ACTIVITY 3
Why & How?

Activity Purpose: Before beginning the COS rating discussion, it is ideal for families to have basic information about why outcomes data are collected and how those data are used. Participants will have an opportunity to view a national module and discuss how to share this information with families. Furthermore, when sharing information about the outcomes and the COS process, it is important to confirm the family's understanding. Asking open-ended questions may be more helpful than simply asking, "Does this make sense?" or "Do you understand?" In addition to initially checking for families' understanding of why and how the data are collected, providers should check the families' understanding throughout their EI experience.

> ***Note for facilitator:** this session involves distributing the article titled: *The Ideal Baby.* Reading this article prior to the next session will provide participants with context, so that they can participate more fully in the upcoming discussion (Section 3; Activity 1).

Difficulty Level: Introductory Level – Awareness & Intermediate Level – Application

Estimated Time: 45-60 minutes

Materials:
- Internet access & TV/computer for online module
- Audio
- Handouts:
    - *Individual Reflection & Action Plan Section 2; Activity 3*
    - *The Ideal Baby* (for participants to read before the next session)

Activity Instructions:

Part 1 – Action Plan Follow-Up

1. In small groups, ask the participants to review and briefly discuss their action items from their action plans developed during the last session.

Part 2 – DaSY Center Child Outcomes Module

> ***Note to facilitator:** you may want to register for this online module before meeting as a group.

1. Instructions for accessing the online recorded module titled: *"Session 1: Introduction – So What's This All About?"*
    a. Visit the following link: http://dasycenter.org/child-outcomes-summary-cos-process-module-collecting-using-data-to-improve-programs/
    b. Scroll to the bottom of the page and click on *"Register for Access to Online Learning Module"*

    c.   Register for the module by filling out your name, discipline, state, email, etc.

    d.   An email link will be embedded in the body of the message titled "Link to the COS-Module." Click on the link and you will see Child Outcomes Summary (COS) Online Learning Module.

    e.   Scroll to the bottom of this page and click the "next" button.

    f.   You will see a series of seven modules. Click on the first one called "Session 1: Introduction – So What's This All About?"

2. As a group watch the module together. The facilitator can consider the following discussion questions, which are meant to be embedded throughout the module.

    a.   Stop after slide titled "What is an outcome?" – Consider the following question: What's something new that you didn't know before about the outcomes and/or why data is collected?

    b.   Stop after slide titled "Outcomes reflect global functioning" -- Consider the following questions: Why is functional or meaningful critical? & How do the outcomes reflect global functioning?

    c.   Stop after slide "Child Outcomes: Global vs. Individualized" – Consider the following question: How might you explain the importance and differences of both to families?

    d.   After the module is complete –

        i.   How might you include why data on the outcomes are measured into your description of the COS process to families?

        ii.   Why do you think it is important to have basic knowledge about the history of child outcomes as well as what the data is used for?

> ***Note to facilitator:** consider stopping the module and engaging the group in a discussion based on their needs.

Part 3 – Asking Questions

1. Divide the large group into four smaller groups – 1) general information about COS Process, (2) positive social-emotional skills, (3) acquisition of knowledge and skills, and (4) use of appropriate action to meet needs. Ask the four groups to come up with as many open-ended questions as possible pertaining to their assigned groups that would allow them to include families as well as check for their understanding of the process and each individual outcome.

2. Come back together as a large group and share some of the questions discussed within each small group.

> ***Note to facilitator:** you can collect all the relevant questions, type them up and email them out to the participants, so they have ideas if needed. Again, if this seem appropriate for the individual group.

Part 4 – Individual Reflection &Action Plan

1. Handout the form titled, *Individual Reflection & Action Plan Section 2; Activity 3.* Encourage participants to individually reflect on the content and strategies

discussed during this session, and how they would like their conversations to look with families.

*Note to facilitator: you can use the same four questions in the individual reflection handout to engage the group in a group reflection before handing it out for the individual reflection.

2. Before participants leave, provide them with a copy of the article, *The Ideal Baby*, and ask them to read this article before the next session. Facilitators can provide hard copies or email their participants an electronic copy.

