

**Characteristics of a Well Brought-up Child:
Perceptions of South African Black (Zulu Speaking),
Coloured, Indian, and White (English and Afrikaans
Speaking) Mothers.**

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**Unless specifically indicated to the contrary,
this dissertation is the result of my own work.**

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ABSTRACT

A Westernised model of parenting dominates the literature, and is largely the model against which all other parenting practices are compared. This study aimed to address whether the principles inherent in this model, actually form the basis of South African parents' ideas of 'well brought-up' children. Focus groups were conducted on groups of white (English and Afrikaans), coloured, Indian and black (urban, Zulu) mothers, and then qualitatively analysed. Family demographics and variables, such as stress levels and socioeconomic status, were also compared across groups. Some characteristics such as love, respect, consideration and obedience were important for all groups, whereas independence, individuality, honesty, religion and education were discussed in only some of the groups. The findings may prove useful for developing localised parenting programs, enhancing understanding across the groups, furthering education, and stimulating further research.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

One of the broad aims of parenting and child-rearing is the socialisation of the child. The parents are primarily responsible for the child gradually learning to adjust into a specific society with its own particular set of values, attitudes and expectations for the members of that society (Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995; Schoombee & Mantzaris, 1987). Socialisation emerges from the myriad of interactive dynamic exchanges between the child and its family, in which both the child and the parents are influenced and change over many years (Brooks, 1981; Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995).

Effective parenting is a demanding form of interpersonal relationship, which requires more skill and energy than other life activities (Brooks, 1981; Fisher & Fisher, 1976). Parenting includes some of the most frustrating problems encountered in life (Brooks, 1981) and is made complex “by the interaction of individual characteristics and perceptions of parents with the behaviour and development of the child” (Crnic & Booth, 1991, p.1042). Moreover, the process of parenting is partially determined by what one feels to be a desirable outcome for one’s child. The aim, in terms of the desired outcome, is therefore integral to the process of parenting.

“Parents have frequently been implicated as principal causal agents in their children’s behavioural, emotional, personality, and cognitive development” (Holden & Edwards, 1989, p.29). They exert a meaningful and powerful influence on the psychic being, social life and personality development of the child (Pretorius, 1992). The interrelationship between a parent and a child thus makes many important contributions to both of their lives.

It has become evident that the skill of parenting must be acquired. This was relatively easy in the past with the close interactions between extended families. However, due to the nature of small nuclear families that characterise Westernised societies today, parents often tend to rely on experts to provide advice and support (Brooks, 1981).

Within the discipline of psychology, the child-rearing values, attitudes and practices of the

dominant white, Westernised culture have been considered to be the 'norm' for optimal child development. These convictions have served as a standard of comparison for all other parenting practices (Coll, Meyer & Brillon, 1995). Tulkin (1977) demonstrates that cultures that were noted as different from the Western 'norm' were often regarded as 'wrong' or 'inferior'. It has become evident through numerous research studies that parental goals and practices differ for various reasons, and that no method is superior to any other in a specific society (Coll, et al., 1995; LeVine, 1974). It is therefore important to acknowledge and understand these differences, by firstly being able to describe the differing goals and aims that exist for diverse cultures.

Furthermore, there is evidence that restrictions and constraints to our knowledge arise by concentrating on only Western ideals. It has been documented that "[i]f children are studied within the confines of a single culture, many events are taken as natural, obvious or part of human nature and are therefore not reported and not considered as variables" (Whiting & Whiting, 1960, in Bornstein, 1991, p.4). Consequently, numerous variables which are necessary in the process of parenting may be overlooked due to the restricted view of the researchers. In addition, when researching the practices of different groups, certain practices that were not originally considered as necessary become evident in the child-rearing process. These may then be adopted as legitimate parenting variables (Whiting & Whiting, 1960, in Bornstein, 1991). Western psychologies have a narrow subject data base, tending to undertake a biased sampling of world cultures, and through this a bias in the audience addressed also occurs (Serpell, 1990, in Bornstein, 1991).

Ogbu (1981) demonstrated that child-rearing attitudes and practices have, however, been related to cultural and ethnic backgrounds, of which race group and language are examples. Empirical studies have shown that child-rearing practices are a complex function of numerous variables including parental age, psychological characteristics, social support, environment, educational background, religion and recollected childhood experiences. It is therefore important not to overlook these factors when making generalisations in terms of one of the above, for example race in this study (Coll, et al., 1995; LeVine, 1974). In addition, parenting styles and disciplinary techniques demonstrate a particular outcome that parents are aiming

for in their children. Consequently numerous factors contribute to parents' expectations of how to bring up their children. According to Whiting and Child (1953, in Bornstein, 1991, p.3) variation in parenting factors is the principle reason why individuals in different cultures are who they are, and are distinct from one another.

South Africa is a country of diverse racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. Children are the future of this country. Education and policy needs to be appropriate to its population. The variety of ways in which children are brought up, as well as the ideas underlying the rearing processes, should thus be noted. One way of parenting should not be seen as superior, rather each should be understood and valued within its own context. This dissertation thus aims to focus on the views of the various race groups of South African mothers. By keeping certain variables constant comparisons across the groups are facilitated. The focus of this study is to determine cross-cultural perceptions of what constitutes a 'well brought-up child'.

Through this, one may be able to develop an integrated understanding of the various parents' perceptions and ideals due to the nature of their backgrounds and socialisation processes. Whether the nature of these perceptions differ, or are similar, a sensitivity will be able to be developed which could potentially be beneficial to psychologists, teachers and lay people in a move towards a more multicultural society.

A Brief History of Parenting

Historically, even though the child-rearing values and practices of the White Anglo Saxon middle-class culture have dominated the literature, there have been large shifts in this context of child-rearing practices and priorities over time (Coll, et al., 1995). Thus it is difficult to say that there is one particular best standard for child-rearing (Coll et al., 1995).

Both Elias (1978) and Postman (1983) discuss a time when 'childhood' did not exist.

Postman (1983) says childhood is analogous to language learning in that it has a biological basis, but is not realised unless the social environment triggers and nurtures it. Therefore, if a culture is dominated by a paradigm that requires the segregation of the young, then childhood

will emerge. It may be for this reason that the notion of a 'well brought-up child' may vary according to culture and other societal variables. There may be varying conceptions of the importance of childhood in the various domains.

During the Middle Ages, through to pre-modern times, Europe's view of children differed greatly from the present (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992; Elias, 1978). Children's basic needs were attended to, and as soon as they were physically able (usually 7 years of age), they began to learn skills in the adult world of work, in order to be able to contribute to the local economy. They were never pampered and protected as the children of today tend to be (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). However, children were, at the same time, recognised as different from adults, with special needs such as to be cared for financially and spiritually.

By the eighteenth century there were new ideas. Locke (in Bukatko & Daehler, 1992) philosophised that the child was born with a blank mind which needed to be imprinted with perceptual experiences, by the parent, who was neither too indulgent nor too restrictive. In contrast, Rousseau (in Bukatko & Daehler, 1992) felt that children were born with an ability to act out impulses without necessarily wanting to do wrong, and that adults needed to exert gentle guidance and authority to bring these in line with social order.

Three basic orientations of child-rearing have emerged in Anglo Saxon society over the years (Stendler, 1950, in Coll et al., 1995). Firstly, the moralistic attitude and self-denial of the Victorian society had an influence on child-rearing approaches. Secondly, by the 1930's, behaviourism was the prevailing paradigm influencing parenting. It focussed on the struggle between infants and their parents, and emphasised proper training techniques. Thirdly, from the 1950's, psychoanalytic and child-centred trends became more popular, focussing on parental nurturance and the plasticity of infant development.

Despite these changes, mainstream literature has portrayed ethnic and minority families as either dysfunctional or in need of resocialisation in order to fit in the 'dominant cultural' norms of child-rearing (Coll et al., 1995). Therefore it is necessary that we look at this dominant paradigm as well as other forms of parenting and socialisation in their contexts.

CHAPTER 2: CULTURE AND PARENTING

Definitions of Culture, Race and Community

'Culture' refers to many things (Harkness & Super, 1995). Any setting or environment embodies important cultural meanings (Harkness & Super, 1995) which are interpreted differently by individuals. The term 'culture' was originally developed to describe differences and similarities between groups of people, but social scientists refer to 'culture' as "the way of life of a particular society" (Odetola & Ademola, 1985, p.37). It is "a configuration of learned and shared patterns of behaviour and of understandings concerning the meaning and value of things, ideas, emotions and actions" (Odetola & Ademola, 1985, p.37). Thus cultural practices are laden with values about what is natural, mature, morally right and aesthetically pleasing, and this forms part of a group's identity (Miller & Goodnow, 1995). Therefore the way in which children of a particular group are reared and what is considered optimal for their development is 'culturally' determined. "[I]ndividuals and society are seen as mutually constituted and co-created. Society produces persons of a particular kind and at the same time people produce society" (Miller & Goodnow, 1995, p.8). The process of individual development is regarded as inseparable from interpersonal, cultural and community processes (Rogoff, Baker-Sennett, Lacasa, & Goldsmith, 1995). Despite this, it has also been noted that a "diversity of perspectives is a fact of cultural life" (Miller & Goodnow, 1995, p.13), and thus there are a variety of ways of perceiving things within each cultural group.

A 'community', instead, may be described as either a particular geographical area or a non-territorially based network of relationships that provides friendship, esteem, and tangible support (Heller et al., in Sonn & Fisher, 1996). Ethnic and racial groups may be envisaged as communities as they may be founded on shared criteria such as language, history and symbols (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990, in Sonn & Fisher, 1996). A fixed group membership (e.g. race or religion) is used as a standard of judgement to assign social position within a community (Harrison, Wilson, Pine, Chan, & Buriel, 1990). Although people are members of numerous groups, it appears that ethnic groups are the primary membership groups that reinforce norms, values and identities and provide structures and support systems crucial to

the well-being of members (Sonn & Fisher, 1996). These factors may also be vital in shaping child-rearing behaviours and attitudes to those considered acceptable by a particular community.

Race groups in South Africa have been separated by geographical areas, laws and social practices by Apartheid policies. Socialisation processes were consequently also separated. Therefore childhood development occurred along segregated lines, and many 'racial issues' became embodied within community and cultural issues. Although groups are attempting to move beyond these boundaries now, much of child development remains deeply embedded in ethnic backgrounds. It is acknowledged that although these issues are not synonymous, there are many factors which overlap within them, and thus it has been included as an important factor influencing child-rearing patterns in South Africa. Thus, the terms 'culture' and 'community' will be used when referring to issues as outlined in the definitions above, and 'race' when specifically referring to the individual's racial group.

Cultural Influence(s) on Child-rearing

Child-rearing is "the process by which parent and other child-rearing agents transmit and by which children acquire prior existing competencies required by their social, economic, political, and other future adult cultural tasks" (Ogbu, 1981, p.418). Miller and Goodnow (1995) state that children enter the world innocent of culture, attempting to reach adulthood, and that this is obtained by acquiring culture through socialisation and development. Both LeVine (1977) and Ogbu (1981) argue that child-rearing techniques depend on the nature of competencies that individuals are expected to have in given populations. The relationship between culture and parenting is fraught with complexities. These may be oversimplified in a study of this nature in order to make them more accessible and understandable. In addition, it must be noted that although this study attempts to isolate similarities and differences in the process of parenting, this may perpetuate stereotypes at best, and cultural stigmatisation at worst. However, this process of identification is necessary in order to be able to utilise the findings to work towards a more unified understanding of parenting.

It is impossible to detach the child-rearing relationship between a parent and a child from the cultural group from which they originate. One's environment of infancy and childhood is shaped by cultural values, traditions, expected patterns of behaviour, and norms that are all drawn from the socio-cultural experience of one's parents (LeVine, 1974; LeVine 1977; Schoombee & Mantazaris, 1987). Thus development is influenced from the moment of birth and continues throughout life (Odetola & Ademola, 1985). One's culture is the primary source of information about the facts of child-rearing, it influences parents' goals, beliefs and practices, which in turn influence the way in which parents carry out their child-rearing responsibilities (Grusec, Hastings, & Mammone, 1994; LeVine, 1977; Luster & Okagaki, 1993). Thus parents are not independent child-rearers, they are rather influenced in a way defined by their social group (Ogbu, 1981).

It has been found that a particular community generally rears its children according to 'natural' standards which have worked in the past, and therefore are likely to ensure success of that community in the future (Bhana & Naidoo, 1988; Bornstein, 1991). If these cultural norms change in unstable societies, parenting practices are likely to change accordingly (Youniss, 1994). Any culture is dynamic, stable and enduring, it changes, but is also continuous from one generation to the next because parents have been taught to follow their forerunners, as children in their turn will be taught to follow theirs (Odetola & Ademola, 1985).

A child's personality is formed according to the cultural environment within which it is reared, but even within this matrix, factors will differ; i.e. according to where the child is reared (rural, urban or metro), the socio-economic status of the child's parents, the type of school attended, and the variety of close friends (Odetola & Ademola, 1985). Cultural values are not inherited by individuals, but are learnt through practising and acting according to the ways of a society (Odetola & Ademola, 1985).

The main distinguishing characteristic of child-rearing across cultures occurs through the teaching of discipline (Schoombee & Mantazaris, 1987). It depends on the cultural expectations of the society in which the child-rearing takes place. However, although the

concept of discipline differs across cultures, its function is always the same, i.e. it shapes a child's personality, attitudes and behaviour in order to adapt to a specific social life (Schoombee & Mantazaris, 1987).

However, some elements of child-rearing are common across cultures because of the universal indigenous nature of children's characteristics, a possible instinctual nature of parenting to specific stages in a child's life cycle, and due to certain environmental factors (Bornstein, 1991; Odetola & Ademola, 1985). There may be some similar patterns in the ways in which parents socialise their children. Nurturance is necessary in infants and toddlers. By four/five years of age, control, correction and reprimanding of misbehaviour becomes common, and social skills training is necessary in school going children (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). LeVine (1974) proposed that cultural groups have some degree of commonality and that there are universal hierarchical goals that parents have for their children: firstly ensuring their health and survival, secondly teaching the child skills which will eventually promote economic security, and thirdly, developing the traits within the child that are consistent with his/her locally defined virtue (Okagaki & Divecha, 1993). The parenting practices used to obtain these goals may vary across cultural groups, and may be a function of the environmental context of the family. Therefore these techniques may be unique and contextualised (Bornstein, 1991; Bukatko & Daehler, 1992; LeVine, 1988, in Okagaki & Divecha, 1993).

Nevertheless, the influence of culture on parenting practices is very often overlooked (Bornstein, 1991; Fox & Solis-Camara, 1997). Without a cross-cultural developmental perspective, the true diversity and expanse of human behaviour cannot be grasped, and nor can it be known how diverse factors interact to shape our ability to think, perceive, speak, feel and act (Bornstein, 1991). Ultimately, one's culture and genetic background determine the structure and nature of the social and physical environment that the individual is reared in, and that influences one's course and outcome of development (Bornstein, 1991).

Table 2.1. Summary of values and perceptions of various groups, as demonstrated in the literature

	BLACK	INDIAN	COLOURED	WHITE	
				ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS
GROUP VALUES	Extended families Beliefs in ancestors Strong group identity Gender specific behaviour	Extended families Religion Gender specific behaviour	Extended families Religion Strong group identity	Smaller families Child centred	Religion Strong group identity
EXPECTATIONS OF CHILDREN	Respect Obedience Conformity Support for aged	Loving Interdependence Well behaved, obedience Conformity Obligation to family Achievement, educated Shame Tidy appearance Helpful	**	Loving Independent, individualistic Respect Self confident Successful Happy	Courageous Practical Loyal
FACTORS INFLUENCING CHILD OUTCOME	Age of child Strict discipline Community folklore Imitation of parents and kin	Family Westernisation	Westernisation Ancestral groups	Strict discipline	Parents

** Not found in the available literature.

Western influences are strong in the White sector of the South African population, therefore one can speculate that tendencies found in the West related to child-rearing and discipline can also be found here. However, it has been questioned whether these influences also hold for the other South African communities (Schoombee & Mantazaris, 1987). Family structures and ideals appear to be determined by the community within which one lives and the culture from which one originates. Thus these factors will influence what is perceived as important in children.

The literature shows that although context can influence parenting, the nature of child-rearing has many similarities across groups. Values such as love and respect in children are universal, but have been operationalised to be appropriate to various circumstances. However differences do exist across the cultural groups and the similarities and differences have been summarised in Table 2.1 above.

Typical Black Family Values

There are a variety of black cultural groups within South Africa. Due to the location of the study, the focus will be on the Zulu speaking group. There are a number of similarities between this group and the more traditional 'African' culture. The areas of congruence will be discussed first, before a more focussed look at traditional and current Zulu family patterns is presented.

Odetola and Ademola (1985) describe the traditional African way of life as one strongly characterised by a feeling of togetherness, combined with strong emotional ties. There is a feeling of solidarity, reciprocity and maximum co-operation through which a cultural identity is formed. Societal norms are enforced in this group through feelings of guilt and shame if inappropriate behaviours occur (Odetola & Ademola, 1985). The traditional African family lives in extended, cohesive family units. They emphasise the group, solidarity, communion and value the extended family rather than the needs of the individual and autonomy. They value social security and welfare, and always help those related by blood. According to Odetola and Ademola (1985), the eldest man is the supreme head of the family, his function is

to instill discipline and maintain law and order in the family. He is assisted by his brothers, sisters, children and cousins. These individuals receive social recognition by performing duties faithfully and meeting obligations, as well as through their group membership.

Odetola and Ademola (1985) describe the traditional African family's view of children. They say that the children in the extended family are taught the group's norms and values through a socialisation process, often using traditional myths and folklore. They are taught about their group's culture and taboos so that they will not violate them. Furthermore, children learn economic skills which are handed down between generations, through imitation and practice.

Odetola and Ademola (1985) write that the socialisation of the African child is not only the function of the parents, but also of the kinsmen living with the child's parents. However, they write, it is the parent's duty to direct the child's behaviour toward the desired normative socially valued goals using rewards, punishment and instruction. LeVine (1980, in Luster & Okagaki, 1993) conducted a study which compared parents in tropical Africa with those of middle class American families. It was determined that the goal of African child-rearing was to produce a maximal number of children who would survive in order to be able to contribute to a subsistence economy and provide for their parents in their old age, thus these infants were given lavish attention.

African parents often expect their children (especially in rural areas) to contribute to the domestic unit from a very young age (LeVine, 1974). As soon as the African child is old enough to comprehend instructions (about 6 or 7 years old), they are required to perform small tasks, and copy the acts of adults to the best of their ability, through passive and not formal learning (LeVine, 1980, in Luster & Okagaki, 1993; Odetola & Ademola, 1985). For the first few years there is no discrimination between the sexes of the children, and both boys and girls do many daily chores (Odetola & Ademola, 1985). As their age increases, their share of domestic duties increases as does the division of labour between the sexes. By adolescence, the boys take part in herding activities, whereas the girls fetch water, help with the running of the household, and care for the infants. The boys typically have less duties than the girls. The parents expect the children to be obedient in order for them to become

responsible workers (LeVine, 1980, in Luster & Okagaki, 1993). In addition to these domestic duties, children are expected to give respect to their elders, and to support their aging parents when they are mature (LeVine, 1974).

Swart (1996) explored which factors would describe a 'well brought-up child' in deep rural, peri-urban, and other geographical locations. According to participants of the study, a child should be busy or active, in ways which demonstrate their respect for adults, for example, obeying commands, distributing their messages, assisting with chores, etc. (Swart, 1996). In addition to this, the child should be curious about the world around him/her, should not be noisy, should have an adequate knowledge about his/her culture, and should learn from his/her siblings (Swart, 1996).

Research on black families has characterised the parents as harsh, rigid and strict. However, it looks at the parents in relation to Eurocentric models of parenting, rather than in the context in which they were intended (Kelley, Power & Wimbush, 1992).

The Zulu family in specific, has similarities to the above, but is described in more detail as follows. The mothers carry their babies on their backs, because they believe that this strengthens the bond that they develop with their children (Ndlovu, Seery, & Mshengu, 1994). They have been found to have an indulging attitude towards infants and toddlers (LeVine, 1980, in Luster & Okagaki, 1993; Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983). Traditionally, Zulu children have grown up playing close to the homestead, learning by imitation, and gradually taking on simple chores as described above, where division of labour is by sex (West, 1976). The identity of each person is traditionally absorbed into the group that he/she belongs in, with child-rearing focussing on the fact that safety, importance and prestige rest within the group (Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983). Consequently, the child is taught to conform, and precocity is not admired. It has been determined that the greatest ambition of all children should be to take on the stereotyped duties of adulthood (Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983).

The processes of migrant labour and urbanisation have created havoc in the traditional Zulu family structures. Men often leave their families in rural areas whilst they look for work in the

towns. Often their temporary departures have become permanent, thus mothers and children have been left to tend to the farming activities (West, 1976). Chiefs, traditionally responsible for the clans, have become answerable to politicians, thus the hierarchical arrangement of the families has become disturbed (Tyrrell, & Jurgens, 1983). The traditionally patriarchal societies, which emphasise extended family ties, have become upset, and consequently family life has largely disintegrated (West, 1976).

In the Zulu families, good and bad fortune have been attributed to the activities of their ancestors whose spirits are still central to most of their lives, and are often blended into practices of Christianity and Western medicine (Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983; West, 1976). The traditional religious and magical belief systems are still largely adhered to, and flourish in both urban and rural settings today with migrant labourers often taking comfort in them (Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983). It appears that even in those who have overtly abandoned their beliefs, there is a persistence of them at deeper levels of the mind (Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983).

It can be determined that although there has been a considerable amount of change in the structures of the Zulu family lives over the past century, one can study these families in their specific contexts. Specific family dynamics, once accounted for, could lead to valuable insights into each situation.

