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**The physical context of the classroom as mediator of children's  
social integration process in the school environment**

**Montalvo-Del Valle, Julio V., Ph.D.**

**City University of New York, 1995**

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A

**THE PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE CLASSROOM AS A MEDIATOR  
OF CHILDREN'S SOCIAL INTEGRATION PROCESS  
IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT**

**By**

**JULIO V. MONTALVO-DEL VALLE**

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Psychology in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1995

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**Abstract**

**THE PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE CLASSROOM AS A MEDIATOR OF CHILDREN'S SOCIAL  
INTEGRATION PROCESS IN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT**

**By**

**Julio V. Montalvo-Del Valle**

**Adviser: Professor Maxine Wolfe**

**This research includes a thorough analysis of "socialization" as a concept in several social scientific disciplines followed by a critique and a reformulation of the concept from a dialectical perspective, as social integration. The aim is to study children's social integration process in the classroom environment. Three issues are examined: (1) the relationship between parental and school values and the teacher's rating of the child's performance; (2) the relationship between knowledge and experience of the home and the school environment, and the teacher's evaluation of the children's skills and abilities; and (3) the relationship between the children's material home-life conditions and the (a) development of scholastic skills, abilities and knowledge as part of the school's learning process and the (b) teacher's conceptions of the children's learning and social integration process within the classroom. According to expectations the teacher underevaluated children whose home environments, family attitudes, childrearing practices and values had low congruence with hers; contrariwise she evaluated more positively or highly children whose home environments, family attitudes, childrearing practices and values were highly congruent with hers. The findings also confirm that the teacher underevaluated those children who had a wide range of home-related, self-care, tool-handling and a high overall score of domestic skills, and highly evaluated children who had a wide range of home-based, school-related, and a high overall score of academic skills.**

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b> . . . . .	v
<b>LIST OF TABLES</b> . . . . .	xii
<b>LIST OF FIGURES</b> . . . . .	xiii
 <b>Chapter</b>	
<b>I. INTRODUCTION</b> . . . . .	1
<b>Overview</b>	
<b>Socialization in Context</b> . . . . .	3
<b>Historical Analysis of the Concept of Socialization</b> . . .	4
<b>The Sociological Perspectives</b> . . . . .	5
<b>The Anthropological Perspectives</b> . . . . .	13
<b>The Psychological Perspectives</b> . . . . .	17
<b>Socialization in the Historical, Social-Scientific         Perspective: A Summary and a Critique</b> . . . . .	27
<b>Socialization in the School Environment</b> . . . . .	37
<b>The Physical Context of the Classroom As An Instrument             in School Integration Process</b> . . . . .	42
<b>Statement of the Research Problem</b> . . . . .	45
<b>II. METHODOLOGY</b> . . . . .	49
<b>Research Design and Procedure</b> . . . . .	49
<b>The School Setting</b> . . . . .	49
<b>School Description</b> . . . . .	52
<b>Physical organization</b> . . . . .	52
<b>The kindergarten classroom</b> . . . . .	53
<b>Sample</b> . . . . .	54
<b>Research Techniques and Procedures</b> . . . . .	55
<b>Parent's Interviews</b> . . . . .	55
<b>Rationale for Parents' Interviews</b> . . . . .	57
<b>Teacher's Interview</b> . . . . .	59
<b>Rationale for Teacher's Interview</b> . . . . .	60
<b>Children's Interviews</b> . . . . .	61

Chapter	Page
Rationale for Children's Interview . . . . .	62
Classroom Observations . . . . .	64
Rationale for classroom observations . . . . .	65
Complementary Procedures and Sources of Information . . . . .	66
Qualitative naturalistic observations . . . . .	66
Teacher's records . . . . .	67
School's records . . . . .	67
Sequence of Methods Used . . . . .	67
Data Analysis . . . . .	70
Overview	
Analysis of Data Relevant to Hypotheses Testing . . . . .	70
Method of assessing congruence scores (CS) . . . . .	70
Procedure for assessing congruence scores (CS) . . . . .	71
Use of the Congruence Scales . . . . .	71
Method for assessing skills scores (SS) . . . . .	72
Procedure for assessing skills scores (SS) . . . . .	72
Use of the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills Scales . . . . .	74
Method for developing measures from the teacher's evaluation system (TES) . . . . .	75
Procedure for developing measures from the teacher's evaluation system (TES) . . . . .	75
III. FINDINGS . . . . .	77
Parental and School Values, and the Teacher's Ratings of Child's Performance . . . . .	77
Congruence Scores and the Teacher's Evaluation . . . . .	78
Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) and the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence . . . . .	80
Children's Skills and Knowledge, and the Teacher's Ratings of Child's Performance . . . . .	80
Children's Domestic and Academic Skills and Knowledge, and the Teacher's Rating of Child Performance . . . . .	82

Chapter	Page
Teacher Evaluation One (TE1) and the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills . . . . .	82
Summary of the Parents/Teacher's Value Congruence, and the Children's Skills Analysis Findings . . . . .	84
<b>IV. CHILDREN'S CASE STUDIES . . . . .</b>	<b>88</b>
<b>Overview</b>	
Congruent and Incongruent Child's Home and School Environment Experience Case Studies . . . . .	88
Marina: A Child Whose Home Environmental Experiences, Family Values and Attitudes, and Childrearing Practices Are Congruent With Those of the Teacher . . . . .	89
Ceferino: A Child Whose Home Environmental Experiences, Family Values and Attitudes, and Childrearing Practices Are Incongruent With Those of The Teacher . . . . .	115
Four Case Studies of Children's With Varied Academic and Domestic Skills and Knowledge . . . . .	139
Alfonso: An Overrated Child With a Wide Range of Academic and Domestic Skills and Knowledge . . . . .	139
Amara: An Overrated Child With A Wide Range of Academic Skills and Knowledge, and A Narrow Range of Domestic Skills and knowledge . . . . .	152
Ramiro: An Underevaluated Child With A Narrow Range of Academic Skills and Knowledge, and A Wide Range of Domestic Skills and knowledge . . . . .	164
Norca: An Underevaluated Child With A Narrow Range of Academic and Domestic Skills and Knowledge . . . . .	180
<b>V. DISCUSSION . . . . .</b>	<b>188</b>
Child Personal Style . . . . .	189
Spatial Social Range . . . . .	190
Activities . . . . .	193
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies . . . . .	195
Child's Relationship to Authority . . . . .	197
The Children's Skills and Knowledge . . . . .	200
Implications . . . . .	208

Chapter	Page
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
Appendix A: "Informe de Progreso del Estudiante" [Student Progress Report] . . . . .	217
Appendix B: José Rodríguez de Soto School Structure Sketch . . .	219
Appendix C: Household Income and Occupation . . . . .	220
Appendix D: Parents' Interview . . . . .	221
Appendix E: Teacher's Interview . . . . .	235
Appendix F: "Formulario de Información Básica Sobre Su Hijo/a" [Child's Basic Information Questionnaire] . . . . .	244
Appendix G: Children's Interview . . . . .	246
Appendix H: Classroom Observation Form . . . . .	252
Appendix I: Procedure for Generating Congruence Scores . . . .	253
Appendix J: Table J-1. Correlation Matrix of Parents'/ Teacher's Value Congruence During Time One . . . . .	255
Table J-2. Correlation Matrix of Parents'/ Teacher's Value Congruence During Time Two . . . . .	256
Appendix K: Table K-1. Correlation Matrix of Children's Scores On Domestic and Academic Skills Scales During Time One . . . . .	257
Table K-2. Correlation Matrix of Children's Scores On Domestic and Academic Skills Scales During Time Two . . . . .	258
Appendix L: Teacher's Ratings of Children's Performance According to the Teacher's Evaluation Type . . . . .	259
Appendix M: The Qualitative Teacher Evaluation (QTE) . . . . .	260
Appendix N: Table N-1. Teacher's Evaluation System (TES) and the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence for Times One and Two . . . . .	263
Table N-2. Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) and the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence for Times One and Two . . . . .	264
Table N-3. Teacher's Evaluation Two (TE2) and the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence for Times One and Two . . . . .	265
Appendix O: Table O-1. Teacher's Evaluation System(TES) and the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills for Times One and Two . . . . .	266

Chapter	Page
Table O-2. Teacher's Evaluation Two (TE2) and the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills for Times One and Two . . . . .	267
Table O-3. Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) and the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills for Times One and Two . . . . .	268
Appendix P: Parents/Teacher's Value Congruence, Children's Skills and the Teacher's Ratings of Child Performance Before (Time One) and After (Time Two) the School Semester Began: A Supplementary Comparative Analysis . . . . .	269
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	256

**LIST OF TABLES**

<b>Table</b>	<b>Page</b>
<b>1 Qualitative Naturalistic Observations-Related Activities . . . . .</b>	<b>68</b>
<b>2 List of Children's Domestic and Academic Skills . . . . .</b>	<b>73</b>
<b>3 High Congruence Children's in the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence Scales for Times One and Two . . . . .</b>	<b>79</b>
<b>4 Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) and the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence for Times One and Two . . . . .</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>5 High Skill Value Children in the Domestic and Academic Skills Scales for Times One and Two . . . . .</b>	<b>83</b>
<b>6 Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) of the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills Scales and the Teacher's Ratings of Child's Performance for Times One and Two . . . . .</b>	<b>85</b>
<b>7 Summary of Findings for Hypotheses Testing During Time One and Time Two . . . . .</b>	<b>86</b>

**LIST OF FIGURES**

<b>Figure</b>		<b>Page</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>Sequence of Methods Used in this Research . . . . .</b>	<b>69</b>

CHAPTER I  
INTRODUCTION

Overview

As a research area socialization has a long history corresponding to the changing meanings, uses and interpretations of the concept in the social sciences and other related disciplines. This research includes a thorough analysis of the various and diverse uses of "socialization" as a concept in several social scientific disciplines (mainly in anthropology, sociology and psychology) followed by a critique and a reformulation of the concept from a dialectical perspective, as social integration.

A conceptual framework is developed and special attention is given to the physical instances, part of the material conditions, in which integration occurs as dialectically-related to the social structures of society. The analysis explores the understanding of how social integration occurs in the school environment as one of the most influential settings of individual development in society. Therefore, a main interest of this research is to understand how the school environment impacts children's lives at the very moment of the transition from the home environment to the school environment.

The aim is to study children's "socialization" process through the physical context of the classroom. The working premise is that school will integrate children to learning dominant cultural values. But, depending on the children's cultural and socioeconomic background and their gender, the values that are taught and the ways they are communicated do not necessarily relate to children's experience. Thus, these values may not be meaningful for them. Learning is viewed in terms of formal activities that do not account for the range of experiential backgrounds children bring to the classroom situation. This, in turn, produces incongruence between school goals and expectations and children's goals and expectations.

The following three issues are examined: (1) the relationship between parental and school values and the teacher's rating of the child's performance; (2) the relationship between knowledge and experience of the home and the school environment, and the teacher's evaluation of the children's skills and abilities; and (3) the relationship between the children's material home-life conditions and the (a) development of scholastic skills, abilities and knowledge as part of the school's learning process and the (b) teacher's conceptions of the children's learning and social integration process within the classroom environment.

The overall hypothesis of the study is that children's behavior and attitudes in school will be evaluated based on the extent to which they conform to dominant ideology as translated by the teacher within the classroom. Based on this hypothesis, two specific hypotheses were tested. The first hypothesis stated that: children will be positively or highly evaluated by the teacher if their home environmental experiences, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices are congruent with the teacher's expectations of what children should come to school with. According to expectations the teacher underevaluated children whose home environments, family attitudes, childrearing practices and values had low congruence with hers; contrariwise she evaluated more positively or highly children whose home environments, family attitudes, childrearing practices and values were highly congruent with hers. The second hypothesis stated that: children with a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge, when compared with children with a wide range of academic skills, will be underevaluated by the teacher. The findings confirm that the teacher underevaluated those children who had a wide range of home-related, self-care, tool-handling and a high overall score of domestic skills, and highly evaluated children who had a wide range of home-based, school-related, and a high overall score of academic skills.

### Socialization in Context

Socialization is a concept with widespread use and meaning in the social sciences. Two general connotations can be identified among the many uses and meanings the concept has in the social scientific literature. One of the connotations is political-economic, which defines socialization as the process of bringing the industry and services of a country under governmental control (Scruton, 1982; Wolman, 1973). The other connotation defines socialization as a process in and by which the individual become part of social structure by learning the ways, ideas, beliefs, values, patterns and norms of his or her particular culture and adapting them as a part of his or her own personality (Wolman, 1973). This later meaning is the one taken by sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists (particularly social and developmental) in analyzing the different aspects of the process (Burton, 1968; Greenstein, 1968; Hargreaves, 1985; Lott, 1973; Nimkoff, 1964; Whiting, 1968). However, this connotation was not predominant until after the mid-1930's. Clausen (1968b) emphasizes this fact stating that: "It is noteworthy that when the original Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences was published in the early 1930's, the article on socialization dealt with the political-economic concept, not the socio-psychological one. The following International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, on the other hand, will deal with the socialization of the person, not the means of production" (see footnote 2, pp. 23-24).

The current use of the term in the literature varies. Most often socialization designates a general area of interest, not a sharply definable process (Clausen, 1968b; Hargreaves, 1985; Nimkoff, 1964). Sharper delimitation can be achieved when referring to a subarea, such as political socialization (Greenstein, 1968; Inkeles, 1968) or socialization to a particular group or role relationship (Brim, 1968). But even here clear delineation of boundaries is difficult (Clausen, 1968b). In reference to important aspects or segments of socialization

there are other germane words or concepts that do as well as "socialization" designating a focus of interest, such as: child rearing, social orientation of the child, child's social development, education, enculturation, role learning, occupational preparation, preparation for marriage and parenthood, adaptation or adjustment to changing individual powers or changing social demands, changing reference groups or reference sets (Burton, 1968; Clausen, 1968b; Lott, 1973; Oden, 1982; Whiting, 1968).

However, the aforementioned connotations reveal the study of socialization as a core concept in the social sciences, with a history of diverse meanings and approaches. Because of the centrality of socialization as a concept to the present research, its historical development will be examined.

#### Historical Analysis of the Concept of Socialization

Sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists have studied the process of socialization. Its emergence as a topic occurred almost simultaneously in all three disciplines in the late 1930s. Since different social scientific perspectives have been taken in the study of this process, its meaning has changed accordingly. The conceptual and theoretical approaches in a particular period of time (e.g., functionalist, cultural, behavioristic, Freudian, cognitive among others), and the research concerns (e.g., on social institutions, cultural transmission of values, or the development of the self-concept, among the most traditional) (Hargreaves, 1985) have also varied throughout time. It is noteworthy that the use of the concept of socialization has changed according to the historical development of the social sciences. Thus, historically a shift in meaning and content may be noted in the disciplines that have traditionally studied society, culture and personality. Therefore, the concept of socialization will be examined as it developed historically through the sociological, the anthropological and the psychological perspectives.

### The Sociological Perspectives

Although theories of socialization are to be found in Plato's Republic, in Montaigne, in Rousseau, and in the writings of several scholars and thinkers from the time of the first traces of written language to the present, it was in sociology that the term was first used with a scientific connotation.

The early conceptual use of the term and its various related derivations began to appear in sociological writings in the mid 1890's. However, the dates corresponding to the use of the term for this period of time are approximate due to disagreement on the exact year in which sociological studies of socialization began. For example, Wirth (1947) (in Wentworth, 1980) points out that 1915 is the symbolic year of this event. Wentworth (1980) prefers 1918 because it appears more reasonably accurate than merely symbolic and it is aligned with the publication of a work of lasting significance. And Clausen (1968a) records the beginnings of sociological research relating to socialization in the late 1920's. Therefore, this time period comprises the approximate years from the mid-1890's to the late 1920's.

Simmel's uses of socialization as the process of group formation or development of the forms of association (Simmel, 1895 in Clausen, 1968a). In 1896 Giddings added a different meaning to socialization; he considered that individuals were driven together by various "socialization forces" which he designated as the forces acting towards social ends, "...--that create association, perfect social organization and develop a social nature. They may arise outside society or within it. Soil and climate, for example, and the appetites and passions of individuals are often socializing forces" (Giddings, 1896, p. xv in Wentworth, 1980).

According to this use of the term, people were assumed to have an inherent nature prior to social contact, socialization was seen to redirect an already existing complex of specific impulses rather than as, in the modern sense, a process during which "human nature" is actually constituted as in the form of a self (Wentworth, 1980). Therefore, socialization was viewed as the molding of the individual's feeling and desires, to suit the needs of the group (Ross, 1896 in Clausen, 1968a). In this light, the concept was conceived as the development of a social nature or character --a social state of mind-- in individuals who associate (Giddings, 1897 in Clausen, 1968a). Although socialization was seen as impinging on the individual, sociologists were more concerned with the effect at the level of society so that "all men live together as members of one family" (Park & Burgess, 1921, p. 496).

The term continued to be used with markedly varied meanings, though it was most often employed in discussions of the bases for harmonious social relationships and for the persistence and unity of human groups. According to Clausen (1968a), the connotation of we-feeling and of psychic or spiritual participation of the individual in collective activities was at least as common as the idea that socialization includes the gradual incorporation by the individual of the beliefs and customs of his or her society or group. In the late nineteenth century United States it was common to read of people who were "unsocialized". They were generally new immigrants to this country. It also included homeless street children who had to be educated to be "proper citizens." In many cases the children were shipped West by the Children's Aid Society to work on farms and factories under the watchful eye of "proper citizens." They also were cheap labor for those people. The term definitively had the meaning of "civilized".

Wentworth (1980) emphasizes the idea that early sociologists were unaware of the effects of simple fostering activity; socialization was, however, something different and something more: "it was at root a moral or ethical phenomenon. Socialization put the final touches on individuals, making them fit for an orderly society" (p. 17). This moral attitude contributed to the interchangeable use of the terms "socialization" and "civilization" at the time (Small, 1905 in Wentworth, 1980)). This aspect also contributed to sociologists' appeal to "inadequate socialization" as an explanation for disreputable or dishonest behavior. If an individual's naturally asocial nature were not properly adapted for society, immoral conduct would be the result (Wentworth, 1980). Therefore, the predominant usage of the term was in reference to the "shaping" of the person and to the mechanism by which they were transformed into persons.

It appears that the term socialization was employed rather casually through most of the 1920's, but it appeared somewhat regularly towards the end of the decade (Clausen, 1968a; Wentworth, 1980; Wirth, 1947 in Wentworth, 1980). By the 1930's influences from behaviorism, the works in the field of pedagogy (especially the influence of John Dewey), and the emergence of empirical research in sociology and anthropology became noticeable. However, socialization was not the concept under which the social development of the person and personality were discussed. Rather the interest in "culture and personality" became widespread, and during the late 1920's or early 1930's this phrasing was widely used to include much of what socialization currently connotes. By the mid-1930's there is evidence of interdisciplinary influences and it is no longer feasible to trace lines of influences within a single discipline.

It was not until 1939 that the term socialization came to be widely used in its present sense. Even then a vestige of earlier uses remained (Clausen, 1968a; Wentworth, 1980). In 1937 and 1940,

socialization came into its own as an organizing principle in two of the most popular American textbooks of sociology (Ogburn & Nimkoff, 1940 in Clausen, 1968a; Sutherland & Woodward, 1937 in Clausen, 1968a); each text devoted a series of chapters to the topic. Thus, although the term socialization was seldom employed in the earlier decades of the century, sociology had not neglected the phenomenon of socialization. Wentworth (1980) discusses the evolution of the term vis à vis the own historical development of the social sciences in the United States. In fact, this author discusses more thoroughly the underlying theoretical issues of socialization, as related to "the society versus the individual" dichotomy, and the history of the ideas in the development of sociology as a science (see Wentworth, 1980, pp. 13-40).

It took several years into the 20th century for the sociological mode of inquiry to develop and for sociologists to become a scientific community in the United States. The main interest of the sociologists during 1920's was in a social psychological and process explanation of human association. The approach switched in the study of socialization, and other social phenomena, from the societal to the individual level of analysis. There existed in the newly developing discipline a certain fascination with the "mind in action" and "individualistic" or social explanations of "social forces" and processes. There was a strong bias against hypostatizing sociological concepts such as "the group" or "society" (Wentworth, 1980).

The sociological concern with socialization, from the standpoint of the "individual", was now present in the works of sociologists. For example, Cooley was concerned with the ways in which human nature was shaped by participation in the social order. Clausen (1968a) pinpoints the influence of William James and James M. Baldwin's writings on the social self and the origins of selfhood. However, Cooley drew on his own observations of social life to formulate the relationship of the individual to society.

Assuming a developmental perspective in the study of behavior and personality, Thomas (1920, in Clausen, 1968a) viewed the emergence of the person as the product of social demand as well as individual decision. In his later years he focused on the child, drawing largely on life-history materials to study problems of adjustments and personal organization. Clausen (1968a) observes that Thomas did not employ the term socialization due to the connotation of molding and conforming which the concept carried for most prior to 1930.

The development of sociological perspectives on the socialization of the individual was greatly influenced by two philosophers, both concerned with the field of social psychology: John Dewey and George Herbert Mead. Although Dewey's influence was stronger on "sociological social psychology", his significant influence in sociology, anthropology and psychology will be discussed in later sections. His interest was "to know about the social conditions which have educated original activities into definite and significant dispositions before we can discuss the psychological element in society. This is the true meaning of social psychology" (Dewey, 1922, p. 91). Morality was Dewey's focus of concern. Broadly conceived, he saw moral conduct as the product of social interaction; "if the standard of moral is low," he stated, "it is because the education given by the interaction of the individual with his social environment is defective" (Dewey, 1922, p. 319). Dewey's ideas influenced not only sociologists and social psychologists but also anthropologists and students of child development [see Novack (1975) for a critical appraisal of John Dewey's philosophy].

On the other hand, Mead's work was directed to the basic aspects of socialization such as the rise of meaning and of selfhood in the process of social interaction. His concern was with the development of the "self" through the child's ability to take "the role of the other." Through this notion, Mead contributed to the study of the "individual" from a sociological point of view as well as tying the concept of role

to the term socialization. In Wentworth's (1980) opinion this later contribution allowed sociologists to take advantage of this connection and generalize the concept of socialization beyond the limits of childhood to include any role-learning (i.e., the distinction between primary and secondary socialization or between childhood and adult socialization).

Another important contributor to the study of socialization was the psychoanalytic movement, particularly the Freudian perspective. Freud's notions have contributed significantly to the modern approach towards the socializing process, especially in anthropology and psychology. Since its primary impact upon sociology was more indirect than direct (Wentworth, 1980), his influence will be discussed in later sections of this analysis.

Parsons was the first sociologist to integrate the conceptual trends that evolved into the modern understanding of socialization, adding his own conceptions to the term. In his definition of socialization, Parsons (1951) stated that the "acquisition of the requisite orientations for satisfactory functioning in a role is a learning process", and included in socialization "the learning of any functional significance to the operation of a system of complementary role-expectations" and "the internalization of certain patterns of value-orientation" (pp. 205, 208-209). This conception integrated the influences of Dollard's social learning approach, Mead's role taking analysis and Freud's internalization concept, in the meaning and understanding of socialization.

In 1955, Parsons and Bales noted that the central focus of the process of socialization lay in the internalization of the culture of the society into which the child is born. The crucial aspects of culture are the patterns of values of the society. The effective conditions for socialization consist of the child being placed in a social situation where the more powerful and responsible persons are

themselves integrated in the cultural value system in question. The social situation is such that these adults constitute, with the children, an institutionalized social system, with behavior and value patterns previously internalized into their own personalities. Parsons used the structure of society to examine the socialization process—the existence of various primary and secondary institutions— as norm-transmitting mechanisms.

From the Freudian perspective, which Parsons and Bales adapted to their theory of social action and social systems, socialization is the process whereby a child internalizes parental norms and acquires a superego. This is supposed to happen through cathectic-evaluative and cognitive mechanisms. The former includes reinforcement-extinction, based upon reward and punishment. The latter involves imitation and identification, based on feelings of esteem or love (Hinkle, 1957).

It is noteworthy that according to Wentworth's (1980) analysis of the concept of socialization and its historical uses, "after the advent of the Parsonian [eclectic] system, the...traditional distinction made between the individual and social aspects of the person" ceased (p. 22). Therefore, the modern sociological interpretation of the concept will be permeated by this conception. Whereas the "actor" is the significant unit for the personality system, the "role" is the basic unit of the social system; during secondary (adult) socialization they meet and become one.

In 1957, Merton and his associates drew upon this distinction and managed to design a general definition that included both types of socialization. Thus, socialization became defined as a designation for the processes by which "people actively acquire the values and attitudes, the interests, skills, and knowledge--in short, the culture--current in the groups of which they are, or seek to become a member" (p. 287). It refers to the "learning of social roles".

In summary, an analysis of the changing meaning of the concept of socialization shows that it has undergone various transformations, insofar as sociology itself has developed as a discipline in the social sciences. A consequence of this argument is that the focus on different aspects of socialization has changed (i.e., societal, individual, role-taking, childhood socialization, adult socialization) and developed into distinct sociological perspectives.

Among the most significant meanings of socialization, five trends have been identified (Wentworth, 1980). The first trend includes from 1896 to approximately 1921, in which the emphasis was on the issue of how social order was possible and the analysis was performed at the collective level. Thus, socialization was viewed as willing cooperation, increased solidarity, social efficiency or as the bases for harmonious social relationships for the persistence and unity of human groups. This use was remnant until approximately 1943 (Clausen, 1968a; Wentworth, 1980). From the second period, the emphasis on socialization switched to the processes by which individuals become group members and the unit of analysis is the person. Some overlapping occurs during the five periods depending on the specific concern and the meaning attached to the term.

The second trend, from 1921 to 1940, reflected the influence of experimental psychology grounded in behaviorism. Therefore, it became common to speak in terms of "stimuli", "acquired behavior patterns", "the conditioning of behavior", "training", "the shaping of behavior" and the like (Wentworth, 1980). "Training" is also part of the third trend, (from 1942 to 1976), with the addition of the "self" concept (which replaced "human nature"), an entity constituted through potentially observable experience in society.

The fourth trend's emphasis, from 1944 to 1950, was on "becoming social". Here, the concept was directed towards the attaining of selfhood, which meant the acquisition of social attributes through some

form of internalization ( a term coined by Freud). This use coexisted with the previous from the second and third trends. The fifth and final trend, from 1951 to 1959, focused on the social learning aspects of socialization and the Parsonian interpretation of the concept which, according to Wentworth (1980), represents the modern interpretation of the term in sociological writings.

#### The Anthropological Perspectives

The anthropological uses and meanings of the term "socialization" have their own historical development and influences. Viewed generically, the focus of interest has gradually changed from cultural transmission, to the psychoanalytic study of personality development and the learning theory of socialization. However, "developments within anthropology contributed more to the rise of interest in socialization in recent decades than did any other single influence" (Clausen, 1968a, p. 39).

From the anthropological viewpoint, the use of the term became current in the 1930's denoting the process by which the culture is transmitted from one generation to the next (Whiting, 1968). Since the anthropologists' concern was with viewing cultures as wholes, a concern with the process whereby an individual is incorporated into his or her society would seem unlikely, "even when we recognize that becoming socialized is also becoming "culturized" (Clausen, 1968a). Hence, the study of this process was almost entirely neglected by anthropologists before 1925. According to Whiting, up to this time, anthropologists in the United States were mainly interested in the history of cultures, as well as in describing how traits were diffused or borrowed between cultures. In England and other European countries where evolutionary theories were in vogue, there was even less concern with this topic (Whiting, 1968).

In the mid- to late 1920's, anthropologists began to pay serious attention to the writings of Freud and started to collect data relating

psychoanalytic theory to personality formation in "primitive societies" (Clausen, 1968a; Wentworth, 1980; Whiting, 1968). The "culture and personality" trend in anthropological research became prominent, and the most important influence in the emergence of this new concern was psychoanalytic theory. Freud's theory of the stages of psychosexual development provided the theoretical framework which stressed the importance of nursing, weaning, toilet training, and infant sexuality. Infancy inevitably became the critical phase of socialization in psychoanalytically-oriented studies (Clausen, 1968a).

A second influence on the study of socialization, beyond the early childhood years, were the writings of John Dewey. Clausen (1968a) clearly states that "it was Dewey rather than Freud whom Malinowski (1927) quoted at the opening of Sex and Repression in a Savage Society", as well as "Dewey's perspective on the importance of the educational process" (p. 40). On the other hand, Whiting (1968) notes that "in an attack upon Freudian theory, [Malinowski] argued that the Oedipus complex did not occur in the Trobiand Islands" (p. 545). Whiting attributes to Edward Sapir the fact that the psychoanalytic theory was used by many anthropologists.

The beginning of the study of "culture and personality" in the United States is attributed to Margaret Mead (Wentworth, 1980). Although Mead was the first anthropologist to engage in field work with the intention of studying an aspect of socialization, in her 1925 Samoa study she was not strongly influenced by psychoanalytic theory. It was in her later study of three contrasting cultures in New Guinea in 1935 that, according to Whiting (1968), she clearly showed Freudian influence (see also Clausen, 1968a on Mead's analysis of "education").

According to Margaret Mead, some time around the mid-1930's the term socialization changed from merely intelligible English into an anthropological concept, and occasionally appeared in her writings (Mead in Clausen, 1968a, p. 41). "Socialization" began to denote the

activities that facilitated the "stamp of the culture upon the individual" (Wentworth, 1980). There were other terms such as enculturation, acculturation, assimilation, culturalization and sometimes accommodation used with a similar connotation (Wentworth, 1980; Whiting, 1968).

In 1932-1933 Edward Sapir (an anthropologist) and John Dollard (a sociologist with recent psychoanalytic training) gave a joint seminar on culture and personality, and a combination of the cultural and the psychoanalytic approaches emerged from it (Whiting, 1968). A few years later Abraham Kardiner (a psychoanalyst) and Ralph Linton (an anthropologist) conducted another seminar on personality development which resulted in the publication of two volumes by Kardiner; The Individual and His Society in 1939, and The Psychological Frontiers of Society in 1945 (Kardiner, 1939, 1945 in Whiting, 1968). According to Clausen, (1968a) it was Kardiner's theoretical scheme that provided the model for the first efforts at quantitative cross-cultural research on socialization, the work of Whiting and Child (1953, in Clausen, 1968a).

The influence of psychoanalytic thinking on anthropological research occurred mainly in the decade 1925-1935. The impact of this influence resulted in a dramatic change in ethnographic research. Before the rise of the field of "culture and personality" few anthropologists seem to have been concerned with childrearing or the study of the particular arrangements, beliefs, and behaviors by which culture was transmitted from one generation to the next (Clausen, 1968a). Psychoanalytic assumptions guided those interested in the study of the social person toward child-rearing practices (socialization-rendering the young fit for society-) and their subsequent effect upon personality development (internalization, loosely defined) (Wentworth, 1980). This new research interest, in seeking out the cultural antecedents of personality, brought the term socialization into the jargon of anthropology. Ethnographic studies written after

1930 included descriptions of infancy and childhood, and field studies explicitly focusing on the socialization process were undertaken (Whiting, 1968).

A third influence on anthropological approaches to the study of socialization in the mid-1930's was learning theory. Since both the psychoanalytic and the cultural approaches imply learning, the early studies of socialization had an implicit and usually common sense theory of learning which seemed to serve the purpose well at the ethnographic level (Whiting, 1968). In her earliest works, Margaret Mead was concerned with the process of cultural education. In Coming Age in Samoa (Mead, 1928 in Clausen, 1968a) she devoted a chapter to the education of the Samoan child describing maternal care, the heavy reliance on older siblings for looking after younger ones, the learning of forms of avoidance and skills, and the succession of demands, responsibilities, and privileges that go with age grades.

Years later a different approach to the study of socialization was the attempt by John W. M. Whiting (1941) to apply a more formal version of learning theory to the study of this process in the Kwoma of New Guinea. He was strongly influenced by John Dollard, a follower of Hullian learning theory with an interest in culture, and in psychoanalytic theory as well. Whiting's subsequent work with Child in 1953 followed the model of Kardiner's formulations. Data from a number of cultures were used to test specific hypothesis about the relationship between aspects of child rearing and cultural features that might be regarded as expressions of dominant personality tendencies. Whiting (1968) states that the hypotheses tested were derived from Freudian theory but modified by learning theory and adapted to the categories of cultural anthropology in such a way that they were testable.

In summary, the anthropological view of socialization began to flourish under the influence of Freudian psychoanalytic theory. Ethnographic studies detailing the process of cultural transmission,

almost wholly absent in 1920, became commonplace in later years. These contributed to an appreciation that the "natural man" assumption was inadequate for an adequate complete understanding of cultural integration (Whiting, 1968). According to Whiting (1968):

The evidence from comparative studies of socialization indicates that man as a bearer of culture is not just a primate who thinks logically or prelogically and whose feelings are based upon primary needs such as hunger, thirst, sex, fear, and the like; in addition, as a consequence of the child-rearing methods of his society, man has blind spots and distortions in his cognitive processes and specific anxieties which may form the emotional underpinning and raison d'etre for elaborate rituals and magico-religious beliefs (Whiting, 1968, p. 549).

#### The Psychological Perspectives

In psychology, "socialization" was not a major concern until the 1930's, although the concept was employed by a number of theorists earlier (e.g., J. M. Baldwin, C. H. Cooley, J. Dewey, F. P. Giddings, and W. James). Therefore, the uses and meanings of the term come from the most relevant developments in the subfields of social and child or developmental psychology, as well as from influences of learning and personality theories. However, in comparison to the sociological and anthropological perspectives, psychological theory and research is concerned with very specific aspects of what might be considered "socialization", but not with the larger process by which an individual is prepared for full participation in adult life. In addition, how personality is achieved or developed is not linked to socialization (Clausen, 1968a), since the focus of psychology is on the individual (particularly on the bio-psychological aspects of development).

Notwithstanding the focus of psychology, the particular study of some social phenomena provides a common ground for convergence of social scientific perspectives. This is true in the study of socialization from the "social psychological perspective". Social psychology emerged as a field of interest almost simultaneously in psychology and sociology in the United States (Clausen, 1968a). As a result of this development,

two orientations evolved within this field: the "psychological social psychology" and the "sociological social psychology".

Psychological social psychologists emphasize such individual processes as motivation and learning relevant to social behavior, and tend to study face-to-face interaction within small groups of individuals. On the other hand, sociological social psychologists tend to focus on the structure (formal and informal) and dynamics of large organizations (e.g., industrial, military) with less emphasis on the personalities or individual characteristics of people making up the organizations (Lott, 1973).

The first two English textbooks in social psychology were published in 1908 by the psychologists McDougall and the sociologist Ross (Clausen, 1968a; Lott, 1973). Even though McDougall did not use the term socialization in his book, according to Clausen (1968a), he was more explicit in his discussion of socialization than Ross. McDougall was concerned with "the way in which individuals become molded by the society into which they are born" (McDougall, 1908, p. 174 in Clausen, 1968a). In any case, the McDougall and Ross textbooks represented the two orientations to the study of socialization from the social psychological approach during the early years of the 20th century, i.e., the psychological (individual) perspective, and the sociological (societal) perspective.

In the mid-1920's Floyd Allport introduced experimental methods into social psychology. Allport conceived the individual as the only reality in social groups, therefore, he was concerned with the requirements placed upon individuals by group life. His use of the term socialization included the development of habits of response in accordance with the necessities of group life. He stated that "such development may be called the socialization of the individual. It consists of a modification of the original and pure prepotent reflexes through instruction received in the social environment" (Allport, 1924,

p. 123 in Clausen, 1968a). However, for Allport, human culture had little meaning since his main concern was with the requirements placed on the individuals by group life. His use of the term "socialization" was in the light of the "modern" use; e.g., getting "adapted to civilized society" by developing "permanent habits of response which are in accord with the necessities of group life" (Allport, 1924, p. 123 in Clausen, 1968a).

An important contribution to the use of the term socialization, and to the field of social psychology during the 1920's was the work of George H. Mead as mentioned earlier. Mead was at the University of Chicago contemporaneously with John Dewey and with Thomas, Park and Burgess (Clausen, 1968a). In Clausen's (1968a) opinion "if Mead's influence on the thought of educators and social scientists was less pervasive than that of Dewey, it was more sharply directed to basic aspects of socialization --to the rise of meaning and of selfhood in the process of social interaction" (p. 28).

In order to attain selfhood, one must internalize the "generalized other", and internalization included more than a cognitive map of the self's place in the larger scheme of interaction. The "generalized other" provides an insider's feel for the attitudes, values, goals and outlooks that have been part of a person's range of experience in society (Mead, 1962, pp. 154-155 in Wentworth, 1980). More than any other scholar, Mead established the basic premises of the symbolic-interactionist approach of sociological social psychology (Clausen, 1968a). This approach dealt with some problems but created others in terms of the person-society relationship. (See Wentworth (1980) for a critique on this subject, particularly the well-taken issue on "the paradox of mutual indeterminism" generated by symbolic-interactionism.)

During the 1920-30 decade the social psychological interest in some aspects of socialization produced an increase in research. Among

the several concerns with socialization, social psychologists conducted research about "the instinctive and emotional make-up of children, the ways in which they learn and the processes by which they become socialized" (Murphy, 1962; Murphy & Murphy, 1931, p. 2 in Clausen 1968a). This decade was characterized by the assimilation of the influences of the early writers, as well as by an interest in the study of specific aspects of social behavior in early childhood and the interest of using experimental methods; although a good deal of this work was also done by developmental psychologists.

The work of Gardner and Lois Murphy made an additional contribution to the meaning of socialization from the sociopsychological standpoint. While in their 1931 Experimental Social Psychology they were concerned with the development of social behavior in early childhood, and the discussion of the early development of smiling and crying and of responses to visual and auditory stimuli from people, in their 1937 second edition of the same book (which bore the subtitle An Interpretation of Research on the Socialization of the Individual) they reflected the influences of anthropology and their interest in the individual in relation to his or her culture (Clausen, 1968a). Both orientations, the sociological and the psychological social psychology, seemed to be influencing the work of the Murphys.

In the mid- and late 1930's John Dollard's writings influenced the use and meaning of socialization in social psychology. Dollard advanced "socialization" as one of the basic concepts of the field, arguing for a unification of scientific approaches to the study of this process, which he defined as "the process of training a human animal from birth on for social participation in his group" (1939, p. 60 in Clausen, 1968a). Dollard emphasized the conflicts that emerge from frustration of a child's impulses and also the need to focus the attention on the individual child in the family and her or his day-to-day acquisition of social skills. In 1935, he published a book stating seven criteria for

the adequate study of the socialization process through life history. Dollard's influence was present not only in social psychology but in developmental psychology and anthropology as well.

According to Clausen (1968a), the first textbook in social psychology to give extensive treatment to the development of the individual in society appears to have been that by Kimball Young, published in 1930. Young's focus of interest was on both on the developmental phases (language learning, child training in the family) and on the influences the social structure has in the play groups, in the school, and in other social institutions and organizations in which a child participates. Therefore, Young greatly contributed to the development of the field (insofar as he integrated the two social psychological orientations of the time) and he clearly stated socialization as the core of that field. Young also integrated the influences of Dewey, Cooley, Thomas, and Mead as well as those of McDougall, Floyd Allport and Freud. As Clausen (1968a) points out, "with the works of the Murphys and of Young, the convergence of sociological and psychological approaches was well under way" (p. 36).

A significant contribution to social psychology and to the understanding of group dynamics and "socialization"-related aspects during the mid- and late 1930's, was the work by Kurt Lewin. Between 1935 and 1946, Lewin wrote a series of articles and monographs that in 1948 were published as a book entitled Resolving Social Conflicts. In the Foreword of that book, Allport stated the unifying theme of the collection as "the group to which an individual belongs is the ground for his perceptions, his feelings, and his action." He added, "most psychologists are so preoccupied with the salient features of the individual's mental life that they are prone to forget it is the ground of the social group that gives to the individual his figured character" (Allport, in Lewin, 1948, p. vii).

Lewin's emphasis was on the interdependence of the ground and the figure and its dynamic character. But, as Allport (in Lewin, 1948) points out, the interdependence is also an elusive relationship. However, in order to deal with that relationship, some authors spoke about "group influence on the individual," "cultural determinism," the "group mind," "personality" as the mere "subjective side of culture," and the like. Lewin's contribution was his demonstration that the interdependence of the individual can be studied "in better balance if we employ certain new concepts" (Allport, in Lewin, 1948, p. viii). In his work Lewin acknowledged the influences of his time and elaborated an original conceptual system for the interpenetration of social reality theoretically as well as practically conceived.

Although Lewin (1948) did not explicitly employ the term "socialization" (which may have led some authors—Cf. Clausen, 1968a— to state that he was not concerned with socialization as such), he was concerned with the "discussion of a number of practical issues such as those involved in cultural differences and the possibility of re-education, in conflicts in small face-to-face groups such as the family of workers in a factory, or in the special problems of minority groups" as Gertrud Weiss Lewin posed in the Preface of the previously mentioned collection of papers (Lewin, in Lewin, 1948, p. xv).

Lewin (1948) paid serious scientific, theoretical and practical attention to the issue of education as related to different aspects; e.g., the influence of society on education and political effects on education, among others. He also addressed the issue of re-education as related to acculturation, cultural change, change in cognitive structure, as well as his notion of the process of re-education. Although not referred to "socialization" as such, Lewin's concerns did embrace a broad variety of socialization-related issues (in the "modern" usage of the term) from a heuristic theoretical, methodological and practical standpoint that stimulated the work of others (e.g., the

ecological approach to the study of social development, and Barker's ecological psychological approach).

In summary, for social psychology, as for sociology and anthropology, the meanings of the term socialization changed according to the influences of the early writings on the subject. Research and theory about socialization generated its modern usage by the 1930's as it will be established.

Development in the field of child or developmental psychology also contributed to the meaning and understanding of the term socialization. The child or developmental psychology point of view focuses on the individual behavior which occurs in, or directly involves, interaction with one or more persons in a social context. Developmental psychologists are concerned with the scientific study of human behavior and with exploring all aspects of social behavior and how it develops (Burton, 1968).

The developmental psychological study of "socialization" falls under the area of social development (Burton, 1968; Oden, 1982). Burton (1968) identifies some of the major concerns in this area, such as: "any interest in the differential effects of early experiences of the infant; of child-rearing practices, of peer group influences, in sum, of any of the factors which may shape the configuration of behaviors that is considered to be personality..." (p. 534). Therefore, socialization will be studied not as a whole process but as the specific development of an aspect of "becoming a social being" from the individual standpoint.

According to Clausen (1968a) the establishment of child or developmental psychology as a field of scholarship in the United States can be attributed to G. Stanley Hall. Hall viewed anthropology as a very important supplement to psychology, although his evolutionary perspective was biologically rather than culturally oriented. Nevertheless, at that time it was James Mark Baldwin who stated the

problem of developmental psychology in terms of the social growth of personality, focusing on the study of the development of the self and the transmission of culture. However, Baldwin's influence did not result in a strong focus on problems of socialization in the developmental psychology of the early years of the century in the United States.

Developmental psychologists were concerned with the different factors involved in development, that is, the issue of the relative impact on behavior of genetic endowment and environmental influences. This issue generated a controversy that led to heated arguments between most of the early researchers of social behavior (Burton, 1968). The introduction of psychological testing and especially of Binet's method of assessing intelligence, along with the experimental approaches of Thorndike and Watson, led to a concentration on conditioning experiments and on measurement of attributes of the child. According to Hargreaves (1985) the American use of the term "socialization" came

to connote a particular view which derived from 'behaviourism' or 'reinforcement theory'. In its purest form this tries to explain human behaviour as conditioned responses to environmental stimuli, learnt by association with different rewards and punishments" (p. 775).

Representative of the behavioristic notion of learning, as related to "socialization", was the work of Watson. Watson (1919) stated that, other than a limited number of innate reflexes, an individual's actions are the product of conditioning experiences in the environment. Watson emphasized that only external and directly observable behavior should be the subject of psychological theory. Although the influence of this theory on the area of social development declined after a decade, future theorists would have to acknowledge the role of environmental events, no matter what assumptions or positions they took regarding genetic contributions to behavior (Burton, 1968).

Another approach that exerted strong influence on the understanding of social development during the 1920's was the Freudian

psychoanalytic perspective. In regard to the relative importance of innate and environmental influences, the Freudian approach is a mixed one. According to Burton (1968) Freud was primarily interested in dynamic, complex motivations and how these dynamically interrelated forces account for the manifest social behavior of an individual. The early experiences of each individual will be extremely significant in the formation of his or her social development according to this theory. Freud's notion of "social development" is stated in his theory of the psychosexual stages of development where biological and social motives are intertwined.

Freud's influence became widespread not only in psychology but in anthropology and sociology as well. During the early 1930's two psychoanalysts, Géza Róheim and Erik Erikson, did field work in non-Western societies. Both of them reported child-rearing practices and interpreted some of the rituals, values, and customs as the consequence of unconscious conflicts engendered by these practices (Whiting, 1968). Of particular interest for the development of child psychology was the work of Erikson. Erikson departed from Freud's theory of the psychosexual stages of development contributing with his original theoretical framework; e.g., the psychosocial stages of development. In this theory there is a place for the role of inherited qualities (a form of the epigenetic principle) with an emphasis on the social and cultural demands placed on the individual in order to satisfy his or her needs and accomplish his or her goals (and the conflicting nature of this relationship). The content of the stages also presumes a socialization process in order to address the developmental crisis. Therefore, socialization can be seen as a 'critical' process since in order to accomplish the goals of each of the eight stages, the individual must deal with the corresponding developmental crisis (Erikson, 1963).

Freudian psychology in conjunction with the influences of learning theory contributed to the development of personality theory during the

1930's. A group of scholars at Yale (e.g., Clark Hall, John Dollard and Robert Sears, Neal Miller, Carl Hovland, O. H. Mowrer, and Leonard Doob joined by a psychoanalyst, Earl Zinn, and the anthropologists George Murdock, Clelland Ford, and later on, John Whiting) were trying to bring the two theories together and derive researchable concepts in the psychosociological work on socialization. Although the primary focus of the Yale group was on adult socialization, they derived assumptions and hypotheses about early childhood experiences. Much of this work turned out to be important in the psychological work on socialization during the 1940's and 1950's.

Another contribution to the work of personality development during the 1930's was taking place at Harvard under the influence of Henry Murray. Murray saw personality as a dynamic process, to be understood in terms of the reconstructed biography of the individual. Murray noted that socialization, defined as "the inculcation of culture patterns", played a role in personality development, but he was more concerned with the relationship between environmental features and the underlying needs of the individual (Murray, 1938 pp. 99-100 in Clausen, 1968a).

Again, the 1930's mark the point of overlapping among the disciplines concerned with socialization. From the developmental psychology point of view, the focus on specific aspects of social development from early childhood clearly overlaps with other interests in anthropology, sociology and even social psychology. However, since the developmental psychologist's attention is centered on the individual, the end result is a "fragmented" view of how the child's social development is attained. In comparison to the developments in sociology and in anthropology, the developments in developmental psychology are to be traced in terms of specific particular psychological influences more than in any other discipline. Thus, the developmental psychological concern with "socialization" aspects is relatively recent and it reflects a great deal of the influence that

research and theories in sociology, anthropology and social psychology had on this field. This tendency can be observed since the 1930's when the "modern usage" of the term emerged.

