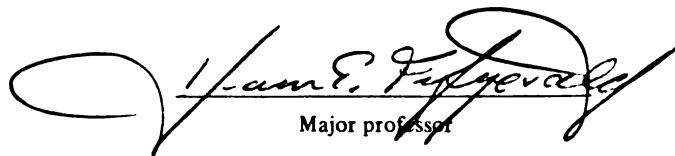


This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE
SYSTEMS IN BOTSWANA
presented by
Freida Augustine Brown

has been accepted towards fulfillment
of the requirements for

Ph.D. degree in Psychology


Major professor

Date 8/3/77

02130404.

SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE
SYSTEMS IN BOTSWANA

By

Freida Augustine Brown

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Psychology

1977

ABSTRACT

SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS IN BOTSWANA

By

Freida Augustine Brown

The purpose of the present study was to examine children's perceptions of compliance systems and antecedent socialization practices in the developing country of Botswana, Africa. Predictions were made concerning the effects of sex, family structure, and school setting on children's liking for authority figures, guilt feelings about noncompliance, willingness to enforce authority figures' rules, perception of authority figures' willingness to help, power to punish noncompliance and intersystem support. Predictions also were made regarding parental childrearing practices and attitudes and their relationship to the child variables cited above.

Children were 427 boys and girls, 10 to 16-years-old attending primary school grades 5, 6, and 7 in Serowe, Botswana. Your Ideas about People and Rules (YIAPR) was administered to the children in four schools (2 Tswana-medium, an English-medium, and a parochial school). Forty-eight questionnaires were randomly selected to identify the parents/guardians to be given a home interview. A 2 X 2 X 4 (Sex X Family Structure X School) MANOVA revealed significant differences in children's perceptions of authority and internalizations of rules. A 3 X 2 X 2 (Age X Sex X Family Structure) ANOVA revealed

significant differences in parental socialization practices and attitudes. A Pearson Correlation failed to indicate any relationship between parental socialization practices and children's perceptions of compliance systems.

The data revealed that girls were more supportive of the compliance system than boys. Girls were more likely than boys to perceive authority figures as willing to help and to show a personal liking for authority figures. Girls also were found to report guilt feelings more often than boys. However, boys were more likely to view authority figures as having punitive power. School differences indicated that children from Tswana-medium schools perceived more inter-system support and were willing to enforce rules more often than were children from English-medium and parochial schools. School differences regarding the authority figures power to punish noncompliance was inconsistent.

Parental socialization practices were found to be influenced by age, SES, and family structure. Older parents/guardians used physical discipline more often than younger parents/guardians. In middle classes, members of extended families had more rules than members of nuclear families. Furthermore, in upper classes, older parents/guardians of extended families expressed more traditional childrearing attitudes than older parents/guardians from nuclear families.

The relationship between parent socialization practices and children's perceptions of compliance systems was not confirmed.

The findings suggest that it is the children's perceptions of their relationship with the authority figures which result in internalization of rules. Moreover, the marginal move of Tswana parents

Freida Augustine Brown

toward Western childrearing practices may result in dissonance which produces a strain on the parent-child relationship.

To
my family and friends

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The following research was conducted while working as a Research Associate on the project: "Continuities between the Practices of Traditional and Scientific Botswana Health Care Practitioners." This project was funded by the United States Agency for International Development in collaboration with the African American Scholars Council, Inc.

The data analysis and write up was supported in part by a National Institute of Mental Health Institutional National Research Services Award in Experimental General Psychology (IT32-MH 14622-01).

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the kind and helpful people of Botswana who welcomed me as a Motswana from America and to the beautiful children of Botswana who made this research possible.

Thanks also goes to "The Team": Nomtuse, Evelyn, Dijeng, Thabo, Malusi and Oliver who managed in spite of cultural and personality differences to get the job done. A warm appreciation goes to Looga, my interpreter, who helped me to understand more than just the language.

I would like to thank the members of my committee: Dr. Hiram Fitzgerald, my chairman, for his prompt and helpful criticisms and suggestions; Dr. Lawrence Messe for his statistical assistance; Dr. Joel Aronoff and Dr. Ellen Strommen for their helpful criticisms and suggestions; and a special thanks to Dr. Pat Barnes McConnell who was responsible for the greatest learning experience of my life, thanks for the confidence in me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
CHAPTER	
I INTRODUCTION	1
II BOTSWANA	4
The Country	4
The People	5
The Economic Structure	5
The Social Structure	6
Settlement Patterns	6
Family Groupings	7
Socioeconomic Status	8
Sex Roles	9
Education	10
Summary	13
III RATIONALE	14
Sex Differences	15
Hypotheses I	18
Family Structure	19
Hypotheses II	21
School Setting	22
Hypotheses III	23
Childrearing	24
Hypotheses IV	25
IV METHOD	27
Setting	27
Subjects	28
Instrumentation	28
Your Ideas About People and Rules	28
Parent Interview	29
Other measures	29

CHAPTER	Page
Procedure	29
Data Analyses	30
V RESULTS	32
Children's Conceptions of Compliance Systems	32
Sex Differences	32
Family Structure Differences	34
School Differences	37
Parental Attitudes and Childrearing Practices	41
Relationship between Parent Variables and Child Variables	41
Summary of Results	42
VI DISCUSSION	44
Sex Differences	44
Family Structure Differences	45
School Differences	47
Parental Childrearing Practices and Attitudes	48
Relationship between Parent Variables and Child Variables	50
Implications for Future Research	51
APPENDIX	
A QUESTIONNAIRE AND CODEBOOK: YOUR IDEAS ABOUT PEOPLE AND RULES	55
B QUESTIONNAIRE AND CODEBOOK: PARENT INTERVIEW	75
C TABLES	82
D SUMMARY: CONTINUITIES BETWEEN THE PRACTICES OF TRADITIONAL AND SCIENTIFIC BOTSWANA HEALTH CARE PRACTITIONERS	85
E LITERATURE REVIEW	87
REFERENCES	110

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Liking for Authority Figures X Sex	33
2. F-Ratios for Significant Univariate Effects on Children's Guilt Feelings for Noncompliance	35
3. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Guilt Feelings for Noncompliance X Sex	35
4. F-Ratio for Significant Univariate Effects of Family Structure on Children's Perceptions of Intersystem Support	36
5. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Intersystem Support X Family Structure	36
6. F-Ratios for Significant Univariate Effects of School Setting on Children's Perceptions of Intersystem Support	39
7. F-Ratios for Significant Univariate Effects of School Setting on Children's Willingness to Enforce Rules	40
8. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Willingness to Enforce Rules X School	40
9. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Authority Figures' Willingness to Help	82
10. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Liking for Authority Figures	82
11. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Authority Figures' Power to Punish	83
12. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Intersystem Support	83
13. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Reported Guilt Feelings for Noncompliance	84
14. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Willingness to Enforce Authority Figures' Rules	84

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study was to investigate socialization of Batswana children with specific emphasis on compliance systems. Of interest were children's views of the various authority figures influential in their development and the internalization of norms through the process of identification with authority figures. In addition, the attitudes and influences of specific childrearing patterns were examined in conjunction with children's concepts of compliance systems.

Based on previous cross-cultural research (Hess & Minturn, 1970), at the very least the conception of compliance systems includes: attachment to authority figures (the child's perception of the authority figure's willingness to help and the child's liking for authority figures), power to punish (the child's perception of the authority figure's power to punish noncompliant behavior), intersystem support (the extent to which the child perceives systems and authority figures as mutually supportive for punishing noncompliant behavior), and internalization of norms (the child's subjective responses to his own non-compliance with rules of authority figures and his tendency to impose rules upon his peers or his efforts to punish peers for rule violations).

In addition to the study of compliance with authority, the relationship between children's conceptions of compliance systems and

parental attitudes and childrearing practices were assessed. Parental attitudes and childrearing practices focused on whether parents expressed "modern" (Western) attitudes or "traditional" (Botswana) attitudes about childrearing and whether parents emphasized corporal or noncorporal disciplinary techniques.

Various areas within the continent of Africa are undergoing social-cultural and technological change (Westernization). This move toward Westernization has produced a partial breakdown in many traditional attitudes and values (Dawson, 1969). Such changes in attitudes and values often involve changes in family structure, perceived locus of authority, and acquisition of new values. In a developing country such as Botswana traditional roles of the members of the family are constantly being defined in terms of the changing needs of the society. Transitions in role definitions within the family may lead to confusion among children concerning the status of authority figures and socializing agents within the family in particular and within social institutions in general.

One Botswana educator (Thema, 1972) maintains that many changing familial roles result in a "narrowing of the Tswana extended family." Narrowing of the extended family is viewed as a direct result of the changing economy and the changing source of livelihood. The burden of an extended family becomes impractical and economically unfeasible within the framework of a cash economy. Items which in the past were shared among family and tribal members now become marketable goods and are often sold in order to purchase Western clothing, technical equipment, foodstuffs which are no longer produced, and to defray educational costs. Moreover, employment in wage earning

occupations often necessitates the separation of individual family members from the extended family unit. Frequently, separated family members establish nuclear families in more urbanized areas where employment is more accessible and new ideas and values are more prevalent.

Thema (1972) warns, however, that the indiscriminant adoption of Western ideals and the forsaking of old ones may result in a loss of social stability. "One of the most obvious changes in Tswana societies is the weakening of the institutions of authority"(Thema, 1962). The emergence of political parties and political awareness has led to a gradual weakening of the authority of the chiefs. Parental authority also is being challenged as the extended family unit narrows and as the influence of Western childrearing practices increases. Moreover, children constantly are exposed to innovative ideas through education. Consequently, the two different school settings in Botswana (Tswana-medium and English-medium) also may promote very different attitudes about traditional versus modern lifestyles. Modern attitudes may be contrary to traditional modes of thought and may result in dissonance among children as they attempt to cope with the conflicting lifestyle models.

Thus, the present research was designed to investigate children's perceptions of authority as a function of differences in family structure, school setting, parental attitudes, and parental child-rearing practices.

CHAPTER II

BOTSWANA

The present chapter presents a brief overview of the country of Botswana, its people, economy, and social structure. The indigenous language of the country is Setswana with English being its official language. The people are called Batswana (plural) and Motswana (singular). Tswana may be used interchangeably for both people (singular and plural) and language.

The Country

Botswana is a land-locked country surrounded by South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Zambia and the Caprivi Strip. It is about 570,000 sq. km. in size and lies at the center of the Southern African Plateau. The climate is semi-arid with a mean rainfall of 450 mm. The Kgalagadi Desert covers 84% of the land surface and the remainder of the country is constantly under the threat of cyclical droughts.

The biggest constraint on development in Botswana has been the poor rainfall. There are two main dams, the Gaborone Dam which supplies the Lobatse area and the Shasha Dam which supplies the copper-nickel mine in Selibe-Pikwe. The 1971 development of the copper-nickel mine in Selibe-Pikwe and the discovery of the diamond mine in Orapa in 1967 may prove to be influential in the economic development of Botswana.

The People

Eight main tribes make up the major portion of the population of Botswana. These include: the Bamangwato, the Bakwena, the Batawana, the Bangwaketse, the Bakgatla, the Batlokwa, the Bamelete, the Barolong, and the nomadic tribe of the Basarwa (Bushmen). According to the 1971 census the total population of Botswana was 630,379: 10,861 were non-citizens and an estimated 10,550 were nomads. A large percentage (52.5%) of the population lives in small villages under 500 people while only 9.5% live in an urban area. In general, the outstanding characteristic of the 1971 census were the increase of internal migration from rural to urban areas, the low level of education, the high degree of economic dependence on traditional subsistence agriculture and the large proportions of those who were economically inactive.

The Economic Structure

The Batswana have been described as pastoralists first and agriculturalists second. A look at the 1968 export statistics further supports the pastoralist position; cattle products accounted for 92% of the total export trade. Although cattle are the major export item the value of mineral production, consisting largely of exports of diamonds, manganese ore, with minor exports of talc and semiprecious stones, exceeded R 592,000 (1R = \$1.25) during 1969 (National Development Plan, 1970).

Although Botswana is considered to be transferring from a cattle economy to a cash economy, the overall population does not participate in the cash sector. In 1971 approximately 2,800 families, a large proportion of which were expatriates, had an income in excess

of R 750, but over 1/3 of the population had incomes between R 0 and R 250 per annum. In addition, about 50,000 individuals work as migrant laborers to supplement the incomes of their families which are assumed to be the poorest sector of the country.

The Social Structure

Settlement Patterns

Traditionally, most Botswana settlements were composed of a central village (motse), outlying lands (masimo) where crops were raised, and cattleposts (merake) where cattle were grazed and tended. However, today some of the lands and cattleposts are maintained as permanent homes.

Customarily, most families maintained a home in the central village during the dry season, generally between June and November. Once the rainy season began around December the entire family would migrate to the lands to plough, plant and harvest their crops. The harvesting usually ended around April or May and everyone returned to the village.

Due to educational, technological and economic conditions this traditional migratory pattern is changing. Instead of remaining at the lands during the agricultural seasons some people elect to spend most of their time in the village only visiting their lands and cattleposts occasionally. However, during the agriculture season, many Batswana still adhere to the traditional migratory patterns. This becomes problematic for school-age children who must remain in the village in order to go to school. The school system is sensitive to the needs of the Tswana family and so summer vacation begins in

December and ends the later part of January. During this time many compounds are virtually abandoned and the only remaining residents are the very old, the pregnant women, and those working for the local government or shops. When vacation is over the school-age children return to the village quite often leaving their parents and younger siblings at the lands. When this occurs the returning children are usually cared for by neighboring relatives or older siblings. Boys who are school-leavers or non-attenders remain at the cattlepost year round and only return to the village occasionally. So for a period of 6 months, during the agricultural season, a Batswana family may be divided into 3 groups; some living at the central village, some at the lands, and some at the cattlepost.

Family Groupings

The smallest social unit is the household which is composed of a man, his wife and their unmarried children. In addition, a household may also include the man's married sons, his brothers and their families, unwed or divorced daughters and their children, and a widowed mother or father.

Each household forms a compound/homestead (lolwapa) which contains several rondavels that may be used as living quarters, storage areas or cooking facilities. Each compound is surrounded by a shrub or reed fence, a wooden stockade or a low mud wall depending on the location and preference.

In the past all households under the same patrilineal descent group comprised a ward. A parcel of land was usually issued by the chief to the oldest male member of a family and the ward usually

assumed his name. As the family grew each son would establish his own household. The compound would form a semi-circular structure with the father's household in the center and the households of the oldest sons to the right and those of the youngest sons to the left. The remaining area to the rear of the compound would contain granaries, storage areas, and a cooking area.

Even today, the headman of each ward is usually an agnatic descendent of the original head of the family. His responsibilities include settling family disputes at the lower kgotla (the customary court) and representing his ward at the chief's kgotla. Although lineage can be established among most wards in the villages many families have grown so large that they cannot be accommodated on the original land provided. When this occurs additional property is allocated to family members who then establish themselves sometimes under the same name as their familial ward and sometimes under a new name. In addition, people from other areas also migrate to villages and receive homesteads to settle from the chief. The influx of outsiders, the expansion of family groups and the migration to urban areas have altered the homogeneous familial aggregate of traditional Batswana culture.

Socioeconomic Status

Botswana is a somewhat stratified society although distinctions among socioeconomic classes are sometimes unclear. Education, occupation and cattle wealth are generally good indices of socioeconomic status and are often determined by family and/or tribal affiliation.