Typical Indian Family Values

The current literature on South African Indian families is sparse, but one can conclude from what is available, that these families are in transition, and that extended families are being replaced with nuclear families to a large extent (Mason, 1987). Due to the nature of the study, traditional family practices which still occur in many families will first be reviewed, and then the focus will move to the process of acculturation which is increasingly occurring today.

Indian culture and religion, traditionally, has tended to concentrate on the family group rather than on the individual. They have been noted to value the sacrifice of individuals for the benefit of the family (Shon & Ja, 1982, in Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994). South African

Indians regard kinsmen of primary importance, since each person receives a foundation in social values and behaviour, and derives status in the community from their family (Mahabeer, 1993). Thus the extended family has been described as a 'collective conscience', which binds and controls all members, and at the same time, promotes conformity (Pillay, 1989).

Family roles in Indian families are generally well defined, with the males being defined as primary wage earners and decision makers (Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994). Durvasula & Mylvaganam (1994) point out that the goal of parenting in Indian families, rather than providing the child with sufficient skills to leave the family, is to instill a sense of obligation and duty to the family in the child, in order that he/she be able to obtain a higher spirituality. The Indian children are expected to bring honour to the family through their achievements, and qualities such as cohesive and generational interdependence, obedience, conformity, obligation, and shame are both valued and expected by their parents (Rangaswami, 1996; Schoombee & Mantazaris, 1987). At the same time, the child-rearing practices of Indian families tend to foster security and affectionate indulgence in their children, and the tasks that the children have to perform are specified to guide orderly growth (Rangaswami, 1996).

Religion plays an important role in the South African Indian families. They can be divided into three main religious groups which have different value systems, thus influencing their child-rearing practices (Bhana & Naidoo, 1988). These religious groups are Muslims, Christians and Hindus. The Hindus are further divided into Tamil, Hindi, Gujerati and Telegu language groups, but there have been no documented differences in child-rearing practices between these different Hindu language groups (Bhana & Naidoo, 1988). The largest portion of the Indian population group tends to be Hindu (Kuper, 1960).

Due to the fact that only Hindu Indian mothers were interviewed in this study, the literature will concentrate only on the values that Hindu families have with regard to child-rearing practices. Hindus value extended families, because the joint family is a close unit which is felt to give both economic and social security to all (Kuper, 1960; Naidoo, 1987). The most important structured kinship unit for South African Hindus is the patrilineal extended family,

which includes “a male head, his wife, unmarried children, unmarried brothers and sisters, younger married brothers, married sons, and brothers’ married sons and their wives and children” (Kuper, 1960, p.97). Today it is seldom that all of these people live together, but it is customarily desirable that they live in the same neighbourhood (Kuper, 1960). There is an obligation, for brothers to help their parents, and this is seen as a privilege by them (Kuper, 1960).

The traditional Hindu kinship behaviour is outlined by Kuper (1960), and is summarised as follows. They believe that it is the duty of the Hindu husband to provide for his wife, who through wisdom and virtue becomes subservient to her husband. Together, the parents control the children and the home. The domestic role of women (i.e. the care of the home, bearing and rearing the children), is regarded as the foundation of family life and children are seen as the fulfilment of their marriage. Traditionally, both sexes of children are desired by the parents, but the sons are required to carry out funeral rites and ancestral devotions, and are therefore deemed ‘necessary’ by them. Child-rearing activities are carried out by numerous female household members, although the strongest ties are still held with the child’s mother. Discipline begins as soon as the child is able to walk, feed itself, understand commands and recognise tones of voice (about three years old). Prior to this, poor conduct is generally ignored or regarded with amusement. The Hindus believe that punishment should not be too severe, because its intention is to ‘frighten’ rather than to induce pain. The promise of rewards, and the threat of punishment, neither of which need to be fulfilled, are used to induce socially approved behaviour.

Bhana and Naidoo (1988) point out some of the characteristics valued in Hindu children. Firstly, a child's behaviour is valued (i.e. he/she must be well-mannered, well-behaved, obedient, and respectful), and in addition, the child must be co-operative (Kuper, 1960). Secondly, a nurturing, helpful, understanding and loving child is deemed important. Thirdly, a child must have interests in education and school attendance. Finally, a child must be neat, tidy and clean in appearance. Kuper (1960) remarks that children are discouraged to fight for what they want, and that they are encouraged to feel shame, guilt and sin if they do not suppress their own desires and initiatives in the interest of their family.

The most conspicuous differences between South African Indian, black and white urban families, according to Kuper (1960), has been the greater strength of joint family ties amongst the Indians, their emphasis on arranged marriages, their high proportion of households occupied by more than one related family, and the small number of Indians living on their own. Furthermore, it can be seen that the traditional values placed by South African Indians on their children are strongly related to their religious convictions. In addition, they could be influenced by a number of other processes, for example Westernisation. Thus it is important to consider this and the impact of Westernisation on these families in this study.

Westernisation in the South African Indian families has largely been associated with the processes of acculturation and deculturation. Deculturation can be defined as a loss of identification of one's basic culture, and acculturation is the adoption of another culture by a minority group, often due to its close proximity (Coll et al, 1995; Wood, 1987, in Pillay, 1989).

With the onset of Westernisation of familial values in South African Indian families, there has been an uneven structural and value change in numerous Indian families, resulting in dissonance between parental and child attitudes and upsetting child-rearing practices (Coll et al., 1995; Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994; Kuper, 1960; Wood & Wassenaar, 1989). There has also been a shift towards individual expression and a move away from traditional roles in many South African Indian families (Pillay, 1989). Processes of acculturation and deculturation in South Africa have threatened the traditional Indian patriarchal extended family with a breakdown into component nuclear families, and thus a loss of extended family support (Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1994; Kuper, 1960; Pillay, 1989; Wood & Wassenaar, 1989).

There are many changes currently occurring in South African Indian families. It is thus vital that one reviews the individual families' structures and complexities before any conclusions regarding their child-rearing practices are made.

Typical Coloured Family Values

The coloured South African community are a group that had membership criteria and a social status imposed and maintained through legal structures of the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Their status was in essence, a non-status, they were neither black nor white (Caliguire, 1996; Rasool, 1996; Sonn & Fisher, 1996; Whisson, 1971). Historically, the coloureds are a marginal group in South Africa, not only because of their racial oppression, but also because they form less than 10% of the population, and have a heritage of slavery and dispossession, and have thus had little economic and political power (Adhikari, 1991; Sonn & Fisher, 1996). They were divided into seven 'groups', the Cape Coloured, the Malay, the Griqua, the Chinese, the Indian, the other Asiatic, and the other coloured groups (Proclamation R 123 of 1967, in Whisson, 1971). This study will concentrate mainly on the last group, the other coloureds, due to the area in which it is conducted (Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal).

The coloureds have been considered a part of the racially oppressed majority of the population, but have also shared the culture of the white population. This split identity has meant that they have had to form other means of belonging. The church and sport have both become very important in many coloured communities (Caliguire, 1996; Sonn & Fisher, 1996).

Cilliers (1963) and Whisson (1971) write that the coloured community generally adopts a typical Western family system and pattern of life. However, their families are large by Western standards, and many households consist of additional members such as grandparents who often assist with child-rearing, especially when both parents are employed (Cilliers, 1963). Thus it seems that there is some emphasis on the importance of extended families in this community.

Sonn and Fisher's (1996) study largely supports these ideas, and gives examples of some of the characteristics considered as important in coloured communities. Many members of the community they studied felt that they were largely influenced by the 'westernised style of living', in terms of religion (most often Christian) and cultural experiences, and that they had

many features in common with the ‘white group’ in South Africa. Others felt that they had inherited traits from other ‘ancestral groups’, and that food, language and singing were evident of this. It was determined that the coloured community in South Africa has a strong sense of belonging and identification with the rest of their community. The group emphasised the ‘sharing’ nature of their community, where they felt that everyone worked together (Sonn & Fisher, 1996).

However, it has been documented that the immense variations in social background, experience, class and situations of the coloured group, allow for large variations in their general life attitudes (Whisson, 1971). Thus one must be aware of this when looking for patterns in their child-rearing attitudes.

Due to the limited conclusive literature available in the area of child-rearing in coloured groups, it is hoped that this study will be able to provide some useful insights into these families’ lifestyles. Special note should be made of the child-rearing values and expectations felt to be particular to this group.

Typical White Family Values

1. Afrikaans-speaking families

The literature outlining Afrikaans families and their child-rearing goals is limited. However, the Afrikaners as a group have been described, and are outlined in the following section.

De Klerk (1971) describes the collective Afrikaner conservatism through their underlying desire to emphasise “[their] whiteness; [their] being a Calvinist Protestant; [their] ethnic and cultural autonomy” (De Klerk, 1971, p.33). The Afrikaners have also been documented as a group who are very loyal, courageous and practical, and who are considerate to others (De Klerk, 1971). It can be determined that the Afrikaans white South Africans tend to be to be a religious group who have a strong sense of group cohesiveness. They are often a conservative, group who tend to employ strict disciplinary procedures.

The proverb “‘n boer maak ‘n plan” (a farmer makes a plan) demonstrates the perceived Afrikaans mannerisms, i.e. no matter what comes their way, they will work to overcome it. Kapp (1992) promotes the above attributes, and outlines the importance of community life and solidarity amongst Afrikaners. It has been noted that they desire to promote education, support the arts, encourage community spirit and social consciousness, as well as support the less fortunate in their social group (Kapp, 1992).

The traditional values and virtues of the Afrikaners could give some idea as to what they typically might expect from their children.

2. English-speaking families

The white, English-speaking South African families largely originate from the United Kingdom and English-speaking Europe. British influence, although not the sole persuasion, is undoubtedly the most dominant influence on these families (Gardner, 1971). Luster & Okagaki and Divecha (1993) report that American parents, whose parenting styles are generally Eurocentric, attempt to provide their children with skills that they feel are necessary to achieve socioeconomic success. They try to develop independence and self-confidence through praise and high levels of attention. By having fewer children, they are able to provide them with the higher levels of attention.

The English-speaking white South African child-rearing practices would appear to be influenced by, and congruent with, the dominant Eurocentric/Western practices deemed important in the literature and outlined as follows. Parental values are those attributes which are held in high esteem by the parents, and are often a reflection of those deemed important by society. These values determine the goals and aspirations that they have for their children.

A variety of factors have been identified as being of value to parents in the Western child-rearing paradigm. There have been a number of people who have been very influential ‘parenting teachers’ for the lay population of the West. Dr Benjamin Spock, a paediatrician, began writing parenting manuals in the late 1950's. His work, although controversial, has had

a strong impact on what lay parents have held in high regard. According to Spock (1972), Westernised parents tend to be child-centred and consider their children at least as important as themselves. Spock (1974) says that the parent’s main ambition for their child should be for the child to be successful and happy in whatever s/he chooses. It has been documented that Western parents value their children’s rights to warm positive home environments, to be considered as individuals, and to the ability of making decisions about life (Norton, 1977).

Spock (1974) and Dyer (1986), also an influential author on parenting techniques for the lay population, outline a number of characteristics which they believe parents value in their children. These are listed in Table 2.2 below.

Table 2.2. Western parents’ values for their children

Dyer (1986)	Spock (1974)
Powerful	Friendly
Co-operative	Creative
Trust selves	Get pleasure through their lifestyles
Healthy	Have self respect
Take risks	Respect other children
Value selves	Confident
Self-reliant	Loving
Responsible	Enjoy giving
Have an inner security	Independent
Motivated by higher qualities	Conforming and rebellious
Fun to be around	Secure
Achieve success and happiness	Feel and express grief
Have aesthetic aspirations	
Motivated by love and respect	

However, there are criticisms of some of the factors that parents value for their children. According to Meier (1977), there appears to be an overemphasis on materialism, education and athletics. In addition, many parents place too much value on the physical appearance of

their children, resulting in feelings of inferiority especially with regard to any minor physical 'defects' that they might feel that they have (Meier, 1977). In contrast to the child-centred notion of Spock (1974), it has been documented that parents value children who respect them (Dobson, 1970). It is felt that the relationship that children have with their parents provides a basis for their attitudes toward all other people, the way in which they view parental authority affects the ways in which they view any other authority figures, i.e. teachers, police, law, etc. (Dobson, 1970). Some parents feel that it is important that their children are taught common amenities such as 'please' and 'thank-you', whereas others feel this is not as important but rather place different values on behaviours (Norton, 1977).

Western literature notes the necessity for parents to give their children love, to set limits, rules, and daily routines in order that they do not become overindulged, anxious, fearful or obnoxious (Polland, 1994). Polland (1994) emphasises the importance of developing a child's self-esteem, because this enables a child to respect him/herself, to feel competent, feel that he/she belongs. Furthermore, Polland believes that it is vital for a child to believe that his/her own ideas have meaning and that they are worth communicating.

The main goal of parenting, however, appears to be to guide one's children from dependence to successful independence (Polland, 1994). This is accomplished in a variety of ways. The parent's main task in achieving this independence in their children, is to "estab[lish] warm, nurturant emotional relationships with [their] children, and provid[e] opportunities for the development of [their] competence and individuality" (Brooks, 1981, p.2). Parents who provide a framework for their children allow them to learn to be more independent so that they may eventually be able to manage their own lives and live on their own (Polland, 1994). Eisenburg and Murphy (1995), note that parental practices which promote autonomy and independence in children are important because they ensure a high level of moral reasoning in those children.

Thus, it is believed that parents should relate to children in ways that stimulate their potentialities for growth, and to provide opportunities for experiences that might develop these potentials (Brooks, 1981). A parent's responses should always be tailored toward the

individual child according to the roles and rules which govern the particular family (Fisher & Fisher, 1976). Brooks (1981) writes that the process of parenting is more smooth when parents remember that each child is a unique individual who needs to become their own person. However, it appears that the way in which a parent raises their child is largely dependent on the style or paradigm that they support, and that a parent's main aim is to allow their child to eventually develop an economic independence (Brooks, 1981).

The perceptions of the white, South African, English-speaking mothers can be looked at in relation to the goals and values of those of the Western literature due to the fact that the English-speaking South African's often originate from such a background. In addition, it must be remembered, that family context also plays a role in influencing the nature of perceptions of and ideals for children.

Parenting Styles

The 'style' of parenting that one employs is considered important in that each method results in different outcomes in the child. Thus the method used serves as a means to determine what expectations the parent has of their child/ren and thus may influence what they perceive as a desired outcome, i.e. a 'well brought-up child'.

Baumrind's model of parenting, according to Smetana (1994), is currently the most widely used model of parenting styles in which four parenting styles are identified. Although it is a Western based model, it may form a backdrop against which different groups of parents may be viewed.

Authoritarian parents shape, control and evaluate their child's behaviours and attitudes in accordance with a set standard of conduct. They value obedience and favour punitive, forceful methods to curb their child's actions when these conflict with what the parent thinks is right. These parents have values which demand respect for authority and work, and a preservation of order and traditional structures. They believe that the child should accept their word for what is right. Children of these parents according to Norton (1977), tend to be discontented,

withdrawn, and distrustful.

Authoritative parents direct their child's activities in rational, issue-oriented ways. They encourage a verbal give and take, and share reasoning with their child. They value expressive and instrumental attributions, autonomous self-will and disciplined conformity. They exert firm control with parent-child divergences, but do not restrict the child. These parents recognise their rights as adults, but are also aware of the child's need to be an individual. They use reason and power to achieve objectives, and set standards for the future conduct of the child. They do not regard themselves as infallible. According to Norton (1977), these children are self-reliant, self-controlled, explorative and content.

Permissive parents are non-punitive, accepting and have an affirmative manner toward their child's impulses, desires and actions. They consult the child on policy issues, and give explanations for family rules. They place few demands for household responsibilities and orderly behaviour. These parents place themselves as a resource for the child to use as he/she pleases, and do not act as active agents to shape or alter ongoing or future behaviour. They allow their child to recognise his/her own abilities and do not encourage obedience toward externally defined standards. These parents attempt to use reason without power or necessary accomplishment. According to Norton (1977), these children are not very explorative, have low levels of self-control and reliance.

Rejecting-Neglecting parents are disengaged, not demanding of their children or responsive to them, and do not monitor the child's behaviour.

However, although Baumrind's model of parenting has provided useful insights into the parenting process, it can be criticised for a number of reasons. It is a Western oriented model, which is simplistic. Parents tend to change their responses according to the particular situation and to the characteristics of the child being disciplined, such as its age, gender, personality, etc. In addition, parental attributions affect the ways in which parents respond to different circumstances, and these are also not taken into account in this model. The factors which influence the parenting situation are outlined later on in this paper.

CHAPTER 3: STRATEGIES OF PARENTAL CONTROL

Discipline is a controversial subject in parenting practice. It appears that there are numerous ways to understand the concept of discipline, which in turn impact on the disciplinary methods used. These methods may reflect what behaviours are seen as important by parents, and thus may point to what they view as a 'well brought-up' child.

Discipline has been defined in a number of ways. It should be viewed as a method of guiding a child in the right way to act, teaching him/her the way he/she should go (Burr, 1966; Van Pelt, 1990). According to Dobson (1970), discipline is not limited to punishment. It is a training with an ultimate goal of obedience and self-discipline (Polland, 1994; Schoombee & Mantzaris, 1987), to become a responsible and self regulating person (Dobson, 1970; "Ontwikkeling en discipline", 1990; Van Pelt, 1990), a decent, likeable adult, capable of survival in the social milieu (Firestone, 1990), and it will consequently play a role in determining an individual's personality to a considerable extent (Fisher & Fisher, 1976). All these factors are important to note in the process of socialising a child.

According to Polland (1994) and Spock (1974), children misbehave throughout childhood in order to test their limits and to learn what is acceptable behaviour. Hauck (1982) and Dreikurs (in Dinkmeyer & McKay, 1982) suggested that children misbehave for four main reasons: to get attention, for power, for revenge and as a display of inadequacy. However, it was felt that a child does not misbehave unless s/he feels a threatened loss of status (Dinkmeyer & McKay, 1982).

Discipline is used as a response to 'misbehaviour' of children, when they deviate from what is considered socially acceptable. Parental responses to misbehaviour tend to depend on which rules or standards children have violated (Smetana, 1994), as well as the age of the child, the specific behaviour displayed by the child, and the child-rearing philosophy of the parent (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). According to Grusec and Goodnow (1994), there are numerous interrelationships between the form of discipline, the variables of the child's misdeed, as well as child and parent characteristics. Parents must be flexible in their disciplinary reactions and

match them to a child's perception of and reaction to conflict, as well as to their emotional state and cognitions (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). Good discipline has been found to rest on one's love for and understanding of one's child, where one does not expect him/her to do things beyond his/her ability (Burr, 1966).

It is important, when disciplining, not to attack and destroy a child's self respect in the process (Van Pelt, 1990). If this happens, it is likely that the child might be motivated to defy any future authority, but if the child feels respected in the process of correction, s/he is likely to feel confident about overcoming the problem (Van Pelt, 1990).

Different styles of discipline are employed by parents, each with differing consequences for the child. Polland (1994) notes that a family's attitude to discipline sets the emotional tone for the family, and the approach to and the way in which discipline is carried out impacts on how children feel about themselves.

Disciplinary Techniques Employed

Punishment has been the most widely discussed of all disciplinary techniques (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). It is the administration of an aversive technique, or the withdrawal of rewards in order to decrease an unwanted behaviour (Polland, 1994).

There is much controversy around the use of physical punishment as a means of disciplining children (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992; Hauck, 1982; Wesley, 1971). Meier (1977, p.166) believes that "spanking with a stick and giving verbal reproofs should be the primary disciplinary tools with young children". According to Dobson (1970), it is necessary to demand respect and to spank for wilful acts of disobedience. Van Pelt (1990) argued that no child is so well behaved that s/he needs no punishment at all. Physical punishment and rewards have been shown to modify behaviour in the short run and to motivate children to work faster and more accurately on a given task (Fisher & Fisher, 1976). However, there are a variety of other views on the consequences of physical punishment, especially in the long term.

According to Tancred (1997), screaming and hitting are natural responses to inadequate behaviour, but they do not solve those behaviours and their outcome is almost always negative. Eisenburg and Murphy (1995) believe that power assertive discipline (like physical punishment) appears to undermine the development of moral reasoning in children, and instead, serves to promote aggression and disruptive behaviour due to the parental role model (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992; Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995; Fisher & Fisher, 1976; Tancred, 1997). It has been found that punishment may decrease a child's self concept by causing him/her to feel no good because s/he is treated so badly (Hauck, 1982). Fisher and Fisher (1976) note that punishment and discipline often occur under conditions of tension and this may contribute towards the negative effects of punishment. Bukatko and Daehler (1992) argue that concentrating on positive behaviours, rather than punishing the inappropriate ones, may lead to a more effective socialisation outcome. This they feel, may be accomplished by reinforcing the more positive behaviours through the use of rewards.

'Time out' is a behaviourist principle which requires brief social isolation of the child, either sending him/her to his/her room, to the corner, or requiring him/her to sit alone in a chair. It is contingent on the preceding problem behaviour (Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995; Van Pelt, 1990). 'Time out' works on the principle of removing all rewards, a form of deprivation, until the undesired behaviour is forced to cease. Alternatively, induction as a technique, appeals to the child's own resources, sense of responsibility and feelings (Wade & Tavis, 1990). Therefore the child's own morality (directed by the values of the societal context) will internalise their standards of what is right and wrong (Wade & Tavis, 1990).

In conjunction with these techniques, there are other issues surrounding the concept of discipline which must not be overlooked. Verbal discipline should not be overlooked. Fisher and Fisher (1976) point out that acts of discipline should be well explained to the child, that there should be consistency in discipline, and that there should be no loss of love through the process.