#### Socialization in the Historical, Social-Scientific

##### Perspective: A Summary and a Critique

"Socialization" is one of the most studied social phenomena in the social sciences. Sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists have been concerned with the different aspects of the process contributing distinct perspectives and giving the term diverse uses and meanings. Although the original meaning of the term had a political-economic socialistic connotation (which still retains), notwithstanding the different approaches within each of the three disciplines, the modern connotation is socio-anthropo-psychological. The new meaning has a historical development whose emergence occurred in the late 1930's, almost simultaneously, in all three previously mentioned disciplines (Clausen, 1968a; Hargreaves, 1985; Wentworth, 1980; Whiting, 1968) in the United States.

The historical analysis in a previous section shows that the term "socialization" has undergone several changes in its scientific uses, meanings and interpretations. The aim of this section is to analyze the major changes that the term has gone through over time. An examination of the early use, and the influences that Freudian psychoanalysis, the behaviorist and functionalist had on its changing meanings is in order. A critique and a dialectical reformulation of the concept will conclude this section.

"Socialization" is one of the terms that evidences that social science, as C. Wright Mills (1978) has stated, is the practice of a craft. In the same way that the craftsperson works on a craft to get the desired end product, a social scientist works on an "intellectual craft" and perfects it in the form of a concept. In both cases, the craft goes through a series of changes as it approaches "perfection". In the case

of "socialization" there is a long history of "intellectual craftsmanship" around the concept. However, the concept falls distant from "perfection" due to its development within sociology, anthropology and psychology.

The term "socialization" was co-opted by sociologists, anthropologists and psychologists from the political economists. Although the socio-anthropo-psychological connotation has widespread use today, the political-economic use is equally legitimate. In 1942, Burgess recalled how he had "wrestled with the meaning of the term 'socialization' " and how a socialist friend had objected to his definition (p. 9 in Clausen, 1968a). Therefore, the first significant distinction is the different connotations it has for scholars with different philosophical, as well as ideological, backgrounds in the social sciences (e.g., dialectical materialistic--Marxist--background versus idealistic bourgeois background).

Even from the socio-anthropo-psychological point of view, "socialization" has been used with lack of precise meanings (Montalvo, 1991). Some authors have acknowledged this fact when referring to "socialization" as a general area of interest, not a sharply definable process (Clausen, 1968a; Richards, 1974; Whiting, 1968). In regard to important aspects of socialization, other germane words do as well as the term "socialization" in designating a focus of interest (child rearing, social orientation of the child, child's social development). This argument is further developed by an anthropologist:

...persons doing research on this process have never been too happy with the term—in part because of its ambiguous connotations and in part because it suggests that the concept is limited to the learning of social roles. This implied exclusion of the transmission of beliefs, values and other cognitive aspects of culture led Kluckhohn (1939) to suggest "culturalization" and Herskovits (1948) to propose "enculturation" as alternative terms (Whiting, 1968, p. 545).

In addition, Richards (1974) notes the trivialization of the term "socialization" as a result of using the term to cover a whole variety

of issues, leading to much confusion about its use. Richards argues that "adapting to a new job has been put on par with the process of becoming a social human being. The term socialization has been used to describe both these processes and in doing so the word has become trivialised" (emphasis added, Richards, 1974, p. 6).

There are historical, as well as philosophical and ideological reasons, for the "ambiguous connotations" and for the "trivialization" of "socialization" that coincide. The early use of the term was strongly influenced by the philosophical thought and understanding of society by the end of the 19th century (Assman & Stollberg, 1986/1977; Regush, 1973). The social sciences were largely grounded in the idealistic thinking of the European positivistic social philosophers. According to Wentworth (1980), "the emerging discipline of sociology had inherited the traditional, individualistic conception of our nature... 'Society' was understood as an efficient determinant in the explanation of human behavior... However, the traditional image of the individual included autonomy" (p. 39). This, in itself, contained a contradiction between the image of the individual present in the idealistic philosophy of individualism and the concept of society related in the early uses of the term "socialization."

Although "socialization" was analyzed from the societal perspective (i.e., level of analysis), the idealistic bias was evident in the understanding of "society", and in the early definitions of the term in sociology (e.g., Giddings', Ross' uses of the term). These definitions were concerned with "socialization" as group formation or development of the forms of association, individuals driven together by socialization forces, and the moulding of the individual's feelings and desires, to suit the needs of the group. Individuals were assumed to have nature prior to social contact (i.e., "human nature") and "socialization" was seen as a way of developing a social nature.

The term also reflected the bourgeois ideological understanding of the "man and society" relationship, namely the conceptions from "liberalism" and "natural law doctrine". For example, Giddings (1896) considered "the appetites and passions of individuals" as "socializing forces" (p. xv in Wentworth, 1980). The concept denoted "the development of a social nature or character -- a social state of mind -- in individuals who associate" (emphasis added, Giddings, 1897 in Clausen, 1968a). "Socialization" was a necessary step towards life in society, and society was sort of a "necessary ill" in the form of a "social contract".

The notion of the individual's a priori "human nature" emerged from the natural order, that is, "people are free by nature" according to liberal social philosophers (Beck, 1979; Cranston, 1967). Since "people are free", their own freedom lead them (with very much reluctance) towards "associating" with other people. In the early use of "socialization", the term was viewed as willing cooperation, increased solidarity, social efficiency or as the bases for harmonious social relationships for the persistence and unity of human group. However, "socialization" was something different when analyzed in its moral or ethical aspect. It added the "final touches on individuals, making them fit for an orderly society" (emphasis added, Wentworth, 1980, p. 17). This moral notion came from the "natural law" doctrine (Wolheim, 1967), which in conjunction with the philosophical (idealistic bourgeois) liberalism, formed the underlying basis for the term "socialization."

In connection to the "man and society" relationship as a socialization-related issue, the philosophical liberal was convinced that "man is by nature a moral being." Society may enter into and form man's conscience, and it may even be taken as a necessary condition for any realization of man's capacities for moral behavior" (Beck, 1979, p. 51). Beck (1979) states that natural rights and law, moralism,

individualism, society as derivative, and government as limited are the themes of the liberal's understanding of the so called "man and society" relationship.

In opposition to the bourgeois philosophical thinking, Marx and Engels (1939) state the premises of dialectical materialism. This is a different interpretation based on the real individuals, their activity and the material conditions under which they live, both those which they find already existing and those produced by their activity. Thus, from this standpoint there is not a priori nature to "human beings", because to be "human" is to be social; since the condition of human existence is cooperation.

They themselves begin to distinguish themselves from animals as soon as they begin to produce their means of subsistence, a step which is conditioned by their physical organization. By producing their means of subsistence men are indirectly producing their actual material life (Marx & Engels, 1939, p. 7).

In this conception there is no notion of the "natural man" with an "inherent human essence". Quite the contrary, "men" become human by actively transforming their environment in order to satisfy their needs through cooperation (social activity). This transformation in turn modifies human activity producing a dialectical relationship between humans among themselves and with the material world. The dialectical approach, while admitting the influence of nature on human beings, asserts that human beings actively affect nature and create new conditions for their existence (Engels, 1979). Life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life.

As for "socialization", this notion was absent in the bourgeois use of the term. Karl Marx, unlike the utopian positivists, did not view society as tending toward stability and order. Regush (1973) notes that the ideological difference between Marx and sociologists such as Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, and Emile Durkheim gave rise to a binary fission of Academic Sociology and Marxism. In Regush's opinion "whereas Karl Marx believed that the developing bourgeois society contained the

seeds of its own destruction, Academic Sociology was to develop a science determined to perfect the new society" (emphasis added, Regush, 1973, p. 10). This sense of Academic Sociology was present in the early uses and meanings of the term "socialization."

In summary, the early use of the term "socialization" was grounded in the philosophical idealistic tradition and in the corresponding bourgeois ideological thought of the 19th century. However, as different uses and meanings were developing vis à vis the historical development of the social sciences in the United States, these same biases will later permeate the modern use of the term. After the 1930's intradisciplinary changes "settled down" by taking specific directions (e.g., in sociology, the shift on the level of analysis from the societal to the individual; in anthropology, the shift from cultural transmission to culture and personality--the individual's personality; and in psychology, the convergence of the sociological social psychology and the psychological social psychology--groups and the individual), and interdisciplinary concerns on socialization began to overlap.

Freudian psychoanalysis brought about a major change in the use and meaning of "socialization" into sociology, anthropology and psychology. Through this perspective social and behavioral scientists understood that as "the child matured into an adult, society became an internalized constituent of personality" (Wentworth, 1980, p. 39). The Freudian point of view contributed a developmental perspective through which the internalization of societal norms and values was a determinant of the "self" in the form of "personality." According to Wentworth (1980), it gave "society" the edge in the theoretical and causal contest and redirected the focus of scientific attention from "society" to the social psychology group of life insofar as "socialization" was seen as a process taking place in the family group.

In sociology, anthropology and psychology the study of "socialization" focused on the individual. "Socialization" came to be

seen as a much "smoother process" in which "the person's nature was constituted entirely by social processes" (Wentworth, 1980, p. 39). The anthropological concern changed from the "cultural transmission" to the "culture and personality." It became important to study the cultural impact on the child's personality development, that is to say, how the individual's personality was developed according to the cultural context in which a child is immersed. The psychological analysis of personality as related to social and cultural (as well as biological) aspects was equally emphasized and attention was given to the influence of group life on the individual.

The Freudian influence across the three disciplines was evident in the analysis of "socialization" as the emergence of "selfhood", "personality" or how "individuality" was achieved. This focus on the individual stressed the conflicting internal aspect of "socialization". "Personality" turns out to be the conflicting outcome of "socialization": innate biological instincts ("id"), self-generated and self-regulatory needs ("ego"), and internalized social requirements and demands ("super ego"), as the sources of the "intrapsychic conflicts." This notion stressed the already prevalent idealist bias in the scientific analysis of "socialization". Now the individual became the "victim" of her or his own instincts and psychological needs, as well as of society's demands while being "socialized".

Under the influence of experimental psychology grounded in behaviorism, a different use and meaning was attached to the term. The emphasis now was on the environment as a source of stimuli for learning. "Socialization" was interpreted as the individual's (the organism's) reaction to the social environment stimuli. The environment became the active part while the individual the passive. "Socialization" was viewed in terms of the "conditioning", "training" (equated to animal training), and "shaping" of human behavior.

Learning and behavior theories were developed in the laboratory rather than in the field, and therefore the method employed was experimental rather than descriptive. But, the procedures of controlled experiments were inappropriate for the study of socialization. The experimental-learning theorists were concerned with the introduction of hypothesis testing procedures, case counting, and the use of statistics to analyze socialization variables (e.g., correlational studies) (Whiting, 1968). However, it was not possible to explain the full complexity of human behavior in terms of simple learning processes.

From the behavioristic standpoint "socialization" is reduced to "social learning" and the individual's participation is that of a "learning organism" in its environment. Richards (1974) objects this notion, since (from a developmental point of view) the analysis of human social development requires both an adequate notion of society and the biological individual, as well as the ways in which an individual lives in her or his social and environmental space. He emphasizes that:

These are lacking in the [American] neo-behaviourist tradition, where socialization is seen as a psychological process of learning and of the training of the individual. It is regarded as something that is imposed on the child --the child does not become social but is made social by the conscious efforts of various members of society (Richards, 1974, p.4).

Thus, the behavioristic notion of "socialization" encompasses a mechanistic view in which people are alienated from their own activity, as the means for transforming the environment and developing cooperation. "Social learning" is seen as an individual process and not a social (cooperation for satisfying human needs, creating human behavior and consciousness) materialistic process.

A last major influence in the "modern use" of the term the functionalist perspective. The functionalist-structuralist view came to emphasize the use and meaning of "socialization" as an "adaptational process." According to the functionalists, society is a system of interrelated and interdependent parts that are perfectly balanced and

organized. Structural aspects keep social stability over time, while functional aspects represent the "dynamic" changes, that is, minor social changes such as the individual's different roles. Any behavior that does not fit in the social order is considered to be dysfunctional (that is to say, unstable, tending towards unbalance), or deviant. Therefore, the well-"socialized" individual is the one who fits into the categories of the system and behaves accordingly: the categories of the dominant class.

As several writers have noted (Assman & Stollberg, 1986; Richards, 1974), a society that was built by immigrants from diverse cultural backgrounds should be interested in how these people fit and how they form a common identity. However, as Richards (1974) states, such concerns have led to a "brand of sociology which has overemphasized the adaptation of individuals to particular styles of life and social roles and has underemphasized the process by which the individual is able to take part in any social life." He further adds that "... this school of sociology regards various groups of people they label as deviant as examples of the 'failure of socialization'; but, a 'failure of socialization' would create a non-human being, [i.e., a human being that has not yet become social; that is, the notion of the so called 'natural human being'] if a being at all" (emphasis added, p. 6). In addition, it is evident that such a "failure" would be producing a creature lacking the faculties and powers that distinguish human beings from animals: speech, ability to form any social relationships, to reflect on his or her own actions, and consciousness.

Assman and Stollberg (1986), in their Principles of a Marxist-Leninist Sociology, summarize a critique of the major uses and meanings of the term "socialization." They pinpoint four critical aspects of the concept: first, according to the idealist conception, "man's natural essence" can be socially "modified" by the process of "socialization." However, in reality, the human species is socially

conditioned by all its history. It is incorrect to consider the social quality as something added to the individual's development of personality. Second, the bourgeois conceptions of "socialization" underestimate the individual's activity, its autonomy within the network of socially given determinations. "In these theories, man is not the subject of his own values, on the contrary, he is a recipient in which society empties its norms and values, its requisites and orders, until its goals are achieved" (Meier, 1974, p. 65 in Assman and Stollberg, 1986). Third, the individual's "socialization" is reduced to an individual social learning process. It only includes the subjective aspects of development in society. However, it disregards that each person occupies a determinant position within the system of given objective relationships. These objective relationships involve cooperation and active transformation producing a dialectical relationship among humans, and with the material world. Fourth and finally, in the bourgeois sociology, the norms and values of society are considered to be an independent structure; for example, the functional-structuralist bourgeois analysis understands the functions as needs of the system.

Assman and Stollberg (1986) deal with "socialization"- related aspects in a different substantive sense. Although these authors talk about "social learning", their use of this concept differs from that of the behaviorists. For Assman and Stollberg "social learning" is the process of "active appropriation of knowledge, norms, and so on, in regard to the development of personality... by the integration to the social structures of society" (p. 262). The social determination of personality does not derive from "socialization" but from the objective integration to society, from its position in the system of social production, from the fulfillment of the social tasks and from the social functions (defined as social practical activities).

If a dialectical standpoint is taken, the "socialization"-related aspects have to be reformulated in terms of the dialectical integration of the individual to society. This dialectical process involves a complex understanding of the many and diverse levels of relationships. This understanding is in no way an abstraction of individuals, but on the contrary, an analysis of the material conditions that affect the production of life by actively engaging in practical social activities. Therefore, the "integration" process should account for socio-historical explanations of the life process. It should also contribute explanations of the "integration" to social class and other groups in society, as well as for the understanding of norms, values and ideological premises generated by collective work and life, and for the understanding of the interpersonal relationships as well as higher forms of human behavior (socialistic humanism).

Some dialectical materialistic psychologists have studied the ways in which children's integration process occur. From this viewpoint, a child establishes relationships with adults and with the material conditions of his or her immediate environment where social relationships are reproduced and take place. A child actively appropriates knowledge, norms, beliefs and values from the social environment of which she or he is part (Vygotsky, 1978, Wallon, 1979a, b). This integration process continues in a dialectical direction as a child engages in dialectical relationships with different social and physical environments, such as the school and others that are part of their lives. "Socialization" (as integration) in the school environment is analyzed in the next section.

#### Socialization in the School Environment

The emergence of the school as a "socialization" environment has its own historical development closely tied to the notion of childhood. Ariès (1962) has demonstrated that childhood was apparently not a clearly distinguished concept before the advent of the bourgeois family

and the modern school. Until the industrial period, for many if not most households the home was the work-place, place where apprentices lived as well as the context for a family. When the work moved outside the home, the nature of the family life changed. Thus, the gradual transfer of the child from the private sphere of the nuclear family to the public sphere of the educational institution is a relatively modern development. These developments tended to stress the relevance of the school as one of the most important "socialization agents" of modern society (Dreitzel, 1973; Hetherington & Morris, 1978; Schmuck, Luszki & Epperson, 1968). Therefore, the school can be viewed as a very significant environment consisting of a set of material conditions, including different levels of physical and social relationships which contributes to the child's process of social integration.

The significance of school as a most important (if not the most) "socialization agent" has also been emphasized by Clausen (1968c). To this author, the family may be the "ideal unit" for nurturing a child and guiding his or her early steps toward participation in the larger social life. But, insofar as technical knowledge must be imparted in the course of "socialization," some other instrumentality or institution is required. The aims and functions of formal education vary from one society to another and from time to time. According to this perspective, the most general societal functions are "transmitting knowledge, norms, and values," along with the orientational and motivational underpinnings that this requires, and recruiting or channeling persons into programs or preparation for social positions allocated on the basis of status (Ingleby, 1974; Mackay, 1973). This in turn, is related to value orientations and to the location of power and authority in the larger society through the creation of educational policy based on the ideological, political and economic objectives of the moment (Illich, 1973).

Mehan (1973) argues that the conventional American school is a major socializing agency in the United States. Compulsory education laws place the child in school most of his or her day hours, nine months or more of the year from the age of six until 16 or 18 years. The school has assumed responsibility for instructional activities which were previously accomplished at home or informally; including the integration of cultural values and the acquisition of the skills and abilities necessary for competent societal membership.

The importance of school socialization lies in the fact that probably no other institution has as much opportunity to impact the developing child. Even if a child is not in school, the demands of the school, through home assignments and the social obligations and ties of clubs and activities, make it a salient influence in the child's daily existence. Children attend school for more hours each day and more days each year than ever before. Children go to school an average of 5 hours a day, 180 days each year in the United States. In 1880, the average pupil attended school about 80 days each year. Not only are children attending school more often and for longer periods of time, but a larger proportion of the population goes to school. They start school earlier and stay in longer. It can be argued that even in the last few decades there have been dramatic changes. In 1965, 27 percent of all 3- to 5-year-old were enrolled in school; by 1973, 41 percent of this age group attended the school in the United States (Bane, 1976). There also are efforts, in many states to create year-round schools. In some cases this would increase the school year for students. In other cases it spreads out the school population over the entire year with different off ("vacation") times.

Another aspect that pinpoints the importance of school, as a major "socializing force", is its institutional character since children spend considerable amount of time in this setting. In analyzing the institutional aspect of school, several authors (Biddle, 1970; Harré,

1974, Minuchin and Shapiro, 1983; Rivlin and Wolfe, 1985) have examined the determining influence school has on children's lives. Rivlin and Wolfe (1985) emphasize the overwhelming impact school has on children and their parents. They observe that although schools have been labeled as partial institutions, this labeling "obscures the less obvious power that it has over the lives of children and their families" (p. 110). Their argument is based on the fact that children do not choose to spend their time in school and their parents have little choice either. They also stress the compulsory character of schooling and the minimal influence parents have, if any, on the school policy or daily program. Furthermore, they state that "if children do not follow the rules for acceptable behavior, they can be suspended or expelled, referred for testing or psychological treatment, or moved to special schools and even total institutions. If school authorities consider parents to be neglectful they will be subject to various forms of institutional control such as fines, imprisonment, or even having their children taken from them." (p. 109).

In addition to the increasingly large amount of time children spend in the classroom, studies tend to support the idea that the school has an impact on the child's development and performance (Dawe, 1983). Evidence concerning the importance of the school as "socializing force" has come from studies of the impact of schools on children's values and aspirations. These studies show that school, along with the family and the peer group, can influence a child's moral value orientation (Bronfenbrenner, 1973, 1968; Clausen, 1968c; Kouning & Gump, 1968), as well as a child's achievement (Borum & Livson, 1968; Lindgreen & De Almeida Guedes, 1968; Mehan, 1973; Zimmerman & Allebrand, 1965), and occupational aspirations (Bruner, 1968; Tenenbaum, 1968; Walberg & Rasher, 1977).

Moreover, as cross-cultural studies have demonstrated, schooling has a major impact on the way in which children organize their thoughts

and cognitions (Cole, Gay, Glick, & Sharp, 1971; Glick, 1975)). Schooling teaches an abstract symbolic orientation to the world which allows children to develop a capacity to think in terms of general concepts, rules and hypothetical events. Schools do not simply teach children more knowledge; school teaches them to think about the world in different ways, from what was previously learned in the context of the family (Illich, 1972, 1973). Thus, depending on their socioeconomic status, school learning may or may not be in accordance with parents' ideologies about child rearing practices (Newson & Newson, 1976), nor with children's previous experiences and command of skills at home. However, these diverse aspects of the impact of schooling underline the important and unique effect that the school has in modifying children's social and cognitive development (Cohen, 1973; Kimball, 1973), as well as contributing to the development of their own ideas, beliefs, values and attitudes toward sex roles (Cantor & Gelfand, 1977; Meyer & Thompson, 1968; Portuges & Fesbach, 1972; Saario, Jacklin & Title, 1973; Weitzman, Eifler, Hokada & Ross, 1972).

Another important way in which school influences children's lives and behaviors is through its physical context. The physical context of the school environment also has an impact on children's integration ("socialization") process. This aspect constitutes the material instance which involves the context for the children social integration process. However, since children have no control over the material and social conditions of their lives, their access to alternatives is severely constrained and often serendipitous (Rivlin & Wolfe, 1985). The importance of this argument lies in the fact that the physical context may convey ideological messages about its organization; for example, seats may be arranged in a specific form in the classroom in ways that respond to teacher ideas about discipline and control and how much attention is wanted. As Rivlin and Wolfe (1985) state "part of that socialization involves learning to use the physical environment in

specific ways and to understand its social, personal, and symbolic meanings" (p. 3). In this sense, the organization of the elements of the physical setting will be dialectically connected to the social integration process in the school environment. These arguments are developed in the following section.

#### The Physical Context of the Classroom as a Instrument in School Integration Process

It has been established that school is a "socialization agency" that has an important effect in "shaping and moulding" children's character. It helps them develop social and intellectual skills, previously defined as desirable by adults. When children enter school, they are exposed to a new situation that is framed into the socio-physical dimensions of a classroom environment, which in turn has a relationship with the school setting, surrounding areas and the community. Factors such as, the number of children in the classroom, the form and arrangement of that space, and the amount and type of space available to a child, exert an influence on children's understanding of the school education process and their place in it. An example of the use of the physical context, as an instrument of the dynamics of social integration, can be seen through the use of space in the classroom. A classroom is subdivided into spaces according to a teacher's ideas of the sort of tasks and activities that can be performed within it. The block corner is devoted to play with blocks as the main activity in a particular situation. How many children are allowed in a particular area of the classroom usually is the teacher's decision, which may be based on his or her ideas of discipline and control (Montalvo, 1981). For example, the number of male and female children that can be found in the block space versus the kitchen area space, will help us understand the teacher's ideas about sex role stereotypes (Rothenberg, 1978).

The effects of the physical structure of the school environment are intertwined with social and psychological factors of the

"socialization" process in the classroom. How much the physical context of the classroom is an important instrument, and in what ways an instrument for the dominant ideology, is an interesting and important question to assess. It enables us to understand the material and symbolic meaning of the organization of the physical context and the ideology behind it. It may help reveal the "hidden curriculum" of the classroom environment, posing important theoretical implications about school learning and "socialization" (Giroux, 1983). It also has practical implications for teachers' consciousness about the material aspects of the dialectical process of social integration in the classroom. Such factors as seating arrangements, class size, wall color, and ventilation affect the child's scholastic achievement, his or her attitudes toward school, or the degree to which he or she participates in class and extracurricular activities (Adams & Biddle, 1970; Baker & Gump, 1964; Krantz & Risley, 1977; Sommer, 1969).

The social aspect of the classroom situation is directly represented by the relationship a child establishes with a teacher (an adult) and with the classmates (peers). According to Clausen (1968c), in the early elementary grades, the primary socialization aims and activities of the teacher can be summarized as: (1) teaching and encouraging skill learning, (2) informing, orienting and seeking to commit children to educational system, (3) transmitting the dominant culture's goal and values, (emphasis added), (4) providing guidance and models for problem solving, and (5) overcoming gross deficits, attempting to deal with individual differences and with personal problems of the children. While these are not the teacher's only aims and activities in the classroom, however, these tend to encompass much of them, as related to his or her role as a "socialization agent." Teachers differ in the priorities accorded to various tasks and even in the degree to which they are aware of various possibilities for implementing their

curriculum aims. A given teacher has a given group of children for a relatively short time.

On the other hand, the children's perspective is quite different when they enter school. Children must learn something about the student's role with reference to activities and relationships. This may entail a measure of restraint and a bundle of new expectations quite different from anything that they have experienced before. They must sit quietly for long periods, adapt to new surroundings, to large numbers of peers, and perhaps to language, foods, objects, interaction with the immediate environment and expectations for personal conduct that are quite strange to them. From this standpoint, the expectations and preparation that a child has for the teacher and the classroom, amorphous as they may be at the beginning of school, are derived from grossly different kinds of experiences with caretakers and degrees of preparation for this relationship (Clausen, 1968c).

The classroom situation involves children's attention to different aspects of the social relationships established with a teacher and peers. Children's relationship to their first teacher is patterned to a considerable extent upon the relationship they enjoy with their parents. In general, however, there are more constraints and less individual involvement and personal attention. Within the classroom there is a more consistent and compelling denial of reciprocity between teacher and child than in the family; in other words, a child is not free to act toward the teacher as she or he acts toward him/her. Learning these aspects of the role definition may be difficult for the child who has only experienced particular relationships with adults, especially if those relationships have entailed very different modes of communication (Clausen, 1968c). In this respect, school impacts children's learning to control their demands for adult attention, as well as requiring them to pay attention to different kinds of demands from adults, that is, the teacher's demands.

There also is the factor of rehearsal, for example, use of play groups, day care and nursery school to "prepare" a child for elementary school. The teacher's aims and activities are likely to be seen quite differently by children from diverse backgrounds. Those children who are most eager to learn particular skills and who are prepared to do so may see the teacher as a person who helps them achieve their own aims. Those for whom the teacher's aims are strange and her demands beyond their initial abilities may see the teacher as hostile and humiliating. Such differences in perspective will, of course, influence the course of interaction and the development of motivations and relationships among the students.

The effects of the school's physical environment are intertwined with social and psychological aspects of children's social integration in the classroom. The combination of these factors are part of a mediational system conveying messages towards social and psychological aspects (e. g., eliciting children's responses and facilitating children's "acceptable" behaviors). Children learn different rules about the use of the classroom (e.g., objects in it, the areas into which it is divided), interactions with the teacher (i. e., the most important adult in the social integration process within the classroom), interactions with peers (i. e., significant social relationships a child establishes with others), and hence develop new forms of behaviors.

#### Statement of the Research Problem

The aim of this research is to study children's social integration process within the physical context of the classroom. Minuchin and Shapiro (1983) emphasize that "the school is a social institution, reflecting the culture of which it is part and transmitting to the young an ethos and a world view as well as specific skills and knowledge" (p. 197 emphasis added). The working premise is that school will socially integrate children to the learning of dominant cultural values. Therefore, the cultural and socioeconomic background, the gender

definition and attribution, the values that are taught and the ways those values are communicated do not necessarily relate to children's experience. A social integration process based on such dominant values results in a lack of meaning for children whose life experiences are different. Learning is viewed in terms of formal activities that do not account for the range of experiential backgrounds children bring to the classroom situation. This, in turn, produces incongruence between school goals and expectations and children's goals and expectations.

The literature on this topic supports the direction taken by this study (Bruner, 1968; Giroux, 1983; Gottlieb, 1978; Illich, 1972, 1973; Ingleby, 1974; Inkeles, 1968; Newson & Newson, 1976, Rivlin & Wolfe, 1985). When children enter school, they have already developed skills and acquired knowledge based on their life experiences. They master useful skills that are related to everyday life, as well as with social relations in which they participate. School may influence their learning in ways that do not necessarily correspond to the ways a child had experienced life and the world before. Children will not learn what they want but what school considers they ought to learn, in order to become competent members of the society as envisaged by the dominant class (Bowles & Gintis, 1976 in Rivlin & Wolfe, 1985). "Therefore, their understanding of the world, their sense of themselves and their competence will largely reflect the relationship between the dominant values and the extent to which they can realize these values within the reality of their lives. Their resistance, given their limited power, often has severe consequences" (Rivlin & Wolfe, 1985, p. 4).

It is reasonable to assume that the children who know the most about school at the moment of entering will be best prepared for school "learning" and "socialization." These children will have fewer difficulties in adapting to the school environment and to the classroom situation (Dreitzel, 1960; Lacey, 1973; Lindgreen, 1968). These are the children for whom the school environment will not differ dramatically

from the home environment, due to their class origin and experience (Huston-Stein, Freidrich-Cofer & Susman, 1977).

Therefore, for most middle and upper class children the transition from home to school environment may be gradual one. There will be a close interrelation between school and home experience. Children may find the same kind of toys, play objects and learning materials they have been exposed to in the home environment (e. g., the so-called educational toys and playthings), as well as shared attitudes toward education among their parents and the teacher. They may also get involved with similar situations with the social and physical environment (e. g., play experiences, the same kind of games they play with their neighborhood friends, their everyday life habits). In this respect, school and home environmental experiences may be complementary (Clark, Brim, Eckland, Lortie, Pitts, Riesman & Trow (1973) and corresponding (congruent).

However, a different situation will be found when children's home experiences do not correspond to the cultural and class values promoted by school. For these children, the school "learning process" is going to be more difficult, not because of their lack of cognitive and social skills but because what they do know will not be validated by school. These children will find school objects unfamiliar and not directly related to their home and everyday life experiences (e. g., clay versus mud play, jigsaw puzzle play versus helping to fix broken things at home) and they will be "socialized" according to what school considers adequate behaviors (e. g., being quiet, sitting still, not moving around, picking up things after using them). Thus, these children will have to learn new relations with the school social and physical environment. This kind of situation will tend to dichotomize home and school environmental experiences. One result of this dichotomy may be the so-called low achievement pattern in children from low socioeconomic status, or blaming the victim syndrome (Ryan, 1971).

Based on the previously stated concerns, this research examines the following three issues:

1. the relationship between parental and school values and the teacher's rating of child's performance;
2. the relationship between knowledge and experience of the home and the school environment, and the teacher's evaluation of the children's skills and abilities; and
3. the relationship between the children's material home-life conditions and the (a) development of scholastic skills, abilities and knowledge as part of the school learning process, and the (b) teacher's conceptions of the children's learning and social integration process within the classroom environment.

The overall hypothesis of this study is that children's behavior and attitudes in school will be evaluated based on the extent to which they conform to dominant ideology as translated by the teacher within the classroom. Therefore, the following two hypotheses are posed for analysis:

- Hypothesis One: Children will be positively or highly evaluated by the teacher if their home environmental experiences, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices are congruent with the teacher's expectations of what children should come to school with.
- Hypothesis Two: Children with a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge, when compared with children with a wide range of academic skills, will be underevaluated by the teacher.

## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

#### Research Design and Procedure

The present research required a design in which parents' attitudes and values, teacher's attitudes and values, and children's skills, were assessed before and after the school semester began. Thus, the research was carried out over time since the goal was to investigate the impact of school social integration process at the time the child makes the transition from the home to the school environment (i.e., when a child enters kindergarten). Data for this research were collected by means of interviews and observations of a group of children, their parents and teachers in a rural public school in Puerto Rico. These children began kindergarten in August of 1983. The study was conducted in two phases within a eight-week period prior to and at the beginning of the school year.

#### The School Setting

The school setting was selected according to a set of criteria directly related to the theoretical framework, as well as practical considerations.

The set of predefined criteria for selecting the school were the following: (1) the school had to have a kindergarten because the research was to be conducted with preschool age children, (2) different socioeconomic status and background had to be represented since this was a relevant variable to the examination of some research issues (see p. 48), and (3) the school had to be representative of Puerto Rico's public educational system.

The school selected fulfilled all the previously stated criteria: (1) the school's kindergarten is considered one of the best in the School District, (2) it serves a community with diversity, represented by people from different socioeconomic status and background, and (3)

it is one of five public schools in the District, with good standing and reputation among school administrators, parents and the general public.

The school differs from the others in the district in that it has an experimental program from kindergarten to third grade (see next page). This program addresses the development of children's intellectual and learning skills, but it also stresses the development of social and emotional skills at a child's own pace. For this reason, no grades are given from kindergarten to third grade. In this sense this school is not representative of the majority of Puerto Rican elementary schools; nonetheless, practical considerations (described further) made it the most desirable site. Furthermore, this aspect of the school program provided a stronger and harder test for my hypotheses than if I had selected a more traditional school.

Among the practical considerations that, in combination with the aforementioned criteria, influenced the selection of this school were: (1) my two children were attending classes in it, which gave me knowledge about the school from a parent's point of view, (2) my wife was one of the three first grade teachers and she was my contact-person, facilitating preliminary and informal talks with the School Director; teachers and parents, and (3) I personally knew the Director, she had been my fifth grade teacher. These facts eased the process of scheduling a meeting with the School Director to discuss my research project. During this meeting I explained the details of the investigation and after assuring that she understood it fully, obtained her endorsement.

The research, therefore, was conducted with kindergarten children from a public school whose educational philosophy is based on a "School Without Grades." The school had been under this experimental program for approximately four years. It is a non-traditional learning program whose basic premises are: (1) that children should progress at their own pace, and (2) during early school years, to promote an integrated

and cooperative development of children's intellectual and socioemotional skills and abilities, they should not be exposed to the stress of the traditional grading system (A, B, C, D, F grading system). Instead, teachers used a three degree progress scale evaluation system for their students: Towards Progress (lowest degree of progress), In Progress (intermediate or average degree of progress), and Fast Progress (higher degree of progress). Children's performance was recorded in an individual "Student Progress Report" (see Appendix A: Informe de Progreso del Estudiante) which they took home to their parents every 20 weeks.

The School District claims success based on the results of evaluations from the Department of Education (DE) supervisors who regularly visit the school.

The school is located in Ensenada, one of the most developed sectors of the municipality of Guánica (a small town at the south-western part of Puerto Rico--a 36.5-square mile territory with a population density of 515 inhabitants per square mile for a total population of 18,784 inhabitants). Until 1982 this sector depended economically on sugar cane production. It had the most modern sugar cane mill in Puerto Rico, the Guánica Mill. In the 1950s the mill belonged to United States capital --The South Puerto Rican Sugar Company. During the late 1960s it was bought by the Puerto Rican Government, but in 1982 it closed down, leaving high rates of unemployment among the workers of the region.

Despite the aforementioned situation, the school is still open and the general attitude of its School Director, staff members and teachers is optimistic. They collaborate in order to support the experiment of non-grading, in the early years (i.e., from kindergarten to the third grade).

Parents are encouraged to participate and share efforts and responsibilities, as well as work closely in order to achieve school goals. Their general attitude is one of cooperation and support.

#### School Description

The José Rodríguez de Soto School is a rural elementary school with 19 classrooms and the capacity for approximately 600 students from kindergarten to the sixth grade (ranging from 4 to 12-years old). It is located on lot of approximately 2,000 square meters (see Appendix B).

The school is similar in size, design and shape to most of the rural elementary schools in Puerto Rico. Its administrative and organizational structure corresponds to the Department of Education (DE) policies. School norms, procedures and regulations, as well as the hierarchical and bureaucratic functioning, are determined by the DE Central Administration.

Physical organization. Two main buildings contain most of the classrooms: the East Building and the West Building (see Appendix B). The East Building, "U" shaped, is the older structure, and is the main building of the school. It has three classrooms, the boys bathroom and an Educational Technology Room in its west side, two classrooms and the Director's Office in its north side (facing the main entrance), and three classrooms and the girls' bathroom in its east side. Classes from first to third grade are held in this building. All the classrooms are similar in size, design and shape, are well-illuminated and ventilated.

The West Building is a two-floor, rectangular-shape structure. It has five classrooms on the first floor and five classrooms on the second floor (see Appendix B). It faces towards the main street. Classes from the fourth to the sixth grade are held in this building. All other classrooms are similar in size, design and shape, and are well illuminated and ventilated.

All of the classrooms except one are located in the two previously described buildings. Forty two per cent (8 out of 19 classrooms) are in

the East Building, and fifty three per cent (10 out of 19 classrooms) are in the West Building. The one remaining classroom, which houses the kindergarten class, is located in a separate one-classroom structure (see next section). Other self-contained structures on the school grounds are the school library, the bathroom for the fourth to the six grade boys and girls and the school cafeteria (see Appendix B).

The kindergarten classroom. This is a self-contained structure on a plot of land surrounded by a fence. This structure is located about 40 feet from the north side of the main building and approximately 25 feet from the south part of the West Building (immediately behind, see Appendix B). It has a house-like shape, i.e., A-frame house or style, a common design in Puerto Rico's rural area. Its foundation and floor are made of cement, wood is used for the walls and ceiling, and the roof is covered by sheets of metal. Teachers use the structural features to introduce the children to the new situation. They are welcomed to "our new house", in order to ease the transition from the home to the school environment.

The kindergarten consists of three spaces: (1) a porch attached to the front side, covered by a roof and enclosed by a grilled fence (about a 150 square-foot area, a 30 by 5-foot area). This space includes the wood blocks area, and a display area (for exhibiting children's drawings and other works), which also acts as a reception space for parents when they bring their children. (2) The classroom space (30 by 20 or an area of approximate 600 square feet) accommodates the different activity areas, two bathrooms, cubbies, as well as learning materials and equipment. (3) The third space is an outside playground area on the west side of the building, within the fenced area (10 by 10 or about a 100 square-foot area). It contains the basic playground equipment; such as, tire swings, slide, plastic child-size blocks with holes). The three-part structure is about 850 square feet.

The kindergarten structure differs from the rest of the school's classrooms in size (about 10 to 20 per cent larger), design and shape (three-space versus one-space structure, and house-shape versus box or cubic-shape), construction (mostly wooden versus cement construction) and location within the school grounds (self-contained versus building-contained). The physical and environmental differences account to great extent for the kinds of activities and routines that take place in the kindergarten classroom (e.g., preparatory learning activities, school-oriented routines and the social integration process), which differ significantly from the first grade when formal learning starts and less flexibility is allowed.

#### Sample

The research was conducted with a group of 4 to 5-year-old Puerto Rican kindergarten children. The sample size was 22 children, 12 (55 per cent) boys and 10 (45 per cent) girls, drawn from one of two kindergarten classes. Children were selected after their parents agreed to their participation in the research. Children were from different socioeconomic status. Household incomes ranged \$1,200.00 to \$36,000.00 per year (see Appendix C). Among the working parents the average income was \$18,600 which, in Puerto Rico would be considered as a middle socioeconomic status income. However, class-related issues could not be addressed in this research due three reasons. First, the unemployment rate among the population of the community was high, most of the parents were workers of the sugar mill and this was closed the year before. Second, although the population's heterogeneous character of this community accounted for the existing general social and economic differences, sharp class differences cannot be tapped. And third, relevant data was not available in order to make the analyses by class.

Sample size was determined by the size of the class: a total of 25 children is the maximum permitted by the DE policies. Three out of the 25 children initially in the class did not participate in the research

due to the following reasons: (1) one girl got scared and confused when I was introduced to her as "the doctor" by the School Director at the moment of the interview (perhaps she associated me with shots, illness and with a medical doctor, although I had introduced myself to the children, parents and teacher as a student working on a school assignment). Subsequently, I made my own approach to the other children. (2) one boy was constantly absent due to illness, and (3) another child moved out of town with his parents. Sample size was thus reduced to 22 children, which was manageable and reasonable for the research design and procedure established.

#### Research Techniques and Procedures

Several research techniques and procedures were used to collect the data. They were the following: parent, teacher, and child interviews, and classroom observations. These techniques were complemented with the use of qualitative naturalistic observations, child profiles and the teacher's record book. Although extensive interviews and observations were conducted, the current study used only the specific parts of the parents, teacher and children interviews, and classroom observations that were directly related to the testing of the hypotheses.

#### Parent's Interviews

Parents' Interviews (see Appendix D) consisted of a total of 108 open and closed-ended questions, subdivided into 11 sections. Many of the questions were adapted from the Newson and Newson (1976) study of seven year-old children in the school environment in England and others were designed specifically for this research. The instrument was pilot tested with three parents of preschool children who were not attending this kindergarten but were in the same area. The pilot testing had a threefold objective: (1) to make sure that all the questions were understood, (2) to rehearse the interview procedures (e.g., approach, probing, notation of responses, duration of the interview), and (3) to get a general sense of the interview process. Additionally, it assisted

in discovering areas which had not been included but seemed relevant. The pilot test of the interviews was conducted with a more qualitative probing emphasis than the one used in the final format. Questions 21, 92 and 97 required wording changes to facilitate understanding; questions 99, 105 through 108 were added; the interview procedures turned out to be adequate; and a general sense of the interview process was developed (e.g., establishing rapport, creating an adequate atmosphere for the interview and being able to make it comfortable) for the interviewee.

Two weeks prior to the beginning of the school year (Time One) parents were contacted in person, the research was explained and their cooperation requested. Upon their consent, a home visit was scheduled for the interview. The average duration of the interview was two-and-a-half hours. Between three and four interviews were conducted each day during the week immediately prior to the beginning of the school year. By the end of this period the first round of parents' interviews was completed.

At the beginning of the parents' interview I introduced myself as student doing a special assignment or school project (a study), which consisted of interviewing parents about their ideas and opinions in regard to their children's education and growing up process. I explained the need to write down their responses for further analysis. Since there were no correct or wrong answers, the emphasis was on their sincere and honest answers. I assured the confidential and anonymous character of the interview. The fact that the study was my own research and that I was not directly or indirectly related to the school or to the DE was emphasized also. In addition, I explained that I was not connected to the school or the DE, therefore, all the information gathered would be seen only by me.

During the interview process all the questions the parents had about the study and myself were answered. At the end of the interview I

asked for their cooperation for a second round of interviews within a six-week period. Parents were very cooperative and willing to offer information about their children.

A second round of parent interviews was conducted after a six-week period (Time Two). The interview was essentially the same, except for the deletion of questions which were irrelevant this time (i.e., Questions, 1, 4, 56, 74, 77-78, 84, 93, 101-102, and 104). During the second round the general approach was directed towards a child's school attendance (e.g., "Now that your child is going to school...") rather than expectations. However, the average duration of the interview remained two-and-a-half hours, since this time parents seemed to be more ready and eager to answer, with very complete information about the changes they had been observing in their children. At the end of this second round many parents said that the interview had helped them become more aware of the many changes their children had experienced since they had been attending school.

Rationale for Parents' Interviews. Parent interviews were aimed to assess children's home environmental knowledge and experience, children's material home life conditions, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices. The interview began with a section of questions (Section A) for gathering background information about the child, his or her family, the mother's and the father's age, occupation and education, and supplementary information about the child. The specific Parents' Interview sections (see Appendix D) relevant to the hypothesis testing were:

- (1) Section B: Child's Personal Style. This section included questions (6 through 14) aimed at tapping a range of aspects such as: a description of the child's general demeanor or ways of acting (e.g., shy, loud); a child's management of new situations, new children and new adults (relatives and strangers included); a child's probable behavior when she or

he does not understand things; a child's behavior when facing a difficult problem or activity; a child's persistence in activities; a child's quietness or talkativeness in relation to other children and adults (relatives and strangers included); and a child's behavior in regard to other children.

- (2) Section C: Spatial and Social Range. Questions 16, 19, 23, 28 and 30 pursued a range of aspects of a child's spatial and social range such as: having a place for keeping things; sharing things with siblings, friends, relatives and other children; rules about how far the child can go on her or his own; trusting a child crossing busy roads, and a parent's encouragement or discouragement of a child's friendship with other children.
- (3) Section E: Things and Objects. This section included questions (43, 47 and 48) dealing with a range of aspects such as: the different kinds of objects and playthings a child has, parents expectation of a child to pick up things after she or he finishes playing, and a child's having a place to put her or his things.
- (4) Section F: Activities. This section included questions (51 and 53) aimed at tapping the sorts of games a child plays mostly, and rules about what and when to do things (e.g. watch TV, eating, go to bed).
- (5) Section H: Family Child-Rearing Ideologies. Questions (71 through 74) geared to assess a range of aspects such as: the use of words or phrases the parent or other adults do not like, which and what do the parent do about it; a parent's feeling about a child quarrelling; a parent's advise or managing strategy on a child's quarrel, and a

parent's interference (or not) in a child's quarrels and arguments with other children.

- (6) Section J: Child's Relationship to Authority. This section included questions (91 and 95 through 104) aimed at tapping a range of aspects such as: things a child learn as a way of being good mannered and respectful with others, things a parent does when a child is slow doing something, things a parent does when a child does not agree, the sort of things that make the parent and the child get mad at each other, apologies, a child refusing to do something and the parent's reaction, things that parents do to punish their children and make them do what they want, a parent's reaction when a child hits her or him, a parent's reaction when a child tells she or he has not done something she or he has, a parent's reaction to a child telling she or he has done something she or he should not have done, a parent's expectation of a child saying she or he is sorry when she or he has done something she or he should not, and a parent's own description of her or his way of dealing with children.

Parents' responses to the previously mentioned questions were compared with the teacher's responses to the same questions (see next section) in order to perform relevant data analyses for hypothesis testing

#### Teacher's Interview

The Teacher's Interview (see Appendix E) consisted of a total of 68 open and closed-ended questions subdivided into eight sections. Many of them were adapted from the Parents' Interview and others were especially designed for the teacher, on matters that did not concern the parents.

Before the teacher's interview began, as with the parents, I introduced myself as a student doing a special assignment or a school project (a study) consisting of interviewing her (as a teacher) about

their ideas and opinions in regard to children's education and growing up process. The instructions and clarifications that followed were identical to those used during the parents interview (see p. 60).

The teacher's cooperation was requested and upon her consent to participate, the research was explained and the interview scheduled. The interview was conducted during the first week of classes at the beginning of the school year and it took three hours. The teacher was very cooperative and willing to provide all the required information. When the interview came to an end I explained in a detailed fashion the plan of action and research process to insure her cooperation. I also offered to provide her with any help relevant to my skills and knowledge. She asked me to make copies of a "Parent's Basic Information Questionnaire About Your Child" (see Appendix F: Formulario de Información Básica Sobre su Hijo/a), and to make any changes I wanted in order to improve the form (e.g. add questions, make editorial and format changes). I complied with her request, which in turn helped me establish rapport, as well as assisted in gathering preliminary background information from each child, since the teacher made it available to me.

The teacher's interview was conducted only once (at the beginning of the school year) since it dealt basically with her values, attitudes and belief system in general. In addition, I asked for her consent to have access to her record book to study her evaluation system, an important piece of information for my research. After explaining to her that I would keep the confidentiality of the information, she agreed to my request. The teacher's evaluation system of children's performance was obtained from her record book at the end of the academic year. This will be discussed in a further section of this chapter.

Rationale for Teacher's Interview. The Teacher's Interview (see Appendix E) was directed towards the assessment of the teacher's conceptions of children's social integration process through the

classroom environment, as well as her values, attitudes and beliefs in regard to children's skills and abilities at the moment of entering school. The purpose, the confidentiality and anonymity of the teacher's interview were stated in an introductory section. The interview began with a section of questions (Section A) for gathering background information about the teacher and her general as well as particular experiences in school and in kindergarten. The interview sections relevant to the hypothesis testing were: (1) Section B: Child's Personal Style; questions 6 through 13, (2) Section C: Spatial and Social Range; questions 14-16, 18, and 20, (3) Section D: Child's Skills; questions 22 through 25, (4) Section E: Things and Objects; questions 27-29, and 31-32, (5) Section H: Teacher's Ideologies; questions 49 through 54, (6) Section I: Child's Relationship to Authority; questions 55, 57-62, and 65-68. Teacher's responses to the aforementioned questions were used as a guide for coding parents' responses to the same questions (see Rationale for Parents' Interview, pp. 57-59) and in performing the relevant data analysis on congruence hypothesis testing (see p. 70).