Chiefs, government officials and the well-educated tend to form the upper strata of the society. Chieftainship is usually determined by agnatic descent. Although the power of the chief has been greatly minimized the position is still one of status and prestige. Government officials may be either appointed or elected but those selected generally come from the ruling families. Moreover, those families with substantial resources are able to send their children to good schools and consequently, help to perpetuate an elitist system.

Middle-class members include those who are in wage earning occupations and those who are both wage earners and agriculturalists. According to the 1971 census the middle-class constituted about 12% of the population. Finally, the lower strata consists of those individuals who rely primarily on subsistence agriculture (60%) and migrant workers.

Although the above class distinctions are made actual delineations are not easily determined. Definitely, cattle wealth confounds the distinctions because both the poorly educated and the unemployed may have substantial cattle herds.

Sex Roles

There are succinct social distinctions with regard to sex-roles in Tswana culture. Basically, the role of the female is to maintain the household, care for the children, and plant and raise crops. The responsibility of the male is to arbitrate kgotla cases and care for the cattle. Even at social functions and public events (i.e., weddings, funerals, kgotla meetings) there is a physical separation of the sexes with the women occupying one area and the men another.

Childrearing is an area in which there is a clear cut division of labour, the woman takes the sole responsibility for the development of the child. This responsibility begins at birth when the mother becomes a motsetsi (the confined mother). During this period the mother is confined in her home for 1 to 6 months her only duty being the care of her infant. She is allowed only female visitors and is cared for by an older female, usually the grandmother. The role of the father is primarily that of provider during early childhood. He has very little to do with the care of the baby.

Botsetsi (the confinement period) begins the mother's close attachment to her child and it continues until the child is weaned (2-3 years old). Once the child is old enough to play with older siblings or peers he becomes less dependent on the mother but she still remains the primary caretaker. Again during this period of development the father's participation in the childrearing process is minimal.

Once the child reaches school age definite sex-role behaviors have emerged. Specific duties which are given to boys and to girls encourage independence and achievement for boys and dependence and nurturance in girls. Generally, boys tend cattle and sweep the yard while girls help with household chores and care for younger siblings. Today, although there is still a trend toward sex-specific tasks some tasks are shared by both boys and girls.

Education

As a developing nation Botswana is increasingly aware of its need for manpower. The need to localize positions in government and

industry has promoted advances in education. Improved education is crucial if Botswana is to develop as a total nation. Both the government and parents are cognizant of the importance of education and urge the young to attend school. Since 1962 primary school enrollment has increased from 46,536 to 78,442 in 1971. This last figure (78,442) accounts for 65% of the school age population (8-15 years old) as for the total population 67% had been to school.

The Ministry of Education statistics revealed that 36,574 males were enrolled in primary school as compared with 41,867 females. However, the proportion of females attending secondary school decreases in relation to the proportion of males. The large number of females in primary schools as compared to males may be attributed to the division of labor. Quite often school age boys must tend cattle at the outlying cattleposts miles away from educational facilities while girls remain in the village helping with household tasks and younger siblings. However, the increase of males in secondary schools relative to females may be a function of the role of the male in Botswana culture as provider and protector.

The primary schools fall into two categories: Tswana-medium schools and English-medium schools. Tswana-medium schools are taught in Setswana for two years, after which English becomes the language of instruction. English-medium schools are taught entirely in English and require a working knowledge of English for admission. Local people and some from nearby countries such as Rhodesia or South Africa generally staff Tswana-medium school. However, the English-medium schools may be staffed by teachers from widely diverse cultures including Europe, the United States, other African countries, and even some

individuals from the local community. Parochial schools combine the staffing of English-medium schools with the language of instruction of Tswana-medium schools. In other words, Tswana parochial schools are Tswana-medium schools taught by culturally diverse teachers. Students enrolled in the English-medium schools and the parochial schools also may be multinational. However, in the Serowe area the ethnic composition of the students tends toward homogeneity. Students represent the various local tribal groups as well as tribal groups who immigrated from nearby countries. One of the primary differences between English-medium schools and other schools is that they are more expensive, costing on the order of 3 to 4 times more. As a result, only families that are sufficiently well-off financially can afford to send their children to English-medium schools.

Once children complete the 7 years of primary education and pass the Standard VII examination, they may enter secondary school. Those who fail can apply for vocational training at the Youth Brigades or the Botswana Training Center or return to the agricultural sector. Completion of three years of secondary school and passing the Junior Certificate examination qualifies students to continue secondary education or enroll in nursing program, teacher training program, or some civil servant positions. If students elect to continue their education for two more years and pass the Cambridge examination, they can apply to the University of Botswana & Swaziland or a university outside of the country. Those individuals who complete their formal education are assured a salient position in the society.

The status, stability and opportunities associated with a profession are strong motivators for educational achievements. The

influx of students into the school system has caused overcrowding and a subsequent need for more teachers and additional classroom facilities. In order to accommodate the barrage of students many schools have found it necessary to switch to half-day sessions. Before the restructuring of the classrooms some teachers taught as many as 80-100 pupils. Today the teacher pupil ratio is down to 1:40 but the student is only spending half the amount of time in the classroom.

Another tactic utilized to ease the overcrowding is automatic promotion. Automatic promotion assures every Motswana child seven years of education however, it does not allow for the quality of that education. There are some children who complete seven years of education without having grasped the rudiments of reading and writing. Another factor contributing to the student's educational deficits is the lack of qualified teachers. In 1969, 37% of 2,037 teachers had only 6 to 7 years of primary education.

Summary

The child-adult relationship in Botswana is much more stringent than that in America. Roles are clearly defined in terms of parent-child, male-female and authority-subordinate. Botswana as a society in transition presents an excellent background for studying authority in transition. As noted earlier economical changes, a diminishing extended family, exposure and adoption of Western education and ideology are resulting in a breakdown of authority. The present research examined some of these changes in light of children's perceptions of authority and subsequent internalization of values.

CHAPTER III

RATIONALE

The basic rationale and design for this study was derived from a cross-cultural research project conducted by Hess and Minturn (1970). The project focused on the development of behavior that relates the child both to authority figures in the salient social systems about him and to the rules and laws designed to govern the behavior of members of the system. Data were collected on the socialization of children into compliance systems in six countries: Denmark, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, and the United States.

Results indicated that children in all the countries studied showed uniformly high regard for parents with little differentiation between mother and father and little change in attitudes toward parents between grade four and eight.

Attitudes toward teachers did vary across countries with them being particularly low in the United States. Hess and Minturn (1970) suggest that the children's low opinion about the power of the teacher to discipline and maintain order may have a significance for patterns of classroom behavior in the United States. They also report a general tendency across most of the countries and most of the figures for the image of authority to become less positive as the children grow older, with the exception of the mother and father.

When the other major parameters of the study i.e., grade, sex

and socioeconomic status were considered attitudes varied more with age than with sex. Sex differences were much less prominent but they did indicate familiar patterns; girls were more trusting of authority figures than boys and in general, tended to be more supportive of the system. Social class differences, however, were not consistent across countries.

Although Hess and Minturn (1970) took a very close look at children's attitudes towards authority figures they did not address the question of how these attitudes develop.

Sex Differences

In a recent review of the literature on sex differences Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) offer four major hypotheses to account for differential socialization practices: a) parents shape behaviors which are sex appropriate; b) different physical characteristics of boys and girls elicit different responses from parents; c) parents respond to their children according to stereotypic assumptions about innate characteristics; and d) same-sexed and cross-sexed parent-child relationships influence parents differently.

Generally, the differential socialization practices assumed to shape sex appropriate behavior were not revealed in the studies by Maccoby and Jacklin (1974). Both boys and girls received similar types and amounts of affection, both were consistently punished for aggressive behavior, and both were treated similarly in terms of autonomy. Boys however, were punished more often for inappropriate sex role behaviors and received more physical punishment than girls. The more frequent use of physical punishment with boys was viewed as being

supportive of the differential eliciting qualities hypothesis. Because boys tended to be less compliant and less susceptible to milder forms of discipline mothers were more likely to move to more coercive discipline techniques. Maccoby's and Jacklin's (1974) principle of perceptual adaptation (i.e., parents reward stereotypic sex-typed behaviors) was found to be incongruous with actual parental reinforcement of sex appropriate behaviors. They suggest that when a girl does household chores she would not be reinforced because it's something she should do. However, when a boy performs the same task he would be rewarded because it would be atypical but pleasing for the mother. Children would therefore be reinforced for sex inappropriate behaviors which is contrary to the perceptual adaptation hypothesis. The research on cross-sexed, same-sexed parent-child interactions also leaves questions. If fathers reinforce one behavior for girls and discourage the same behavior for boys, and mothers reinforce in the opposite direction then the shaping process is inconsistent. If the inconsistency is analogous to intermittent reinforcement then both boys and girls should develop strong behaviors instead of the differences which do occur.

Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) seem to assume that socialization is a unidirectional process. They fail to allow for the reciprocity of the parent-child relationship (Lewis & Rosenblum, 1974). They also fail to take into account evidence which suggests that biological differences in infants' behavior may influence parents' reactions to infants (Fitzgerald, 1977). In turn, the child's perceptions of the parent's actions may also influence the child's behavior.

Some empirical studies reveal that mothers display more affection

towards their daughters than sons (Radin, 1973). However, Baumrind (1971), Hatfield, Ferguson, and Alpert (1967), Allaman, Joyce, and Crandall (1972) report no sex differences in terms of maternal affection in preschool children based on observational studies. Older children's reports of parental affection indicate that girls report having received affection more often than boys (Siegelman, 1965; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Droppleman & Schaefer, 1963; Bronfenbrenner, 1960). Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) suggest that this discrepancy may be a result of selective perception on the children's part or a change in parental warmth as the children get older.

The findings also are inconclusive with regard to parents' reactions to children's dependency demands. Of four studies which observed adult responses, two report no differences in parents' responses to boys and girls (Clarke-Stewart, 1973; Baumrind, 1971), a third, revealed that teachers were more likely to respond to boys' requests for help (Serbin, O'Leary, Kent & Tonick, 1973), and the fourth (Hatfield et al., 1967) found that mothers were likely to punish both dependent and independent gestures of boys. However, boys were also found to be physically punished consistently more often than girls (Tasch, 1952; Baumrind & Black, 1967; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967). Rothbart and Maccoby (1966) report that parents were more likely to permit dependency demands from opposite-sexed children.

The occurrence of differential socialization practices may effect the acquisition of moral standards. (For a more detailed review of literature on moral development see Appendix E.) In a test taking situation Hertzog, Birch, Thomas and Mendex (1968) found both sex differences and social class distinctions in terms of compliance behavior.

When subjects were from lower socioeconomic classes, girls were more likely to follow the tester's instructions than were boys. The same distinction was not apparent for subjects from higher socioeconomic classes. Serbin et al. (1973) observed teachers interacting with children in a nursery school setting and found girls were less likely to ignore the teacher's request than were boys. The same trend was reported by Hatfield et al. (1967).

The same generalization can be applied to resistance to temptation situations. Ward and Furchak (1968) found girls to be more willing to comply with experimenter's requests not to touch an attractive toy than were boys. Parke (1967) and Stouwie (1971, 1972) report similar findings.

Incongruous results were reported by Landauer, Carlsmith and Lepper (1970) who found that there were no sex differences in willingness to comply to mother's demands to pick up a large number of objects. Moreover, in cheating situations males were less likely to cheat than girls (Burton, 1971; Jacobson, Berger & Millham, 1974). Although there are some discrepancies in findings most research suggests that females tend to more compliant and more resistant to temptation than are boys.

Hypotheses I

These findings suggest the following hypotheses:

- Ia Girls will perceive authority figures as willing to help more often than will boys.
- Ib Girls will show liking for authority figures more often than will boys.

Ic Boys will perceive authority figures as having the power to punish more often than will girls.

Id Girls will perceive more intersystem support than will boys.

Ie Girls will report guilt feelings about breaking rules more often than will boys.

If Girls will be willing to enforce norms more often than will boys.

Family Structure

Family structure serves as an important determiner in the quantity and type of interaction a child may receive. Children of large families are more likely to have less contact with parents than are children from smaller families. As the number of children increase there is a tendency toward a more centralized form of leadership structure expressed in parental dominance, less contact of parents with each child, more directive, one-sided communication from parent to child and an increasing role of older children in rearing younger siblings (Bossard & Boll, 1956). Parental regulation of the behavior of children is more difficult in large families. A study of seventh-grade boys and girls found physical discipline and negative verbal techniques such as scolding and nagging, autocratic control, and infrequent explanations to be more common in large than in small families (Elder & Bowerman, 1963; Bowerman & Elder, 1962).

Hsu, Watrous and Lord (1963) refer to the effect of family structure on the lack of rebelliousness of Chinese-American adolescents. Chinese adolescents are described as unlikely to become discontents because they feel no need to alter their environment or themselves.

One factor viewed as contributing to the lack of overt rebelliousness is the inconsistency in social relationships experienced in early childhood. Because the Chinese family is an extended family consistent disciplinary patterns are often difficult to enforce. Quite often a parent's demands are overridden by the demands of an older family member. Hsu et al. maintain that the child's early exposure to inconsistency prepares him for the inconsistencies of the real world.

American youths on the other hand, are viewed as more idealistic, eager to effect change and rebellious. American-Caucasian parents as compared with their Chinese counterparts place a stronger emphasis on childhood and try to shield the child from the harsh realities and inconsistencies of life (Hsu et al., 1963). The nuclear family structure is viewed as providing a consistent disciplinary environment. It is the contradictions experienced when thrown into the inconsistencies of the real world which causes the American adolescent to rebel. Other theories suggest that adolescent rebellion is a result of unreasonable authority (Elder, 1963; Baumrind, 1971) or hormonal changes (Cohen, 1964).

The supposition of Hsu et al. (1963) that inconsistencies in parental discipline lead to conformity seems contradictory to the partial reinforcement position of other investigators (Parke & Deur, 1970; Deur, 1970) who maintain that partial reinforcement (i.e., inconsistent discipline) results in resistance to extinction of negative behavior. However, interagent inconsistency may not produce the scheduling needed for partial reinforcement. Moreover, the child may perceive an hierarchy of disciplinary agents. Substantive interagent inconsistencies may only serve to present the child with divergent points of view.

Interestingly, Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner (1976) maintain that inconsistency is what helps promote cognitive structuring. Moreover, in describing children in "new model" communities (communities where children are isolated from social agents of diverse ages and backgrounds) in West Germany he reports that they felt cut off from life and hostile to adults. Children in the old cities "had a more integrated social identity and were more positive about adults (Bronfenbrenner, 1973).

Hypotheses II

Based on the above research the following hypotheses were generated:

- IIa Children of extended families will perceive authority figures as willing to help more often than will children of nuclear families.
- IIb Children of extended families will express liking for authority figures more often than will children of nuclear families
- IIc Children of extended families will perceive authority figures as having the power to punish more often than will children of nuclear families.
- IId Children of extended families will perceive more inter-system support than will children of nuclear families.
- IIE Children of extended families will report guilt feelings more often than will children of nuclear families.
- IIf Children of extended families will be willing to enforce norms more often than will children from nuclear families.

School Setting

A large body of literature, primarily speculative, exists on the role of schools in moral education (Beck, Crittenden & Sullivan, 1971; May, 1971; Sizer & Sizer, 1970). Although it is generally assumed that moral education occurs in the home Kohlberg (1971) maintains that the educational system harbors a "hidden curriculum." Constant exposure of children to classroom rules and regulations results in a structuring of moral cognitions. Kohlberg contends that schools should make use of the theories of moral development to implement an explicit curriculum of moral education.

