well positioned to shift policy, practice, and research away from the deficit perspective of racial and ethnic minority children and families and for all vulnerable peoples.

APPENDIX A

ADDITIONAL TABLES

Table A.01 Average and Differences in the Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Domains of Social Knowledge Message, Overall

Parenting Practices	Domains Of Social Knowledge			ANOVA	*t*-statistics		
	Interpersonal-Moral, I-M *n* = 114	Conventional, C *n* = 844	Psychological, P *n* = 937	*F*	C – I-M	P – I-M	P – C
High Power	0.79	1.07	1.09	0.57	0.99	1.06	0.13
Physical Discipline	0.15	0.06	0.05	**3.16 ***	**2.20 ***	**2.51 ***	0.63
Redirection	0.50	0.87	0.94	1.68	1.50	1.82	0.64
Threat	0.14	0.14	0.09	1.22	0.01	0.73	1.51
Moderate Power	1.55	2.97	1.88	**10.13 *** **	**2.61 ** **	0.61	**4.21 *** **
Bribe	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.07	0.35	0.26	0.19
Direct Command	1.26	2.38	1.50	**9.67 *** **	**2.50 ***	0.54	**4.13 *** **
Indirect Command	0.10	0.32	0.14	**7.36 *** **	**2.16 ***	0.45	**3.61 *** **
Unclear Command	0.18	0.25	0.21	0.63	0.90	0.49	0.87
Low Power	2.60	3.72	2.97	**2.36**	1.39	0.46	**1.96**
Deprivation	0.05	0.02	0.02	0.91	1.26	1.34	0.13
Modeling	0.29	0.70	0.16	**8.12 *** **	1.44	0.47	**4.00 *** **
Negotiation	0.01	0.02	0.00	**2.39**	0.62	0.42	**2.19 ***
Persuade Reason Explain	0.58	0.65	0.39	**4.34 ***	0.38	1.01	**2.92 ** **
Reprimand	0.05	0.06	0.09	0.92	0.21	0.81	1.24
Reminder	1.54	2.12	2.23	1.08	1.20	1.46	0.51
Reward	0.07	0.15	0.07	**3.43 ***	1.19	0.03	**2.56 ***
Total	4.94	7.77	5.94	**5.21 ** **	**2.12 ***	0.76	**2.89 ** **

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$. **Bold** numbers without asterisks (*) indicate near significance ($p < 0.10$).

Table A.02 Average and Differences in the Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Domains of Social Knowledge Message, 12 Months

Parenting Practices	Domains Of Social Knowledge			ANOVA	*t*-statistics		
	Interpersonal-Moral, I-M *n* = 34	Conventional, C *n* = 248	Psychological, P *n* = 351	*F*	C – I-M	P – I-M	P – C
High Power	1.26	1.79	1.52	0.56	0.79	0.39	0.89
Physical Discipline	0.32	0.09	0.09	**3.04 ***	**2.41 ***	**2.39 ***	0.12
Redirection	0.71	1.56	1.34	1.19	1.47	1.12	0.82
Threat	0.24	0.15	0.09	1.31	0.79	1.33	1.15
Moderate Power	1.85	3.65	2.09	**5.48 ****	1.67	0.22	**3.20 ****
Bribe	0.03	0.05	0.02	1.34	0.53	0.22	1.63
Direct Command	1.35	2.74	1.52	**5.56 ****	**1.66**	0.20	**3.23 ****
Indirect Command	0.06	0.44	0.22	**3.55 ***	**1.87**	0.82	**2.33 ***
Unclear Command	0.41	0.42	0.32	0.59	0.06	0.43	1.06
Low Power	2.35	3.16	2.16	**2.41**	0.80	0.19	**2.18 ***
Deprivation	0.00	0.04	0.03	0.42	0.89	0.71	0.44
Modeling	0.53	0.90	0.12	**13.76 *****	1.12	1.27	**5.24 *****
Negotiation	0.03	0.00	0.00	**2.35**	**2.02 ***	**2.16 ***	0.21
Persuade Reason Explain	0.41	0.56	0.27	1.57	0.40	0.41	1.77
Reprimand	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.03	0.24	0.21	0.07
Reminder	1.21	1.47	1.60	0.30	0.44	0.68	0.49
Reward	0.09	0.13	0.07	0.84	0.38	0.21	1.30
Total	5.47	8.60	5.77	**3.89 ***	1.36	0.13	**2.71 ****

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$. **Bold** numbers without asterisks (*) indicate near significance ($p < 0.10$).

Table A.03 Average and Differences in the Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Domains of Social Knowledge Message, 24 Months

Parenting Practices	Domains Of Social Knowledge			ANOVA	*t*-statistics		
	Interpersonal-Moral, I-M *n* = 36	Conventional, C *n* = 297	Psychological, P *n* = 296	*F*	C – I-M	P – I-M	P – C
High Power	0.67	0.91	1.15	0.78	0.49	0.96	1.01
Physical Discipline	0.06	0.06	0.03	0.68	0.15	0.39	1.16
Redirection	0.53	0.74	0.97	0.96	0.49	1.02	1.15
Threat	0.08	0.11	0.14	0.24	0.20	0.47	0.59
Moderate Power	1.94	2.91	2.26	0.99	0.88	0.29	1.27
Bribe	0.03	0.02	0.06	0.38	0.05	0.35	0.85
Direct Command	1.61	2.33	1.85	0.82	0.81	0.27	1.16
Indirect Command	0.19	0.37	0.13	**2.55**	0.77	0.27	**2.24 ***
Unclear Command	0.11	0.18	0.22	0.54	0.56	0.89	0.73
Low Power	1.89	3.85	3.37	0.66	1.10	0.83	0.58
Deprivation	0.14	0.01	0.03	**3.87 ***	**2.78 ****	**2.40 ***	0.81
Modeling	0.25	0.78	0.29	1.16	0.74	0.05	1.47
Negotiation	0.00	0.03	0.01	1.14	0.99	0.37	1.33
Persuade Reason Explain	0.67	0.79	0.46	2.01	0.35	0.59	**2.00 ***
Reprimand	0.03	0.06	0.13	**2.48**	0.45	1.39	**2.01 ***
Reminder	0.78	1.98	2.35	2.11	1.51	**1.98 ***	1.00
Reward	0.03	0.20	0.10	1.31	1.17	0.54	1.36
Total	4.50	7.67	6.78	0.75	1.15	0.82	0.69

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$. **Bold** numbers without asterisks (*) indicate near significance ($p < 0.10$).