There appears to have been a world shift in literature toward a Westernised, permissive discipline technique where children are given large amounts of freedom of action and self-

determination (Schoombee & Mantzaris, 1987). It has even been documented that slightly mischievous children demonstrate a curiosity and spirit that is necessary to develop appropriately, and that the degree of self control that they exhibit is what is important (“Ontwikkeling en dissipline”, 1990).

When discipline is not regarded as considerably important, it is speculated that children become increasingly exposed to and influenced by ideas which are foreign and sometimes even strange to their own culture. Thus the role of discipline is important when considering social change, or factors surrounding it (Schoombee & Mantzaris, 1987).

Discipline is an integral part of child-rearing which is largely neglected in the South African literature in terms of its variation within historical and cultural contexts. Consequently this study is important as a means of closing this gap. Through one’s goals of discipline, one’s ideals of what constitutes a ‘well brought up child’ can be realised.

CHAPTER 4: OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING CHILD-REARING PATTERNS

It is important to note that none of the factors which influence child-rearing patterns are mutually exclusive, they all work together along with one's particular socio-cultural background. Parenting is a process occurring between the parent and the child, which is influenced by individual characteristics of both, as well by any other interacting variables. A cumulative impact of particularly stressful factors is more likely to affect parenting rather than one factor on its own (Crnic & Acevedo, 1995). In addition, a culmination of any number of factors will have a different and more obvious effect than any one factor on its own. The understanding of parenting is thus enhanced if one considers the combined influence of these factors on its process (Luster & Okagaki, 1993). A variety of factors which have an impact on child-rearing will be looked at individually in the following chapter. Although many of these are based on literature from the West, they provide an interesting and valuable background of influencing factors. These, although studied elsewhere, will undoubtedly also influence South African parents' perceptions.

Child Characteristics

The task of parenting is made difficult by the heterogeneity in children's characteristics, and their need for continuous care-giving (Crnic & Acevedo, 1995; Harkness & Super, 1995; Luster & Okagaki, 1993). Child-rearing is generally pleasurable to parents. They are usually able to deal with issues confidently and competently, but some tasks may be confusing, frustrating and irritating (i.e. whining, limited privacy, increased errands and household chores). These different experiences of children can influence the parenting process, its demands and outcomes (Crnic & Acevedo, 1995; Grusec et al., 1994). It has been written that not only are children products of their parents, but they reciprocally exert a powerful influence over them (Walters & Stinnett, 1971).

A child's temperament is his/her "individual differences in reactivity to internal and external stimulation" (Sanson & Rothbart, 1995, p.299), and this cannot be predetermined by his/her parents (Spock, 1972). Temperament is evident from early infancy, and its patterns are

generally fairly stable over time. It has an impact on a child's broader range of behaviours, cognitions and social functioning (Sanson & Rothbart, 1995). It is an important factor in determining how external stimuli (e.g. parent behaviours) will affect the child (Brooks, 1981). Thus it is vital that the parenting task takes the child's particular characteristics into consideration in choosing strategies to control, soothe and stimulate the child, and to select the parenting behaviour to provide a good 'fit' to the child's temperament (Sanson & Rothbart, 1995).

Other characteristics of children, such as their gender and age, have also been found to influence the techniques employed by caregivers (Sanson & Rothbart, 1995; Walters & Stinnett, 1971). Hoffman (in Okagaki & Divecha, 1993) found that parents wanted sons to be hardworking and ambitious, and daughters to be kind and loving. Bukatko and Daehler (1992) highlight the various goals of parenting at different developmental stages or ages of the child. Parents of infants aim to teach their children to feed, dress and toilet themselves. Parents of toddlers begin to work toward the socialisation of their children. Parents of pre-schoolers instill social skills such as politeness and sharing behaviour. Elementary school children's parents are concerned with their academic achievement, and parents of adolescent children encourage independent, rational, value-based decision making in their children. As the age of a Westernised child increases, the balance of power between the parent and the child changes, and parents play less of a supervisory role and more of a facilitative one (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992).

Parent Characteristics

Parents' own actions and verbalizations are the information that children use to determine which behaviours are acceptable, and from these they can determine the consequences of particular behaviours (Eisenburg, & Murphy, 1995). Characteristics of caregivers such as their sex, psychological health, age, the social support they are given, their cultural affiliations and their stresses all affect their parenting attitudes (Sanson & Rothbart, 1995).

Gecas and Nye (1974) found interesting differences between mothers' and fathers' responses

to their children. They found that mothers tended to more frequently 'ask' their children to do things, whereas fathers tended to 'tell' them to do things. In addition, they found that mothers used a wider repertoire of strategies, than the fathers in order to obtain compliance from their children (Gecas & Nye, 1974).

It has been found that young maternal age is associated with strict, angry or punitive responses to the child in its first few years of life, as well as with inappropriate developmental expectations of the child (Rauh, Wasserman & Brunelli, 1990). In addition, it appears to be associated with higher levels of maternal stress, and a higher demand for obedience of children (Kelley, Power & Wimbush, 1992).

Parents' life experiences and subjective evaluations of them also influence their eventual responsiveness to their children's needs (Crnic & Acevedo, 1995; Grusec et al., 1994). The life history of each parent influences how they cope, interact and solve problems, and in combination, how they parent (Luster & Okagaki, 1993).

Holden and Edwards (1989) write that parents' attitudes affect their child-rearing habits for three reasons. Firstly, parents tend to be ego-invested in their children and view them as their 'own' thus influencing consistency and conformity in child-rearing attitudes. Secondly, the history of interactions and future expectations between parents and their children has an impact. Finally, parents might have competing attitudes or thoughts due to a variety of influencing factors about how to rear children and this may also impact on the child-rearing process.

Kochanska, Clarke, & Goldman (1997) found that mother's personality traits were associated with parenting orientations and had important developmental consequences for children. They concluded that more compliant mothers were able to respond sensitively to child signals, resulting in a more stimulating and compassionate parenting. Thus the child would respond more positively to direction and command (Maccoby, 1991, in Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995). According to Walters and Stinnett (1971), parental support, acceptance and warmth, are positively related to favourable emotional, social and intellectual development of children.

Maternal negative emotionality was considered less effective (Kochanska et al., 1997). In addition, it was found that if parent's emotional needs have not been met, they will be carried into their parenting behaviour, often resulting in excessive control or rejection of their child/ren (Levy, 1943, in Holden & Edwards, 1989).

Feelings of self-efficacy have been noted as having a positive effect on parenting (Rauh et al., 1990). Bandura (1977, in Grusec et al., 1994) wrote that parents with low feelings of self-efficacy often do not put their knowledge of parenting into action and instead become preoccupied with themselves.

Parental stress frequently occurs and may be a consequence of both major and everyday hassles (Crnic & Booth, 1991), i.e. marital qualities, available social support, beliefs and socioeconomic conditions (Crnic & Acevedo, 1995). High levels of everyday stress, are likely to affect moods, beliefs, expectations and roles of parents (Crnic & Acevedo, 1995). Stress does not necessarily affect child-rearing directly, rather it affects the quality of parenting and the functioning of the family system (Crnic & Acevedo, 1995).

Belsky and Pensky (1988, in Rauh et al., 1990) note that depression is the most widely studied personality factor related to parenting, and has been associated with emotional distancing, irritability, hostility (Bromet & Cornely, 1984, in Rauh et al., 1990), as well as with unfavourable self-perceptions of mothering capacities (Weissman, Paykel & Klerman, 1972, in Rauh et al., 1990). All these factors contribute toward a negative effect on child-rearing abilities.

Consequently one can see that a number of parental characteristics, (both temporal and non-temporal) have an impact on parent-child interactions and thus influence the parenting process.

Social Networks

Personal networks carry the influences of the larger society into the life space of the

individual and the family. Thus a parent's network reflects his/her position in the social structure of society, which in turn impacts on his/her parenting attitudes and behaviours (Cochran, 1993). Network relationships (both societal and personal) influence parenting in a variety of ways, from providing information on how to rear one's child, to providing role models, emotional and material assistance (Cochran, 1993).

Networks are influenced by a number of factors including one's cultural context and the nature of one's family (extended or nuclear). Social class as reflected in income, educational level and occupation, is a further determinant of one's social networks (Cochran, 1993).

Minority groups are subordinate sections of the bigger society (Harrison et al., 1990), who often have histories of oppression and discrimination, which may have an impact on their child-rearing techniques. These ethnic minority families typically stress interdependence as a socialisation goal for their children, and hence tend to reinforce personality characteristics which are consistent with this goal (Harrison et al., 1990). These networks which occur within bigger social networks tend to have their own parental goals.

It has been discovered that the availability of social support through these social networks is crucial, especially when families are under stress, for ensuring effective parental adaptation (Cochran, 1993; Crnic & Booth, 1991; Rauh et al., 1990). These networks, their size and composition, have a significant impact on the parenting process.

Family Characteristics

1. Education level

Higher levels of education have been found to be associated with increased levels of social activities and thus increased social networks (Cochran, 1993). More educated parents have been found to emphasise more autonomous behaviour and use a more child-oriented, democratic approach to parenting (Kelly et al., 1992), with fewer stereotypical ideas associated with gender (Palacios, Gonzalez & Moreno, 1992).

Lower levels of education, in contrast, appear to be associated with more strict, authoritarian parents (Gecas & Nye, 1974; Palacios et al., 1992; Rauh et al., 1990; Walters & Stinnett, 1971), who require children to be obedient (Kelley, Power & Wimbush, 1992). According to Palacios et al., (1992) parents with low levels of education tend to have more pessimistic perceptions of their abilities as parents, as well as of the development of their children. These parents have also been found to have more stereotypical views in the socialisation of boys and girls. Education and socio-economic class are often positively correlated.

2. Socioeconomic status

Higher socioeconomic status may also be associated with fewer daily stresses, thus improving the quality of family life, and positively influencing parenting practices (Crnic & Booth, 1991).

According to Bukatko & Daehler (1992), middle-class mothers tend to employ induction, legitimate power and reasoning, rather than physical coercion and threat, when they discipline their children (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992; Walters & Stinnett, 1971). In addition, they respond more discriminatively to the child's behaviour (Gecas & Nye, 1974). They are more liberal in praising their children, verbalise more (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992), and tend to be supportive of their children (Walters & Stinnett, 1971).

In contrast, lower-class mothers tend to use power assertive techniques, commands and less positive reinforcement in parenting (Hoffman, 1984, in Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). It has been found that rather than to 'request', they tend to 'tell' their children to do things (Gecas & Nye, 1974).

Unemployment and economic deprivation are challenging to individuals and families. They increase risky conditions, familial conflict, and may have an adverse impact on parenting practices and expectations (Garbarino & Kostelny, 1993).

3. Occupational status

A variety of 'occupational' factors have been found to influence parenting. If parents experience stress at work, it has been noted that their levels of patience, sensitivity and responsiveness to family members decrease (Repetti, 1987, in Crnic & Acevedo, 1995). In addition, Okagaki and Divecha (1993) found that attitudes, beliefs and values about parenting, are shaped by value skills that are important in one's occupation.

Maternal employment may also have an impact on the parent-child relationship, and the expectations of one's children. It has been determined that it is not whether the mother is working or not, but rather her reason for working that affects the parent-child relationship (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). Mothers who seek employment for reasons unrelated to career aspirations (e.g. divorce or financial strain), are more likely to experience stress or depression, and thus these factors influence their expectations as parents (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). As a group, however, employed mothers tend to stress independence training to help the family function more smoothly (Hoffman, 1989, in Bukatko & Daehler, 1992).

4. Marital status

Recent research has found good predictability from the quality of marriages to children's development (Rauh et al., 1990; Wilson & Gottman, 1995). Marital conflict may affect the process of child-rearing and development in a number of ways. Parents are potent models because of their roles as attachment and authority figures, thus children who are exposed to interparent aggression or conflict may learn it as an acceptable means of dealing with disagreements (Wilson & Gottman, 1995). In addition, parenting practices may be affected. Marital conflict may drain emotional energy from the parent-child relationships, and may disrupt the parents' ability to be supportive of each other's decisions in the child-rearing process (Wilson & Gottman, 1995).

This may be synonymous with the conflict experienced through divorce. Divorce may be stressful, causing frustration, helplessness and feelings of incompetence in the parent which

impacts on child-rearing techniques (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). Siegman (in Walters & Stinnett, 1971) found that father-absence could be associated with anti-social behaviour in a child. Stepparents' functions in the parenting process are determined by the role that they have decided to take on, influencing child-rearing in this manner (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992).

Furthermore, research has shown that married people with children have fewer social networks influencing their child-rearing strategies, than single parents (Cochran, 1993).

5. Intergenerational transfer of parenting principles

“The way in which our parents raised us has a dramatic effect on the way we choose to raise our children” (Polland, 1994, p.2). The experiences that parents had with their own caretakers are a major source of their cognitions and parenting schemas (Grusec et al., 1994; Polland, 1994, Tancred, 1997). In contrast, a study conducted by Kemp (1997) found no consistencies in the ideas of whether mothers had adopted the parenting principles of their mothers. In addition, it has been noted that parenting within societies varies across generations (Brooks, 1981).

In many parts of the world, grandmothers are considered experts, and mothers will frequently ask them for advice and approach them for comfort with regard to child-rearing (Spock, 1972). However, American mothers tend regularly to turn to professionals for help instead, because they feel that their parents were trained a generation ago and thus are inadequate helpers. (Spock, 1972). It is possible, however, that many new parents want to prove their independence by not asking for help from their parents (Spock, 1972).

Therefore there are many controversies as to whether parenting processes are continuous between generations. It is unlikely that one's parents have no influence on one's own parenting at all. However, the type of influence may be positive, negative, changing, or the same.

6. Family structure

Child-rearing practices appear to vary across family types. It has been found that extended family members contribute more to child-rearing, defining and reinforcing the parental role, than friends who are more likely to contribute to the development of the self as a person (Cochran, 1993). In extended households, the distribution of domestic power tends to differ from that of nuclear households, with a number of people in these extended arrangements taking responsibility for infant care. (Whiting, 1977). In these families the fathering and mothering roles become dissimilar due to the number of people who are able to take on different tasks (Brooks, 1981). This has an impact on what is expected from the child, and allows for the distribution of responsibility. These networks are poorly analysed in the Western literature.

However, in nuclear families, where there are no substitute parents, it has been found that the parenting roles become versatile (Brooks, 1981). In contrast to this though, other research has shown that in the nuclear family, the American father's role in child development usually varies a lot from the American mother's role (Wade & Tavris, 1990; Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). For example, it was found that fathers tend to be more stimulating, playful and unpredictable, whereas mothers are more verbal, instructive and calming. In addition, fathers and mothers had different expectations for their sons and daughters. These gender differences may be related to what the parents' occupations, whether the mother or father works, who is primarily at home with the child, etc. These characteristics are not necessarily fully entrenched internal qualities, and may be flexible as suggested by Brooks (1981).

Family size and birth order of children have also been shown to have an impact on children (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). It appears that parents of smaller families appear to have more time to spend with their individual children. The oldest child in a family has been found to have a higher achievement motivation, be more obedient and socially responsible, and this may stem from the greater attention parents pay to their first children (Sutton-Smith & Rosenberg, 1970, in Bukatko & Daehler, 1992). In contrast, Spock (1974) feels that this attention may be too great, resulting in the eldest child attempting to break free. Spock (1974)

found that parents make allowances for individual differences in their second child. Later borns appear to have an advantage in social situations, whereas the youngest siblings tend to have better peer relationships, they have more freedom and are not as dominated by their parents (Miller & Maruyama, 1976, in Bukatko & Daehler, 1992; Spock, 1974).

7. Religion

Narramore (1979) suggests that parents who have fundamentalist Christian religious beliefs tend to focus on the feelings, thoughts, wishes and attitudes, exhibited by their children's inner lives, rather than expecting unquestioning obedience; whereas families without strict religion may demand that their children are obedient and externally impressive (e.g. tidy in appearance). Although this statement may be dated, the underlying principles and expectations of the Christian belief system are unlikely to change over time, and thus these may be regarded as noteworthy in this study.

Other religions may also have an impact on what a parent views as important for their child/ren. Issues important to Hindu parents have already been outlined in this paper.

8. Attitude to unborn child

Although parents are generally overjoyed about pregnancies, there is medical evidence that there are normal negative feelings associated with pregnancy (Spock, 1972). Pregnancy marks the end of a carefree youth (especially important in the West), and notes the onslaught of a life with limitations. A parent may be dissatisfied with a child, for example, who is not of the sex that they were wanting, one that is colicky and cries a lot. It has been found that parents may even feel guilty about having negative feelings toward that child. This then, interferes with the relationship that has formed with the child (Spock, 1972).

Chamberlain and Patterson (1995) noted that antisocial and depressed parents (especially prior to the child's birth) are likely to interact in an unconditional manner with their infants, and that their reactions are not consistent with what the child is doing.

Conclusion

Consequently, parenting is a multiply determined behaviour which is largely dependant on characteristics of the child, the parent, and the context within which the parent-child relationship evolves (Luster & Okagaki, 1993). Thus it is important to look at all of the interacting variables in their context in order to understand how and why parents' perceptions differ or are the same.

Walters and Stinnett (1971) suggested that:

[w]hile the number of contingent conditions affecting parent-child relationships appear endless, a major barrier to gaining greater understanding of parent-child relationships is that the vast majority of investigations identify only a few variables to examine and leave uncontrolled more variables than is desirable. (p. 70)

This study, therefore takes a number of variables into account in order to ensure that they do not differentially influence the results, so that an adequate comparison between groups of mothers as well as individual mothers (if necessary), can be made.

Most past research has concentrated on mothers because they were almost exclusively seen as the primary caregivers of the children (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992), thus this study will also concentrate on mothers' perceptions so that results may be comparable with the literature. Their views are not perceived as the only important ones, but have been felt necessary in order for adequate comparisons to be made.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

Aim

South Africa is a society undergoing major transition, with policies now in place to at last halt categorization by race groups. However with the realities of people's lives, and especially within newly integrated schools and other services directed towards children, it is important that the expectations of parents be clearly understood and respected. The goals and tasks of parenting need to be explored as an inherent part of the formulation of policy, if this policy is to assist in the general and specific goals of socialisation. The aim of this study therefore is to explore perceptions of a 'well brought-up child' across the different racial and/ or language groups, seeking to identify areas of commonality and difference.

The categorisation of the subjects in this study by race and language group is not meant to reinforce racial differences in any way. Rather, it was instigated in order to explore if differences in perceptions exist, and if so, to determine what they might be and the reasons why they might differ. Furthermore, if there are differences, an understanding of the perceptions of various groups could serve as an important bridge, by being able to incorporate them into everyday practice and thus work towards more integrated lifestyles.

In this study mothers are used to define the characteristics of a 'well brought-up child'. This is not supposed to be supportive of the dominant responsibility of mothers as demonstrated in literature on parenting. Rather it serves to reduce the number of influencing variables which may be significant in the process of socialisation, and which might impact on the outcome of the study. It also serves as a suitable comparison for the literature. This is a preliminary study, and thus attempts were made to control as many confounding variables as possible.

The concept of a 'well brought-up child' was purposively ill-defined in this study in order for the various groups of mothers to be able to formulate their own definitions and associated list of characteristics. This study attempts to identify the desired outcome of socialisation as perceived by the major agents in the process.

Given that there are a variety of interacting variables which affect child-rearing processes, a qualitative study was considered to be the most suitable methodology to be adopted due to its exploratory, in-depth nature.

Method

A series of focus group discussions were conducted with each group being kept as homogenous as possible in terms of race classification, and other demographic criteria (i.e. socioeconomic status, level of education, marital status). According to Parasuraman (1991), a focus group must be as homogenous as possible with respect to demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. He writes that it is essential to have a high degree of commonality in a group in order that a variety of demographic variables do not confuse issues, and so that participants can be on the same 'wavelength'. It was believed that by holding separate focus groups for each race category, the discussion could be focussed and representative of that sample. The main advantages of using a focus group are that it is a socially oriented, flexible technique which is high in face validity, and provides rich, in-depth data (Krueger, 1994; Parasuraman, 1991). However, any information obtained from a focus group cannot be viewed as conclusive and generalisable (Parasuraman, 1991). Rather, the data provides a preliminary insight to the research questions. For this reason, any conclusions of this study, although specific to the participants, and perhaps even to their cultural backgrounds, must be viewed in their context, and seen as a step towards further, more generalisable, research in this field.

Participants

Four focus groups were used in this study. Each group consisted of mothers of Grade 2 children. The children were between the ages of 7 years 0 months and 7 years 11 months at the time of the study. The focus groups were divided into the respective race groups of the mothers, who were selected from historically classified white (English and Afrikaans speaking), black (Zulu speaking), coloured, and Indian backgrounds. All of the mothers resided in urban environments; had either a live-in-partner, or were married (i.e. single

mothers were excluded from this sample); and had at least some secondary education. Attempts were made to obtain an equal number of working and non-working mothers, as well as a representative number of mothers living in extended and nuclear families for the various groups. However, this was not achieved, with the final sample consisting of more working mothers and a very small number of mothers living within extended family arrangements. This was considered to therefore be reflective of the region's economy and changing family structures. Mothers' religious backgrounds were ascertained. Family income was also taken into consideration. Eight people agreed to participate in each discussion group, but the final group size fell short of this. Although their compositions did differ slightly, the groups were homogenous enough in terms of a variety of variables so that they could be comparable (see Table 5.1).