The cognitive-developmental principles were used to develop a four-month program of weekly moral discussion for a class of 12 children aged 11 to 12. Children discussed and argued hypothetical dilemmas. The teacher clarified and supported the arguments of the children at one or two stages above their original level of argument. When compared with a control group, children in the experimental group tended to reason at a much higher stage, even one year later. Similar results have been reported by Blatt (1971).

Bettleheim (1970) views American schools as being supportive of a "middle-class morality." Middle-class morality is defined as the "conviction that to postpone immediate pleasure in order to gain more lasting satisfaction in the future is the most effective way to reach one's goals. It is this morality alone that makes learning possible..." (Bettleheim, 1970, p. 88). He contends that the task of educators is to reach the "culturally deprived" child at his own level and lift him up to the level of morality which will facilitate learning. Clearly, this is a culturally biased view which is often practiced.

Exemplary of this cultural uplifting is the English-medium school in African countries. Van den Berghe (1968) posits that an in depth knowledge of a European language and culture conferred prestige and status, and the privileged class who possessed the knowledge passed it on to their children. He defined this process of elitist closure as "the crystallization of the Black Mandarinate." Mazrui (1972) argues that the acquisition of linguistic skills does not imply elitist closure because English is learned in most African educational facilities. Closure occurs with the monopoly of elitist schools by the prominent members of the society and the expatriate population for whom the European (English-medium) schools were designed.

Ainsworth and Ainsworth (1962) found differences in level of political awareness and attitudes toward parental authority for students of Kenya and Uganda. Nearly all the differences between schools were attributed to level of acculturation. However, some of the differences were considered a result of the specific acculturation received at the school. Generally, more acculturated students had a positive view of teachers and maintained parental attitudes regarding higher education than less acculturated students.

Hypotheses III

Based on the above findings the following hypotheses were formulated:

- IIIa Children from English-medium and parochial schools will perceive authority figures as willing to help more often than will children from Tswana-medium schools.
- IIIb Children from English-medium and parochial schools will express more liking for authority figures than will

children from Tswana-medium schools.

IIIc Children from English-medium and parochial schools will view authority figures as having power to punish more often than will children from Tswana-medium schools.

IIId Children from Tswana-medium schools will perceive more intersystem support than children from English-medium and parochial schools.

IIIe Children from English-medium schools and parochial schools will report guilt feelings for noncompliance more often than will children from Tswana-medium schools.

IIIIf Children of English-medium and parochial schools will be willing to enforce rules more often than will children from Tswana-medium schools.

Childrearing

Bronfenbrenner (1972) describes American parental childrearing practices as changing over the years from more rigid and authoritarian to more permissive. This change is especially reflected in the middle class sector which is more exposed and hence receptive to the advice of the experts and more willing to adopt their advice.

Bronfenbrenner (1958) concludes in his review of the literature on social class and childrearing practices that middle-class parents emphasize love-oriented or psychological discipline and lower class parents emphasize coercive or physical discipline. He reports that middle class mothers have a more acceptant and democratic relationship with their children. Lower class mothers are more concerned with external modes of conduct and adherence to community norms. Moreover,

they tend to stress obedience and respect for authority. The psychological techniques employed by middle class parents were considered more likely to contribute to the development of internalized values and control than the punitive techniques practiced by lower class families. Similar social class differences are reported by other investigators (Baley & Schaefer, 1960; Kagan & Freeman, 1963; Kagan & Moss, 1962).

The characteristics attributed to lower class American families appear to be analagous to the traits ascribed to African families by Western researchers (LeVine & LeVine, 1963; LeVine, 1962; Whiting & Whiting, 1968). In general, traditional African parents were characterized as stressing obedience and responsibility through the use of physical punishment.

Exposure to Western ideals through education and media, economic transitions, and family structure modifications will undoubtedly have an effect on parental childrearing patterns and resultant child attitudes which will be more attuned to Western practices.

Hypotheses IV

Therefore, it is predicted:

IIa Children of modern parents will be more attached to authority figures than will children of traditional parents.

IVb Children of modern parents will perceive authority figures as more powerful than will children of traditional parents.

IVc Children of modern parents will perceive less intersystem support than will children of traditional parents.

IVd Children of modern parents will be more likely to internalize

norms than will children of traditional parents.

IVe Children of nonpunitive parents will be more attached to authority figures than will children of punitive parents.

IVf Children of punitive parents will perceive authority figures as having the power to punish more often than will children of nonpunitive parents.

IVg Children of punitive parents will perceive more intersystem support than will children of nonpunitive parents.

IVh Children of nonpunitive parents will be more likely to internalize norms than will children of punitive parents.

CHAPTER IV

METHOD

Setting

Serowe was selected as the project site because it is the largest village in Botswana and has elements of the three health providing sectors relevant to the main project (See Appendix D). The de jure population is 43,168. It is situated in the northeastern portion of the country and is about 50 km. from the Rhodesian railway line in Palapye. Most produce, goods and mail are received from the Railway Station at Palapye and brought to Serowe by road. Information is disseminated by means of the postal system, the day old Botswana Daily newspaper and verbal communication. Telecommunications are restricted to the telegraph, a few business and private telephones and radios.

There are several shops and restaurants, two hotels, a post office, hospital, clinic and community center. Educational facilities include 12 primary schools (one English-medium and 2 parochial), one secondary school, a night school, a Teacher's Training College and a Brigade Center.

Housing consists primarily of mud structures and a few European structures. None of the homes have electricity with the exception of those with private generators.

There are some jobs available in the area but most families rely

on subsistence agriculture and cattle herding.

Subjects

The subjects (Ss) were 427 children (181 males and 244 females, 2 were unclassified) in Standards 5, 6, and 7. Children ranged in age from 10 to 16 years.

The schools selected for the study were four primary schools in the Serowe area. Two schools were Tswana-medium schools, one was a Tswana-medium parochial school and one English-medium school. The English-medium school had the smallest population and the highest tuition.

Instrumentation

Your Ideas about People and Rules (YIAPR)

A modified version of Hess and Minturn's Your Ideas about People and Rules (YIAPR) was used to assess the child's conception of compliance systems (See Appendix A). YIAPR consists of both nominal and ordinal scales. Ordinal items include: 7 items to assess authority figures' willingness to help, 4 items indicated liking for authority figures, 6 items revealed power of authority figures to punish, and 7 items indicated guilt feelings for failure to comply to authority figures rules. Nominal items included 4 items (each with 7 possible "Yes" or "No" responses) to assess intersystem support and 5 items (7 "Yes" or "No" responses) to determine willingness to enforce rules. Questions corresponding to each scale are listed in the YIAPR code book (See Appendix A). YIAPR reliability was assessed by Hess and Minturn in terms of average percent of test-retest agreement (nominal = 76.3%; ordinal = 72.1%). In the present study, the range of YIAPR

ordinal items was reduced from 6 to 4 because of the limitation of Setswana in accommodating response choices (e.g., "usually" and "occasionally" both translate to gantsi in Setswana).

Parents Interview (PI)

The Parents Interview (PI) was developed to assess parental attitudes and childrearing practices (See Appendix B). Eight open-ended questions and 5 hypothetical situations (range of response options = 1 to 6) were used to assess parental childrearing practices. Twelve statements (range of responses options = 1 to 4) were devised to determine modern versus traditional attitudes. All items were scaled according to increasing level of Western (modern) responses (e.g., for Statements, 1 = traditional; 4 = modern).

Other Measures

The Draw-A-Person (DAP) and Health Care Inventory (HCI) were administered as part of the larger project and will be analyzed at a subsequent time.

Procedure

Phase 1: Serowe Western School was identified as the school for the pilot study because it was representative of most Tswana-medium schools and was close to the home of the investigator. The investigator talked with the principal, teachers and children and did a series of observations in the school over a 4 week period. In addition, the education officer, principal, and teachers acted as consultants in developing the modified version of the YIAPR.

Experimenters (Es) were a female Motswana interpreter and a

Black American female. In addition, 10 senior level students from Swaneng Secondary School acted as facilitators in administering the questionnaire. All facilitators were trained on how to answer questions without influencing the children's responses.

Phase 2: The YIAPR was translated into Setswana, then English, and then back into Setswana in order to control for the validity of the translation. Children in Standards 3 and 5 were given the YIAPR and resulting modifications were made.

Phase 3: The final version of the YIAPR was administered to the children in the four schools described above. Twenty-five males and 23 females were randomly selected and their parents/guardians were interviewed.

Phase 4: A total of 48 parents/guardians were interviewed in their homes by the investigator and interpreter. Whenever possible the investigator conducted the interview.

Data Analyses

Several statistical procedures were used on the resulting data. A 2 X 2 X 4 (Sex X Family Structure X School) Multivariate Analysis of Variance statistical procedure was used to analyze the YIAPR. Significant univariate F's were reported only if the multivariate F was significant. Dependent variables were the child's attachment to the authority figures, the child's perceptions of the authority figures' power to punish, intersystem support of authority figures, and the child's internalization of norms. Missing data were assigned the mean (2.5) of the response range of ordinal items (this comprised approximately 10% of the ordinal data). A composite score was

calculated for nominal items using the total number of "Yes" responses.

A 3 X 2 X 2 (Age X SES X Family Structure) Analysis of Variance was performed on the PI. Missing data were assigned the mean of the response range for statements (2.5) and hypothetical situations and appropriate open-ended statements (3.0). (This comprised approximately 8% of the data.) A Cronbach's alpha was computed on statements which comprised the childrearing index ($\alpha = .61$).

A Pearson Product Moment Correlation was used to assess the relationship between parent variables and child variables.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

This chapter presents significant findings of the study and is divided into four sections. The first section presents results on children's conception of compliance systems. The second section presents results on parental attitudes and childrearing practices. The third section presents results on the relationship between children's conception of compliance systems and parental attitudes and childrearing practices. The final section presents a summary of the results relevant to the hypotheses. Unconfirmed predictions are discussed in the following chapter as pertinent.

Children's Conceptions of Compliance Systems

Sex Differences

The hypothesis that girls would perceive authority figures as willing to help more often than boys was unsupported by a significant multivariate main effect for sex ($F[6/389] = 2.36, p < .02$). Subsequent univariate analysis revealed a significant sex difference in children's perception of teachers ($F[1/403] = 8.02, p < .004$) and friends ($F[1/403] = p < .05$). Girls ($\bar{X} = 3.16$) perceived teachers as willing to help more often than did boys ($\bar{X} = 2.82$). Although only marginally significant ($p < .06$) there was a tendency for girls to perceive mothers as willing to help more often than did boys.

Overall, when ranked according to willingness to help, children perceived teachers as most willing to help ($\bar{X} = 3.10$), followed by fathers ($\bar{X} = 2.96$), mothers ($\bar{X} = 3.10$), friends ($\bar{X} = 2.73$) headmen ($\bar{X} = 2.63$) and policemen ($\bar{X} = 2.59$).

The hypothesis that girls would show more liking for authority figures than boys was supported by a significant main effect for sex ($F[4/400] = 2.58, p < .04$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed a significant sex difference for liking for father ($F[1/403] = 8.29, p < .004$), mother ($F[1/403] = 6.18, p < .01$), and teacher ($F[1/403] = 4.620, p < .03$). Overall, girls stated a liking for authority figures more often than boys (See Table 1).

Table 1. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Liking for Authority Figures X Sex (* = significant means referred to in text)

Authority Figure	Sex	
	Male	Female
Mother	3.77	3.90*
Father	3.82	3.90*
Teacher	3.40	3.54*
Headman	3.09	3.14*

In general, children stated a personal liking for parents ($\bar{X}$ for father = 3.86; $\bar{X}$ for mother = 3.84), followed by teacher ($\bar{X} = 3.48$) and headman ($\bar{X} = 3.31$).

The hypothesis that boys would perceive authority figures as

having the power to punish more often than girls was supported (multivariate main effect for sex was significant, $F[6/398] = 2.11$, $p < .05$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed a significant sex difference for perception of the father's power to punish ($F[1/403] = 8.64$, $p < .003$). Boys ($\bar{X} = 2.82$) were more likely than girls ($\bar{X} = 2.52$) to view fathers as being punitive.

Interestingly, children viewed teachers ($\bar{X} = 2.77$) and policemen ($\bar{X} = 2.72$) as having the power to punish more than parents ($\bar{X}$ for father = 2.66; $\bar{X}$ for mother = 2.66). The headman ($\bar{X} = 2.65$) was rated almost as high as parents, and friends ($\bar{X} = 1.88$) were viewed as having the least amount of punitive power. When these findings are compared with willingness to help and liking for authority figures, teachers are perceived as helpful and powerful, while parents are considered less powerful but are better liked.

The hypothesis that girls would report guilt feelings about breaking rules more often than boys was supported (multivariate main effect for guilt feelings; $F[1/397] = 2.14$, $p < .04$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed significant differences in girls' and boys' reports of guilt feelings for noncompliance toward mother, policemen, and church (see Table 2). Table 3 presents sex differences in children's responses to guilt feelings about noncompliance.

Family Structure Differences

Children of extended families were hypothesized to perceive more intersystem support than children of nuclear families. The hypothesis was confirmed (multivariate main effect, $F[4/400] = 3.12$, $p < .01$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed a significant family structure

Table 2. F-Ratios for Significant Univariate Effects on Children's Guilt Feelings for Noncompliance

Source	F[1/403]	p
Mother	4.08	.04
Teacher	.007	.92
Father	.20	.66
Policeman	8.02	.005
Village	3.04	.08
Church	6.72	.01
Friends	2.91	.09

Table 3. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Guilt Feelings for Noncompliance X Sex

Authority Figure	Sex	
	Male	Female
Father	3.19	3.16
Mother	3.00	3.22*
Teacher	3.00	3.05
Policeman	2.64	3.03*
Village	2.72	3.14
Friends	2.47	2.65
Church	3.05	3.29

* = significantly different means

difference in children's perceptions of intersystem support for all authority figures (See Table 4). Children of extended families perceived more intersystem support than children of nuclear families (See Table 5).

Table 4. F-Ratios for Significant Univariate Effects of Family Structure on Children's Perceptions of Intersystem Support

Source	F[1/403]	p
Mother	9.49	.002
Father	8.56	.004
Teacher	7.67	.006
Headman	4.92	.027

Table 5. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Intersystem Support X Family Structure

Authority Figure	Family Structure	
	Nuclear Family	Extended Family
Mother	1.55	1.71
Father	2.55	3.05
Teacher	2.23	2.57
Headman	2.73	3.11

A form of reciprocity seems to exist between members of the different compliance systems. Children perceived each figure as

having support from some member of another system. In general, most rules could be punished by parents and parents' rules could be punished by the teacher. Reciprocity seems to be most common between parents and teachers.

School Differences

It was hypothesized that children from English-medium and parochial schools would express more liking for authority figures than would children from Tswana-medium schools. As predicted the multivariate main effect for school was significant ($F[12/1058] = 3.67$, $p < .00002$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed a significant school difference in liking for the headman ($F[3/403] = 8.07$, $p < .00003$). A Newman-Keuls Test of multiple comparisons revealed that children from Tswana-medium school ($\bar{X} = 3.54$) expressed a liking for headmen more often than did children from parochial schools ($\bar{X} = 3.02$).