#### Children's Interviews

Children's Interviews (see Appendix G) consisted of a total of 39 open and closed-ended questions subdivided into eight sections. Most of the questions, were adapted from the Parents' Interview and the others were designed specifically for the children.

Children's interviews were conducted on the classroom's porch (see The kindergarten classroom, p. 53). I interviewed five children daily during the first week of classes at the beginning of the school year. Children were asked to participate by explaining to them what we were going to do in a way they could relate to. The Spanish version used language appropriate to the age group:

Hi! My name is (interviewer's name) and I am here because I will like you to help me in a school assignment I have to do. You could help me by answering some questions I am going to ask you.

I am going to write down what you tell me, so I can read it when I go back home. I want you to feel free to tell me what you think because what you tell me is important for me. You should know that there is not going to be correct or incorrect answers and whatever you say is between the two of us. Ok?

The way in which we are going to do this is by pretending we are going to play a game. I will be showing you different things (e.g., objects, cards, pictures) and will ask you to tell me what you think. Do you have any questions?

Are you ready to start?

Ok, let us begin.

Upon their voluntary consent to participate the interview was carried out.

The children's interview was initially designed following the methodological recommendations of Yarrow (1960) who suggests that interviews with young children should be conducted projectively. However, that approach did not work well with the children. Rather than facilitating their responses, the projective techniques (e.g., using a child figure or a puppet) seemed to inhibit them. Children simply did not relate to the puppet since it did not seem to be part of their play experience or it was not a familiar object. Therefore, a direct (non-projective) questioning approach was implemented and the children's responses flowed much better. I developed a set of concrete devices in order to make the interview situation more enjoyable and manageable for the children. An interview kit containing drawings, pictures, real objects, toys and all sort of familiar objects was put together and used during the interview process.

The average duration of the children's interviews was 45 minutes. After the interview, a child chose and kept one of the toys from the Children's Interview Kit. A second round of interviews was carried out six weeks later. After the completion of the second interview children were given a coloring and activity book and a 24-crayon box.

Rationale for Children's Interviews. The Children's Interviews (see Appendix G) aimed to assess children's skills and knowledge at the

moment they were entering the school environment. The purpose of the interview was included in an introductory section followed by a brief section of questions (Section A) for gathering background information. The specific Children's Interview section relevant to the hypothesis testing was:

- (1) Section D: Child's Skills. This section included questions (18 through 21) aimed at tapping the skills and things a child knows or does. Skills were classified into domestic and academic. Domestic skills were subdivided into three categories: home-related, self-care, and tool-handling skills. Domestic home-related skills included things a child does such as: helps in cleaning the house, cooking, doing the dishes, folding clothes, doing the beds, fixing something broken, sewing, planting, taking care of animals, going on errands, and taking care of younger siblings. Domestic self-care skills a child does are, for example: dresses and undresses, ties up shoe laces, combs hair, washes face and hands, takes a bath, brushes teeth, and eats by her or himself. Domestic tool-handling skills included a child's use of the following: handsaw, hammer, machete, kitchen knife, small saw, screwdriver, wrench, carpenter's brace, sand paper, stubby brush, broom, dishcloth, dishtowel, vacuum cleaner, sewing machine, appliances, and thread and needle. Academic skills were subdivided into two categories: home-related and school-related skills. Academic home-related skills included things a child does such as: plays with sand, toys, clay, puzzles, makes up things (constructs something), collects objects, organizes belongings (self-generated), colors using coloring books or crayons and paper, looks or browses through magazines, comics, and books, and drawing. Academic school-related

skills included: measures with ruler, cuts with scissors, does things with construction paper, finger paints, paints with brush, colors with crayons or color pencils, draws with colored chalks, writes on a board, manipulates an eraser, and a pencil-sharpener, holds a pencil or a pen, writes name, counts objects, plays with puppets, cuts and pastes, tells the time, counts money, and differentiates shapes, colors and sizes.

Children's responses were recorded and coded for the relevant data analysis.

All interviews were conducted in Spanish. I translated questions adapted from Newson and Newson (1976) into Spanish, taking into consideration Puerto Rican idiomatic expressions, particularly cultural and linguistic nuances.

#### Classroom Observations

A Classroom Observation form (See Appendix H) was developed. It consisted of two sections. In the first section the identification of the child and other general information (e.g., name, sex, location in the classroom, number of children present or absent, date and so on) were recorded, followed by a list of behavioral categories (e.g., conversation, interaction), and a running record chart for activities, comments and notes.

The second section had a sketch of the Kindergarten classroom and its main features (e.g., tables, objects relations; See The kindergarten classroom, p. 53, and Appendix H) subdivided into six behavioral mapping areas (designated with letters A through F). This was used to track a child's behavior during the observation period.

The first set of classroom observations were conducted at the beginning of the school year, over a one-week period. They were focused on children's behavior in relationship to the use of the classroom space

and objects within it, as well as their interactions with the teacher and other children.

The original research plan called for observing each child for a ten-minute period during a four-hour period each day (on a five-day week basis) ending up with a 50-minute observation period for each of the 22 children of the research. However, this had to be accomplished in between the first and second parents' and children's interviews and concomitant with the teacher's interview. Since a whole range of different activities were taking place, it was not possible to do the more extensive observations initially planned. Instead, each child was observed for one ten-minute period during the week. These were conducted each day while I walked around the classroom recording what was going on in different parts of the classroom, the children who were involved, as well as whether the teacher was present or absent during that moment. In so doing I observed during the entire morning period.

Starting on the first day of this particular week for my ten-minute observations I randomly picked a child and observed all his/her movements and interactions. Then, I took a five-minute break and observed another child. I did this every morning for a five-day week ending with a ten-minute period of focussed observations for each child. A second round of classroom observations was carried out six weeks after.

Rationale for classroom observations. Classroom observations data were used to assess the total number of the interactions a child had with the teacher. Each of these were eventually analyzed to determine whether the interaction was positive or negative, what the teacher said or did, her way of validating or invalidating a child's skills, and her attitudes towards children's skills.

Since these data are so rich in content and includes a complex range of behavioral and contextual instances, a quantitative analysis was inappropriate to fully grasp its worth and significance. Therefore,

in order to benefit from the richness and complexity of the classroom observations, a qualitative analysis was performed. This analysis is presented in the form of six case studies of children corresponding to the categories included in the two hypotheses (see p. 48).

In addition to the data gathered from the classroom observations, the children's case studies are buttressed with data from the Children's and Parent's Interviews, respectively. The case studies are divided as follows: two case studies related to the first hypothesis; that is, a case study of a congruent, and an incongruent child from the Time One; and four children's case studies related to the second hypothesis: (1) a high academic and high domestic skills and knowledge child, (2) a high academic and low domestic skills and knowledge child, (3) a low academic and high domestic skills and knowledge child, and (4) a low academic and low domestic skills and knowledge child, all four from Time Two. The case studies are reported and qualitatively analyzed in a separate chapter following the presentation of the quantitative analysis performed to test each of the hypotheses.

#### Complementary Procedures and Sources of Information

The data gathered through the specific research techniques and procedures described above were complemented with the use of qualitative naturalistic observations, children's profiles, teacher's records and school records. Those complementary procedures also contributed relevant information for hypothesis testing.

Qualitative naturalistic observations (QNO). Qualitative naturalistic observations were broad in scope and were conducted throughout the whole research process. Extensive notes were taken during and after time spent at the school. An average of 239 hours during 42.56 days were spent in research-related activities including the two phases (Time One and Two) of the research as well as the QNO throughout the research period and until the end of Fall, 1983. An average of 140 hours (59 per cent of the total time) during 30 days (70

per cent of the total number of days) were spent at school doing interviews and classroom observations during the two phases of the research, while an average of 99 hours (41 per cent of the time) during 12.37 days (29 per cent of the number of days) were spent doing QNO. A summary of the QNO-related activities is included in Table 1. These activities (see Table 1) were directed towards establishing connections and relationships between all the aspects of the research process, complete notes, gather general information, reconstruct daily kindergarten and school routines, identify interests and concerns which were raised during parents' and teacher's meetings, as well as to record qualitative instances of everyday life dynamics during the research process.

Teacher's records. Teacher's records were a very useful source of information. I had regular access to them and the teacher was very cooperative and willing to make them available. Of special interest and value was the opportunity to use the teacher's roll book with her evaluation of each child's performance. This information was particularly useful for the data analysis, specifically the hypothesis about teacher's evaluation of children's performance as related to their range of domestic and academic abilities and the congruence scores.

School's records. The School Director also gave me access to school's records from which I gathered relevant demographic, school and community data related to the research objectives. In addition, I kept a record of children's attendance.

#### Sequence of Methods Used

The sequence of methods used is included in Figure 1. In the following section the method for assessing congruence and children's skills measures is described.

**Table 1**  
**Qualitative Naturalistic Observations-Related Activities**

Activity	Approximate Time Spent (in hours)	Overall Number of Days <sup>a</sup>
During school time.	40	5
Before and after school time.	40	5
Visit to the zoo.	8	1
Two meetings with the School Director.	4	0.50
Workshop for teachers on "School Socialization".	3	0.37
Meeting with teachers and parents.	2	0.25
Meeting with parents.	2	0.25
<b>Total</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>12.37</b>

<sup>a</sup>Based on one-eight-hour day calculation.

**Figure 1**  
**Sequence of Methods Used in this Research**

<b>Method</b>	<b>Time Period</b>		
	<u>Time One</u>	<u>Time Two</u>	<u>Time Three</u>
	Two weeks prior to school began.	Six weeks after school began.	End of academic year.
■ Parents' Interviews for congruence analysis.	◆	◆	
■ Teacher's Interview for congruence analysis.	◆		
■ Independent skills assessment from Children's Interviews done by researcher.	◆	◆	
■ Classroom Observations.	◆	◆	
■ Qualitative Teacher Evaluation (QTE).			◆
■ Teacher Evaluation One (TE1).			◆

## Data Analysis

### Overview

The premise of this research is that children's behavior and attitudes in school will be evaluated based on the extent to which they conform to the dominant ideology, as translated by the teacher within the social and learning environment of the classroom. From this premise, two specific hypotheses were formulated (see pp. 48).

### Analysis of Data Relevant to Hypotheses Testing

The hypotheses required the development of methods for assessing: (1) the congruence between children's home environmental knowledge and experience, family values and attitudes, childrearing practices, and childrearing practices, and (2) evaluating children's domestic and academic skills and knowledge. The questions in the interviews were used in developing this measure.

### Method of assessing congruence scores (CS).

To examine the relationship between parental (home) and teacher (school) values a measure of congruence (C) between the children's home environment knowledge and experience, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices, and the teacher's values, attitudes and beliefs, was developed. Therefore, similar and identical (congruent) responses given by the parents and the teacher to the same questions in the interviews were used in developing the congruence measures.

The method for assessing CS was based on comparisons of data gathered through the teacher's and parents' interviews two weeks before the school semester began for Time One, and six weeks after the school semester began for Time Two. The teacher's interview data provided the base for the comparison between their responses and the parents' responses. A coding system was developed for both interviews. The teacher's and parents' responses to closed-ended questions were transformed into a point system with a maximum total score of 132, and then the scores were compared (Sections contributing to score were B, C.

D, E, G, H and J; see Appendix E, and Rationale for Teacher's Interview, p. 74). This analysis produced a CS for each conceptual category in the interview, as well as an overall CS (see Appendix I).

Procedure for assessing congruence scores (CS). Congruence Scores (CS) were determined as follows: (1) For each corresponding or matching parent and teacher response, a number one was assigned. (2) A CS was obtained by adding all corresponding responses and dividing them by the total possible, and the per cent determined (e. g., X number out of 132 items,  $X/132$ ; a perfect CS would be  $132/132 = 100\%$ ).

Children were classified into congruence categories based on the parents' scores as compared to the teacher's. The arithmetic mean was used as the criterion for children's (C) categorization. Three categories were used: (1) above average congruent children, (2) average congruent children, and (3) below average congruent children.

#### Use of the Congruence Scales

Although some congruence scales correlated high and moderately with each other during Times One and Two, respectively (see Appendix I), congruence between the parents and the teacher values, attitudes and beliefs could not be treated on an overall level. A particular set of parent values and attitudes may be congruent with those of the teacher, while another will be incongruent. For example, Ms. Lugo is the mother of Andrés, a four year-old boy. Her values, attitudes and beliefs are congruent with those of Ms. Rodríguez, the kindergarten teacher. When compared, most of Ms. Lugo's responses in the parent interview agreed with the responses that Ms. Rodríguez gave to the same questions. Once a week Ms. Lugo asks Ms. Rodríguez about Andrés' general demeanor in the classroom and follows up her son's school progress. Ms. Rodríguez describes Andrés as one of the best students in the classroom. According to the teacher, Andrés is obedient, disciplined and well-behaved. He likes to work by his own, yet he shares things when playing with other children. He is friendly, very social, and almost always is

the leader of the group. However, Ms. Rodríguez considers that Andrés is not very orderly and organized, he does not clean after he is finished playing and does not help other children pick up things. Although he knows the classroom routine, he does not always follow instructions, although he obeys the rules and norms of the classroom. Ms. Rodríguez also emphasizes that Ms. Lugo's son is respectful, good mannered, assertive and sensitive.

In addition, each section of the interview dealt with a conceptually different aspect of children's lives. Therefore, each of the scores was treated independently for hypothesis testing, although the outcome of the analysis took into account the nature of the correlations that did exist.

#### Method of assessing skills scores (SS).

Skills were measured and analyzed in a variety of ways. According to instructions, skills were face-validated by two teachers and two psychologists who classified them into two groups: (1) domestic and (2) academic skills. In order to perform relevant value congruence analyses, skills data were removed of the C values. Table 2 lists the skills as domestic or academic.

Procedure for assessing skills scores (SS). The SS analysis was based on the researcher's assessment of children's skills. Skill scores were derived as follows: (1) a per cent was determined through parents' evaluations of how many domestic skills a child had at the time she or he entered school, and (2) a per cent was determined through parents' evaluations of how many academic skills a child had at the time she or he entered school, and (3) a ratio was obtained by dividing the per cent of domestic skills by the per cent of academic skills (e.g., domestic/academic skills). Since the ratio score could mask the individual domestic/academic skills scores, children were divided into four groups: high domestic/high academic, high domestic/low academic, low domestic/high academic, and low domestic/low academic. Each of the

Table 2

List of Children's Domestic and Academic Skills

Domestic Skills	Academic Skills
<p><b>Helps:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>cleaning the house</li> <li>cooking</li> <li>doing the dishes</li> <li>folding clothes</li> <li>doing the beds</li> <li>fixing something broken</li> <li>sewing</li> <li>planting</li> <li>takes care of animals</li> <li>goes on errands</li> <li>takes care of younger siblings</li> <li>dresses/undresses</li> <li>ties up shoe lace</li> <li>combs hair</li> <li>washes face and hands</li> <li>takes a bath by her/himself</li> <li>brushes teeth</li> <li>eats by her/himself</li> <li>uses the following:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>handsaw</li> <li>hammer</li> <li><u>machete</u></li> <li>kitchen knife</li> <li>small saw</li> <li>screwdriver</li> <li>wrench</li> <li>carpenter's brace</li> <li>sand paper</li> <li>stubby brush</li> <li>brush</li> <li>dishcloth</li> <li>dishtowel</li> <li>vacuum cleaner</li> <li>sewing machine</li> <li>appliances</li> <li>thread and needle</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><b>Plays with:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>sand</li> <li>toys</li> <li>clay</li> <li>puzzles</li> <li>makes up things (constructs something)</li> <li>collects objects</li> <li>organizes belongings (self-generated)</li> <li>colors using coloring books or crayons and paper</li> <li>browses through magazines, comics, books</li> <li>draws</li> <li>measures with ruler</li> <li>cuts with scissors</li> <li>does things on construction paper</li> <li>finger paints</li> <li>paints with brush</li> <li>colors with crayons or color pencils</li> <li>draws with colored chalks</li> <li>writes on a board</li> <li>manipulates an eraser</li> <li>holds a pencil or a pen</li> <li>manipulates a pencil-sharpener</li> <li>writes name</li> <li>counts objects</li> <li>plays with puppets</li> <li>cuts and pastes</li> <li>tells the time</li> <li>counts money</li> <li>differentiates:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>shapes</li> <li>colors</li> <li>sizes</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

skills scores was compared with the teacher's assessment of what domestic and academic skills a child should have when beginning school, and with the teacher's evaluation of children's performance at the end of the academic year.

The researcher's assessment of children's skills was obtained and compared with the teacher's evaluation of their performance at the end of the academic year. This was done through a response analysis to questions 18 through 21 of the Children's Interview, for each of the two phases of the research.

#### Use of the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills Scales

The children's domestic and academic skills scores were correlated with each other, and with the domestic skills total score, the academic skills total score, and the ratio. Although several skills scales correlated highly with each other during Times One and Two, (see Appendix K), the skills scales were used independently in order to perform a more sensitive analysis and be able to tap the subtleties of the data. Therefore, each of the scores were treated independently for hypothesis testing, although the analysis of the outcome takes into consideration the nature of the existing correlations.

Since the analytical scheme used for the congruence scales scores was relevant to the domestic and academic skills scales scores, analogous analyses were performed to test this hypothesis taking into account its own, different and distinct character. Based on frequency distribution, children were divided into two (high or low), or three (high, medium and low) skills groups and chi-square analyses were performed to test the relation between skills and other variables.

As with the congruence scales, some skills scales correlated high or moderately with each other during Times One and Two, respectively (see Appendix K), children's domestic and academic skills and knowledge could not be treated on an overall level. Each section of the interview dealt with conceptually different children's skills and knowledge.

Thus, each of the skills scores was treated independently for hypothesis testing, although the outcome of the analysis took into consideration the nature of the correlations that did exist.

Method for developing measures from the teacher's evaluation system (TES).

In order to test both hypotheses, it was necessary to develop measures of the teacher's evaluation. The teacher's evaluation system of children's performance was obtained from her record book at the end of the academic year. The teacher's interview also provided complementary information for generating these measures.

Procedure for developing measures from the teacher's evaluation system (TES). Four alternative ways of grouping children based on the teacher's evaluation were generated from the teacher's notations, observations and comments on her record book (see Appendix L). Three were based on the Teacher's Evaluation System (TES): (1) the TES was used as recorded by her; children were coded as above average, average, and under average; (2) a derived definition based on this system which divided children into two groups: a low evaluation group (children evaluated average and under average) versus a high evaluation group (children evaluated as above average), Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1); (3) a second derived definition based on the teacher's criteria which also divided the children into two groups; a low evaluation group (children under average) versus a high evaluation group (children average and above), Teacher's Evaluation Two (TE2). The decision to create two different derived groupings was based on a need to generate a larger sample size in each group than that obtained by using the teacher's original three-group system. However, since it was impossible to determine in which way the teacher would combine them, both directions were tested (see the two derived definitions described before). In addition to evaluating children above average, average, and under average, the teacher also included comments about the children's

performance and behavior, for example, "Catuxo is extremely intelligent, but he also is very annoying, he moves around a lot, he likes to be the center of attention. He is not well disciplined." Therefore, a fourth evaluation measure--the Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE)--based on the teacher's comments of the children's performance and behavior was generated. This categorized children as having either a positively-oriented or negatively-oriented teacher's evaluation (See Appendix M). The QTE provided a more sensitive reference system accounting for the subtleties of the teacher's evaluation. For example, some children, who were evaluated above average, could end with negatively-oriented comments as demonstrated in Catuxo's example.

Each of the four measures from the teacher's evaluation system were used: (1) to test the hypothesis on parents/teacher's value congruence (see Appendix N), and (2) the hypothesis on children's skills and knowledge (see Appendix O).

## CHAPTER III

### FINDINGS

#### Overview

The research hypotheses deal with the relations among different aspects of children's social integration process in the home and in the school environment. The study was conducted in two phases within an eight-week period prior to and at the beginning of the school year. Therefore, parents' and teacher's values and attitudes, and children's skills and abilities were assessed before (Time One) and after (Time Two) the school semester began. The purpose of the second phase (Time Two) was to explore the effects of school attendance on children's social integration and school learning process.

The testing of the hypotheses required the use of two different kinds of measures: (1) a measure of congruence between parents' and teacher's home environmental knowledge and experience, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices, and (2) a measure of the children's skills and abilities. The same measures were used for testing the hypotheses for Time One and Time Two.

#### Parental and School Values, and the Teacher's Ratings of Child's Performance

For testing the first hypothesis a measure of parents'/teacher's congruence on home environmental knowledge and experience, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices for both phases of the research was used. The development of this measure has been described earlier (see pp. 70-72). Six specific congruence measures were generated, based on a section of the interviews: Child's Personal Style (Scale B), Spatial Social Range (Scale C), Things and Objects (Scale E), Activities (Scale F), Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (Scale H), and Child's Relationship to Authority (Scale I). In addition, a total congruence score, based on all six sections combined, was also

generated. The skills scores were subjected to different types of analyses (see pp. 72-75).

Measures of the teacher's evaluation were compared to the congruence scales. These have been described before (see pp. 75-76). Chi-square analyses were conducted to determine the relation between each of the seven congruence measures and the four types of the teacher's evaluation (see Appendix L). The Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) demonstrated to be the one that best represented the relation between the parents/teacher's value congruence and the teacher's ratings of a child's performance.

#### Congruence Scores and the Teacher's Evaluation

The hypothesis on the relation between congruence score and the teacher's evaluation stated that:

Children will be positively or highly evaluated by the teacher if their home environmental experience, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices are congruent with the teacher's expectations of what children should come to school with.

In order to test the hypothesis, the mean scores were used as the criteria for classifying children in the high and low congruence score group in each scale. For example, children with a mean score greater than 47.091 during Time One, and a mean score greater than 52.273 during Time Two in the Child's Personal Style (Scale B), were classified into the high congruence children's group. Children with a congruence score equal or less than 47.091 and 52.273 during Times One and Two, respectively were classified into the low congruence children's group. The congruence scores used for classifying children into the high and low congruence groups for Times One and Two are included in Table 3.

Table 3

High Congruence Children's in the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence Scales for Times One and Two.

Congruence scales	<u>High congruence children group<sup>a</sup></u>	
	Time One	Time Two
Child's Personal Style (B)	47.091	52.273
Spatial Social Range (C)	73.636	75.455
Things and Objects (E)	70.727	78.181
Activities (F)	47.727	47.727
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (H)	35.227	40.909
Child's Relationship to Authority (I)	61.636	64.955
Total Score (TS)	53.064	56.264

<sup>a</sup>>mean.

Qualitative Teacher Evaluation (QTE) and the Parents/Teacher Value  
Congruence

The Child's Personal Style (Scale B, see pp. 70 for a description) was the first scale used to examine the relationship between parents/teacher value congruence and the QTE. Children were divided into high congruence groups, using the mean (i.e., a score greater than 47.091 for Time One, and 57.273 for Time Two, see Table 3) as the criterion. Chi-square analyses of the relationship between the teacher's evaluation and parents/teacher value congruence on Child's Personal Style (Scale B) are in Table 4. According to expectations the teacher underevaluated children whose home environments, family attitudes, childrearing practices and values had low congruence with hers; contrariwise she evaluated more positively or highly children whose home environments, family attitudes, childrearing practices and values were highly congruent with hers [ $(\chi^2, (df=1, N=22)= 6.455 p<.05/$  for Time One, and  $\chi^2, (df=1, N=22)= 5.091 p<.05/$  for Time Two, see Table 4)].

Children's Skills and Knowledge, and the Teacher's  
Ratings of Child's Performance

A second hypothesis on the relation between children's domestic, and academic skills and knowledge, and the teacher's rating of child performance stated that:

Children with a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge, as compared with children with a wide range of academic skills and knowledge, will be underevaluated by the teacher.

To test this hypothesis, measures of children's domestic and academic skills were developed for both phases of the research. The procedure for developing these measures has been described earlier (see pp. 72-75). Five specific children's domestic and academic skills were generated: Domestic Home-Related Skills (DSK1), Domestic Self-Care Skills (DSK2), Domestic Tool-Handling Skills (DSK3), Academic Home-Based

Table 4

Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) and the Parents/ Teacher Value  
Congruence for Times One and Two.

Congruence scales	<u>Chi-square result</u>	
	Time One	Time Two
Child's Personal Style (B)	6.455*	5.091*
Spatial Social Range (C)	6.497*	18.151*
Things and Objects (E)	.054	2.390
Activities (F)	4.583*	8.983*
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (H)	6.858*	12.101*
Child's Relationship to Authority (I)	6.858*	14.850*
Total Score (TS)	7.793*	18.151*

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

Skills (ASK1), and Academic School-Related Skills (ASK2). In addition, a Domestic Skills Total Score (DSTO), an Academic Skills Total Score (ASTO), and a ratio (DSKRA) were computed.

Children's Domestic and Academic Skills and Knowledge, and the  
Teacher's Rating of a Child Performance

The mean scores were used as the criteria for classifying children in the high and low domestic and academic skills groups in each scale. For example, children with a mean score greater than 47.934 during Time One, and a mean score greater than 60.744 during Time Two in the Domestic Home-Related Skills (DSK1), were classified into the high domestic skills children's group in this scale. Children with a domestic skills score equal or less than 47.934 and 60.744 during Times One and Two, respectively were classified into the low domestic skills children's group in the same scale. In Table 5 are included the domestic and academic skills scales scores used for classifying children into the high and low domestic and academic groups for Times One and Two for the remaining scales and the ratio.

Measures of the teacher's evaluation were compared to the skills scales. These have been described elsewhere (see pp. 75-76). Chi-square tests were performed to determine the relation between each of the eight skills measures and the four types of the teacher's evaluation (see Appendix L). The Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) demonstrated to be the one that best represented the relation between children's domestic and academic skills and knowledge and the teacher's ratings of a child's performance.

Teacher Evaluation One (TE1) and the Children's  
Domestic and Academic Skills

The Domestic Home-Related Skills (DSK1) was the first scale used to examine the relationship between children's domestic skills and TE1. For this scale children were divided into a high domestic skills group using the mean (e. g., a score of greater than 47.934 during Time One,

**Table 5****High Skill Value Children in the Domestic and Academic Skills Scales for Times One and Two.**

Skills scales	<u>High skill value children<sup>a</sup></u>	
	Time One	Time Two
Domestic home-related skills (DSK1)	47.934	60.744
Domestic self-care skills (DSK2)	83.115	87.011
Domestic tool-handling skills (DSK3)	58.286	70.053
Domestic skills total score (DSTO)	189.335	217.808
Academic home-based skills (ASK1)	76.861	72.727
Academic school-related skills (ASK2)	50.682	49.773
Academic skills total score (ASTO)	127.543	122.500
Domestic/academic skills ratio (DSKRA)	1.688	1.931

<sup>a</sup>> mean value.

and 60.744 during Time Two, see Table 5) as the criterion. As it was expected, the chi-square tests results were significant [ $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22)= 5.091,  $p < .05$ / for Time One, and  $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22)= 8.463,  $p < .05$ / for Time Two) see Table 6]. The findings of the chi-square analyses to determine the relationship between the teacher's evaluation and the children's skills on Domestic Home-Related Skills (DSK1) are shown on Table 6. These findings confirm that the teacher underevaluated those children who had a wide range of home-related, self-care, tool-handling and a high overall score of domestic skills, and highly evaluated children who had a wide range of home-based, school-related, and a high overall score of academic skills.

**Summary of the Parents/Teacher's Value Congruence, and the  
Children's Skills Analyses Findings**

The summary of the findings of the respective analyses of the parents/teacher value congruence, and the children's skills are shown on Table 7. Two major findings stand out: (1) the teacher's evaluation of a child's performance, as related to parents/teacher congruence, was based on her expectation of what environmental experience, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices children should come to school with. The teacher's evaluation affects a child's performance even before knowing the child (Time One) and it holds after the child has entered the school (Time Two). (2) The teacher's evaluation of a child's performance, as related to the children's domestic and academic skills, is higher for a child with a wide range of academic skills than for a child with a wide range of domestic skills.

The findings reveal that the teacher uses a different set of criteria when evaluating a child's performance, as related to value congruence (e.g., the QTE), and the children's domestic and academic skills (e.g., TE1). However, the teacher's evaluation was consistent during Times One and Two, respectively: the QTE was the best measure that allowed verification of the relation between the parents and the

Table 6

Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) of the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills Scales and the Teacher's Ratings of Child's Performance for Times One and Two.

Skills scales	Chi-square result	
	Time One	Time Two
Domestic home-related skills (DSK1)	5.091*	8.463*
Domestic self-care skills (DSK2)	4.031*	9.779*
Domestic tool-handling skills (DSK3)	4.402*	8.814*
Domestic skills total score (DSTO)	1.506	6.178*
Academic home-based skills (ASK1)	5.091*	8.814*
Academic school-related skills (ASK2)	8.463*	7.875*
Academic skills total score (ASTO)	6.769*	9.779*
Domestic/academic skills ratio (DSKRA)	4.842*	4.842*

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22),  $p < .05$ . 101-103).

Table 7

Summary of Findings for Hypotheses Testing During Time One and Time Two

Findings	Teacher's Evaluation	Chi-square results	
		Time One	Time Two
<u>Congruence Scales</u>			
Child's Personal Style (B)	QTE <sup>a</sup>	*	*
Spatial Social Range (C)	QTE	*	*
Things and Objects (E)	QTE	-	-
Activities (F)	QTE	*	*
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (H)	QTE	*	*
Child's Relationship to Authority (I)	QTE	*	*
Total Score (TS)	QTE	*	*
<u>Skills scales</u>			
Domestic home-related skills (DSK1)	TE1 <sup>b</sup>	*	*
Domestic self-care skills (DSK2)	TE1	*	*
Domestic tool-handling skills (DSK3)	TE1	*	*
Domestic skills total score (DSTO)	TE1	-	*
Academic home-based skills (ASK1)	TE1	*	*
Academic school-related skills (ASK2)	TE1	*	*
Academic skills total score (ASTO)	TE1	*	*
Domestic/academic skills ratio (DSKRA)	TE1	*	*

<sup>a</sup>Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation. <sup>b</sup>Teacher's Evaluation One.

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

teacher's value congruence and a child's performance; while the TEI was the best indicator for the verification the relation between children's domestic, and academic skills and knowledge, and the teacher's ratings of a child's performance.

CHAPTER IV  
CHILDREN'S CASE STUDIES

Overview

The analysis of the complex and diverse relations between children's home experiential background, skills and knowledge, and the school environment are clearly seen in children's behavior in the classroom setting. Thus, two case studies of a congruent and an incongruent child, and four of children with different ranges of academic and domestic skills and knowledge are introduced here. They illustrate the child's general demeanor in the school environment, interactions with the teacher and the classroom routine, the teacher's actions and attitudes towards the child, and the child's expectations and assessment of her or his performance in the classroom. These cases are based on Parents' Interviews conducted two weeks before the school began (when the teacher did not know the children nor have met them), classroom observations and children's interviews. Both, the Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) as related to parents/teacher congruence, and the Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) as related to children's skills and knowledge occurred at the end of the school year.

Congruent and Incongruent Child's Home and  
School Environment Experience Case Studies.

Marina's and Ceferino's home environmental experiences, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices demonstrate instances of congruence and incongruence with the teacher's expectations of what children should come to school with. The nature of these data illustrate the relationship between parental and school values, and the teacher's rating of the child's performance.

Marina:

A Child Whose Home Environmental Experiences,  
Family Values and Attitudes, and Childrearing Practices  
Are Congruent With Those of The Teacher

Background

Marina is a four-and-a-half-year old girl, and the youngest of a five-member family. She is one of three children of a young couple in the early 30s, her father is 35 years old and her mother is 30. The other members of the family are a ten-year old brother and a 9-year old sister. They live in a relatively small house made of wood and cement in a semi rural area. The house has a porch, a living-dinning room, two bedrooms (one for the couple and the other for the three children), a kitchen, and a bathroom. It also has a backyard in which the family raise hens, chickens, and two little goats, and they grow green pigeon peas shrubs, green peppers, herbs plants, and a soursop tree for the consumption of the family and for sharing with the neighbors. There are lines for hanging the washed clothes to dry and some free space. The empty space around the house (about 7 feet) is planted with medicine shrubs and herbs that the family uses for home remedies. They also have ornamental and flower plants.

Marina's father is unemployed but eager to get a job, and her mother is a housekeeper. They live on the modest salary the father makes from doing odd-jobs such as gardening, minor constructions, painting and fixing things. He also gets food stamps for groceries. Her mother works at home and takes care of the children, being responsible for all the tasks related to keeping the house.

The family lives by traditional values. Work is considered something very important and the source of family material and spiritual well-being. Honesty is a highly regarded value and according to their religious faith God will always provide strength, courage and whatever is needed for a decent living. Church's activities and the religious

practices are the center of the family. They spend time together in church activities and recreation.

#### Marina's Personal Style

Marina's parents describe her as a very quiet, obedient, sensitive and intelligent child. She is easy to manage and gets along very well with her oldest brother and sister. Although she is easy going, she is not submissive and stands by herself when she is bothered by her siblings. When things are explained to her, she understands and acts accordingly. Her parents do not have trouble making her understand things. She is willing to help with the house work. She does them following instructions and performs the tasks assigned to her fast and without making mistakes. She is a happy girl that likes to play by herself and with other children as well.

Except with strangers or unknown adults, she gets along with other children and manages herself very well in new situations. She asks when she does not understand, but she likes to manage things by herself when she confronts a problem or a difficult situation, although she tries for a while and then drops it. For example, sometimes her father asks her to do something, her mother tries to help or explain the task, but Marina will ask her mother to let her do it by herself.

When Marina is on her own she finds things to do; she likes to play with shells, dirt and pebbles, feed the chickens and take care of the two little goats. She enjoys playing with her brother, sister and other children. She likes to create games when she is with other children and shares things with them. She engages in cooperative play with other children, but she does not like other children to impose rules on her.

She shows love and affection toward her parents and siblings, as well as to the plants and animals around the house. She is warm with other children and respectful with her relatives and other adults. Marina was described as a healthy, happy and intelligent girl full of

life.

#### Marina's Spatial and Social Range

Marina shares her bedroom with her older sister. She has her own bed and uses a corner space as a special personal place where she keeps her things, plays and spends time. She likes to stay in this place and enjoys cleaning and keeping it organized.

Another place where Marina plays and spends time by herself is the backyard. Behind the house she loves to climb the soursop tree and play by its shade. She also hides by the pigeon peas plants when playing hide and seek with her siblings and other children. The backyard provides a ground outdoor space to play freely by herself and with other playmates.

When by herself, either she stays in her favorite corner of the bedroom playing with her dolls and toys or she brings her play things to the backyard. While in the yard she also likes to collect shells, pebbles and play with ladybugs. She prefers this place because it provides more room to play, run and go around the house with her friends and siblings. Her playmates include relatives and children from the neighborhood. In their games they share a lot, something Marina clearly enjoys.

Marina has freedom to play around the neighborhood. However, her mother has very clear rules on this matter. Marina knows that she has to stay within easy reach of her mother and father, because she knows they worry about her safety. It has been explained to her how far she can go by herself and she understands it. For example, she usually is allowed to go as far as her grandmother's house which is four houses down, after letting her mother know. She knows that she should always tell her mother when and where she is going. Under no circumstance can she go further unless she is granted permission parents or by her grandmother. Even when that occurs, she is taken by her older brother or an adult.

She is not allowed to cross busy roads, nor to play or roam in the street, nor to go to any shop herself. If she wants to buy candy in the nearby candy store at the other side of the street, she has to be accompanied by her older brother, her mother, her father or a relative adult. She is not allowed to break any of these rules. Her mother has made very clear the consequences of breaking them: she will be scolded, grounded in her bedroom and could even be physically punished. However, Marina has almost never faced these consequences because she has strictly obeyed them.

Marina is allowed to have friends and her mother encourages her to play with other children. She has a lot of friends who to visit her and play either in her bedroom or in the backyard. She likes to be with other children and behaves in a friendly manner with them. Other children love and enjoy playing and spending time with her.

#### Marina's Activities

Marina's main activities are playing by herself, with her siblings and with other children, in and outside the house, going to church with her family during weekdays and weekends, and helping around the house with everyday chores.

When she is by herself plays with her dolls a lot. She bathes and talks to them about the importance of being clean and well-behaved, and to be obedient. For example, she explains to them that they should pick things up and keep them organized in the bedroom after playing, as well as sharing things with other children. All this has been taught by her mother.

As already mentioned, Marina plays with her siblings and very often with other children too. They play indoors and outdoors as well. They share interests and they help each other collecting all sort of things. Marina shares her toys with her brother and sister, and sometimes they exchange things among themselves; for example, with her brother Marina exchanges marbles for shells, while she would let her

sister play with her favorite doll for some pebbles.

There is a routine and rules that she must follow during weekdays. During the morning, after she wakes up, she has to brush her teeth, get dressed, brush her hair, and have breakfast. After breakfast she has to help doing the dishes and make her bed. Her mother asks her to help clean the house, do whatever chore is necessary, and then she can play in her room for a while. At lunch time, she helps her mother prepare lunch and set the table. After eating lunch with the rest of the family, she helps clean up the table, plays for a while and takes a nap. Afterwards, mother allows her to play in the backyard until dinner is ready. Then, she takes a bath, has dinner and watches the television. Before bedtime, she studies the Bible with her mother. Her mother asks her to brush her teeth and when she is back, brushes Marina's hair and kisses her good night; her dad comes in and kisses her good night too. Marina is usually in bed by 8:00 PM. Sometimes, depending on how long they stay at the church's service (and during the weekend when the family goes to church and later takes a ride) she is in bed by 9:00 PM.

The two basic rules that Marina's mother enforces are: religious instruction and getting to bed early every night, unless she is sick or it is not necessary to get up early.

Marina's parents are very aware of their duties child-rearing. Although they allow Marina and her siblings to play and engage in all sorts of activities, since Marina is the youngest, they monitor her closely. They want her to behave according to her age, but within limits because girls should not be jumping and running all the time.

#### Marina's Family's Child-Rearing Ideologies

Marina's family's child-rearing ideologies are representative of their religious belief and the practice of Adventism as a faith and a life style. Therefore, Marina's values, beliefs, home experiences and attitudes are framed by her parents values and child-rearing strict practices.

The parents place a strong emphasis on sharing, doing things together, participating in church's activities, and in working hard as to live a decent life. They also stress the love of plants and animals; as well as the appreciation of Nature's things, and a life of moderation. The main family activities are going to church, on picnics, to the beach, and on trips to places to enjoy and appreciate Nature's beauty.

Marina knows that her parents want the best for their children. Although they have not told her what they would like her to be when she grows up, she knows that she should go to school, study hard and get good grades, and go as far as she can in her education, including a doctorate if possible. Her parents have told her that they will help her in getting what she wants as much as they can. They also urge her to keep a positive attitude towards life's challenges. It is clear that they do the best they can to help Miriam develop her own set of values, based on the family's life and home experiences.

An important family value is that, although each member can have personal belongings and things of their own that should be respected by the others, when someone needs a something, the owner should be willing to share. Marina is cognizant of this rule. This becomes evident at the time of sharing and exchanging toys or other objects. A practical manifestation of this value is seen when she uses her older sister's clothing, and in the use of pencils, crayons and other belongings of her older brother. The three children know that to share is important because it produces spiritual and personal satisfaction, besides the family's limited budget does not allow for every one to have many personal belongings whenever they wish.

Another family value is also the use of words or phrases that are not endorsed by the parents or that might not be liked by other adults. Marina is not allowed to use words or phrases that can be disrespectful or offensive to her parents, siblings, relatives or other adults. These

words or phrases may not even be "bad words" (namely, crude or obscene words), but words or phrases that show the intention of insult, offense or strong anger against her family members, specially her siblings. When that occurs, Marina is scolded by her mother and told that the "Lord does not like those things". Sometimes she is asked to apologize and to find another way of behaving. Marina has been told how important it is to be considerate and respectful with her siblings, parents and others. She has also been told that to mistreat others almost always results in self-mistreatment or been mistreated by others.

Marina's mother acknowledges that children quarrel among themselves as part of their normal behavior, particularly among siblings. However, she thinks that although difficult it is possible to avoid quarrels. Marina does not quarrel a lot, but she does quarrel with her siblings and other children. When Marina quarrels with her siblings, mother lets them manage the situation among themselves. But when she quarrels with children outside the family, the mother observes the situation and intervenes in order to avoid major problems or to tell Marina to be assertive and defend herself if she is right.

Sometimes Marina loses control. Then her mother advises her about the importance of getting a hold of herself in order to deal with the situation with a clearer state of mind. She is taught that, whenever possible, things can be worked out better when she talks and expresses her feelings in a cool and collected way. These are better alternatives to quarrelling and fighting over things, particularly for nice and religious girls.

#### Marina's Relationship to Authority

Marina relationship to authority has been conditioned by family values and beliefs which stress the importance of respect and consideration of other children, relatives and people in general. The parents consider it important for her and her siblings to learn a way of being good mannered and respectful with others. Thus, Marina has

learned phrases and behaviors such as saying: "please", "I am sorry", "thank you" "excuse me", and "hello" as a way of being polite and good mannered. She has also learned to treat adults formally, does not interrupt an adult when she or he is speaking or having a conversation with another adult, does not answer back to an adult, and does not shout, but particularly to an adult. These are ways of showing respect, being well educated and having a positive attitude.

Marina has learned that she deserves respect and consideration as a human being too. Her parents respect her individuality. They assist her in developing self confidence by helping her when she is asked to do something difficult and after she has tried. When disagreements occur they are settled by talking and explaining to her what it is all about, but if she is stubborn and wrong she is urged to apologize. However, if her mother or father are wrong, they are willing to say "I am sorry" to her.

In general, Marina is a very obedient child. Her parents seldom have to punish her or force her to do what they want. When she does not comply with her parents requirements, she either does not get something that she likes, is not allowed to watch television, is asked to go to her bedroom, or is threatened with some kind of punishment. She also knows that it is worthy to be honest; therefore, she usually admits she has done something wrong before her mother finds out. In these instances, mother talks to her and advises her not do it anymore, without scolding or punishing her. The mother describes her motherly style as fair and moderate, not easy going or overly strict.

In summary, Marina is a four-year old girl, the youngest of three children of a couple in their early 30s. They live in a relatively small house made of wood and cement in a semi-rural area. The father is unemployed and the mother is a housekeeper. The family style is based on traditional values. They spend time in church activities and go out together for recreation.

She is a quiet, obedient, sensitive and intelligent child. Although she is easy going, she is not submissive and stands by herself when she has to. She is also a healthy happy girl who likes to play by herself and with other children as well, and is willing to help with the house work. She shows love and affection towards her parents and siblings; as well as to plants and animals. She is warm with other children and respectful with her relatives and adults.

Marina engages easily in different kinds of indoor and outdoor activities. She likes to explore, collect things and keeps them clean and organized. She is friendly and enjoys playing with her siblings and other children. She enters fairly easily into social interactions, particularly with relatives and known adults. She knows her spatial range and follows the rules regarding that matter, and feels free to go as far as she is allowed to without hesitation.

Marina's main activities are playing by herself, with her siblings and with other children in an outside the house, going to church with her family during weekdays and weekends, and helping around the household chores.

Marina's family child-rearing ideologies are rooted in their religious believes and practices. The parents place a strong emphasis on sharing, doing things together, participating in church's activities, working hard, love of Nature's, and living life moderately.

Marina's relationship to authority has been determined by family values and beliefs, such as respect and consideration to other children, relatives and people in general, being good mannered, well educated, and a decent person with dignity and a positive attitude towards life.

#### Marina's Classroom Observations

The observations of Marina in the kindergarten classroom environment provided information for a qualitative descriptive analysis of her behavior. Informal observations were made, and detailed and extensive notes were taken.

The data gathered were rich in content and covered a wide and complex range of behavioral and contextual instances of her interactions with the teacher, the quality of those interactions, and the teacher's actions and attitudes towards Marina's skills and expectations about school, and Marina's self-assessment about her school work and progress.

Marina's General Demeanor in the School Environment

Marina always comes early and never misses school. Her mother takes her everyday to school and leaves her at the porch of the classroom (see The kindergarten classroom, p. 53), she greets the teacher, fixes Marina's uniform, talks to and advises her to obey and respect the teacher, blesses and kisses her goodbye. Marina attentively listens to her, smiles and kisses her mother back. She walks into the classroom, says hello and kisses the teacher, places her things into the cubby, says hello and smiles to the other children, sits at the front table quietly until the rest of the children arrive and the teacher starts the class.

Marina's general demeanor in the classroom is attentive. She pays attention to the teacher and keeps quiet. She is obedient, follows instructions carefully and is very task-oriented. When she finishes her work the teacher asks her to help other children. She is a warm child and likes to help other children and the teacher. She performs school tasks orderly and likes to help cleaning and organizing the classroom.

She is gentle, speaks softly and is very communicative. She is motivated, very friendly, considerate, and shares. She is a leader and other children follow her, and imitate her way of doing things and behaving. They enjoy working with her. She frequently smiles at them.

Marina's interactions with the teacher and the classroom routine

Marina is very well-adapted to the kindergarten classroom routine that begins at 8:00 AM. She follows the morning pattern of activities with ease.

During the "formation period"— a fifteen-minute period at the

beginning of every morning--the teacher stands in front of the class, says good morning and asks how they are doing, then she sits and sings a song exhorting children to stand still and attentive:

Everybody quiet and seated,  
feet on the floor,  
hands on the lap,  
straight the back,  
paying attention to the class.

She stands up and writes the date on the board, reads it and asks the children to repeat after her. Then she sits back and assigns children to the work areas.

Throughout this period Marina is attentive, sits still, and listens quietly concentrating on what the teacher says. If a classmate talks to her, she does not pay attention, or simply asks them to be quiet and listen to what the teacher is saying. The teacher notices her behavior and smiles at her. Marina smiles back at and sits straight and quietly. The teacher calls the children's names and assigns work areas. Marina's name is almost always the first one and she gets assigned to work in a particular area.

From 8:15 to 9:30 AM is the period for children to work in preselected small groups in tasks such as: drawing, writing, puzzles, music, house, outside free play, loose parts, clay, water, and blocks.

The teacher tries to keep groups small and manageable. Sometimes she lets some children select the work area. Marina is usually assigned to drawing, writing or puzzles. But, when she has the opportunity to choose, she likes the music or the house area.

Marina does her school work orderly, calmly and carefully, although most of the time she is the first one to finish in her small group. She reviews her work and when she thinks she is finished she raises her hand and the teacher comes over to examine what she has done. The teacher greets and approves her work by saying: "That's a very beautiful work. It's neat and clean. Very good!" These comments are met by an exchange of smiles between teacher and pupil.

Marina waits for the work period to finish, or the teacher may assign her some extra work. For example, sometimes the teacher asks her to help another classmate or help her get ready for the next activity period. If she has done her tasks quickly, sometimes the teacher allows her to play at the house area.

Marina likes the music area a lot. She likes different kinds of music including traditional Puerto Rican children's (games) songs, as well as excerpts from musical compositions from the European composers. She also likes to listen to pre-recorded folk tales, short stories and rhymes, while browsing through books which explain the music to which she is listening. Sometimes she quietly sings along while swaying with the music on her seat, clearly enjoying the activity. The teacher notices her behavior, gently smiles as a sign of approval and Marina smiles back. This kind of non-verbal interaction is usual between Marina and the teacher. At other times she sits still, very concentrated on the music—especially when listening to the European instrumental music—her facial expressions suggesting her involvement. She evidently prefers traditional Puerto Rican children (games) songs. Marina sings these songs and becomes the leader of the game with the others following.