Table A.04 Average and Differences in the Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Domains of Social Knowledge Message, 36 Months

Parenting Practices	Domains Of Social Knowledge			ANOVA	*t*-statistics		
	Interpersonal-Moral, I-M *n* = 44	Conventional, C *n* = 299	Psychological, P *n* = 290	*F*	C – I-M	P – I-M	P – C
High Power	0.52	0.63	0.50	0.56	0.45	0.08	1.04
Physical Discipline	0.09	0.04	0.02	1.71	1.17	1.72	1.10
Redirection	0.32	0.42	0.43	0.14	0.50	0.53	0.06
Threat	0.11	0.17	0.06	**2.61**	0.56	0.61	**2.28 ***
Moderate Power	1.00	2.48	1.26	**7.71 *****	**2.27 ***	0.39	**3.67 *****
Bribe	0.00	0.01	0.00	1.50	0.85	0.00	**1.67**
Direct Command	0.91	2.13	1.12	**6.15 ****	**2.03 ***	0.36	**3.28 ****
Indirect Command	0.05	0.16	0.06	**4.71 ****	1.63	0.13	**2.93 ****
Unclear Command	0.05	0.17	0.08	**4.83 ****	**1.92**	0.47	**2.85 ****
Low Power	3.36	4.06	3.53	0.38	0.54	0.13	0.80
Deprivation	0.02	0.02	0.01	1.13	0.03	0.71	1.46
Modeling	0.14	0.45	0.07	**2.54**	0.93	0.20	**2.22 ***
Negotiation	0.00	0.01	0.00	2.25	1.05	0.00	**2.05 ***
Persuade Reason Explain	0.64	0.59	0.47	0.48	0.19	0.64	0.89
Reprimand	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.04	0.18	0.26	0.16
Reminder	2.43	2.80	2.89	0.11	0.37	0.46	0.18
Reward	0.09	0.13	0.03	1.54	0.35	0.54	1.75
Total	4.89	7.17	5.29	2.27	1.23	0.22	**1.99 ***

*$p < 0.05$; **$p < 0.01$; ***$p < 0.001$. **Bold** numbers without asterisks (*) indicate near significance ($p < 0.10$).

Table A.05 Average Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Categories of Social Knowledge, Overall

	Categories of Social Knowledge								
Parenting Practices	Others' Safety/ Fairness *n* = 114	Orderly Behavior *n* = 285	Food/ Mealtime *n* = 112	Family Routines/ Chores *n* = 133	Social Manner *n* = 314	Personal Safety *n* = 203	Property Protection *n* = 253	Self-Care *n* = 188	Personal *n* = 293
High Power	0.79	1.27	1.47	0.75	0.88	1.01	1.15	2.02	0.49
Physical Discipline	0.15	0.12	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.12	0.02	0.01
Redirection	0.50	0.96	1.25	0.62	0.75	0.88	0.88	1.92	0.42
Threat	0.14	0.19	0.18	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.15	0.08	0.07
Moderate Power	1.55	4.78	3.09	1.89	1.75	1.74	2.64	2.30	1.06
Bribe	0.02	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.05
Direct Command	1.26	3.73	2.43	1.62	1.46	1.46	2.18	1.73	0.79
Indirect Command	0.10	0.51	0.48	0.19	0.14	0.03	0.16	0.29	0.11
Unclear Command	0.18	0.45	0.18	0.08	0.16	0.24	0.28	0.24	0.12
Low Power	2.60	3.77	2.96	2.22	4.58	1.52	3.26	2.48	4.03
Deprivation	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.01
Modeling	0.29	0.55	0.29	0.46	1.08	0.08	0.30	0.08	0.13
Negotiation	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01
Persuade Reason Explain	0.58	0.78	0.43	0.43	0.70	0.35	0.43	0.37	0.40
Reprimand	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.05	0.05	0.06	0.06	0.13	0.10
Reminder	1.54	2.14	2.02	1.11	2.56	0.96	2.35	1.77	3.32
Reward	0.07	0.16	0.13	0.15	0.15	0.04	0.06	0.11	0.07
Total	4.94	9.82	7.53	4.86	7.22	4.27	7.05	6.80	5.58

Table A.06 Average Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Categories of Social Knowledge, 12 Months

	Categories of Social Knowledge								
Parenting Practices	Others' Safety/ Fairness *n* = 34	Orderly Behavior *n* = 78	Food/ Mealtime *n* = 40	Family Routines/ Chores *n* = 43	Social Manner *n* = 87	Personal Safety *n* = 109	Property Protection *n* = 78	Self-Care *n* = 84	Personal *n* = 80
High Power	1.26	2.90	2.25	0.84	1.06	1.31	1.71	2.36	0.75
Physical Discipline	0.32	0.21	0.05	0.00	0.05	0.08	0.27	0.04	0.00
Redirection	0.71	2.35	2.08	0.84	0.97	1.14	1.22	2.29	0.75
Threat	0.24	0.35	0.13	0.00	0.05	0.09	0.22	0.04	0.00
Moderate Power	1.85	6.58	3.68	1.44	2.10	1.74	2.94	2.57	1.21
Bribe	0.03	0.17	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.06	0.00
Direct Command	1.35	5.00	2.50	1.16	1.60	1.39	2.15	1.69	0.89
Indirect Command	0.06	0.53	0.98	0.21	0.22	0.06	0.29	0.40	0.19
Unclear Command	0.41	0.88	0.20	0.07	0.29	0.29	0.46	0.42	0.14
Low Power	2.35	2.95	2.33	1.05	4.78	1.37	1.69	2.21	3.64
Deprivation	0.00	0.03	0.13	0.00	0.03	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.01
Modeling	0.53	0.19	0.18	0.60	2.00	0.09	0.33	0.06	0.03
Negotiation	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
Persuade Reason Explain	0.41	0.60	0.33	0.07	0.86	0.31	0.24	0.26	0.24
Reprimand	0.09	0.10	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.08	0.08	0.09
Reminder	1.21	1.76	1.60	0.30	1.72	0.85	0.92	1.63	3.24
Reward	0.09	0.26	0.03	0.02	0.11	0.04	0.04	0.15	0.04
Total	5.47	12.42	8.25	3.33	7.94	4.42	6.33	7.14	5.60