Children from English-medium and parochial schools were expected to view authority figures as having the power to punish more often than were children from Tswana-medium schools. The multivariate main effect of school was significant ($F[18/1126] = 1.94$, $p < .01$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed school differences for children's perceptions of fathers' ($F[1/403] = 2.54$, $p < .05$) and teachers' ($F[1/403] = 3.74$, $p < .02$) power to punish. A Newman-Keuls Test revealed inconsistency in directions of responses. Apparently, the univariate F for responses to the father's power to punish was only marginally significant, therefore, the test for post hoc comparisons did not produce significantly different school means. There was a tendency however, for children from Tswana-medium schools ($\bar{X}_1 = 2.73$;

$\bar{X}_2 = 2.74$) to perceive fathers as being punitive more often than children from English-medium ($\bar{X} = 2.40$) or parochial ($\bar{X} = 2.69$) schools.

Quite unexpectedly, the difference in children's perceptions of the teacher's power to punish occurred between children from English-medium schools and children from parochial schools. Children from English-medium schools ($\bar{X} = 3.05$) perceived teachers as having punitive power more often than children of parochial schools ($\bar{X} = 2.58$). Although not statistically significant children from English-medium schools were higher on this factor than children from Tswana-medium schools ($\bar{X} = 2.75$, $\bar{X}_2 = 2.78$). Friends were viewed as having punitive power more often by children from Tswana-medium schools ($\bar{X} = 1.90$) than by children from parochial schools ($\bar{X} = 1.67$).

Another hypothesis concerned children's perceptions of inter-system support. Children from Tswana-medium schools perceived more intersystem support than did children from English-medium or parochial schools, (multivariate main effect, $F[12/1058] = 2.85$, $p < .0007$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed significant school differences in children's perceptions of intersystem support for the father, teacher and headman. (See Table 6). A Newman-Keuls Test revealed that children from Tswana medium schools perceived more intersystem support than children from parochial or English-medium schools ($p < .05$).

Parents (mother = 85.12%; father = 87.91%) were clearly viewed as being supportive of the systems. The teacher was viewed as able to punish transgressions against other systems (73.82%). The headman and other family members were viewed as being supportive of other systems 56.79% and 56.45% of the time, respectively. Those viewed

as having the least authority in punishing violations of rules of various systems were other people (26.82%) and friends (24.97%).

Table 6. F-Ratios for Significant Univariate Effects of School Setting on Children's Perceptions of Intersystem Support

Source	$F[1/403]$	p
Mother	2.19	.09
Father	6.21	.0004
Teacher	3.68	.01
Headman	6.01	.0005

Children from English-medium and parochial schools were more willing to enforce rules than were children from Tswana-medium schools (multivariate main effect was significant $F[15/1101] = 3.49$, $p < .0001$). A subsequent univariate analysis revealed significant school differences in children's willingness to enforce rules on their peers (See Table 7). A Newman-Keuls Test indicated that children from English-medium and parochial schools were less willing to enforce rules than were children from Tswana-medium schools (See Table 8 for means).

When asked how they would punish another child's violations of the rules of a system, 80.90% of the children responded that they should be told that they were wrong. The next most frequent occurring response was to tell the appropriate authority figure (76.18%); that is, the authority figure whose rules were broken. Children responded to "Ask why" and "Tell my parents" with equal frequency (74.85% and 74.88%) respectively. This was followed by telling the parents of the child who had broken the rules (70.52%). The response children felt they

were least likely to make was to try to punish the child themselves (33.25%). Although the children were least likely to try to punish the child themselves 33.25% is still a relatively large response to this option.

Table 7. F-Ratio for Significant Univariate Effects of School Setting on Children's Willingness to Enforce Rules

Source	F[1/403]	p
Mother	5.54	.0009
Father	6.43	.0003
Teacher	9.27	.00001
Village	5.90	.0006

Table 8. Means of Children's Questionnaire Responses to Willingness to Enforce Rules X School

Authority Figures	School			
	Tswana Medium 1	Tswana Medium 2	English Medium	Parochial
Mother	4.64	4.68	4.04	3.89
Father	4.65	4.80	4.07	3.92
Teacher	5.03	5.37	4.09	4.31
Village	4.20	4.37	3.51	3.70

Parental Attitudes and Childrearing Practices

A significant main effect was found for age on type of punishment used ($F[2/47] = 3.24$, $p < .05$). A Newman-Keuls Test ($p < .05$) indicated that older parents/guardians ($\bar{X} = 14.07$) used fewer love-oriented discipline techniques than younger parents/guardians ($\bar{X} = 17.53$). There also was a significant main effect for socioeconomic (SES) on the use of reward, ($F[1/47] = 9.52$, $p < .004$). Parents/guardians from middle class families were more likely to use reward for altruistic behavior than were parents/guardians from lower class families.

A significant Family Structure X Sex interaction was found for number of rules ($F[1/47] = 4.72$), $p < .04$). However, a test of simple interaction effects revealed means that were not statistically significant. There was a tendency for middle class, nuclear families ($\bar{X} = 8.19$) to have fewer rules than middle class extended families ($\bar{X} = 10.71$).

A marginally significant Family Structure X SES interaction was found for childrearing attitudes ($F[1/47] = 3.90$, $p < .056$). A test of simple effects ($F = 6.25$, $p < .025$) revealed that older respondents from middle SES and nuclear families ($\bar{X} = 18.00$) tended to have more modern childrearing attitudes than older respondents, from middle SES, and extended families ($\bar{X} = 13.70$).

Relationship between Parent Variables and Child Variables

A Pearson Correlation did not support any of the hypotheses. Surprisingly, there was a negative relationship ($\bar{r} = -.20$) between childrearing attitudes and children's liking for authority figures.

Modern parents tended to have children who showed less liking for authority figures, which was the opposite of what was expected. A similar trend was found for those parents/guardians using nonpunitive discipline techniques. Their children stated less liking for authority figures than children of punitive parents ($\bar{r} = -.38$). There also was a slight tendency for children of modern parents to perceive authority figures as having punitive power more often than children of traditional parents ($\bar{r} = .30$).

Summary of Results

In general, hypotheses predicting sex differences and school differences were supported. Girls were more likely than boys to perceive authority figures as willing to help and showed a personal liking for authority figures. Girls were also found to report guilt feelings more frequently than boys. Boys however, were more likely to view authority figures as having punitive power.

School differences primarily reflected differences between Tswana-medium schools and English-medium and parochial schools. Children from Tswana-medium schools were more likely to see authority figures as having the power to punish transgressions. Furthermore, they perceived more intersystem support and were more likely to enforce rules on their peers than were children from English-medium and parochial schools.

None of the hypotheses predicting a relationship between parental variables (discipline techniques and childrearing attitudes) and child variables (conception of compliance systems) were confirmed. Nonpunitive discipline techniques and modern childrearing attitudes tended to be negatively related to children's liking for authority.

The following results while not predicted were found to be statistically significant: younger respondents used more punitive disciplinary techniques, middle class respondents tended to use reward more often than lower class respondents, middle class older respondents from nuclear families had more modern childrearing attitudes than older middle class respondents from extended families.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Sex Differences

The results of the present study suggest that girls are more supportive of the compliance system than boys. As expected girls were more likely to perceive authority figures as willing to help and showed a stronger personal liking for authority figures than boys. Guilt feelings were also more frequently expressed by girls than by boys. These data are consistent with findings of other researchers (Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Bronfenbrenner, 1960) regarding the differential socialization of boys and girls. A strong attachment (i.e., willingness of authority figures to help and child's liking for authority figures) appears to exist between girls and authority figures. Authority figures are more responsive to the nurturant and dependency demands of girls which are traits indicative of the woman's ascribed role in Tswana culture as caretaker and helper. The man's role in the society is that of protector and provider which demands independence and initiative. In order to become competent in their ascribed roles boys are discouraged from displaying dependent behaviors. Boys do perceive authority figures as less receptive to requests for help and more likely to be punitive, a pattern which Baumrind (1972) suggests is one likely to produce independent behavior.

These differential socialization practices are reflected in the

children's responses to questions concerning guilt feelings for unnoticed transgressions against authority. Girls expressed guilt feelings more often than boys. The more frequent use of power assertive discipline techniques with boys may account for this difference. Power assertive techniques would not produce compliance without the surveillance of an external agent. Interestingly, there were no sex differences in children's willingness to enforce authority figures' rules. Apparently both boys and girls have identified with the rules of the authority figure to the extent that they are willing to enforce these rules with their peers. This suggests that it is the relationship between child and authority figure which causes internalization of rules (i.e., guilt feelings for noncompliance). Boys who perceive figures as having punitive power are willing to enforce rules but do not feel guilty about breaking the rules when not under surveillance (Compliance Process). Girls who perceive authority figures as affectionate and helpful are willing to enforce rules and feel guilty about transgressions because the relationship with the authority is attractive (Identification Process).

Family Structure Differences

Children of extended families viewed authority figures as supporting each other in punishing noncompliance more often than children of nuclear families did. There were no family differences in children's attachment to authority figures, perceptions of power, or internalization of rules. This suggests that the reciprocal socialization component of the extended family is generalized to socializing agents of other systems. The multiplicity of caretakers inherent in extended

family structures may indeed facilitate the acceptance of authority figures of other compliance systems. Moreover, the traditional communal orientation of Tswana culture allows for interference from any member for the good of the collective community.

Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner (1976) have characterized extended families as pluralistic settings and nuclear families as monolithic. The diversity of age and backgrounds characteristic of extended families should promote moral pluralism, i.e., the internalization of social norms. However, there were no differences in children's expressed guilt feelings for noncompliance or willingness to enforce rules as a function of family structure. This suggests that there were no differences in the children's perceptions of the socialization process as a function of family structure. One possible explanation for this finding is that the diversities and inconsistencies exemplified in extended families may not reflect the pluralistic setting that Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner (1976) suggest. Extended families may be more characteristic of monolithic structures so far as childrearing practices are concerned. Extended family members are organized around a single set of goals all of which focus on the socialization of the child. Therefore, the extended family members may be consistent in their socialization practices, or the child may come to easily discriminate among authority figures. Moreover, the expectations and sanctions of the extended family members may represent convergent societal values. If both family structures (nuclear and extended) are monolithic then the expected structural differences should not occur.

An alternate explanation is that differences do not occur because

both family structures are pluralistic. The norm for Tswana culture is the extended family with its multiple caretakers, divergent backgrounds and ages, and inconsistencies. Nuclear family structures deviate from the norm and as a result may produce dissonance for its members. Dawson (1969) contends that most unresolved conflicts in transitional societies concern parental authority, i.e., whether it should be more love-oriented or more punitive. The child in the nuclear family structure may experience inconsistencies as a result of unresolved interparent and/or inraparent conflicts. If both systems are pluralistic resulting differences should not occur.

School Differences

As expected school differences revealed that children from Tswana-medium school perceived more intersystem support. However, other findings are either inconsistent or tend to refute the hypotheses. The teacher is perceived as having power to punish by English-medium school children, whereas in the Tswana-medium schools children perceived the father as having power to punish. Children from Tswana-medium schools were more likely to enforce norms than the predicted English-medium school children. The school difference obtained for personal liking of an authority figure was opposite to that predicted. Children from Tswana-medium schools expressed liking for the headman more often than children from English-medium schools.

Examined in light of Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner's model several considerations emerge. Tswana-medium schools may be considered a monolithic setting i.e., most teachers and students are from the community and have similar expectations and sanctions. English-medium

schools are exemplary of a pluralistic setting i.e., the staff and student population are more diverse in backgrounds and their expectations and sanctions may be slightly different from those of the Tswana community. The Tswana-medium school child's perception of inter-system support is congruent with the authority orientation characteristic of monolithic settings. The Tswana-medium school child's liking for the traditional authority figure (headman) implies an identification process which is consistent with Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner's Level 2. The inconsistent response occurs in children's perceptions of the punitive power of authority figures. Interestingly, the father is the traditional power figure in the Tswana family and children from monolithic settings perceive him as powerful. In the pluralistic setting the power of the father has been usurped by the teacher who is viewed as powerful. The failure of children from English-medium schools to enforce rules as often as children from Tswana-medium schools suggests that children of English-medium schools may perceive the punitive power of the teacher as illegitimate and would therefore be unlikely to enforce the rules. On the other hand, the Tswana-medium school child's willingness to enforce rules may indicate that the father's punitive power is perceived as legitimate.

Parental Childrearing Practices and Attitudes

The following results while not predicted are beneficial in understanding Botswana structural dynamics. The data indicate that in middle classes extended families have more rules than nuclear families. The frequency of rules in the extended family suggests that more restrictions are placed on the child. Baumrind (1972) defines restrictive

control as extensive proscriptions and prescriptions which cover many areas of the child's life and need systems. Resultant child behaviors depend on the child's perceptions of parental authority. Just authority produces behavioral compliance accompanied by independence while arbitrary and overprotective authority promotes immaturity and rebellion. The structure of the extended family requires independence and responsibility from its young members. As a collective unit each child has duties which must be carried out in order to facilitate the efficiency of the unit. Thus, each individual must perceive the rules as legitimate in order to maintain the collective unit.

Other findings of this study suggest that the transitional state of Tswana society is causing a reassessment of the legitimization of the extended family structure. The data revealed that older parents/guardians use physical discipline techniques more often than younger parents/guardians. This suggests that younger parents/guardians are moving toward more psychological discipline techniques. According to Bronfenbrenner (1972) the same trend is occurring in Western society. He attributes this transition to exposure to expert advice which is adopted into childrearing practices. In Botswana, young adults are likely to be exposed to new ideas through education and mass media and as a result are more responsive to change. Moreover, adoption of new techniques may reflect the transitional state of the society. The transition from a cattle to a cash economy may necessitate a change in family structure. However, the nuclear family cannot maintain the constant surveillance required by more power assertive discipline techniques. As a result younger parents who are forming the nuclear family units are moving to more psychological discipline techniques

which result in more internalized control of behavior.

Support for the above interpretation comes from the Age X SES X Family Structure interaction. In middle classes, older respondents from nuclear families have more modern childrearing attitudes than older respondents from extended families. The nuclear family structure does not allow for the constant surveillance of children necessary to maintain conformity through the use of more punitive-discipline techniques. The failure to find family structure differences in the lower class families may indicate a limited amount of exposure to Western practices. Support for this supposition comes from the data on use of reward (praise for prosocial behavior). Middle class families tended to use reward more often than lower class families. The more frequent use of reward by middle class parent/guardians may reflect a movement toward more love-oriented socialization techniques.

Relationship between Parent Variables and Child Variables

The hypotheses regarding parental childrearing attitudes and discipline techniques and their relationship to children's perceptions of compliance systems were not confirmed. Moreover, the trends suggested the reverse of the predictions. Children of modern parents showed less personal liking for authority figures and perceived authority figures as having more punitive power. In addition, children of nonpunitive parents expressed less liking for authority figures. These findings suggest that the move toward more psychological discipline techniques and attitudes is related to less liking for authority and stronger perceptions of punitive power.

According to Dawson (1969) parents in transitional societies

have the most unresolved conflict about discipline techniques; i.e., whether to use psychological or punitive discipline. The dissonance experienced by the parents may result in inconsistent discipline. This inconsistency may be perceived by the child as coercive and irrational punishment. This perception could cause a breakdown in the child-agent relationship thereby resulting in dislike for authority. The failure to find significant differences in children's perceptions of authority based on differences in parental childrearing attitudes and practices suggests that dissonance may result in a group of parents/guardians who are neither traditional nor modern in their childrearing attitudes and practices. As a result children may not perceive any differences in parents/guardians who form the two groups, i.e., the modern group may not be significantly different from the traditional group.