Another favorite of Marina is the house area. She mostly plays with the other girls, and almost always is the organizer of the activity. She easily tells other children what to do in their games. When playing «mom and dad», she likes to be the mother. Marina assumes the traditional housekeeper role, while the other children follow their instruction. For example, she asks them to keep the house clean and neat, to pick up and keep things in order. She pretends that she is cooking and asks other children to set the table, wash their hands and get ready to eat. She talks to them about being good children and helping dad with everyday chores.

At other times Marina suggests playing school and the rest of the children accept. She organizes the furniture in the respective area and asks the children to sit down. As with the other game described, she assumes the leader role, in this case the teacher. When she speaks to the other children, she insists on the importance of behaving, doing things right, and being obedient.

You've to be good children and behave. I like you to do things well and obey me because I'm the teacher. If you are good, your mom and dad are going to be happy and proud of you, and Father God will be happy too.

The other children generally accept Marina's initiative, as demonstrated in the orderly and joyful manner in which they answer her questions.

For the teacher this game is a way of knowing how much they have learned during the day. She observes them playing, gets close to the group of, smiles and tells them:

Very good children, I've noticed how nice and orderly you play and how much you've learned. You're learning a lot. I think that Marina is going to be a good teacher. You're very good students because you obey her and you should always do as the teacher says.

At 9:30 the teacher goes to the music area and asks the children (a maximum of six are allowed at a time in this area) to return to "formation." She plays a record loud to indicate that the period has come to an end and that things should be picked up and put back in their place. All the children gather at the front of the classroom and sit on the floor. The teacher walks to the front of the class and sits on a chair. They sing:

We talk in soft voice,  
we work quietly,  
It is time to pick up,  
and put things back in their place,  
that is all what we have to do.

The teacher looks around to see if everything is in place. If she finds something out of place, she asks the children who worked in that particular area to return to it and comply with her instruction.

The teacher reviews with the children the work they have done and what they have learned. Children raise their hands to participate and say what they have learned. She asks for volunteers to sing a song, make up a story or identify what is on the cards she shows them (they have different geometrical shapes, colors and sizes).

By this time Marina has already seated, is still, quiet and ready to respond to the teacher's request for volunteers. Several children, including Marina, raise their hands. The teacher asks Marina to come to the front of the class; which she does with a smile.

Teacher: All right Marina, what did you learn during the morning?

Marina: I learned a new song.

Teacher: Good! What's the title of the song?

Marina: Arroz con leche (Rice with Milk).

Teacher: Do you want to sing it for us?

Marina: Yes!

Teacher: Very well. You sing it so the rest of us can learn it from you, and then we all will sing it. Go ahead.

Marina sings the song and the teacher congratulates her. The teacher sings it with Marina one more time and asks the rest of the children to join them. After they finish the teacher pats Marina's shoulder and asks her to return to her seat. Other children are asked to come to the front of the class and tell what they have learned. Meanwhile, Marina sits quietly and attentively.

The teacher moves to the cards asking the children what kind of shape, color and size the geometrical figures have. Children raise their hands and the teacher asks Marina. The teacher holds up a card with a big, red circle and asks: "What is it, Marina?". Marina answers: "That's a big, red circle." The teacher smiling approves the answer stating: "Very good Marina. This is a big, red circle", Marina responds non-verbally with a smile. The teacher moves forward asking other children until the end of the period. She encourages the children

to give correct answers with a smile and congratulates some of them verbally. When a child gives an incorrect answer she asks her or him to think and answer carefully. If the mistake is repeated, she asks Marina, or another child who has answered correctly before, to give the answer. This is followed by the group repeating the correct answer.

From 9:45 to 10:15 is recess. Marina likes this period very much and during it she engages in conversation with other children. These same children spend most of their time together and work in the same areas that Marina works. For example, they tell stories in low voice, laugh and have fun. They share their snacks amongst themselves. Although Marina does not eat much, she enjoys sharing and saying a prayer before the meal. Not all the children at the table join in the prayer but they wait until she is finished before having their snack.

After the recess or snack period, there is a 45-minute period that the teacher uses for different purposes according to her daily plans and objectives. She may take the children out to play on the school yard, or ask them to participate in the story-telling and adventure time, or let them get involved in a free play period in the classroom. Marina prefers the story-telling and adventure time. She likes either to tell stories that she already knows or make her own. She makes up stories about her little goats, how she takes care of them, how much fun she has, and how important it is to take good care of and love them, because "they are creatures of God and children should respect and love the things created by God." Children listen to her stories quietly and ask questions about what the goats eat, how big they are, and what is their color. Marina answers all the questions while the teacher quietly observes the class. When Marina finishes she gently asks her to sit down:

Thank you Marina. You are a lovely child. You love animals and take good care of yours. Children like you, that respect and love living things are sensitive and appreciative of Nature. That's important because it brings us closer to God.

The period ends with a couple of children telling a story and Marina listening to them and enjoying the activity.

The last morning period is from 10:45 to 11:00 AM. The teacher plays the music and the group starts picking up things and organizing the classroom. Marina participates actively, helps other children and makes sure that things are placed where they belong. When they finish, they review what they have done during the morning and the tasks they are going to do the next day. The teacher asks the children to sit down and be quiet because their parents will be picking them up soon. About five minutes before the parents come, the teacher asks the children to orderly stand up and get their things from their cubbies. She calls the names beginning with the most quiet or well-behaved. Almost always Marina is the first child to be called. Other children from her group follow until the whole class is dismissed.

Although the teacher has many positive interactions with other children, she interacts with Marina the most. Other children are aware of this and they tend to imitate Marina's behavior. They try to have as many interactions with the teacher and receive as much attention as Marina. This is the group that gets to participate the most in the learning activities when the teacher asks for volunteers. They also get to work in tasks and duties that the teacher values most, such as writing, drawing, puzzles and music. She thinks these promote other activities that will best prepare children for school.

Marina's interactions with the teacher are many. She confides in her. This is evidenced by the teacher showing her work, talking to her and asking for permission to do other things beside her school work, when she has finished. She feels free to volunteer and participate in different learning activities demonstrating leadership and competence. Marina knows that the teacher approves her behavior by constantly checking the gestures and non-verbal communication. Therefore, she trusts the teacher and knows she does not have to fear rejection. In addition, she also receives the teacher's affection which she reciprocates. The school interaction has facilitated the development of good relationship. The teacher has verbally expressed her positive feelings towards Marina as a student and as a child.

The teacher's behavior and attitudes towards Marina

Marina's school work is neat, clean, orderly and organized. She is careful and likes to do things the way the teacher teaches. She follows instructions, is obedient and behaves according to the norms of the classroom. When she finishes her tasks and duties, she keeps quiet and attentive to the class and almost never initiates any activity by herself without asking for permission first.

The teacher's reactions validate Marina's behavior and classroom performance. This attained through authorizations, affirmations, approvals, endorsements, approbations, favors and recognitions of Marina's actions which conform to the teacher's expectations. She supports and favors Marina's handling of school work.

For example, when children are asked to pick up things at the end of the free play period, Marina does so in a very orderly fashion. The teacher likes this and uses her as an example of how things are done in school.

See children? See how Marina nicely picks up things and puts them where they belong. That's the way you should do things in school. You've to be organized and do things orderly. In that way you don't make messes and noise, and you don't waste time.

Thank you Marina. You've done alright.

Marina and the teacher exchange smiles.

When the children have finished, they sit down and wait for the teacher's instructions. The previous characterization is further illustrated by the following example: after finishing a drawing of the family Marina raises her hand. The teacher sees Marina's hand and asks:

Teacher: Why have you raised your hand?

Marina: To let you know that I've finished my task.

Teacher: Good! That's the way I like it. That's the way I've taught you to let me know when you're finished. You raise your hand, keep quiet, still and seated until I can come and see what you've done. I'll be with you right away.

The teacher comes and examines the drawing:

Teacher: Ok Marina, would you please explain your drawing?

Marina moves her head and answers.

Marina: Yes. teacher...

Teacher: Go ahead.

The teacher gives the drawing back to Marina who starts explaining it.

Marina: This is a picture of my family.

She points at the drawing.

This is my family. This is my mom and my dad, this is my brother and this is my sister. We all live in the same house and we're very happy.

Teacher: Very good Marina, you did a fine job. That's all I had asked for. You have a beautiful family. I'm going to post your drawing so everybody knows your family. Is it okay with you?

Marina: Yes.

In comparison with other children, the teacher interacts more, and more positively, with Marina. She monitors her work, makes corrections when these are necessary and explains her how to improve her performance or by following teacher instructions and expectations. Since Marina

most of the time does things the way the teacher likes or teaches, she is constantly rewarded in many ways. Sometimes the teacher uses her work as an example (or even a model) of how things should be done:

Attention children. I want to show you something. Marina has finished her work and she has done it in the way I have asked you to do it. This is a beautiful drawing of Marina's house and her family. It is neat, clean and nice. But the most important thing is that she followed the instructions and did exactly what I asked; nothing more nor nothing less. I'm going to post this drawing!

Since the teacher knows that frequently Marina finishes her school tasks and duties before most of the children, she constantly uses her as an example of obedience and proper classroom behavior. For instance, the teacher uses Marina's behavior as a way of showing how children should behave; addressing Marina:

Teacher: Let me see your work. Ok, right. Everything is fine. Very good!  
Please come with me. I'm going to give you a special task helping me doing something while the rest of the children finish. Is it alright with you?

Marina: (Smiling). Yes, teacher.

The teacher also uses Marina to help other children who have some difficulty finishing their work, or puts her in charge of a group that has finished. Sometimes the teacher lets those children play until the rest are finished, or gives them a special task or moves them forward, and Marina is given the leader's role. Therefore, Marina's leadership is acknowledged by her classmates. This group of children are seen by the others as the smart ones, and among them, Marina is recognized as one of the most intelligent. As already mentioned, they look after her and try to imitate her behavior. Marina's influence is illustrated by the following teacher's statement:

You're doing very well. I'm proud of you all and I'm very happy because you've respected and done as Marina. She had my instructions, she followed them, and you followed them too. That's very good because in school you've to learn to work together, share and do things nicely and as

you've been told and taught.

Another way in which the teacher reinforces Marina's and the other children's behavior is by letting them write on the board as a reward for behaving and doing things the way she likes.

Teacher: Since you've finished, you may go and draw on the board. I know that you and the others like to write on the board.

Marina: Thank you teacher!

Marina smiles, walks towards the board and starts drawing. After a while two children join her. The teacher lets the children draw on the board as a reward for complying with her instructions. Only a few enjoy this opportunity, since she purposely uses it as a strategy for selectively. When the activity period is finished, Marina and the children that were drawing on the board return to their seats and the teacher gives instructions and for the next period.

#### Marina's Interviews: Expectations and Assessment of Her Own Performance in the School Environment

Marina's first interview two weeks prior to the beginning of the semester provided information regarding her expectations about school. The second interview, carried out later, allowed for an assessment of her school performance six week after the school semester began. Although in the original research plan those issues were to be quantitatively analyzed, it was not possible to perform that type of analysis due to a lack of uniformity in the questions in the three interview schedules (the Parents', Teacher's and Children's Interview, See Methodology, pp. 68-78). Instead, I opted for a qualitative analysis that combines the information from the Children Interviews, the informal observations and notes taken during the interview, and the classroom observations.

The qualitative analysis permits getting a clearer idea of Marina and her world. This strategy also enabled me to make a better assessment of her. Although she is not very talkative, she communicates

very well, is fluent and answers in complete sentences. She listens carefully and takes her time to respond to my questions. She has many friends and a very clear idea of what constitutes her neighborhood. She likes to figure out things by herself and to explain how they work. She follows instructions carefully. Although she is obedient, she likes to understand the why of things. She is polite but not shy, she is confident and assertive but not aggressive. This was evident in the interview, when she did not understand something she would ask me and after I complied with her request, she would not hesitate to ask again if she was still puzzled. She spoke freely about the things that she liked or disliked. Another example of her inquisitiveness was how she looked in my interview kit, asking me questions about its content. After she was satisfied, she smiled and continued answering my questions.

Marina's interview was easy because she was very cooperative, relaxed and friendly. She was alert, attentive and concentrated on the questions. She answered without hesitation and openly. She went directly to the point, except when I asked her to elaborate and explain in more detail. When that happened, she did it freely, with a very positive and confident demeanor. When we ended the interview she thanked me and said that she liked talking to me. I thanked her also and we exchanged smiles.

#### Marina's Expectations About School, the Teacher, the Classroom, and the Other Children

During the first interview (two weeks prior to the beginning of the school year) Marina showed enthusiasm about going to school for the first time. I asked her how did she felt about it and her answer was:

I feel very happy because I'll be going to school for the first time. My mom, my dad, my brother and my sister are happy because I'm going to school. My mom bought me one school uniform and a pair of shoes. Since my sister is in school, she has some old uniforms that are in good shape and my mom saved them 'cause she says that I'm growing fast and she'll fix them so I

can wear them. That's also a saving for the family too.

Marina had been in school occasionally. She knew where the kindergarten was, how it looked and had an overall idea of the school.

I've already been to school. My mom takes my brother and sister to school, and she brings me along. I know where the kindergarten classroom is and I've seen it from outside. Once my mother took me to see it in the inside, but since she had to do a lot of things I couldn't stay as much as I wanted. I liked it because it is like a big house, it has a lot of children and lots of things. The school is very big too and has a lot of classrooms with lots of children and teachers.

When I asked her about what she thought she would learn, expected to like or dislike, and how she was going to get on in school, she answered with excitement.

Oh, I can't hardly wait to go to school! I know I'll learn lots of things. I'll learn to write my name, count and write numbers, know the colors and read. My sister told me that when she was in kindergarten she learned many things. I'll learn many things too!

I think I'm going to like to be with other children and share things with them without fighting. Mom says that I'll make new friends and we're going to be together all the time and have fun and enjoy learning the things that the teacher is going to teach us. That'll be nice!

Maybe what I won't like about school is that I won't be with my mom all the time. I like to be with mom all the time but she says that now I'm a big girl and I should go to school everyday. She says that she's going to take care of the little goats and the chickens for me, so I don't have to worry.

I'll get along in school very well. My brother, my sister, my mom and my dad have talked to me about how is it going to be like. They say that since I'm obedient and I behave, the teacher will like that and I won't have any trouble. I'm going to do things the way the teacher says, I'll obey her and won't talk in class because dad says that the teacher doesn't like that. I'll behave so that I won't get into any trouble.

Her answer to the question about how she thought the classroom, the teacher, and the children were going to be like was:

The classroom is going to be very pretty. It is going to be like a big house with toys, books and different things. There are going to be little chairs and tables for the children to sit and play. It is going to be nice and neat. It is going to be like my second house. I'll like it very much.

The teacher is going to be nice with the children. We'll have to respect and obey her all the time if we want to learn all the things she is gona teach us.

I think that other children are going to be fun. I'll play with them, share things and learn together with them. I'll make friends and invite them to my house to play and study. We're going to do the homework together and help each other. I'll also go to their homes and play when they invite me. We're going to be good to each other and be like brothers and sisters, like a nice family. I'm happy about that!

Marina's answers showed that her expectations about school (two weeks prior to the beginning of the school year) were high and positive. Her understanding evidently reflected what the family members had told her about school, as well as her own impressions and experiences during her visits to the school. She was highly motivated towards school and kept a positive attitude and a strong interest about going to school for the first time. She had clear notions about what she would learn in school, the looks of the kindergarten, the teacher, the children and what one must do to be successful.

During the second interview (six weeks after the beginning of the school year) I repeated the same questions and procedures of the first interview, but approaching it from the point of view of her being in school (see Children's Interview, pp. 61-64). The emphasis was on her on-going experiences and the questions begun with the words «Now that you are in school...». Her answers reflected the same general enthusiastic attitude and, if there was any change, it was towards a more positive view.

Her feelings towards school now that she had been attending school regularly were:

I like school very much. School is fun. I'm learning a lot. I already know how to write my name. I can count from one to ten and from ten to one without making any mistake! I know the colors and the shapes.

I know the rules and norms of the classroom and I obey them. I do as the teacher says. I respect her and behave. She likes my drawings and posts them. She is good with the children and very nice with me. She lets me play in the areas that I like after I finish my school work. When my work is really good, she lets me write on the board. I like very much to write on the board because I feel like the teacher. I want to be a teacher when I grow up!

Marina's original excitement and enthusiasm about going to school, being with other children and about the classroom increased since she attended the kindergarten:

I like to be in school with the teacher and the rest of the children. I've made many new friends. We like to play and study, and do things together. They like me and I like them. We share and we help each other. We never fight, we speak softly when we finish, and wait quietly until the teacher give us new things to do.

The teacher likes the way we behave and she's happy with us. She smiles at me and I smile at her. I like her because she's very nice with me and sometimes asks me to help her. When I go home and tell mom and dad, they feel happy and proud of me and I feel very happy too!

I like the classroom. It is big, pretty and has a lot of things you can play with and learn. There are many work areas where you can do different things. My favorite are the house and the music areas.

I like when the teacher decorates the room with pictures and drawings. The classroom looks happy and pretty, and makes me feel happy.

I feel very good in school. It is like mom, dad, my brother and sister said. I enjoy being in school and have fun.

After a six-week period of school attendance Marina's responses to the interview questions interview kept the original direction but the quality of the answers changed to a more positive attitude towards

school. Her feelings, likes and dislikes about school and the teacher showed favorable reactions. She had very good impressions of the classroom and about her classmates. She also was aware of the teacher's actions and attitudes as ways of approving and validating her expectations. Her responses reflected satisfaction and accomplishment in school, how the teacher used the classroom as a way of rewarding her behavior, the way she does things, and her learning rhythm.

This information was corroborated during the second round of interviews with the parents. When Marina's parents were specifically asked about what changes (if any) they had noticed in her behavior "now that she is attending school", they answered:

She now is more mature. Before going to school for the first time, she was very happy and eager but she was thinking more about the fun she was going to have playing with the toys and things she was going to find in the classroom, and the friends she was going to make. Now she's more oriented to what she's learning.

As soon as she comes from school she tells us what she's done in school. She shows us her coloring book with the happy face that the teacher has stamped. She shows her notebook with the writing practice and how she's starting to write her name. After that she changes her clothes and does her homework. She talks about the school all the time.

As her mother, something that I've noticed since she's going to school is that she's more organized and obedient. If I ask her to help me with the house, like folding clothes, she does it with very much care. When she finishes, she places them orderly where they belong.

Another thing is that she isn't as stubborn and more willing to share with her brother and sister, and other children, than she was before going to school.

She's very happy, she likes the school and loves the teacher. In fact, the teacher tells me good things about her and how happy she is with Marina.

### Marina's Assessment of Her Own School Performance

Marina's assessment of her own school performance was obtained six weeks after the beginning of the school year through informal interviews with her, and complemented with classroom observations and extensive notes taken during the research process. Her answer to the question about how she was doing in school was:

I'm doing very well! I do my work and all the tasks and duties that the teacher ask us to do. I work carefully and when I finish, I raise my hand and show what I've done to the teacher. I know she likes the things I do and the way I do them.

I like the school very much. I've learned to write my name, the numbers and the colors. The teacher says that if I keep my good school work, I'll be reading before the school year ends.

I do my drawings by myself and finish all the things the teacher asks us to do. I don't like to do things fast because the teacher doesn't like it and she says that when you do things fast you make mistakes.

I'm very happy in school. The teacher says that I'm a good girl. She likes me because I'm obedient, quiet, nice and respectful. I'll like to be a teacher when I grow up and be like her.

Marina's own assessment of her performance in school is positive and reveals the congruent nature of the relationship between the teacher and her. Her own assessment is related to the teacher's attitudes and actions towards her performance, her particular way of doing school tasks and duties, and her general demeanor in the classroom. Her own assessment is based on what she does in school and how she achieves her learning vis à vis the teachers reactions based on the everyday classroom interactions. The result is a positive assessment of her own school performance that has a much to do with her intelligence or intellectual potential, as with Marina's congruent values and the teacher's.

**Ceferino:****A Child Whose Home Environmental Experiences,  
Family Values and Attitudes, and Childrearing Practices  
Are Incongruent With Those of The Teacher****Background: The Family Context and the Home Environment**

Ceferino is four-and-a-half years old and the youngest of a five-member family group. He lives with his grandfather, an electrician supervisor 59 years old, and his grandmother, a housekeeper of 57 years old, and an eleven year old girl who is his cousin. They live in a moderately spacious cement house in a private single house urbanization project located in a suburb. The house has a front garden, garage, porch— a semi open space, the living and dining room, three bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, and laundry room. It also has a backyard and space on both sides.

Ceferino's parents separated when he was two-and-a-half years old. He lives with his grandparents on his father's side and spends some weekends with his mother who is 32 years old and works as an English teacher. His father lives in Brooklyn, New York and works as a handyman in an apartment building on the upper east side of Manhattan. Ceferino spends some time with his father once a year, during his father's summer vacation.

Ceferino's father older sister who, is unmarried and lives by herself, assists the grandparents in raising the child. She is a teacher and has voluntarily accepted the responsibility of taking him to school, where she happens to work, as well as supervising him with his school responsibilities. She also buys him clothes, counsels him about behaving, being a good child and studying to get ahead in the future. She sometimes shares the responsibility of taking care of the boy's health, and taking him to church. She tries to spend time with him whenever she can.

Ceferino's grandparents and aunt have taken full responsibility

for his care and needs. They want their grandson and nephew to grow up a happy and decent human being. They take him on trips, to the Catholic church, and are present whenever he needs them.

#### Ceferino's Personal Style

Ceferino's grandparents describe him as a hyperactive child who does not stand still for a minute, and in fact, he is under occupational play therapy. They also say that he is unstable and likes to fantasize a lot. He is a loving, tender, very clever and intelligent child. He was also described as sensitive and easy to relate with. He manages new situations in a reckless, hesitant and insecure way. Although he is overly familiar with his cousin and other children, however, he is not at ease with adults, especially with strangers.

When he does not understand something he asks, and when faced with a problem or activity that is difficult, he keeps trying until he solves it. Ceferino likes to do things by himself and to be independent. He is quick and not likely to get involved with one thing for a long time, he is constantly on the move. In general, he is very talkative, but as already mentioned, this behavior is more likely with his peers and not with adults, unless he knows them.

Ceferino likes outdoors activities. He enjoys very much going to the beach and physical activities like swimming, running, picking up shells, playing on sand, with small crabs, and with other children. Therefore, he always finds things to do by himself and thus never gets bored. When he is with other children he is assertive, likes to be the leader or to be an initiator, and stands up for himself. He shows a lot of love for his grandparents and aunt, and although they sometimes have to be strict with him, he respects and obeys them. He likes to be with his family, talks to them and feels happy and lively. He likes animals and helps his grandfather feed his parakeets, and loves taking care of Linda, his small female dog.

#### Ceferino's Spatial and Social Range

Ceferino shares a bedroom with his grandfather, although he has his own bed. He has a big box for keeping his toys and other belongings. He plays in the bedroom and in the living room when he is indoors. Although he shares some things with his eleven year old female cousin, due to their age and sex differences, they do not spend much time playing together. In fact, he almost always plays by himself because his cousin likes to play with other female cousins of her age. When he plays with other children, he is able and willing to share.

Ceferino is mostly an outdoor child. He stays within easy reach of his grandparents at all times. He knows how far he can go, therefore, he keeps within the limits set for him: namely, a block from his house. He also knows that he has to obey and to respect the rules because, otherwise, he will have to face the consequences. Ceferino's grandmother is the enforcer and does not hesitate in being the disciplinarian. He knows that if he does not want to get scolded or physically punished, he has to behave.

Although Ceferino's grandmother is flexible enforcing the rules, violating them can lead to: a curtailment of his activities, such as playing or watching television, or grounding him to his room. Ceferino is not allowed to go shopping on his own, play or roam in the street, nor is he permitted to cross busy roads by himself. He has to request permission when he wants to go beyond the limits set as already mentioned.

Ceferino can go to his friends' homes to play and he can bring them to his. He can have as many friends as he likes, as long as they all behave. He is very friendly and likes to play with other children more than by himself. They come to his house frequently, almost daily. His friends spend more time playing with him at his home than he spends in theirs. They usually play on the sidewalk in front of the house or in the garage. They engage in all sort of activities, but mostly those that demand a lot of physical exercise and energy.

Ceferino and his friends share and exchange toys, they play with balls, sometimes collect things, play hide and seek and create their own games. Sometimes the outside sessions become noisy and rough and that is when Ceferino's grandmother intervenes. If Ceferino and the other children calm down, nothing happens; otherwise they are asked to come inside the house to play.

#### Ceferino's Activities

Ceferino's has a very open schedule for activities. His everyday routine is simple and consists of playing most of the time. Besides that, he spends time watching television, playing Atari on his own and sometimes with other children, and bicycling with his friends. He prefers active rather than passive games. He does not have an established daily routine.

The only rule that he must observe daily is bathing at six o'clock and dinner at seven, except when someone is visiting or he is sick. Other than those rules his grandparents think that he should have ample room to enjoy his childhood.

#### Ceferino's Family Child-Rearing Ideologies

Ceferino's grandparents have great expectations for him. They would like him to pursue and complete a law degree. He has internalized this idea and when asked what he would like to be a when he grows up, his answer is a lawyer. His family would like him to go as far as a doctorate, a goal which is conveyed to him.

Ceferino's has learned that he owns his own playthings and that he should take good care of them. Although he should share with others, he is clear that he has his own things and must respect others. He knows where to keep his belongings, such as his clothes. Therefore, when he has to get dressed, either he asks for them or just takes them and gets dressed by himself.

Ceferino's grandparents sometimes find that his misbehavior is a problem. That happens when someone visits them. Ceferino tries to draw

all the attention to himself and does not let adults talk. In that situation although he is given the attention, it is explained, to him that he has to behave, or may be asked to go and play outside. He usually obeys and that the end of the affair.

Ceferino sometimes uses language not approved by his grandparents, specially in front of other adults. For example, he used the word "mamao" (asshole in Spanish); a word he learned from his father when he was beginning to talk at the age of two. His grandmother admits it was funny and cute at the beginning, but now that he has grown up it is not that funny, and it is even embarrassing when he says it in front of adults. She says that he knows the meaning of it and uses it intentionally, for which he is strongly scolded. He is even told that it is an ugly word and good boys do not say ugly or bad words because la Virgen llora. (This phrase literally translated, "the Virgin cries." This expression means that when you do something wrong, the Holy Mother will cry, a metaphor for something that should not be done or that is inherently bad, a manipulative phrase for making a child feel guilty.)

Ceferino's grandparents feel that quarrelling at this age is difficult to avoid, but possible. His grandmother tells him what he should do in his quarrels. He knows that he should avoid quarrels in order not to get into problems or trouble with his friends and other children. He has been told that he should always find a way around and to look for positive alternatives and solutions without getting involved in fights. Thus, Ceferino does not get involved in many fights.

Although Ceferino's routine is very open, he knows that other than play, watching television and being with his friends, he should help around the house in order to collaborate with the family's well-being. Hence, he should help cleaning the yard, the house, watering the garden, take the garbage out, take care of the parakeets, run and call someone inside for the grandmother, take a message to a friend, and help his grandmother folding clothes. Since Ceferino likes doing things, his

grandmother says that he is quite willing to help without hesitation. He enjoys doing them and he even feels important with his contribution. When someone visits, he proudly tells the things he does for his family.

He loves his dog very much and takes full responsibility for her care and does not allow his grandparents help him. He feeds and even bathes her. He knows his duties and is very devoted to his dog.

Ceferino spends some weekends with his mother and two younger brothers. Although his mother loves him, she says that she can not deal with Ceferino's hyperactivity and character. Thus, she prefers that he stay with his grandparents. In fact, she does not feel responsible at all for Ceferino, because she knows that the grandparents and aunt take good care of him; besides she has to take care of her two other children and her new marriage. Ceferino does not like to stay with his mother because she supposedly yells at him all the time, that makes him nervous and he sometimes gets into tantrums.

Ceferino's grandparents and aunt also do not like him to spend time with his mother. They have noticed that she prefers the two younger siblings and this upsets the boy. They say that when Ceferino comes from staying with his mother he misbehaves, cries a lot and becomes disrespectful. They try to console and support him, dealing with understanding and affection.

The family eats out on Saturdays and goes to church on Sundays. After church they go for a ride and buy ice cream. Later they may go to the beach, one of Ceferino's favorite activities. They spend the day together and try to make Ceferino feel as good and as happy as they can. They also take Ceferino to the art museum, to «Tibes» (a «taino»- -Puerto Rican aborigines- -ceremonial park), and the zoo.

On Thanksgiving Ceferino's grandparents invite the rest of their children and their families. They have lunch, sitting the children at a different table. Since Ceferino is the only grandson, he sits at the head of the table, imitating his grandfather'.

They have high aspirations for him and want him to be a decent citizen and a good person when he is an adult. They show respect to him and he shows respect and love to them. He knows that he should be an honest and decent person when he grows up, because this will make his grandmother, grandfather and aunt happy. He wants them to feel proud of him.

#### Ceferino's Relationship to Authority

Ceferino's relationship to authority has been determined by his grandparents ideas of what a respectful child should be, without losing his dignity. In general, they consider it important for Ceferino to learn certain behaviors, as a way of becoming a good mannered, considerate and respectful person. They place great emphasis on self well-being. Hence, they insist on helping Ceferino develop good eating habits and a positive attitude toward himself and others. He must learn to take good care of himself first, and being considerate to others.

As part of that concern for relatives and others, be they children or adults, he has learned to say "please", "I'm sorry", "thank you" and "excuse me". As a show of respect he has learned not to make eye contact while speaking, particularly with adults, and to bow his head when someone scolds him, and never answer back nor shout to an adult.

Besides his family, Ceferino has a close relation with one of his older female cousins. He talks a lot with her and they get along very well. He pays attention and respects her, something the family likes. But he is most close and attached to his grandmother, with whom he is very tender and affectionate. When he is slow doing something his grandmother has asked him to do, she is very patient.

When disagreements occur, Ceferino cries and screams, but he controls his behavior after his grandmother talks to him. Ceferino apologizes easily when he has done something wrong. He has learned from his elders to apologize and to accept apologies in a good spirit.

When he refuses to do something that he has been asked to do, he

must face the consequences, being scolded and punished. His grandmother always tries persuasion first. But when this does not work she has to recur to measures such as not letting him watch television, or being asked to go to his room. More often she threatens him with punishment and does not let him do things he likes most.

Ceferino does not lie frequently, but for example, when he has done something wrong, he denies it and his grandmother knows it. She advises him against this behavior. He usually tells grandmother before she finds out he has done something wrong. For example, he accidentally broke a friend's jaw and he came right away and told his grandmother. He also knows that when he does something wrong to another child, he should apologize and show respect and consideration to him or her.

Ceferino's grandmother describes herself as very strict in the way she deals with Ceferino. She explains that although she is very strict, she also is flexible and understanding according to the situation. She thinks that to make Ceferino understand the importance of being respectful, show consideration to others, and develop a healthy stable character, she has to be strict and show no hesitation. She has a clear idea of how the relationship between a child and an adult ought to be. She has strong feelings about that, specially with boys, since she believes they are stronger, demand more attention and show determination.

In summary, Ceferino's personal characteristics and general home and family experiences, as described, do not coincide with most of the teacher's and school's values. Therefore, he is representative of a low congruent child.

Ceferino's school performance was negatively evaluated by the teacher since his home environmental experiences, family values and attitudes, as well as childrearing practices are not congruent with the teacher's expectations.

### Ceferino's Classroom Observations

The observations of Ceferino in the kindergarten classroom environment also provided information for this qualitative analysis.

#### Ceferino's General Demeanor in the School Environment

Ceferino is always early. Since his aunt teaches in this school and takes him everyday, they always arrive about ten to fifteen minutes early. Almost always he is the first child in. His aunt leaves him at the porch of the classroom (see The kindergarten classroom, p. 53), after advising him to behave. He silently listens and kisses her goodbye. He immediately walks into the classroom, greets the teacher, places his things into the cubby and says hello to the children as they arrive.

Ceferino's general demeanor in the classroom is very active. He is alert, dynamic and agile; he is always happy and in good spirit. He has a strong character and a very lively style. He probably is the most active child in the classroom. He moves constantly from one place to another. He performs the tasks assigned by the teacher quickly, moving between the classroom work areas.

He speaks in a loud voice and is very talkative. He is self-motivated, eager to participate and volunteers for every activity. He is very friendly, shares things with other children and almost always is an initiator of activities. He is a leader and organizes games he invents for his own amusement and invites other children to join in.

#### Ceferino's interactions with the teacher and the classroom routine

Ceferino is fairly well-adapted to the kindergarten classroom routine. He sits at the front tables of the classroom.

During the "formation period" the teacher greets the class and asks how they are doing, then seated in front of the class sings a song exhorting children to stand still and attentive.

She writes the date on the board, reads it in a loud voice and asks the children to repeat after her. She sits back and assigns

children to the work areas. Although during this period Ceferino seems to pay attention, he does not stand still, and occasionally talks to a neighbor child. The teacher notices his behavior but ignores it, unless other children get involved and are distracted by Ceferino. When that happens, she calls the names of those other children and asks them to pay attention.

As already indicated, from 8:15 to 9:30 is the period for children to work in small groups at the different tasks. During the interview the teacher admitted that she is not very enthusiastic about children playing at the loose parts, clay, blocks, and water areas because they areas demand a lot of supervision. When children ask permission to work at one of those areas, she always replies that it is not possible because she will be working in another area and cannot let children play by themselves. However, she sometimes make exceptions. She lets two or three children play at the loose parts on the condition they do not mess the place. She allows a maximum of four at the clay area but they have to wear an apron to avoid getting dirty, and must not leave small pieces stuck to the table or drops on the floor. Only one or two children can play at a time at the wooden blocks area. She explains that this is because they become noisy and sometimes play rough or fight and may get hurt. Very rarely children are allowed to play at the water area because they get their clothes and the floor wet. In this area they also tend to make too much noise playing with floating objects. They enjoy it so much that they forget the classroom discipline.

Ceferino's favorite work areas are the wood blocks and the outside free play. The teacher does not like him playing with the blocks because, again, he is too noisy, but after Ceferino insisting she dismisses him by saying: "Go and do whatever you want, and let me work!"

Ceferino likes to build high structures pretending they are a house, a church or a fortress, and he likes to play inside with other children. When the teacher notices this, she immediately goes to the

block area and scolds Ceferino reminding him that she does not like that behavior because they could get hurt if the blocks collapse. Then she takes the children to another work area and asks Ceferino to pick up the blocks. He obeys but when he is finished, he moves around the classroom, kind of aimlessly. The teacher ignores him and continues working with other children in the writing area. Ceferino joins the group but the teacher does not pay any attention to him.

Although the teacher recognizes that Ceferino is a smart child, does school work well, and completes his tasks, she does not seem to like him. This apparently is due to the fact that he is fast and after he is done with his tasks, he does not settle in one area for long. The teacher obviously is annoyed by this behavior. Thus, when the strategy of ignoring him does not work, after he has done his task, she sends him to play in the outside free play area: "Go and play in the outside free play area. Get out of my sight and let me work with the other children, please!"

After 9:30 the daily routine was followed (this has been described earlier). At that point Ceferino joined the group.

Ceferino very quickly understands the instructions and raises his hand. When the teacher asks anything, he usually answers quickly and in a loud voice without waiting for the teacher's recognition. He likes to volunteer a lot. The teacher's facial expressions and non-verbal communication, again, indicate annoyance with his behavior. When he insists, she ignores him or asks him to let other children answer by saying: "You have to let other children participate. Sit still, be quiet and don't show off". Ceferino only stays quiet and still for a about ten minutes. After a while he starts to squirm on his seat, staring at other children or at any thing around the classroom.

Although the teacher does not interact a lot with him, Ceferino is clever enough to notice her gestures and body language, receiving her indirect messages. This is confirmed by behaviors such as: looking at

her before doing something that she might not like, talking to another child, standing up and walking or simply going to the cubby to look for something. Therefore, he seems to be aware of his behavior and sometimes shows a little uneasiness and speaks to himself or to another child about doing something fast without not being noticed: "I come right away. I'm going to take my coloring book. So, don't say anything if the teacher asks where am I going. Alright?"

When the teacher catches Ceferino doing something that she disapproves, she uses several strategies, like, for example: ignoring him, staring at him without saying anything, or scolding him verbally. She sometimes mumbles: "This child is driving me crazy!" and turns her back on him. Ceferino's reaction is to stand still and quiet for a short period, looking around the classroom and to other children. After the teacher continues with the class he relaxes and behaves as usual.

From 9:45 to 10:15 is the recess or snack period. Ceferino likes this time because he can talk to other children and other children enjoy talking with him. He shares with others and makes jokes or creates his own stories. The jokes and stories bring laughter from everybody, but the teacher. She observes and asks the children at his table not to yell and laugh in such a loud voice because they distract the others that can not enjoy their snacks. They generally obey but some, including Ceferino start giggling, and continue talking softly.

After the snack period, there is a 45-minute period that the teacher uses for different purposes, like, for example, playing on the school yard, story-telling and adventure time, or simply free play in the classroom. Ceferino likes all of these activities, but what he likes the most is to play on the school yard because then he can run, play hide and seek and yell without being restrained. The teacher keeps an eye on him and sometimes call him and says: "Come and sit beside me. You have to cool down, you are sweating and yelling too much and other children are doing the same. So, stand still for a while." Although

Ceferino obeys, he does not like the teacher's decision and sits quietly watching other children play. After a while he looks at the teacher and guessing his non verbal request, she says: "Go and play a few minutes but don't run because we are going back to the classroom in a couple of minutes." Ceferino looks annoyed, plays a little and a few minutes later he returns to the classroom with the other children.

During the story-telling and adventure time the teacher asks children to pay attention because she is going to read a short story. Children remain silent and attentive in their seats. Ceferino looks around and gets a little distracted watching the different things and objects in the classroom. When the teacher finishes, she asks for someone to summarize the story. Ceferino immediately raises his hand but other children are asked to come up front and tell the story.

The last morning period is from 10:45 to 11:00. The teacher plays the music and all of the children start picking up things and organizing the classroom. When they finish, they review what they have done during the morning and the tasks planned for the next day. The teacher goes through the exit routine (see Marina's case study, p. 108). When a few of children are left, Ceferino stands from his seat without the teacher calling his name. She stares at him and he goes back to his seat. Ceferino almost always is the last child to get out of the classroom.

The teacher does not interact with Ceferino as much as she does with other children. She tends to ignore his behavior because she considers it distracting and annoying. The way she deals with Ceferino is disregarding his actions to discourage other children to imitate that kind of behavior. Although, she has few interactions with Ceferino, most of the time when she does the quality of the interactions is negative (verbal and non-verbal disapprovals, scoldings and rejections) occasionally; at best they are neutral.

Although sometimes Ceferino tries to attract the teacher's attention, he is not inclined to interact with her. He seems to be

aware of his behavior and how the teacher reacts towards him. Therefore, he uses strategies to get things done the way he likes them; for example, he does the school work fast so he can engage in an activity that he likes more; or when the teacher is busy with other children he sneaks to the cubby, gets his coloring book and starts coloring; or when the teacher is reviewing what was have done during the previous activity period and he is not asked, he starts singing in a soft voice and disconnects himself from what is going on.

Since the teacher tends to ignore him, it appears that Ceferino's strategies work for him. He has learned to survive by becoming sort of invisible, while the teacher is working with other children.

#### The teacher's behavior and attitudes towards Ceferino

Ceferino's school work is characterized by creativity and a lot of active involvement in doing things. He enjoys inventing things or doing the tasks differently. This type of behavior is not usually approved by the teacher. She rather likes that children do things the way she teaches them, and insists on the observance of patterns, order and uniformity.

The teacher reacts to Ceferino's behavior and classroom performance through invalidations in the form of annulments, cancellations, negations, repealings, revocations, refutations. This is mainly due to the fact that he does not comply with her established ways. She disregards his initiative and imaginative way of doing the school work. She does not support or authorize Ceferino's inventiveness, although she recognizes that he is a very imaginative and creative child.

One day children were asked to pick up things at the end of the free play period. Ceferino started picking up and putting them one after another in a line on the floor, then he pushed them towards the storage box and place them inside. He did it very quickly, finishing before the rest of the children. Turning around he addressed the

teacher:

Ceferino: Teacher, I've finished!

Teacher: Yes, you have, but that's not the way I've taught you to do it! Can you see how the rest of the children are doing it? They are picking things one at a time, they walk to the big box and put them inside. Do you see? They do it very orderly and calmly. They are obedient, quiet and follow my instructions!

Ceferino looks at her and answers.

But, I didn't make noise and I put everything with care into the big box... and finished first!

The teacher looks directly into Ceferino's eyes and replies.

Yes, but that's not the way I like it! You can't do things the way you want no matter how much you like it or how creative and inventive you are. You've to obey the rules and norms that I establish. Is that clear?

Ceferino puts his head down (as a sign of respect) and answers in a soft voice.

Yes, teacher...

The teacher continues talking and scolding him.

If I let you do things the way you want, other children would do the same and that's not the way things work in school. Go and sit, and this is the last time I will tell you these things!. I don't want you to be a bad influence on the rest of the children.

Ceferino sits down and waits for the others to finish picking up, and for the teacher to continue with the class.

Ceferino's skills and abilities are the subject of the teacher's reactions in different forms. Since he knows the basic geometrical shapes and the colors, he sometimes draws or build things with construction paper by himself. Then he shows his creations to the other children, explaining the shapes and colors. For example, on one occasion he drew a house and after finishing he took three pieces of

construction paper and cut a green triangle, a red square and a small blue circle. Then he glued them to the drawing: the green triangle at the top, the red square for the walls of the house and the circles as the windows. He also colored the trees and the clouds on the background. When he finished he smiled, stood up and said in a loud voice:

Hey, look what I did! Isn't it pretty? Look, this is my house. See? This is a green triangle on the top, and the red square for the walls of the house, and I put circles for the windows.

I'm going to post it!

When the teacher noticed Ceferino's behavior, she walked towards him and took his work away. She grabbed him by his arm and took him back to his chair, asked him to sit down and addressed him:

You are always showing off. The only thing I asked you and the rest of the children was to make a drawing of your house. But as always, you didn't follow instructions! You are always doing things differently. You have to do things the way I teach you, not the way you want! That's what school is all about and you will learn it!

Now I won't post your drawing! That will teach you to do as I say!

You see why I don't send you to draw on the board when you're finished? You have to obey and follow instructions! Other children are nice, obedient and smart and that's why they have advanced to the reading area. You have to behave if you want to be like them.

Ceferino sat down with his elbows on the table watching other children work on their drawings until the end of the period when he moved to another activity. I inferred from his behavior that he sat down sulking, upset, frustrating or bored due to the dissonance between his way of doing things and the way the teacher teaches or likes things to be done in the classroom. This is an excellent example of incongruence between Ceferino's and the teacher's values and beliefs.

**Ceferino's Interviews: Expectations and Assessment of  
His Own Performance In the School Environment**

Ceferino's interviews provided, first, information regarding his expectations about school prior to the beginning of the semester; and later, six weeks after the school began an idea of how he assesses his school performance.

Through the interviews I was able to know Ceferino better. Ceferino is a lively, happy and friendly child. He knows his address and he is well acquainted with his family group. He has many playmates and friends where he lives. He also has a very clear idea of what constitutes his neighborhood. He likes to talk and explain things. He is imaginative, learns things very fast and applies what he has learned; for example, he does not play with dirt because that is where microbes live and they can make you sick. He makes logical relations by comparison and accurately remembers what and how he does things. He speaks about imaginary things as if they were true or real. He makes a story of every question.

He is alert and attentive. He makes good associations between objects and their use; for example, he knows that you wear an apron when you do not want your clothes to get dirty. He observes objects, and if he does not know what they are, he guesses according to the shape. He has a general notion about writing his name (although sometimes he writes his name backwards— from right to left). He is very friendly and smart and likes to compete with his friend.

**Ceferino's Expectations About School, the Teacher,  
the Classroom and Other Children**

In the first interview (two weeks prior to the beginning of the school year) Ceferino demonstrated a lot of interest about going to school for the first time. I asked him how did he feel and his answer was:

I'm very happy because I'll be going to school.  
You know? I'm a big boy now! My aunt says that

when children are big they go to school. She and my grandma bought me new clothes and a pair of shoes. I tried on my new school uniform and shoes and I like them, but... I'll have to wait until school starts. But that's only a few weeks from now.

He had visited the school with his grandmother and knew where the kindergarten is located.

I've been in the school where I'm going for the first time. Once my aunt's car was broken and my grandma drove her to school in her car and took me with her. She showed me the school and my aunt introduced me to the Principal and to the teachers in the office. Then she pointed the kindergarten classroom. I wanted to go inside but it was late and my grandma had to go back. My aunt also took me to the school by the end of the semester and showed it to me. It is a pretty school, big and with many classrooms.

When I asked him about what he thought he would learn, like or dislike, and how he was going to get on in school, Ceferino showed enthusiasm and eagerness to go.

School is going to be nice. I'll learn much. My grandma says that the teacher is going to teach me to write my name, count and write the numbers from one to ten, and read books too! What I like about school are the books, toys and things. I'm going to meet children, make new friends to play with and have fun. I'll play a lot with all the things in the classroom and share them with the rest of the children... I think what I won't like about school is that I won't be playing with my friends as much as I do now. Sometimes I play in Carlitos house and at other times I go to Juan's, and they come to mine. We aren't going to be very much time together... that is what I don't like.

I'm going to get on very well in school. I'm going to behave, be a nice boy and learn much to make my grandma and my aunt proud of me. You know? I'm a big boy now! My aunt says that when children are big they go to school.

His answer to the question about how he thought the classroom, the teacher, and the children were going to be like was:

I think that the classroom is going to be very pretty and big. It's going to have a lot of things and toys to play with. It is going to have little chairs for children to sit on, and pictures on the walls. It is going to be like a big house where I can play with other children, and the teacher is going to teach me things, and I'm going to learn.

I think that the teacher is going to be good with me and the other children. She is going to love me very much. My grandma says that the teacher is going to be like a second mother. I have to love and respect her. I have to obey her and behave all the time because teachers love children that are obedient and behave. My aunt says that she is very nice and that she likes children.

I'm going to like other children too. I like children because I can play with them. I like to make friends and invite them over to my house and go to theirs. I'll be playing with other boys and sometimes with girls. I like boys better because they play the games I like. Girls don't play the games I like. My grandma and my aunt have told me that I'll have to share with other children. They say that I shouldn't fight over things and that I should respect boys and girls if I want to be respected by them. They don't want me to get into trouble in school.

Ceferino's expectations about school (two weeks prior to the beginning of the school year) were positive in general. They reflected his understanding of what her grandmother and aunt had told him, as well as his own impressions and experience during his visits to school. He had a positive attitude, showed strong interest and a high motivation towards going to school for the first time; as well as positive feelings towards learning and school work, the classroom, the teacher and other children.

During the second interview (six weeks after the beginning of the school year) I made the same questions to Ceferino and followed the same procedure of the first interview (see Children's Interview, 61-63). However, the emphasis was on his present experience (e.g., "now that you are going to school..."). His answers to the questions showed changes representative of his school attendance.