Table A.07 Average Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Categories of Social Knowledge, 24 Months

	Categories of Social Knowledge								
Parenting Practices	Others' Safety/ Fairness *n* = 36	Orderly Behavior *n* = 92	Food/ Mealtime *n* = 36	Family Routines/ Chores *n* = 57	Social Manner *n* = 112	Personal Safety *n* = 60	Property Protection *n* = 79	Self-Care *n* = 51	Personal *n* = 106
High Power	0.67	0.98	1.11	0.75	0.88	0.78	1.39	2.16	0.69
Physical Discipline	0.06	0.12	0.03	0.02	0.05	0.03	0.06	0.02	0.02
Redirection	0.53	0.72	0.89	0.67	0.75	0.68	1.19	2.00	0.48
Threat	0.08	0.14	0.19	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.14	0.14	0.19
Moderate Power	1.94	5.49	3.47	1.46	1.34	1.78	3.13	2.92	1.57
Bribe	0.03	0.08	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.13
Direct Command	1.61	4.26	2.83	1.19	1.17	1.55	2.66	2.39	1.16
Indirect Command	0.19	0.82	0.39	0.21	0.08	0.00	0.14	0.31	0.11
Unclear Command	0.11	0.34	0.25	0.05	0.09	0.23	0.30	0.20	0.16
Low Power	1.89	5.28	3.19	1.89	3.88	1.35	3.39	3.43	4.46
Deprivation	0.14	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.03	0.02	0.09	0.00	0.01
Modeling	0.25	1.33	0.28	0.53	0.63	0.08	0.51	0.20	0.28
Negotiation	0.00	0.02	0.08	0.02	0.02	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.02
Persuade Reason Explain	0.67	1.30	0.50	0.42	0.65	0.33	0.48	0.53	0.47
Reprimand	0.03	0.15	0.00	0.04	0.02	0.07	0.09	0.24	0.14
Reminder	0.78	2.21	2.22	0.63	2.40	0.78	2.14	2.33	3.41
Reward	0.03	0.26	0.11	0.26	0.13	0.07	0.09	0.12	0.13
Total	4.50	11.75	7.78	4.11	6.09	3.92	7.91	8.51	6.72

Table A.08 Average Number of Parenting Practices per Event by Categories of Social Knowledge, 36 Months

	Categories of Social Knowledge								
Parenting Practices	Others' Safety/ Fairness *n* = 44	Orderly Behavior *n* = 115	Food/ Mealtime *n* = 36	Family Routines/ Chores *n* = 33	Social Manner *n* = 115	Personal Safety *n* = 34	Property Protection *n* = 96	Self-Care *n* = 53	Personal *n* = 107
High Power	0.52	0.40	0.97	0.64	0.76	0.44	0.50	1.36	0.10
Physical Discipline	0.09	0.05	0.06	0.09	0.02	0.03	0.05	0.00	0.00
Redirection	0.32	0.23	0.69	0.27	0.57	0.38	0.34	1.26	0.10
Threat	0.11	0.12	0.22	0.27	0.17	0.03	0.10	0.09	0.00
Moderate Power	1.00	2.98	2.06	3.24	1.90	1.65	2.00	1.28	0.45
Bribe	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Direct Command	0.91	2.45	1.94	2.97	1.63	1.53	1.81	1.17	0.36
Indirect Command	0.05	0.24	0.03	0.12	0.14	0.03	0.06	0.09	0.04
Unclear Command	0.05	0.25	0.08	0.15	0.12	0.09	0.13	0.02	0.06
Low Power	3.36	3.12	3.44	4.30	5.11	2.32	4.42	1.98	3.89
Deprivation	0.02	0.04	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.03	0.01	0.00	0.00
Modeling	0.14	0.17	0.42	0.15	0.83	0.06	0.11	0.00	0.07
Negotiation	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Persuade Reason Explain	0.64	0.49	0.47	0.91	0.63	0.50	0.55	0.38	0.44
Reprimand	0.05	0.02	0.03	0.09	0.10	0.12	0.01	0.11	0.07
Reminder	2.43	2.35	2.28	2.97	3.36	1.62	3.68	1.45	3.29
Reward	0.09	0.03	0.25	0.12	0.19	0.00	0.05	0.04	0.03
Total	4.89	6.50	6.47	8.18	7.77	4.41	6.92	4.62	4.44

APPENDIX B

CODING MANUAL

SOCIAL DOMAIN THEORY: SOCIAL KNOWLEDGE DOMAINS

Social knowledge messages are coded in units of events with categories of social knowledge codes. Message events vary in duration to accommodate the different ways that families socialize their toddlers about different social knowledge categories. Letting families determine the duration of message events more closely reflected the realities of parental socialization efforts within the context of each family and with each child at each age. The duration of message events are determined by when the messages ended. For example, a family could address a *Food and Mealtime* message in an instant or continue to reinforce, continuously or sporadically, the same message throughout a 30 minute meal. Parental message about using utensils to eat should be coded as a separate message event for messages about not wasting food, even though both message events fall in the same category. In addition, a message event about not spilling the drink during a meal should be a separate message event from a message about not spilling later in the living room. The coder is tasked with deciding when the event ends, but should not be influenced by the amount of time that has passed. Different message events may overlap but no message event should carried more than one social knowledge category code. Descriptions and decision rules for codes in each domain of social knowledge are provided in the following sections.