Table 5.1. Subject characteristics

	NO. IN GROUP	MEAN AGE	EMPLOYMENT STATUS	HOME LANGUAGE	RELIGION	AVERAGE INCOME	FAMILY TYPE
GROUP 1: WHITE	5	36	5 Full time employment	1 Afrik 1 Eng 3 Mixed	5 Christian	R3200 / month	3 Extend 2 Nuclear
GROUP 2: COLOURED	7	36	5 Full time employment 2 Housewife	7 Eng	7 Christian	R2833 / month	1 Extend 6 Nuclear
GROUP 3: INDIAN	4	29	3 Full time employment 1 Housewife*	4 Eng	4 Hindu	R3750 / month	1 Extend 3 Nuclear
GROUP 4: BLACK	6	40	6 Full time employment	6 Zulu	6 Christian 6 Trad beliefs	R2150 / month	3 Extend 3 Nuclear

*Studying part-time

The mothers were selected from the Grade 2 registers of four Pietermaritzburg schools. Mothers who met the above-mentioned criteria were identified. Three of the schools were traditionally model C white schools, but are now fully racially integrated. The other school was traditionally an Indian school. The mothers were contacted telephonically. Although a random sample was initially envisaged, this in reality was not possible as many of the mothers contacted had other commitments at the specified times (n=25), or were not willing to participate (n=18). Thus purposive sampling was utilised. Each mother was informed about the nature and requirements of the study, and if she agreed to participate, was sent a further explanatory letter and a demographics questionnaire (see Appendix 1).

The mean ages of the mothers is interesting. Although the Indian mothers were relatively young, the other mothers' mean ages were higher than expected. The black, Zulu speaking mothers were the oldest, and this was echoed in the fact that all of their 7 year old children were the youngest of their children. The Indian mothers 7 year old children were all the eldest of their children. One must be aware of any patterns which might occur as a result of these possible areas of bias.

The majority of the mothers were employed, with only two coloured mothers and one Indian mother (who was studying part time) working as housewives. The language and religious differences between groups were expected, and form part of the comparison in the analysis. It was envisaged that the mothers who subscribe to Christian beliefs might have varying child-rearing expectations than mothers who were Hindus, or who subscribed to traditional African beliefs. All of the Zulu speaking mothers expressed a degree of belief in the control of behaviour by their ancestors.

Although the Zulu speaking mothers' reported average monthly income was significantly lower than the other groups, this might have been due to the fact that the lowest income in the group was less than R1000 per month, thus reducing the average significantly. Not all mothers disclosed their incomes because this question was not compulsory to complete. Although it gives an idea of the distribution of income across groups, it is only a representation of the mothers' incomes, and is thus not fully representative of the family's

socioeconomic status.

Extended family played a role for some subjects in each of Focus Groups. In Focus Group 1 (white mothers), there was one grandmother living in the family house, one grandmother in an outhouse, and one set of grandparents in an outhouse (this was just a temporary arrangement). In Focus Group 2 (coloured mothers), one mother had cousins of her child living in the home. In Focus Group 3 (Indian mothers), a grandmother was living in one home. In Focus Group 4 (black, urban, Zulu mothers), there were three families who had extended family members living in the home (an aunt, cousins, and a grandmother).

Due to unexpected and unforeseen circumstances, one coloured mother attended Focus Group 1. Her presence may have influenced the tone of discussion, and thus it was important to pay particular attention to her contributions and impact on the discussion. It was believed that she gave useful input and had little impact in the group as a whole. However, it was necessary to phase out her input in the analysis.

Instruments

A variety of instruments were used in this study. Firstly, the mothers were asked to complete a demographics questionnaire designed specifically for this study (see Appendix 1). This questionnaire included some questions on child-rearing. It was included to collect family and biographical information from the participants, as well as to ensure that groups were as homogenous as possible, and that they were comparable.

The mothers completed the Parent Stress Index (Abidin, 1983) (see Appendix 2). This standardised questionnaire is not only sensitive to overall levels of stress, but also to the specific sources of stress in a parent-child relationship. The Parent Stress Index (PSI) identifies three major sources of stressors, the child's characteristics, the mother's characteristics, and any situational or demographic-life stresses. These range from objective stress life events (e.g. death of a family member) to judgements and subjective feelings (e.g. being trapped by parenting responsibilities). This questionnaire has been validated on

mothers of widely varying socio-economic and educational levels. One of the primary categories of use of the PSI is to study the effects of stress on parenting behaviour and other psychological variables. For this reason it was included in the study in order to be able to understand and moderate the individual perceived relationships of each mother with her 7 year old child/ren, and also to determine if there were any stress factors that might influence her perceptions of what might constitute a 'well brought-up child'. Furthermore, if any irregularities were noted in the analysis, the results of this questionnaire might be able to provide a rationale for them (i.e. if there were any large discrepancies in the mothers' perceptions, they might be explained by various stressors in the home). The questionnaire was completed by the subjects independently. However, the majority of the questionnaire was translated into Zulu for the mothers in Focus Group 4, as they required. This could have produced unreliable results in that some of the questions might have been mistranslated or altered due to the informal nature of the translation. Therefore the results of the analysis must only be looked at in their context, without being relied upon to make any extreme judgements. Although the PSI has not been standardised for South African population groups in specific, it was included in the study in order to be able to gain a comparative understanding of the family situations of the respective mothers, rather than to be used as a diagnostic tool.

Finally, an interview schedule which focussed on parental beliefs of what constitutes a well brought-up child, and factors which might elucidate issues pertaining to these beliefs was designed for the focus groups (see Appendix 3).

Procedure

Attempts were made to access mothers who were traditionally defined in terms of the various race groups and yet were relatively homogenous in terms of socioeconomic backgrounds. Due to a lack of permission from 'black schools' and refusal from 'coloured schools', mothers were selected from traditional Model C 'white schools' which had a significant number of children from each race group in their classes. The traditionally defined 'Indian school' which was accessed, had few white or coloured children.

Relevant permission was obtained to conduct the study. Suitable mothers were identified from the class lists, and were then contacted telephonically. The demographics questionnaires were distributed to the mothers through the class teachers and were completed and returned either through the school or on arrival at the focus groups.

An interviewer and moderator were present to conduct and facilitate each focus group, along with two other researchers, who working behind a one-way mirror, videotaped and audio-taped the sessions. The discussions were approximately two hours in duration. Focus Groups 1, 2 and 3 were conducted in English. Focus Group 4 was conducted largely in Zulu although there was some digression into Zulu, Xhosa and English. The interviewer, although fluent in Zulu and English, came from a Xhosa-speaking background, and the moderator was Zulu-speaking. The participants in this group were encouraged to express themselves freely across the languages.

Following this, the focus group discussions were transcribed into English. The Zulu transcript was first translated into English and then back translated into Zulu to ensure the accuracy of its translation. Finally, the interviews were qualitatively analysed using the method outlined in Miles and Huberman (1994). Specific themes that emerged in the transcripts were coded in various stages. The reliability of the coding was ensured by having four researchers (three Psychology Honours students and the present researcher) code separately, and then compare data to ensure that the most accurate perceptions were noted. The themes were categorised according to the research question and the topics of the focus group. Definitions were then compiled. These definitions, pattern codes, were based on a combination of the commonalities of the perceptions across the focus groups. In this way one could ensure that the definitions were all-inclusive (see Appendix 4 for pattern codes).

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

Demographics Questionnaire

1. Biographical and family information

Table 6.1. Biographical and family information of participants

	NO. IN GROUP	CHILDREN	POSITION OF CHILD	MARITAL STATUS	CHILD CARE	HEAD	DISCIPLIN-ARIAN
GROUP 1: WHITE	5	4 female 2 male (twins♂♀)	1 only child 3 eldest 1 middle 1 youngest	6 birth father	3 aftercare 2 gran 1 domestic	4 mother 1 father	3 shared 1 mother 1 father
GROUP 2: COLOURED	7	6 female 1 male	2 eldest 5 youngest	6 birth father 1 remarried	2 mother* 2 domestic 2 aftercare 1 gran	5 father 1 mother 1 shared	3 mother 2 father 2 shared
GROUP 3: INDIAN	4	4 female	4 eldest	4 birth father	1 father 1 mother* 1 domestic 1 gran	2 shared 1 father 1 not filled in	4 mother
GROUP 4: BLACK	6	5 female 1 male	6 youngest	4 birth father 1 remarried 1 cohabiting	2 mother 1 father 1 aunt 1 aftercare 1 children	5 father 1 mother	2 mother 2 father 1 family 1 shared

*Housewife

Biographical information obtained from the participants has previously been outlined, and can be seen in Table 5.1. Further family information is presented in Table 6.1. Although the family structure and variables vary across the groups, there is also some within group variation.

There were more female than male 7 year old children represented in the groups, with Focus Group 3 (Indian mothers) representing, coincidentally, mothers of only female children. In Focus Group 1, one mother had a set of twins, one male and one female, resulting in the number of children being higher than the number of mothers in the group.

All of the white and Indian mothers were married to their children's biological fathers, as were the majority of the coloured and Zulu mothers. A coloured and Zulu mother were each remarried, and one Zulu mother was cohabiting with a friend. These mothers' perceptions should be noted in the analysis, especially if differences in their expectations of a well brought-up child do occur.

The children's afternoon caregivers vary within and across the groups. It is interesting to note, that in all of the groups except for that of the white mothers, at least one child is cared for by one of their parents after school. Only two of these parents are not employed full time and thus one might draw inferences from this in the analysis. One of the Zulu mothers' children take care of themselves after school.

The perceived head of the family varies across the groups. Where the white mothers generally perceive themselves as the family head, the coloured and Zulu mothers largely feel that their husbands are the family heads. In contrast to this, half of the Indian mothers perceive the role of head as shared. In addition, the perceived disciplinarian differs greatly across and within the focus groups. The Indian mothers believe that in their families, they are the disciplinarians, whereas the majority of the white mothers believe that they share the role with their husbands. The coloured and Zulu families' disciplinary process is undertaken by a variety of figures, both within the nuclear and extended family.

2. Rating scales and discipline scenarios

The question asking mothers to rate those qualities that they would expect to find in a 'well brought-up child' appears to have a structural flaw in that parents used a variety of idiosyncratic ways of rating the characteristics. Consequently exact frequencies of responses cannot be calculated, but general trends can be determined across the groups. In addition, those characteristics which were noted as important in this questionnaire appear to be relatively consistent with those which were discussed in the various focus groups.

The mothers from Focus Group 1 (white, English and Afrikaans), generally rated the characteristics of 'loving', 'good manners', 'consideration', 'honesty' and 'obedience' as most important. The results from the focus group discussion showed that these factors were considered important across situations. However, whilst 'loving' was rated as most important by the group, 'respect' was also emphasised in the discussion. The mothers in Focus Group 2 (coloured) rated 'good manners' and 'respect' as the most important characteristics of the questionnaire. Although they addressed the importance of these in the discussion, they focussed on 'compliance', 'respect' and then 'consideration' in that situation. The Indian mothers' (Focus Group 3) ratings coincided with the focus group discussion, in that they agreed that all characteristics were equally important and interrelated. In Focus Group 4 (black, Zulu speaking mothers), 'good manners' were the highest ranked characteristics by most of the mothers. 'Respect', 'family values', 'loving' and 'consideration' were also viewed as important. These characteristics were mentioned in the discussion, but in that situation 'loving' was deemed most important, followed by 'independence' and then 'compliance'.

This exercise demonstrates the way in which people's opinions vary according to individual or group situations. Social desirability plays an important role in determining how people respond to particular questions in a group situation. Despite this, the results across the two situations are relatively similar and thus may be viewed as important in the analysis.

The discipline scenario results have been tabulated for easier comparison in Appendix 5. The

scenarios reflect different parenting styles on the dimensions of power assertion and induction. The options reflective of induction have been chosen by most of the mothers, especially the white mothers, across the scenarios. The outcome of this exercise showed that the general trend for all mothers was not to use physical punishment as a disciplinary strategy. This contrasts with the discussions, where almost all of the mothers claimed that they used physical punishment in addition to other disciplinary methods (e.g. withdrawal and reinforcement). Perhaps the discrepancy in the two sets of data reflects the restriction of choices provided in the questionnaire, or the fact that mothers tend to employ a variety of disciplinary techniques before they resort to physical punishment. The coloured mothers showed the least group consistency in procedures employed. Other groups of mothers had more consistent choices for each of the scenarios.

The final section of the questionnaire asked mothers to rate themselves on a variety of statements reflective of child-rearing practices. These responses are tabulated and can be seen in Appendix 6. These results must be considered in relation to mothers' individual scores on the PSI, as well as to their respective discussions. From this one might be able to determine various underlying reasons for other responses.

Parent Stress Index (PSI)

Each mother was requested to complete the PSI with respect to her 7 year old child/ren. Tabulation of groups' variations of scores on this questionnaire can be found in Appendix 7. The tests were scored using the PSI manual (Abidin, 1983) to enable one to obtain a rough gage of between and within group variation.

The results of the PSI indicate that there was stress in some mothers in most of the focus groups. It would appear that the mothers in Focus Group 4 have higher levels of stress. This must be borne in mind when analysing the content of their discussions and their perceptions of a 'well brought-up child'. However, this may also be an indication of the cultural differences that were not adequately accounted for in the construction of this test. The fact that the test was translated into Zulu at the time of testing for Focus Group 4 may have

influenced the results to some degree.

Table 6.2. Frequencies of scores on the PSI and possible associated interpretations

GROUP	PSI DOMAIN	NORMAL LIMITS	DEVIANT SCORES	POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS OF DEVIANT SCORES
WHITE	Child domain	100%	-	Low scores could be either defensive behaviour, or due to minimal parental involvement.
	Parent domain	100%	-	
	Global score	60%	40%	
COLOURED	Child domain	71.4%	28.6%	Children unable to adjust to society, demanding, causing parent frustration, and negative interactions with mother.
	Parent domain	85.7%	14.3%	Feelings of guilt and unhappiness because dissatisfied with self and life, lack of emotional support from partner, resulting in isolation and poor health.
	Global score	71.4%	28.6%	Consequence of high parent and child stress levels.
INDIAN	Child domain	75%	25%	Child not what hoped for, unhappy, depressed and overactive, with poor interactions with mother, and thus feelings of rejection.
	Parent domain	100%	-	As above, and lacks emotional bond with child as well as appropriate management skills.
	Global score	75%	25%	
BLACK	Child domain	66.7%	33.3%	
	Parent domain	100%	-	As above, and is dissatisfied with self as a parent, lacks emotional closeness to child.
	Global score	66.7%	33.3%	

Note: Percentages may give the impression of inflated statistics, therefore the reader is reminded of the small sample size.

Focus Group Discussions

Various themes emerged in the focus group discussions and are presented in the following tables, each of which represents a summary of particular questions posed. Following that, descriptions of each are given.

1. What is a well brought-up child?

Table 6.3. Mothers' rankings of characteristics of a well brought-up child and possible influencing factors

	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
RANKINGS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF A WELL BROUGHT-UP CHILD	Loving Secure Respect selves Respect elders Well mannered Honest Considerate, helpful, unselfish Individualistic Confident	Disciplined, obedient, listens (Compliant) Respectful Loving, caring, unselfish, giving (Considerate) Well mannered Positive self image, independent Curious (Inquisitive)	Respectful Confident Independent Inquisitive Socialised Well mannered Loving, caring, loved (Considerate) Religious Educated Honest	Loving Independent Self disciplined, obeys, listens (Compliant) Helpful Respectful Well mannered Tidy in appearance Honest Values the family Non-discriminatory
FACTORS INFLUENCING CHARACTERISTICS	Child's age Family Parent Context	Peers Family	Peers Family Cultural heritage	Child's age Parents Family Community

A 'well brought-up child' should demonstrate the qualities that mothers deem necessary in order for a child to be a model of their values. By determining what qualities the mothers valued, a consensus of what is necessary in order for a child to be the ideal child (i.e. a 'well brought-up child') could be reached.

Similar themes characterise a 'well brought-up child' in each group. However, the degree of importance and the ways in which they are presented (both by the parents and as expected to be seen in children), seem to vary between the groups. The perceptions of well brought-up children appear to be influenced by what is considered distinctive of each racial group (refer to Table 6.5 of culturally specific child-rearing).

Table 6.3 shows the rank ordering of the characteristics that each group considered important in a 'well brought-up child'. The Indian mothers felt that although the characteristics that they listed were vital, not one of the qualities was more important than another. The black mothers felt that whilst they could rate the first four characteristics, after this, they all became equally important. The words in the brackets are those pattern codes which can be used to describe the individual characteristics that the mothers have listed. They are the definitions which were compiled so that the terms could be meaningfully be compared across the groups in the analysis without discrepancies in definitions occurring (see Appendix 4).

The white mothers felt that all the features of a well brought-up child were age dependent and contextually defined. They believed that a child's behaviour originates in the home, where they have been trained. However, they believed that the 'true test' of a child's behaviour occurs when a child is outside of his/her home.

The coloured mothers emphasised the importance of learning through observation and imitation. They felt that their children were equally influenced by peers and family. In addition, they felt that the well brought-up status of a child was actively acquired.

The Indian mothers felt that children were influenced by and learnt behaviours from their peers, family and cultural heritage (defined in terms of religion). According to them, the

qualities of a well brought-up child should be viewed as interrelated:

“[If] she's confident, then she's well mannered, you know, and she's loving....If you're loving you have respect, if you're confident you're also going to have respect....so it's actually a chain link”.

The Zulu speaking mothers regarded the characteristics of well brought-up children as age-dependent and interdependent. They perceived the community as significant in instilling ideas in their children, however, they felt a tension between positive and negative community influences. Although they demanded respect for the community, they also felt that peer groups could have a negative effect on the family and draw the children away from important family and cultural heritage, towards a more ‘useless’ life. They felt that parents had an important function as role models for their children.

Consequently, basic themes of a ‘well brought-up child’ occur similarly across the four race groups. However, these themes tend to have different degrees of significance and are perceived in slightly different ways by the mothers in the various groups.

2. How would you describe a poorly brought-up child?

A ‘poorly brought-up child’ is not necessarily the converse of a ‘well brought-up child’. Rather it has characteristics which a parent does not value. It was these characteristics which were deemed important to be able to clarify what mothers found inappropriate in children.

Various perceptions of what constitutes a ‘poorly brought-up child’ were discussed, and there was some commonality between the groups. These were ranked in order of importance and can be viewed in Table 6.4 above. However, the Indian and white mothers believed that all qualities were interrelated and therefore could not be ranked independently, but these have been ordered in terms of their frequency and implied importance in the discussion.

Table 6.4. Mothers' rankings of characteristics of a poorly brought-up child and possible influencing factors

	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
RANKINGS OF A POORLY BROUGHT-UP CHILD	Rude Spoilt Lack security Demanding Attention seeking Physical neediness Selfish	Disrespectful Rebellious, obstinate, rude (Non-compliant) Spoilt Precocious, domineering, bossy Destructive (Negative behaviour) Selfish, greedy (Inconsiderate) Fidgety (Negative behaviour) Lying	Spoilt Ill-mannered Demanding Disrespectful Lacks confidence (Poor self image) Not loving Dependant	Rude Gossip, outgoing talk/ behaviour (Disrespectful) Aggressive Not trustworthy, thief (Dishonest) Not loving No manners Low morals
FACTORS INFLUENCING CHARACTERISTICS	Parents	Peers Family Television Child's nature Child's age	Disciplinary techniques Parent Grandparents Westernisation	Peers Family Community School

The white mothers felt that a 'poorly brought-up child' was a sign of poor parenting, limited time, attention and love. They regarded parents of these children as too busy and felt that they did not set adequate boundaries for their childrens' behaviours.

A 'poorly brought-up child', the coloured mothers thought, resulted from a variety of influencing factors: the child's peers, the family and television. They also felt that such characteristics could be inherent in a child's nature and that a child was not necessarily of the

same nature as his/her parents. They believed that acceptable standards of behaviour for children were age appropriate.

The Indian mothers felt that there were numerous factors impacting on children and their behaviours, especially the disciplinary methods employed by the parent. They felt that children acquired these characteristics through imitation, as well as from the influence of the parent. They also suggested that childrens' grandparents could influence their behaviour by being too lenient or by not agreeing with the parent's choice of rules and discipline. According to them, the changes occurring due to the acquisition of Western lifestyles could impact negatively on children.

The Zulu speaking mothers believed that being a 'poorly brought-up child' was not innate, rather it stemmed from peer and/or family influences. Their views as to the importance of the community in shaping children's behaviours varied. For some it had a vital role, for others this role was feared to be potentially negative, due to the transitions through Westernisation and changing values in their families.

Similarities in perceptions of a 'poorly brought-up child' thus existed across the groups of mothers. In addition, many of these characteristics were actually the converse of what the mothers perceived as appropriate in a 'well brought-up child'. It is however, the ways in which these characteristics are acquired which vary more across the groups. Thus these factors must be borne in mind in the analysis.

3. Child-rearing expectations specific to particular 'cultures'

The mothers were asked to list those qualities that they felt were specific to their cultural groups. This was included to determine whether there were any perceived similarities or differences in parenting within their own cultural groups. The white mothers were additionally requested to contrast those values and expectations that they felt were important for their two language groups (English versus Afrikaans).

The factors that emerged as important to the various groups revolved around a number of important issues. Firstly, the mothers noted aspirations that they considered specific to their cultural group. These were generally equated with community based aims. Factors which might be influential in a culture (such as disciplinary practices) were then identified. Following this, characteristics specific to ‘well brought-up’ children in their respective cultures are listed. In addition, the factors influencing the different groups of parents’ culturally relevant practices, were also recorded. All of these factors were found to interact in ‘producing’ a ‘well brought-up’ child within each of the different groups and can be viewed in Table 6.5.

Table 6.5. Factors influencing and determining culturally specific child-rearing

	WHITE		COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
	AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH			
COMMUNITY BASED ASPIRATIONS	Family unity Gender differentiation	-	Family unity Community pride	Gender differentiation	Traditional beliefs Community respect Gender differentiation
CHARACTERISTICS IN CHILD	-	Individuality	Respect elders	Religious	Respectful speech and appearance Age appropriate secrecy
INFLUENCING FACTORS	Discipline: strict	Discipline: child questions	Grandparenting	Westernisation Grandparenting	Discipline: physical

.It was difficult to divide the Afrikaans from the English speaking white mothers due to the frequency of mixed language backgrounds of this subject sample. However, the white mothers felt that they were able to discuss the traditional differences between these two groups, and thus a conclusion of culturally specific parenting could be drawn for these two groups.