Implications for Future Research

The present investigation, although not designed to test Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner's cross-cultural model of moral pluralism, identifies some problems with the model. A central problem is defining settings in terms of their anomic, monolithic, and pluralistic dimensions. The inconsistencies necessary for moral pluralism are not easily distinguished. Researchers who attempt to define inconsistent, divergent goals or other cultures may not define them the same way as members of the culture. For example, in the present study extended families which are considered characteristic of pluralistic settings by Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner, may actually represent monolithic settings, i.e., all family members are organized around a single set of goals. It is the individual's perception of the settings which will determine his

behavior. This leads to a central problem associated with cross-cultural research that of defining and interpreting data in cultural context.

Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner's incorporation of the first four stages of Kohlberg's stages confounds the basis for the authority-orientation, i.e., whether the child is governed by reward and punishment or identification. This is an important distinction for understanding the child's motivations for compliance.

Generally, Kohlberg has not found respondents in preliterate societies who perform at his Principled Level, a level which corresponds to Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner's Level 3. The present study suggests that schools play an important role in the transmission of values. A longitudinal study of children exposed to different school settings (e.g., Tswana-medium and English-medium) may reveal interesting findings in levels of moral cognition.

The present research focused on children's perceptions of authority and internalization of rules. However, it did not examine the relationship between cognitive structuring and children's perceptions of compliance systems. Central to this issue is the development of moral cognitions in a society that stresses group values rather than individual values. Future research should attempt to examine the interrelatedness of cognitions, perceptions and behavior.

In addition, the present study does not examine developmental trends. The age range of the children in this study would tend to place them developmentally at Level 2 of Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner's model which corresponds to Kohlberg's stages 1 to 4. This suggests that most children should be authority oriented. Subsequent research

should include respondents who are in the age ranges of the other levels of moral development.

As stated previously, Tswana society is in a state of flux due to technological and economic transitions which has resulted in an abrogation of authority. Parents have already begun to complain of loss of respect for authority and increased delinquency as evidenced in petty thefts and night roaming adolescent gangs. A future study on the effects of diminishing authority on subsequent behavior of children may give insights into ways of handling potential juvenile problems.

Inconsistent use of discipline practices may be related to potential delinquency problems. In laboratory settings inconsistent discipline resulted in resistance to extinction of negative behaviors. Baumrind (1972) also maintains that irrational and coercive discipline results in rebellion and immaturity. Further research should focus more on the aspects of the extended family in comparison to the nuclear family and the children's perceptions of interagent versus intraagent consistency in discipline.

Studies conducted in cultures which are different from the investigator's own are generally subject to limitations. Although the YIAPR was developed for cross-cultural use, translation and conceptual problems often affect the validity and reliability of standard instruments. Instruments developed after observations and interviews in the culture may reveal more accurate information.

The PI was developed in Botswana based on observations and unstructured interviews, however, it only assesses general childrearing practices. Most parents report that they use physical discipline.

Most children however, were more likely to reason with another child who broke an authority figure's rules than to try to punish the child themselves. In actuality, very little aggression towards peers is witnessed in the school or village. This finding is contrary to observational learning theory which suggests that children imitate the aggressive behavior (physical discipline) of their parents. Future research should examine childrearing practices and attitudes in greater detail along with structured observations of parental childrearing practices. In addition, the function of corporal punishment in Tswana society should be considered. The affect typically associated with physical punishment in Western culture is not characteristic of Tswana culture. Physical punishment serves to instruct the child rather than an emotional release for the parents. In actuality very little physical punishment was witnessed during the investigator's stay in Botswana.

The failure to find significant correlations between parent variables and child variables suggests that peer group influences and other social influence agents should be studied more carefully to determine their role in the moralization of school-age children.

In conclusion, the present study suggests, as Thema (1972) warns, that the indiscriminant adoption of Western ideals (in this case Western childrearing practices) may indeed result in the loss of a stable parent-child relationship. Future research should address itself to the effects of diminishing parental authority and increasing Western influences on the inculcation of values in Batswana children.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Questionnaire and Codebook

Your Ideas about People and Rules

(YIAPR)

Code No. _____

YOUR IDEAS ABOUT PEOPLE AND RULES

This is a study on how children think and feel about people and rules. Please answer each question and give only one answer for each question. The way to let us know how you feel is to circle the number under the answer that comes closest to the way you think.

There will be different kinds of questions and answers. Listed below are examples for you to practice on. Try this example.

Playing games is fun.

(Circle the number under one answer only.)

Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

Now try another example.

Going to the lands is a duty.

Always	Usually	Sometimes	Never	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

Try this one.

If other children break windows at school, I would:
(Circle the number under yes or no for each answer.)

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes 1	No 2
Tell them they are wrong	Yes 1	No 2
Tell my teacher	Yes 1	No 2
Tell my parents	Yes 1	No 2
Try to get even with them	Yes 1	No 2

Remember, we want to know what you think. You tell us by circling the number under the answer which is most like the way you feel.

Tear off here

Code No. _____

Name: _____

School: _____

Standard: _____

Ward: _____

PARENTAL OCCUPATION

When your mother works, she has a certain kind of job. (Circle the number beside the answer that best describes what your mother's job is or was like.)

1. She works with her hands.
(At a small store or restaurant, she cleans house for other people, washes clothes, cooks.)
 2. She works with her hands at a job that takes time to learn.
(Dressmaker, weaver, makes jerseys and hats.)
 3. She works in a store or office for somebody else, works for the government at a job that takes some time to learn.
(Secretary, typist, bank teller, teacher nurse.)
 4. She works at a job which requires many years of college and also special training.
(Doctor, lawyer, chemist.)
 5. She owns a small business or store.
(Owner of a restaurant, store, dressmaker shop.)
 6. She is not working outside of our home, lands or cattlepost now. She works at home, the lands, or cattlepost only.
(Sells beer or sour milk, cuts grass, builds mud houses, stamps mealies.)
 7. I don't know what my mother does.
-

When your father works, he has a certain kind of job.
(Circle the number beside the answer that best describes what your father's job is or was like.)

1. He works with his hands.
(Works in the mines, cuts trees, digs boreholes, drives a lorry.)
2. He works with his hands in a job that takes time to learn.
(Thatches roofs, carpenter, builder, shoemaker, automobile mechanic.)
3. He works in a store or office for somebody else, works for the government. He usually wears a shirt and tie or uniform to work.
(Post office clerk, bank teller, policeman, teacher, nurse.)
4. He works at a job which requires many years of college and also special training.
(Doctor, lawyer, chemist.)

5. He owns his own small store or business.
(Owner of a petrol station, store, restuarant.)
6. He is not working outside of our home, lands or cattlepost now.
He works at home, the lands or cattlepost only.
7. I don't know what my father does.

1. I am:
(Circle one answer only.)

8 years old 1	13 years old 6
9 years old 2	14 years old 7
10 years old 3	15 years old 8
11 years old 4	16 years old or older 9
12 years old 5	

2. I am a: Boy Girl
 1 2

3. These people live with you at your home:
(Circle Yes or No for each answer.)

Mother	Yes 1	No 2
Father	Yes 1	No 2
Grandfather	Yes 1	No 2
Aunts	Yes 1	No 2
Uncles	Yes 1	No 2
Your sister's children	Yes 1	No 2
Your brother's children	Yes 1	No 2
Cousins	Yes 1	No 2
Other family members	Yes 1	No 2

4. I have:
(Circle one answer only.)

1 sister
1
2 sisters
2
3 sisters
3
4 sisters
4
5 sisters or more
5
no sisters
9

5. I have:

- 1 brother
1
- 2 brothers
2
- 3 brothers
3
- 4 brothers
4
- 5 brothers or more
5
- no brothers
9

6. The church I belong to is:

- London Missionary
1
- Seven Day Adventist
2
- Anglican
3
- Apostolic
4
- Zionnist
5
- Roman Catholic
6
- Pentecostal
7
- Other
8
- I don't go to church
9

7. Does your mother want to help you when you need it?
(Circle the number under one answer only)

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------------|
| Never | Sometimes | Usually | Always | Don't Know |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9 |

8. Do teachers want to help you when you need it?

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------------|
| Never | Sometimes | Usually | Always | Don't Know |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9 |

9. Do hospital doctors want to help you when you need it?

- | | | | | |
|-------|-----------|---------|--------|------------|
| Never | Sometimes | Usually | Always | Don't Know |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 9 |

10. Does your father want to help you when you need it?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

11. Do Tswana doctors (dingaka tsa Setswana) want to help you when you need it?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

12. Do spiritual healers (baporofeti) want to help you when you need it?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

13. Do policemen want to help you when you need it?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

14. Do your friends want to help you when you need it?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

15. Does your headman want to help you when you need it?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

16. Do policemen have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

17. Do Tswana Doctors (dingaka tsa Setswana) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

18. Does your father have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

19. Does your mother have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

20. Do your teachers have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

21. Do spiritual healers have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

22. Does the headman have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

23. Do your friends have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

24. Do hospital doctors have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

25. If you do not obey your father's rules, does he punish you?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

Besides your father, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's rules?

(Circle yes, no, or don't know for each answer)

Mother	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Other family members	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Teachers	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Headman	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Friends	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Anyone else	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9

26. If you do not obey your teacher's rules, does your teacher punish you?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey?

Father	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Mother	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Other family members	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Headman	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Friends	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Anyone else	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9

27. If you do not obey your mother's rules, does she punish you?

Never 1	Sometimes 2	Usually 3	Always 4	Don't Know 9
------------	----------------	--------------	-------------	-----------------

Besides your mother, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your mother's rules?

Father	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Other family members	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Teacher	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Headman	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Friends	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Anyone else	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9

28. If you do not obey the rules of your village, are you punished by a policeman or headman?

Never 1	Sometimes 2	Usually 3	Always 4	Don't Know 9
------------	----------------	--------------	-------------	-----------------

Besides a policeman or headman, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the rules of your village?

Teachers	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Friends	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Mother	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9
Father	Yes 1	No 2	Don't Know 9

- | | | | | |
|--|----------------------|----------|---------|-----------------|
| | Other family members | Yes
1 | No
2 | Don't Know
9 |
| | Anyone else | Yes
1 | NO
2 | Don't Know
9 |
29. Do you like your father?
(Circle one answer only)
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
30. Do you like your mother?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
31. Do you like your teacher?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
32. Do you like spiritual healers (baporofeti)?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
33. Do you like your headman?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
34. Do you like hospital doctors?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
35. Do you like Tswana doctors (dingaka tsa Setswana)?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
36. When you break your father's rules, and no one knows about it,
do you feel bad?
- | | | | | |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Yes,
very much
4 | Yes,
much
3 | Yes, a
little
2 | No, not
at all
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-----------------|

37. When you break the rules of your teacher, and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Yes, very much	Yes, much	Yes, a little	No, not at all	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

38. When you break the rules of your church and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

No, not at all	Yes, a little	Yes, much	Yes, very much	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

39. When you break your mother's rules, and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

No, not at all	Yes, a little	Yes, much	Yes, very much	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

40. When you break the rules of your village (like throwing stones at buildings) and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

No, not at all	Yes, a little	Yes, much	Yes, very much	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

41. When you break policemen's rules, and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

No, not at all	Yes, a little	Yes, much	Yes, very much	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

42. When you break your friend's rules, and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

No, not at all	Yes, a little	Yes, much	Yes, very much	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

43. Who usually makes the rules in your family?
(Circle one answer only).

Father
1
Mother
2
Father and mother together
3
Grandmother
4

Grandfather
5
Grandmother and
grandfather together
6
Whole family
7

44. Who see that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?

Father
1
Mother
2
Mother and
father together
3
Grandmother
4
Grandfather
5
Grandmother and
grandfather together
6
Whole family
7

45. How often do you help make the decision in your family (your parents listen to what you think should be done)?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

46. How often do you help make decisions in your class (your teacher listens to what you think should be done)?

Never	Sometimes	Usually	Always	Don't Know
1	2	3	4	9

47. How many of the rules of your village are fair?

All	Most	Some	None	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

48. How many of your father's rules are fair?

All	Most	Some	None	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

49. How many of the policeman's rules are fair?

All	Most	Some	None	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

50. How many of your teacher's rules are fair?

All	Most	Some	None	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

51. How many of your mother's rules are fair?

All	Most	Some	None	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

52. How many of your friends rules are fair?

All	Most	Some	None	Don't Know
4	3	2	1	9

53. When other children break your father's rules, what do you do?
I would (Circle Yes or No for each answer).

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes 1	No 2
Ask them why	Yes 1	No 2
Tell them they are wrong	Yes 1	No 2
Tell my mother	Yes 1	No 2
Tell my father	Yes 1	No 2
Tell their parents	Yes 1	No 2
Try to punish them myself	Yes 1	No 2

54. When other children break a teacher's rules, what do you do?
I would

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes 1	No 2
Ask them why	Yes 1	No 2
Tell them they are wrong	Yes 1	No 2
Tell the teacher	Yes 1	No 2
Tell my parents	Yes 1	No 2
Tell the principal or other teachers	Yes 1	No 2
Tell their parents	Yes 1	No 2
Try to punish them myself	Yes 1	No 2

55. When other children break your mother's rules, what do you do?
I would

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes	No
	1	2
Ask them why	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell them they are wrong	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell my mother	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell my father	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell their parents	Yes	No
	1	2
Try to punish them myself	Yes	No
	1	2

56. When other children break the village's rules, what do you do?
I would

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes	No
	1	2
Ask them why	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell them they are wrong	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell the policeman	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell my parents	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell their parents	Yes	No
	1	2
Try to punish them myself	Yes	No
	1	2

57. When other children break the church's rules, what do you do?
I would

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes	No
	1	2
Ask them why	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell them they are wrong	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell the minister	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell my parents	Yes	No
	1	2
Tell their parents	Yes	No
	1	2
Try to punish them myself	Yes	No
	1	2

58. If your mother did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust like not letting you go on a school trip when all the other children got to go, what would you do? I would
(Circle Yes or No for each answer).

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes 1	No 2
Ask her why	Yes 1	No 2
Tell her she was unfair or unjust	Yes 1	No 2
Tell her not to do it again	Yes 1	No 2
Ask my father or other adult relative to stop her from doing it again	Yes 1	No 2
Talk to my brothers and sisters about it	Yes 1	No 2
Talk to my friends about it	Yes 1	No 2
Show her my anger	Yes 1	No 2

59. If a teacher did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust like scolding only you for making noise when others were making noise also, what would you do? I would

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes 1	No 2
Ask the teacher why	Yes 1	No 2
Tell the teacher he or she was unfair or unjust	Yes 1	No 2
Tell the teacher not to do it again	Yes 1	No 2
Tell other teachers or the principal that this teacher was unfair	Yes 1	No 2
Ask my parents or other adult relative to talk to the teacher or principal	Yes 1	No 2
Talk to my brothers and sisters about it	Yes 1	No 2
Talk to my friends about it	Yes 1	No 2
Show the teacher my anger	Yes 1	No 2
Get even with or get back at the teacher	Yes 1	No 2

60. If your father did something to you that you thought was unfair, like punishing only you when another child or a brother or sister starts a fight, what would you do? I would

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes 1	No 2
Ask him why	Yes 1	No 2
Tell him he was unfair or unjust	Yes 1	No 2
Tell him not to do it again	Yes 1	No 2
Ask my mother or other adult relative to stop him from doing it again	Yes 1	No 2
Talk to my brothers and sisters about it	Yes 1	No 2
Talk to my friends about it	Yes 1	No 2
Show him my anger	Yes 1	No 2
Get even with or get back at him	Yes 1	No 2

61. If a policeman or headman did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, like scolding you for doing something you did not do, what would you do? I would

Do nothing or tell no one	Yes 1	No 2
Ask him why	Yes 1	No 2
Tell him he was unfair or unjust	Yes 1	No 2
Tell him not to do it again	Yes 1	No 2
Tell other policemen or headmen that he was unfair	Yes 1	No 2
Ask my parents or other adult relative to talk to the police- man or headman about it.	Yes 1	No 2
Talk to my friends about it	Yes 1	No 2
Show the policeman or headman my anger	Yes 1	No 2
Get even with or get back at him	Yes 1	No 2

62. Which is worse?
(Circle one answer only)

To fight with another child in the classroom or on the school ground.