Interpersonal-Moral Domain

Parental socialization goals in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain are to ensure that children understand and protect the rights and welfare of others within the context of their social interactions and to understand when children's own rights and welfare are being infringed upon. *Interpersonal-Moral* knowledge informs the "right" and "wrong" behaviors in society. *Interpersonal-Moral* evaluations of social interactions are triggered by behaviors that threaten the safety (harm), trust (betrayal), fairness (sharing), or dignity of others (dehumanizing/ disrespect) (Smetana, 1997; Smetana, 1999). For example, parents of toddlers may prohibit negative behaviors such as taking toys away from other children, being too rough with other children, hitting other children and adults, and teasing or making fun of other children. On the other hand, parents may encourage positive behaviors such as sharing, taking turns, and playing nicely (Smetana et al., 2000). The system of values and rules in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain are generally characterized by the pressures of social obligation, perceived as universal, unchanging, and impersonal, and "determined by criteria other than agreement, consensus, or institutional convention" (Smetana, 1997, p. 166; elaboration see Turiel, 1983, 1998; Smetana, 1995a; Tisak, 1995; Nucci, 1996).

Others' Safety and Fairness Category

Events determined to carry *Interpersonal-Moral* domain messages are categorized as *Others' Safety and Fairness* and coded as INTP. These events generally involve parental behaviors that address issues of fairness, safety or harm of others, and consideration of others' rights. Some examples include parental action teaches children to not take toys away from others, sharing toys or playing nicely with others, not playing too rough with others, not hitting or harming others, and not teasing or calling others bad names. Below are examples of parental statements to toddlers and preschool children in the *Interpersonal-Moral* domain or *Others' Safety and Fairness* category:

"Don't just take the car from your friend."

"Please share your toys with you cousin."

"Hitting is a no no!"

"Keep your hands to yourself, please."

"Don't hit your brother. Leave him alone."

Conventional Domain

Parental socialization goals in the *Conventional* domain are to maintain appropriate social behavior and facilitate social interactions so that children function smoothly and efficiently. According to social domain theory, *Conventional* social knowledge is distinct from moral social knowledge conceptually and developmentally. Development of *Conventional* social knowledge requires the children to understand the social systems, social organizations, and social conventions to which they are regularly exposed (Davidson, Turiel, & Black, 1983; Nucci, 1981; Smetana, 1983;Smetana, 1995b; Turiel, 1979; Turiel, 1983; Turiel & Davidson, 1986). Knowledge under the *Conventional* domain regulates social interactions through uniform, arbitrary rules and values that have been consensually agreed upon by the members of the social systems or social organizations (Smetana, 1997). *Conventional* rules and values are characterized to be more pliable and contingent on context and authority (Helwig, Tisak, & Turiel, 1990; Smetana, 1995b) and generally reflect the collective knowledge of social systems and the determined rules of social engagement and interpersonal etiquette (Smetana, 1997; Smetana, 1999). More specifically, parents may employ strategies to regulate their toddlers around issues of obedience and orderly behavior (*e.g.*, doing what parents say, not talking back, waiting, and not shouting, yelling, or displaying "wild" behavior) and family and daily routines (*e.g.*, sitting and eating with the family, table manners, not spilling, putting toys away, keeping room neat, helping with family chores) (Smetana et al., 2000).

Four coded categories fall into the *Conventional* domain of social knowledge—*Orderly Behavior* (ORDR), *Food and Mealtime* (FOOD), *Family Routines and Chores* (ROUT), and *Social Manner* (SOCI). The following section will describe each *Conventional* domain category, establish decision rules for coding, and provide examples.

Orderly Behavior Category **(CODE: ORDR)**

The *Orderly Behavior* category captures parental messages that pertain to household order pertaining to children's behaviors and not the physical orderliness of the home. Events with parental behaviors that regulate volume and activity level of children, or ask children to wait or stay in a designated location are coded, after other message categories have been ruled out. For example, parental message that designate location related to eating and mealtime or self-care are not coded in the *Orderly Behavior* category. Similarly, messages that address children activity level with specific mention of safety are not coded in the *Orderly Behavior* category. Some examples include asking children to use indoor voice, stop running in the house, or wait until the parent is ready.

"Don't yell. I'm right here."

"Wait. I'll help you after I dry my hands."

"Ok, let me comb your sister's hair. Come on. Let me comb her hair."

"Come back in here."

"Stop running in the house."

***Food and Mealtime Category* (Code: FOOD)**

The *Food and Mealtime* category pertain to social knowledge messages that relate to food and eating conventions. Events about place and location that occurs around eating meals or snack are coded in the *Food and Mealtime* category, not the *Orderly Behavior* category. However, parenting messages at mealtime that address wiping hands and mouths are coded in the *Self-Care* category, not *Food and Mealtime*. Similarly, messages about wiping up the table after eating and putting dishes in the sink are coded in the *Family Routines and Chores* category, not *Food and Mealtime*. Some common topics include leaving the table before the meal is done, spilling food, playing with food, and using table manners.

"Use your fork please."

"Don't eat just your bacon. Eat your toast, too."

"Sit at the table for your breakfast."

"Don't play with your food."

"Did you spill your milk again?"

Family Routine and Chores Category **(Code: ROUT)**

The *Family Routine and Chores* category captures interactions around house work, cleaning up, and children's responsibilities. Unlike the *Orderly Behavior* category, the *Family Routine and Chores* category messages address the physical environment and parental conventional values for environmental cleanliness and organization of the home. In addition, this category includes messages around household management tasks and chores such as ironing and laundry, cooking and preparing food, sweeping and mopping, dishes, feeding the pet, changing the cat litter, closing/locking and answering the door and getting the mail.