THE "IDEAL BABY":

A Look at the Intersection of

Temperament and Culture

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Fourteen-month-old Vanessa is usually happy at home, but she stays in a parent's lap or arms most of the time when she is in new situations. She gets upset and cries when her parents try to leave her with a family member, and she often finds it difficult to settle herself to sleep without being held. Vanessa's mother, Maria, is delighted that Vanessa obviously prefers her parents and wants to stay close to them. Maria sees this as evidence that she is a good mother who has a very close relationship with her daughter.

Kristen, also 14 months old, is also generally happy at home, but she prefers to be held by her parents in new situations. She cries and hangs onto her parents if they try to leave her with other family members, and she still needs to be rocked to sleep every night. Kristen's parents are very concerned about their daughter and have sought advice from their pediatrician about how to help her become more independent. They are concerned that she will grow up to be shy, afraid to try new things, and socially isolated.

at a glance

- Nearly 40% of children in the United States are being raised in families that may espouse somewhat different socialization goals and may value different "ideal" traits than those promoted among Anglo-American families. In our diverse society, how can we adapt our practices to best facilitate the development of these bicultural participants?

- Temperament is not immutable but may change over time. In one longitudinal study, about 25% of extremely shy toddlers were found to be more outgoing at the age of 7.

- In China, teachers viewed shy, sensitive children as socially and academically competent. In North America, teachers viewed shy, sensitive children as lonely and depressed. In Sweden, shy, socially reserved behavior was not consistently associated with any negative long-term outcomes, yet in North America, such behavior was found to hinder careers.

Vanessa and Kristen are exhibiting similar temperament characteristics. They are difficult to soothe, slow to adapt to changes, and tend to withdraw from new situations. These characteristics are clearly eliciting different responses from the babies' parents. Maria values her daughter's caution and desire to remain close; whereas Kristen's parents view these behaviors as problematic and likely to lead to negative developmental outcomes. Why do these parents' responses differ so strikingly when the babies are so similar?

Looking at the intersection of culture and temperament informs our understanding of how shared customs, values, and beliefs about development affect daily parent–child and social interactions. In particular, the concept of "goodness of fit" can be applied to the interaction among temperament, cultural values, and expectations (Chess & Thomas, 1996). In other words, one would expect that children with temperament characteristics that are consonant with parental ideals and the expectations of the wider society would find their developmental pathway relatively easy to negotiate.

Underlying assumptions about ideal adult characteristics often surface when adults become parents. This transition to parenting usually involves changing the internal model of the self from that of a care *receiver* to that of a caregiver. During this transition, many parents begin to carefully consider the purposes and goals of their caregiving. When asked, "What qualities would you like your child to possess when he is an adult?" most parents can readily list many desirable characteristics that they hope to instill in their children. These socialization goals offer a unique window into the frequently unconscious assumptions that we all make about developmental outcomes. Indeed, socialization goals often provide us with a surprisingly clear view of the personal and community values that we hold most dear.

Culture and Socialization Goals

Research investigating the everyday parent–child interactions of families across a variety of cultural groups is beginning to clarify the complex relationships among the individual and shared values, beliefs, and practices that form the context for development. Many researchers have found clear patterns of agreement among cultural groups in their choices of long-term socialization goals (e.g. Harwood, Miller, & Irizarry, 1995; Rao & Pearson, 2001; Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake, & Morelli, 2000). Others use the concept of parental ethnotheories—that is, a combination of personal and cultural belief systems—as a framework for examining the ways in which individual parents combine personal experiences and shared cultural

models of child rearing to guide their parenting and organize their everyday lives (Harkness, Super, & van Tijen, 2002). Parental ethnotheories provide a framework for the often implicit choices that parents make in responding to their individual children.