1

To disturb the classroom and teacher by making noise, yelling in the classroom, or not obeying the teacher.

2

To take something that belongs to the school like balls or books.

3

63. Which is worse?

To insult someone and call him bad names so that people do not think as much of him.

1

To take something that belongs to someone else like a jersey or pen.

2

To play on the road.

3

64. Which is worse?

To steal something that belongs to your friends.

1

To say things about your friends that are not true.

2

To refuse to do something that you and your friends have already agreed to do.

3

65. Which is worse?

To disobey the rules of your parents.

1

To take money from your parents or other members of your family.

2

To tell your parents your brother or sister did something they didn't do.

3

66. Whose punishment do you fear the least?
(Circle one answer only).

Mother

1

Grandmother

5

Father
2
Friends
3
Teachers
4

Grandfather
6
Policeman
7
Headman
8

67. Whose punishment do you fear the most?

Mother
1
Father
2
Friends
3
Teachers
4

Grandmother
5
Grandfather
6
Policeman
7
Headman
8

68. Can hospital doctors cure people when they get sick?

Always 4	Usually 3	Sometimes 2	Never 1	Don't Know 9
-------------	--------------	----------------	------------	-----------------

69. Can spiritual healers (baporofeti) cure people when they get sick?

Always 4	Usually 3	Sometimes 2	Never 1	Don't Know 9
-------------	--------------	----------------	------------	-----------------

70. Can Tswana doctors (dingaka tsa Setswana) cure people when they get sick?

Always 4	Usually 3	Sometimes 2	Never 1	Don't Know 9
-------------	--------------	----------------	------------	-----------------

71. Do spiritual healers (baporofeti) use herbs to treat people when they get sick?

Always 4	Usually 3	Sometimes 2	Never 1	Don't Know 9
-------------	--------------	----------------	------------	-----------------

72. Do Tswana doctors (dingaka tsa Setswana) use herbs to treat people when they get sick?

Always 4	Usually 3	Sometimes 2	Never 1	Don't Know 9
-------------	--------------	----------------	------------	-----------------

73. Do hospital doctors use herbs to treat people when they get sick?

Always 4	Usually 3	Sometimes 2	Never 1	Don't Know 9
-------------	--------------	----------------	------------	-----------------

74. Do Tswana Doctors (dingaka tsa Setswana) have the power to bewitch people?

- | | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
|--|-------------|--------------|----------------|------------|-----------------|
| 75. Do spiritual healers (baporofeti) have the power to bewitch people? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
| 76. Do hospital doctors have the power to bewitch people? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
| 77. Do spiritual healers (baporofeti) have the power to make people go mad? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
| 78. Do hospital doctors have the power to make people go mad? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
| 79. Do Tswana doctors (dingaka tsa Setswana) have the power to make people go mad? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
| 80. Have you been treated by a hospital doctor? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
| 81. Have you ever been treated by a spiritual healer (baporofeti)? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |
| 82. Have you ever been treated by a Tswana doctor (dingaka tsa Setswana)? | | | | | |
| | Always
4 | Usually
3 | Sometimes
2 | Never
1 | Don't Know
9 |

COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS
CODEBOOK

Card 1

<u>Variable Number</u>	<u>Card Col Number</u>	<u>Field Width</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	01-03	3	Respondent number
2	04	1	Card number
3	06	1	School (Face sheet) 1 = Tshekedi 2 = Riverside 3 = Swaneng 4 = St. Gabriel
4	08	1	Standard (Face sheet): 1 = Stand 5, 2 = Stand 6, 3 = Stand 7
5	10	1	Socio-economic Status (P0): 1 = Low (1,2,6), 2 = High (3,4,5)
6	12	1	Age: 1 = 8 yrs, 2 = 9 yrs, 3 = 10 yrs, 4 = 11 yrs, 5 = 12 yrs, 6 = 13 yrs, 7 = 14 yrs, 8 = 15 yrs, 9 = 16+ yrs
7	14	1	Sex: 1 = Boy, 2 = Girl
8	16	1	Family Structure (3): 1 = Nuclear (Max = 4 yes), 2 = Extended (Min = 5 yes)
9	18-23	6	Attachment: willingness to help (7,8,10,13,14,15) 1 = Never 2 = Sometimes 3 = Usually 4 = Always
9a	24	1	Don't Know (9) = frequency
10	26-29	4	Attachment: liking for (29,30, 31,33) 1 = No, not at all 2 = Yes, a little 3 = Yes, much 4 = Yes, very much
10a	31	1	Don't Know (9) = frequency
11	33-38	6	Power to punish (16,18,19,20, 22,23) 1 = Never 2 = Sometimes 3 = Usually 4 = Always
11a	39	1	Don't Know (9) = frequency
12	41-68	28	Intersystem support (25-28) 1 = Never 1 = yes 2 = Sometimes 2 = No

<u>Variable Number</u>	<u>Card Col Number</u>	<u>Field With</u>	<u>Description</u>
			3 = Usually 4 = Always
12a	69	1	Don't know (9) = frequency
12	01-03	3	Respondent number
13	04	1	Card number
14	06-12	7	Internalization: subjective response (36-42) 1 = No, not at all 2 = Yes, a little 3 = Yes, much 4 = Yes, very much
14a	13	1	Don't Know (9) = frequency
15	15-50	35	Internalization: Identification (53-57) 1 = yes, 2 = No

Note:

1. Blanks should be left for missing data or multiple answers.
2. Don't Knows must be counted for each variable and total number of Don't Knows placed in the subset A category.

APPENDIX B

Questionnaire and Codebook

Parent Interview

(PI)

Ward _____ Child's Name _____

Code No. _____

PARENT INTERVIEW

Respondent's name _____ Age _____ Sex M / F

Relationship to child _____

Education Level _____

Occupation _____ Source of income _____

Marital status: ___single
 ___married (Spouse's occupation _____)
 ___separated
 ___divorced
 ___widowed

Ethnic affiliation _____

Church affiliation _____

If B is not mother ask:

Mother's name _____ Age _____ Education _____

Occupation _____ Source of Income _____

Marital status: ___single
 ___married (Spouse's occupation _____)
 ___separated
 ___divorced
 ___widowed

Ethnic affiliation _____ Church affiliation _____

Members of household Age Sex Relationship to child

1. Which of the following are rules in your family?

☐ Children must obey their parents.
☐ Children must greet their parents in the morning.
☐ Children are not allowed to go outside the yard without permission.
☐ Children must wash their hands before they eat.
☐ Child must not quarrel among themselves.
☐ Children should not eat at other people's houses.
☐ Children should come home on time.
☐ All chores must be finished before going out to play.
☐ Other

2. Who usually makes the rules in your family?

☐ Mother
☐ Father
☐ Grandmother
☐ Grandfather
☐ Other:

3. Who sees to it that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?

☐ Mother	☐ Aunt
☐ Father	☐ Uncle
☐ Grandfather	☐ Elder sisters
☐ Grandmother	☐ Elder brothers
☐ Neighbors	☐ Other:

4. What do you do when your child refuses to obey you?

☐ Verbal punishment
☐ Physical punishment
☐ Withdrawal of love
☐ Give them a punishment to do (e.g., sweeping the yard)
☐ Material deprivation
☐ Other:

5. What do you do when your children fight among themselves?

☐ Verbally punish all
☐ Physically punish all
☐ Withdrawal of love
☐ Material deprivation
☐ Punish the one who started the argument
☐ Other:

6. Are your children ever allowed to help make decisions?

☐ Yes. What kind?

☐ No. Why not?

7. If your child asked you to help him do any of the following would you be willing?
- ☐ Cook
 - ☐ Stamp mealies
 - ☐ Fetch water
 - ☐ Sweep
 - ☐ Wash dishes
 - ☐ Wash clothes
 - ☐ Make a fire
 - ☐ Fix tea or coffee
 - ☐ Other:
8. What would you like (child's name) to be when he/she grows up?

Situations

Directions: I will give you some examples of situations that parents and children get into; I would like for you to tell me what you would do for each example.

Situation 1:

(Child's name) tells you that you are being unfair because you refuse to let him go on a school trip with the rest of his classmates. He will be the only one not going but you have your reasons for not letting him go. He starts to quarrel with you. What would you do?

- ☐ Explain why you won't let him/her go.
- ☐ Tell him/her he should not talk back and your decision is final.
- ☐ Punish him/her for talking back.
- ☐ Let him/her go on the trip.
- ☐ Other:

Situation 2:

(Child's name) was beaten by a neighbor because he had been fighting with the neighbor's child. What would you do?

- ☐ Quarrel with the neighbor
- ☐ Punish your child
- ☐ Do nothing
- ☐ Ask the neighbor what happened
- ☐ Other:

Situation 3:

You return home to find (Child's name) has swept the yard, fetched water, cleaned the rondavel (house) washed dishes without being asked. What would you do?

- ☐ Praise him
- ☐ Reward him with material gifts
- ☐ Ask why he had done all those things
- ☐ Do nothing
- ☐ Other:

Situation 4:

You are very busy stamping mealies or caring for a younger child when (child's name) comes home with some work from school that he/she is very proud of. What would you do?

- ☐ Ask him to wait until you have finished
- ☐ Stop what you are doing and look at his work
- ☐ Do nothing
- ☐ Other:

Situation 5:

(Child's name) was beaten by a shopkeeper because he was caught stealing sweets from the store. What would you do?

- ☐ Tell the shopkeeper he should have told you and you would have punished him yourself.
- ☐ Punish him again
- ☐ Scold him
- ☐ Do nothing
- ☐ Other

Statements

Directions: I will read you some statements and I would like for you to tell me if you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with each statement.

1. Babies should be doctored to keep them from getting diseases from other children.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
2. A child should be thrashed often so that he grows up to be a good and wise adult.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
3. If a child is punished at school he should also be punished at home.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
4. If a woman is unable to have children she should go to a spiritual healer.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
5. Children who don't obey their parents should be sent to the kgotla to be disciplined.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
6. Women who work soon lose respect for their husbands.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
7. Hospital doctors are able to cure all childhood illnesses.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

8. Once they reach school age children should be able to take care of themselves.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
9. Bottlefeeding produces healthier babies than breastfeeding.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
10. Initiation ceremonies should be started again in order to teach young people discipline and self-control.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
11. Women should be able to decide when they want to have children.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree
12. Tlhogwana and jujuwana are best treated by traditional healers.
☐ Strongly Agree ☐ Agree ☐ Disagree ☐ Strongly Disagree

PARENT INTERVIEW

Codebook

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Column</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Description</u>
1	1-3	3	Respondent Number
2	4	1	Card Number
3	6-7	2	Age: 1 = 14-34 2 = 35-45 3 = 46 +
4	8	1	Relationship to child 1 = mother; 2 = father; 3 = grandmother; 4 = grandfather; 5 = cousin; 6 = aunt; 7 = sister; 8 = uncle; 9 = brother
5	9	1	SES: 1 = low; 2 = middle
6	10	1	Marital Status: 1 = single; 2 = married 3 = separated; 4 = divorced; 5 = widowed
7	11	1	Family Structure: 1 = nuclear; 2 = extended
8	13-14	2	Rules (Frequency)
9	15-16	1	Makes rules (2), Enforce rules (3): 1 = mother, 2 = father; 3 = grandmother; 4 = grandfather; 5 = mother and father; 6 = aunt/uncle; 7 = cousin; 8 = sister/ brother; 9 = other
11	17	1	Refuses to obey (4) 1 = physical punishment 2 = material deprivation 3 = assign punishment 4 = lovewithdrawal/verbal punishment 5 = induction 6 = other
12	18	1	Fighting (5) 1 = tell younger to obey elder 2 = physically punish all 3 = verbally punish all 4 = punish one who started the fight 5 = talk with all
13	19	1	Decision (6) 1 = no; 2 = yes
14	20	1	Willingness to help (7) frequency
15	22	1	Situation 1 1 = punish for talking back 2 = decision is final 3 = explain 4 = let go on trip 6 = other

<u>Variable</u>	<u>Column</u>	<u>Range</u>	<u>Description</u>
16	23	1	Situation 2: 1 = nothing; ask neighbor 2 = nothing; seek outside help 3 = punish; talk 4 = nothing; talk 5 = ask child, nothing, talk 6 = other
17	24	1	Situation 3 1 = pleased; do nothing 2 = pleased; should do 3 = praise him to others 4 = reward with gifts 5 = praise him 6 = other
18	25	1	Situation 4 1 = wait 2 = do nothing 3 = stop; look at work 4 = praise his work 6 = other
19	26	1	Sitation 5 1 = send to kgotla 2 = punish again 3 = pleased; do nothing 4 = talk with shopkeeper; make retribution 5 = talk with child 6 = other
20	28-39	1	Statements (1-6, 8, 10,12) 1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = disagree; 4 = strongly disagree Statements (7, 9, 11) 4 = strongly agree; 3 = agree; 2 = disagree; 1 = strongly disagree

APPENDIX C

Tables

Table 9. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Authority Figures' Willingness to Help

Source	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	p
Sex (A)	6	398.00	2.36	.030
School (B)	18	1126.20	1.00	.452
Family (C)	6	398.00	1.00	
A X B	18	1126.20	1.00	
A X C	6	398.00	1.18	.317
B X C	18	1126.20	1.34	.156
A X B X C	18	1126.20	1.15	.294

Table 10. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Liking for Authority Figures

Source	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	p
Sex (A)	4	400.00	2.58	.037
School (B)	12	1058.59	3.67	.001
Family (C)	4	400.00	1.38	.239
A X B	12	1058.59	1.21	.272
A X C	4	400.0	1.66	.158
B X C	12	1058.59	1.00	
A X B X C	12	1058.59	1.00	

Table 11. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Authority Figures' Power to Punish

Source	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	p
Sex (A)	6	398.00	2.12	.050
School (B)	18	1126.20	1.94	.010
Family (C)	6	398.00	1.10	.364
A X B	18	1126.20	1.00	
A X C	6	398.00	1.68	.125
B X C	18	1126.20	1.00	
A X B X C	16	1126.20	1.00	

Table 12. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Perceptions of Intersystem Support

Source	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	p
Sex (A)	4	400.00	1.034	.389
School (B)	12	1058.59	2.85	.001
Family (C)	4	400.00	3.13	.015
A X B	12	1058.59	1.23	.256
A X C	4	400.00	2.34	.005
B X C	12	1058.59	1.26	.234
A X B X C	12	1058.59	1.00	

Table 13. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Reported Guilt Feelings for Noncompliance

Source	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	p
Sex (A)	7	397.00	2.14	.039
School (B)	21	1140.52	1.07	.369
Family (C)	7	397.00	1.15	.331
A X B	21	1140.52	1.41	.104
A X C	7	397.00	1.08	.377
B X C	21	1140.52	1.00	
A X B X C	21	1140.52	1.00	

Table 14. Multivariate Analysis of Variance of Children's Willingness to Enforce Authority Figures' Rules

Source	Hypothesis df	Error df	F	p
Sex (A)	5	399.00	1.00	
School (B)	15	1101.86	3.50	.001
Family (C)	5	399.00	1.00	
A X B	15	1101.86	1.00	
A X C	5	399.00	1.00	
B X C	15	1101.86	1.04	.410
A X B X C	15	1101.86	1.15	.302

APPENDIX D

**Summary: Continuities between the Practices of
Traditional and Scientific Botswana
Heal Care Practitioners**

Summary: Continuities between the Practices of
Traditional and Scientific Botswana
Health Care Practitioners

The major project was designed to study continuities between scientific and traditional health care practitioners and health seeking behavior. The project was oriented toward the development of policy for the use of traditional healers in a national health care program.