Although the Indian mothers felt that expectations of parenting were not culturally specific, they immediately equated their culture with religion. In addition, the process of Westernisation and gender differentiation emerged in their discussion suggesting definite culturally specific issues within their group, which could be drawn upon and noted in the analysis.

Both the coloured and the Zulu speaking mothers noted that there should be a strong community commitment in their groups, thus indicating the reason for their spontaneous answers to this question (i.e. the strong community builds acceptable standards of behaviour into its lifestyle which were focussed on in this discussion).

The appropriateness of certain behaviours and expectations of certain families were found to vary across the race groups in this study. Consequently these may impact on the parenting practices employed by the different groups of mothers as well as their 'cultural' expectations of a 'well brought-up' child.

4. What are your main aims as a parent and what qualities would you most like to see in your own child?

The aims that mothers have for their children, and the qualities that they might like to see in their own children might differ from or overlap with those ideal values that they perceive necessary for a 'well brought-up child'. Their aims reflect individual parenting preferences and adaptations as a consequence of numerous variables, as have been outlined in the literature review (e.g. parent versus child characteristics, family situation, etc.). These can be viewed in Table 6.6.

The white mothers' aims for their children appear to be more child oriented, as they focus on the child's individual character. These appear to contrast with the qualities which they would like to see in their children. The qualities were more community centred, i.e. they are aimed at the appropriate socialisation of the child in the community and include characteristics (e.g. compliance and helpfulness) which are necessary behaviours in their homes.

The coloured mothers' aims for their children overlapped with the qualities they would like to see in them. They specified fewer aims for their children than the number of qualities which they felt that they would like their children to have. Both aims and qualities included child-centred as well as other oriented characteristics, which were deemed important in their children. The coloured mothers also expressed that they wanted their children to have the 'best'. However, they desired that their children should achieve more than what they themselves had been capable of achieving, in terms of education, finances, athletics and temperament. Furthermore, they felt that the qualities necessary in a 'well brought-up child' were also important in their own children. Thus it appears that they have high aspirations for their children.

The Indian mothers' aims for their children stemmed from what they themselves couldn't have as children due to the 'conservative' nature of their upbringings. It is interesting to note that their aims for, and the qualities they would like in their children, included all those that they mentioned as important in a 'well brought-up child' and more. Thus one could presume that they would like their children to be ideal children. These characteristics, they felt, were instilled in their children through external sources (e.g. parents and family), and thus they deemed it necessary to mould them in their children. The mothers emphasised that they would like to overcome the restrictive barriers that their parents deemed necessary in child-rearing (i.e. be more open, allow their children to experience life without inducing gender specific restrictions). They wanted their children to be able to experience life positively.

The Zulu speaking mothers had expectations and aims which were both self and other oriented, they were focussed on developing the child's self to the utmost, as well enabling the child to conform to society. In addition to some of the qualities deemed necessary in a 'well brought-up child', the Zulu speaking mothers felt that a 'religious' and 'educated' (both at school and in terms of their culture) child was an important aim of parenting. This they felt, would result in a balanced, independent child.

It appears that both the coloured and Indian mothers had high expectations for their own children in terms of them wanting them to have all the qualities of a 'well brought-up child'

(i.e. their ideal) as well as others. The other groups of mothers aims for, and expectations of their children also overlapped slightly with their values for a ‘well brought-up child’, but were less idealistic. The characteristics aimed for, and the qualities deemed necessary in the mothers’ children must be looked at in conjunction with the qualities deemed necessary in ‘well brought-up children’ in the analysis in order to achieve a more inclusive definition of what the various groups of mothers expect from children.

Table 6.6. Mothers’ aims for, and the qualities they would like to see in their children

	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
AIMS FOR CHILD	Self actualised Educated Secure-family & within Positive self image Happy Religious	Stability, security Educated Religious	Well brought up characteristics Positive life experience More gender equality Good parent-child relationship Compliance	Independent Respect Considerate, loving Religious Educated
QUALITIES IN CHILD	Helpful (Considerate) Life experience Values (Morality) Social Balance (Socialised) Compliant (in Afrikaans families only)	Strong will, confidence Loving Secure-emotionally & financially Educated Well brought-up characteristics	Honesty, trustworthiness Respect Well brought-up characteristics Confident	Independent Respect (not rude, appropriate speech) Compliant Age appropriate self control Culturally educated

5. What are your main methods of disciplining your child?

Discipline is the method by which the child learns ‘appropriate’ behaviour and self control. It was believed that by being able to determine mothers’ disciplinary methods, their perceptions of a well brought-up child’ would be further understood and reinforced. The techniques

discussed by the various groups of mothers are listed in the order in which they were spoken about in the following table (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7. Disciplinary techniques, people involved and factors influencing them

	WHITE			COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
	AFRIKAANS	ENGLISH	MIXED			
TECHNIQUES	Physical (smack) Deprivation Reward/ Incentive (chart) Verbal (Reason)	Physical (smack) Verbal (talk about minor wrongs)	Verbal (talk once, reason) Physical (smack)	Physical (belt, smack) Verbal (shout, talk & talk, threaten) Deprivation (ground, time out) Reward/ Incentive (chart) Love	Physical (spank) Verbal (warn, command, shout, stern) Deprivation (time out)	Physical (corporal punishment) Verbal (fear, warn) Deprivation
OTHER PEOPLE INVOLVED	God			God	Grandparents	Grandparents Siblings Ancestors
FACTORS INFLUENCING TECHNIQUES	Age	Age Circumstance	Age Circumstance		Circumstance	Age Circumstance

The disciplinary techniques varied across and within the groups. The mothers agreed that the technique employed should be age appropriate, suit the situation and the particular child in order for it to be properly effective. They also felt that a child should respond according to the situation, and thus be disciplined appropriately.

It appears that all groups of mothers used 'physical punishment' to a certain degree. In specific, the Zulu speaking mothers felt that it was culturally appropriate to use physical punishment on their children. However, some of them did feel at times, that this form of

discipline was ineffective, i.e. if overused, or if used to punish only minor misdemeanours.

Physical punishment was not felt to be the main form of discipline used by the white, coloured or Indian mothers. However, its usefulness was expressed by all, except for one Indian mother who spoke instead about 'deprivation' and withdrawal of what a child likes, in order to modify behaviour. These techniques were also acknowledged by the other mothers. Verbal punishment was also used across the groups. It's intensity and whether it was harsh or gentle, did however, vary.

The use of rewards and/or incentives as disciplinary techniques were discussed by both the coloured and the white mothers. In specific, they referred to the use of charts with goals and rewards for their childrens' behaviours.

There are a variety of methods of discipline employed by the mothers. It may be due to the fact that discipline varies in intensity according to the relevant situation and child, but it may also be a reflection of a variety of interacting parenting characteristics, such as those outlined in the literature. The ways in which the mothers were reared may have influenced the ways in which they parent; their levels of stress may impact on the disciplinary measures that they use, and these in turn may affect the manner in which their children behave. The temperament of the mothers may also have an impact on the ways in which they discipline their children. In addition, the various people involved in the disciplinary process have impacted on their perceptions of discipline and play an important role in its outcome. Thus discipline is an ever-changing, interactive process, with multiple influencers.

6. Do you feel that you are largely succeeding as a parent?

Confidence in one's success as a parent is usually an individually based opinion. Nevertheless, this question was included in order to ascertain whether there were any group patterns of perceived strengths and weaknesses as a parent. Some interesting patterns emerged in the discussion. The similarities which arose in the discussions of the separate groups, are probably due to the fact that they were group discussions and thus the mothers'

ideas influenced each other. However, a general consensus was reached within the groups.

Table 6.8. Perceived strengths and weaknesses of mothers

	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
STRENGTHS	Ability to spend quality time with child 'Friend', open, communicates Not materialistic	Patient Domineering (strong willed, strict, confident) Religious Loving, kind Respectful	Use strict routine Good guide and role model Educator	Educator Good parent-child relationship Spend quality time with child Good role model
WEAKNESSES	Submissive Spoil child	Submissive Spoil child Threaten & nag when disciplining without following through	Spend too little time with child	Overreact when disciplining Expectations for child are too high Talk too often without following through

Generally, the mothers felt that they were successful as parents. The various strengths and weaknesses which were agreed upon by each group are listed in Table 6.8, and thus may be compared across groups.

The white mothers perceived their strengths to lie within the nature of their relationships with their children. They felt that in order for these to be successful, there must be a reciprocal, open and trusting friendship with the child. In contrast, the coloured mothers perceived their strengths through the nature of their control over their children. Those mothers who felt that they were “*domineering*”, or “*bossy*”, felt that they were successful. The Indian mothers instead, felt that their strengths were related to their success as role models for their children. They felt that those parents who had ensured that their children had received a good education, were particularly successful. Finally, the black mothers felt that if their children exhibited good qualities, if they were open, generous, independent and greeted people, one

could judge them as successful parents. In addition, they felt that these characteristics were a consequence of good discipline and appropriate role models.

In contrast, weaknesses of white and Indian mothers were judged by the lack of quality time that they felt they had spent with their children. The coloured mothers felt that their weaknesses were a consequence of spoiling and submitting to their children, which were contrary to the strong disciplinary role that they felt was necessary in child-rearing. The black mothers felt that poor parenting was a consequence of inadequate discipline (i.e. overreacting, or disciplining their children too little).

Consequently, the different factors deemed necessary for successful parenting are related to what one perceives as important in a child. The subtle differences noted in the parents' accounts of their own family lives have allowed for comparisons across the groups, and thus formulations of what may be ideal for them.

7. Do you and your partner have differing roles and responsibilities in relation to your children?

The roles and responsibilities that the parents take on with regard to child-rearing demonstrate a variety of factors: whether there are culturally specific practices; gender specific roles or responsibilities; and whether children are expected to model these behaviours as they grow older. The mothers tended to resort mainly to their roles as disciplinarians when discussing this question.

The perceived roles and responsibilities of the parents differed across and within the groups. It appears that parenting responsibilities are frequently shared. The nature of the parents' duties differed according to their schedules (e.g. work times) and perhaps even as a consequence of individual personalities. All groups agreed that the female's role was traditionally that of childminder, whereas the male's traditional role was that of breadwinner and often also disciplinarian.

Table 6.9. Perceived roles and responsibilities

	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
RESPONSIBILITIES	Vary according to schedule	Shared	Shared	Shared
MOTHER'S ROLES	Disciplinarian Mediator	Disciplinarian Child care load	Disciplinarian Child care load	Child care load
FATHER'S ROLES	Serious disciplinarian Childminder	Disciplinarian Childminder Breadwinner	Discipline through reason	Disciplinarian Believes child care is for mother May help with homework
GRANDPARENT'S ROLES			Childminder Discipline	

The white mothers agreed that their roles and responsibilities were generally shared with their husbands. However, they felt that they did often vary due to different time schedules and occupations rather than because of any entrenched stereotypical gender roles. For example, one mother said that her husband fetched their children from school, and helped them with their homework due to the nature of her employment. These traditionally defined woman's roles had thus been adjusted to suit their schedules more appropriately. In addition, the mothers felt that both parents played a role in the process of discipline, but that the fathers were generally perceived as the main disciplinarians in all of their families. In contrast, the mothers saw themselves as the mediators, whose disciplinary roles were less rigorous.

There were slight variations between the roles and responsibilities of the coloured parents. Although, these were largely related to their schedules. The housewife, saw her role as child minder, and her husband's role as disciplinarian and provider. A number of other mothers viewed their husbands as disciplinarians and themselves as child minders. Whereas some felt that the role of disciplinarian was shared in their families. The late night shift worker viewed her husband as the child minder, and herself as the major disciplinarian. Thus it is evident

that the nature of their occupations influence the coloured mothers' perceived and real roles.

The general opinion amongst the Indian mothers was that their roles and responsibilities were shared. They felt that although these had differed as a result of available time, schedules and even traditional gender roles, their responsibilities as parents were still similar. They felt that they both used the same rules to raise their children. The housewife felt, however, that since she had been unemployed, child-care was no longer shared. Rather, she felt that she had taken it on in addition to the role of disciplinarian, probably due to the fact that she spent more time in the home. In addition, the Indian mothers emphasised the role of the children's grandparents in child-rearing. It was evident that these differed from those of the parents. The grandparents were noted as less strict, and were felt to spoil the children and thus contradict the expectations of the parents.

The Zulu speaking mothers felt that their roles as child-rearers were not often shared with their husbands, and that they were given a far greater responsibility in child care. They noted that the general attitudes of their husbands was that child-rearing was specifically for women. The mothers viewed this as problematic, and felt that such duties had become a burden for them. However, they noted that these gender specific behaviours were less enforced in younger generations. Some of the children's fathers were, however, making a more significant contribution to the process of child care in their homes (e.g. helping with homework). Therefore the traditionally entrenched gender roles which had been important in the rural areas were still largely followed, however, there was also a move toward a more sharing role in their homes.

General patterns of roles and responsibilities of the parents emerge within the groups. It appears that many of them are adapted to suit the familys' particular schedules, although, especially in the Zulu families, traditional stereotypical behaviours still occur. The relative load that the mother feels that she has to bear with regard to child-rearing responsibilities might impact on her stress levels, and the manner in which she perceives a 'well brought-up child'.

8. Do you expect your children to do things as soon as you request them?

It was generally agreed across the groups, that children should respond immediately to a parent's request, but that this response also depended on the nature of the request, as well as the circumstance. For example, the Indian mothers felt that tidying one's room need not necessarily be done immediately. Contrary to this the coloured mothers felt that if a child was asked to buy bread and milk, for example, he/she should do it promptly. The examples given arose spontaneously in the group discussions and thus could not be held constant.

Consequently a variety of interacting variables have been noted in the results which all interact to influence the mothers' perceptions of what constitutes a 'well brought-up child'.

CHAPTER 7: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The literature has demonstrated that the process of parenting is complex and that it is confounded by a number of variables. Due to the fact that a number of interacting variables were controlled for in this study, it became easier to observe those variables which might have an impact on mothers' perceptions. Significant diversities of race and language backgrounds were the main variables of concern. The information thus obtained in the focus groups on mothers' perceptions is largely congruent with what has been discussed in the literature. Furthermore the results were in line with the predicted racial patterns, however an overall similarity between the groups' perceptions was also realised.

It has been documented that the universal nature of children's characteristics, as well as the goals of an adequate socialisation of children, lead to universal child-rearing activities (Bornstein, 1991; LeVine, 1974; Odetola & Ademola, 1985). This became obvious with the similar choices that mothers made in the focus groups. However, there were small degrees of differences, especially in the importance attached to certain characteristics and sometimes even in the ways in which they were defined. This may be a consequence of varying cultural influences due to the processes of socialisation. The environment of a child is shaped by values, traditions, expected patterns of behaviour and norms, which all stem from the parents and their life experiences (LeVine, 1974; LeVine, 1977; Schoombee & Mantazaris, 1987). This is evident particularly in the South African experience, due to the nature of the country's history, where political divides through Apartheid have impacted on the socialisation processes of different race groups.

Due to the fact that white South Africans as a group have largely been divided into English and Afrikaans speaking people, this study concentrated on these groups. However, it became evident that the divide between English and Afrikaans is difficult to define, and that many white South Africans come from mixed language backgrounds. Despite this, the white mothers were able to discuss the traditional roles of both language groups. Although they felt that they were not as significant in lifestyles of today, a variety of interesting relationships emerged.

The literature on Afrikaans families emphasises the important role of their family and community (Kapp, 1992) in contrast to the English-speaking white South Africans, who being largely influenced by Western and their Eurocentric roots, have small nuclear families and strive towards economic success and self-sufficiency (Gardner, 1971, Luster & Okagaki, 1993). These are largely achieved through individualistic means (Brooks, 1981). This contrast in family values was depicted by the mothers in the study, who felt that Afrikaans people were more family oriented than English. The English focussed more, they felt, on the development of the self. Their children were taught to be enquiring, even in the process of discipline, in order that they might develop according to their full potential, learn to be able to stand up for themselves, and be less submissive.

De Klerk (1971) wrote about the strong influence of religion on the Afrikaners, and this was highlighted by the Afrikaans mother who explained her use of strict discipline through religious verse. This could have been coincidental, but her approach to religion appeared to be austere and the importance of it in her family life, in comparison to the other mothers in the group, was evident.

The family values of the South African coloured communities seem to be very similar to those of the white Afrikaans families. In addition to the fact that they adopt a Western family lifestyle (Cilliers, 1963; Whisson, 1971), the coloureds have been documented as having strong family ties, with influential religious backgrounds (Sonn & Fisher, 1996). A strong sense of belonging is evident amongst the groups of coloureds in South Africa (Caliguire, 1996; Sonn & Fisher, 1996). It was not coincidental then, that the coloured mothers in this study expressed the importance of their families to them, as well as emphasising the role of religion in their family values and disciplinary processes. Their emphasis on the need for secure children may be associated with their perceived importance of belonging to and identifying with a group.

The white mothers discussed the use of parenting manuals as aids in the child-rearing process. The literature outlines that mothers often feel the need to consult 'outside experts' when rearing their children, and that this may be accomplished by reading parenting manuals

(Spock, 1972). It could be significant that none of the other groups discussed the use of such child-rearing aids. Parenting manuals are largely based on child-rearing techniques employed in Westernised countries. The use of these aids may have had an impact on the parenting techniques employed by the white mothers, or it could be indicative of the type of techniques that are relevant to their social backgrounds. In addition, it could be an adaptation to the nuclear lifestyle of the white, Westernised mothers, a necessary aid to compensate for the lack of advisories and helpers typical of the extended family unit. Although, this may not have been the case in this study due to the significant number of white families living in extended family arrangements in comparison to the other groups. However, the white mothers did not emphasise the importance of their extended family members, such as grandparents, in the child-rearing process. These family members were seen as vital by the other groups of mothers.

The entire family and community of the Zulus were seen as important in child-rearing. They felt that discipline was the most culturally typical parenting technique of their group. Although they had varying opinions as to the success of corporal punishment, they felt that it has been specific to their culture for many years. In addition to harsh physical punishment, they discussed the use of fear as a strategy to discipline their children.

Cilliers (1963) wrote about the importance of grandparents as facilitators of child-rearing in the coloured families. The mothers in the study noted the vital role of extended family members, especially the grandparents, in their families. Extended family members have become important to these families as advisors and childminders. Even though there are discrepancies in the process of child-rearing by the grandparents, their role is perceived as beneficial in the coloured groups' family system.

Traditional Indian religious and cultural groups have concentrated on the family rather than on the individual (Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1996). According to Kuper (1960), it is customary that the Indian families live together in a patrilineal extended family. However, only one of the Indian mothers in this study lived with her husband's mother. This could be a demonstration of the increased role that Westernisation plays in their families, or even a sign

of financial adaptation (i.e. less family members to reduce the cost of living). Despite this, a number of the grandparents still played a very influential role in child care in these families. All of the mothers acknowledged the importance of grandparents, but emphasised that their influence in the child-rearing process was both positive and negative. They felt that the grandparents gave contradictory messages to the children, especially with regard to discipline. Although Kuper (1960) suggests that the role of child care was traditionally shared by numerous female household members, she felt that the strongest relationship was still between the child and its mother in Indian families.

The Indian mothers in this study were all Hindus, and thus their families can be assumed to subscribe to the beliefs and lifestyles of this religion. Culture was equated with religion in the discussion, with the importance of religion emphasised as a means to understand the heritage of their group and thus to give the child a sense of security and belonging. Kuper (1960), also outlined the importance of religion (in specific Hinduism) in the Indian community, as a means to understand one's cultural heritage. It was felt in the group that the understanding of one's heritage would lead to a sense of security, which they deemed important in any child.

Kuper (1960) outlines the important roles of various Hindu family members. Traditionally, the Hindu household is run by both parents, but the female takes on the role of caregiver, and the male the role of breadwinner. The Indian mothers in this study spoke of how this division had been obvious in their families when they were growing up, and how they had felt restricted by these roles. They had felt that they were unable to explore life beyond their homes, and that their male siblings had been treated as superior. For this reason, they expressed the desire for their children (who were all female) to be able to move beyond these roles and 'experience life'. This could also be reflective of the economy of South Africa, where families need more than one breadwinner, as well as an indication of the increasing influence of Westernisation on these families.

The strong gender differentiated roles were also noted in the Afrikaans and Zulu families. It was felt that the Afrikaans families still perceived the mother as the caregiver, and the father as the breadwinner, but the mothers expressed that the nature of the economy in South Africa

did not allow for this anymore, and that it was necessary for families to have more than one breadwinner. The Zulu mothers expressed that the gender roles were more evident in rural townships as was described by Odetola and Ademola (1985), and that this was not always the case in the urban areas. The mothers were actively working on changing these attitudes in their children.

“Every one of us has mentioned that she treats boys and girls alike...[they are] not doing this in the rural areas...they have specific sex related duties...you would not let a boy knead bread [there].....[boys] can do the garden....”.

In addition, it was noted that the husbands of the mothers in this study were wary of changing their attitudes, but if they did, they preferred that it was not acknowledged by people outside of their immediate families. This could be as a consequence of the traditional power hierarchy associated with gender roles.

“You find [the boys in the rural areas] referring to girls as children when they fight. So this means they now grow up knowing that women are inferior”.

The changes that were noted as occurring, could be indicative of the influence of Westernisation in the Zulu families.