Group Comparisons

When speaking of commonalities among groups, it is important to remember that culture is fluid, existing within individuals and continuously modified in the context of social interactions (Harwood, Leyendecker, Carlson, Asencio, & Miller, 2002). Careful examination reveals that cultural communities are also ever-changing. All individuals participate in a number of different groups that share common bodies of knowledge, experiences, expectations, and rules for interactions. As individuals, we may identify with a particular religious community, with one or more sport or hobby groups, with others who share our professional life, and with members of our specific ethnic group. Thus within any group, researchers will find wide variations in beliefs and practices based on individual experiences and interpretations (Harwood, Handwerker, Schöelmerich, & Leyendecker, 2001). While seeking to elucidate group differences, we must remember that intragroup variation may equal or exceed intergroup variation. How do we reconcile this complexity in our efforts to respect and support an increasingly diverse population? First, we must understand that group comparisons serve to inform our understandings of our own values and assumptions. In addition, such comparisons provide us with a basis for beginning the process of establishing mutually respectful, culturally reciprocal relationships. The challenge for professionals lies in learning to understand group common-

SOCIALIZATION GOALS: THE IDEAL BABY

Vanessa's parents hope that she will be:

Respectful	Obedient
Well-behaved	Considerate
Calm	Appreciative
Liked by others	A good daughter
Responsible	Religious

Kristen's parents hope that she will be:

Happy	Self-confident
Independent	Assertive
Secure	Intelligent
Well-rounded	Ambitious
Kind	Outgoing

alities as well as individual differences and needs without resorting to stereotypical assumptions and inferences. We must be willing to embrace the complexity of culture and participate in the sometimes-difficult process of personal and professional cultural exploration.

This assertion is most easily exhibited in the next few examples of research-based cultural comparisons. Extensive, naturalistic studies of Puerto Rican and Anglo-American mothers' socialization goals have shown that Puerto Rican mothers tend to emphasize respect and cooperation with authority; whereas Anglo mothers tend to emphasize self-maximization balanced with the ability to form caring relationships (Harwood et al., 1995). These goals are consistent with the desirable outcomes of a compliant, socially oriented adult for the Puerto Ricans and a self-confident, autonomous individual for the Anglos (see sidebar). Parents often use these socialization goals to guide their participation in social networks, to shape their expectations for the attainment of developmental milestones, and to define their parenting practices in the context of daily life (Harwood, Miller, Carlson, & Leyendecker, 2002).

This Anglo-American assumption that a competent adult is self-confident, assertive, and autonomous is not shared by members of many other cultures. For example, Japanese parents tend to hope that their children will become open-minded and obedient, demonstrate intimate dependence in familial contexts, and carefully consider the needs of others in all social interactions (Rothbaum, Pott, Azuma, Miyake, & Weisz, 2000). Indeed, parents in many other cultures throughout the world emphasize child-rearing goals related to family and social interrelatedness contrasted to the Anglo-American emphasis on individual autonomy. Investigators are finding evidence that parenting strategies are clearly related to long-term socialization goals (Brody & Flor, 1998; Carlson & Harwood, 2003; Ipsa, Fine, Thornburg, & Sharp, 2001; Kermani & Brenner, 2000; Martini, 2001; Rao & Pearson, 2001). Such studies lend support to the hypothesis that parents use culturally defined socialization goals to direct their daily caregiving interactions in meaningful ways.

Parental Ethnotheories

Although socialization goals may be derived from shared cultural beliefs, parental ethnotheories serve as individualized sources of parenting practices. Keeping in mind the concepts of cultural complexity and fluidity, we should anticipate that parents will construct highly personalized adaptations of parenting beliefs and practices based upon their own life experiences. These ethnotheories include individualized interpretations of ideal developmental outcomes in areas such as temperament, personality, and relationships (Harkness et al., 2001).

Combining culturally shared socialization goals with individualized parental ethnotheories enables a more comprehensive understanding of the interplay between tem-

perament dimensions and familial "goodness of fit." A reserved, cautious parent may find a baby such as Kristen or Vanessa closer to their personal "ideal baby" than a more active, outgoing infant, in spite of that parent being a part of the Anglo culture with its overall emphasis on self-confidence, assertiveness, and independence. On the other hand, such a parent may wish for a more active, outgoing child to counteract their own memories of childhood social isolation or awkwardness. Thus, the developmental significance of temperament characteristics is dependent on parental values and expectations—which are, in turn, influenced by the shared values of the wider community.