His feelings towards school were:

I think I don't like school anymore. School isn't fun! It is boring. They tell you all the time what to do. They don't let you play when you want to. You have to be quiet all the time. You have to sit still. You have to do all what the teacher says and do things the way she says. They make you feel tired... and I don't like it.

There are a lot of rules! If you don't follow them, the teacher gets mad at you and other children stare at you and you feel bad. Sometimes she doesn't let me play in the areas that I like, or with the things and toys of the classroom. She says that only children that behave can play with the toys that they like when she decides so. ...and she lets other children play.

She never posts my drawings. If I post a drawing by myself, she takes it and puts it on her desk. She never lets me draw on the board like other children that have finished their work and keep quiet until she sees their work. I like to draw and write on the board too, but I never can do it... she says that children that are obedient can go to the board.

Ceferino's original enthusiasm and eagerness about going to school has changed since he has been attending the kindergarten:

Sometimes I'd rather stay home and play, but my aunt and grandma say that I've to go to school. They say that they want me to study and have a good job when I grow up.

I like the teacher, but I think that she doesn't like me. I think she likes other children better because they don't finish quick, and they take what they do to her, and ask if they're doing it right. She smiles at them and say that everything is Ok. I show her the things I do and she says that I'm too fast and I don't follow instructions.

I like to do different things. I like to do things in different ways, but I've always to do it the way the teacher likes it. Sometimes I get

bored...

His answers to the questions about the classroom and other children were:

The classroom is very big and pretty. There are a lot of things to play with... toys, puzzles, blocks, coloring books and crayons and many, many things. I like to play in the block area. I can do a lot of things there. I like to build big things that I can get into, but the teacher doesn't like it.

I like the music area. I like to wear the headphones and listen to the music, sing loud along with the record, clap my hands and dance with the music, that I like and makes me and other children happy, but the teacher says that I make too much noise, and don't let her and the children work.

I like the other children, and I've made a few friends. I ask them to play with me, but they say that they don't want the teacher to scold them. I don't think there is anything wrong with playing with other children, but the teacher has to say when.

I like the weekends because I can play with my real friends, and I don't have to go to school everyday. Weekends are fun, I spend more time with grandma and they take me to different places.

In school everything has to do with following instructions. You have to learn what they want and how the teacher likes it. I think that the teacher should play with the children or by herself so she can see how much fun it is! I'd like to play with her...

After a six-week period of school attendance Ceferino's responses to the interview questions have changed dramatically. His feelings, likes and dislikes about school and the teacher showed negative reactions. Although he has a good impression of the classroom, and the other children in general, he is aware of the teacher's actions and attitudes as ways of disapproving or invalidating his expectations. His responses reflect disappointment and uneasiness with school, the use of the classroom as a means of rewarding or punishing his behavior, the way he does things, and his learning rhythm.

This information was corroborated during the second round of Parents' Interview. When Ceferino's grandparents were specifically asked about what changes (if any) they had noticed in his behavior "now that he is attending school", their response was:

The change we've noticed the most is in his attitude towards school. He was eager and thrilled about going to school for the first time. He used to talk a lot about that. He invited his friends over to show them the uniform and the new shoes he was going to wear. He used to speak about the classroom, the teacher and how he was going to get along with other children. He was very happy about going to school.

Now that he is going to school he has changed his attitude and he is not happy anymore. He says that the school makes him feel tired and bored. He says that there are many things in the classroom that he'd like to play with but the teacher doesn't let him. He sometimes complains that the teacher lets other children do things that he'd like to do, like drawing on the board, work at the reading area and so on. Those two things are important to him because the teacher lets children draw on the board as a prize for their behavior, and she assigns children to the reading area to show others that if they are good, obedient and do their school duties in the way that she teaches them, they will be nice and smart school children.

I know that it is difficult to deal with children, but I don't agree with the teacher doing those things, because other children are getting hurt and losing interest in school. That's Ceferino's case.

He isn't happy anymore about school, and sometimes he says that he wants to stay home. He says that the teacher doesn't love him, but that she loves other children because they're obedient and obey.

#### Ceferino's Assessment of His School Performance

Ceferino's assessment of his school performance after six weeks was obtained through the informal interviews with him, complemented with my classroom observations and notes. He answers to how he was doing in school:

Alright... I do my school work. I do it fast. I like to play better. When I play, I make my own games.

I like to learn a lot of things, but sometimes I feel tired of doing the same things. I do what the teacher asks quickly and go on to play. She doesn't like children to do things fast. She always says that I'm sloppy. Maybe I'm...

I know how to count from one to ten. I do it quickly. But, the teacher says that I should count slowly and don't make mistakes. She says that in school you do things calmly and carefully. That's the correct way to do it. Maybe I make a lot of mistakes 'cause I'm not careful or I don't know the numbers.

I like to talk and sometimes I don't pay attention to the teacher. She gives me bad looks and stares at me. Maybe I should be quiet. The teacher likes that! Maybe I should pay attention and be obedient too... I want the teacher to post my drawings... but, she doesn't do it. Maybe my drawings are ugly or not good.

I think I'm not smart... I never do things right, the way the teacher likes. She never lets me draw on the board. She never lets me work in the reading table with the nice and smart children.

Sometimes I don't like to get up and go to school. I'd like to stay home and play with my dog Linda. Or just play with my things. At home I can do as I did before going to school. I have a notebook that my aunt bought me, and I have a lot of drawings of chickens, flowers, boats, houses and Linda. I have books and my grandma reads it to me.

School is not fun. They don't let you play with the things that you like. They're always asking you to pick up things, organize the classroom, and a lot of other things, and there is not time for nothing else.

Ceferino's assessment of his performance in school is negative and reveals the incongruences in the relationship between the teacher and him. His assessment seems to be related to the teacher's attitudes and actions towards his performance, his particular way of carrying out school tasks, and his general demeanor in the classroom. He knows that he should behave and obey, if he wants to be rewarded by the teacher, at least in two ways: allowing him to draw on the board after he has finished the tasks assigned to him, or letting him work with the "nice and smart" children in the reading area.

Ceferino's assessment is evidently a subjective reaction to the subjective reactions of the teacher, but the result is a negative evaluation of his school performance that has nothing or little to do with his intelligence or intellectual potential.

**Four Case Studies of Children's With Varied  
Academic and Domestic Skills and Knowledge**

The case studies of Alfonso (a child with a wide range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge), Amara (a child with a wide range of academic skills and knowledge), Ramiro (a child with a narrow range of academic skills and knowledge), and Norca (a child with a narrow range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge) illustrate the wide range of combinations of domestic and academic skills as related to the teacher's evaluation of a child's classroom performance.

**Alfonso:**

**An Overrated Child With A Wide Range  
of Academic and Domestic Skills and Knowledge**

**Alfonso's Family Context and Home Environment**

Alfonso is four years old, very alert, smart, cool, and sensitive. One of three children, his family comes from a very poor socioeconomic background. They live in a very small wooden house. The wood of the house is very old and the termites have done their job on some of the boards. The roof is made of metal sheets, most of which are rusted and have holes in it. The floor is also made of wood and is very unstable. When I first visited Alfonso's house to conduct the interview, the floor gave way to my weight and I thought I was going to go through it. The walls were equally shaky.

Alfonso shares his bedroom with his younger brother. Both share things and play with the same toys. Although he has his own clothes and shoes, he has been taught to take good care of them because his younger brother will be wearing them.

Alfonso's father is unemployed and his mother is a housemaker. They live on foodstamps and on odd jobs that his father manages to get once in a while. The father is a very intelligent and thoughtful man, although he could only study until the sixth grade. He was the oldest

child and had to leave school to help his father to support his family. He started working on the sugar cane fields, cutting, packing and placing the in the trucks. Therefore, it is not surprising that he insists he will make everything possible for Alfonso to stay in school, and avoid the difficult times he has been through. He has taught Alfonso how to grow tomatoes, corn, green peppers and flowers on the back yard. He has also taught him to work with tools and to fix his bicycle and anything that breaks down.

Alfonso's mother is a very clever and cheerful person. She talks about her children, husband, and family life freely and with pride. She has taught Alfonso how to handle chores such as cooking, mending and taking care of his clothes. She wants him to be an independent person when he grows up and to be considerate with his father, as he is with her. She encourages Alfonso to be respectful, obedient and sensitive with the others. She is very concerned about her children's progress in school. She walks her school age children to school every day and takes time to speak with the teachers about their work.

Alfonso's family atmosphere is very warm. They live modestly and unpretentiously. His parents instill in their children ideas and values that with the aim of helping them be successful in life. They want him to go as far as he can in his studies, because they believe that a good education is necessary for a well paid job. He has learned to value his intelligence and other talents, such as decency, as well as personal qualities as a way of getting the best of life. He knows that studying, doing things by himself, respecting and helping others, and hardwork will get him through life. He wants to be a medicine doctor when he grows up to help other people. In addition, he has also learned from his parents and skills and values siblings that have oriented him in his school work. Alfonso is a child who has a wide range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge.

### Alfonso's Skills and Knowledge

In comparison with the rest of the children, according to my assessment, Alfonso turned out to be the child who has the most academic and domestic skills and knowledge in the kindergarten class observed. He had an experiential background that makes him knowledgeable of things that are useful in school and in life.

#### Alfonso's Academic Home-Based Skills

The day I interviewed Alfonso, he was in the yard under the shadow of a mango tree, a place that he has carefully cleaned for playing. It is his favorite place. I introduced myself and ask if I could watch him playing. He said it was alright. I observed and asked him to explain what he was playing on the ground. He had made a model of the neighborhood where he lives on the ground and was playing with a small truck that his father gave him in is last birthday. He had piled sand on some places and mud on others and placed a house. He used small juice cartons for the houses, and made the fences of little sticks and small branches from the mango tree. He used small wild plants for the trees, made a path with his hands and placed pebbles along the side of «the road» for the cars and the truck. I observed and asked him to explain what he was playing.

This is where I live. These are the houses of my friends. (Pointing at each one.) This is Pepito's, this is Juan's, this is Carlos', this is Maria's and this one on the hill is Guanina's. I'm picking them up to take them over to Enrique's house to help him work. I'm taking my truck full of sand and gravel because they're building a house. Since we're his friends and we're his neighbors too, we're going to cooperate by giving him a hand.

After Alfonso explained his game I asked him if we could start our conversation. He agreed and we proceeded with the interview. He explained the things he does or play with; for example, with sand, few toys he has, and he also makes up things or construct them using materials such as, empty cartons, wires, empty cans, bottles and whatever is around. He collects marbles and small stones in different

colors and shapes. His father helps him classify the stones and makes him aware of their different characteristics. He plays with a puzzle that his parents bought for the family entertainment, organizes his belongings without being asked, colors using coloring books or crayons and paper after his parents explain how it is done, and draws the things that are familiar to him; for example, the hen with the chickens, the plants in the garden, and the house.

Since Alfonso does not like to watch television all the time, his father asks him to help him color with him the black and white cartoons on the Sunday newspaper; or the mother from an old magazine, cuts a picture into pieces, shuffles them and asks Alfonso to put it together, as if it was a puzzle. He browses through magazines, newspapers cartoons and comics when he is by himself.

During the walk to school Alfonso questions his mother about the neighborhood, the shape, sizes, colors and materials of which the houses are made; he also asks about how to get to school. His mother answers all the questions and satisfies his curiosity. The result is that he has a clear idea of his neighborhood, as well as the route to school, he can describe and explain all of this without hesitation. It is remarkable the details he has picked up from the environment; for example, the relationship between his house and the neighborhood, knowledge about the route to school, on which sidewalk he should walk to be safe, when to cross the street, and environmental cues, such as, how many houses the neighborhood has, where is the candy store and the pedestrian crossway to the school. Sometimes his mother lets him lead the group to school, either way he does well.

I asked him if he could explain how I could get from his home to the school and he willingly answered:

You walk down this street. Since there isn't a sidewalk, you should walk on the left side of the street. In that way you can see the cars that are coming up the hill and they see you too. When you get to the next street, you walk on the sidewalk and make a left. You pass the

barber shop, about ten houses, a grocery store, and on the next corner you make a left. You walk all the way down, pass a fruit, vegetable and yams mini market, about eight houses until you get to a school supply on the corner.

Here you stop because you'll have to cross the street. You have to be very careful because there are a lot of cars going by. The parents are taking the children to school in their cars and the school bus is around too.

After making sure that no cars are coming, you cross the street; now you are on the main street. The school is on the right side of the street. There is a bakery, a grocery store a candy store, a school supply store and many houses in front of the school.

#### Alfonso's Academic School-Related Skills

Alfonso is familiar with school-related objects too. His mother lets him cut pictures from an old magazine with the scissors and paste them on a piece of paper or decorate an empty can as a flower vase. This he would fill with water and poppies and give to his mother. He colors with crayons and color pencils, and draws with colored chalks, borrowed from his sister, on a thin piece of old wood that he uses as a board. He knows how to handle a pencil, a pen and a pencil sharpener. He counts objects up to 20 and knows the value of a penny, a nickel, a dime and a quarter, knows the colors and writes his name with his mother's help.

His father reads stories from a book about the Inca Indians. His older brother also reads stories from his school books and his sister lets him browse through her notebook. His father has taught him to distinguish left from right, up from down, and big from small:

Dad and I play the left/right hand game. He puts a marble on his hand and closes it, then he asks me in which hand is the marble, and I have to tell him if it is in the left or the right. Then, I do the same for him. It's a lot of fun! He says that the left hand is on the left side of my body where my heart is, and since I'm right-handed, my right hand is one I use most.

Sometimes I help dad doing things around the house or play with him. I like when he and I climb the mango tree to check the metal shingles on the roof of the house. We sit on a big branch

and stay there for a while. We talk about how things look different from up there. We can see the whole top of our house, the different garden plants, the animals, and the houses down the hill. You can't see the houses from the ground, and when you get down from the tree things look different.

His mother has taught him some of the basic shapes and colors.

When I help mom doing the dishes, she tells me about the shapes of things. The pans and dishes are round like a circle. The small window above the sink in the kitchen is a square and the roof of the house is a triangle. When we aren't doing the chores, Mom and I play looking for shapes around the house.

When I help her cooking, I chop red and green peppers for her. She adds them to the beans stew in a yellow pan that she likes. Everything looks very pretty!

Alfonso's academic skills and knowledge are part of his main daily activity, which is play, and the family dynamics. His family provides an environment for learning things related to school work. His parents expose him to experiences that promote the development of skills that are parallel to those learnt in school. Alfonso has learnt at home academic skills in a sharing atmosphere, such as working on a puzzle, listening to a story read by the father, carrying on a conversation or playing a table game.

Alfonso demonstrates confidence in his performance, is bright and thoughtful, as well as sensitive and mature. He has academic skills learned at home that have been useful in his school work. The teacher evaluates his academic performance high or positively and considers him a very bright child.

#### Alfonso's Domestic Home-Related Skills

Alfonso's parents have placed a strong emphasis on the part that each member of the family plays in the well-being, happiness and peace of mind of the rest. Each one knows what her or his duties, tasks and responsibilities are; how they can help themselves individually, as well as collectively. Although, each one should work hard and try to be independent, it is also important to cooperate and seek the comfort of

the family.

Alfonso has learned and developed skills and knowledge related to his duties as a member of his family. For example, he helps clean the house, knows how to cook white rice, does the dishes, folds his and the family clothes, makes the beds, helps fix things that brake with the help of his mother or father, plants his own seeds of tomatoes, corn, green peppers and flowers in a special place in the yard, and takes care of animals (hens, chickens, a rabbit, ducks, a dog and a cat). He also knows how to mend and patch broken pants, and goes on errands.

I asked him how he made rice and his explanation was:

To make rice you have to do a couple of things. First you wash your hands very carefully and dry them. Then you take a cooking pan, wash it and put it on the stove. You fill it with four cups of water or more depending on how much rice you need to cook. You carefully strike a match and turn on the gas and light up the stove. You wait for the water to boil.

In the meantime you put salt and oil in the water and taste it. You measure about four cups of rice, wash and dry it. When a lot of bubbles are coming up, the water is boiling and it is time for carefully pouring the rice in. You wait until the water is absorbed by the rice, lower the fire on the stove, and put a lid on the pan. You wait for about 20 minutes or so, and the rice is ready.

Alfonso feels proud when he does things around the house for the family. He also feels useful. He spoke with satisfaction about the things that he does for his family; he mentioned how his father is pleased and delighted about all the things that he knows and does for the family.

#### Alfonso's Domestic Self-Care Skills

Alfonso's domestic self-care skills indicate that he has gained enough independence to take care for himself. He does not need very much supervision or any at all. He brushes his teeth and takes a bath, he dresses and undresses, ties his shoe laces, combs his hair, washes his face and hands and eats by himself.

He is very clean and likes to be clean. He takes good care of his

school clothes. He changes his school uniform and hangs it up as soon as he comes home. He takes his shoes off, cleans and puts them away in their place where he will find them next morning. He has lunch, rests for a while, plays in the afternoon, takes a bath, does his school work, helps with the house work, has dinner, shares with the family and gets to bed early until the next day.

Before leaving to school in the morning he likes to brush his teeth, wash his face and hands, and combs his hair. He enjoys looking neat and nice when he leaves home, no matter if he goes to a friend's house to play, to school or to take a trip with the family. He is definitely clean and tidy.

#### Alfonso's Domestic Tool-Handling Skills

Alfonso's skills in the area of domestic tool-handling are extraordinary for his age. Although he knows the value of knowing and using some tools, his parents have taught him that he has to be cautious when handling them. He handles the machete with the supervision of his father and the kitchen knife with the mother's supervision. However, he handles the hammer, the screwdriver and different kinds of wrenches by himself.

Alfonso is very skillful with tools and has mechanical abilities and knowledge. When I visited his parents for the second interview he was disassembling the pinion of his bicycle to fix it. I observed him very carefully and he knew what he was doing. I asked him and he explained it in detail. He showed me the part that was not working and what he had to do to fix it, or if he could not he wanted to have to discard it and get a used one in good condition.

Alfonso has developed excellent tool handling skills and knowledge. He knows the names and uses of different tools and has handled most of them. He likes working with tools and using them for fixing things and problem solving, be his or others. He can explain how things work, how they can be fixed and what are the appropriate tools

for the job. He has learned most of those things from his father, by helping him getting the tools and watching how he fixes, for example, the iron, the sewing machine or the washing machine.

Alfonso's domestic skills are superior for a child of his age. He has mastered skills for keeping house, taking care of himself and handling tools. These skills and knowledge give him a sense of self-confidence and self-reliance.

Some of these skills are germane to school work; for example, he helps cleaning, ordering and organizing the classroom, he goes on errands for the teacher, he is self-sufficient and takes care of himself, he can give logical explanations, and he can be very helpful and useful to the teacher and the his classmates. He is nice and willing to assist, likes teamwork and collaborates with the group. The teacher considers him a resource. He is the kind of child that can help others with their school work, as well as help the teacher around the classroom after he has finished his tasks. He is loved by other children. The teacher recognizes his wide range of academic and domestic skills, and knowledges and evaluates him highly in both areas.

In summary, Alfonso is a child with a broad range of skills. He has learned, developed and applied them at home, but he has also being successful in transferring them to the classroom. His academic skills and knowledge have been useful to him in the school and he has achieved success showing his competencies in the school environment. His domestic skills and knowledge have helped him to complement his academic skills. He has been able to integrate both sets of skills and knowledge in his school performance and achievement. He has taken advantage of his resourcefulness to achieve success in the kindergarten. The teacher loves, respects and recognizes his skills and knowledge and evaluates him very highly in his school achievement and performance.

### Alfonso in the Classroom Environment

Alfonso's behavior in the classroom is superior. He is well-behaved and respectful with the teacher and his classmates. Although he likes to do things by himself and most of the time works independently, he teamworks and collaborates with the group. He is willing to participate in different activities, performs his tasks and duties effectively, and cooperates with the teacher and other children. He is well-acquainted with the classroom environment, knows the different work areas, as well as the things and objects related to the classroom activities. He is competent, knowledgeable and masters his own learning.

### Alfonso's Performance In the Classroom

Alfonso has no difficulty in doing all school work with ease and competence. He works neatly and carefully, completes his work on time, and makes very few errors. The teacher lets him work by himself and move freely from one work area to another. Sometimes she asks him to help her, or assigns him extra work. Since his academic skills and knowledge is diverse, her evaluation of his performance is high.

I like how you work. You are neat, clean and efficient. It's amazing how well you perform. Your works are excellent. If you continue in that direction, you'll be reading and writing before the school year ends. I'm going to give you an extra task that you're going to like. I think that you are ready to move forward.

I know that you'll do it right. You are very bright and smart.

In this box you'll find many letters. I'm going to write your name on this piece of cardboard and I want you to look for the letters that match your name. Ok? Let me know when you are finished.

Alfonso feels confident in the kindergarten classroom and assesses his performance positively. He is eager to learn and asks the teacher for extra work when he finishes the tasks that he has been assigned. The teacher usually pleases him.

Alfonso: I have finished teacher.

Teacher: Alright, let me see what have you done. Very good!

Alfonso: Thank you teacher. I would like you to teach me how to read.

Teacher: I will, but first you have to know a couple of things. So, come with me, we are going to learn the name of vowels and how they sound, and then we are going to learn a song with the rest of the group. Is it okey with you?

Alfonso: Yes teacher. Lets begin!

The teacher shows Alfonso five cards with the vowels. She says the names and the sound of each of them aloud and he repeats after her. She shuffles the cards and asks him to identify the vowels and their sounds. Alfonso does it right.

Teacher: Very good! You learn fast.

Alfonso: (With a smile and twinkling eyes) I know the vowels! I'm going to tell mom and dad as soon as I get home. They will feel very happy because I know the vowels. I'm learning to read! I want to learn to read well because I want to read by my self the book about the Incas from where dad reads stories to me.

Teacher: And you'll go to first grade knowing to read too.

Alfonso's domestic skills also help him get through the school work in the classroom environment. He helps clean the areas and organize things that will be used by the other children. Since the teacher knows that he is careful doer, she assigns him tasks that require that trait.

This box has a lot of crayons. As you see, they are in different sizes and colors. I want you to separate the small from the big and classify them according to the color. When you finish, we are going to make groups and complete as many sets as we can so the children can use them. Now, go ahead and work carefully as you are use to.

The teacher also uses other Alfonso's domestic skills in the classroom. She asks him to water the plants in the garden outside,

teach a child how to tie her or his shoe laces, or send him on errands. She also knows that he is good with tools and lets him use his scissors when she asks him to do a special task, or asks him to sharpen the pencils points for her.

She likes Alfonso's independent work style, particularly as related to his self-care skills, and acknowledges them in front of the rest of the children.

I very much like you taking care of yourself.  
You know to tie your shoes, comb your hair, wash your face and hands and keep the place clean after you are finished. Tidiness is a very important tidiness habit in school and in living with others.

#### The Teacher's Evaluation of Alfonso's Performance in the School Environment

As already stated, due to his wide range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge, Alfonso is highly evaluated by the teacher. Her evaluation of Alfonso's performance in school includes her appraisal of his skills and knowledge complemented by a set of personal as well as social skills. Therefore, she considers him obedient, caring, cooperative, responsible, reliable, and mature for a child of his age.

Alfonso has been successful in the kindergarten due to his resourcefulness. The teacher loves, respects and recognizes his skills and knowledge. He has a positive assessment and feels confident of his own school performance. As a result, he is ahead of the rest of his classmates. He is a fast learner and a high achiever.

The teacher's evaluation has a positive effect on Alfonso's learning and development, as well as a motivating him to continue his progress in his school performance. He shows a strong interest and eagerness to do school work and learn, as a means of getting ahead.

I want to learn a lot because I want to be a doctor when I grow up. Doctors help other people to get well and heal their illnesses. If I become a doctor I will help sick children to be in good health, so their parents don't have to worry a lot. I'll work at the hospital because private doctors are too expensive. My mother takes me to a hospital when I'm sick and she doesn't have to pay a lot of money.

My dad says that I have to learn and study hard because doctors have to work a lot to get to be doctors. I like to study, and I'll be a good doctor.

Alfonso keeps a serious attitude toward his learning, and is proud about what he has learned from his parents at home. His teacher's positive evaluation coupled with this definitive command of academic skills and knowledge give an him advantage over the other children. This advantage increases when one takes into account his domestic skills and knowledge. It seems safe to state that his success in school performance is related to his wide range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge.

Amara:

An Overevaluated Child With A Wide Range  
of Academic Skills and Knowledge, and A Narrow  
Range of Domestic Skills and Knowledge

Background: The Family Context and the Home Environment

Amara is a five-year-old girl, the youngest of a five-member family. She is friendly, warm, and talkative, although sometimes she behaves temperamentally and impulsively. She is very intelligent, willing and vivacious, as well as respectful, disciplined and well-behaved in general. She lives with her grandmother who is 48 years, her 28 year old mother, an aunt who is 27 and a six year old brother. Amara's mother works in a production line in a lighter factory. She is divorced and supports her two children and helps her mother pay the bills and other household expenses.

Amara lives in a cement house, that although not luxurious, has enough space for the family members to have some privacy and live comfortably. She has her own bedroom where she keeps her belongings. She is very orderly, keeps her toys and other possessions organized, and likes to keep her bedroom clean. She plays with her brother and likes to share; however, both children have their own toys and things, and keep them separate. Amara's mother buys whatever she needs, for example, clothes, shoes, items for school, and toys. Amara's favorite place, when she wants to play is her bedroom. The porch is where she plays with her brother or her neighborhood friends.

Amara is very close to her mother and likes to be with her all the time. She gets on very well with her grandmother, aunt and brother. The home's atmosphere is very warm and supportive for Amara and her brother. Both of them are treated equal, and no special considerations nor privileges are given to any one of them.

Amara knows that she must respond to the demands that her mother, grandmother and aunt make. She must help with the household chores and

should do very well in school. Therefore, she can play as she likes, but she must also fulfil the responsibilities assigned to her, particularly those related to the school. The family encourages her to get the most out of school, so when she grows up she can go to the university and study a career in which she can earn good money. She wants to be a secretary when she grows up.

#### Amara's Skills and Knowledge

Amara has a wide range of academic skills and knowledge, and a narrow range of domestic skills and knowledge. She is oriented towards school work. She has learned and developed academic skills and knowledge at home that are relevant and useful in the school environment. This places her in an advantageous position in regard to other children who do not possess all skills and knowledge. In my analysis of Amara's skills she scored high in academic skills and knowledge, and low in domestic skills and knowledge.

#### Amara's Academic Home-Based Skills

Amara's interview took place on the porch of her house. She was very willing to cooperate and answered all the questions promptly and enthusiastically. She demonstrated mastery of all the academic home-based skills: she plays with sand, toys, clay and puzzles. She makes up things, organizes her belongings (self-generated), colors using coloring books, and browses through magazines and books.

I like to play with my toys very much. I like my dolls and my toy sewing machine. I like to play with clay and puzzles too, but I get mad with the puzzles when I can't put them together fast. I play with them many times.

Amara stood up, went inside the house to her bedroom and came back with a ten-piece puzzle. Took out the pieces, shuffled them around and started putting them together.

See? I like this puzzle. I learned to put it together! Now I can do it fast. I like when my mom buys puzzles and things for me. Maybe she's going to buy me a new puzzle because she knows that I know how to put together this one.

She was very communicative and spontaneous during the interview. She showed the things that she owns and explained their use and relation to school work.

I have many things that I'm going to use in school. See? This is my coloring book. Isn't it pretty? My aunt bought it for me and my mom bought these crayons. I like to color in my coloring book. My mother shows me how to do it. When I finish, I show it to my grandma, my aunt and my brother, and they like it.

Sometimes I play school with my older brother. I'm the teacher and I borrow his books and ask him to read for me. He writes his name and makes drawings for me, and I color them. I like to color with him because he tells me the colors. I like the yellow, the red, the green and the blue, and the other colors as well. I use them when I color in my coloring book.

I like to play with clay too. I like the colors and how the clay feels in my hand. I put some clay into the casts, take it out and make animals, houses, trees and children. My mom lets me play with clay because she says I'm clean and organized. I don't like making messes because she, my aunt or my grandma won't let me play again with clay or other things I like to play with.

Amara's relatives buy and have around the house school-related objects like children's magazines, comics, and books, and encourage her to get acquainted with them. She owns some magazines, comics and books, and has learned to take care of and appreciate them. They want her to be ready for school. Amara proudly speaks about her belongings.

My grandmother bought this magazine for me, my aunt got me these books, and my brother gave me these comics. I like browsing through them, and sometimes my mother reads to me from the books. My brother also reads to me and tells me the stories from the comics. I take good care of them because my mother and my grandma say that I should learn to love books because that's from where I'll learn a lot. They say that although I don't know how to read now, I will learn soon and if I don't take good care of my books and the school's books, then, where I will be leaning to read from? They want me to study and get the most out of school because they want me to have a good job when I grow up. I want to be a secretary and to earn money and have all the things I want.

Amara's academic home-based skills result from a supportive home

environment for her and her brother. Their relatives want her to be successful in life and see education as a positive way of getting through life. They try to provide all they deem necessary to make it through school. As a result, Amara's attitude towards school is positive and her level of related skills is high.

#### Amara's Academic School-Related Skills

Amara is also high in academic school-related skills. She measures with a six-inch ruler, cuts with scissors, does things on construction paper, and colors with crayons and color pencils. Her mother buys school materials for her and shows her how to use them.

You know? My mother got this ruler, these scissors, these crayons and these beautiful color pencils for me. She showed me how to measure with the ruler. I'm going to show you!

She takes a color pencil from the box and measures it.

See? This red pencil is four inches long, and this crayon is three inches.

I like the scissors because when I play with my toy sewing machine, I use them for cutting. My mom buys construction paper of different colors and cardboard. She draws dolls on the cardboard. She also draws dresses and clothes for the dolls on the construction paper. I cut the dresses and clothes and I dress the dolls. We play together and we have lots of fun.

Amara also draws with a set of colored chalks, writes on a board, and manipulates an eraser that her grandmother bought for her. She knows how to hold a pencil and a pen, manipulates a pencil-sharpener, and writes her name.

I play school with my brother. I write on my little board and make drawings with my colored chalks. When I don't like them, I erase them and I ask him to show me how to draw a house, a dog and other things.

We also write with the pencil and the pen. He showed me how to write my name and to draw things on paper. I like to sharpen the point of the pencil when it brakes, but my brother doesn't let me because I make it too sharp and it brakes easily. Sometimes when he doesn't let me use the pencil-sharpener I get mad and I don't play.

Amara counts objects, cuts and pastes, and differentiates shapes, colors and sizes.

I want to show you my box for small them. I put things here that I don't want to loose. My grandma gave it to me because she doesn't like to see things all over the place. She says that if she finds my brother's or my things on the floor when she sweeps the floor she's going to get rid of them.

I have five marbles that my brother gave me. I also have some shells, one piece of red, one piece of yellow and another one of green chalk, two very little dollies and other things. I also have a small plastic triangle, a square and a circle from a set of plastic shapes that my mom bought for me but I lost the other parts of the set.

Amara's development of academic school-related skills is directly related to her family's interest in helping her to be successful in the school environment. She is also self-motivated towards school work and is acquainted with school-related materials and objects. She is resourceful and demonstrates competence in school-related skills and knowledge. However, she is not as competent in terms of domestic skills and knowledge. Her mastery of domestic skills and knowledge is not as high as her academic skills and knowledge.

#### Amara's Domestic Home-Related Skills

Amara's domestic home-related skills are few. She does not involve herself actively in doing things around the house. When I asked her if she did things such as: help cleaning the house, cooking, doing the dishes, folding clothes, doing the beds, fixing something broken, sewing, planting, taking care of animals, going on errands and taking care of younger siblings, she answered:

Sometimes I do some of those things, like cleaning the house, picking up things when my grandma asks me, and helping my aunt planting. They say that I'm too little to do those things. They rather ask me to go and play with toys and the things that they have bought me for school. My mother say that I'll learn to do those things when I grow up. But, right now it's more important for me to take care of myself, and not to worry about the things that she, my grandma and my aunt take care for my brother and me.

### Amara's Domestic Self-Care Skills

Amara's mastery of domestic self-care skills is not high either. She dresses and undresses with the help of her mother, she is learning to tie up her shoe laces, her mother combs her hair, and she washes her face and hands with the supervision of her mother. She bathes together with her mother, brushes her teeth with the help of her mother and eats by herself.

When I wake up my mother picks up a dress for me and helps me get dressed. Sometimes I try to get dressed by myself but my mother always helps me. In the morning I go to the bathroom with my mother. We bathe together, we play with the sponge and make lots of lather and scrub our bodies. She shows me how to clean myself. After we finish, I dry myself with my towel and after she finishes drying herself, she helps me. She brushes her teeth and shows me how to brush mine. After we finish, we go back to the bedroom.

My mother picks up the clothes for me or I pick my own. I start dressing by myself but when I get stuck, she helps me. Since I don't know how to tie my shoe laces, my mom is teaching me. I practice with my dolls' shoe laces and I'm learning.

### Amara's Domestic Tool-Handling Skills

In the area of domestic tools Amara has a narrow range of skills and knowledge. She does not know how to use or handle most of the tools I listed for her, such as: handsaw, hammer, machete, kitchen knife, small saw, screwdriver, wrench, carpenter's brace, sand paper, stubby brush and brush. However, she identified some of the tools and knew their use.

I know what those things are (pointing to the pictures of the different tools). That's a handsaw for cutting wood, that's a hammer to hit the nails, that's a machete for cutting plants, sugar cane and other things. That's a kitchen knife like grandma's, that I don't know (the small saw), that's a screwdriver, those I don't know (wrench, carpenter's brace, sand paper and stubby brush), that's a brush.

I don't use those things because my mother, my aunt, and my grandma don't let me. They say that I'm too small to use them. They say that those are dangerous things and if I don't know how to use them, I could get hurt. There are some of those things in the house and sometimes my aunt and my grandma use a hammer or the screwdriver for fixing something small around the house. Uncle Pedro comes to the house when there are things that need to be fixed. I watch him working and sometimes he lets me help him, but my mother doesn't like it because she's afraid that I could get hurt.

Amara has used the dishcloth and dishtowel occasionally as a result of her insistence on helping her aunt doing the dishes.

Sometimes my aunt lets me help her doing the dishes. She takes a chair and puts it near the sink. I step on it and do a couple of dishes, I rinse them and put it aside. Some other times she lets me dry the dishes with the dishtowel.

Although she could identify the vacuum cleaner, the sewing machine, the appliances (I showed her drawings of iron, washing machine, refrigerator, toaster, coffee maker, and so on) and the thread and needle, she indicated that she had never used any of them.

I think that's a vacuum cleaner. There is one like that in Tamara's house. That's a sewing machine. My grandma has one and makes clothes for me and my dolls, but she doesn't allow me to come close to her when she is using it and has forbidden me to it.

That's a toaster and that's a coffee maker. My mother uses them when she makes breakfast. I know, that's thread and needle! My aunt is taking night classes and she has some of those.

I have never used any of those things because my mom and my grandma don't let me. They want me to take care of my self and ask them when I need something.

Amara's limited development of domestic skills and knowledge seems to be the result of her family's definition of what is important for her now, their intense concern on taking care of her in her security. Therefore, Amara's priorities are not the domestic tasks and duties. She prefers to spend time playing and relating to the school items that her mother, aunt, and grandmother have acquired for her.

Amara has been effective in transferring academic skills and knowledge learnt at home to the classroom environment. She has been successful in mastering that domain. The teacher also acknowledges this fact. Therefore, the teacher's evaluation of Amara's skills and knowledge is positive due to the wide range she commands within the academic domain as compared with the rather narrow range of domestic skills and knowledge she has.

#### Amara in the Classroom Environment

Amara's general demeanor in the classroom is good. She is well-behaved and shows respect to the teacher and her classmates, although sometimes she behaves temperamentally if she does not get her way. She likes to work in a group and collaborates with others. She is confident and likes to get involved in different classroom activities. She is very willing to cooperate with the teacher and classmates, performs her tasks and duties competently, and enjoys doing her school work. She is well-acquainted with the classroom materials and objects, and is well-adapted to the daily routine. She is academically skilled and knowledgeable, learns with ease and performs efficiently.

#### Amara's Performance In the Classroom

The performance of Amara in the classroom is characterized by her command of academic skills and knowledge. She is careful, neat, orderly, follows instructions, and completes her work on time. The teacher recognizes Amara's skills and regards her as one of the best student in the classroom. When Amara has completed her task, she sometimes gives her additional work, reassigns her to another area or

asks her to help around the classroom. The teacher evaluates highly Amara's performance in the classroom.

Your school work is very nice and clean. You do your work with very much care, follow the rules and instructions that I say, and you finish your work on time.

That's the way I like children do their school work. You are one of my best students in this classroom.

Since you have finished before the rest of the children, I want you to do a little task for me. I want you to classify this circles according to the size and colors, and put them into this box. After you finish you can go and draw on the board.

Amara behaves confidently in the classroom. She demonstrates command and knowledge of the items related to the work areas in the classroom. She assesses her performance positively. When other children ask for help, she helps them and explains how to do things. Her favorite are the puzzles', the cut and paste, and the loose part work areas. She enjoys putting puzzles together. Sometimes when she finishes her task before other children, she asks the teacher to let her play in the puzzles area. Since the teacher knows that she is good at that activity, she chooses a 30-piece puzzle that is kept on a shelve and gives it to Amara.

Amara: Thank you teacher. Gee! This puzzle has a lot of pieces.

Teacher: Yes, I know. But I also know that you are very good with puzzles and you'll be able to put it together in no time.

Amara: Okey teacher. I like puzzles. They are fun. I am going to put this together and after I finish, I'll let you know. Right?

Teacher: Right!

After 20 minutes Amara finishes with the puzzle. She smiles and rises her hand and moves it vigorously. The teacher notices Amara and comes to her.

Teacher: What is it Amara?

Amara: I finished!

Teacher: Let me see. Aha... That's very good. You did a good job. Do you like the picture of the puzzle?

Amara: Yes.

Teacher: Come with me.

Amara follows the teacher. The teacher places a small chair near her desk and asks her to sit down.

Teacher: Okey. Lets see what we can learn from this puzzle. Tell me, what's the picture all about?

Amara: The picture is about a grandma reading a story to her grandson and granddaughter.

Teacher: Why do you say so?

Amara: Because it's like my grandma. Sometimes grandma takes my brother and I, and we sit on her knees, and she tells us stories about how things were when she was a child.

Teacher: Go ahead.

Amara: Well, you see.. in the picture the boy and the girl are sitting on her knees. The little dog is playing with the ball, and they are having fun.

Teacher: How many living things are in the picture, and what are they?

Amara: There are three. The grandma, the boy and the girl... (Pauses) and the dog!

Teacher: Right! How many colors does the ball have?

Amara: (Counting in loud voice) One, two, three... and four.

Teacher: What are they?

Amara: I know! This is red, this is blue, ...this is... yellow, and this is green.

Teacher: Very good! You know a lot. Now go and sit with the rest of the children because it is snack time.

Amara smiles at the teacher, stands up and sits in front of the class with the rest of the children who are starting to get together for the next class period.

Although Amara's range of domestic skills and knowledge is narrow, she participates in activities that involve some of those skills. She helps picking up things, as well as helps cleaning and organizing the work areas of the classroom. When she has some difficulty in performing a task or handling an object, she asks for help and she gets it from another child. For example, sometimes she has trouble tying her shoe laces. She tries and if she does not succeed in her attempt, she asks for the help from another child. Since she is good at academic skills, she gets help fast, and it usually is from children that she has helped before with some academic problem. Therefore, Amara has learned to interact cooperatively and collaboratively with other children. She has been effective in using her academic skills and knowledge to succeed in school activities, and in developing personal self-care skills.

#### The Teacher's Evaluation of Amara's Performance in the School Environment

The teacher's evaluation of Amara's performance is highly positive due to her wide range of academic skills and knowledge. Her evaluation of Amara's performance in school is complemented by a set of personal and social skills she has. Thus, she regards Amara as obedient, caring, cooperative, studious, and very serious and interested in school work. The teacher respects and admires Amara for her serious attitude toward school work, and appreciates her collaborative way of relating with other children.

Amara also has a positive assessment of herself and her performance in the school. She feels confident and proud of her school performance. She is aware of her capacities and enjoys sharing what she knows with other children, as well as helping them with the school duties and tasks. She is very focused on school work and feels satisfied with her accomplishments. Her wide range of academic skills and knowledge is the basis for her success in the kindergarten environment.

The teacher's evaluation has had a positive impact on Amara's scholarship and motivates her to continue the learning process and improvement of her school performance. She likes the school and the teacher, and sees school as a place to learn in order to get through life and obtain a career.

I like school very much. I also like the teacher. She teaches me lots of things. I learn very much in school, in the classroom. I also learn from other children and I show them things too. School is fun!

The teacher told me that if I keep doing things the way I do, I'll be reading and writing before I go to the first grade. I would like that to happen soon.

My mom says that I should learn as much as I can because when I grow up I can be whatever I want to be in life. If I learn a lot in school, when I grow up I can be a secretary. You know? That's what I want to be when I grow up. I'll be working in an office, writing in a typewriter, answering the telephone and all that.

Amara's interest in school can be seen in her eagerness to learn and do her school work as well as she can. Since she has support in school and a high evaluation of her performance by the teacher, she is a high achiever when compared with most of the other children. She is very competent in the kindergarten classroom and environment. Therefore, is reasonable to conclude that her success in school seems to come, among other factors, from her command of academic skills and knowledge.

Ramiro:

**An Underevaluated Child With A Narrow Range  
of Academic Skills and Knowledge, and A Wide  
Range of Domestic Skills and Knowledge**

**Background: The Family Context and the Home Environment**

Ramiro is five years old and the oldest of three siblings. He is a robust child. He is a clever, active, eager, friendly and warm child. He is astute, lively, helpful and sociable. He is respectful and well-behaved in general. He lives with his 84 years old grandmother on his father's side. His father lives in New York with a younger sister and brother from his second marriage. He works as a handy man in a middle-high class building in the upper east side of that city.

Ramiro lived with his father until the age of two, until his parents divorced. By that time his father decided to travel to Puerto Rico and leave him in the care of his mother (Ramiro's grandmother). He sends money to help raise Ramiro, and travels during the summers to spend his vacations with him at his mother house.

Ramiro lives in a modest wood and cement house. The house was built on stilts on top of a hill at the end of the street. It has a porch, a living and dining room, and two bedrooms. Except for the kitchen and the bathroom, that were made of cement, the rest of the house was made of wood including the roof which is covered with metal shingles.

Although Ramiro has his own bedroom, during the night he sleeps with his grandmother. He keeps his belongings in his bedroom. He is orderly and keeps his toys, clothes, shoes and other belongings in their allotted places. He plays with the neighborhood children neighborhood and with an aunt that lives nearby. His favorite place to play with them is in front of the house. When he is alone, he likes to play on the porch. Although he likes to play a lot, he spends a lot of time on the yard taking care of and observing his chickens.

Ramiro is very close to his grandmother and aunt, and although he only is with his father once a year, he is very close to him, too. He likes listening to his grandmother stories about when she was a child, as well as, her counsel and the songs that she sings to him. During the day he goes to his aunt's house and they play with puzzles. Although he loves his grandmother and aunt, sometimes he misses his father and gets nostalgic. That usually happens when the grandmother reads him the letters that his father writes. But he gets happy again when her grandmother tells him that his father is coming soon.

Ramiro's grandmother and aunt are very supportive, taking care of him and providing for all his needs. His grandmother has taught him to be independent, fearless, decent and honest. Since the emphasis of his home education has been developing his character and preparing him to succeed in life, Ramiro is confident, determined, very open and sensitive. He complies with his home commitments, duties and tasks. He has learned to be responsible as a way of being successful in life. Although his grandmother does not have plans for his future, she wants him to get the most out of school so he grows to be a "good man."

#### Ramiro's Skills and Knowledge

Ramiro has a narrow range of academic skills and knowledge, and a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge. Although he likes school, he likes to do things with his hands so he can see right away the direct and concrete result of his work. He is interested in school affairs and

work as they relate to the practical aspects of his life, to things that he can relate and apply in his home and surroundings. Ramiro is skillful and knowledgeable of matters that are not valued in school. This puts him at a disadvantage with other children who are more academically oriented. In my analysis of Ramiro's behavior, he scored low in academic and high in domestic, skills and knowledge.

#### Ramiro's Academic Home-Based Skills

The initial interview with Ramiro took place on the porch of the house, while he was playing with his toys. After a while we moved to the backyard because he wanted to show me his chickens and watch him feeding them. The interview flowed easily. Ramiro and I established good rapport and we had a very agreeable conversation. He explained his answers, and responded to all the questions promptly, with self-assurance and very willingly.

Ramiro's academic home-based skills are few. He plays with toys and puzzles, collects objects that he finds around the house while he plays, and organizes his belongings (self-generated). His answers to the questions dealing with those skills were:

I don't play with sand because I don't usually go to the beach. When my father comes from New York, we go to the beach and we play in the water. Clay, I don't have. My grandma doesn't like it because she says it is too messy, it gets stuck to the floor and it is hard to clean.

I like to play with puzzles. My father brought me one the last time he came from New York. The pieces are big, not like the ones I put together with my aunt. Her puzzles have lots of little pieces and you have to be very careful to find each one and put them together. She has taught me a trick with big puzzles! She says that it is always easy to begin with the corners of the picture and then you follow the frame until you complete it, then you start with the pieces that go inside. My aunty and I spend time putting together puzzles. She comes to my home and takes me with her to play with the puzzles because she likes me to help her. She says that when I help her she finishes quickly because I'm good at it.

I collect different things that I find, nothing in particular. You know... marbles, bottle caps, corks, nails, bolts, screws... I have a box

where I put the things I find. When I need something, I look for it in the box and I find it.

You know? Once I found a ring when I was playing under the house. I took it to my grandma, it was hers and had been lost for four years. She told me that she had placed it on the table, it fell down, and went between a crack on the floor's wooden boards. She looked for it but never found it, until I found it. She was very happy because it is a ring that her father gave her when she was a child.

I clean and organize my bedroom by myself. My grandma has taught me to do it. I do it because my aunt says that she is old and she needs help and I'm a grown up kid. She also tells me that I should take care of her, be of help, and keep them company because she and grandma rely on me.

I don't have coloring books nor crayons, and I don't have magazines or comics neither. My grandmother says that when I go to school she will buy them for me, but I'll have to wait until the teacher says so. She says that it's better to save the money that my dad sends her to buy the uniform and shoes when I go to school.

Sometimes my aunt reads me a story, but I like it better when my grandma tells me stories about when she was a child and how they managed to survive. since they were very poor.

Ramiro's academic home-based skills are limited by the material conditions of his home environment. He does not own school-related materials and objects, due to their financial limitations. The money that the grandmother receives from his father is mainly for the basic needs of Ramiro. In addition, his grandmother is not particularly concerned with anticipating Ramiro's school needs. She believes that when time comes her grandson will get all he will need from school; and furthermore, the teacher will teach him what he ought to learn and know. She thinks that now is the time for him to enjoy his childhood. Therefore, Ramiro has learned that school is important and very useful in life if he works at it, but when the time comes to devote himself to that activity. Although Ramiro has a practical attitude toward school, his level of academic home-base skill is low.

#### Ramiro's Academic School-Related Skills

Ramiro academic school-related skills are low too. From the list of skills under that category he only demonstrated knowledge of cutting with scissors and able to differentiate shapes as related familiar objects.

I sometimes borrow my grandma's scissors if I need to use them, but my grandma asks me to put them back as soon as I finish because she uses them for sewing.