Westernisation in South Africa has led to increased levels of acculturation in Indian families (Coll et al., 1995; Durvasula & Mylvaganum, 1996; Wood & Wassenaar, 1989). It was felt by the Indian mothers of this study, to be influential in their child-rearing processes. They felt that their male and female household roles are changing as a consequence of this process, and that their children should be reared to be open, to communicate and to be willing to experience life. However, it was felt that families who were not open to these ideas, would have rebellious children who were non-compliant and disrespectful. Coll et al. (1995) also documented that the processes of deculturation and Westernisation were associated with rebellion and change in the Indian children. The Indian mothers in this study felt that they should be open to these processes in order for their children to develop optimally.

The role of Westernisation was not viewed so optimistically by the Zulu speaking mothers. They felt that the traditional family unit was important, and that community ties which once had been influential in the child-rearing process, were becoming less reliable. Odetola and Ademola (1985) discuss how important it has been for African families to socialise their children into the values and norms of their groups. It is evident that the community is important in the African families' lives, and that the socialisation of a child occurs through the family group, and not only via the child's parents (Odetola & Ademola, 1985). In addition to this, it has been found that African children tend to learn through a passive acknowledgement of their elders' acts (LeVine, 1980, in Luster & Okagaki, 1993) as well as through imitation (West, 1976). According to the Zulu mothers, outside influences, such as television and schooling, were developing values in their children which were not community based.

African parents have been documented as requiring that their children support and provide for them in their old age (LeVine, 1980, in Luster & Okagaki, 1993). The Zulu mothers also wanted their children to be able to provide both financial and physical security for them as they aged. They also wanted their children to identify themselves with their communal group, and to be able to take on community responsibilities. In addition, the positive community process in child-rearing, through discipline and identity formation (Odetola & Ademola, 1985), was being questioned by the mothers. They felt that the present young generation in their community had been poorly brought-up, exposed to a high level of inappropriate Westernisation, and this had negatively influenced them. Thus they desired that their children be selectively reared by the community. These negative influences in the community could also be a consequence of factors such as migratory labour and urbanisation (West, 1976). This process has resulted in families being torn apart and thus traditional systems have become invalid, especially as a consequence of the adoption of farming activities by women and children.

African children have been expected to contribute to domestic work as soon as they are able to comprehend instructions in traditional rural settings (LeVine, 1974). This, probably emphasises the importance that the Zulu mothers placed on the quality of helpfulness in their

children. However, it also demonstrates the reason for the gender specific behaviours that are still followed in rural African areas. The literature outlines the strict gender differentiated behaviours in the traditional homesteads (Luster & Okagaki, 1993; Odetola & Ademola, 1985). As has been noted earlier, the black mothers in this study felt that although they were working to decrease these role stereotypes in their children, their husbands still largely felt obliged to subscribe to them. Due to differences of opinion within the families with regard to these stereotypes, the importance of the family as a role model for the children, might be jeopardised in that children receive conflicting messages. Therefore it may be difficult for the children to move away from these traditionally prescribed behaviours.

Nevertheless, Westernised ideals have formed a part of many black South African's lives. Traditional beliefs in ancestors are still seen as central by many and have been incorporated into their Western practices (Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983). The mothers in the group also discussed this, especially with regard to the discipline process. They felt that any person who experiences bad fortune may attribute it to a lack of belief in , or a consequence of a message from, ancestral spirits. Thus it appears that the Zulu mothers find themselves in a transitory period, with numerous positive and negative influences from both traditional community and Western sources. This has served to complicate their process of parenting and thus their expectations and aims have come from a variety of sources. In spite of this, they are still similar to those of the other groups of parents.

Consequently the patterns of parenting and family styles specific to the race groups are largely congruent with what has been observed in the literature. Despite the fact that a number of these groups have been undergoing changes due to increased exposure to Westernisation and various changes in restrictions and policies in South Africa, the basic adaptations of the groups to the processes have also been acknowledged in the literature. It appears however, that the process of parenting has become complicated in some of the groups. The Indian mothers in this study seem to have an optimistic approach to the changes that they feel are evident in their families. However, it is evident in the literature that not all Indian parents are coping (Wood & Wassenaar, 1989). The Zulu speaking mothers have become torn between their traditional ties to the community, and the need for their children to

develop as 'well brought-up' individuals. They feel that their communities are becoming negatively influenced by society, and that this process is disadvantageous to the development of their children.

In addition to the differences that become evident between groups, Miller and Goodnow (1995) wrote that there are various ways of perceiving things within each cultural group. These could be as a consequence of numerous interacting variables such as temperament, age and socioeconomic status of groups. However, there were not many discrepancies in the groups, and a general consensus was reached in most cases. The slight differences as to the importance of the influence of the community in the Zulu group can be accounted for by the differences in opinion according to the process of Westernisation.

The literature has focussed on a number of characteristics which parents value in their children, as well as those which are expected by the various race groups (see Tables 2.1 and 2.2). There is overlap with those characteristics outlined in the tables and those mentioned by the mothers in the study.

Table 7.1. Qualities that mothers deem necessary(+) or unnecessary(-) in their children

QUALITIES	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
TO FEEL LOVED	+ Balance and security	+ Emotional security	+ Confidence, manners, etc.	*
CONSIDERATE VERSUS INCONSIDERATE	+ Loving to others, helpful, unselfish - Selfish	+ Loving (demonstrative), caring, unselfish - Selfish, greedy, not loving or sharing	+ Loving to others, caring - Not loving	+ Loving, helpful, generous - Not loving
RESPECT VERSUS DISRESPECT	+ For self, elders and others + Well mannered through speech - Rude, attention seeking	+ For others + Active, through speech, mannerisms - Rude, no active acknowledgement of elders	+ For others and self + Well mannered through speech - Ill mannered, vulgar	+ For others and elders + Passive, through speech, age appropriate, well mannered - Rude, no passive submissiveness, poor subject matter, ill mannered
COMPLIANCE VERSUS NONCOMPLIANCE	+ Passive in Afrikaans + Active questioning in English	+ Disciplined, obeys, listens - Rebellious, obstinate, unwilling to cooperate, resistant	+ Listens, controlled behaviour	+ Disciplined, obeys, listens, passive, submissive - Disobedient
INDEPENDENCE VERSUS DEPENDENCE	* - Physical neediness, demanding	+ Consequence of harmonious parental relationships	+ Self sufficiency - Demanding	+ Self sufficiency, responsible, self disciplined - Inappropriate self control
INDIVIDUALITY	+ Own personality and character	*	*	*
SECURITY VERSUS INSECURITY	+ Family, financial, emotional + Support - Clingy, dependent, unaware of limits	+ Emotional, family + Stability	+ Heritage, belonging	+ Family, belonging

QUALITIES	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
HONESTY VERSUS DISHONESTY	+ Truthful, faithful	-Lying	+ Trusting, open, honest - Untrustworthy	+Honesty through infallibility - Criminality, deceit, pretence
POSITIVE VERSUS POOR SELF IMAGE	+ Confidence - Lacks love and security, attention seeking	+ Confidence	+ Confidence - Lacks confidence	*
INQUISITIVE	+ In own home, not in others	+ Curious	+ Active, inquiring mind	*
SOCIALISATION	+ Religious and educated, balanced, self actualised + Positive life experience	+ Community pride, belonging, strong willed, religious, educated	+ Heritage, religious, educated, belonging + Positive life experience + Gender equality - Westernisation	+ Family pride, identity formation, belonging, religious, educated + Ancestral spirits - Westernisation
MORALITY	+ Values, through external opinion	+ Tidy appearance	+ Morals	+ Tidy appearance, non-discriminatory -Participate in drinking and sexual behaviour
NEGATIVE BEHAVIOUR	-Clingy	- Fidgety, hyperactive, throws tantrums	+ Age appropriate self control	+ Age appropriate self control -Aggressive
PRECOCIOUS	- Spoilt, materialistically	- Spoilt, bossy domineering, centre of attention	-Spoilt	*

*Characteristics not mentioned by mothers

It has been documented that love and respect are important characteristics in children (Dyer, 1986). All of the mothers in the groups echoed this. Firstly, they (with the exception of the black mothers) felt that it was necessary that their children **felt loved**. This characteristic was generally achieved through the parents giving their children love and attention. This they felt, would lead to a sense of balance and emotional security in their children. In addition, the Indian mothers felt that this would enhance the sense of confidence in their children. According to Luster and Okagaki (1993), by having smaller families, with fewer children (i.e. nuclear families), one is able to provide their children with higher levels of attention and praise in order that they may develop increased levels of independence and self-confidence. This Westernised rationale for smaller families was not discussed in the groups, but it may be significant in that the Zulu mothers did not feel that it was significantly important that their children were given love. They felt that their children developed their sense of security and identity through the community, and not through attentions being bestowed on them. The other groups of mothers were all far more influenced by more Western approaches to parenting and perhaps this is why they felt that their children should feel loved in order for them to feel secure. Their sense of the community in providing this security was possibly less important due to their move (in specific the coloured and Indian mothers) to a more Westernised parenting.

It was felt that **considerate** children were loving and caring children. Indian parents have been found to value nurturing, understanding, helpful and loving children (Bhana & Naidoo, 1988), thus supporting the mothers' views in this study. The coloured mothers felt that being considerate was a demonstrative characteristic, i.e. through "*hugs and kisses*", and that such children were generous in nature. The white and black mothers' perceptions of a considerate child included qualities, which although demonstrative, were less so, and instead were more prosocially beneficial. This was obtained through qualities such as helping, being generous and unselfish. The quality of helpfulness in black children possibly stems from their socialisation process, where children are expected to help with household chores from a young age (LeVine, 1974). All groups of mothers felt that poorly brought up children were inconsiderate and selfish, they did not share, and were self-centred.

The type of **respect** that a child exhibited was also considered as important in mothers' perceptions of what constituted a 'well brought-up child'. According to the white mothers it was vital for a child to respect him/herself before anyone else, because they felt that:

“if [a child] can't respect [its]self, [it] can't respect others”.

This self-respect has been documented as an important characteristic for children to have in the child-centred Western world (Spock, 1972; Spock, 1974). The Indian mothers also felt that a child should respect itself. This could be evident of a move to a more Westernised style of parenting by them. Furthermore the Zulu mothers demanded that their children exhibit a form of self-respect. This they felt was necessary especially for cleanliness and health related issues in a move towards self-sufficiency.

It has been documented that the respect that children have for their parents affects the way in which they view any other authority figures (Dobson, 1970). In specific, Bhana and Naidoo (1988) outlined that Indian parents expect their children to be respectful. All of the mothers in this study felt that children should respect others, in specific their elders, especially through their manner of speech. However, the way in which this respect was manifested varied across the groups. It is possible that these differences may be a consequence of the socialisation processes which the various groups have been exposed to.

The white mothers felt that a respectful child was well mannered and polite to adults in that:

“[they should] not say things that aren't called for”.

According to Norton (1977), this respect could be demonstrated through etiquette and the use of words such as 'please' and 'thank-you', although their degree of importance would vary across families. The coloured mothers demanded an active, acknowledging respect from their children. They felt that first impressions were important, and that a child's mannerisms demonstrated their degree of respect for others.

“...when the child walks in....greet[s] everybody, that's the first impression you get. Oooh this child has got good manners....because [she] comes in, says 'Good afternoon Auntie'....and the way they carry themselves when they come into your home [is also important]”.

This active acknowledgement could perhaps be a socialisation strategy developed in response to the oppression that the coloureds experienced as a group in Apartheid South Africa (Adhikari, 1991; Sonn & Fisher, 1996). It is possible that by demanding an active respect, their children would place them in high regard and thus eventually develop a strong sense of pride in them and their community. This would encourage a move to overcome the forces of oppression. It was felt by the coloured mothers that any child who did not exhibit these actively respectful characteristics was a reflection of poor parenting practices. However, they acknowledged the role of individual differences in temperament which in turn could explain why some children would be ‘poorly brought-up’.

In contrast, the Zulu mothers felt that their children should offer a quiet, passive respect to them and to other adults. Therefore, what was considered respectful by the coloured mothers was regarded as very rude by the black mothers. The Zulu’s expected their children to demonstrate respect through the use of a low, careful tone when speaking to adults. They felt that it was necessary that their children use this tone to differentiate between young and old people.

“They should not speak too loudly to an adult like their father. [They] must not talk in a careless manner when [they are] talking to us parents. There must be a difference when [they] are talking to an adult”.

The Zulu mothers felt that their children should respect them in a non-discriminatory manner. For example, they felt that children who had achieved higher levels of education, or who could read more than their parents, should not discriminate against them on this basis.

“We usually say that a child is well brought up if he can accommodate me as a parent even if I cannot write or read, accepting me as I am...respect me as an adult”.

This appears to be a consequence of the nature of separate and inadequate education in Apartheid South Africa. In addition to this, the nature of rural lifestyles, required that many of these women had gender specific roles to perform in their homesteads from a young age (Odetola & Ademola, 1985). Consequently they either received an inadequate education, or they were required to execute household duties rather than become educated. Thus this non-discriminatory respect for adults has become important to them due to the increased exposure of their children to more acceptable schooling systems. Their children are often more educated than them, but must still respect them despite this. In addition, they believe that children should respect elders irrespective of their status. Thus, respect in the Zulu families should be age appropriate.

All mothers felt that a disrespectful child was rude and ill-mannered. According to the white mothers these children were attention seeking, whereas the Indian mothers said that disrespect was obvious in a vulgar manner of speech. The coloured mothers felt that disrespect was evident through a lack of acknowledgement of one's elders. The Zulu mothers regarded children whose manner of acknowledgement was loud, and those who participated in 'gossip' as disrespectful.

It was felt that the Zulu children could achieve respect through **compliance**. This they viewed as a passive characteristic, which was observed in a child who submissively listens to adults, even those who are not the child's parents, and obeys them.

All of the groups of mothers felt that compliance was necessary in a well brought-up child. To all of them, it was indicative of a well-disciplined child. A compliant child in the Afrikaans-speaking families was perceived as passive and accepting of any discipline. The English-speaking children were perceived as compliant even if they questioned their disciplinary technique. This questioning was viewed as necessary in the process of developing their own personalities, and thus was not frowned upon. The coloured and Indian

mothers, like the black mothers, felt that a compliant child listened to and obeyed his/her parents in order for their behaviour to be appropriately controlled. The importance Indian parents placed on obedient, well mannered, well-behaved and cooperative children was discussed by Bhana and Naidoo (1988), and thus highlights this characteristic.

Disobedient children, who were unwilling to cooperate, who were obstinate and resistant, were perceived as 'poorly brought-up' children by all groups. It is important for children to obey their parents because the behaviours which parents expect from them are vital in the disciplinary process of guidance to survive in a particular social milieu (Firestone, 1990; Van Pelt, 1990).

The concept of **independence** was deemed important by the groups of mothers (except for the white mothers) in a 'well brought-up child'. According to both the Indian and the Zulu mothers it was related to the quality of self-sufficiency, where the child learns to take on responsibilities and solve problems independently. Durvasula and Mylvaganam (1996) also stressed the importance that Indian families placed on the development of independence and self-sufficiency in their children. The mothers in this study felt that independence was exceptionally important for the process of socialisation, to be able to develop according to what one's society deems important. Independence stems from self-respect in the Zulu families. Their children are expected to learn simple behaviours first, for example to wash their own clothes, in an attempt to develop a more advanced, self-disciplined independence. Without this, it was believed that children would develop an inappropriate level of self-control.

“Starting with [the] younger ones, they should learn to wash their panties.... We cannot expect them to wash blankets if they were never taught to wash even their panties”.

The coloured mothers, however, felt that independence in children was a consequence of harmonious parental relationships. Through these, they believed that their children would develop a positive self image, and thus a confidence in themselves and the ability to do things

on their own. In this manner, independence would be achieved. If not, they would become demanding and exhibit those characteristics of a dependent and thus poorly brought-up children.

Although the white mothers did not speak of independence, they described a demanding, physically needy child as dependent and exhibiting inappropriate behaviour. The white mothers, concentrated on the importance of **individuality** in their children. They felt that this characteristic was important in order for them to develop their own specific personalities, as well as the ability to stand up for themselves. This Westernised concept was discussed by Brooks (1981), and thus demonstrates the influence of the West on the white parents in this study.

The characteristic of **security** was also deemed necessary in children by all groups of mothers. The white and coloured mothers felt that well brought-up children need a variety of securities, which they generally obtain from their immediate families. They felt that financial and emotional security and support would lead to a sense of stability in their children, necessary for appropriate socialisation.

The Indian and Zulu mothers felt that this security was obtained through a strong family heritage and sense of belonging. Odetola and Ademola (1985), describe the social security that is provided in the African families, especially to those related by blood. In addition, the Zulu mothers believed that it was important that their children have a pride in their family. They felt that the family forms an important base for their children's identity formation, and that this allows for a sense of security within them.

“[A well brought-up child is] a child who will take family values as important and be proud of his home [ekhaya - tone full of pride and togetherness] at all times and keep these as he grows up”.

Furthermore, the Zulu mothers felt that it was necessary that their children subscribe to a belief in their ancestors. The ancestors of the Zulus have been documented as influencing the

quality of their lives (Tyrrell & Jurgens, 1983; West, 1976). Thus a belief in them will confirm a positive life experience, and thus ensure a stable and secure life for them.

The Indian mothers felt that family heritage, belonging and security were accomplished and learnt through religion. To them, Hinduism was important in providing this. The close nature of the extended Hindu families results in a strong sense of security, both economic and social (Kuper, 1960; Naidoo, 1987).

However, the process of Westernisation appears to be having an adverse effect on family security. In both Zulu and Indian families, nuclear arrangements are increasing in frequency, and thus the number of family members available to provide social support and security is decreasing. Although the Indian mothers appear to be adjusting to this, it appears that the stage of transition that the Zulu mothers are in is affecting their traditional values. Consequently, there were contradictory reports as to the importance of other community and family members in the process of socialisation and the provision of a sense of security for the Zulu children.

Following this, most of the mothers (excluding the black mothers) discussed the importance of a **positive self image** in their children. The white mothers felt that a child who was given love and security would become confident and thus would have a positive self esteem. In contrast, one who was not properly cared for would become an attention seeker with a poor self image. The Indian and coloured mothers also felt that a child who was confident in him/herself had a positive self image, and that this was necessary for a well brought-up child. Perhaps the black mothers did not raise this concept, because for them their children develop their identities through their belongingness to their communities. Thus their self identities should be of a moral and upright nature, and therefore they should lead to a positive self-image.

The importance of **honesty** as a characteristic in a child was expressed across the groups. The white mothers felt that it was important that their children were both truthful and faithful. The Zulu mothers felt that children are not infallible, and that this should be overcome through

honesty.

“When she has stolen some money, she must be able to own up....without you having to accuse someone else...”

The Indian mothers saw honesty from themselves and their children as a necessity for an open, trusting relationship between them and their children. This they deemed necessary in order to develop a strong and happy relationship between them as parents, and with their children.

“...if we’re going to hold [them] back, then [they are] going to do things behind our back[s]. I feel if you’re honest with them...then [they are] going to listen and I don’t see that [there are] going to be any problems...”

Although the coloured mothers did not mention honesty per se, they did mention that ‘lying’ and dishonesty were characteristics of poorly brought-up children. The Zulu mothers felt that dishonesty was associated with criminality, deceit and low morals.

Morality was noted by the mothers as a characteristic that should be present in their children. According to the white mothers, the values that their children had were externally evaluated, although they were developed and learnt in the home. Both the coloured and the Zulu mothers felt that a child's appearance were moral issues. According to them children who are tidy in appearance are respectful and thus have good values and morals. The literature outlines the importance that Indian mothers too, attach to their children’s tidy appearance (Bhana & Naidoo, 1988), although the mothers in this study did not state it as a priority. In addition, the Zulu mothers felt that girls should be taught how to sit appropriately (i.e. with their legs together).

The mothers (excluding the Zulus) also discussed the value of being **inquisitive**. Perhaps the Zulu mothers equate this inquisitiveness with rude behaviour, and instead prefer their children to passively learn rather than to seek things out. A curious child with an active mind

was deemed important by the Indian and coloured mothers. Although the white mothers felt that their children should not be overly active when they had company, all mothers expressed that an inquiring mind was necessary in that it allowed the children to find out what was happening around them without being too mischievous.

Negative behaviour was used to describe behaviour that was inappropriate or antisocial. A fidgety, hyperactive child was regarded as poorly brought-up by coloured mothers. In addition, they felt that tantrums were unacceptable. The Zulu mothers deemed aggressive behaviour as inappropriate, and along with the Indian mothers, felt that age appropriate self control was necessary in their children.

Finally, **precocious** behaviour was regarded as unacceptable by the mothers. They felt that spoilt children had a tendency to become bossy, domineering and that they demanded to be the centre of attention.

All mothers mentioned the necessity for their children to be educated and exposed to religious upbringings in order for them to be 'well brought-up'. Both the Indian and the black mothers expressed the importance of these factors in terms of their cultural backgrounds. They felt that education and religion were necessary in order to understand their families' heritages. In addition, the Indian families have been documented as honouring academic excellence of their children (Durvasula & Mylvaganam, 1996; Rangaswami, 1996). This could also influence the importance that Indian parents attach to the education of their children.

The coloured mothers felt that it was necessary that their children develop strong wills in order that they may become confident and able to look after themselves. Furthermore, the white and Indian mothers discussed that they would like their children to have positive life experiences. They felt that these might contribute to a more prosperous and secure upbringing.

In addition, Brooks (1981) wrote that parents should note that each child is unique and must

be parented as such. The white and the Zulu speaking mothers noted that parenting and discipline should be age appropriate and according to circumstance. The Indian mothers also noted that it should be appropriate to circumstance. Although none of the parents actually expressed that each of their children were treated uniquely, it can be deduced by noting that some factors were considered circumstantial, that they (with the exception of the coloured mothers) did not expect uniform behaviour from all children.

Both the coloured and the Indian mothers had high expectations for their own children. They equated these expectations with those of a well brought-up child. Their aims however, might be too idealistic, and the goals might be too high for their children. It may become problematic if a child is pushed to achieve more than he/she is physically capable of doing, and a child's temperament cannot be changed (Spock, 1972).