Culture, Temperament, and the Environment

The interaction between culture and temperament is further complicated by the physical and social properties of the environment. Responses to child temperament characteristics are influenced by factors such as gender, age or developmental stage, and the constraints of the physical setting (Carey & McDevitt, 1995). Highly active children may be less favored in a very crowded, densely populated physical setting than in an environment with ample room and opportunity for energetic motor activities (Chess & Thomas, 1996). Moreover, parents' and caregivers' responses to a child's need for activity are likely to change over time as the child becomes older and expectations for sustained attention in nonactive settings increase. Whatever the age of a child, caregivers may tolerate higher activity levels among boys than among girls (i.e., highly active boys are closer to the cultural "ideal boy").

The Family Context

The flexibility inherent in the physical and social environments thus becomes a primary determinant of success when efforts are made to accommodate a variety of individual temperament characteristics in the context of the family. For example, traditional infant caregiving practices among the Kipsigi tribe in East Africa do not emphasize self-regulation or rhythmicity because infants are quieted by continual intimate contact with several caregivers. On the other hand, most American parents are intensely concerned with early self-regulation and rhythmicity in feeding and sleeping routines because such routines enable the accomplishment of necessary adult/family tasks in a single caregiver environment (Super & Harkness, 1994). This differential valuing of temperament characteristics is directly related to the physical and social settings of care.

Parental ethnotheories regarding the predictive nature of early behaviors and the establishment of parent–infant interaction patterns would also seem to be strongly influenced by the physical and social setting. Americans tend to emphasize individual autonomy, live in relatively spacious homes occupied by small nuclear families, and must cope

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with a wider society in which time and future orientation often take precedence over interpersonal relations. These factors facilitate views of early development as a "critical period" with immense future significance that must be negotiated, in relative isolation, by one or two primary caregivers and their children. This physical and social isolation in the context of daily caregiving leads to less environmental flexibility than was available in previous generations with close extended families, more crowded neighborhoods, and more community-based activities and identities. These social and physical changes in the American caregiving environment may be, at least in part, responsible for the finding that the American parents ascribed great importance to early manifestations of temperament and interaction patterns as predictors of future developmental competence, whereas the Kipsigi parents saw such early patterns of behavior as being of no particular importance (Super & Harkness, 1994). Thus, the greater flexibility of the physical and social settings of infant care among tribal cultures such as the Kipsigis may lead to less emphasis on infant temperament characteristics as important predictors of future developmental outcomes.

To return to our case descriptions, it is possible that Vanessa's parents may be comfortable with her low adapt-

ability and tendency to withdraw from new situations because they are participants in a more flexible environmental setting than is typical for many American families. We know that Vanessa's family emphasizes appropriate social behavior and interdependent family relationships. It is likely that these socialization goals will lead them to include extended family members in their daily activities and emphasize personal interactions more than future concerns. Daily activities are likely to be family centered and include all family members across several generations with little emphasis on separate, individualized time or activities. This flexible social environment and focus on relationships may promote Maria's delighted acceptance of her baby daughter's current dependency needs and desire for parental closeness and affection.

On the other hand, Kristen's parents seem to be strongly influenced by their desire to raise a self-confident, autonomous child. Their daily routines are likely to include an emphasis on nuclear family interactions combined with frequent child-oriented activities outside the home. They may believe that self-confidence and independence are best fostered by frequent exposure to a variety of stimulating social and physical settings, including weekly participation in parent–toddler programs such as play groups, library story times, gymboree, swimming, or music classes. In addition, the nuclear family home is very child centered while Kristen is awake, making independent sleep schedules critical to the accomplishment of adult tasks and relationship time. Kristen's parents are also very concerned about their daughter's future development and strongly believe that her current interaction patterns are predictive of her future competence (or lack thereof). These parents also understand that American society, including school and work environments, does not typically value or reward reserved, cautious individuals.

SAMPLE SOCIALIZATION GOAL RESPONSES

Vanessa's mother says:

"I would truly want [her] to have, more than anything, good behavior. That [she] be simple, respectful. I believe that these are the main characteristics a person should possess."

Kristen's mother says:

". . . to have confidence and self-esteem in themselves and to be able to speak their mind, but [to] be compassionate for other people—basically, to be able to fill whatever needs they have for themselves."