I told you before, I don't have those things. My grandma says that I'll them I go to school and the teacher teaches me lots of things. I'm crazy about going to school because I'll learn many things. I will like to learn how to write my name, count and read.

When I asked Ramiro to identify the shapes of an isosceles triangle, a circle, a square, and a triangle, his answers were:

Those I know! That is a camping tent. My father has one and we sleep in it when we stay over night on the beach. That one is a ball. That's a window. You see?... (pointing at his bedroom's window), like the window on my bedroom. That's a door, like the front door of the house.

As with Ramiro's academic home-based skills, his academic school-related skills were low. In fact, he had the lowest mastery on the academic school-related skills of all classmates. His knowledge of shapes was related evidently to his recreational and environmental experiences.

The range of Ramiro's academic skills and knowledge was narrow. Although he had expanded this range since I interviewed him two weeks prior to the beginning of the school year, he rated lower than the average of the other children in those skills and knowledge six weeks after the school began. However, he kept a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge throughout the time of this research.

#### Ramiro's Domestic Home-Related Skills

Ramiro's home background has clearly made him skillful in domestic home-related skills and knowledge. He has learned to value independence, through knowing how to do and doing things as a means of

succeeding in life. His grandmother's influence is evident in the way he thinks about being an honest, hardworking adult. He has also learned from her to take life as it comes and to be prepared to face the challenges of life.

When asked about the things he does, his answers reflected competence in most of the home-related skills. He helps: clean the house, cooking, doing the dishes, folding clothes, doing the beds, fixing something that brakes, and planting. He also takes care of animals and goes on errands.

I do a lot of things around the house for my grandma and myself. My grandma has taught me to help clean the house. She says that a man should know how to do things in the house and not to depend on a woman because he will suffer in life. I sweep and mop the floor, I polish the furniture and take the garbage out.

I also help my grandma cooking. I measure and wash the rice and watch her cooking. I like to eat and I like the way grandma cooks. She's a good cook. I help her doing the dishes, folding my clothes and doing my bed when I get up.

I like to fix broken things. Once I fixed the arm of my grandma's rocking chair. It fell apart, I put it back together and glued it and it has never broken again. I also fix my toys and my friends toys when they brake.

I don't sew but sometimes when my grandma is patching my clothes, she asks me to thread the needle and I do it for her.

I have planted my own corn plants because I know that chickens like and eat lots of corn and I want to feed them with the corn that I grow. But I'll have to wait because the plants are small yet. Last year I helped my uncle-in-law plant some banana trees on the back yard. They already have bunches and we have eaten some green bananas boiled with other yams and fried codfish with onions. Yummy! I like that food.

I go on errands for my grandmother. She asks me to go to my aunt's house and bring her whatever she has cooked and likes. I go on errands for my aunt too. Sometimes she sends me to her neighbors house or something like that.

Ramiro's command of domestic home-related skills and knowledge is the outgrowth of a family orientation that stresses being ready to

confront life's challenges effectively and successfully with ones resources. He knows that he should share and help others, as well as being self-sufficient, to deal positively with life in a dignified manner.

#### Ramiro's Domestic Self-Care Skills

Ramiro resources in the category of domestic self-care skills are evident. He dresses and undresses by himself, ties his shoe laces, combs his hair, washes his face and hands, takes a bath by himself, brushes his teeth and eats by himself. He proudly spoke about those habits.

I know where my clothes are. My grandma tells me what to wear or I choose what I'm going to wear and I dress myself. I put my shoes on and I tie the shoe laces by myself! I know how to do it. I learned it very quickly from my aunt. It's like she said, like a puzzle. If you are very patient, you can learn a lot of things. That's what she says.

In the afternoon I take a bath by myself. When I finish I comb my hair and sit to have supper. I eat my supper by myself. After supper I brush my teeth carefully and wash my face and hands. I watch television or my grandma tells me stories, and I go early to bed.

I like to take care of myself. In that way I don't give extra work to my grandma, and that's another way of helping her. My aunt says that makes me a big and good child. When my father comes to visit me during the summer he feels proud of me because I know a lot of things. He says that I am going to be every inch of a man.

The skills that allow him to take care of himself make him a confident and a self-assured child. He is aware that he can control aspects of his life since childhood and make his family proud and pleased with him. He values his self-care skills and knowledge as something that he masters and is useful.

#### Ramiro's Tool-Handling Skills

This was the part of the interview in which Ramiro showed most interest. He identified all the tools, their use, how they worked, and indicated he had used most of them in his uncle-in-law's workshop. When I asked him which of the tools he had used, he answered

I have used the handsaw for cutting small boards that my uncle-in-law gives me to play with. He is a cabinet maker and he teaches me how to use the tools. He is teaching me how to make a drawer to put my things. I use a small hammer to nail the boards together. I use the small saw for special cuts and the screwdriver when I help him attach the drawer handles. I sand the cabinet doors and he sometimes lets me paint the inner side of them with the brush.

My uncle-in-law says that I'm good with tools. He also says that I'm a good assistant because I'm careful and I like to work, and I like to work nice and neatly. He says that when I grow up I'll be a good worker and I'll make my family very proud. He promised to teach me all that he knows, so when I grow up I can make a living as a cabinet maker like he does. I like that, but I rather be a handy man like my father, and work and live in New York like he does.

Ramiro's highly developed skills and knowledge in the use of tools can be attributed to his relation with his uncle-in-law. His awareness of this resource gives him a sense of self-assurance and self-sufficiency, and make him happy.

Although Ramiro has a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge, he has not been able to put them to use in the school environment due to his minimal command of academic skills and knowledge. He has been effective in transferring just a few of his domestic skills, for example, those that are related to cleaning and organizing classroom routine, and those related to self-care. In general, his high competence on the domestic domain is overshadowed by his low competence on academic skills and knowledge. The teacher acknowledges his domestic skills but ignores them since they are not school-related, and furthermore, he has come to school with a very low level of academic skills. Therefore, her evaluation of his skills and knowledge is negative.

#### Ramiro in the Classroom Environment

Ramiro general behavior in the classroom is adequate. He is respectful with the teacher and with other children as well. He likes to work in groups and cooperates with other children, and tries his best

to manage himself with the school work. He is insecure and lacks determination in carrying out school work. However, he enjoys being helpful to the teacher and in those tasks he is competent. He is reasonably adapted to the classroom environment and to the everyday routine activities. Due to his academic limitations he usually learns at a slower pace than the average of the class. This is in great contrast with his assurance when he is at home or with his friends in the neighborhood; then he is a leader and even fixes broken toys brought by other children.

#### Ramiro's Performance in the Classroom

Ramiro's performance in the classroom, as already mentioned, is characterized by his lack of command of academic skills and knowledge. He volunteers and participates in classroom activities but he is not as efficient as other children with academic endeavors. Although he is careful and orderly, he does not always follow instructions and does not do things as the teacher explains. He usually takes more time than others to complete his school work. The teacher assists him keep up with the group's pace.

Teacher: Well Ramiro, you have not finished your task yet.

Ramiro: Yes, I know... I want it to be right.

Teacher: That's okey, but you have to work faster. You have to learn to be careful and neat, and do things as quickly as the rest of the children. Let me see.

The teacher takes a look at Ramiro's work.

Teacher: I see. Let me ask you a question. Did you understand what I ask the class to do?

Ramiro: Yes teacher.

Teacher: Could you please repeat my instructions to the class?

Ramiro: Yes... You said that you wanted us to draw three triangles using a red, blue and yellow crayon for each

triangle.

Teacher: And what else?

Ramiro: That's it. Nothing else.

Teacher: Alright. But you did something else...

Ramiro: Yes... I colored the inside of the triangles.

Teacher: Do you realize that you did more than I asked?

Ramiro: Yes, because I like to color with crayons...

Teacher: But you did not follow my instructions and that's why you are taking longer than the rest of the children to finish your task. Tell your grandmother to buy you a coloring book and crayons so you can color at home all what you want. If you don't keep the pace, I'll have to give you extra home work. Is that understood?

Ramiro: Yes teacher.

Teacher: Okey, lets move forward!

Ramiro's favorite are the puzzles and the loose part areas. He follows a similar pattern of play in both areas. The way he likes to play with the puzzles' is by pouring three or four ten-piece puzzle on the table. He shuffles the pieces and starts placing them in the frames of the respective puzzles. He does the same with the loose parts and starts making wheels, cars, houses and all sort of things. The teacher does not like kind of behavior in the classroom and discourages it.

Teacher: Can you tell me what you are doing?

Ramiro: I'm playing with the puzzles teacher.

Teacher: Yes, I see that. But, how many puzzles do you have there?

Ramiro: Four...

Teacher: How reasonable is it to play with four puzzles at a time?

Ramiro: I don't know...

**Teacher:** Think about it. If you play with four puzzles instead of playing with just one at a time, you are not letting three children play with the other three puzzles. What do you think about that?

**Ramiro:** Okey, I know... it is wrong. But it is boring to play with just one puzzle at a time. The pieces are too big and easy to put together.

**Teacher:** Well, the rule is that you can play with one puzzle at a time. Besides, since you don't know the shapes, colors and sizes of things, instead of playing with puzzles or things that you already know, you should be learning those you don't know. Please come with me.

Ramiro follows the teacher. They sit at the reading table.

**Teacher:** I want you to classify some objects according to the shape. You need practice learning the shapes. What is this? (She shows Ramiro a red plastic triangle.)

**Ramiro:** (Looking to the teacher with a doubtful look.) That's a... that's a rectangle...

**Teacher:** No. This is not a rectangle. This is a triangle. Please repeat. Triangle!

**Ramiro:** Triangle!

**Teacher:** It's called triangle because it has three sides and three corners. Count with me the sides... one, two three.

**Ramiro:** One, two, three...

**Teacher:** Right! Lets count the sides now. One, two, three.

**Ramiro:** One, two, three...

**Teacher:** Right! Now, this is a rectangle. (She shows a green plastic rectangle.) Take it in your hand. I want you to study it and tell me how many sides and corners it has.

Ramiro takes the rectangle and observes it for a short while.

**Teacher:** Okey, tell me. How many sides does it has?

Ramiro looks to the teacher and answers with hesitation and with an insecure tone of voice.

Ramiro: (Counting in a low voice.) One..., two..., three... f..., four...

Teacher: What's your answer?

Ramiro: (In a very low, vacillating voice). Four...

Teacher: I can't hear you, speak up!

Ramiro: Four?

Teacher: Lets count them together. One, two, three, and four.

Ramiro: (Counting after the teacher.) One, two, three, and four.

Teacher: How many sides does a rectangle have?

Ramiro: Four...

Teacher: Good! Now, how many corners does a triangle have? Count them aloud.

Ramiro: (Looks to the teacher as he counts, to get some non verbal feedback.) One..., two..., three..., four...

Teacher: Well then, how many corners does a rectangle have?

Ramiro: I think... f... four...

Teacher: Are you sure or not?

Ramiro: I don't know...

Teacher: Yes, you should know! You counted them! How many you said?

Ramiro: Four.

Teacher: Four they are! But as you see... there are two sides that are longer than the other two. That's why it is called a rectangle. Rectangles have two long parallel sides and two short parallel ones. They are called parallel because they never touch each other, they never get together as it happens with the triangle. Right?

Ramiro: Right.

Teacher: Now, this is another shape. (Showing a yellow plastic circle.) It is called a circle. It is round. It doesn't have corners. See?

Ramiro: Yes.

Teacher: Take it in your hands, and take the triangle too. Now you have three shapes. Place them on top of the table and give me the circle.

Ramiro does as he is being asked, picks up the circle and gives it to the teacher.

Teacher: Well done! Put it on the table again. Now I'm going to give you the last of the shapes. (Gives Ramiro a blue square.) Watch carefully. This is a square. Repeat after me, a square.

Ramiro: A square.

Teacher: Okey, put it on the table. Is there another shape that may look like it?

Ramiro observes the shapes on the table and answers.

Ramiro: Yes... It looks like that one... (Pointing to the rectangle.)

Teacher: And, what's that?

Ramiro: (Feeling a little uneasy.) That's... (Lowers his voice.) That's a..., a... rec... rectangle.

Teacher: Right! That's a rectangle. But, do you notice any difference between the square and the rectangle?

Ramiro: Yes...

Teacher: What is it?

Ramiro: ...the colors?

Teacher: Besides that...

Ramiro: ...don't know... the size?

Teacher: Well..., why it is so? Are the sides of both shapes equal?

Ramiro: I'm not sure... I don't think so...

Teacher: Lets compare them. How are the sides of the square in comparison to the rectangle's.

- Ramiro:** All the sides seem to look the same to me...
- Teacher:** Well, that's so because they are the same. That's why it is called a square. All of the sides of a square are equal. Right?
- Ramiro:** Right.
- Teacher:** I want you to know all the shapes with certainty. Therefore, give me your notebook. I'm drawing a triangle, a square, a circle and a rectangle on four different pages. I want you to complete the page drawing the different shapes on each page. That's a take home exercise. I will review it with you tomorrow to see if you have learned the shapes. I want you to answer me quickly and without any hesitation.
- After you learn that, we will learn the color and sizes of them. Do you have clear it what's your homework?
- Ramiro:** Yes.
- Teacher:** Okey, you can go now. We are about to get to the next class period: the snack time.

The teacher stands up and self-comment the following:

- Teacher:** Gee! This child takes a lot of time, energy and effort. He doesn't know school basics. He is too clumsy. I wish he knew more school-related things. He would at least perform on the class average.

Ramiro behaves ambiguously in the classroom. He hesitates and is indecisive about his school work in general. He assesses negatively his academic performance in the school. He cannot effectively demonstrate his skillfulness in non-school related tasks, such as domestic and practical ones. The teacher does not validate those skills and knowledge in the classroom, and when she does, she disregards them by taking them for granted, they are things a child should know as part of everyday routine. Her rating of Ramiro's academic skills is low, and her evaluation of his performance is negative.

### The Teacher's Evaluation of Ramiro's Performance in the School Environment

Ramiro knows that if he wants to be successful in school, he should concentrate on what the teacher emphasizes the most. Although out of school he feels confident and positive about the skills and knowledge he possesses, as evidenced during the second interview, he sometimes feels frustrated about his poor performance in school. His grandmother supports him through counseling to do the best that he can, but not to worry excessively. She emphasizes that he already knows a lot that will be useful for him in life; and it is more than what other children of his age know. His aunt helps him with his school work and makes sure that does it right. When Ramiro works with his aunt, he shows more confidence and self-assurance, is able to give examples, and applies the school-related skills and knowledge to everyday situations and domestic and practical activities.

When Ramiro helps his uncle-in-law in his workshop, he shows command of academic skills and knowledge related to the activity they are engaged in. This was evident during the second interview.

I have learned lots of things in school. I know the shapes, the colors and the sizes of things. When uncle makes cabinets there are some pieces of leftover wood in different shapes. He lets me keep and play with them. I sand and paint them in red, yellow, green and blue. I have different sizes and types of triangles, circles, rectangles and squares. I have even made my own ones with my uncle's tools. I play with my own set of shapes in wood, not in plastic as they are in school.

Notwithstanding Ramiro efforts and interest to perform better in school, the teacher evaluation is low or negative. She argues that school skills and knowledge are valuable in them and they do not necessarily have to be directly related or related at all with practical endeavors. According to her, school knowledge and education are enough to get a good career, earn good money and be successful in life. The skills and knowledge that are acquired out of school are less important in terms of

getting good career opportunities, social status, and general well-being in life.

Norca:

An Underevaluated Child With A Narrow Range  
of Academic and Domestic Skills and Knowledge

Background: The Family Context and Home Environment

Norca is four and a half years old. She is the youngest of a seven-member family. Her household consists of her 78-year-old grandfather (on her father side), her 37-year-old father, her mother of 28 years old, an 11-year-old brother and two older sisters, one of nine and the other seven. Her grandfather is retired from job in a government's farm. Her father works as an employee of the municipal land administration agency, and is the breadwinner. Her mother is a housekeeper and her older siblings go to school. She is a very quiet, calm, warm, friendly, and easy going girl.

Norca lives in a humble, wood house in the rural area, about four miles from the school. The house was built on high wooden stilts on the slope of the plot. That gives enough room under the house for the family to use it as a work or play area. In fact, the house looks as it was on a second floor. To get to the house there is a three-level wooden stair that leads to a long porch with the main entrance at the center. The house has a living room, a dining room, and a kitchen; the three bedrooms and a bathroom are at the left end of a hall.

Norca shares one of the bedrooms with her two sisters, her parents sleep in the main bedroom and her brother and grandfather share the other. Norca shares the bigger of two beds with her older sister, and her oldest sister sleeps in a separate small bed. She keeps her few toys and belongings in a box under the bed. The three sisters share almost everything that they own and can share, including the clothes and shoes, toys and other items. Norca's concern about keeping the bedroom clean, organized and in order is minimal. Her two older sisters mostly take care of that task, because she is deemed too young to help and she does not know yet. Since the bedroom is not spacious, Norca and her

sisters have their own favorite places around the house to play and spend time when they want to be by themselves. Norca's favorite place is a spot that she has prepared under the stairs, close to a small garden.

Norca is very attached to her mother, although this relationship extends to the rest of the family. Since she is the youngest, she is treated with special affection and tenderness by everyone. They take care of, do things for, and cuddle her. She is the center of the family's love, attention and consideration.

Norca takes things easy and does everything at her leisure. She helps with the household chores at her own pace, but she spends most of the time watching television and playing by herself. She likes to play with her dolls and with her sisters. She has a reasonable interest in school but is not academically-oriented. She does not know what she will like to be when she grows up.

#### Norca's Skills and Knowledge

Norca has a narrow range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge. She does not demonstrate any particular academic or domestic interest. Her range of skills and knowledge is circumscribed to a few very basic things that help her carry on with a minimum of effort. In that sense she is at a disadvantage in relation to other children. In my analysis of Norca's, she scores very low in both, academic and domestic skills and knowledge. In fact, she was the child with the lowest score in both types of skills and knowledge.

#### Norca's Academic Home-Based Skills

Norca's interview was the shortest of all. She was playing with her dolls on the spot that she has prepared under the stairs. I asked her if I could interview her when she finish playing and she agreed. She played for a while and then she acceded to the interview. She showed interest and freely answered all the questions. Her answers were plain, short and straight. She did not elaborate and stuck to the

minimum. The interview went on with ease and she looked relaxed all the time.

Norca's academic home-based skills and knowledge are few. She plays with her toys and a with a ten pieces puzzle that belonged to her oldest sister, and organizes her belongings (self-generated):

My sister has clay but I don't like to play with it. I play with my dolls and toys. When I finish, I take them with me and put them in a box under my bed.

She sometimes plays school with her sisters but not for long and she rather play with her dolls.

Sometimes I play school with my sisters, but I like playing with dolls better. I don't like playing with used coloring books and pieces of crayons.

Her command of academic home-based skills is also low and she is not particularly interested in developing those skills and obtaining that knowledge. She thinks that when she goes to school she will learn those things.

#### Norca's Academic School-Related Skills

As with the academic home-based skills, Norca's academic school-related skills are limited. When I asked her if she measures with ruler, does things on construction paper, finger paints, paints with brush, colors with crayons or color pencils, draws with colored chalks, writes on a board, manipulates an eraser, holds a pencil or a pen, manipulates a pencil-sharpener, writes her name, counts objects, plays with puppets, cuts and pastes, tells the time and counts money, she answered in the negative: No I don't do any of those things. I don't know those things.

She can cut with scissors, differentiate sizes (e.g., she could tell the difference between her big doll and the small one), and associate some of the shapes (triangle and circle) with things that she knows: That's is like a house. That's like the moon. Nonetheless, her range of academic school-related skills and knowledge is narrow and

limited. Therefore, her command of that sort of skills is low.

#### Norca's Domestic Home-Related Skills

Norca's domestic home-related skills are also minimal. When I asked her if she helps: cleaning the house, cooking, doing the dishes, folding clothes, doing the beds, sewing, and planting, she said:

I don't do those things. I don't like to work in the house. My mother and my sisters do those things. I don't. My mom, dad and grandma say that I'm too little to do those things. I have to grow up to learn how to do those things.

She doesn't participate in taking care of animals, and does not go on errands. Her main activity is playing and fixing her toys when they brake, and watching television.

When a doll's arm brakes, I fix it. I put it back in place. I fix her bed and her clothes. I like to play a lot with my dolls and toys. When I'm not playing, I watch TV.

My mom likes me to watch Sesame Street I watch it and I also watch the morning soap opera with her. She likes to watch TV, specially soap operas. In the afternoon we watch another soap opera too.

Norca's home activities and routine are pretty simple and effortless. Her involvement in domestic tasks and knowledge is minimal. Therefore, she has very few skills and knowledge in that domain.

#### Norca's Domestic Self-Care Skills

In the area of the domestic self-care skills Norca has some command. Her mother and sisters help her and she is learning to take care of herself.

My mom dresses me in the morning. She picks up the clothes I have to wear. When I take a bath she undresses me or asks my sister to help me.

I don't know how to tie my shoe laces. My father is teaching me and I'm learning.

I comb my hair by myself. I wash my face and hands and take a bath by myself. My mom always checks if I have done it right. I brush my teeth and sometimes my mother asks my sister to make sure that I did it right.

I eat by myself.

Of all the domestic skills and knowledge, the self-care is the area in which Norca has a reasonable command. However, she still needs the supervision that she gets from her mother and sisters.

#### Norca's Domestic Tool-Handling Skills

Norca's mastery of domestic tool-handling skills is not high either. She is not allowed to use tools because her parents consider them dangerous for a child her age. They are afraid that she might get hurt. She knows the name of some of the tools, but has never handled them.

That's a handsaw, that's a hammer, ...a machete, a kitchen knife, a dishcloth, ...sewing machine, iron...

Those are dangerous things. My mom and dad don't let me play with them. They say that they are dangerous things if you don't know how to use them, and I might get hurt and then they will have to take me to the hospital.

I'm too little to handle those things. My parents say so too.

Norca's development of domestic tool-handling skills and knowledge has been shaped by her parents concern for her safety, and their general idea that she is too young to handle tools.

Norca's acquisition of skills and knowledge has relied on her parents' ideas of what she can do due to her age. They think that she is too young to do or know things that she will learn later in school. Norca is not required to perform specific tasks at home. She is allowed to play and does not have to worry about activities that the rest of the family take care of. Therefore, her command of skills and knowledge in this respect is very low. The teacher has noticed this situation and consequently has evaluated her negatively. Therefore, Norca is a case of an underevaluated child with a narrow range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge.

#### Norca in the Classroom Environment

Norca's behavior in the classroom is acceptable. She respects and obeys the teacher, is polite and gentle with her classmates. She works

with other children and participates in group activities as a follower. However, she can easily work alone, by herself, quietly and still. She is docile, although she does not let other children boss her. She does not bother other children and does not let other children bother her. She does school tasks the best that she can, and at her own pace.

#### Norca's Performance In the Classroom

Norca's performance in the classroom is mediocre. She is slow and does things without rushing. She takes her time doing her school work. Most of the time she does not finish her tasks and the teacher gives her take-home assignments. The teacher urges her to keep up with the rest of the children; and although she responds momentarily, after a while she goes back to her pace and style of doing things.

The teacher asks me to work fast. She says that I'm always behind the rest of the children in my school work. I do my best. I don't like to work fast. When I don't finish on time, she gives me work to take home and I can't play with my dolls.

Norca is indifferent to school work. She gets her homework done because her oldest sister helps her. She does not care or is concerned about her performance in school. She has a low self-assessment of her performance.

I don't worry about how I do in school because I'm learning some things. Betsy, my older sister helps me. She knows a lot of things. She is very intelligent and she does not hurry me. I know that other children do their work fast, but I do it my way. I take more time than they do, but that's the best I can do; it doesn't matter that I finish last because I will finish my work at home.

Since she has a narrow range of academic skills and knowledge, her school performance is very low.

### The Teacher's Evaluation of Norca's Performance in the School Environment

The teacher's evaluation of Norca's performance in school is low, clearly due to her meager command of academic skills and knowledge. Although she thinks that Norca is a very good, respectful and charming girl, she thinks that she has to develop more interest in school. She thinks that Norca demands lots of time and attention in order to keep up with the rest of the children.

Norca knows that she has to improve her school performance to keep up with her classmates.

The teacher wants me to be more alert and quick in my school work if I want to learn all that I have to learn. She wants me to answer each time that she asks me something about the class. I think I'm improving...

During the second interview her academic skills and knowledge had improved, but still not enough to keep up with the rest of the children. She was more talkative and active, and more careful with her school work. However, the teacher's evaluation was still low, as well as Norca's assessment of her own performance.

I have learned some things in school. I know the colors and the shapes. I know how to count from one to ten, and I'm learning to write my name. But, I'm not happy because other children know lots of things that I don't know, and the teacher keeps hurrying me.

Norca's parents provide support to her to make her feel better about the school performance.

My mom and dad tell me that I should study more. They say that I should pay more attention in school and study everyday at home. They say that I shouldn't worry because they are sure that I will learn what I have to know by the end of the school year. They say that I should take it easy.

Norca's interest in school is also low very likely due to her poor performance in school. She is a low achiever when compared with most of the children in the classroom. Therefore, school is just another event, and not a very important one in Norca's life. Insofar as she has the

love and support of her parents and relatives, she is happy and does not worry about school work as other children do.

CHAPTER V  
DISCUSSION

The present findings support the two hypotheses of this research (see p. 48). The child's transition from the home environment, as well as the effects of school attendance on the social integration and learning process encompasses an intricate set of relations. The teacher uses two sets of criteria for evaluating a child's performance in the classroom. One is related to value congruence, the Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) (an evaluation based on her expectations and perceptions of a child), and the second is associated to the children's domestic and academic skills, the Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) (an evaluation based on her appraisal of a child's skills and knowledge at the moment of entering the school). The teacher's evaluation was consistent during Times One and Two, respectively: the QTE was the best measure that allowed verification of the relation between the parents and the teacher's value congruence and a child's performance; while the TE1 was the best indicator for the verification the relation between children's domestic, and academic skills and knowledge, and the teacher's ratings of a child's performance.

The results obtained for testing the hypothesis on parents/teacher's congruence (see p. 48), corroborate a positive relation between parental and school values, on the one hand, and the teacher's ratings of a child's performance, on the other, before and after the school semester began. Therefore, congruent children--those whose home environmental experiences, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices were most congruent with the experiences, values, attitudes and practices with which the teacher believes children should come school--were highly or positively evaluated by the teacher. The teacher evaluates the children according to her understanding of what they should come to school with, in terms of their experiences, values, attitudes, and practices.

The teacher's evaluation of a child's performance was a direct result of the degree of congruence between the parents and the teacher. This was particularly evident in the Teacher's Qualitative Evaluation on each of the specific categories subjected to the congruence analysis, such as, Child's Personal Style, Spatial and Social Range, Activities, Family Child-Rearing Ideologies, and Child's Relationship to Authority.

A supplementary comparative analysis of parents/teacher's value congruence and the teacher's ratings of child performance before and after the school semester began (see Appendix P) corroborated that congruency was a stable state, and it increased as a result of school attendance. Children who were congruent, as previously defined, during the first phase of the study were also, and even more congruent during the second phase. In the same manner, children who were incongruent during the first phase were also, and even more incongruent during the second (see Table 4, p. 81, and Appendix P). The following sections include a discussion of the quantitative and qualitative findings of this research on each of the congruence categories.

#### Child's Personal Style

Congruence between parents' and teacher's, in terms of the child's personal style, influenced the Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) of a child performance. The high congruent children's personal characteristics and general demeanor were positively or highly evaluated by the teacher. Coquette, charming, assertive, leadership, joyful, and serious were some of the personal characteristic used by the teacher to describe "congruent" girls. In addition, good behavior, obedience, respect, cooperation, and help cleaning and organizing the classroom were highlighted as commendable general demeanor. Congruent boys were described by the teacher as good, intelligent, serious and easy going. They were seen as well-behaved and good-mannered.

In contrast, incongruent children were negatively or poorly evaluated. The teacher described some as ordinary, not serious,

talkative, not smart and stubborn. Their behaviors were seen, in general, as "good", but also as talkative, showing off and not productive. Therefore, the teacher's expectations of a child's personal style tend to emphasize certain characteristics that positively affect her ratings of children's performance in the classroom.

These remarks support the statement by Watts (1970), that "learning, particularly in the early years, is partly a function of the 'match' between teacher personality and child personality, and partly a function of the degree of congruence between the child's characteristics and the demands of the classroom" (p. 86, emphasis added).

#### Spatial and Social Range

The children's spatial and social range is one of the most dramatic areas (see Appendix P) in which the relations between the home and the school environment can be noticed. School influences children's lives and actions through its physical context. Research exploring the relation between setting and behavior has established connections linking the environment and human conduct (Harvard Educational Review, 1969; Proshansky, Ittelson, & Rivlin, 1976). Thus, the physical context of the school environment has an impact on children's social integration process (Rivlin & Weinstein, 1984; Rivlin & Wolfe, 1985; Wolfe, 1986). At the same time, the physical setting is not independent of other variables; it contributes to children's behavior in the school context but it is by no means a final determinant (Minuchin & Shapiro, 1983).

The physical context of the school is not a given, it is created and mediated by people, who largely determine the effects of the setting. As it was stated earlier, research demonstrates that aspects of the space, the size, the materials, and the physical arrangement are systematically related to social behavior (Adams & Biddle, 1970; Baker & Gump, 1964; Krantz & Risley, 1977; Sommer, 1969). Furthermore, the teacher uses some of these aspects as ways of controlling behavior or conveying messages to the children (Giroux, 1983). Another aspect of

school experience relates to children's effect on each other and gender differences on the social and spatial organization of boys and girls in the classroom (Rothenberg, 1977).

The teacher uses specific areas of the classroom as a way of manipulating and controlling children's behavior. Through the manipulation of the classroom space the teacher communicates messages that respond to her expectations of learning, and good and orderly behavior. Children who learned to respond to those messages were rewarded (see Marina's case study, previous chapter) whereas children that did not respond in the way that the teacher expected were ignored or punished (see Ceferino's case study, previous chapter). A great deal of the social integration process in the classroom consists of learning to use the physical environment in specific ways and to understand its social, personal, and symbolic meanings (Rivlin and Wolfe, 1985).

The teacher also separated fast from slow learners. The children perceived by the teacher as most ready for school work were assigned to the "reading and writing" area where children had more space, particularly working space, and she could give them more time and attention. The teacher was more supportive and rewarding with those children, too. This finding is consonant with Rist's (1970) position stating that "the development of expectations by the kindergarten teacher as to the differential academic potential and capability of any student was significantly determined by a series of subjective interpreted attributes and characteristics of that student" (p. 413). Children who were perceived "fast learners" received the majority of the teaching time, reward-directed behavior, and attention from the teacher. Those designated as "slow learners" were taught infrequently, subjected to more frequent control-oriented behavior, and received little if any supportive behavior from the teacher (Rist, 1970).

The findings of the present research indicate that parents/teacher congruence on children's spatial and social range is related to the QTE

of a child's performance. Having a special place where a child can keep things, sharing things with siblings, friends, relatives and other children, rules about how far a child can go on her or his own, trust to cross busy streets on her or his own, and the encouragement of friendships are instances in which congruence between parents and teacher appear to be related to the teacher's evaluation of a child's performance in the classroom.

When observed, highly congruent children displayed specific behaviors that the teacher monitored and approved. She verbally reinforces the behavior of a child that is doing what she values as well as uses that child's behavior to model it to the other children. This has an impact of children's behavior in terms of learning and socially integrate the values of the teacher.

Another aspect of a child's spatial range home experience related to the school environment is how far a boy or a girl can go on his or her own. The parents of congruent children allow them to explore the surroundings of their environment and play with friends, relatives or other children within the home spatial range. They like to observe their children and monitor their movements within a safety range. This behavior is in accordance with the teacher's values and expectations.

As Moore (1986) states part of the teacher's role is to supervise and constantly monitor children's behavior and keep control of the classroom situation in general. Congruent children stay within the range of the classroom and their activities occur within the classroom space. However, incongruent children not only move more within the classroom, but further from it. However, sometimes the teacher takes advantage of an incongruent child with wide spatial range experience when, for example, she needs someone to go on an errand she picks the child who can perform this task efficiently. This also is a way of keeping away for a while a child that she perceives as annoying. Children learn this response and some will later volunteer.

Children benefit from clear indicators from their teachers of what is expected from them. Moore (1986) found that young children may need more reminders and time to learn the classroom protocol than older children; but for most of them, "the ability to regulate and control their own behavior will be facilitated by explicit (albeit gentle) messages from teachers as to what is acceptable and unacceptable [spatial and] social behavior in the classroom" (p.117).

#### Activities

Parents/teacher congruence on Activities is also related to the teacher's evaluation of a child's performance. Congruent children in this category were those who had a wide range of experiences that the teacher valued. The games they played at home with other children were compatible with those they played at school, their parents had rules about what and when to do things, as well as the things they did together as a family were in accordance with the teacher's expectations. These children were the ones the teacher chose for telling the story of what they did during the weekend. The impact that this kind of teacher's behavior has on children is noticeable because she models what a "good" family activity should be like, and points up individual students as examples of what Rist (1970) calls the "ideal type."

The teacher's influence in children's social integration process is evident and children learn to respond to her expectations as an adult. Spodek (1986) states that children's interests do not grow naturally from the child but rather are influenced by the social context in which the child functions. If the teacher shows interest in a topic and thus stimulates the child, he or she will become interested in the same topic. Similarly, needs do not arise naturally but are related to elements that adults value. "In either case, teachers are selective in their responses to children and will often ignore a felt need or expressed interest when it runs counter to their own values" (Spodek, 1986a, p.33).

Adults' expectations regarding achievement behavior also appear to affect children's motivation and performance on tasks requiring cognitive effort. Studies of mother-child interaction during the first years of life indicate a correlation between early competence and maternal or care giver behaviors; such as, social and verbal stimulation, time spent in social interaction and adult-child play, responsiveness to infant distress signals, encouragement for exploration and initiative, offering a secure base of support for the child during exploration, valuing achievement and persistence, providing intellectually stimulating activities and experiences, such as excursions outside the home, exposing the child to toys and other materials that facilitate concept development, and providing books and age-appropriate games (Kagan & Moss, 1962; Maccoby & Martin, 1983; Yarrow, Rubenstein, & Pederson, 1972).

According to Moore (1986), parents, care givers, and early childhood teachers who provide children with stimulating learning opportunities and who support achievement behavior are motivated by the belief that these opportunities will contribute to the child's intellectual development. She states that the beliefs and expectations carried in the minds of the adults may be every bit as important as the specific activities they provide. "Evidence suggests that when high-risk children get into the elementary school, the contrast between their readiness and the readiness of middle-class children leads teachers to have low expectancies for them" (Moore, 1986, p.118).

Research on teacher behaviors based on expectancies is most revealing. In Pygmalion in the Classroom, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) provide evidence that teacher's beliefs about the competencies of their students were self-fulfilling prophecies, in that teachers treated children differently as a function of those beliefs, contributing to the maintenance of academic differences. Rist's (1970) study also contributes evidence on this subject; he states that "there occurs

within the classroom a social process whereby, out of a large group of children and an adult unknown to one another prior to the beginning of the school year, there emerge patterns of behavior, expectations of performance, and a mutually accepted stratification system delineating those doing well from those doing poorly" (412-413, emphasis added).

Classroom observations have confirmed that good students are given more opportunities to participate, more time to respond, and are praised more for correct answers and criticized less for incorrect responses than students perceived as performing poorly. Teachers also are inclined to attribute the poor performance of good students to lack of effort, whereas they attribute the poor performance of weaker students to lack of ability, despite the fact that these students often lack the persistence and motivation to work hard (Good, 1988; Moore, 1986; Rogers, 1982).

In a case study of children in a ghetto school, Rist (1970) focuses on the expectations and social interactions that create social organization in the classroom. He describes the caste system that developed from the differential treatment of children by the teacher, based on her varying expectations of their ability. As with Rist's study, the data gathered in the present study illustrate that these expectations about the kindergartners were formed before they entered the classroom. These expectations determined the children's future academic placement and their opportunities for social interaction according to the parents/teacher value congruence on the sort of activities that children were involved and the teacher's evaluation of a child's performance.

#### Family Child-Rearing Ideologies

The values and attitudes parents exhibit towards education and the degree of encouragement they offer their children in school activities are, in part, a reflection of the value they place on education. They are also an indication of their perception of the relevance of

educational achievement to their own life goals and to the aspirations for their children.

The present findings are evidence of the relation between the parents and the teacher sharing of family child-rearing ideologies, and the teacher's evaluation of a child's performance. The congruence factor, in this respect, entails the child's use of language a parent or other adults might not like, feelings about quarrelling, what a child should do in his or her quarrels, and parents interference in quarrels and arguments with other children.

Congruent children were expected to be "competent" in conflict management situations in the classroom. The parents and the teacher's showed congruence on their ideas of children's behavior in this respect. Both of them expected congruent children to be assertive, to solve arguments by talking, and not use undesirable language. However, parents and teacher considered quarrels between children inevitable and part of the normal growing up process. Both indicated that if they were to happen, children should know what do in that type of situation, including how to defend themselves. Although they would not tell the children what to do in a particular situation, they would interfere if the quarrel resulted in violence or physical acting out.

Observations of the children activities in the classroom included the handling of conflict and aggression. The teacher's behavior in this situation has the effect of letting children solve their conflicts without the intervention of an adult. She gets annoyed when a child complains and she has to intervene in the children's quarrels. She insists on children solving their conflicts by talking, being respectful and apologizing to each other.

Previous research findings confirm that toward the end of the preschool period, children handle conflict and aggression in the peer group with surprising aplomb and sophistication (Hartup, 1983; Moore, 1982). The physical aggression that characterizes the younger

preschooler gradually gives way to argument, in settings in which physical aggression is deemed inappropriate (such as during structured classroom activities).

According to Moore (1986), in the kindergarten classroom children are likely to experience a more formal, institutionalized approach to misbehavior, contrary to what happens in the preschool or neighborhood play group. Explicit rules govern interpersonal relations, such as sharing, taking other people's belongings, cheating, being late, and disrupting classroom activities. Teachers vary in how much responsibility they take for settling arguments and negotiating solutions to conflicts in their classroom.

#### Child's Relationship to Authority

The relation between the parent/teacher congruence on how the child relates to authority and the qualitative teacher's evaluation of the child's performance were also high (see Table 4, page 81). Congruent children, on this scale, were good-mannered and respectful, took reasonable time doing something, did not disagree, did not give her or his parent a hard time, were able to apologize for their mistakes, did not refuse to do something when asked, and were usually obedient.

The most revealing findings in which children's social integration to the school environment evidenced parent/teacher congruence, as related to the teacher's evaluation of the child's performance, was the Child's Relationship to the Authority scale.

The most congruent children were the ones who obeyed the parent's instructions when they entered kindergarten. It is not surprising that the teacher described this child as a "very good, cooperative, exemplary and well-disciplined child". Congruence on this aspect also involved a transference of power and authority from the parent to the teacher. Incongruent children were not given specific instructions by their parents on how they should relate to authority. They were taken to the classroom by the parent who would make a general remark and go away.

Research findings have documented that the entrance to the elementary school marks a turning point in the child's social and intellectual life (Moore, 1986; Spodek, 1986; Watts, 1970). At that point the child enters a cohesive social system to which she or he will belong for many years to come. The school is the major social unit outside the home, where the child must adapt to be considered "competent" and "adjusted."

When children enter the school environment they already master knowledge and command different skills. Children bring to the school situation already established modes of relating to others; if these modes are incongruent with the school demands, then learning is likely to suffer (Watts, 1970). A complex set of interrelations exist between the home, and the school environment. The way in which a child makes the transition from home to school will influence his or her ability to function in the new environment (Diamond, Spiegel-McGill and Hanrahan, 1988).

The school classroom is the environment in which the individuals in the social system become acquainted with one another, learn to be independent, and share goals and values that govern group activities. The teacher is the prime authority in the classroom, biasing the system towards an autocracy (Moore, 1986). Obedience, self-control and discipline are some of the things a child must learn, as part of her or his social integration process (Clausen, 1968c).

Children entering the kindergarten classroom are immediately cast into two social roles that are significantly different from those they have assumed during their earlier years of adaptation to the family and home environment. One role is that of group member in a society of age-mates; one with which they very like had some practice while playing with other children. The other is the role of student; this is usually new and he or she will have to learn. Furthermore, the roles of group member and student are considerably more institutionalized than previous ones the child has experienced. The significance of the role of group

member it is validated by the philosophy and tradition of the school and directly by the teacher. The ideology governing role behavior and role relationships in the kindergarten is more likely to be determined by the larger issues of educational philosophy of which the teacher is representative, and school tradition than by the idiosyncracies of fifteen to twenty-five 5-year-olds from that many different homes.

Children have to learn to integrate new behaviors, norms and attitudes. The classroom has its own rituals, its own rules and its own persisting patterns of behavior. Adams (1970) states that classroom behavior norms of classroom behavior are mostly initiated or engendered by the teacher. "These norms are buttressed by an intricate reward system that ensures that those who conform receive appropriate recognition (p. 272)."

According to Moore (1986) the school classroom can be viewed as a miniculture— a Kinder Society as it were— in which the individuals in the social system become well acquainted with one another, are interdependent, and share goals and values that govern the activities of the group. "The teacher is the prime authority in the classroom, biasing the system toward an autocracy (children do not vote their teacher into power) rather than a democracy" (p. 110). The extent to which children's expectations and background experiences are at odds with the objectives of the teacher is embedded in a child's relationship to authority in the classroom.

Good and Brophy (1984) suggest that teacher expectations may affect students in the following manner. During the very first contact, teachers begin forming expectations about how individual students will behave or how well each will do in class. The teachers then treat each student according to these expectations. If they expect a student to do well, he or she may be given more encouragement or more time to answer a question. Because the students are treated differently, they respond differently, often in ways that complement the teacher's expectations.

Students given more time and more encouragement answer correctly more often. If this pattern is repeated daily for months, the student given more time and encouragement will consistently do better academically and score better on achievement tests. Over time, the student's behavior moves closer and closer to the kind of performance originally expected by the teachers.

Furthermore, as it was stated before (see pp. 42-45), school institutional aspects exert an overwhelming impact on children and their parents (Rivlin and Wolfe, 1985). From this standpoint the issue of child's relationship to authority very strongly reveals the controlling and repressive character of schools as partial institutions. Children do not choose to spend their time in school and their parents have little choice either. They should follow the rules for acceptable behavior or face such consequences as getting suspended or expelled, getting referred for testing or psychological treatment, or moved to special schools and even total institutions. Rivlin and Wolfe (1985) clearly state that if school authorities consider parents to be neglectful they will be subject to various forms of institutional control such as fines, imprisonment, or even having their children taken from them" (p.109, emphasis added).

#### The Children's Skills and Knowledge

The findings of this research support the hypothesis on children's skills and knowledge verifying a positive relation between children's skills and knowledge, and the teacher's ratings of a child's performance, before and after the school semester began. The teacher's evaluation of a child's performance was directly associated with her conceptions about the skills and knowledge with which a child should come to school.

The teacher's conceptions in regard to the skills and knowledge that children should have at the moment of entering school, affect more highly or positively the children who have a wide range of academic

skills and knowledge once into the classroom and school setting. The obtained evidence corroborates the relation between children's skills and knowledge, and the teacher's ratings of a child's performance. The teacher especially underevaluated children who had a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge, as compared to those who had more academically-oriented skills and knowledge. This was particularly evident on the Teacher's Evaluation One on each of the specific categories (see Table 6, p. 85).

Children with a command of domestic skills mastered a wide range of this type of skills; for example, household chores, self-care and tool handling. Based on quantitative and qualitative criteria, the teacher underevaluated these children in their individual performance. On the contrary, children having a wide range of academic skills were highly evaluated. In fact, these conceptions permeate her evaluation of children's performance even before knowing them and throughout the year. Thus, children with a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge who were evaluated low or negatively before the school semester began, were even lower or negatively evaluated at the end of the school year (see Table 6 and Appendix P).

The findings suggest that the teacher differentiated between each set of skills. Domestic skills and knowledge were related to children's home environmental and family background; whereas, academic skills and knowledge were related to school and classroom setting. Data confirmed that there is a differentiation between the skills and knowledge children learn in the home and in the school environments.

Children come to school as integral individuals with a wide range of skills and knowledge, as well as diverse life experiences, that enable them to act competently in the "real" world. Although the teacher cannot deny, nor completely ignore this fact, she imposes her criteria of classroom performance and school achievement on children. This results in unequal treatment of children with different skills and

knowledge. The subsequent situation entails complex and diverse relations and dynamics within the classroom that have a direct impact on children with different skills.

Although the teacher acknowledges the usefulness of domestic skills and knowledge in everyday life tasks, she disregards these type of skills as unimportant or minimally valuable in the school environment. The set of skills and knowledge that the teacher values the most are the academic. A child may have a high or low command of domestic skills and knowledge, but as far as he or she has a high command of academic skills and knowledge, the teacher's evaluation will be high or positive. Although this is true in general, the qualitative analysis of the classroom observations allows for uncovering subtleties on the teacher's differential treatment of children.

Children who, at the moment of entering kindergarten, master academic skills and knowledge, such as, play with sand, toys, clay and puzzles, make up things, collect objects, organize belongings, color using coloring books or crayons and paper, browse through magazines, comics, and books, draw, measure with ruler, cut with scissors, do things on construction paper, finger paint, paint with brush, color with crayons or color pencils, draw with colored chalks, write on board, manipulate and eraser, plays with puppets, cut and paste, count objects and money; and hold a pencil or a pen, manipulate a pencil-sharpener, write his or her name, tell the time and differentiate shapes, colors and sizes, are in an advantageous position in regard to children who have a low command of these skills, no matter if they have a high command of domestic skills and knowledge.

Children with a wide range of academic skills and knowledge, and a narrow range of domestic skills and knowledge are highly valued by the teacher, too. They are considered "good learners." For example, the teacher is lenient with them in terms of not-assisting with the cleaning and organization of the classroom. She takes time to explain and teach

them the everyday routine, and makes her expectations known with a supportive attitude.

In contrast, children who master domestic skills and knowledge, such as, help cleaning the house, cooking, doing the dishes, folding clothes, doing the beds, sewing, planting, taking care of animals, going on errands, fixing something broken, and handling tools are not as highly valued by the teacher, as those with high academic skills. The teacher is strict with them. She barely explains things to these children. It is done with direct instructions and placing a strong emphasis on the "correct performance" of the tasks.

Children with a narrow range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge are the least valued and the worst evaluated by the teacher. She gives these children very specific, repetitive tasks and instructs them to keep on working on the things that she has assigned while she works with other children. By assigning repetitive tasks, the teacher keeps these children busy, under control and their behaviors monitored constantly.

#### Teacher's Evaluation of Children's Performance and Children's Self-Assessment of Their School Work

The teacher evaluates children's performance considering the skills and knowledge with which a child comes to school. Although this is a quantitative evaluation, the qualitative analysis indicates that the teacher's perceptions and values, of what is desirable, are a very important part of the assessment criteria. The teacher clearly treats children differently.

The children with a wide range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge are considered "fast learners" by the teacher. They have more interactions, and more positive interactions with her. The teacher's evaluation of their performance is high or positive, and she considers them well-adapted and most successful. She assigns extra work, exposes them to new curricular material and learning resources (materials and

objects), and orients them toward school activities such as reading and writing. These children have a more positive assessment of their own school performance, feel confident, are ahead in school work, are self-motivated and consider themselves as achiever. They are frequently rewarded and pleased, assigned to the work areas that they like, as well as allowed to do the things that they like most. The teacher has high expectations about their school work and is equally certain about their future accomplishments in life. Alfonso is an example of a child with a wide range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge that the teacher values highly, supports his school work and shows interest in making him move forward (see pp 175-179).