Observations, participant observations, structured interviews, and unstructured interviews were used to obtain information on health care services and health seeking behavior. Health care practitioners, these included traditional healers, spiritual or faith healers, and scientific healers, were interviewed at their health care facilities. Health seekers were interviewed at their homes.

The data indicate that collaborations between faith healers and scientific healers was not justified because of the incidental nature of faith healing. Faith healer generally received a spiritual calling and only healed as a consequence of their faith in God. Collaborations between traditional healers and scientific healers were recommended. Traditional healers already receive both formal and informal training therefore a basis for additional training exists. With sensitive programming it was suggested that traditional and scientific healers could learn from each other. The formation of Dingaka Associations (Traditional healer associations) further substantiates the desire of traditional healers to be considered reputable, legitimate medical practitioners.

The problem of training an adequate number of local physicians

suggests that role responsibilities within the hospital settings be clarified to prevent underutilization of nurses. Nurses actually perform more services (i.e., diagnose and treat) than they are credited. Moreover, it was suggested that a large cadre of nurses could serve as the primary health care providers of the Botswana health care delivery system.

The data on the efficacy of treatment was not conclusive. Most people were satisfied with services received from the scientific sector. However, certain illnesses were deemed best treated by traditional healers or faith healers. Traditional healers and faith healers provided support systems for patients' emotional needs whereas, scientific healers were more concerned with curing illnesses. Moreover, most scientific healers were from European countries and were not sensitive to the cultural and social differences of their patients. Overall, most people had received care from all three sectors sometimes concurrently or serially.

APPENDIX E
Literature Review

LITERATURE REVIEW

This appendix is divided into four sections which present a review of pertinent literature. The first section includes an overview of the major theories of moral development. The second section reviews empirical research on the effects of discipline on moral development. Three discipline techniques are discussed; power assertion, love-withdrawal, and induction. The third section reviews selectively, cross-cultural research conducted on children of Africa. A summary of the literature and its implications are presented in the final section.

Theoretical Considerations

Several developmental theories have emerged which attempt to explain how children internalize the moral standards of their societies. The cognitive-developmental approach is one of the dominant models used to explain the acquisition of moral judgments. Piaget (1932) conceptualized two stages of moral development: moral realism or heteronomous morality and moral relativism or autonomous morality. Moral realism is characterized by an heteronomous individual whose judgments are absolute and rigid and are determined by the dictates of an external authority. Moral relativism is characterized by an autonomous individual whose judgments are more flexible and are based on intentions of acts and social interaction.

Kohlberg (1964) has extended Piaget's two stage theory of moral

development to correspond more precisely to Piaget's stages of cognitive development. He defines six stages which form three levels of moral development: the Preconventional Level, the Conventional Level, and the Postconventional or Principled Level. At Level 1 the preconventional individual perceives rules and social expectations as being external; at Level 2 the conventional individual has identified with or internalized the rules and social expectations of those in authority; at Level 3 the principled individual has differentiated himself from the rules and expectations of others and begins to define his own values based on self-chosen principles.

Both theorists assume invariant sequential stages which result from the development of cognitive structures. Environmental factors are relevant only to the extent that they promote social interaction. Social interaction through role taking is assumed to stimulate the cognitive structures and facilitate the resolution of dissonance resulting from conflict between principles and action.

The cognitive-developmental model has contributed to an understanding of how moral judgments are made but its assumption of universality is questionable. Cross-cultural variations, social class variations within the same culture, and inconsistencies between levels of moral cognition and actual behavior suggest that environmental influences may play a more dominant role in moralization than acknowledged by cognitive-developmental theories.

Social learning theorists, on the other hand, have stressed the importance of environmental antecedents of moral behavior. The underlying assumptions of psychoanalytic theory form the basis of their formulations regarding moral development. A basic Freudian assumption

is that past experiences affect subsequent behavior. Morality develops from the child's fear of parental reprisals for covert hostility harbored by the child against the parents because of past frustrations and punishments. It is this anxiety which causes the child to internalize the values of the parents.

Mowrer (see Hoffman, 1970) attempted to bridge the gap between psychoanalytic theory and social learning theory by proposing that the reduction of anxiety becomes positively rewarding for the child and thereby causes the child to inhibit socially unacceptable behaviors.

Garbarino and Bronfenbrenner (1976) acknowledge the influence of cognitive-developmental theories on the understanding of how moral judgments are determined but also point out the inadequacies of the existing theories in accounting for cultural variation. They also admit the shortcomings of "type" theories such as those developed by Bronfenbrenner (1962) which do not explain the developmental processes underlying the acquisition of morality. Using a dialectical approach Garbarino and Bronfenbrenner (1976) attempt to incorporate the best of both theoretical orientations into a cross-cultural theory of socialization of morality. Both developmental and social components are incorporated into the theory. Bronfenbrenner's type theory forms the social component and Kohlberg's stage theory the developmental component.

Bronfenbrenner's typology consists of five categories of moral judgments and behavior: a) the self-oriented individual is motivated by hedonistic drives without regard for the desires and expectations of others; b) the authority-oriented individual accepts parental demands and values as unalterable and generalizes this orientation to

other adults and authority figures; c) the peer-oriented individual conforms to peer group influences which are autonomous of adult authority and ultimately of all social authority; d) the collective-oriented individual is committed to group goals which take precedence over individual desires, obligation and interpersonal relationships; e) the objectively oriented individual's values are functionally autonomous--he responds on the basis of principles rather than orientations toward social agents.

Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner divide Bronfenbrenner's types into three developmental levels which correspond to Kohlberg's cognitive-developmental stages. The first level consists of Kohlberg's premoral stage and Bronfenbrenner's self-oriented type. An individual at this level is one who is basically "unsocialized," whose behavior is directed by hedonistic drives, and whose only aim is self satisfaction. Level 2 incorporates the authority-orientation, peer orientation, and collective-orientation types with Kohlberg's stages 1 to 4. This level consists of patterns of morality having allegiance and orientation to some system of social agents as their dominant characteristic. The individual's behavior is directed by those agents who are important to his emotional and social needs. At level 3; values, principles, and ideas rather than social agents are the directing forces. This corresponds to Kohlberg's stages 5 and 6 and Bronfenbrenner's objective-orientation.

The model further assumes that movement from level 1 to level 2 must be based on a strong attachment to social agents. Children must feel as if they belong to and with a group or individual in order to be motivated to adopt the principles and values of those

individuals. Pluralism forms the basis for transition from level 2 to level 3. A pluralistic setting is one in which social agents and entities represent somewhat different expectations, sanctions, and rewards for members of the society. Gabarino and Bronfenbrenner contrast this type of social structure with monolithic settings and anomic settings. A monolithic setting is one in which all social agents and entities are organized around a single set of goals or principles. Anomic settings are comprised of social agents and entities which are either absent or represent a multiplicity of divergent forces without any normative or institutional coherence. Pluralism is viewed as encouraging morality because the child is exposed to conflicting ideas; the decision making process helps to generate a higher order moral system.

Saltzstein (1976) suggests that Kelman's processes of social influence parallel Kohlberg's levels of moral judgments. Kelman (1958) proposes three processes of social influence which effect attitude change: compliance, identification, and internalization. In the compliance process the individual conforms because he or she perceives the influence agent as having the resources to reward or punish; this type of power is referred to as reward power and coercive power, respectively. The compliance process is manifested only under conditions of constant surveillance by an external agent. Identification occurs when individuals conform to the requests of influence agents because they perceive their relationship with the influence agent as attractive. This type of power may be either referent power or legitimate power. Identification is manifested only as long as the perceived relationship with the influencing agent remains salient.

Internalization results when an individual is influenced because he perceives the values of the influence agent as congruent with his own principles. This type of power is expert power; it is manifested as long as the values are congruent. Compliance corresponds with the preconventional level, identification with the conventional level, and internalization with the principled level. Saltzstein further contends that discipline techniques are essentially processes of social influence: power assertion corresponds with the compliance process, love withdrawal with the identification process and induction with the internalization process.

Effects of Discipline on Moral Development

Three types of discipline techniques have emerged from the literature on moral development: power assertion, love withdrawal and induction (Hoffman, 1970). Power assertion techniques are those which use physical punishment, material deprivation, physical force or threats of force to control the child's behavior. Love-withdrawal techniques refer to those techniques used by the parents to express anger or disapproval of the child's behavior through nonphysical means (e.g., ignoring the child, isolation, and threats to leave the child alone). With induction techniques the parent explains to the child the consequences of his or her behavior and/or the reasons why it is necessary for the child to change behavior.

Power Assertion

Most studies consistently reflect the negative relationship between power assertion and moral development (Allinsmith & Greening, 1955; Hoffman & Saltzstein, 1967; Mackinnon, 1938; Sears, Maccoby &

Levin, 1957). Hoffman (1970) reports that power assertion is negatively correlated with such moral indices as resistance to deviation, guilt, internal orientation, and confession. The above studies suggest that power assertion does not produce internalization of moral standards. However, punishment has been reported to be an effective inhibitor of behavior.

Timing. It is clear that punishment tends to inhibit behavior but the aspects of punishment that produce behavioral compliance are unclear. Black, Solomon and Whiting (1960) studied the effects of timing of punishment on producing resistance to temptation in young puppies. Puppies who were punished (i.e., swatted with a newspaper) for approaching a bowl of forbidden food were more likely to avoid the prohibited food than those who were punished after having eaten the food. The effects of timing of punishment on children's behavior was observed by Walters, Parke and Cane (1965). Boys between 6 and 8 years of age were verbally rebuked for either approaching an attractive toy or for touching an attractive toy. Their findings were consistent with those of Black, Solomon and Whiting (1960). Children who were punished just prior to touching the toy were more reluctant to touch the restricted toy than those who were punished after having held the toy. This behavior was observed in the absence of an external authority figure. Other investigators report similar findings (Aronfreed & Rever, 1965; Parke & Walters, 1967; Cheyne & Walters, 1969).

The above studies indicate that punishment is more effective when administered while the child is in the initiatory stage of committing a prohibited act than after the act has been committed. Another aspect of timing concerns the interval between commission of the act and

delivery of punishment. This is a question of delay of punishment. Studying the effects of delay of punishment, Aronfreed (1972) found that the longer the delay between the initiation of the act and the onset of punishment the less likely the child was to inhibit his response. Walters (1964) found that learning was faster when punishment was delivered immediately after an error was made than when delayed 10 or 30 seconds. Errors were punished by a loud noise and the removal of a token.

Punishment has been shown to be effective in learning situations and resistance to temptation situations when administered immediately following incorrect behavior or when administered prior to the onset of deviant acts. However, it is unlikely that socializing agents very often administer punishment in natural settings as it has been administered in the experimental settings noted above. Therefore, other features of punishment which contribute to moral behavior must be considered; among these are intensity and consistency of punishment.

Intensity. Parke and Walters (1967) studied the effects of intensity of punishment on children's behavior. A loud noise and a moderate noise acted as aversive stimuli. Children who were punished with a loud noise were less likely to touch a prohibited toy in the experimenter's absence than a child who was punished with a moderate noise. Similar findings have been reported by Cheyne and Walters (1969) and Parke (1969).

Parke (1969) examined the relationship between intensity of punishment and timing of punishment. Under conditions of high intensity punishment, the degree of inhibition was similar for those punished

early and those punished late. Under low intensity conditions the timing effect was present; that is, early punished subjects showed greater inhibitions than late punished subjects.

A study by Aronfreed and Leff (1972) suggests that high intensity punishment may not always be effective in controlling behavior. Children were given simple discrimination tasks and complex tasks with the intensity of punishment varied for both conditions. When tasks were more complex children under high intensity punishment were more likely to transgress than were children under low intensity conditions. When tasks were simple high intensity punishment was more effective in reducing transgressions. These findings suggest that when the anxiety level is too high learning is inhibited.

Consistency. Since consistency of punishment is difficult to maintain in naturalistic settings it becomes important to determine the effects of inconsistent punishment. Naturalistic studies of delinquency support the contention that inconsistent punishment contributes to deviant behavior (Glueck & Glueck, 1950; McCord, McCord & Howard, 1961). Park and Deur (1972) and Deur and Parke (1970) attempted to control for the effects of inconsistency of punishment in a laboratory setting. Children were placed in three conditions: no reinforcement, intermittent punishment (50%) and consistent punishment (100%) for aggressive behavior toward a Bobo doll. The findings indicate that continuous punishment was more effective in prohibition negative behavior than intermittent punishment.

The problem of using consistent punishment after inconsistent punishment was also explored by Deur and Parke (1970). They report that those subjects who were inconsistently punished were most

resistant to extinction. They concluded that socializing agents who use inconsistent punishment build up the child's resistance to extinction of negative behavior even after consistent punishment is used because behaviors that are intermittently punished are more resistant to extinction.

Relationship between Agent and Recipient of Punishment

The relationship between the parent and child is an important determinant of the effectiveness of punishment. It is generally assumed that a child is more likely to comply to a nurturant agent's request than to a hostile agent. The findings of Sears, Maccoby and Levine (1957) suggest that punishment is more effective when used by nurturant parents. Mothers who were rated as warm and affectionate report spanking to be an effective means of discipline; mothers who were rated as cold and hostile reported spanking to be ineffectual.

Parke and Walters (1967) studied the relationship between agent and recipient of punishment in a laboratory setting. One group of boys interacted with a female experimenter for 10 minutes on two successive days. During this period attractive materials were provided and the experimenter encouraged and played with the child. A second group of boys played with unattractive materials for two 10-minute sessions with a non-communicative experimenter. Both groups underwent punishment training and were then tested for response inhibition. Those who had experienced a positive interaction with the experimenter were more likely to inhibit their responses than those who had impersonal contact.

It has been suggested that the affectional relationship can be used as an effective means of controlling behavior without the combined

use of punishment. Those who advocate a more permissive form of discipline argue that physical punishment has negative side effects. Bandura (1967) maintains that aggressive parents act as aggressive models for their children. On the other hand, Parke (1972) argues that the aggression may not be a result of observational learning but due to reinforcement provided by aggressive parents for aggressive acts committed outside the home environment. Moreover, it may be the effect of the child's behavior on the parent, i.e., overly aggressive children may require more punitive techniques to control them. Parke (1972) admits that the research by Bandura (1967) does suggest that exposure to overly aggressive models tends to increase aggressive acts in children. However, he cautions against generalizing from Bobo dolls to real life situations.