"Oh, are you mopping the floor?"

"Time to feed the dog."

"Put your dishes in the sink."

"What'd I tell you about leaving your toys all over?"

"You're gonna help me clean the chittlins'?"

Social Manner Category **(Code: SOCI)**

Messages in the *Social Manner* category capture the social conventions for interactions such as social etiquette and niceties that may be the norms in the larger society, community, or specific to the family. Messages in this category also include recognition of holidays, traditions, and special occasions, such as Christmas, Halloween, birthdays, and anniversaries. *Social Manner* rules also include non-verbal behaviors such as waving greetings and farewells. Parental messages that encourage children to use words to identify or address others socially would also be coded in the *Social Manner* category. Transgressions in this category can be interpreted as disrespectful; however, unless parents universalize the rule with explicit reference to the dehumanizing nature of the transgression toward others, the event should be coded as *Social Manner*, not *Others' Safety and Fairness*.

"Wasn't that nice of Sam to give you a present? What do you say? Tell him 'thank you'."

"Move your head. You're blocking the TV."

"Happy birthday, Boo!"

"Today is mommy and daddy's anniversary."

"Say 'Momma'."

Psychological Domain

The *Psychological* domain consists of two sub-domains of social knowledge—*Prudential* and *Personal* (Smetana, 1999). The parental goals pertaining to *Prudential* social knowledge aim to help children ensure personal safety, comfort, and health (Shweder, Turiel, & Much, 1981; Smetana & Asquith, 1994; Tisak, 1993; Tisak & Turial, 1984). *Prudential* rules and values regulate behaviors that may cause immediate physical injury or harm to self (Smetana, 1999). Research suggests that parents generally consider the protection of property to also fall under the *Prudential* (Pragmatic) sub-domain. In lieu of a safety concern, parents feel that socializing kids to be stewards of their environment has a pragmatic purpose.

Parental goals in the *Personal* social knowledge domain are to encourage children's ability to assert and negotiate their wants and needs and instill their sense of self and autonomy with the demands and expectations the social systems and social organizations in which they live (Nucci & Lee, 1993). *Personal* rules and values generally refer to children's expression of preferences and choice of people, objects, and activities within the social systems and social organizations they live in such as friends, toys, food and drink, and play, and level of privacy and involves being aware of the state of one's body (Nucci, 1981; Nucci & Lee, 1993; Nucci & Weber, 1995; Smetana, 1983; Tisak, 1993; Turiel, 1983). Preference and choice act as boundaries between self and the social world that can be negotiated and/or renegotiated within families. *Personal* social knowledge is thought to be connected to children's sense of autonomy and distinctiveness from those around them (Nucci & Lee, 1993; Nucci, 1981). Research focused on children's development of *Personal* social knowledge found support in observations that are indicative of social conflicts between the observed children and their parents or peers (Nucci & Weber, 1995). However, more recent research has shown that some behaviors considered to be

Personal social knowledge for parents of preschoolers were considered to be part of the *Prudential* domain for those same parents when the children were in early toddlerhood, including selecting clothes, dressing self, toileting, selecting food, and selecting playmates (Smetana et al., 2000).

Four coded categories fall under the *Psychological* domain of social knowledge—*Personal Safety* (SAFE), *Protect Property* (PROP), *Self-care* (CARE), and *Personal and Choice* (PERS). The following section will describe each *Psychological* domain category, establish decision rules for coding, and provide examples.

***Personal Safety Category* (Code: SAFE)**

Parental messages in the *Personal Safety* category address children's behaviors that put children at risk of immediate (physical) and future (health-related) harm. Specific examples of *Personal Safety* issues parents may address with their toddlers include not touching dangerous things like knives or the hot stove, avoiding unsanitary objects and places, not going into the street, not climbing on furniture, taking extra care around or avoiding certain areas like stairs, and playing with electrical cords.

"Hold the railing so you don't fall."

"Don't pick that up. That's yuck! It fell on the ground."

"Put that cord down!"

"Move away from the edge before you fall off."

"You're gonna fall down if you keep spinning."

***Protect Property Category* (code: PROP)**

The *Protect Property* category captures parental messages that teach about caring for and preserving objects and belongings. *Prudential Pragmatic* rules may include not tearing or throwing books, not coloring on walls, playing with toys appropriately, and keeping away from prohibited objects that could break like valuable dishes or figurines (Smetana et al., 2000) without explicit mention of potential harm to the child if the object break. Messages could address property belonging either to the children or to others. Some events could be difficult to differentiate categories of social knowledge. In an example scenario when a child is standing on a sofa, if a parent states "Get your feet of my couch!" this event would be coded in the *Property Protection* category. If the parent's states "Get down from there and sit over here" would be coded in the *Orderly Behavior* category; however, if the parent has her arm out to block the child from falling and makes the same statement, this event would be coded as *Personal Safety*.

"Crayons are for your coloring books, not the wall!"

"Stop trying to break it up! Stop playing with the wheels, turnin them, too!"

"Stay away from my dishes! What did I tell you about playing with that?"

"What did I tell you about throwing things?"

Self-Care Category **(code: CARE)**

The *Self-Care* category captures parental messages that encourage children to take care of themselves with such tasks as washing, brushing hair or teeth, toileting, and going to bed. This category falls at the intersection of the *Personal* and *Prudential* sub-domains because many of the tasks are done for the purpose of cleanliness and health and will cover messages that convey parental values and expectations regarding personal self-care behaviors. The *Self-Care* category also includes parental encouragements for children to make developmental gains such as walking independently and using words to ask for something the child needs or wants.

Mother is fixing child's pants.

"Go get on your pillow so I can change your diaper."

"Go wash up. It's times to eat."