There is a large degree of overlap between what parents across groups view as a 'well brought-up child'. These characteristics may differ slightly in importance, but the fact that they are important across groups is significant. It pinpoints the fact that the groups of mothers have overlapping ideas of what is important in a child. Thus their child-rearing mechanisms overlap in order to produce well brought-up children. This is also evident in the types of disciplinary techniques employed by the mothers. These too overlap, but also differ in importance. Thus the specific context of a family, their ideals and goals are all important in order to understand what they perceive as a 'well brought-up child'.

Through discipline, a child is guided toward acceptable behaviour for a specific society or setting. These behaviours are internalised in the child, and in turn the child becomes socialised into certain ways of acting. Consequently the values and morals of the community within which a child lives become entrenched in the child as s/he develops into a social being. Thus how one disciplines ones child will influence the outcome in the child. The disciplinary strategies employed by parents are influenced by and indicative of a number of interacting variables. How one was parented, individual parent or child characteristics, or even what is deemed appropriate in one's community can determine what techniques are used. Furthermore, the outcomes one expects in one's child may also influence the strategies

chosen.

Table 7.2 Comparison of disciplinary methods employed by mothers of different race groups

TECHNIQUE	WHITE		COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS			
PHYSICAL PUNISHMENT	Not main technique, smack sometimes necessary	Not main technique, smack sometimes necessary Biblical reference	Not main technique, but smack now and again Biblical reference	Not main technique, spank sometimes necessary (one mother did not use it)	Corporal punishment, used regularly Culturally appropriate Ineffective if overused
VERBAL PUNISHMENT	Gentle, reason, explain If not work, use physical means		Reprimand, harsh, shout, threaten, nag Gentle, reason	Reprimand, threaten, nag	Reprimand, inculcation of fear Begin passive, if not work, use physical
DEPRIVATION	Seen as more extreme for 'deliberate' crimes		Alternative to smack Time out	Withdrawal of what one likes	Withhold things of value to children
REWARDS	Charts		Charts	*	*
POLICING	*		*	*	Siblings on guard

*Not mentioned by mothers

The mothers in this study (except for the coloured mothers) all felt that discipline should be relevant to the situation, and that deliberate misdemeanours should be more harshly punished than small offences. In addition, the white and black mothers felt that discipline should be age appropriate. Grusec and Goodnow (1994) stress that discipline should be flexible and that in addition to the situation and age of child, mothers should be aware of the individual child's

characteristics because these will affect the child's cognitions and perceptions of a situation.

Odetola and Ademola (1985) write that African parents direct their children's behaviour towards socially desired goals and norms through the use of rewards, punishments and instructions. Although the Zulu mothers in this study employed all of these strategies, they felt that corporal punishment was the most culturally specific parenting technique.

“In our culture a child must be punished.....[we believe that] the stick really works”.

Physical punishment, although very controversial in the literature (Bukatko & Daehler, 1992; Hauck, 1982; Wesley, 1971), was regarded as necessary by all of the mothers (except for one Indian mother) in the study. However, it was not regarded as the only method by any of the mothers, and its importance varied within and between the groups, possibly due to individual personality variations. It has been suggested that Hindus believe that punishment should not be too severe, and that it should rather be used to ‘frighten’ the child than to induce pain in him/her (Kuper, 1960). This low tone physical punishment was supported by the Indian mothers in this study.

Both the coloured and the Afrikaans mothers quoted biblical verse to emphasise and rationalise the significant role that they felt that discipline, especially corporal punishment, had in child-rearing. Christianity has been documented as being very important in both groups' family lives (Caliguire, 1996; DeKlerk, 1971; Sonn & Fisher, 1996). According to the Afrikaans mother:

“If you look at Proverbs 20 verse 30 [Sometimes it takes a painful experience to make us change our ways], that's one of my favourite.....sometimes a smack must be given”.

The coloured mothers quoted:

“Spare the rod and spoil the child”.

The use of biblical reasoning in discipline by the coloured mothers was extended to **verbal**

punishment, where they threatened their children.

“My husband’s famous words are Jesus is watching you and He’s writing it in His book”.

All groups of mothers felt that verbal punishment was often more appropriate than physical punishment, and they used it at various levels. The coloured, Indian and black mothers discussed the use of harsh verbal punishment. Both the Zulu and the coloured mothers felt that it was sometimes necessary to inculcate fear in their children in order to manipulate their behaviour. In addition, the coloured and Indian mothers felt that they regularly threatened their children and ‘nagged’ at them. This threat of punishment by the Hindu mothers has been deemed necessary to induce socially approved behaviours (Kuper, 1960). Furthermore, it has been suggested that Hindu families may not feel that it is necessary to actually follow their threats through, but rather that they are sufficient for disciplining a child (Kuper, 1960).

In addition to harsh verbal punishment, many mothers used a more gentle verbal punishment. Both the white and the coloured mothers felt that it was important to reason with the child and explain why s/he was being disciplined. This was deemed important, in order for the child to realise what was socially acceptable, as well as for the child to develop his/her internal locus of control, i.e. to become self-disciplined. Both the white and the Zulu mothers felt that if verbal punishment did not modify a child’s behaviour, they should resort to physical punishment.

Deprivation as a disciplinary technique was highly regarded by all groups of mothers. This largely behaviourist principle (Chamberlain & Patterson, 1995; Van Pelt, 1990), was employed by the mothers in an attempt to minimise or modify an inappropriate behaviour by withdrawing stimuli or rewards. Mothers withdrew or withheld whatever they felt was of value to their children, thus making this a situation specific technique. In addition it will account for individual differences. The Indian mothers often used this technique as an alternative to physical punishment. The white mothers instead felt that this was a more harsh form of discipline and thus used it when following up on more deliberate offences committed by the children.

Through the use of behaviour charts, the white and coloured mothers utilised **incentives** and **rewards** in the disciplinary process. This method was related to that of deprivation, because the mothers withdrew ‘goodies’ from the charts when their children’s behaviour was inappropriate. However, they did reward them when they had accomplished particular behavioural goals.

Finally, the Zulu speaking mothers discussed a disciplinary method that appears to be an adaptation to the lifestyles that they are leading. **Policing** occurs when the disciplined child’s siblings are placed ‘on guard’ to ensure that the disciplining procedure is properly carried out.

“I let his brothers be the policemen to make sure that he does not watch [television]...then I instruct them to tell me when he is cheating watching TV....I think this works”.

Many Zulu mothers have had to leave their families to work in the past, and due to the nature of the economy today, most parents still have to work full time. This technique has allowed for such procedures to be carried out whilst the child’s parents are away from home. It also implies that in the Zulu homesteads, not only are the child’s parents are involved in discipline, but other family members, especially siblings, may take part in it.

The Indian mothers discussed the importance of their children’s grandparents in discipline. Although they felt that the grandparents often gave their children contradictory messages in that they were often more lenient was felt appropriate, they still felt that the involvement of them in child care was invaluable. The importance of all female family members (aunts and grandmothers in specific) in child rearing in Indian families has been noted in the literature too (Kuper, 1960).

The coloured grandparents have also been documented as being vital in child-rearing (Cilliers, 1963; Whisson, 1971). The coloured mothers in this study felt that their children’s grandparents overindulged and spoilt their children. In this way they felt that they were not contributing appropriately to their discipline. The coloured parents, as did the white parents, rather felt that the role of disciplinarian should be shared amongst themselves.

Discipline becomes necessary when a child is non-compliant, and does not behave in a socially acceptable manner. As has been determined in this study, there are a variety of ways in which discipline can be carried out. Although there are slight group trends in the methods chosen, it can be determined that discipline in these groups occurs according to more individualistic characteristics, such as parent or child characteristics, situation and family background. These individualistic methods, are largely congruent with the Western literature.

Furthermore, the ways in which parents perceive themselves, and the roles which they feel they have in their families are important in determining which child-rearing techniques they employ. In addition, these factors are influenced by their social backgrounds, which form the backdrops against which they evaluate themselves and will help them to determine the characteristics which they perceive as important in 'well brought-up children'.

It was generally believed that parents who can offer their children quality time, as well as be good role models for them, are successful. Those who are inappropriate disciplinarians, who overreact, or spoil their children are deemed poor parents. The mothers felt that if they were not adequate in their parenting, their children should not be expected to achieve the qualities that they aspire for them.

Consequently one can see that the process of parenting is complex, with a number of interacting variables and demands. This study serves as a small step into this broad area. It is a simplistic, yet comparative study which has allowed for the identification of a number of important dynamics in South African mothers' parenting practices.

There were a number of limitations in this study, which must not be overlooked when considering the results and analysis. In specific, a variety of pitfalls can be associated with the instruments which have been utilised.

Firstly, although the demographics questionnaire provided numerous useful insights, it also had a few structural flaws. The section asking mothers to rank the qualities which they felt were important in children, was poorly articulated. Thus the orders and the structures of the rankings

varied from mother to mother. Despite this, it was still possible to determine the mothers' perceptions of what qualities they felt were more or less important, and thus general trends could still be observed. Furthermore, there were slight discrepancies in the results obtained in the discipline scenarios and those which arose in the group discussions. These may have occurred as a consequence of a number of factors which may not be restricted to questionnaire construction. Although they may have occurred due to the limited alternatives provided in the questionnaire, they may also be as a result of the occurrence of social desirability in the focus group situation. In addition, the discrepancies may have arisen due to the fact that mothers of disciplinary techniques across situations. However, they did give an indication of the preferred methods in particular situations.

Following this, one must consider the validity of the use of the PSI (Abidin, 1983) in this study. This consideration is especially important due to the fact that this questionnaire has not been standardised on the South African population. As a consequence, the validity of the mothers' scores on the PSI must be questioned. It is especially important that the scores of those mothers who came from Zulu speaking backgrounds, and for whom the questionnaire was translated, are viewed in their context, and are not used as diagnostic tools. The scores across the groups were instead used as comparisons, to determine whether there were any major discrepancies between the groups or individual mothers. If any major differences arose, these would be looked at in more detail to determine if they had an impact on their particular perceptions of what constituted a 'well brought-up child'. However, although all of the groups exhibited degrees of parental stress, there were limited discrepancies between the group trends, and in addition, there were few differences in perceptions within the groups. Therefore, despite the limitations of the use of this test, its usefulness as a comparative mechanism appears to be adequate.

Furthermore, the use of focus groups as a study methodology can be questioned for a number of reasons. Although this technique is flexible and provides rich, in-depth data of particular interest to the researcher, the data which is obtained is context specific and thus cannot be regarded as conclusive and representative to the population at large (Parasuraman, 1991). However, it was the purpose of this study to obtain rich data which could be expanded on in future research. In order for focus group data to be reliable, the members of the groups must be as homogenous as

possible, to ensure that there is a group commonality. In this way, issues will be properly understood by participants.

This study specifically aimed to have homogenous groups of mothers in terms of race, however a coloured mother joined the focus group of white mothers due to unforeseen circumstances. Although it was perceived that the input of this mother had very little impact on the group's perceptions, it is important to remember that the tone of the discussion might still have been influenced by her presence. Despite this, her input was phased out in the analysis.

Furthermore, due to the fact that a number of variables were controlled in this study (i.e. occupational and marital status), the study has become increasingly simplistic. The variety of interacting variables which occur in a real life situation complicate the process of parenting, and thus the boundaries of parenting in reality are a lot broader than what was allowed or in this research.

Focus groups provide qualitative data which is not generalisable to populations at large. However, if one considers this specific situation, findings can be transferred, noted and compared in similar situations. The analysis has provided a useful description of factors which might influence parenting perceptions in similar circumstances. Although readers must be cautious not to generalise the findings, useful ideas for future research may be obtained. The fact that specific variables were controlled for, although restrictive, does allow one to determine which variables may influence perceptions, and thus facilitates further explorations and studies which not only focus on mothers' perceptions, but include those of the fathers, could provide interesting information. Parents from all socio-economic levels could be observed, as well as those who reside in both urban and rural areas. Parents of children of different ages, genders and levels of schooling can be observed. Larger scale studies which provide more conclusive, generalisable results would be beneficial as contributors to theory and the literature.

This study does, however, demonstrate a variety of interesting dynamics of South African mothers' perceptions in the parenting process. In addition, the intriguing results have demonstrated that this is a worthwhile area for future research. Mothers' perceptions are both

universally and culturally bound. The complex history of South Africa, its divides and reunifications have created an interesting social background within which parenting, and in specific mothering, have occurred.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

South Africa's history of diversity, especially in culture, race, and language groups, was enforced and divided through Apartheid. The child-rearing techniques that have been used by the various groups have largely been adaptations to the society's of which they have been a part. The segregations have served as a divide between the practices of these groups, and have thus aided the cultivation of group specific child-rearing techniques.

Due to the universality of children and their needs (Bornstein, 1991), however, there must be some overlap between the techniques employed by parents. In addition to this, individual characteristics and temperaments as well as other interacting variables such as family structures and socioeconomic status, create a variety of adaptations within groups. The homogeneity within the groups of this study, allowed for them to be comparable.

It is evident that within the groups in this study, agreements were reached as to what practices lead to, and what constitutes a 'well brought-up' child. Although the nature and intensity of the qualities of a well brought-up child varied between the groups, it appears that there is some degree of similarity between what is expected of a child.

Thus in conclusion a well brought-up child in South Africa can be described by these groups, as one who is properly socialised, is loving, respectful and compliant, is independent and has a positive self esteem. In addition, the child must be honest, moralistic, inquisitive and non-discriminatory. All of these characteristics are subtly defined by the context within which the child is brought-up. One's cultural background, as well as one's family characteristics will influence the ways in which one perceives the world. Therefore it is important that one be aware of the context within which a child is reared in order to understand what has been expected from him/her. One must make an effort to understand the differences between the groups in order to be able to effectively understand their children.

This study was qualitative and of a small scale in nature, and thus its results cannot be generalisable to the population of South Africa as a whole. However, it provides some useful

insights into the ways in which these mothers have perceived well brought-up children. The results provide a stepping stone for future research in this area. One is aware that slight differences, socioculturally bound and resulting from past racial divisions, occur between these groups. Thus the question of whether they would occur across a broader context arises. Future research may look at perceptions on a larger scale as well as both parents ideas, and different age and gender groups of children, in order to see if the findings hold for the larger population. If this is true, it becomes important to be aware of what is expected from children in their homes in order for expectations to be consistent with parental and cultural beliefs. In this way, teachers, psychologists and lay people will be better equipped to deal with children in an integrated, multicultural South Africa.

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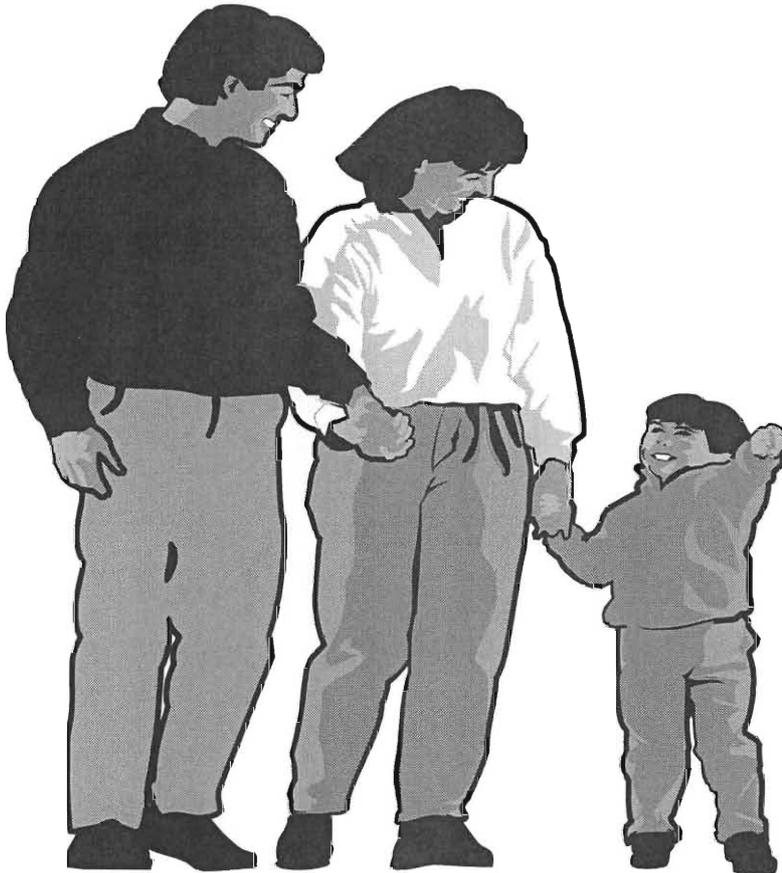
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APPENDIX 1 : DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Confidential

Research into the Qualities of a Well-Brought Up Child



School of Psychology,
University of Natal,
Private Bag X01,
Scottsville,
3209.

Demographic and Biographical Information

As postgraduate research students at the University of Natal in the School of Psychology, we are doing a survey about the goals and functions of parents. Therefore we would be grateful if you could take the time to complete this questionnaire. The information we obtain about you as an individual will remain strictly confidential, as individual responses are collated to create a group response category.

This questionnaire will take \pm 15 minutes to complete. There are no right or wrong answers, it would therefore be appreciated if you could answer as fully and openly as possible.

Personal:

Name:

Date of Birth:

Religion:

Marital Status:	Married	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Divorced	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Co-habiting/living in partner	<input type="checkbox"/>
	Widowed	<input type="checkbox"/>

How long have you and your partner been together?

Is your husband/partner the child's...	adopted father?	<input type="checkbox"/>
	... natural father?	<input type="checkbox"/>
	... neither?	<input type="checkbox"/>

Information about your 7 year old Child

Your Child's date of birth

Child's Gender

Family information

Total number of children

	Age	Gender
Age and gender of each child:	1.
	2.
	3.
	4.
	5.
	6.

Do these children live at home? If no, which ones (1,2,3,4,?) live elsewhere?.....

Position of your 7 year old child (1st, 2nd....)

Home language:

Who else lives on your property? Please tick the appropriate block/s

Family member	Do they stay:	
	In the home?	In an outbuilding/granny flat?

child's grandmother	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
child's grandfather	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
child's uncle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
child's aunt	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
child's cousins	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
child's siblings	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
domestic help	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
other (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

What qualities would you find in a well brought up child? Rate these qualities in order of importance. The quality that you consider to be the most important gets a score of one, while the least important gets a score of 10. If there is a score that is not important to you, you do not have to give it a score at all.

- good manners
- considerate to the needs of others
- helpful
- loving
- works hard at school
- appearance
- self-motivated discipline
- independent
- respectful to adults
- respectful of authority
- well-behaved in company
- honest
- obedient
- strong religious beliefs
- values family
- performs household duties
- Other (Please specify).....

After reading the roleplay scenarios between the mother and the child, tick the box which you think would be most similar to your own method of discipline in the particular situation.

Scenario 1:

Susan is five years old. It is a sunny day and she is playing outside. When supper is ready she is called in but doesn't seem to hear. You call her again. At last you go and fetch her. She is cheeky and won't come in. Finally she comes in and is making a fuss. What is the best punishment for her?

- 1. Tell her that when her father gets home, she'll be in real

trouble.

2. Slap her across the face and shout, “That will teach you when I call you next time”.
3. Say, “Since you make such a fuss about coming when you are called, you can’t go out and play tomorrow”.
4. Tell her she is a bad girl, a continual nuisance in your life, and she needs to improve her behaviour.

Scenario 2:

Your child has a group of friends over to play. You are alerted by a cry and screaming from the garden. Upon investigation you find that your child has bitten one of his friends on the thigh. What method of discipline seems most appropriate to you?

1. Bite your child in return and ask him how he liked that.
2. Insist that your child apologises to his friend and tell him you never want to see that kind of behaviour again.
3. Assess the situation and find out why the biting occurred. Encourage the children to consider the appropriateness of their behaviour and what they could have done instead.
4. Run outside, slap both the children across the face and scream, “ Would you two behave like children and not animals! “ Turn and walk away shouting that you do not want to talk to either of them until they learn to behave.

Scenario 3:

Your brother says to your child, “Come in give me a kiss.” Your child backs away refusing to give him a kiss. Your brother asks your child why he won’t give him a kiss. Your child replies “because I don’t like you.” How do you react ?

- 1. Turn to your child and say, “It’s OK, you don’t have to do anything you don’t want to.

- 2. In an angry tone say to your child, “You don’t really mean that, now say you’re sorry and give your uncle a kiss.”

- 3. Shout loudly at your child, “That’s no way to speak to an adult, you have no respect, go straight to your room and I will deal with you later.”

- 4. Turn to your brother and say, “Can’t you see the child does not want to kiss you. Don’t force him to do something that he doesn’t want to.”

Score yourself on the following items as indicated.

	1. Never	2. Occasionally	3. Most of the time	4. Always		
1. My partner and I agree on disciplinary procedures.			1	2	3	4
2. I am consistent in carrying out disciplinary procedures in my home.			1	2	3	4
3. I handle misbehaviour in public places correctly and confidently without embarrassing me or my child.			1	2	3	4
4. Clearly defined limits for behaviour have been set in my home.			1	2	3	4
5. My child clearly understands both the rules of our home and the reasons behind them.			1	2	3	4

6.	I speak once to my child and then follow through with action if my child has not obeyed.	1	2	3	4
7.	I treat my child with respect even when I am irritated or correcting behaviour.	1	2	3	4
8.	I can allow my child to suffer the natural consequences of a situation without feeling compelled to step in and protect him/her from hurt or loss.	1	2	3	4
9.	I tend to be a parent who demands immediate obedience.	1	2	3	4
10.	I feel I have found the proper balance between love and punishment.	1	2	3	4
11.	I have planned an interesting and stimulating environment for my child along with proper play equipment for his/her stage of development.	1	2	3	4
12.	I am able to individualise the methods of discipline I use for each of my children because I recognize that all children cannot be reared by the same rules.	1	2	3	4
13.	I provide a living example of positive behaviour for my child.	1	2	3	4

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. Please place this completed questionnaire in the enclosed envelope, seal it and return it to us via your child's school.