Therefore, parents' current social and environmental constraints—combined with their strong orientation toward future career goals—are leading them to seek assistance in shaping Kristen's early behavior patterns to more closely match their vision of the "ideal baby."

The Wider Social Context

Shared cultural values permeate all aspects of the environment. Social institutions reinforce these values by shaping expectations for social interactions and rewarding or sanctioning particular behaviors. The intersection of cultural values and temperament characteristics becomes evident as children interact with their peers in the context of the formal educational system. Recent investigations of educational achievement and social competence among children exhibiting shy or inhibited behavioral patterns point to significantly different outcomes based on the wider cultural context of development (Chen, et al., 1998; Chen, Rubin, Li, & Li, 1999; Kerr, 2001).

As discussed above, Kristen's parents perceive inhibited traits negatively. This view of shy or inhibited behavior is widely shared among North American parents and also tends to be associated with peer neglect among North American children (Chen et al., 1998; Kerr, 2001). This negative view of shyness is consistent with the North American cultural and institutional emphasis on individual assertiveness, self-confidence, and competition. Indeed, both Canadian mothers *and* Canadian peer groups were less accepting of shy children in studies of temperament, child-rearing, and social competence (Chen et al., 1998; Chen, Rubin, & Sun, 1992).

However, just as Vanessa's parents were accepting of her inhibited behaviors, Chinese mothers and peers participating in the same studies discussed above were also accepting of shy children (Chen et al., 1998; Chen et al., 1992). This acceptance is consistent with the Chinese cultural emphasis on cautious, reserved, socially appropriate behavior in social and educational contexts. In addition, similar outcomes have been found among other cultures (such as Sweden) that value social reserve (Kerr, 2001).

When researchers examine the long-term outcomes of these familial, social, and institutional preferences for particular traits, their results continue to be consistent with the shared socialization goals, values, and expectations associated with "ideal" cultural traits. Shyness and sensitivity were positively associated with teacher ratings of adolescent social and academic competence and general self-esteem in China (Chen et al., 1999); in contrast, teachers of shy North American children tend to view these children as lonely and depressed (Rubin, Chen, McDougall, Bowker, & McKinnon, 1995). In the Swedish study, shy, socially reserved behavior was not consistently associated with any negative long-term outcomes, yet in the North American study, such behavior was found to hinder careers (Kerr, 2001).

These investigations offer support for the hypothesis that a strong relationship exists between culturally shaped ideal trait preferences and success in the social contexts of education and employment. Thus, researchers would expect developmental pathways, which are initiated in early interactions between infants and their caregivers, to lead to positive long-term outcomes based on those pathways' consonance or dissonance with the values of the wider social context.

The "Ideal" Baby in a Diverse Society

The issue of cultural consonance or dissonance with the values reinforced by the educational and social institutions surrounding the family is of critical importance to the children of the United States. According to the 2000 census data, only 61% of U.S. children are of White, non-Hispanic heritage (Annie E. Casey Foundation, 2003). Therefore, nearly 40% of children in the United States are being raised in families that may espouse somewhat different socialization goals and may value different "ideal" traits than those traditionally promoted among both Anglo-American families and the wider social institutions in the United States. Acculturation across the generations may lead to an eventual reduction in these differences as experienced by second- and third-generation children of immigrants. Nevertheless, we must consider what these levels of dissonance mean for children who must adapt to different values and expectations in schools, peer groups, and the workplace. How can we begin to adapt our practices to best facilitate the development of successful bicultural participants in the context of a diverse society?

The answers to these questions are both complex and somewhat speculative. We are currently investigating the effects of migration on parenting, with funding from the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) to the third author. We designed this study to examine processes of cultural change in child-rearing beliefs and practices among first- and second-generation migrant mothers in the United States and Germany. Participants include Puerto Rican and Euro-American mothers in the United States, and Turkish and German mothers in Germany. We designed this study also to elucidate indigenous child-rearing beliefs and practices among Puerto Rican and Turkish migrant mothers, and to examine and compare first- and second-generation migrant mothers. We wanted to pay specific attention to the development of monocultural versus bicultural orientations as reflected in mothers' child-rearing beliefs and practices. (Acculturation measures are used for members of various cultural groups—