Child reaches up to parent to be picked up. "Say Up. Up."

Parent to a non-independent walker, "Let's walk. We haven't walked today yet."

Personal and Choice Category **(code: PERS)**

The *Personal and Choice* category captures parental messages that encourage children think about the self, which includes who they are, what they need, want, like or dislike, and how they feel such as being happy or sad, hot or cold, hungry, thirsty, sleepy, or needing to use the toilet. This category is wide ranging because it covers all messages that encourage children's development of their sense of themselves as separate from others. Parental messages that prompt children to make choices for themselves, regardless of topic are coded in the *Personal and Choice* category. Prompts for children to make choices for others are coded based on content. For example, "Do you want me to fix your socks?" would be coded as *Self-Care*. In addition, parental messages that encourages children to evaluate or give voice to how they feel, emotionally or physiologically, are coded in the *Personal and Choice* category. For example, "Those masks scare you?" or "Your feet are so cold." Finally, messages events that encourage children to know or understand more about themselves, such as names, ages, and physical and personality descriptions, are coded as *Personal and Choice*.

"Juice or milk?"

"What are y'all doing up here? It's so hot!"

"What's your name?"

"How old are you?"

"Are you sleepy?"

"Yeah, you're two years old. You're a big girl."

"The camera making you nervous, huh."

PARENTING PRACTICES: STRATEGIES AND BEHAVIORS

Parenting practice codes are organized along the dimensions of parental power assertion—*High Power*, *Moderate Power*, and *Low Power*. Each group consist of categories of parenting practice, and each category has sub-categories that further describe or differentiate parent practices. Only parenting behaviors located within coded social knowledge message events are coded. One message event should have one or more parenting practice codes. Some parenting practice codes stand alone with each action, however, there are parenting practices that only become apparent through the use of multiple other practices. Those practices will be noted in the descriptions that follow.

High Power Parenting Practices

The *High Power* group consists of parenting strategies and behaviors that significantly restrict children's ability to assert their own autonomy. There are three (3) coded parenting practice categories under the *High Power* group—*Physical Discipline* (PNSH), *Physical Redirection* (REDR), and *Threat* (THRT).

Physical Discipline **(code: PNSH)**

Physical Discipline practices occurs in reaction to children's transgressions. There are two sub-codes used with coded *Physical Discipline*. The HND (Hand) is the sub-code when parents use their hands for physical discipline. When parents use something other than their hands (*i.e.*, belt, spoon, etc.) to physically discipline their children, the sub-code TOL (Tool) accompany the *Physical Discipline* code.

EXAMPLE:

Mother gives one firm spank on child's bottom with her hand [PNSH, HND].

Physical Redirection **(code: REDR)**

Physical redirection provides children with little alternative outside of complying with parental demands and requests. When parents use intrusive or forceful physical interventions to gain children's compliance or attention, the sub-code FRC (Forceful) is used. For example, a parent might lead a child to where they want the child to go or manually shift a child's gaze to look at the parent for attention. When parents use non-forceful or unobtrusive physical intervention to gain compliance, the sub-code MOF (Matter-of-fact) is used.

EXAMPLE:

Mom pulls child back to the living room holding his hand as he tries to pull away [REDR, FRC].

Mom pushes the bowl under the child so the milk and cereal does spill on the table [REDR, MOF]

***Threats* (code: THRT)**

Threat practices are parental verbal statements or physical gestures that inform children that there will be negative consequences for transgressions. The sub-categories for the Threat category indicate whether the *Threat* is *Verbal* (V-) or *Physical* (P-). In addition, the sub-category code will also indicate the stated or implied negative consequence for continued non-compliance. A *Threat* that is *Verbal* with a consequence of spanking is coded as THRT, VPNSH. A *Threat* that is *Physical* with a consequence of having the plate of food taken away is coded as THRT, PDEPR. The consequence sub-category codes should reflect other parenting practice codes in the manual.

EXAMPLE:

"Touch that again and I'm getting the belt." [THRT, PNSH]

Moderate Power Parenting Practices

The *Moderate Power* group of parenting practices consist of parenting strategies and behaviors that utilize moderate to moderate-low levels of parental power assertion measured in balance with levels of perceived child autonomy. The four (4) coded categories of parenting practices include *Direct Command* (*i.e.* directives and prohibitions) (DCOM), *Indirect Command* (*e.g.*, suggestions) (ICOM), *Unclear Command* (*e.g.*, "Hey!" "Uh uh") (UCOM), and *Bribe* (BRIB).

***Direct Command* (code: DCOM)**

Direct commands are identified as explicit verbal or physical commands that include both directives and prohibitions. *Direct Command* codes have sub-codes that indicate whether those commands were *Verbal* (VRB), *Physical* (PHY), or a combination of *Verbal and Physical* (VNP).

EXAMPLE:

Mother says, "Put that in the trash for me." [DCOM, VRB]

Mother says, "Put that in the trash for me" and gestures towards the kitchen. [DCOM, VNP]

Indirect Command **(code: ICOM)**

Indirect commands frequently are suggestions, requests, polite commands with the purpose of directing or prohibiting children's behaviors. Indirect command codes may also have sub-codes that indicate whether the commands were *Verbal* (VRB), *Physical* (PHY), or a combination of *Verbal and Physical* (VNP).

EXAMPLE:

"Could you throw that in the trash?" [ICOM, VRB]

"Here." Mother hands the child her bottle. [ICOM, VNP]

Unclear Command **(code: UCOM)**

Unclear Command is identified by the uncertainty of the message that parents are attempting to convey. The verbalization or physical behavior may be directive or prohibitive but children are not provided with clear instructions of what to do or not do. *Unclear Command* codes have sub-codes that indicate whether the commands were *Verbal* (VRB), *Physical* (PHY), or a combination of *Verbal and Physical* (VNP).