We will be contacting you in a couple of days to set a date and time for a discussion on this topic which, as Mothers, we are sure you find very dear to your hearts.

PARENTING STRESS INDEX (PSI)

Administration Booklet

Richard R. Abidin
Institute of Clinical Psychology
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Directions:

In answering the following questions, please think about the child you are most concerned about.

The questions on the following pages ask you to mark an answer which best describes your feelings. While you may not find an answer which exactly states your feelings, please mark the answer which comes closest to describing how you feel. **YOUR FIRST REACTION TO EACH QUESTION SHOULD BE YOUR ANSWER.**

Please mark the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements by filling in the number which best matches how you feel. If you are not sure, please fill in #3.

1
Strongly
Agree

2
Agree

3
Not
Sure

4
Disagree

5
Strongly
Disagree

Example: 1 (2) 3 4 5

I enjoy going to the movies. (If you sometimes enjoy going to the movies, you would fill in #2.)

1. When my child wants something, my child usually keeps trying to get it.
2. My child is so active that it exhausts me.
3. My child appears disorganized and is easily distracted.
4. Compared to most, my child has more difficulty concentrating and paying attention.
5. My child will often stay occupied with a toy for more than 10 minutes.
6. My child wanders away much more than I expected.
7. My child is much more active than I expected.
8. My child squirms and kicks a great deal when being dressed or bathed.
9. My child can be easily distracted from wanting something.
10. My child rarely does things for me that make me feel good.
11. Most times I feel that my child likes me and wants to be close to me.
12. Sometimes I feel my child doesn't like me and doesn't want to be close to me.
13. My child smiles at me much less than I expected.
14. When I do things for my child I get the feeling that my efforts are not appreciated very much.
15. Which statement best describes your child?
 1. almost always likes to play with me,
 2. sometimes likes to play with me,
 4. usually doesn't like to play with me,
 5. almost never likes to play with me.
16. My child cries and fusses:
 1. much less than I had expected,
 2. less than I expected,
 3. about as much as I expected,
 4. much more than I expected,
 5. it seems almost constant.
17. My child seems to cry or fuss more often than most children.
18. When playing, my child doesn't often giggle or laugh.
19. My child generally wakes up in a bad mood.
20. I feel that my child is very moody and easily upset.
21. My child looks a little different than I expected and it bothers me at times.
22. In some areas my child seems to have forgotten past learnings and has gone back to doing things characteristic of younger children.

23. My child doesn't seem to learn as quickly as most children.
24. My child doesn't seem to smile as much as most children.
25. My child does a few things which bother me a great deal.
26. My child is not able to do as much as I expected.
27. My child does not like to be cuddled or touched very much.
28. When my child came home from the hospital, I had doubtful feelings about my ability to handle being a parent.
29. Being a parent is harder than I thought it would be.
30. I feel capable and on top of things when I am caring for my child.
31. Compared to the average child, my child has a great deal of difficulty in getting used to changes in schedules or changes around the house.
32. My child reacts very strongly when something happens that my child doesn't like.
33. Leaving my child with a babysitter is usually a problem.
34. My child gets upset easily over the smallest thing.
35. My child easily notices and overreacts to loud sounds and bright lights.
36. My child's sleeping or eating schedule was much harder to establish than I expected.
37. My child usually avoids a new toy for a while before beginning to play with it.
38. It takes a long time and it is very hard for my child to get used to new things.
39. My child doesn't seem comfortable when meeting strangers.
40. When upset, my child is:
 1. easy to calm down,
 2. harder to calm down than I expected,
 4. very difficult to calm down,
 5. nothing I do helps to calm my child.
41. I have found that getting my child to do something or stop doing something is:
 1. much harder than I expected,
 2. somewhat harder than I expected,
 3. about as hard as I expected,
 4. somewhat easier than I expected,
 5. much easier than I expected.

42. Think carefully and count the number of things which your child does that bothers you. For example: dawdles, refuses to listen, overactive, cries, interrupts, fights, whines, etc. Please fill in the number which includes the number of things you counted.
1. 1-3
 2. 4-5
 3. 6-7
 4. 8-9
 5. 10+
43. When my child cries it usually lasts:
1. less than 2 minutes,
 2. 2-5 minutes,
 3. 5-10 minutes,
 4. 10-15 minutes,
 5. more than 15 minutes.
44. There are some things my child does that really bother me a lot.
45. My child has had more health problems than I expected.
46. As my child has grown older and become more independent, I find myself more worried that my child will get hurt or into trouble.
47. My child turned out to be more of a problem than I had expected.
48. My child seems to be much harder to care for than most.
49. My child is always hanging on me.
50. My child makes more demands on me than most children.
51. I can't make decisions without help.
52. I have had many more problems raising children than I expected.
53. I enjoy being a parent.
54. I feel that I am successful most of the time when I try to get my child to do or not do something.
55. Since I brought my last child home from the hospital, I find that I am not able to take care of this child as well as I thought I could. I need help.
56. I often have the feeling that I cannot handle things very well.
57. When I think about myself as a parent I believe:
1. I can handle anything that happens,
 2. I can handle most things pretty well,
 3. sometimes I have doubts, but find that I handle most things without any problems,
 4. I have some doubts about being able to handle things,
 5. I don't think I handle things very well at all.

58. I feel that I am:
1. a very good parent,
 2. a better than average parent,
 3. an average parent,
 4. a person who has some trouble being a parent,
 5. not very good at being a parent.
59. What were the highest levels in school or college you and the child's father/mother have completed?
Mother:
1. 1-8th grade
 2. 9-12th grade
 3. Vocational or some college
 4. College graduate
 5. Graduate or professional school
60. Father:
1. 1-8th grade
 2. 9-12th grade
 3. Vocational or some college
 4. College graduate
 5. Graduate or professional school
61. How easy is it for you to understand what your child wants or needs?
1. very easy,
 2. easy,
 3. somewhat difficult,
 4. it is very hard,
 5. I usually can't figure out what the problem is.
62. It takes a long time for parents to develop close, warm feelings for their children.
63. I expected to have closer and warmer feelings for my child than I do and this bothers me.
64. Sometimes my child does things that bother me just to be mean.
65. When I was young, I never felt comfortable holding or taking care of children.
66. My child knows I am his or her parent and wants me more than other people.
67. The number of children that I have now is too many.
68. Most of my life is spent doing things for my child.
69. I find myself giving up more of my life to meet my children's needs than I ever expected.
70. I feel trapped by my responsibilities as a parent.
71. I often feel that my child's needs control my life.
72. Since having this child I have been unable to do new and different things.

73. Since having a child I feel that I am almost never able to do things that I like to do.
74. It is hard to find a place in our home where I can go to be by myself.
75. When I think about the kind of parent I am, I often feel guilty or bad about myself.
76. I am unhappy with the last purchase of clothing I made for myself.
77. When my child misbehaves or fusses too much I feel responsible, as if I didn't do something right.
78. I feel everytime my child does something wrong it is really my fault.
79. I often feel guilty about the way I feel towards my child.
80. There are quite a few things that bother me about my life.
81. I felt sadder and more depressed than I expected after leaving the hospital with my baby.
82. I wind up feeling guilty when I get angry at my child and this bothers me.
83. After my child had been home from the hospital for about a month, I noticed that I was feeling more sad and depressed than I had expected.
84. Since having my child, my spouse (male/female friend) has not given me as much help and support as I expected.
85. Having a child has caused more problems than I expected in my relationship with my spouse (male/female friend).
86. Since having a child my spouse (or male/female friend) and I don't do as many things together.
87. Since having my child, my spouse (or male/female friend) and I don't spend as much time together as a family as I had expected.
88. Since having my last child, I have had less interest in sex.
89. Having a child seems to have increased the number of problems we have with in-laws and relatives.
90. Having children has been much more expensive than I had expected.
91. I feel alone and without friends.
92. When I go to a party I usually expect not to enjoy myself.
93. I am not as interested in people as I used to be.
94. I often have the feeling that other people my own age don't particularly like my company.
95. When I run into a problem taking care of my children I have a lot of people to whom I can talk to get help or advice.

96. Since having children I have a lot fewer chances to see my friends and to make new friends.
97. During the past six months I have been sicker than usual or have had more aches and pains than I normally do.
98. Physically, I feel good most of the time.
99. Having a child has caused changes in the way I sleep.
100. I don't enjoy things as I used to.
101. Since I've had my child:
 1. I have been sick a great deal,
 2. I haven't felt as good,
 4. I haven't noticed any change in my health,
 5. I have been healthier.

STOP HERE — unless asked to do items below

During the last 12 months, have any of the following events occurred in your immediate family? Please check on the answer sheet any that have happened.

102. Divorce
103. Marital reconciliation
104. Marriage
105. Separation
106. Pregnancy
107. Other relative moved into household
108. Income increased substantially (20% or more)
109. Went deeply into debt
110. Moved to new location
111. Promotion at work
112. Income decreased substantially
113. Alcohol or drug problem
114. Death of close family friend
115. Began new job
116. Entered new school
117. Trouble with superiors at work
118. Trouble with teachers at school
119. Legal problems
120. Death of immediate family member

APPENDIX 3: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FOCUS GROUP

- 1) How would you describe a well brought-up child? What qualities would a well brought-up child possess? (Try to get the group to brainstorm possible qualities and then rank order - it would be useful if a consensus is genuinely reached).
- 2) How would you describe a poorly brought-up child? (Try to get the group to brainstorm possible qualities and then rank order - it would be useful if a consensus is genuinely reached).
- 3) What child-rearing expectations do you think are specific to your particular culture? Do you know of any child-rearing goals which are characteristic of other cultural groups in this country?
- 4) What do you see as your main aims as a parent? What do you most want to achieve for your children, or do you want your children to achieve for themselves?
- 5) What qualities would you most like to see in your own child?
- 6) What are your main methods of disciplining your child?
- 7) Do you feel that you are largely succeeding as a parent? What are your main areas of strength as a parent? And the main areas of weakness?
- 8) Do you and your partner have differing roles and responsibilities in relation to the children? (Get them to explain these).
- 9) Do you expect your children to do things as soon as you request them?

(Discuss any issues that arise relating to gender differences - boys and girls)

APPENDIX 4: PATTERN CODES

1. Well brought-up child

Compliance: Child acts in accordance with a wish or command from the parent, is disciplined, obedient and listens.

Considerate: A prosocial behaviour that includes being helpful, considerate, caring, loving, sharing, giving, unselfishness and affection towards others.

Feels Loved: A child who is given love by others, especially it's parents, will develop a sense of emotional security and balance, and will become appropriately socialised.

Honesty: A broad term which attests to an individual's integrity. It includes qualities such as being fair and sincere in character or behaviour free of deceit or untruthfulness, open and repentant.

Independence: A child who is self-sufficient, is self-governing and not dependent on authority or control, but still has some connectedness with others. For example, this child is responsible for his/her own personal hygiene, household chores and is capable of problem solving, he/she is able to make choices and is mature.

Individuality: This child is free to develop as a particular autonomous person without pressure to conform. The child is self-reliant and confident in him/herself and has his/her own unique, distinct character.

Inquisitive: An active, curious mind, seeking knowledge.

Morality: Those things which are considered virtuous and acceptable to the macro-community. It includes appearance (for example dress code), behaviour, drinking habits, sexual behaviour, honesty and criminality.

Non-discriminatory: Child should not be prejudiced in any way, should rather be accepting, understanding and accommodating, for example with regards to parents' level of education, socioeconomic status etc.

Positive self-image: A broad term used to refer to qualities of security, confidence, belief in oneself, self respect and self esteem.

Respect: Behaviour that reflects regard and esteem for other people, characterised by active respect for others (for example sharing, concern and good manners) as well as passive respect manifest through speech, mannerisms and politeness.

Secure: This concept is facilitated by parents who provide emotional and financial security as well as familial stability.

Socialisation: The adequate adjustment of a child into the larger or smaller community of which he/she originates, to be well-balanced with beliefs, values and customs, to form adequate family ties and have pride in them and the community.

2. Poorly brought-up child

Dependence: The opposite of independent applies to dependent children.

Dishonesty: A broad term which includes deviance criminality, lying, deceit, pretence and untrustworthiness.

Disrespect: An antisocial behaviour characterised by rudeness, lack of manners, abruptness, vulgarity, impoliteness, anger and gossip.

Inconsiderate: A child who is impolite, unkind, does not share, is impatient, greedy and selfish. This child is unloving and insensitive to the needs of others.

Insecure: An insecure child is the converse to a secure child. This child has demanding characteristics, and is 'clingy' and unaware of its limits.

Negative behaviour: These are active behaviours which are considered unacceptable and antisocial, for example fidgeting, hyperactiveness, short-tempered, lazy, restless and throws tantrums. This may also include aggressive, hostile and destructive behaviour.

Non-compliance: Child is unwilling to co-operate, disobedient, stubborn, obstinate, wilful and self-assertive.

Poor self-image: a child who lacks love and security, lacks confidence and may be jealous.

Precocious: A child who has been spoilt and indulged, is domineering, bossy, self-centred and likes to be the centre of attention, a child who is "too big for its boots".

3. Factors which might influence child-rearing outcome

Culture: A group of people with shared values, morals and ideas (specifically related to race and language issues in this study).

Education: Providing training or systematic instruction from a scholastic institution.

Family orientation: The importance of family unity, and the closeness or togetherness of a child and his/her extended or nuclear family.

Gender differentiation: Gender specific behaviours or roles in the community or family group.

Life experience: The extent to which a child is allowed/permitted to explore, observe and become involved with many aspects of life, and to learn and develop from these.

Parent-child relationship: The quality of interactions between the parent and the child, which

should be positive, for example, the relationship should be a happy one in which the child is made to feel accepted and love is reciprocated, there is an open and free communication system and a foundation of friendship. The child and parent should feel confident that a promise can be honoured in their relationship.

Religion: A faith or belief in a supernatural power or spirit that will provide a child with spiritual influence, balance and a sense of security.

Self actualization: Acknowledgement of a child's need to realise his/her full potential, achieved through self improvement.

Strength of will and resilience: The child's capacity to persevere and overcome hardships.

3. Methods of discipline (Age and situation appropriate)

Deprivation: Can be withdrawal, which involves taking away something that the child already owns and enjoys, for example toys and love. It is a more punitive method which includes the use of principles such as "time out". Withholding occurs when the child is not given something which is pleasurable, that the child looks forward to having, for example an outing or sweets, and includes the principle of grounding.

Discipline: Internalised ability to regulate own behaviour and or conformity due to control exerted by an authority figure.

Physical punishment: To inflict a physical penalty for a perceived offence for example a smack, use of the wooden spoon, a stick, or shaking the child.

Verbal punishment: A verbal intervention which can take the form of a reprimand, for example scolding, nagging, shouting, humiliating, threatening, commanding and inculcating fear. Or a more gentle intervention characterised by talking, discussing, reasoning, explaining, and warning.

Rewards and incentives: Parent may offer a motive or incitement, or may give a child a payment or gift of sorts to encourage good behaviour rather than discourage bad.

4. Strengths and weaknesses of parents

+ **Co-operative parenting:** Occurs when there is an equilibrium, or equality in both parents' child-rearing techniques and methods of discipline.

+ **Domineering parent:** One who is bossy, cheeky, confident, strict, strong willed and a disciplinarian.

+ **Family awareness:** A parent who is aware of all the goings on, in his/her family, and realises if things are not going right.

- **Inappropriate reaction and expectations:** Occurs when parent overreacts quickly or inappropriately to a situation.

+ **Quality time:** Amount of actively involved time that a parent spends with their child. It can be contrasted with exclusion, which is a process of isolation or ignoring the child, or a separation of the parent and the child due to lack of time, weariness, stress, or other commitments.

+ **Routine:** Regular and orderly daily activities in a child's life.

- **Spoil/Indulge:** Characteristic where parent gives freely to a child, whether material or emotional gifts.

- **Submission:** The parents' disciplinary resolve weakens, for example to give in, feel sorry for, "melting", due to being soft hearted or feeling sorry for a child.

5. Role differentiation

There appear to be two main roles of parenting in our sample. Firstly **nurturance and physical care**, for example feeding, bathing and clothing a child, and secondly the **control of a child's behaviour** (reasoning, physical punishment, setting limits and rules, controlling and enforcing these)

Shared responsibilities: Occurs when there is limited role differentiation, especially when parents have flexible schedules.

APPENDIX 5: DISCIPLINARY SCENARIOS

Table of disciplinary measure chosen by mothers in relation to specified scenarios

DISCIPLINARY OPTIONS		WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
1	Authority figure, threat	-	29%	-	-
	Physical punishment	-	-	-	17%
	Withdrawal of privilege	100%	43%	-	-
	Insult	-	29%	100%	83%
2	Physical punishment	-	-	-	17%
	No rationale	-	43%	25%	17%
	Rationale, authoritative	100%	71%	75%	83%
	Talk & physical punish	-	-	-	-
3	Give in	25%	43%	75%	67%
	No rationale, force child	75%	-	-	17%
	Insult	-	-	25%	-
	Protective	-	29%	-	-

NOTE: Any overlap in percentages occurs when mothers chose more than one option, and any under-representation in percentages occurs when mothers did not choose an option.

APPENDIX 6: PARENTS REACTIONS TO DEMANDS

Table of parents' reactions to demands of parenting

QUESTION	WHITE	COLOURED	INDIAN	BLACK
Partner & self agree: discipline	40% Always 60% Mostly	29% Always 71% Mostly	100% Mostly	17% Always 50% Mostly 33% Occasionally
Consistent: discipline	100% Mostly	86% Mostly 14% Occasionally	75% Always 25% Mostly	17% Always 83% Occasionally
Public misbehaviour: handle well	60% Always 40% Mostly	43% Always 28.5% Mostly 28.5% Occasionally	50% Always 50% Occasionally	33% Always 50% Mostly 17% Occasionally
Defined limits for behaviour	100% Mostly	29% Always 71% Mostly	25% Always 75% Mostly	50% Always 33% Mostly 17% Occasionally
Child understands rules	20% Always 80% Mostly	29% Always 43% Mostly 14% Occasionally 14% Never	25% Always 50% Mostly 25% Occasionally	17% Always 33% Mostly 50% Occasionally
Speak once, follow through	60% Mostly 40% Occasionally	14% Always 43% Mostly 29% Occasionally 14% Never	25% Always 50% Mostly 25% Occasionally	33.3% Mostly 33.3% Occasionally 33.3% Never
Treat child with respect	100% Mostly	43% Always 57% Mostly	50% Always 50% Mostly	33% Always 33% Mostly 17% Occasionally 17% Never
Allow natural consequences	60% Mostly 40% Occasionally	29% Always 43% Mostly 14% Occasionally 14% Unsure	75% Mostly 25% Never	50% Mostly 50% Occasionally
Demand immediate obedience	80% Mostly 20% Occasionally	28.5% Always 43% Mostly 28.5% Occasionally	75% Always 25% Occasionally	33% Always 17% Mostly 50% Occasionally
Balance love & punishment	40% Always 60% Mostly	29% Always 71% Mostly	25% Always 50% Mostly 25% Unsure	33.3% Always 33.3% Mostly 33.3% Never
Stimulate environment	100% Mostly	57% Always 29% Mostly 14% Unsure	50% Always 50% Mostly	17% Always 33% Mostly 33% Occasionally 17% Never
Individualise discipline	20% Always 80% Mostly	28.5% Always 43% Mostly 28.5% Occasionally	75% Always 25% Occasionally	17% Always 50% Mostly 33% Never
Provide example for child	40% Always 60% Mostly	29% Always 71% Mostly	75% Always 25% Mostly	17% Always 50% Mostly 33% Occasionally

Note: Percentages give the impression of inflated statistics therefore the reader is reminded of the small sample size

APPENDIX 7: PSI SCORES

Frequencies of mothers' scores for the different scales of the Parental Stress Index-Form 6 (Abidin, 1983)

PSI DOMAINS	High score	FOCUS GROUP 1: WHITE		FOCUS GROUP 2: COLOURED		FOCUS GROUP 3: INDIAN		FOCUS GROUP 4: BLACK	
		Scores in normal limits	Deviant scores						
Child domain:									
Adaptability	31	80%	20%	57%	43%	100%	-	50%	50%
Acceptability	17	100%	-	77%	23%	75%	25%	83%	17%
Demandingness	24	100%	-	57%	43%	100%	-	67%	33%
Mood	13	100%	-	77%	23%	50%	50%	100%	-
Distractability	31	100%	-	86%	14%	75%	25%	50%	50%
Reinforces Parent	12	100%	-	77%	23%	75%	25%	50%	50%
Subtotal	122	100%	-	77%	23%	75%	25%	67%	33%
Parent domain:									
Depression	27	100%	-	86%	14%	75%	25%	83%	17%
Attachment	16	100%	-	77%	23%	25%	75%	50%	50%
Restriction of role	26	100%	-	100%	-	100%	-	83%	17%
Sense of competence	37	100%	-	86%	14%	75%	25%	67%	33%
Social isolation	18	100%	-	77%	23%	100%	-	83%	17%
Relation to spouse	23	100%	-	86%	14%	75%	25%	100%	-
Parent health	16	100%	-	77%	23%	100%	-	33%	67%
Subtotal	153	100%	-	86%	14%	100%	-	100%	-
Global Score	250	60%	40%*	77%	23%	75%	25%	67%	33%

*Scores were less than 175, indicating a false negative

Note: Percentages give the impression of inflated statistics therefore the reader is reminded of the small sample size