> Looking at the intersection of culture and temperament informs our understanding of how shared customs, values, and beliefs about development affect daily parent–child and social interactions. In particular, the concept of "goodness of fit" can be applied to the interaction among temperament, cultural values, and expectations.

scores place individuals on a continuum of acculturation from monocultural to bicultural in their expressed beliefs and values.) We also hope to identify the circumstances under which migrant mothers may or may not develop a bicultural identity. Preliminary results indicate that in comparison to the first-generation mothers, second-generation mothers are more likely to include bicultural or host cultural identity as a goal for their children. Moreover, second-generation mothers demonstrate their trend toward acculturation by adopting parenting practices associated with the host culture.

Much of the previous research regarding the effects of immigration has focused on linguistic competence and acculturative stress. We know little about the normative processes of change in parenting beliefs and practices following migration. The processes of immigration and acculturation necessitate adaptations in both the immigrant and host cultures. Researchers have not yet systematically investigated how these adaptations affect individuals, families, and social institutions. The development of a bicultural identity would seem to be at least somewhat dependent on positive experiences within—and perceptions of—the host culture across the first few generations after immigration.

This discussion brings us back to the concept of goodness of fit as applied to individuals, families, and the wider institutions of society. Because environmental flexibility increases the chances that a society will accept more varied characteristics among its members, it would follow that the most prudent course for a diverse society would be to work toward greater flexibility in social institutions such as schools, health services, and businesses. Recent public discourse regarding the need for more collaborative efforts in schools and the workplace is an example of society's growing recognition of this need for flexibility. Reducing the overwhelming emphasis on competition and individual achievement in the United States in favor of more balanced attention to collaboration and awareness of others' needs would provide a more flexible foundation for diverse participants in our schools and work environments.

An important first step in increasing the flexibility of the social context in our diverse society is to modify the value-laden terminology that we use to describe temperament characteristics. Terms such as "internalizing problem behaviors," "clingy", or even "shy" carry significant negative connotations in mainstream American culture. Deliberate use of less judgmental, more positive descriptive language would constitute a major step toward greater social flexibility and acceptance of diversity. For example, "careful," "cautious," and "reserved" are descriptors that

avoid negative connotations while allowing clear understanding of temperament characteristics. Language is powerful: Professionals should use it carefully.

In addition to valuing the contributions of individuals with a variety of temperamental characteristics, it is important to understand that temperament is not immutable but may change over time. In one longitudinal study, about 25% of extremely shy toddlers were found to be more outgoing at the age of 7 (Kagan, Reznick, & Snidman, 1988). Family and community contexts may either enhance or minimize temperamental tendencies. Parents who are comfortable allowing their child to stay close and observe in a new situation without demanding the child's immediate participation may provide a model of effective coping that enables the cautious child to gradually become less fearful. Likewise, a teacher who recognizes the child's skill at observing social situations and allows for varied levels of participation based on individual comfort may promote effective coping and less fearful responses.

We need to make room for both Vanessa and Kristen in the world beyond their families. Vanessa's quiet, careful, socially aware approach to life should continue to be nurtured in classrooms where she can flourish and be recognized for her talents in observation and cooperative learning. And Kristen's parents should be encouraged to treasure their daughter's affectionate and cautious nature, build on her strengths, and know that she will enter a world in which her learning style will be accepted and her talents developed—so that she will experience success as an adult. 🖢

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Temperament in Early Development

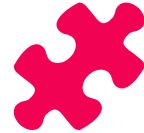Biological Contributions and Beyond

The Intersection of Temperament and Culture

Is Challenging Behavior a Behavior Disorder?

Talking With Parents About Individual Differences

ACTIVITY 3
Individual Reflection & Action Plan

Participant's Name: _____ **Date:** _____

1. How have the last several sessions informed you, so that you can support and strengthen families' understanding and involvement in the COS Process?

2. Why do you think it is important to include the WHY and HOW when engaging families in COS discussions?

3. Why might you need to revisit this conversation and ask questions to check for families' understanding more than once?

4. Moving forward, how would you like your COS conversations with families to change? How would the 'ideal' conversation look? How can you align your conversations to be more inclusive of families?