EXAMPLE:

A toddler is about to grab a glass figurine on the side table. Mother says, "Uh uh!" [UCOM, VRB]

Low Power Parenting Practice

The *Low Power* group of parenting practice consists of strategies and behaviors that utilize cognitive and emotional approaches to parental control that de-emphasize explicit assertion of parental power. Practices known in the literature as inductive discipline are found in this group including negotiations, reminders, explanations, persuasion, questioning, and reasoning. In addition, punitive practices such as parental *withdrawal of love* and *affection* and *privileges* do not physically force children to comply with parental authority but carry higher levels of implicit parent power because of they rely on emotional and psychological pressures in the parent-child relationship. Some examples of these practices include ignoring, time outs, and restrictions from preferred activities, toys, games, foods, and drinks. There are seven (7) coded parenting practices under the *Low Power* group—*Deprivation* (DEPR), *Modeling* (MODL), *Negotiation* (NEGO), *Reprimand* (REPR), *Persuade Reason Explain* (PREV), *Reminder* (RMDR), and *Reward* (RWRD).

***Deprivation* (code: DEPR)**

Deprivation practices restrict children from parental *affection*, *privileges*, and *food or drink* as consequences for transgressions or non-compliance with parental wishes or rules. To clarify the deprivation code, three (3) sub-codes will indicate the object of desire being restricted—*Affection* (AFF), *Privilege* (PRV), and *Food or Drink* (EAT). A time-out would carry a PRV sub-code to designate the restriction from the privilege of engaging in any activity for a period of time. The *Deprivation* practice may have other parenting practices coded concurrently to capture parents' intentions to punitively restrict their children.

EXAMPLE:

> Child has been swinging his pillow around the room and teasing his younger brother. His mother is frustrated that he continues to behave this way. She says "Now lay on that pillow [DCOM, VRB]. Get up on that couch [DCOM, VRB]." [DEPR, PRV]

***Modeling* (code: MODL)**

The *Modeling* category includes verbal, physical, or a combination of verbal and physical behaviors that demonstrates to children how something is done. This could include demonstrations on speaking, using a utensil, sweeping, writing or drawing, and dressing. Children absorb new information at all times through observation, therefore, the *Modeling* category is used for both intentional and unintentional behaviors of demonstration. An example of unintentional demonstration includes parental daily routine activities done in the presence of children while children are observed to be watching. Sub-categories for *Modeling* captures the ways in which parents are demonstrating preferred behaviors including *Verbal* (VRB), *Physical* (PHY), and a combination of *Verbal* and *Physical* (VNP).

EXAMPLE:

Mom imitates the sound on TV "Mmmm." And says "Mommy." [MODL, VRB]

Mom takes the pencil, draws a line on the paper in front of the child, and gives the pencil back. [MODL, PHY]

Mom takes the pencil and draws a line on the paper in front of the child while stating, "Like this." [MODL, VNP]

***Negotiation* (code: NEGO)**

Negotiations refer to parental efforts to make deals with children to gain compliance. It is different from *Bribe* due to the lower level of parental power assertion evidenced by a give and take process. This is clarified by the sub-codes used with the negotiation code, parent-initiated (PRI) and child-initiated (CHI) negotiation. *Negotiation* may only become apparent after the use of other multiple practices.

EXAMPLE:

The child wants candy but does not want to share with her sister. The mother states, "You can have some candy but you have to share some with your sister." [NEGO, PRI]

***Persuade Reason Explain* (code: PREV)**

Practices in the *Persuade Reason Explain* category are statements and questions stimulate children's thinking about their behavior and the positive and negative consequences of their behaviors on their personal selves, others, and objects in their environment with the goal of increasing understanding about rules and convincing children to follow them or avoid breaking them. The sub-codes will differentiate whether parental statements and questions are focused on positive or negative consequences on children's personal selves (SFP or SFN), on others around them (OFP or OFN), or on objects in their environment (OBP or OBN).

EXAMPLE:

"She coming out, Tammy [PREV, OFP]. Cause see, you gonna hurt yourself in that window [PREV, SFN]."

"The chair's gonna break if you keep jumping on it." [PREV, OBN]

***Reprimand* (code: REPR)**

The *Reprimand* category includes practices such as statements of disapproval or disappointment, negative evaluation, and criticism of children or children's behaviors that state or imply that children have committed transgressions. The *Reprimand* codes have sub-codes that indicate whether parents are directing their reprimand toward the children (CHO) or children's behaviors (BHO).

EXAMPLE:

"Why you so bad? Hmm?" [REPR, CHO]

***Reminder* (code: RMDR)**

Reminder practices are employed to reinforce rules and expectations or cue children that they have committed, are committing or about to commit transgressions. Parents remind children in various ways—by asking children pointed questions to encourage children to think about rules and expectations, making direct statements about the potential transgressions, and using non-verbal signals or gestures. The three (3) sub-codes for reminders are *Question* (QUE), *Statement* (STM), and *Physical* (PHY).

EXAMPLE:

"What'd I tell you about throwing things?" [RMDR, QUE]

"You're not suppose to be playing by the bike." [RMDR, STM]

***Reward* (code: RWRD)**

Practices in the *Reward* are incentives for compliance and good behavior; however, to not be considered and coded as *Bribe*, the incentive cannot be known to the child before it is given. Reward practices act to reinforce children's positive behavior through parental approval, affection, or attention, preferred objects such as toys or treats, and preferred activities. Sub-categories for *Reward* practices reflect the four (4) incentives children can receive from parents including *Praise* (PRS), *Affection* (AFF), *Food or Drink* (EAT), and *Privilege* (PRV).

EXAMPLE:

"You a smart one, aren't you?" [PRAS, CHO]

The child puts the cup by the sink and returns to mom. Mom hugs her [RWRD, AFF].