Children with a wide range of academic and a narrow range of domestic skills and knowledge are regarded "fast or good learners." These children also have many interactions in general, more positive interactions with the teacher, are evaluated as performing positively or highly, and the teacher thinks that they are fairly adapted, making fast progress and successful. The teacher's evaluation of these children's performance is also high or positive. She gives them extra work, exposes them to some new curricular material and learning resources, and orients them toward reading, writing and the learning of the classroom routine. They also have a positive assessment of their own school performance, feel confident, keep on with the school work and think that they are learning many things. The teacher rewards include: letting them write on the board, allowing them to do things they like. These are dispensed as long as they get involved in cleaning and organizing the classroom and perform other everyday activities. The teacher's expectations for these children are also high. She acknowledges their potential and is positive about their future achievements. For example, Amara is a child with a wide range of academic skills and knowledge, and a narrow range of domestic skills and knowledge that illustrates the

teacher's evaluation of her performance as related to her skills and knowledge (see pp. 176-181).

Those children with a narrow range of academic and a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge are viewed by the teacher as "ordinary or average learners, annoying and wise guys." These children have few interactions with the teacher and the quality of the interactions are negative (or neutral at best). These children are treated differently by the teacher; tense exchanges, criticism and disapprovals of a child's way of doing what he or she was asked, and general negative remarks about his or her performance. The teacher's evaluation of these children's performance is low or negative. She sees them as ordinary students, not as adapted as they should be and somewhat tending towards failure in school life. She just assigns them work that she thinks they can complete and does not ask them to do more than that because she thinks they are slow. She keeps them on an average exposure to curricular material and never allows them to play or work with new learning resources. These children are not rewarded for their school work, quite on the contrary, the teacher controls and monitors their school work and behavior. Her emphasis, therefore, is on trying that these children do things the way she teaches. These children confront a negative assessment of their school performance, they feel insecure about their school work, work slowly and think of school as a burden, since the teacher constantly gives them home work. They feel more at ease and free after school when they play with their friends in the neighborhood or engage in activities that they enjoy, no matter if these involve work and physical effort. The teacher has low expectations for these children. She thinks that their school achievement will be average or less than average. She does not see them as succeeding in a career or meeting any other success in life goal. Ramiro is a good example of a child with a narrow range of academic skills and knowledge and a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge (see pp. 192-200).

Children with a narrow range of academic and domestic skills and knowledge are regarded as the "slower learners." These children have very few interactions with the teacher. The teacher gives them a minimum of tasks at the beginning of an activity period and asks them to keep on working by themselves. She ignores them most of the time, unless their behaviors disrupt the classroom dynamics. These children are evaluated by the teacher as performing poorly, unadapted, do not know much and are simply failures. Her emphasis on giving them tasks is to "keep them busy." They negatively assess their own school performance, are unmotivated, and somewhat alienated from school work. These children are not rewarded by the teacher, their behavior is monitored and controlled, and in general they have a low self-esteem and a negative self-assessment of their school work. The teacher also has low expectations for them. They are considered "good for nothing" and not worthy of spending too much time trying to get something out of them. They are simply poor school achievers. Norca's case study represent a child with a narrow range of both academic and domestic skills and knowledge, and a low or negative teacher's evaluation of her performance classroom (see pp. 206-209).

Based on the present findings, children with a command of domestic skills, abilities and knowledge have difficulty achieving in school. The opposite happens to those children who enter school with high academic skill, abilities and knowledge. However, the source of the difficulty does not seem to be their command of skills and knowledge but rather the attitudes of the teacher. She does not appear to be able to acknowledge fully the children's home background and skills, abilities and knowledge attained there. Theoretically, children who have been capable of learning one set of skills should be able to acquire others, although may not do so as quickly initially as their classmates who have learned already. Therefore, according to my findings the teacher's behavior and attitudes, as reflected in her evaluations, are a

contributing and significant factor in the limited progress of these students. The basic or innate capability of the child is not the only source contributing to that progress.

Spodek (1986) states "what we want children to know affects what we teach them and, ultimately, what they learn (p.43)". The value of different forms of knowledge in children leads to a valuing and validating different kinds of educational experiences. Schools teach the way in which children organize their thoughts and cognitions (Cole, Gay, Glick & Sharp, 1971; Glick, 1975) as well as teaching them to think about the world in different ways, from what was previously learned in the context of the family (Illich, 1972, 1973).

From a child's point of view, the teacher's aims and activities are likely to be seen quite differently depending on their previous knowledge and experience. Children who are most eager to learn particular skills (e.g., academic skills) and who are prepared to do so may see the teacher as a person who helps them achieve their own aims. In this case children learn to adapt to the teacher's power and behave under the 'illusion of control' (Newson and Newson, 1976). They are so positioned within the practice as to have not 'seen' power, and believe themselves the originators, controllers of their actions, their choice. Those for whom the teacher's aims are strange and her demands go beyond their initial skills, abilities and knowledge may see the teacher as hostile and humiliating (e.g., children with a wide range of domestic skills and knowledge). As Walkerdine (1988) stated "the teacher's power, then, is invested in that mastery. It is a denial of hierarchy, of policing, of government, except through mastery" (p.210).

Schools affect children's social integration and learning processes in many and different ways. The school environment, like the home environment, has a direct influence on children's achievement motivation and career aspirations (Rutter, 1983; Walberg & Rasher, 1977). Like the family and religious institutions, schools also

influence moral development (Hess & Holloway, 1984; Minuchin & Shapiro, 1983). But the influence of the schools is mainly mediated through the teachers. Teachers, like parents, set limits, make demands, communicate values, and foster development (Rathus, 1988) in the classroom. The classroom environment, the children and the teacher are constantly interacting. Each component of this system affects the others. Teachers make use of the features within the classroom to socially integrate children to the school environment.

According to Woolfolk (1990) there is nothing wrong with forming and acting on accurate estimates of student ability. The problems arise when students show some improvement but teachers do not alter their expectations to take account of the improvement (a sustained expectation effect—the teacher's unchanging expectations sustains the student's achievement at the expected level). "The chance to raise expectations, provide more appropriate teaching, and thus encourage greater student achievement is lost" (Woolfolk, 1990, p. 341, emphasis added).

Summing up, the findings of this research indicate that two kinds of children that are successful in making the transition from the home to the school environment. They are the children with home environmental experiences, family values and attitudes, and childrearing practices that are congruent with the teacher's expectations of what they should come to school with (that are positively or highly evaluated by the teacher), and the children with a wide range of academic skills and knowledge. The transition of the incongruent children and the children with a wide range of domestic skills will be more difficult and they will be rated as performing low or negatively in the school environment.

#### Implications

The following are the most outstanding implications of this research. There is a need for reviewing educational policies to meet

the true needs of the majority of children when they enter school, as well as meeting the basic societal needs. As institutions, schools follow a traditional authoritarian approach--establishing policies and dictating activities, classifying students and prescribing learning outcomes from the societal macro analytic perspective. In this view, the most general functions of society are "transmitting knowledge, norms and values". This is followed by the orientational and motivational underpinnings that this requires, and recruiting or channeling persons into programs or preparation for social positions allocated on the basis of status (Ingleby, 1974; Mackay, 1973). Related to this are the value orientations and the location of power and authority in the larger society through the creation of educational policy based on the ideological, political and economic objectives of the moment (Illich, 1973; Montalvo, 1990).

In the process of achieving political, economical, social and cultural objectives, schools create curricula that convey the ideological message for the making of "successful" citizens. The social integration of children in the school environment in a different--non-traditional authoritarian--perspective views schools as a democratic public sphere committed to educating students in the language of critique, possibility, and democracy. "Initially, developers will have to understand the contradictions between the official curriculum, namely the explicitly cognitive and affective goals or formal instruction, and the "hidden curriculum,"--the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning and in both the formal content the social relations of school and classroom life. Even more they will have to recognize the function of a hidden curriculum and its capacity for undermining the goals of social education." (Giroux, 1988, p. 23).

The findings of the present research support the argument that in the traditional approach to education, the teacher's role has been that

of an authoritarian leader. The teacher has been the autocratic leader who sets classroom policies, dictates activities, sorts children into groups, and directs group members in the completion of assigned tasks. Essential to this form of education, Giroux (1988) believes, is the ability of the teacher to act as a transformative intellectual and to use critical pedagogy as a form of cultural politics. To achieve this role effectively, teachers ought change their attitudes and learn to think and act non traditionally. This implies systematic efforts in the form of in-service trainings and other activities from the educational agency. In fact, there is a complex relation between children's home and environmental experience that affect the social integration and learning process of children in the school environment which should be acknowledged when designing curricula content and educational policies.

Based on the evidence obtained, there is a need to provide training for teachers and parents on the effective assessment of their values, attitudes and expectations, and the consequences on children's behavior. It is particularly important for teachers to identify the effect of these variables on their evaluation of children's performance in the school environment. Parents and teachers can or cannot share values, attitudes and expectations and there is nothing unusual about that. The problem arises when children's performances are evaluated on the bases of the congruence between these two types of experiences and environments, without parents and teacher's being aware fully of the situation. This situation generates differential treatment and inequalities for children with different experiential backgrounds, skills and knowledge. The old methods of rigid, hierarchical organization and overt discipline were to give way to a more invisible form of power in which overt conflict between teacher-- or parent-- and child becomes displaced onto rational argument (Walkerdine, 1988). The resulting situation is that through their actions and attitudes teachers positively reinforce the children whom they consider to be

"successful and competent" children. Children, in turn, learn to adapt and to enact the 'illusion of control'. On the contrary, teachers tend to ignore and punish those children considered as "unsuccessful and incompetent". The response from these children is what Giroux (1983) calls resistance.

Although this research could not directly look into socioeconomic or class differences, it will be interesting for future research to analyze the congruence (or incongruence) and the skills and knowledge factors in relation with the child's socioeconomic background. It can be speculated that children from the same or higher socioeconomic status as the teacher are likely to be congruent with the teacher's values, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions, and consequently will be treated positively and evaluated as performing highly or positively. On the other hand, children who are from a lower socioeconomic status than the teacher will not probably match the teacher's values, attitudes, beliefs and perceptions, and will be treated unequally and evaluated as performing low or negatively. Thus, depending on their socioeconomic status, school learning may or may not be in accordance with parent's ideologies about childrearing practices (Newson & Newson, 1976), nor with children's previous experiences and command of skills at home.

In any case, it can be argued that parents and children are victims of the same educational system due to the overwhelming impact school has on children and their parents. Children do not choose to spend their time in school and their parents have little choice either. The compulsory character of schooling and the minimal influence parents have, if any, on the school policy or daily program is significant. Therefore, as Rivlin & Wolfe (1985) assert, children's "understanding of the world, their sense of themselves and their competence will largely reflect the relationship between the dominant values and the extent to which they can realize these values within the reality of their lives. Their resistance, given their limited power, often has severe

consequences" (p.4). Parents should also have a clear understanding and be aware of this issue to be able to have a more direct influence on school policies, curricula contents and programs to satisfy their children's educational needs. This call for a more democratic and participative way of making decisions in schools from the point of view of those who are directly affected by schooling (Montalvo, 1990, 1991).

Since school and schooling are so important on children's (and adults') lives, teachers are very important and active components of the educational system. Therefore, it critical to make teachers aware of their values, attitudes, perception and expectations of children's performance in school. This demands a self-analysis and self-critique of their experience not only as professionals, but as the kind of student they were and how school as an environment affected their social integration and how schooling influenced their learning process.

Trainings, seminars and workshops should be programmed to facilitate teachers making evaluations of children's performance based not on their perceptions and expectations, but on facts. This implies a recognition that school is not based on the ideas of "justice, objectivity, neutrality, and democracy" as institutions pretend to be (cf. Freire, 1971, 1985, 1992a,b; Giroux, 1988; Liston, 1988; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Shor, 1987), that they were as students, and as professionals are, socially integrated, learn and transmit their values as well as implement educational policies that are imposed on them.

A critical consciousness is necessary for teachers to understand and respect children's values, attitudes, experiences, skills and knowledge since they make the transition from the home to the school environment. Teacher's should be critical facilitators (or in a broadest sense, transformative intellectuals, Giroux, 1988) of children's development of their full intellectual or cognitive and socioemotional potential promoting creativeness in the solution of scholastic and practical situations emphasizing their capability for

searching for answers to their particular needs individually and collectively. I suggest the analysis of the social production of alternatives, from the children's point of view, as active members of society at a microanalytical level; that is, children's active appropriation of reality as part of their social integration and learning process.

Giroux (1988) proposes the role of teachers as transformative intellectuals. He states that "if we believe that the role of teaching cannot be reduced to merely training in the particular skills, but involves, instead, the education of a class of intellectuals vital to the development of a free society, then the category of intellectual becomes a way of linking the purpose of teacher education, public schooling and in service training to the very principles necessary for developing a democratic order and society" (p.126).

Concomitant to this view is the teacher's acknowledgement of children's skills and knowledge at the moment of entering school. The change of attitudes in this aspect requires that teacher face the child as he or she is and not feel threatened by the skills, knowledge and experiential background that he or she brings. Rather than uncritically evaluating children based on their expectations, as well as on the educational and scholastic policies for obliterating children's previous skills, knowledge and experiences, teachers should be able to facilitate the development of children's existing skills and knowledge and the acquisition of new skills and knowledge. This should be attained by encouraging democratic and egalitarian participation based on the promotion of freedom.

A way of achieving this purpose is by using the classroom environment for promoting the social integration of children avoiding divisions by congruence, levels of skillfulness, gender (Rothenberg, 1978), socioeconomic background and race (Rist, 1970), or any other aspect. The physical features of the classroom environment can be used

for promoting prosocial and learning behavior, such as, organizing the space for stimulating participation, letting children participate and decide the activities they want to engage in, promoting cooperation and the sharing of learning materials, and so on. This dynamics represent a change of what Giroux (1988) calls 'cultural capital' which distributes and legitimates certain forms of knowledge, language practices, values, modes of style, and so forth.

It is important to evaluate school policies related to children's learning and development of skills that are based on traditional schooling. According to Giroux (1988) the rationality that dominates traditional views of schooling and curriculum is rooted in the narrow concerns for effectiveness, behavioral objectives, and principles of learning that treat knowledge as something to be consumed and schools as merely instructional sites designed to pass onto students a "common" culture and set of skills that will enable them to operate effectively in the wider society. "The issue of how teachers, students, and representatives from the wider society generate meaning tends to be obscured in favor of the issue of how people can master someone else's meaning, thus depoliticizing both the notion of school culture and the notion of classroom pedagogy. ... It ignores the dreams, histories, and visions that people bring to schools" (p. 6).

As it has been posed before, the traditional views of schooling has its effects on the training and education of prospective teachers. The need for an educational reform emerges from the fact that unlike many past educational reform movements, the present call for educational change presents both a threat and a challenge to public school teachers that appears unprecedented in the history of the United States (Giroux, 1988). Many of the recommendations that have emerged in the current debate either ignore the role teachers play in preparing learners to be active and critical citizens or suggests reforms that ignore the intelligence, judgement and experience that teachers might offer in such

a debate. According to Giroux (1988), teachers are the object of educational reforms that reduce them to the status of high-level technicians carrying out dictates and objectives decided by experts far removed from the everyday realities of classroom life.

The need for training teachers in terms of understanding of their values and beliefs can be justified by Liston and Zeichner's (1991) view that prospective and practicing teachers bring to the classroom implicit and unarticulated assumptions, beliefs, and values about the social context of schooling. This social knowledge (that is, teachers' knowledge and beliefs about the social, political and historical context of schools and the communities that surround them) tends to be inadequately addressed in most accounts of teacher knowledge, is rarely examined in teacher education curricula, and is awkwardly handled in the prominent models for cultivating reflective thinking and action in teachers. They suggest that "a teacher education program committed to the justification of educational actions would seemingly encourage both and inspection and reflection of teacher's implicit social and cultural beliefs, and an acquaintance with our present views and theories of the social context of schooling" (Liston and Zeichner, 1991, p. 61).

Future research should take into consideration the findings of this research. More studies in the area of the social integration and social reproduction of children in the school environment are necessary if we want to understand the dynamics of these processes, how the physical environment mediates the messages of the capital culture and the hidden curricula mentioned before. But more importantly, to help create the conditions for coping with injustices and inequality in the classrooms, promoting reflective and critical thinking, and generating actions for a free and democratic society.. An effort such as this would help both learners and educators overcome what Freire (1985) calls the focalist vision of reality and gain an understanding of the totality. The act of knowing implies the existence of two interrelated

contexts. One is the context of authentic dialogue between learners and educators as equally knowing subjects. The second is the real, concrete context of facts, the social reality in which human beings exist.

In my view, there is much to be done to advance a different praxis of education. Parents, teachers and children showed to be aware of the conflicts and contradictions that a capitalist system engender in the social reproductions of conditions within the particular home and school environments in relation to the societal aims. The economic, political, social and cultural demands of society are filtered through the social institutions to condition life. Thus, it is necessary to develop a critical consciousness in order to empower ourselves and struggle for a more justice and egalitarian, free and democratic society. Educational programs can be very useful to achieve this through the radical reform of curricula, educational and plan actions, and depending not only on our values but also on our understanding of the pertinent "facts," the relevant contexts, the particular features of the setting at hand, and the conflicting demands felt at a particular juncture.

**Queridos padres:**

Su hijo es para nosotros, como para ustedes, una criatura muy preciada. De ahí que ambos sintamos la responsabilidad de ayudarlo a crecer y que sigamos su desarrollo físico, social e intelectual con gran interés y atención.

Es indispensable para que lo ayudemos que ambos trabajemos unidos. Ustedes conocen aspectos de su personalidad que en la escuela desconocemos. Lo contrario es también cierto.

Este informe tiene el propósito, precisamente, de que ustedes conozcan cómo se ha venido desarrollando su hijo en el ambiente escolar. Léalo detenidamente y ofrézcanos la oportunidad de cambiar impresiones sobre el mismo.

Cada visita de ustedes a la escuela de su hijo puede ayudarnos a comprenderlo y guiarlo mejor en su progreso.

Muchas gracias.

20° semanas \_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del padre o encargado

40° semanas \_\_\_\_\_  
Firma del padre o encargado

Llénese a fin de año

Grado 19 \_\_\_\_ 19 \_\_\_\_  
(Lléñese el grado con la palabra)

Autorizado por:

.....  
Firma del maestro

.....  
Firma del director

.....  
Fecha

ESTADO LIBRE ASOCIADO DE PUERTO RICO  
 DEPARTAMENTO DE INSTRUCCIÓN PÚBLICA  
**INFORME DE PROGRESO DEL ESTUDIANTE**  
 PROGRAMA DE KINDERGARTEN



Escuela \_\_\_\_\_ Distrito Escolar \_\_\_\_\_

Año Escolar 19 \_\_\_\_ — 19 \_\_\_\_

Nombre del alumno \_\_\_\_\_

Fecha de nacimiento \_\_\_\_\_ Edad \_\_\_\_\_

Nombre del padre o encargado \_\_\_\_\_

Dirección \_\_\_\_\_

Maestro \_\_\_\_\_ Director \_\_\_\_\_

Una marca de cotejo (✓) en el espacio correspondiente

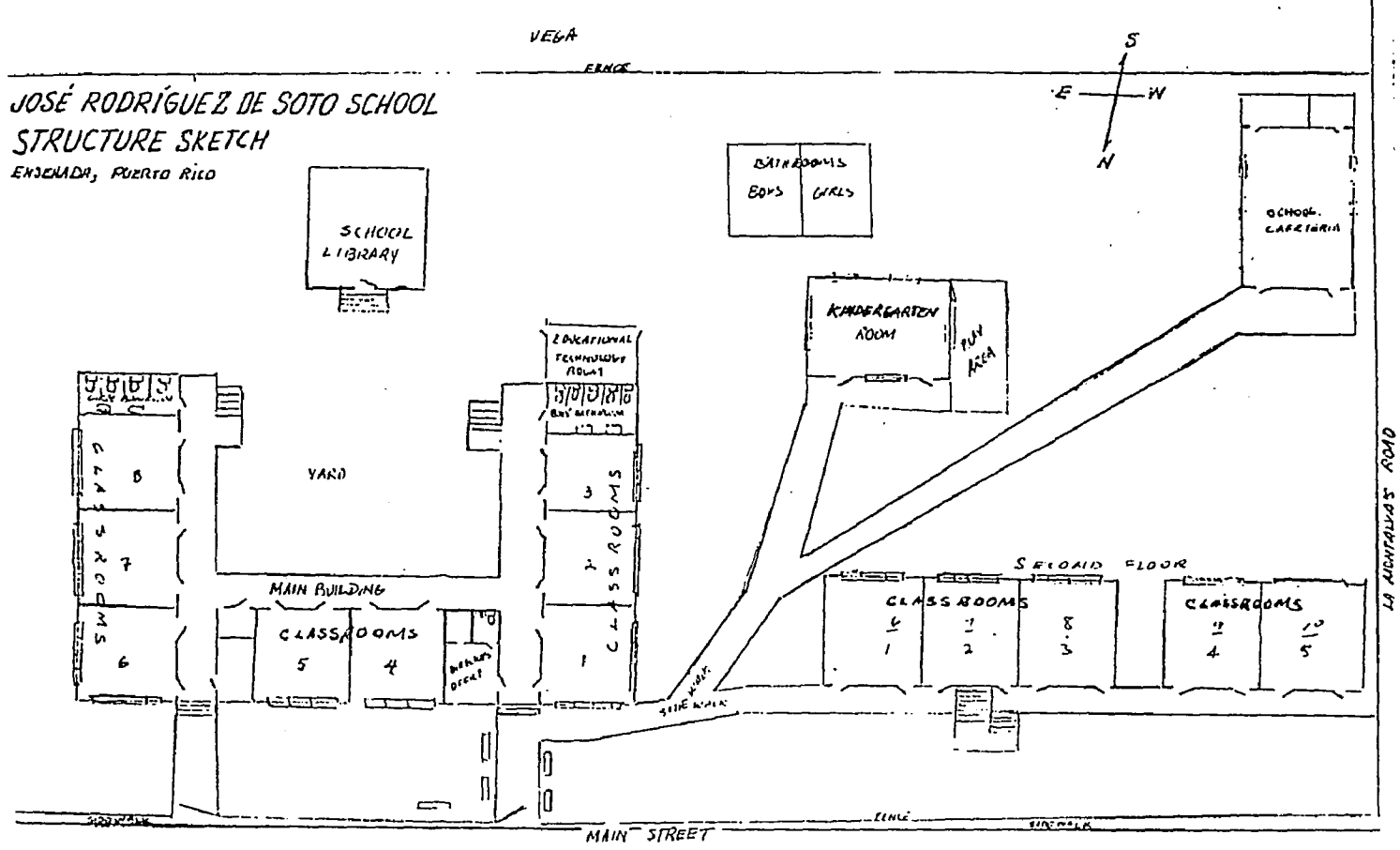
BASES PARA EL APRENDIZAJE EN EL NIVEL DEL KINDERGARTEN	20 <sup>a</sup> semanas			40 <sup>a</sup> semanas		
	E. V. P.	P.	P. R.	E. V. P.	P.	P. R.
Demuestra interés en su labor						
Sabe escuchar						
Sabe observar						
Sabe seguir instrucciones orales						
Puede planificar y organizar sus ideas						
<b>DESARROLLO PERCEPTUAL-MOTOR</b>						
Conoce las partes de su cuerpo						
Usa consistentemente y con preferencia una de sus manos						
Demuestra tener balance						
Reconoce voces y sonidos						
Reconoce diferencias y semejanzas de varias texturas						
Reconoce diferencias y semejanzas en: color						
forma						
tamaño						
posición						
dirección						
detalles						
<b>DESARROLLO Y COMPRENSIÓN DEL LENGUAJE</b>						
Enuncia con claridad						
Evidencia crecimiento en la adquisición de vocabulario						
Comprende los mensajes verbales						
Expresa sus ideas con claridad						
<b>DESARROLLO SOCIAL Y EMOCIONAL</b>						
Se adapta a la rutina de la escuela						
Participa en actividades						
Demuestra confianza en sí mismo						
Demuestra iniciativa						
Juega, trabaja y comparte en armonía con otros						
Respeto los derechos de los demás						
Acepta las normas del grupo						
Acepta sugerencias de otros						
Cuida sus pertenencias						
Cuida la propiedad ajena						
Termina las tareas que inició						
<b>DESARROLLO CONCEPTUAL</b>						
Reconoce los numerales del 0-10						
Sabe contar con significación hasta 10						
Reconoce monedas						
Ordena						
Clasifica						
Asocia						
Agrupar						
Expresa la idea central de cuentos, poemas, láminas						

DESTREZAS INTELECTUALES Y PROCESO DEL PENSAMIENTO PARA EL APRENDIZAJE	20 <sup>a</sup> semanas			40 <sup>a</sup> semanas		
	E. V. P.	P.	P. R.	E. V. P.	P.	P. R.
Puede concentrar (Visualiza en su mente y recuerda al momento)						
Puede analizar las partes de un todo						
Puede sintetizar las partes de un todo						
Puede integrar partes para formar un todo con significado						
Memoria verbal - sabe su nombre y apellido						
- sabe el nombre de sus padres						
- sabe el nombre de algunos de sus compañeros						
- sabe su dirección residencial						
- narra experiencias vividas						
- escribe su nombre						
- reconoce su nombre						
<b>OTROS</b>						
Demuestra interés por lo que le rodea						
Usa distintos medios para expresarse						
Demuestra capacidad creadora						
Observa buenos hábitos de salud						
Observa buenos hábitos de seguridad personal						
CLAVE: E. V. P. - En vías de progreso P. - Progreso P. R. - Progreso rápidamente						

Observaciones del maestro:  
 (Use este espacio para anotar otros progresos observados en el niño) \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

ASISTENCIA (Use numerales)	20 <sup>a</sup> semanas	40 <sup>a</sup> semanas
Días de clase		
Ausencias		
Tardanzas		

Appendix B



Appendix C

Household Income and Occupation

<u>Household</u>	<u>Reported Household</u>	<u>Parents' Occupation</u>	
<u>Id Number</u>	<u>Monthly Income</u>	<u>Father</u>	<u>Mother</u>
20	\$2500.00	contractor	housekeeper
21	\$1000.00	business man	housekeeper
8	\$ 784.00	unemployed	quality control
11	\$ 588.00	unemployed	packer
17	\$ 500.00	business man	housekeeper
3	\$ 325.00	not reported	housekeeper
16	\$ 314.00	dead	housekeeper
9	\$ 209.00	unskilled worker	machine operator
15	\$ 175.00	mechanic assistant	housekeeper
4	\$ 150.00	mechanic assistant	housekeeper
22	\$ 100.00	handyman	housekeeper
1	\$ 0.00	mechanic	line assembler
2	\$ 0.00	not reported	housekeeper
5	\$ 0.00	not reported	not reported
6	not reported	not reported	not reported
7	not reported	unemployed	housekeeper
10	not reported	unemployed	housekeeper
12	not reported	unemployed	housekeeper
13	not reported	carpenter	housekeeper
14	not reported	unemployed	housekeeper
18	not reported	machine operator	housekeeper
19	not reported	unemployed	housekeeper

Appendix D

Time began: \_\_\_\_\_  
Time ended: \_\_\_\_\_

PARENTS' INTERVIEWS

The purpose of this questionnaire is to find out your ideas and opinions in regard to your elementary school education. The information given will be kept confidential and will be used in a study about the influence of elementary education on child development.

Please feel free to ask any questions to clarify any doubts. There are no correct or incorrect answers to the questions. All I want is to find out what you think about the different aspects of elementary education and the growing-up process of children.

Please be as honest as you can in answering these questions. All the information given will be kept confidential and you remain anonymous.

THE INTERVIEW

Interviewee's Name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of the Interview: \_\_\_\_\_

A. Background Information

Child's full name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Does your child have a family nickname? \_\_\_\_\_

Family size and position:

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
Age: \_\_\_\_\_

How many children in school?

Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
Age: \_\_\_\_\_

1. Mother's Age: \_\_\_\_\_  
Occupation if at work: \_\_\_\_\_  
Education: \_\_\_\_\_

2. Father's Age: \_\_\_\_\_  
Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
Education: \_\_\_\_\_

3. Does any other adult live here now, apart from your husband and yourself? \_\_\_\_ Yes. \_\_\_\_ No.  
If yes, relationship: \_\_\_\_\_  
How does ( child's name ) get along with him/her? \_\_\_\_\_

Does the child spend time with this person? How often? Doing what? \_\_\_\_\_

4. Has (c's n) ever been separated from you for as much as 1/2 a day? \_\_\_\_ Yes. \_\_\_\_ No.  
If yes, when? \_\_\_\_\_  
For how long? \_\_\_\_\_

Has ( c's n ) ever been in:  
\_\_\_\_\_ day care? What Kind? \_\_\_\_\_

How long? \_\_\_\_\_ How did it work out?  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Summer camp? What Kind? \_\_\_\_\_  
How long? \_\_\_\_\_ How did it work out?  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Under the care of another family member?

Who? \_\_\_\_\_  
How long? \_\_\_\_\_ How did it work out?  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Other. What kind? \_\_\_\_\_  
How long? \_\_\_\_\_ How did it work out?  
\_\_\_\_\_

#### B. Child's Personal Style

Now I want to ask you some questions about ( c's n ) personal style ( e.g. character, values, way of thinking and behaving, etc.). Please remember to stop me if you do not understand the question.

5. How would you describe ( c's n ) to some who does not know him/her at all? \_\_\_\_\_

6. How does she/he manage in new situations?  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. What about new children? Does it take time for him/her to relate to them or does she/he do it quickly?  
\_\_\_\_\_

and new adults? \_\_\_\_\_

8. When ( c's n ) does not understand things:

\_\_\_\_\_ she/he asks questions?  
\_\_\_\_\_ figures it out by him/herself?  
\_\_\_\_\_ forgets about it?

9. When ( c's n ) faces a problem or activity that is difficult; does she/he:

\_\_\_\_\_ try for a while and then drop it?  
\_\_\_\_\_ keep trying until it is solved?, or  
\_\_\_\_\_ drop it right away?

Probe: Could you explain that? \_\_\_\_\_

10. Is she/he likely to get involved with one thing for a long time or does she/he like to move from one thing to another?  
\_\_\_\_\_

11. When she/he is on her/his own, does she/he find things to do by her/himself or does she/he easily get bored?  
\_\_\_\_\_

12. In general, is she/he a quiet or a talkative child?

With children? \_\_\_\_\_  
With adults? \_\_\_\_\_



24. Do you have any rules about telling you when or where she/he is going before she/he goes out?  Yes  No.  
If yes, would you explain? \_\_\_\_\_
25. Does she/he ever go to a park or recreation ground by her/himself?  Yes  No.  
Probe:  
 to the river  to the baseball park  
 to the beach  to the basketball court  
 other. Specify: \_\_\_\_\_
26. Does she/he go to any shop on her/his own?  
 Yes  No. How far is it?  
\_\_\_\_\_
27. Does she/he play or roam around in the street at all?  
 Yes  No
28. Do you trust her/him to cross busy streets on her/his own?  
 Yes  No
29. In general, how would you say ( c's n ) get along with other children? Does she/he make friends easily?  
 Yes  Not very  Some difficulty making friends
30. Have you ever tried to  encourage or  discourage any friendship between ( c's n ) and another child?  
 Yes  No  
If yes, any special reason? \_\_\_\_\_  
If no, do you think you would ever do this for any reason?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
(specify reason)
31. You  have mentioned other children a few times;  have not mentioned other children very much;  
which does ( c's n ) like best-playing with other children, or playing by her/himself?  
 With other children  By her/himself  Equally.
32. Do they (other children) come and play at your home?  Yes  No. If yes, how often? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Every day  Few days a week  Once in a while  
 Most weeks  Sometimes
33. Does she/he go to their home?  Yes  No. If yes, how often?:  
 Every day  Few days a week  Once in a while  
 Most weeks  Sometimes
34. Does she/he see her/his friends on the weekend?  Yes  No  
If no, any particular reason? \_\_\_\_\_
35. Has she/he ever stayed the night at someone else's home without you?  Yes  No  
Specify: \_\_\_\_\_  
How often?: \_\_\_\_\_
- D. Child' Skills**
36. Some parents teach children to do and to learn things they consider to be important for their child's future life. Have you taught ( c's n ) or that sort?  Yes  No  
If yes, what and when? \_\_\_\_\_

Specify any special reason \_\_\_\_\_  
 If no, why? \_\_\_\_\_

**Note to the Interviewer:** Read the following instructions and hand in the sheets with the lists of things in order to let the parent check the answers.

**Instructions:**

On the following sheets you will find a list of things some children do. Please read all of them and check mark all the ones that \_\_\_\_\_ ( child's name ) \_\_\_\_\_ does. Please indicate if she/he does them with or without supervision ( i.e., if you are around watching her/him or not).

37. Would you check below all of those things that \_\_\_\_\_ ( c's n ) does?

- |  | <u>With</u><br><u>Supervision</u> | <u>Without</u><br><u>Supervision</u> |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| _____ a. plays with dirt   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ b. plays with toys   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ c. plays with clay   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ d. makes things<br>(constructs something)                  |                                   |                                      |
| _____ e. collects objects,<br>things she/he finds                |                                   |                                      |
| _____ f. plays with puzzles                                      |                                   |                                      |
| _____ g. organizes her/his<br>belongings (self-generated)        |                                   |                                      |
| _____ h. colors, using coloring book<br>or crayons and paper     |                                   |                                      |
| _____ i. Reads magazines, comics, book                           |                                   |                                      |
| _____ j. draws   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ k. watches TV  |                                   |                                      |
| _____ l. helps cleaning the house                                |                                   |                                      |
| _____ m. helps cooking; specify                                  |                                   |                                      |
| _____ n. helps doing the dishes                                  |                                   |                                      |
| _____ o. helps folding clothes                                   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ p. helps making the beds                                   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ q. helps fixing something that is<br>broken, for ex. _____ |                                   |                                      |
| _____ r. sewing  |                                   |                                      |
| _____ s. planting  |                                   |                                      |
| _____ t. takes care of animals                                   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ u. goes on errands   |                                   |                                      |
| _____ v. takes care of younger children                          |                                   |                                      |
| _____ w. other(s) _____  |                                   |                                      |

38. Could you tell me what sort of things that \_\_\_\_\_ ( c's n ) \_\_\_\_\_ does on her/his own?

- |   | <u>With</u><br><u>Supervision</u> | <u>Without</u><br><u>Supervision</u> |
|---|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| _____ a. dresses/undresses<br>her/himself |                                   |                                      |
| _____ b. ties her/his shoe laces          |                                   |                                      |
| _____ c. combs her/his hair               |                                   |                                      |
| _____ d. wash face and hands              |                                   |                                      |
| _____ e. takes a bath                     |                                   |                                      |
| _____ f. eats by her/himself              |                                   |                                      |

- \_\_\_\_\_g. brush teeth  
 \_\_\_\_\_h. other\_\_\_\_\_

39. Does your child use any of the following things?

With                      Without  
Supervision      Supervision

- \_\_\_\_\_a. handsaw  
 \_\_\_\_\_b. hammer  
 \_\_\_\_\_c. machete  
 \_\_\_\_\_d. kitchen knife  
 \_\_\_\_\_e. small saw  
 \_\_\_\_\_f. screwdriver  
 \_\_\_\_\_g. wrench  
 \_\_\_\_\_h. brace  
 \_\_\_\_\_i. sand paper  
 \_\_\_\_\_j. stubby brush  
 \_\_\_\_\_k. broom  
 \_\_\_\_\_l. dishcloth  
 \_\_\_\_\_m. dishtowel  
 \_\_\_\_\_n. vacuum cleaner  
 \_\_\_\_\_o. sewing machine  
 \_\_\_\_\_p. appliances (probe: toaster, etc.)  
 \_\_\_\_\_q. thread and needle  
 \_\_\_\_\_r. other(s)\_\_\_\_\_

40. Does she/he :

With                      Without  
Supervision      Supervision

- \_\_\_\_\_a. play with puzzles.  
       Specify\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_b. measure with rules.  
       Specify\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_c. cut with scissors
- \_\_\_\_\_d. do things on construction paper.  
       Specify\_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_e. finger paint
- \_\_\_\_\_f. paint with brush
- \_\_\_\_\_g. color with crayons
- \_\_\_\_\_h. draw with colored chalk
- \_\_\_\_\_i. write on a board
- \_\_\_\_\_j. use an eraser
- \_\_\_\_\_k. hold a pencil or a pen
- \_\_\_\_\_l. use a pencil-sharpener
- \_\_\_\_\_m. write her/his name
- \_\_\_\_\_n. count objects
- \_\_\_\_\_o. play with puppets
- \_\_\_\_\_p. cut and paste
- \_\_\_\_\_q. tell time
- \_\_\_\_\_r. count money
- \_\_\_\_\_s. differentiate between shapes
- \_\_\_\_\_t. differentiate between colors
- \_\_\_\_\_u. differentiate between sizes
- \_\_\_\_\_v. other(s)\_\_\_\_\_

41. Does she/he own :

- \_\_\_\_\_a. small cars?  
 \_\_\_\_\_b. human-shaped figures?  
 \_\_\_\_\_c. animal-shaped figures?

- \_\_\_\_\_d. model houses?
- \_\_\_\_\_e. blocks?
- \_\_\_\_\_f. other. Specify: \_\_\_\_\_

42. Has \_\_\_\_\_ ( c ' s n ) had any musical experience before?

- \_\_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_\_No. If yes, prompt:
- \_\_\_\_\_a. play an instrument. Specify \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_b. music lessons. Specify \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_c. listen to records. Specify \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_d. went to a concert.
  - \_\_\_\_\_e. listening to radio
  - \_\_\_\_\_f. other. Specify \_\_\_\_\_

E. Things and Objects

43. Some children are used to having different kinds of objects and playthings. I want to know the sort of things she/he has. Has she/he any special planting or game that takes a lot of her/his time? \_\_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_\_No. If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
How did she/he get it? \_\_\_\_\_

44. Has she/he anything she/he collects, or anything that she/he gradually adds to? (e.g. train set, doll's clothes, etc.).  
\_\_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_\_No. If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
If bought, who bought it? \_\_\_\_\_

45. Is there any particular thing you wanted to make sure \_\_\_\_\_ ( c ' s n ) would have? \_\_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_\_No If yes, what? \_\_\_\_\_  
why? \_\_\_\_\_

46. Do you try to get her/him to look after her/his toys?  
\_\_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_\_No. \_\_\_\_\_

47. Do you expect her/him to pick up her/his things after she/he finishes playing or using them? \_\_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_\_No. If no, what happens if she/he does not? \_\_\_\_\_

48. Does \_\_\_\_\_ ( c ' s n ) have a place to put her/his things?  
\_\_\_\_\_Yes \_\_\_\_\_No. If no, where does she/he put them?  
\_\_\_\_\_

49. Now I want you to tell me about the things ( c ' s n ) uses during most of his/her waking hours

Activity	Indoors	Outdoors	Week days	Weekends	Fam.	Frs.

50. With whom she/he mostly play?

- Sibs: \_\_\_\_\_Often \_\_\_\_\_Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_Not as often  
Other: \_\_\_\_\_Often \_\_\_\_\_Sometimes \_\_\_\_\_Not as often

51. What sorts of games does       ( c ' s n )       like to play with other children?

\_\_\_\_\_ (probe: Active vs. passive, etc.)  
 What about with siblings? Specify \_\_\_\_\_

52. Does she/he have to do any particular thing at any particular time of the day?        Yes        No. If yes, prompt:

a. during the morning? \_\_\_\_\_  
 b. during noon time? \_\_\_\_\_  
 c. during the afternoon? \_\_\_\_\_  
 d. during the evening? \_\_\_\_\_

53. Do you have any rules about what and when to do things (e.g. Watch TV, eating, go to bed)?        Yes        No.

What? \_\_\_\_\_  
 When? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Do you stick to them all of the time? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Do you enforce all of them all the time? \_\_\_\_\_  
 What are the exceptions? \_\_\_\_\_

G. School Preparation

54. Now that       ( c ' s n )       is going to be in school, how do you feel about it? \_\_\_\_\_

55. Have you talked to her/him about what school is going to be like?        Yes        No. If yes, what about?

Specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 Does she/he seem to like (dislike) talking about school?  
       Likes        Dislikes If no, why? \_\_\_\_\_

56. Does (c's n) ask you what is all about school?        Yes        No.  
 If yes, what have you said? \_\_\_\_\_

57. I would like to know how you think she/he will get along in school. Do you think she/he is going to like/dislike it?

       Very much        Well enough        Not much  
       Strongly dislike Explain \_\_\_\_\_

58. What do you think she/he will enjoy most at school?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

59. What do you think she/he will enjoy least at school?

What problems do you think she/he might have if any?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

(Probe: with other kids, with teachers, in general)

60. What things would you like       ( c ' s n )       to learn in school?

Specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 Have you taught any of those to her/him?        Yes        No.  
 Specify \_\_\_\_\_

61. Has the family any books of its own?        Yes        No

Do you let       ( c ' s n )       use them?        Yes        No  
 If no, why? \_\_\_\_\_  
 If yes, which ones? \_\_\_\_\_



74. Do you ( would you ) ever interfere in     ( c's n )     quarrels and arguments with other children outside the family? Specify \_\_\_\_\_

75. Does she/he do a lot of fighting - does her/his quarrels often come to blows? (Prompt)

Sibs:      Often      Sometimes      Little fighting  
Others:      Often      Sometimes      Little fighting

76. I would like to know about the sort of jobs children do around the house at this age. Is there any little job you expect     ( c's n )     to do now (without being paid)?      Yes      No.  
If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_

Probe:      help cleaning the yard      help cleaning the house  
     watering the plants      taking out the garbage  
     caring for animals      run and call someone  
     take a message to a friend      inside for you  
     run an errand to the store      other \_\_\_\_\_

(Prompt for each: Is that something she/he does on a regular basis, or just when she/he feels like it? \_\_\_\_\_.  
Suppose she/he is too busy doing something personal one day, what happens? \_\_\_\_\_)

77. If younger siblings: Does     ( c's n )     ever help you with her/his brother/sister?      Yes      No. Looking after: the younger children? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you ever leave her/him in charge of them for a while?      Yes      No. If no, why? \_\_\_\_\_  
Does she/he ever take them out with her/him?      Only under supervision  
     Alone in the house for a short time  
     In charge for periods over an hour (Ref. sibs aged \_\_\_\_\_)

78. Has she/he any animal of her/his own?      Yes      No  
If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
If no, has the family any pets?      Yes      No  
If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
Does she/he look after it/them at all, in the way of feeding and cleaning?      Yes      No  
Is that her/his job, or just a thing she/he does sometimes? \_\_\_\_\_

#### I. Family Life Style

79. Some families are used doing things that are unique to them and thus, they have special meaning for them. Could you think of a few things that your family does that might be considered particular to your group? Details \_\_\_\_\_ What role does     ( c's n )     play? \_\_\_\_\_

80. Is there any outing     ( c's n )     particularly enjoys? (Prompt): If you were planning a treat especially for her/him, what do you think she/he would choose to do? \_\_\_\_\_  
Does this ever happen? If so, how often? \_\_\_\_\_

81. When you are deciding what to do during the holidays, do you consider     ( c's n )     interest in what you choose?      Yes      No. If no, why? \_\_\_\_\_

82. Is there any special interest which you and ( c's n ) share-- something which you both follow together? If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_
83. Is there anything which she/he and her/his Daddy are both especially interested in? If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_
84. Does anyone in your family:
- \_\_\_\_\_ a. play a musical instrument? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_ b. go to the movies regularly? (movie type) \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_ c. go to the theater or to concerts? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_ d. go to museums? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_ e. go to cultural activities? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_ f. go to exhibitions or shows? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_ g. go to baseball games (sports activities)? \_\_\_\_\_
  - \_\_\_\_\_ h. other \_\_\_\_\_

85. Does ( c's n ) spend time with her/his father? How often? \_\_\_\_\_ Doing what? \_\_\_\_\_

86. Do you have any extra lessons for ( c's n ) -music or dancing or anything else at all? Specify, and how often. \_\_\_\_\_

Does anyone give her/him any special lessons that you do not pay for? If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_

87. Do you ever have one-to-one chats with her/him alone? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No. If yes, how often? \_\_\_\_\_ When? \_\_\_\_\_ If no, why not? \_\_\_\_\_

88. Does ( c's n ) generally ask questions? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No. If yes, what about? \_\_\_\_\_ Can you always answer all of her/his questions? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No. If not, what do you do? or what would you do if you could not? \_\_\_\_\_

89. Does ( c's n ) ever get into a real rage--shouting and stamping and banging doors? (Prompt if necessary): About how often does this happen? What usually starts it off? Do you do anything about it? \_\_\_\_\_

90. Does she/he have any pocket money of her/his own? If yes, who gives it, how much, a regular fixed sum(s)? \_\_\_\_\_. If no, why not? \_\_\_\_\_.

#### J. Child's Relationship to Authority

91. Some parents consider it important for their children to learn certain things as a way of being good mannered and respectful with others. Why do you think these things would be beneficial for ( c's n ) to learn? Specify \_\_\_\_\_
- Probe: \_\_\_\_\_ say "please" \_\_\_\_\_ say "I'm sorry"
- \_\_\_\_\_ say "thank you" \_\_\_\_\_ say "excuse me"
- \_\_\_\_\_ treat adults in a formal way ("ud. vs. tú" in Spanish)
- \_\_\_\_\_ not to interrupt and adult when she/he is speaking
- \_\_\_\_\_ not to make eye contact (put head down) when someone scolds her/him
- \_\_\_\_\_ not to answer back to an adult
- \_\_\_\_\_ not to shout things out (particularly to an adult)
- \_\_\_\_\_ other. Specify \_\_\_\_\_

92. Apart from you and your husband, is there any adult who (c's n) trusts or with whom feels confident?  Yes  No. If yes, who? \_\_\_\_\_  
Any relationship? \_\_\_\_\_  
How do you feel about that? \_\_\_\_\_  
If no adult, any friend (older child)? \_\_\_\_\_
93. Some children are more attached to one of their parents (either to the mother or to the father); who would you say (c's n) is more attached to?  
 mother  father  both
94. Now that (c's n) is a school-age child; what do you like the most about her/him? \_\_\_\_\_
95. What do you (would you) do when she/he is slow doing something that you have asked her/him to do?  
\_\_\_\_\_
96. What do you (would you) do when she/he does not agree with something? \_\_\_\_\_  
  
What are the sort of things that makes you and (c's n) get mad at each other? \_\_\_\_\_
97. When this happens, does she/he ever say she/he is sorry to you?  Yes  No. Do you ever say you are sorry to her/him?  Yes  No.
98. Does (c's n) ever refuse to do something you want her/him to do? \_\_\_\_\_  
How often does this happen? \_\_\_\_\_  
For what sorts of things? \_\_\_\_\_  
What sort of punishments do you use? \_\_\_\_\_  
Does she/he respond if you raise your voice? \_\_\_\_\_  
If you smack her/him, do you explain why? \_\_\_\_\_
99. In the following list you will find some things that some parents do in order to punish their children or get them to do what they want. Would you check mark if you do any of these and how often?