Table B.01 Social Knowledge Messages: Domains & Sub-Domains, Message Categories, Codes, and Behavioral Standards

Domain & Sub-Domain	Message Category	Code	Behavioral Standards
Interpersonal-Moral			
	Others' Safety and Fairness	INTP	Not taking toys away from other children Being respectful of others, adults & children Not being too rough with other children Not teasing or making fun of other children
Conventional			
	Orderly Behavior	ORDR	Learning to wait or delay Staying in designated areas or not going into restricted areas Not yelling, running around wildly
	Food and Mealtime	FOOD	Not leaving table in the middle of meal Eating all food given or not wasting food Not playing or spilling with food or drink
	Family Routines and Chores	ROUT	Sweeping, mopping, prepping and cooking food, answering door Putting toys away; keeping room or area clean Wiping tables, picking up garbage, putting dishes in sink Being responsible for a family chore (e.g., setting table, feeding pets)
	Social Manner	SOCI	Social manners and niceties (e.g., thank you, sorry, excuse me, please, etc.) Not walking between people who are talking or blocking someone's view Attending to social relationships
Psychological			
Prudential	Personal Safety	SAFE	Not touching things that are dangerous such as knives, cords, hot stove or pan Not running, falling, or tripping that could result in injury Staying away from certain areas, such as stairs or high objects Not climbing on furniture or jumping food furniture
Prudential Pragmatic	Protect Property	PROP	Keeping away from prohibited objects that could break Treating objects well; not tearing up books or breaking toys Not coloring on walls or furniture Awareness of ownership of property (self vs. others)
Personal Prudential	Self-Care	CARE	Washing up or brushing teeth; getting dress; potty training Gaining skills to be more self-sufficient; walking; making requests
Personal	Personal and Choice	PERS	Understanding internal states like being hungry, thirsty, tired, sad, happy, etc. Awareness of comfort and discomfort—too hot, too cold, sick, hurt, etc. Preference and choice for clothes, food or drink, toys, and friends or playmates

Table B.02 Parenting Practices: Power Dimensions, Practice Categories & Codes, Sub-Categories & Codes, and Behavior Standards

Power Dimension	Practice Category	Code	Sub-Category	Code	Behavior Standards
High Power	Physical Discipline	PNSH	Hand	HND	Physical discipline with the parent's hand
			Tool	TOL	Physical discipline with an object as a consequence of transgression
	Physical Redirection	REDR	Forceful	FRC	Intrusive or forceful physical interventions that require child compliance
					Characterized by child resistance
			Matter-of-Fact	MOF	Non-forceful physical intervention; no child resistance
					Non-intrusive physical intervention that accomplish rule compliance without child action usually done during caretaking
	Threat	THRT	Verbal [*consequence*]	V[*cons*]	Parental statement that indicate consequence for child noncompliance of request or rule
			Physical [*consequence*]	P[*cons*]	Parental gesture that indicate the consequence for child noncompliance of request or rule
Moderate Power	Bribe	BRIB	[*Reward*]	[*reward*]	Parent stated reward offered for child compliant behavior
	Direct Command	DCOM	Verbal Only	VRB	Explicit verbal directive or prohibition of child behavior
			Physical Only	PHY	Explicit gesture used as directive or prohibition of child behavior
			Verbal & Physical	VNP	Explicit verbal and gesture directive or prohibition of child behavior
	Indirect Command	ICOM	Verbal Only	VRB	Verbal suggestion or request of child compliant behavior
			Physical Only	PHY	Physical gesture suggesting or requesting child compliant behavior
			Verbal & Physical	VNP	Verbal and physical gesture suggesting or requesting child compliant behavior
	Unclear Command	UCOM	Verbal Only	VRB	Unclear verbal stating of directive or prohibition
			Physical Only	PHY	Unclear physical gesturing of directive or prohibition
			Verbal & Physical	VNP	Unclear verbal and physical conveyance of directive or prohibition

(*Table continues on next page*)

Table B.02 Parenting Practices: Power Dimensions, Practice Categories & Codes, Sub-Categories & Codes, and Behavior Standards (*continued*)

Power Dimension	Practice Category	Code	Sub-Category	Code	Behavior Standards
Low Power	Deprivation	DEPR	Privileges	PRV	Discipline that restricts the child from desired object or activity
			Affection	AFF	Discipline that restricts the child from parental attention or affection
			Food or Drink	EAT	Discipline that restricts the child from food or drink
	Modeling	MODL	Verbal Only	VRB	Verbal demonstration without physical accompaniment
			Physical Only	PHY	Physical demonstration without verbal accompaniment
			Verbal & Physical	VNP	Combination of verbal and physical demonstration concurrently
	Negotiation	NEGO	Parent-initiated	PRI	Parent initiated transaction that attempts to make a deal for child compliance
			Child-initiated	CHI	Child initiated transaction that attempts to make a deal for child compliance
	Persuade Reason Explain	PREV	Self-focus positive	SFP	Statements or questions that justify compliance with benefits to child
			Self-focus negative	SFN	Statements or questions that justify compliance with consequences to child
			Object-focus positive	OBP	Statements or questions that justify compliance with benefits to objects
			Object-focus negative	OBN	Statements or questions that justify compliance with consequences to objects
			Other-focus positive	OFP	Statements or questions that justify compliance with benefits to others
			Other-focus negative	OFN	Statements or questions that justify compliance with consequences to others
	Reprimand	REPR	Child-oriented	CHO	Negative evaluation or criticism of child; Statement of disappointment
			Behavior-oriented	BHO	Negative evaluation or criticism of child's behavior
	Reminder	RMDR	Question	QUE	Inquiry by parent that acts to remind child of rule
			Statement	STM	Statement by parent that acts to remind child of rule
			Physical	PHY	Physical signal reminding child of rules and expectations
	Reward	RWRD	Food or Drink	EAT	Clear action of giving food or drink in response to compliant behavior
			Privilege	PRV	Clear action of giving preferred object in response to compliant behavior
			Physical Affection	AFF	Clear action of giving physical affection in response to compliant behavior
			Verbal Praise	PRS	Positive verbal evaluation of the child or child's behavior

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