Very  
often      Often      Sometimes

- \_\_\_ a. I don't give her/him something she/he likes or don't let her/him watch TV.
- \_\_\_ b. I ask her/him to go to her/his bedroom.
- \_\_\_ c. I threaten with punishing her/him.
- \_\_\_ d. I say that the policeman is going to take her/him away or that the doctor is going to give her/him and injection.
- \_\_\_ e. I say to her/him that if she/he doesn't behave, she/he will make me get very sick.

- \_\_\_f. I say that "el Cuco"  
(bogyman) is going to  
going to take her/him away.
- \_\_\_g. I threaten her/him with  
leaving her/him alone and  
that she/he is not going  
to see me ever again.
- \_\_\_h. I say that if she/he does  
not behave, I'm not going  
to love her/him any more.
- \_\_\_i. I compare her/him with a  
child that behaves better  
than she/he does.
100. Has she/he ever tried to hit you? \_\_\_Yes \_\_\_No. If yes, in  
what situation(s)? \_\_\_\_\_ Why do you think  
she/he did that? \_\_\_\_\_ What did  
you do (would you do)? \_\_\_\_\_
101. Suppose she/he tells you she/he has not done something and you  
know quite well that she/he has. What do you do then?  
\_\_\_\_\_
102. Does she/he ever come and tell you she/he done something  
she/he thinks she/he shouldn't have done before you actually  
find out? \_\_\_Yes \_\_\_No. If yes, Explain \_\_\_\_\_
103. Do you expect her/him to say she/he's sorry to you when  
she/he's done something you think she/he shouldn't? \_\_\_Yes  
\_\_\_No. If yes; would you make her/him do that, even if  
she/he didn't want to? \_\_\_\_\_
104. If you consider the way you deal with your children, would you  
say you are strict, easy-going, or something else? Please,  
Explain \_\_\_\_\_

**K. Parent Theories of Intelligence, Learning and Practical Skills**

105. What kinds of things do you think your child is good at?  
\_\_\_\_\_  
What do you think makes her/him good at those things?  
\_\_\_\_\_
106. Do you think your child is better at practical things or at  
school type things? \_\_\_\_\_  
What do you think makes her/him better at that?  
\_\_\_\_\_
107. What do you think makes some children better at school work  
than other children? \_\_\_\_\_  
What do you think makes some children better at practical  
skills than other children? \_\_\_\_\_
108. Do your ideas about the kind of person you want  
( c's n ) to be influence with whom you encourage  
her/him to play? \_\_\_\_\_

THIS IS THE END OF THIS INTERVIEW. I WANT TO THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION. I WOULD LIKE TO INTERVIEW YOU AGAIN IN SIX WEEKS AND I WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR KIND COOPERATION.

MANY THANKS. IF YOU HAVE SOMETHING TO ADD PLEASE DO SO.

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Appendix E

Time began: \_\_\_\_\_  
Time ended: \_\_\_\_\_

TEACHER'S INTERVIEW

The purpose of this questionnaire is to know what your ideas and opinions are in regard to children school education. The information given will be kept confidential and will be used in a study about the influence of school education on children development.

Please feel free to ask any question if you do not understand. There are not correct or incorrect answers to the questions since all what I want is to know what do you think about different aspects of school education and a child growing up process.

Please be as honest as you can in answering to these questions. School staff will not have access to the information you will give me in this questionnaire and your name will be kept anonymous.

THE INTERVIEW

A. Background Information

Teacher's full name: \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of Birth: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex:  F  M  
Family Size: \_\_\_\_\_ How many children in school? \_\_\_\_\_  
Sex: \_\_\_\_\_ Sex: \_\_\_\_\_  
Age: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_  
Civil Status: \_\_\_\_\_ Education: \_\_\_\_\_

1. For how long have you been working as a teacher?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Have you always taught the same grade? If no, what other grade/s have you taught? how long? \_\_\_\_\_
3. Have you always worked in this school? If no, what other school/s have you worked in? How long? \_\_\_\_\_
4. How do you feel as a teacher (in general)? Prompt: How it feels like to be a teacher? \_\_\_\_\_  
How do you get on with:  
\_\_\_a. other school teachers? \_\_\_b. your school director?  
\_\_\_c. other school workers (personnel)? \_\_\_d. children's parents?
5. How do you feel as a kindergarten teacher? (Prompt: How is it like to be a K teacher?) \_\_\_\_\_

B. Child's Personal Style

Now I want to ask you some questions about children's personal styles (e.g. character, values, ways of thinking and behaving, etc.) Please remember to stop me if you do not understand anything.

6. What kind of characteristics should a child have by the time she/he enters school? (Prompt: personal characteristics, etc.)  
\_\_\_\_\_

7. How should a child manage in new situations?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ With ease                      \_\_\_\_\_ Varies                      \_\_\_\_\_ Uneasy  
 Prompt:  
 What about new children? Should a child take time to relate with other children or should she/he do it quickly? and new adults?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
8. When a child does not understand things, should she/he be likely to:  
 \_\_\_\_\_ a. figure it out by her/himself  
 \_\_\_\_\_ b. ask questions?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ c. forget about it?  
 (Probe, if necessary: could you explain that?) \_\_\_\_\_
9. When a child faces a problem or activity that is difficult; should she/he:  
 \_\_\_\_\_ a. try for a while and then drop it?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ b. keep trying until it is solved?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ c. drop it right away?  
 (Probe: could you explain that?) \_\_\_\_\_
10. Should a child likely to get involved with one thing for a long time or should she/he like to move from one thing to another?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
11. What should a child do when she/he is on her/his own?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ a. find things to do  
 \_\_\_\_\_ b. wait for instructions  
 \_\_\_\_\_ c. do nothing  
 \_\_\_\_\_ d. other
12. In general, should a child be a quiet or talkative one: \_\_\_\_\_.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ with other children                      \_\_\_\_\_ with adults
13. Should a child stand up for her/himself, or should she/he let other children boss her/him around? \_\_\_\_\_
- C. Spatial and Social Range
14. Should a child have a special place where she/he can keep her/his things at home? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No      If no, why? \_\_\_\_\_  
 If yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_
15. What about sharing things? Should a child share her/his things?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No      If yes; How often?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Very often      \_\_\_\_\_ Often      \_\_\_\_\_ Sometimes      \_\_\_\_\_ Almost never  
 What should a child share? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Why? \_\_\_\_\_  
 When? \_\_\_\_\_  
 With whom? \_\_\_\_\_
16. Have you any rules about how far a child can go on her/his own?  
 \_\_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_\_ No      If yes;  
 a. what are they? \_\_\_\_\_  
 b. are these rules followed? \_\_\_\_\_  
 c. are there ever any exceptions? (Probe:when?) \_\_\_\_\_  
 d. what happens if a child does not follow the rules? \_\_\_\_\_  
 e. how do you enforce them? \_\_\_\_\_
17. Do you ever take children to a park or recreation ground? Specify:  
 \_\_\_\_\_



24. Should a child use any of the following things?
- |   | With<br>Supervision | Without<br>Supervision |
|---|---------------------|------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a. handsaw                           |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b. hammer                            |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c. machete                           |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d. kitchen knife                     |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e. small saw                         |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> f. screwdriver                       |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> g. wrench                            |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> h. brace                             |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> i. sand paper                        |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> j. stubby brush                      |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> k. broom                             |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> l. dishcloth                         |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> m. dishtowel                         |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> n. vacuum cleaner                    |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> o. sewing machine                    |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> p. appliances (probe: toaster, etc.) |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> q. thread and needle                 |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> r. other/s _____                     |                     |                        |
25. Should a child do the following things before coming into school?
- |  | With<br>Supervision | Without<br>Supervision |
|--|---------------------|------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a. play with puzzles. Specify _____                 |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b. measure with rules. Specify _____                |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c. cut with scissors                                |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> d. do things on construction paper<br>Specify _____ |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> e. finger paint                                     |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> f. paint with brush                                 |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> g. color with crayons                               |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> h. draw with colored chalks                         |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> i. write on a board                                 |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> j. manipulate an eraser                             |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> k. hold a pencil or a pen                           |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> l. manipulate a pencil-sharpener                    |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> m. write her/his name                               |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> n. count objects                                    |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> o. play with puppets                                |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> p. cut and paste                                    |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> q. tell time  |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> r. count money                                      |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> s. discriminate shapes                              |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> t. discriminate colors                              |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> u. discriminate sizes                               |                     |                        |
| <input type="checkbox"/> v. other/s _____                                    |                     |                        |
26. Do you think a child should have any musical experience before going to school? Yes No. Why? \_\_\_\_\_ If yes, specify: \_\_\_\_\_

#### E. Things and Objects

27. Some children use to have different kinds of objects and playthings. From a teacher's point of view, what are the sort of things you consider important for a child to have?
- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> a. playthings. Specify _____ |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> b. games. Specify _____      |  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> c. other/s _____             |  |

28. Do you expect children to pick up things after they finish playing or using them?  Yes  No If no, what happens if they do not do it? \_\_\_\_\_
29. Do children have a place to put things once they are done with them?  Yes  No. If no, where do they put them? \_\_\_\_\_

F. Activities

30. Now I want you to tell me about the things children do most of the time they are in the classroom

Activity Type	In the Classroom	Out of the Classroom	Time	Alone	In Group

31. What sorts of games do children mostly play with other children? (Please mention in order of preference) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Have you noticed any sex preference?  Yes  No  
 If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_  
 Are they space-related? (Prompt: block area, kitchen area, etc.)  
 Specify \_\_\_\_\_
32. Do you have any rules about what and when to do things?  Yes  No  
 If yes, explain \_\_\_\_\_  
 Do you enforce all of them all the time? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Are there any exceptions? If yes, specify \_\_\_\_\_

G. School Preparation

33. What kind/s of preparation do you make for the beginning of the school year? \_\_\_\_\_
34. Now that children are coming to school, how do you feel about it?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
35. Do you think the physical organization of the school has any effect on children's attitudes?  Yes  No  
 If yes, what are they? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Why do you think the school is set up the way it is?  
 \_\_\_\_\_
36. How do you feel about the location of this room in relation to the others? \_\_\_\_\_
37. Do you think the physical organization has any effect on the classroom?  Yes  No. If yes, what are they? \_\_\_\_\_
38. Do you change the classroom environment?  Yes  No  
 If yes, How frequently do you change the classroom environment?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

When? \_\_\_\_\_  
 Why? \_\_\_\_\_

39. What criteria do you use for organizing the classroom space?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

40. What criteria do you use for decorating the classroom space?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

H. Teacher's Ideologies

41. What are the first things that a child has to learn when she/he enters school? \_\_\_\_\_

Probe:

- \_\_\_\_\_ a. to behave
- \_\_\_\_\_ b. to share space with others
- \_\_\_\_\_ c. to share attention with others
- \_\_\_\_\_ d. to share things (objects) with others
- \_\_\_\_\_ e. do things within time limits. Specify \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ f. to concentrate
- \_\_\_\_\_ g. learn to do things (structured and organized skill development). Examples \_\_\_\_\_
- \_\_\_\_\_ h. to discipline and control her/himself

42. What do you think school is all about? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

43. What do you think school should be about? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

44. What things do you think children should learn in school? \_\_\_\_\_

45. What kind of skills will you teach? \_\_\_\_\_  
 What kind of skills have you taught? \_\_\_\_\_

46. Would you describe how is teaching like in this school for me?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

47. What your experiences have been with children in school?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

Do children generally ask questions? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

If yes, what about? \_\_\_\_\_

Can you always answer all their questions? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

If no, what do you do? or what would you do if you could not?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

48. I would like to know something about how do you think children will get on at school? \_\_\_\_\_

Do you think they are going to like or dislike it? Would you explain? \_\_\_\_\_

Which children do you think are going to get on at school? Would you describe them for me? \_\_\_\_\_

How do you describe those children that do not fit in? \_\_\_\_\_

49. What do you think children will enjoy most at school? Why?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

50. What do you think they will enjoy least at school? Why?  
 \_\_\_\_\_

What problems do you think children might have in school, if any? (Probe: with other children, etc.) \_\_\_\_\_

51. Do children ever use words that you do not like or other adult might not like? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No. If yes, can you tell what they are? \_\_\_\_\_ What do you do about it? \_\_\_\_\_  
If no, what do you think you would do when that happens? \_\_\_\_\_
52. How do you feel about quarrelling at this age? \_\_\_\_\_  
Do you think quarrelling has to happen between children? \_\_\_\_\_  
(Prompt if necessary)

	Inevitable	Difficult to avoid, but possible	Quite unnecessary
a. boys and boys			
b. boys and girls			
c. girls and boys			
d. boys and boys			

53. Do you ever tell any child what she/he should do in her/his quarrels, or help her/him to manage them in any way? \_\_\_\_\_  
Specify \_\_\_\_\_

54. Do you (would you) ever interfere in a child's quarrel and argument with other children? \_\_\_\_\_  
Specify \_\_\_\_\_

I. Child's Relationship to Authority

55. Some teachers consider important for children to learn certain things as a way of been good mannered and respectful with others. What do you think some of those things should be good for children to learn? Specify \_\_\_\_\_  
Probe:

- \_\_\_\_\_ say "please"  
\_\_\_\_\_ say "I'm sorry"  
\_\_\_\_\_ say "thank you"  
\_\_\_\_\_ say "excuse me"  
\_\_\_\_\_ treat adults in a formal way ("usted vs tú" in Spanish)  
\_\_\_\_\_ not to interrupt an adult when she/he is speaking  
\_\_\_\_\_ not to make eye contact (put head down) when someone scold her/him  
\_\_\_\_\_ not to answer back to an adult  
\_\_\_\_\_ not to shout things out (particularly to adults)  
\_\_\_\_\_ other. Specify \_\_\_\_\_

56. What gives you most pleasure about working with children?  
\_\_\_\_\_
57. What do you do if a child is being very slow over something you have asked her/him to do?  
\_\_\_\_\_
58. What about disagreements? What sort of things make you get on each other's nerves now, you and a child (children)?  
\_\_\_\_\_
59. Do you ever say you are sorry if you are wrong?  
\_\_\_\_\_

60. What happens if a child refuses to do something you want her/him to do? (or what would happen...?)

\_\_\_\_\_  
 Prompt if necessary:

- \_\_\_\_ a. how often does that happen? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_ b. for what sort of things? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_ c. what sorts of punishments do you use, if any? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_ d. do you ever smack children? Under what circumstances?  
 How often? \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_ e. do children respond if you raise your voice? \_\_\_\_\_

61. What things do you do in order to keep the control and discipline of a child (or children)? Would you tell me if you ever use one of the following and how often?

Very often      Often      Sometimes

- \_\_\_\_ a. I don't give something she/he likes or likes to do.  
 \_\_\_\_ b. I ask her/him to go to a corner (or other place) of the classroom.  
 \_\_\_\_ c. I threaten with punishing her/him.  
 \_\_\_\_ d. I say that the policeman is going to take her/him or that the doctor is going to put an injection.  
 \_\_\_\_ e. I say her/him that if she/he doesn't behave, will make get very sick.  
 \_\_\_\_ f. I say that "el cuco" (something unreal) is going to take her/him away.  
 \_\_\_\_ g. I threaten them with leaving them alone and that they are not going to see me never again.  
 \_\_\_\_ h. I say that if she/he does not behave, I'm not going to love her/him (them) any more.  
 \_\_\_\_ i. I compare her/him with a child who behaves better than her/him.

62. Has a child ever tried to hit you?      \_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_ No  
 If yes, how often?      \_\_\_\_ Often      \_\_\_\_ Sometimes      \_\_\_\_ Never  
 In what situation? Why do you think she/he did that?

\_\_\_\_\_  
 63. What did you do? (What would you do?) \_\_\_\_\_

64. Suppose a child tells you she/he has done something and you know quite well that she/he has. What do you do then? \_\_\_\_\_

65. Does a child ever come and tell you she/he has done something she/he thinks she/he shouldn't, before you actually find out?  
 \_\_\_\_ Yes      \_\_\_\_ No. If yes, would you explain it to me?

\_\_\_\_\_

66. Do you expect a child to say she/he is sorry to you when she/he done something that you think she/he shouldn't have done? \_\_Yes \_\_No  
If yes, would you explain it to me? \_\_\_\_\_  
If no, why? \_\_\_\_\_
67. If you think of the way you deal with your children, would you say you are:  
\_\_\_\_strict \_\_\_\_easy going \_\_\_\_other. Explain \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix F

Escuela José Rodríguez de Soto  
(José Rodríguez de Soto School)  
Departamento de Educación  
(Department of Education)  
Ensenada, Puerto Rico

Formulario de Información Básica Sobre su Hijo/a  
Child's Basic Information Questionnaire

Este formulario es para recoger información sobre su hijo(a)  
The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information  
con el propósito de conocerle mejor. La información que provea  
about your child to know him/her better. The information that  
es confidencial. Gracias por su cooperación.  
you provide is confidential. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. **Nombre del niño(a):** \_\_\_\_\_  
Child's name:
2. **Fecha de nacimiento:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Edad:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Date of birth: \_\_\_\_\_ Age: \_\_\_\_\_
3. **Lugar de nacimiento:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Place of birth:
4. **Dirección:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Teléfono:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_
5. **Nombre del padre:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Ocupación:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Father's name: \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
**Educación:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Salario mensual:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Education: \_\_\_\_\_ Monthly wage: \_\_\_\_\_
6. **Nombre de la madre:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Ocupación:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Mother's name: \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
**Educación:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Salario mensual:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Education: \_\_\_\_\_ Monthly wage: \_\_\_\_\_
7. **Si no vive con el padre o la madre, nombre del encargado(a)**  
If the child does not live with a parent, name of the child's  
**del niño(a):** \_\_\_\_\_  
tutor:  
**Dirección:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Teléfono:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Address: \_\_\_\_\_ Telephone: \_\_\_\_\_
8. **Número de niños que viven en el hogar:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Number of children living in the household:  
**Hermanos/as mayores que el/la niño/a:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Older sibling(s):  
**Hermanos/as menores que el/la niño/a:** \_\_\_\_\_  
Younger sibling(s):
9. **Si su hijo(a) padece de alguna alergia, condición o**  
Please, let us know about any allergy, ailment or disease  
**enfermedad, que debemos saber favor de indicarnos cual(es):**  
that your child may suffer:

**Formulario de Información Básica Sobre su Hijo/a**  
 Child's Basic Information Questionnaire

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
**Medicamento(s):** \_\_\_\_\_  
 Medicine(s): \_\_\_\_\_  
**Instrucciones:** \_\_\_\_\_  
 Indications: \_\_\_\_\_

10. **¿Ha sufrido algún accidente(s) su hijo/a? ¿Sí? Explique:** \_\_\_\_\_  
 Has your child suffer any accident(s)? Explain:

\_\_\_\_\_  
 11. **¿Recibe su familia algún tipo de ayuda económica? [ ] No.**  
 Does your family receive any financial assistance? [ ] No.  
 [ ] **Sí. Explique:** \_\_\_\_\_  
 [ ] Yes. Explain:

12. **¿Qué cosas le gustan o le disgustan más a su hijo/a?**  
 What things does your child like or dislike the most?

13. **Favor de ofrecernos cualquier otra información que nos sea**  
 Please, let us know any other information that will help us

**útil para conocer y ayudar mejor a su hijo(a).**  
 know your child better.

\_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Firma del padre o encargado**  
 Parent's or tutor's signature

Appendix G

Time began: \_\_\_\_\_

Time ended: \_\_\_\_\_

CHILDREN'S INTERVIEWS

Hi! My name is \_\_\_\_\_ (interviewer's name) and I am here because I will like you to help me in a school assignment I have to do. I think you could help me by answering me some questions I am goin to ask you.

I am going to write down what you tell me in order to read it when I go back home. I want you to feel free to tell me what you think because what you tell me is important for me. You should know that there is not going to be correct or incorrect answers and whatever you say is going to be between the two of us. Ok?

The way in which we are going to do this is by pretending we are going to play a game. I will be showing you different things (i.e. objects, cards, pictures, etc.) and will ask you to tell me waht you think. Do you have any question? Are you ready to start?

Ok, let us begin.

THE INTERVIEW

A. Background Information (This information can be obtained from the parents and from the school. The purpose of askng some of it is initiate ommunication and rapport with the child).

1. What is your name? \_\_\_\_\_
2. Sex \_\_\_F \_\_\_M
3. Where do you live? \_\_\_\_\_
4. When is your birthday? \_\_\_\_\_
5. How old are you? \_\_\_\_\_

B. Child's Personal Style

6. Using a figure of a child (same sex of the child been interviewee) and a figure of an adult (same sex of the interviewer): This (adult) person wants to become this child's friend. She/he wants to know better the child and she/he asks the child how is she/he. Would you pretend you are that child telling the adult how she/he is?

---

7. Suppose this same child is going to a situation that she/he has not been before, like for example, a new place with people and other children she/he does not know; how do you think she/he feels? What she/he should do?

---

8. Some children like to talk more than other. Do you like to talk a lot or do you rather prefer to be less talkative?

\_\_\_\_\_Talkative                      \_\_\_\_\_Quiet

Any particular reason? \_\_\_\_\_

9. Showing a figure of a child (same sex): Suppose this child is on his own. What do you think she/he does when she/he is by his/her own? or What things does a child do when she/he is by her/his own?

\_\_\_\_\_

10. Some children prefer to spend the major part of their day staying indoors, while other children prefer to stay outdoors. How would you describe yourself? Would you say you are an indoor child \_\_\_\_\_ or an outdoor child \_\_\_\_\_?

11. When some children want to get some things they usually do a lot of things in order to get what they want. This child (same sex as interviewee) wants something from her/his parents, but her/his parents do not want to please her/him. What do you think she/he do?

\_\_\_\_\_

12. Show two figures of children (both the same sex as the interviewee), describe one of them as showing a lot of affection and the other as being less affectionate. Which of these two children is like you in showing affection?

\_\_\_\_\_

C. Spatial and Social Range

13. Some children have a special place where they keep their things while other do not. In your case, do you have a special place where you can keep your own things? \_\_\_\_\_Yes                      \_\_\_\_\_No  
Where? \_\_\_\_\_  
(Would you take me to our place? Would you show me your things?)

14. Do you share your things with your brother/s and sister/s (other children)? \_\_\_\_\_Yes                      \_\_\_\_\_No  
Why? \_\_\_\_\_

15. Some parents have rules for their children about how far they can go by their own from home. In your case, are you free to go wherever you want? or do you have to ask for permission?

\_\_\_\_\_

16. Do you visit other children who live near you?

\_\_\_\_\_

17. Some children like to stay the night at someone else's house, while other prefer to always stay at home. In your case, have you ever stayed the night at someone else's house?

\_\_\_\_\_Yes                      Where? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_No                      Why? \_\_\_\_\_

**D. Child's Skills**

18. Now, I will like to ask you about things you know. Some children know a lot of things and enjoy doing them. I am going to read some of those things. If you use to do it please say "yes". Understood? Ready? (For each "yes" check the appropriate box below).

- a. play with sand.
- b. play with toys
- c. play with clay
- d. make up things (constructs something)
- e. collect objects, things you found
- f. play with puzzles
- g. organize your belongings (without nobody asking you to do so)
- h. color (using coloring book or crayons and paper)
- i. watches magazines, comics, books
- j. make drawings
- k. watches TV
- l. help cleaning the house
- m. help cooking; specify \_\_\_\_\_
- n. help doing the dishes
- o. help folding cloth
- p. help doing the beds
- q. help fixing something broken; example \_\_\_\_\_
- r. sewing
- s. planting
- t. take care of animals
- u. go on errands
- v. take care of younger children
- w. play acting
- y. serving food
- z. other/s \_\_\_\_\_  
(cut and paste, chalk writing, etc.)

19. Now, I am going to read a short list of things some children do by themselves. Please say "yes" for each of these things you do by your own. (Same instruction as Q. 18).

- a. dress/undress yourself
- b. tie up your shoe laces
- c. comb your hair
- d. wash your face and hands
- e. brush your teeth
- f. take a bath
- g. eat by yourself
- h. other \_\_\_\_\_

20. I am going to show you some pictures of things people use when working. I want you to tell me what they are and if you have use them. If you do not know what a thing is put it aside and continue. Ok? (Check appropriate box for each of the tools the child mention).

- a. handsaw
- b. hammer
- c. machete
- d. kitchen knife
- e. screwdriver
- f. small saw
- g. wrench

- h. brace
- i. sand paper
- j. stubby brush
- k. broom
- l. dishtowel
- m. vacuum cleaner
- n. sewing machine
- o. appliances, toasters, etc.
- p. other \_\_\_\_\_

21. Some children are good at doing things they like or want to learn. Please tell me which of the following things do you know: (Idem)

- a. write your name
- b. count objects, things
- c. count money
- d. tell time
- e. distinguish color
- f. distinguish shapes
- g. distinguish size

Another approach to this question is to actually ask the child to do each of the previous.

**E. Things and Objects**

22. Some children use to have different kinds of objects and playthings. Would you tell me what sort of things do you have? Have you any special plaything or game that you use all the time?

23. I am going to show you some (using actual objects) things I want you to tell me if you have them: (check appropriate box for each object the child mentions).

- a. small cars
- b. blocks
- c. human-shaped figures
- d. animal-shaped figures
- e. model houses
- f. other \_\_\_\_\_

24. When you finish using your playthings, do you pick them up or simply let them on the place you were using them?

**F. Activities**

25. Would you tell me what kinds of things do you use during the day?

Where do you do most of those things?

Do you do them alone or with someone? Specify

26. Who do you play with mostly?

---

27. Some children have a game they like a lot to play. Do you like to play something all the time? Specify:

---

G. School Preparation

28. Using a puppet: This child is going for the first time to school. Would you speak through this puppet and tell me how do you think a child who is going to school for the first time feels?

---

29. Would you tell me what things do you think the child will learn in school?

---

How did she/he know that?

---

30. What things do you think she/he is going to like about school?

---

How did she/he know that?

---

31. What things do you think she/he is not going to like about school?

---

How did she/he know that?

---

32. How do you think this child is going to get on in school?

---

33. How do you think the classroom is going to be like?

---

34. How do you think the teacher is going to be like?

---

35. How do you think other children are going to be like?

---

36. Have you ever been to a school? \_\_\_\_\_ Yes \_\_\_\_\_ No

When? \_\_\_\_\_

Which school? \_\_\_\_\_

Did you like it? \_\_\_\_\_

H. Child's Relationship to Authority

37. Some parents consider important for their children to learn certain things as a way of been good and respectful with others. Suppose you want to teach a younger child what some of those things she/he should learn in order to be good and respectful. (Using two child-figures, different sizes) Would you tell me which things does the older child will teach the younger one?

Probe:

- \_\_\_\_\_ a. say "please"
- \_\_\_\_\_ b. say "I'm sorry"
- \_\_\_\_\_ c. say "thank you"
- \_\_\_\_\_ d. say "excusame"
- \_\_\_\_\_ e. treat adults in a formal way ("usted vs. tú" in Spanish)
- \_\_\_\_\_ f. not to interrupt an adult when she/he is speaking
- \_\_\_\_\_ g. not to make eye contact (put head down) when someone scolds you.
- \_\_\_\_\_ h. not to answer back to an adult
- \_\_\_\_\_ i. not to shout things out (particularly to adults)
- \_\_\_\_\_ j. other. Specify \_\_\_\_\_

38. Some children feel more closely related to one parent than to the other. Imagine this child is having a conversation with her/his friend (using child-figures) about they like the most, either her/his mother or father? Who do you think she/he likes the most? Why?
- \_\_\_\_\_

39. Suppose that in the same conversation they talk about the meaning of some words. What respect means?
- \_\_\_\_\_

This is the end of the interview. Would you like to ask anything to me?

\_\_\_\_\_

I will like to thank you very much for all your help. We are going to see each other when classes begin and after a few weeks when I will ask you the same questions.

I want to thank you again and you may pick among these things whatever you wish to have as a way of showing you my thankfulness.

Notes:

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_



## Appendix I

### Procedure for Generating Congruence Scores

The procedure for generating parents'/teacher congruence scores was the following:

- (1) A system was developed to code the parent's and the teacher's responses to the six sections of the Parents' and Teacher's Interviews, respectively.
- (2) The responses of each parent to the six sections of the Parents' Interview were compared to the responses given by the teacher to the same six sections of the Teacher's Interview.
- (3) The number of similar, corresponding or matching responses between a parent and the teacher was established by adding and dividing by the total number of items in each of the six sections of the interviews to obtain a raw score and a percent. For example, the Child's Personal Style (Scale B) section of the interviews has a total of 14 items. A parent responses may match with the teacher's in seven items. The raw score of that parent in that scale is seven out of 14 (e.g.,  $7/14 = .50$ ). The raw score was transformed into a percent by multiplying it by 100 (e.g.,  $.50 \times 100 = 50\%$ ).
- (4) The percent was multiplied by 100 (for each score on each scale, for each parent) to create an integer rather than a fraction. This equalized each scale score with the others, despite differences in the total of items. It also created a continuous variable for hypothesis testing.
- (5) The integer became the congruence score for each parent on each scale. This determined the parent/teacher congruence. Therefore, the parent/teacher congruence score for each child was generated by combining the scores from the six scales for each child and dividing them by the total number of scales, thus generating a mean score for each parent and equalizing

the weight of each scales contribution. For example, based on the parent/teacher congruence, child number one has the following congruence scores on each of the six scales:

<u>Child Id</u>	<u>Scales</u>					
<u>Number</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>H</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	50	80	75	67	68	68.00

Appendix J

Table J-1

Correlation Matrix<sup>a</sup> of Parents'<sup>b</sup> /Teacher's Value Congruence During Time

One

Scales <sup>c</sup>	B	C	E	F	H	I	TS
B	X	.6383**	-.1584	.3651	.4667	.4667	.5401*
C		X	-.0410	.3780	.6901**	.3105	.7163**
E			X	.1085	-.2772	-.2772	.2306
F				X	.5477*	.1826	.6472**
H					X	.2667	.5739*
I						X	.2025
TS							X

<sup>a</sup>Pearson product-moment correlations.

<sup>b</sup>N = 22.

<sup>c</sup>Scales:

B: Child's Personal Style.

C: Spatial Social Range.

E: Things and Objects.

F: Activities.

H: Family Child-Rearing Ideologies.

I. Child's Relationship to Authority.

TS: Total Score.

\*p<.01, two-tailed.

\*\*p<.001, two-tailed.

Table J-2

Correlation Matrix<sup>a</sup> of Parents'<sup>b</sup>Teacher's Value Congruence During TimeTwo

Scales <sup>c</sup>	B	C	F	H	I	TS
B	X	.7837**	.5816*	.4615	.4907	.7938**
C		X	.6543**	.6326*	.6833**	.9278**
F			X	.2291	.4286	.7662**
H				X	.6993**	.7483**
I					X	.7660**
TS						X

<sup>a</sup>Pearson product-moment correlations.

<sup>b</sup>N = 22.

<sup>c</sup>Scales:

B: Child's Personal Style.

C: Spatial Social Range.

E: Things and Objects.

F: Activities.

H: Family Child-Rearing Ideologies.

I. Child's Relationship to Authority.

TS: Total Score.

\*p<.01, two-tailed.

\*\*p<.001, two-tailed.

Appendix K

Table K-1

Correlation Matrix<sup>a</sup> of Children's Scores<sup>b</sup> On Domestic and Academic Skills Scales During Time One.

Scales <sup>c</sup>	DSK1	DSK2	DSK3	DSTO	ASK1	ASK2	ASTO	DSKRA
DSK1	X	.5676*	.2486	.9304**	-.0331	-.3471	-.1998	.5162*
DSK2		X	-.1076	.6690**	-.0887	-.1530	-.1322	.3800
DSK3			X	.4779	-.2098	-.2672	-.2634	.3944
DSTO				X	-.1254	-.3718	-.2675	.6228*
ASK1					X	.6113*	.9117**	-.7522**
ASK2						X	.8824**	-.5951*
ASTO							X	.7560**
DSKRA								X

<sup>a</sup>Pearson product-moment correlations.

<sup>b</sup>N=22.

<sup>c</sup>Scales:

- DSK1: Domestic Home-Related Skills.
- DSK2: Domestic Self-Care Skills.
- DSK3: Domestic Tool Handling Skills.
- DSTO: Domestic Skills Total Score.
- ASK1: Academic Home-Based Skills.
- ASK2: Academic School-Related Skills.
- ASTO: Academic Skills Total Score.
- DSKRA: Domestic/Academic Skills Scores Ratio.

\*p<.01, two-tailed.

\*\*p<.001, two-tailed.

Table K-2

Correlation Matrix<sup>a</sup> of Children's Scores<sup>b</sup> On Domestic and Academic Skills Scales During Time Two.

Scales <sup>c</sup>	DSK1	DSK2	DSK3	DSTO	ASK1	ASK2	ASTO	DSKRA
DSK1	X	.4111	.1708	.8417**	-.2830	-.5105	-.4394	.6364*
DSK2		X	.2851	.7420**	-.2465	-.4708	-.3971	.5345*
DSK3			X	.5529*	-.2492	.0213	-.1272	.2176
DSTO				X	-.3563	-.4951	-.4717	.6786**
ASK1					X	.6258*	.9028**	-.7645**
ASK2						X	.9004**	-.8804**
ASTO							X	.9118**
DSKRA								X

<sup>a</sup>Pearson product-moment correlations.

<sup>b</sup>N=22.

<sup>c</sup>Scales: DSK1: Domestic Home-Related Skills.  
 DSK2: Domestic Self-Care Skills.  
 DSK3: Domestic Tool Handling Skills.  
 DSTO: Domestic Skills Total Score.  
 ASK1: Academic Home-Based Skills.  
 ASK2: Academic School-Related Skills.  
 ASTO: Academic Skills Total Score.  
 DSKRA: Domestic/Academic Skills Scores Ratio.

\*p<.01, two-tailed.

\*\*p<.001, two-tailed.

Appendix L

Table L-1

Teacher's Ratings of Children Performance According to the Teacher's Evaluation Type

<u>Child Identification</u> Number	<u>Teacher's Evaluation Type</u>			
	TES <sup>a</sup>	TE1 <sup>b</sup>	TE2 <sup>c</sup>	QTE <sup>d</sup>
1	AA	AA	AAA	Pos.
2	UA	AUA	UA	Neg.
3	A	AUA	AAA	Neg.
4	A	AUA	AAA	Pos.
5	UA	AUA	UA	Neg.
6	AA	AA	AAA	Pos.
7	AA	AA	AAA	Pos.
8	UA	AUA	UA	Pos.
9	A	AUA	AAA	Neg.
10	A	AUA	AAA	Pos.
11	AA	AA	AAA	Pos.
12	AA	AUA	AAA	Pos.
13	UA	AUA	UA	Neg.
14	AA	AA	AAA	Pos.
15	AA	AA	AAA	Neg.
16	AA	AA	AAA	Pos.
17	A	AUA	AAA	Pos.
18	AA	AA	AAA	Pos.
19	A	AUA	AAA	Neg.
20	A	AUA	AAA	Neg.
21	UA	AUA	UA	Neg.
22	AA	AA	AAA	Neg.

<sup>a</sup> Teacher's Evaluation System.

<sup>b</sup> Teacher's Evaluation One.

<sup>c</sup> Teacher's Evaluation Two.

<sup>d</sup> Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation.

Legend:      AA:    Above Average.  
                   AAA:   Average and Above Average.  
                   A:     Average.  
                   AUA:   Average and Under Average.  
                   UA:    Under Average.  
                   Pos.:   Positive.  
                   Neg.:   Negative.

Appendix M

The Qualitative Teacher Evaluation (QTE)

<u>Child's Identification</u>	<u>Teacher's Remark</u>	<u>Value</u>
Number	On Each Child	Orientation
1	She is a coquette, charming and assertive girl. Loved by other children. A leader. She is the teacher of the group. A well-behaved child.	Positive.
2	She is very slow, though a lovely and charming girl. She is very slow in learning in general. She does not understand specific tasks fast. She usually takes a long time doing her daily school work.	Negative.
3	She is an ordinary child. She is always playing and her general demeanor is fair. She is clever but not serious and too talkative. She likes to show off in front of other children to call their attention.	Negative.
4	She is a nice girl, she likes to share things with other children and to participate in classroom activities. Nevertheless she is a sick child, she makes up quickly and has a very good performance.	Positive.
5	She is a very sweet and charming girl. However, she is shy and insecure. She does not performs as she should in the kindergarten.	Negative.
6	This is a very good, very well-behaved, and a model child! She smart and obedient too.	

<u>Child's Identification</u>	<u>Teacher's Remark</u>	<u>Value</u>
Number	On Each Child	Orientation
7	She is a very good girl. She gets along very well with her classmates. She is well-behaved and very well-disciplined; an exemplary student in the whole sense of the word.	Positive.
8	She likes to sing and dance. A very happy and lively girl, somewhat talkative, but obedient and respectful.	Positive.
9	An ordinary child. She is fairly smart, but talkative and annoying. She is always distracted.	Negative.
10	A very good and serious girl. She cooperates a lot, helps cleaning and organizing the classroom. She has a very good command of her vocabulary.	Positive.
11	This is a very cooperative child. He helps picking up things and organizing the classroom. He is eager to learn. He is an extremely intelligent child.	Positive.
12	He is a very well-behaved boy. He is very sharp. His answers are accurate and correct. He answers what I think. He "reads my mind."	Positive.
13	A very nervous child. He has to think things over to give an answer. He is insecure and self-contained. He gets distracted very easily.	Negative.
14	This is a very intelligent boy. He is serious and knowledgeable. It is very easy and enjoyable to work with him.	Positive.
15	Although he is extremely intelligent, he also is very annoying. He moves around a lot and likes to be the center of attention. He is not well-disciplined either.	Negative.

<u>Child's Identification</u>	<u>Teacher's Remark</u>	<u>Value</u>
Number	On Each Child	Orientation
16	A very good boy. Very intelligent, cooperative and well-behaved. He draws very nicely. He is good-mannered and easy going.	Positive.
17	He is a good child. He gets along with other children and does not ever get in any trouble.	Positive.
18	A remarkably excellent student; very good, cooperative, exemplary and well-disciplined child.	Positive.
19	He is insecure. He is always moving around the classroom, too active. He can not sit still for a moment. He gets distracted very easily.	Negative.
20	He is very annoying. too active, and likes to show off a lot. Kind of ordinary in all other aspects.	Negative.
21	He is not that smart. He does not produce very much. He does not share with other children. He is stubborn.	Negative.
22	Although he is intelligent, and a leader, he is stubborn. He is too active. He does not concentrate on school tasks and gets distracted very easily.	Negative.

Appendix N

Table N-1

Teacher's Evaluation System (TES) and the Parents/Teacher Value  
Congruence for Times One and Two.

Congruence scales	<u>Chi-square result</u>	
	Time One	Time Two
Child's Personal Style (B)	3.144	.087
Spatial Social Range (C)	6.599*	4.433
Things and Objects (E)	1.707	.335
Activities (F)	1.700	2.411
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (H)	.635	1.744
Child's Relationship to Authority (I)	.162	2.411
Total Score (TS)	2.142	3.144

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=2, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

Table N-2

Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) and the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence  
for Times One and Two.

Congruence scales	<u>Chi-square result</u>	
	Time One	Time Two
Child's Personal Style (B)	.265	.026
Spatial Social Range (C)	2.554	1.920
Things and Objects (E)	.319	.115
Activities (F)	.752	.752
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (H)	.127	.674
Child's Relationship to Authority (I)	.127	.752
Total Score (TS)	1.506	1.920

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

Table N-3

Teacher's Evaluation Two (TE2) and the Parents/Teacher Value Congruence for Times One and Two.

Congruence scales	<u>Chi-square result</u>	
	Time One	Time Two
Child's Personal Style (B)	1.572	.221
Spatial Social Range (C)	3.164	1.572
Things and Objects (E)	.597	.010
Activities (F)	.000	4.141*
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (H)	.054	.623
Child's Relationship to Authority (I)	.054	1.035
Total Score (TS)	.054	1.572

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

Appendix O

Table O-1

Teacher's Evaluation System (TES) and the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills for Times One and Two.

Skills scales	Chi-square result	
	Time One	Time Two
Domestic home-related skills (DSK1)	3.323	11.497*
Domestic self-care skills (DSK2)	1.989	12.723*
Domestic tool-handling skills (DSK3)	9.390*	11.659*
Domestic skills total score (DSTO)	3.323	9.360*
Academic home-based skills (ASK1)	3.144	13.575*
Academic school-related skills (ASK2)	3.323	10.934*
Academic skills total score (ASTO)	4.212	13.671*
Domestic/academic skills ratio (DSKRA)	9.900*	7.250*

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=2, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

Table O-2

Teacher's Evaluation Two (TE2) and the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills for Times One and Two.

Skills scales	<u>Chi-square result</u>	
	Time One	Time Two
Domestic home-related skills (DSK1)	.054	1.943
Domestic self-care skills (DSK2)	.520	1.572
Domestic tool-handling skills (DSK3)	2.557	3.281
Domestic skills total score (DST0)	.054	2.557
Academic home-based skills (ASK1)	.623	.054
Academic school-related skills (ASK2)	.054	2.265
Academic skills total score (AST0)	.319	.054
Domestic/academic skills ratio (DSKRA)	3.164	.986

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

Table O-3

Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) and the Children's Domestic and Academic Skills for Times One and Two.

Skills scales	Chi-square result	
	Time One	Time Two
Domestic home-related skills (DSK1)	.000	3.616
Domestic self-care skills (DSK2)	.000	.674
Domestic tool-handling skills (DSK3)	1.506	.808
Domestic skills total score (DSTO)	.001	5.091*
Academic home-based skills (ASK1)	2.825	.808
Academic school-related skills (ASK2)	.127	1.023
Academic skills total score (ASTO)	9.779*	.002
Domestic/academic skills ratio (DSKRA)	.015	.086

\* $\chi^2$ , (df=1, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

## Appendix P

### Parents/Teacher's Value Congruence, Children's Skills and the Teacher's Ratings of Child Performance Before (Time One) and After (Time Two) the School Semester Began:

#### A Supplementary Comparative Analysis

To examine more thoroughly the results reported, in light of the changes in children's social integration and learning process, a supplementary comparative analysis between Times One and Two was made. The two phases of the research explored the relations between the children's social integration process in the home and in the school environment. The congruence between the values and attitudes of the parents and the teacher, and the children's domestic and academic skills, were examined during Time One and Two, respectively. The hypotheses tested the relations between the children's home environment experiential background and the social integration and learning process of the children in the school environment. The use of the same measures for hypothesis testing made it possible to perform analogous analyses during both phases.

#### Parents/Teacher's Value Congruence and the Teacher's Ratings of Child's Performance Before (Time One) and After (Time Two) the School Semester Began

A supplementary comparative analysis between the parents/teacher's congruence during Times One and Two was performed. The Congruence Scales Scores were independently chi-square analyzed to determine the relations between each of the six congruence measures and the teacher's evaluation before (Time One) and after (Time Two) the school semester began. The purpose of this analysis was to assess the changes in the children's social integration process as the result of school attendance.

The Relationship Between Value Congruence and the  
Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE)

During Times One and Two

Relevant analyses for testing this hypothesis were performed during the two phases. The first congruence scale used to explore the effects of school attendance on the children's social integration and school learning process was Spatial and Social Range (Scale C).

For this scale the high congruence children's scores during both phases were compared. The findings of the chi-square analysis to determine the effect of school attendance during Times One and Two on the teacher's evaluation of a child's performance as related to the parents/teacher's value congruence on the child's Spatial and Social Range (Scale C) are included in Table 8. The chi-square test result was significant [ $(\chi^2, (1, N= 22) = 6.497 p < .05/)$ ] for the Spatial and Social Range (Scale C). The children's social integration and school learning process changed as an effect of school attendance; that is, the children who were congruent on Time One became more congruent during Time Two, and the children who were incongruent on Time One became more incongruent during Time Two. The Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (QTE) of the more incongruent children was low or negative, and it was high or positive for the more congruent children. This pattern was found for the congruence scales that were statistically significant such as Child's Relationship to Authority (Scale I), and the Total Score (TS).

Based on the analysis recorded in Table 8, the parents/teacher's value congruence on Child's Spatial and Social Range (Scale C), Child's Relationship to Authority (Scale I) and the Total Score (TS) are the

Table 8

Qualitative Teacher's Evaluation (OTE) as Related to Parents/Teacher  
Value Congruence During Times One and Two.

Congruence scales <sup>a</sup>	Chi-square result
Child's Personal Style (B)	.265
Spatial Social Range (C)	6.497*
Activities (F)	2.909
Family Child-Rearing Ideologies (H)	2.825
Child's Relationship to Authority (I)	8.983*
Total Score (TS)	4.583*

<sup>a</sup>High congruence children during Times One and Two.

\* $\chi^2$ , (1, N=22),  $p < .05$ .

most determinant on the effect of school attendance on the children's social integration and the school learning process.

**Children's Skills and Knowledge, and the Teacher's Rating  
of a Child Performance Before (Time One) and After  
(Time Two) the School Semester Began**

A supplementary comparative analysis of the children's skills and knowledge during Times One and Two was also performed. The Skills Scales Scores were independently analyzed to determine the relations between each of the eight skills measures and the teacher's evaluation before (Time One) and after (Time Two) the school semester began. The aim of this analysis was to assess the changes in the children's learning process in the classroom environment, as the result of school attendance.

Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) as Related to the  
Children's Domestic and Academic Skills  
During Time One and Two

The Domestic Skills Total Score (DSTO) was the first scale used to examine the relationship between the children's domestic skills and the TE1 during Times One and Two.

For this scale the high domestic skills children during both phases were compared. The findings of the chi-square analysis to determine the effect of school attendance on the teacher's evaluation of a child's performance as related to the range of domestic and academic skills on the Domestic Skills Score Total (DSTO) are included in Table 9. The chi-square test result was significant [ $\chi^2(1, N=22) = 4.402, p < .05$ ] see Table 9]. These findings confirm that the teacher underevaluated those children who had an overall set of domestic skills, and highly evaluated children who had a wide range of academic skills learnt in school attendance.

Analysis performed reveal that the teacher's evaluation is associated with the overall rather than with the individual domestic

skills. In fact, this is confirmed by the chi-square test result for the Domestic/Academic Skills Ratio (DSKRA) (see Table 9). The teacher's evaluation is low for children with more domestic than academic skills. On the contrary, for children with more academic than domestic skills, the teacher's evaluation is high. The inverse relationship between the two set of skills is a result of school attendance on the children's social integration and the school learning process.

Summing up, the child's transition from the home environment, as well as the effects of school attendance on the social integration and learning process encompasses an intricate set of relations. The teacher evaluates the children according to her understanding of what they should come to school with, in terms of their experiences, values, attitudes, and practices.

On the one hand, the teacher's specific ideas about children's spatial and social range, their relationship to authority, general values and attitudes impact the way she evaluates children. On the other hand, the teacher's notion of the skills and knowledge with which children should come to school permeates the teacher's ratings of a child's performance. The teacher's conceptions, in regard to the skills and knowledge that children's should have at the moment of entering school, affect more highly or positively the children who have a wide range of academic skills once into the classroom and school setting.

Table 9

Teacher's Evaluation One (TE1) as Related to Children's Domestic and Academic Skills During Times One and Two.

Skills scales <sup>a</sup>	Chi-square result
Domestic home-related skills (DSK1)	.321
Domestic self-care skills (DSK2)	.105
Domestic tool-handling skills (DSK3)	1.766
Domestic skills total score (DSTO)	4.402*
Academic home-based skills (ASK1)	6.858*
Academic school-related skills (ASK2)	.485
Academic skills total score (ASTO)	4.583*
Domestic/academic skills score ratio (DSKRA)	7.904*

<sup>a</sup>High skill value children during Times One and Two.

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