Research by Slabey and Parke (1972) exemplifies the consequence of exposure to aggressive models on real life situations. Children's aggressive behavior toward their peers was observed after having been exposed to aggressive models on film. One group saw an adult spanking a child for touching a forbidden toy and a second group saw a child reasoned with after touching the toy. Children who saw the physically punitive adult were more aggressive toward their peers than those who saw the adult use verbal reasoning.

Although the above laboratory studies indicate punishment is an effective inhibitor of behavior the long range effects of punishments such as spanking, still remain questionable. Furthermore, other consequences of overly, indiscriminate punishment may be a breakdown in the parent-child relationship. The child may try to avoid the parent or in inescapable situations become passive and withdrawn (Seligman,

Maier, & Solomon, 1969). Other forms of discipline have been suggested as a means of offsetting the negative consequences of physical punishment. These include more permissive forms of discipline such as love withdrawal and induction.

Love Withdrawal

To date, the studies on the effects of love withdrawal on internalization have been inconclusive (Hoffman, 1970). Parke (1967) reports that love withdrawal can effectively increase resistance to deviation in young children. Two conditions were employed. In one condition the children interacted with a nurturant adult for 10 minutes; in the second condition they interacted for 5 minutes and were then ignored by the adult for 5 minutes. They were placed in a resistance-to-deviation situation and told if they did not touch the attractive toy they would be allowed to play with the adult again. Subjects in the nurturance withdrawal condition deviated less often than subjects in the continuous nurturance condition. It was also found that the effect was most marked for girls experiencing withdrawal of a nurturant female agent. Parke's (1967) findings were consistent with those of Hartup (1958) and Rosenblith (1959) who found that withdrawal of affection may motivate the child to attempt to reestablish the affectional relationship between himself and the nurturant agent.

A study by Burton, Allinsmith and Maccoby (1966) produced results contrary to those of Parke (1967). They found that girls were not influenced by nurturance withdrawal but boys were. However, boys were influenced in the opposite direction; they were more likely to deviate (in the case of cheating) if nurturance had been withdrawn than if it

had been continuous. They suggest that the boys may have cheated to get a high score in order to regain the attention of the experimenter.

The effects of love withdrawal on the strategies children use to solve a probability learning task was tested by Lewis and Richman (1964). Children in the love withdrawal condition sought the approval of the adult and were less interested in attempting a solution to the problem than children in the continuous nurturance condition.

As indicated by Burton, Allinsmith and Maccoby (1966) the effect of affection on the internalization process is unclear. Instead of causing prosocial behavior a strong affectional relationship may cause asocial behavior. Hoffman (1970) infers that affection is not an antecedent of internalization but operates as a background or contextual variable, whose function is to orient the child positively toward the parent and thus make him more receptive to parental influence.

Induction

The results of studies on induction techniques also are not clear. While Aronfreed (1961) found a positive relationship between induction and resistance to deviation Burton et al. (1961) found a negative relationship. A study by Bandura and Walters (1959) reports that parents of aggressive boys tend to use reasoning less often than parents of non-aggressive boys. In contrast, studies by Hoffman and Saltzstein (1967) and Hoffman (1963) report no relationship between induction and aggression. Aronfreed (1968) studied the effects of cognitive structuring on prohibiting deviant acts. He found that providing a rationale does increase the probability that a child will suppress a prohibited act.

Studies which look at the effects of reasoning on punishment

may shed some light on the effect of reasoning on moral development. Aronfreed (1972) explored the effect of reasoning on the timing of punishment. The timing of punishment was varied with two groups of children. The first group acted as a control; the second was given a rationale which reflected the child's intentions. The results indicated that when a rationale was given along with a punishment the timing effect of punishment disappeared. That is, immediate punishment was no longer more effective than delayed punishment in inhibiting deviant acts. Other investigators who focused on the consequences of the child's behavior instead of the child's intentions found a similar relationship (Cheyne & Walters, 1969; Parke, 1969).

The effects of delayed punishment and reasoning were studied by Walters and Andres (1972). Punishments were delivered 4 hours after the deviant act was committed. Compared with children who did not receive an explanation along with the punishment, those who did receive a rationale were more likely to inhibit their behavior. They concluded that a symbolic reinstatement of the deviant act was an effective means of prohibiting subsequent transgressions.

Parke (1969) explored the relationship between reasoning, intensity of punishment and nurturance. In the intensity condition when no rationale was provided high intensity was more effective in inhibiting deviant acts. When a rationale accompanied the punishment there was no difference as a function of the degree of intensity. In the nurturant condition similar results occurred; when no rationale accompanied the punishment and nurturant effect was present. Children in a high nurturance condition were less likely to transgress than children in a low nurturance condition. When a rationale was given

along with the punishment the nurturance effect was not present. Parke concluded that cognitive structuring plays an important role in modifying the effects of punishment.

The stability of inhibitions of behavior as a result of cognitive structuring was tested by Parke (1969). He compared the number of deviant acts of children in a low cognitive condition with those in a high cognitive condition over three 5-minute intervals. The low cognitive structure subjects (no rationale) tended to increase their number of deviant acts over time, whereas in the high cognitive structure (rationale) subjects' behavior remained constant. Similar findings were reported by Cheyne and Walters (1969). Parke (1972) suggests that these data indicate that stability of inhibitions were clearly a function of cognitive structuring. Furthermore, they highlight the importance of cognitive training for inhibition of responses and internalization.

Parke and Murray (1972) examined the impact of reinstatement of the rationale on the stability of inhibitions. They found that reinstatement of the rationale after a week delay resulted in children inhibiting their responses more often than children who were not given a reinstatement. The studies cited above suggest that physical discipline is most effective when accompanied by reasoning and/or when used by nurturant parents.

Parke (1970) argues that physical punishment may be the most effective inhibitor of behavior for young children because it creates anxiety. However, in older children techniques which encourage the verbal control of behavior and are less anxiety provoking may be more effective inhibitors. Baumrind (1973) agrees with Parke (1970) that

reason does not legitimate authority for the young child the same way power does. She further contends that punishment has an informational role which provides feedback to the parent about the child's level of cognitive and moral development and also provides feedback to the child about the consequences of his behavior.

Baumrind (1973) and Parke's (192) contentions support the theoretical assumptions of Saltzstein (1976). Children operating at Kohlberg's Preconventional level of moral development are more likely to respond to authorities possessing coercive or reward power. As the child's cognitive structures develop coercive and reward power is less likely to produce conformity because the child does not perceive the authority as legitimate.

Baumrind (1973) also cautions against the consequences of permissive childrearing. She maintains that those who advocate permissive childrearing argue against the use of punitive/aversive discipline techniques as being ineffective and producing negative side effects. She suggests, however, that mild forms of punitive discipline may in actuality be more beneficial than harmful. The beneficial side effects result in a more prompt reestablishment of the affectional bond, vicarious learning experience for other siblings, prosocial assertive behavior, and increased endurance of punishment for a desired end. Another argument against parental control is that it produces rebellion. Elder (1963) maintains that adolescents are more likely to conform to parental demands when parents are viewed as having legitimate power, that is, they give explanations for their requests. Finney (1961) found that, whereas parental rigidity was associated with covert hostility in children, firm control was associated with conscience

development.

Baumrind (1967) and Baumrind and Black (1967) report that parents who demanded that their children be orderly and assume household responsibilities provided more enriched and orderly surroundings, and involved themselves more conscientiously with their children's welfare. Perhaps that is why such demands are viewed by children as reasonable, and do not tend to provoke rebellion. Pikas (1961) reports that adolescents tend to rebel against authoritarian control or inhibiting control but not control with reason. Empirical evidence suggests that as the child's cognitive structures mature it is the child's perceptions of the legitimate power of the parents which is likely to produce conformity or rebellion.

Cross-Cultural Considerations

In a transitional society, children are often caught between the traditional value system of their parents and the newly developing value system of the country. However, maintaining strictly traditional or Western attitudes may prove maladaptive for the individual and thus result in the adoption of semi-traditional or semi-western attitudes. Furthermore, the failure to resolve attitudinal conflict may also be maladaptive. Studies of attitudinal change in the transitional society of Sierra Leone indicate that individuals do tend to reorganize their attitudes from extremely traditional or western views to semi-traditional and semi-western views (Dawson, 1969). Such changes were explained in terms of consistency theory, i.e., a need on the part of the individual to resolve conflict or inconsistency and to reorganize attitudes so that they fit into the new social context. In many instances

attitudes are borrowed from the old and new culture, and reorganized to assist present needs. The individual often fluctuates between adhering to traditional modes of living and adopting new lifestyles which may be more viable in the changing environment. Dawson (1969) reports that most unresolved conflict concerns parental authority, i.e., whether discipline should be more love oriented or more punitive.

Historically, parental authority has been viewed as the primary factor influencing the socialization of young children. Parents have typically been viewed as the primary socializing agent and the parent-child relationship as the basis for future social relationships. In order to determine how differential childrearing practices affect the socialization process many researchers have investigated the child-rearing practices of different cultures and subcultures.

There have been many investigations into the child rearing practices of various societies within Africa (Kaye, 1962; LeVine, 1970; Raum, 1940; Read, 1960). The data suggest that there is a tendency for African parents to stress obedience and responsibility, especially within pastoral societies. Barry, Bacon and Child (1959) explained this pressure toward obedience and responsibility as a function of the needs of the adult economy. For example, where production is organized in such a way as to yield a substantial surplus of food through cooperative and coordinated work efforts, the training of the young is directed toward compliance.

Munroe and Munroe (1972) further substantiate the economic explanation for obedience training with their data on children in an East African society. Observations, of young children asked to obey their mothers and the mothers of other children in a situational

task, revealed strict obedience to both their mothers and the mothers of other children. American children in a similar situation were found to be more disobedient overall than their African counterparts and were frequently more disobedient to their own mothers than to mothers of other children. Munroe and Munroe emphasize that compliance generally occurs in societies where food supplies must be carefully husbanded, i.e., in pastoral societies and to a less extent in agricultural societies. Munroe and Munroe (1972) offer two "ecologico-economic antecedents" of compliance behavior in an effort to explain their results: a) there is a need for children to develop types of behavior useful for the adult economy and b) compliance is merely a reflection of the child's early participation in the adult economic system.

LeVine and LeVine (1963) in their study of Kenyan children note that one of the primary aims of child training is to teach obedience. Obedience is enforced either through corporal punishment or fear. Children are taught to be afraid of animals, darkness, spirits and the unknown. A good child is characterized as an obedient child.

In a different study conducted among the Yoruba, LeVine (1962) used essays written by secondary school children to examine children's perceptions of childrearing practices. Results indicated that academic achievement was rewarded most often and that verbal praise was the most frequent method used. Punishment was most often given when a child failed to obey a standing rule. Interestingly, more punishments than rewards were given by parents and the most frequent form of punishment was physical punishment.

Munroe, Munroe and LeVine (1972) suggest that the compliance

syndrome may be connected with the habitual deference pattern seen among many African children. Others have investigated the role deference patterns play in personality development. Whiting and Whiting (1968) maintain that early training in obedience may lead to a lack of initiative, creativity and individuality on the part of the child. Schiff (see Evans, 1970) looked at childrearing practices and their effect on curiosity in children of Uganda. It was hypothesized that the childrearing practices found within traditional Buganda society may suppress a child's overt curiosity. The four aspects of curiosity explored were: a) verbal questioning, b) exploration--the active seeking of new stimuli and experiences, c) investigation--learning about the new stimuli and experiences, d) manipulation--handling the materials to learn how they are made and how they work. The results of Schiff's study indicate that both the mother's and the child's behavior is related to level of acculturation. Traditional mothers tend to actively discourage the child from asking questions and exploring.

Although parents are generally viewed as the primary socializers, other social systems within a society may act as secondary socializers. The school system is the socializing agent that most often supplements the role of the parent. The teacher is the authority figure (parent substitute) in the school system.

Ainsworth and Ainsworth (1962) conducted a series of studies with students in secondary school in Uganda and Kenya. In one study they used projective techniques to assess the political awareness of students and their attitudes toward authority. They found that the more acculturated African is more frequently frustrated, and thus more hostile and aggressive toward authority figures. However, he is also

capable of handling that frustration more effectively. Moreover, students in Uganda were found to be more politically aware, more actively discontent with the status quo, and more nationalistic than those in Kenya. Students in Kenya were viewed as less acculturated than those in Uganda. In a third analysis, Ainsworth and Ainsworth (1962) report that the degree of acculturation has less of an effect on students' attitudes toward parents than it does upon personality characteristics. Many of the students' attitudes toward parents remain consistent with the higher value on education and tended to view teachers more positively than did the less acculturated students. In general, most between school differences are attributed to the difference in the general level of acculturation. However, some of the within school differences may be the result of the specific acculturation received at the school.

White (1967) in her exploration of the school system in Uganda was interested in answering the question: Do children understand the school system, what it demands of them, and how to operate within the system to maximize rewards? White found that a) the children clearly understand how the school works, what it stresses in the curriculum, its marking system, and the system of reward and punishment; b) the reward and punishment system in the home is consistent with that of the school in terms of school learning; c) greater emphasis, in both home and the school, is placed on academic achievement.

Summary

The literature suggests that both cognitive structures and environmental influences are responsible for the child's acquisition of

societal standards. Moral cognition results not only from maturation but must be accompanied by environmental conditions conducive to social interaction. The process of social interchange aids in the development of cognitive processing. Parents as agents of social influence have the incipient responsibility of preparing the child to become a competent individual in his society.

Numerous socialization techniques have developed as a result of parents attempts to govern their children's behavior. The most prominent techniques have been power assertion, lovewithdrawal and induction. Generally, the long range inhibiting ability of power assertion techniques has not been conclusively evidenced. Love withdrawal techniques although considered to produce compliance without the presence of an external enforcing agent have also resulted in asocial behavior. Induction, considered the most effective technique, serves to aid in the development of cognitive processes by presenting the child with reasons for his behavior. As a result parents can help their children begin to understand the consequences of their behavior.

African parents have been characterized as using power assertion techniques to produce obedience and responsibility in their children. These traits are considered necessary for the adult economy. Theoretically, this should result in compliance only when authority figures are present. Moreover children should view authority figures as coercive and stringent. Needless to say most cross-cultural research has been conducted by investigators from cultures very alien to those they study. As a result their perceptions and interpretations may be clouded by the standards of their own cultures.

It is important to examine how children within their own culture

perceive the salient authority figures in their lives. The present investigation attempts to examine these perceptions and the child-rearing practices which may influence these perceptions. Moreover, because of the fundamental role of schools in developing nations such as Botswana, school differences are considered. Schools serve as a means to an end; be it the education of children for the good of the nation, self-motivated ends such as social mobility, the advancement of an elitist sector, or the continued socialization of children.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ainsworth, L. & Ainsworth, M. Acculturation in East Africa: I. Political awareness and attitudes about authority. Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 57, 391-399.
- _____. Acculturation in East Africa: II. Frustration and aggression. Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 57, 401-407.
- _____. Acculturation in East Africa: III. Attitudes towards parents, teachers, and education. Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 57, 409-415.
- _____. Acculturation in East Africa: IV. Summary and Discussion. Journal of Social Psychology, 1962, 57, 417-432.
- Allaman, J., Joyce, C., Crandall, V. The antecedents of social desirability response tendencies of children and young adults. Child Development, 1972, 43, 1135-60.
- Allinsmith, W. & Greening, T. Guilt over anger as predicted from parental discipline: A study of superego development. American Psychologist, 1955, 1, 320 (abstract).
- Aronfreed, J. The nature, variety and social patterning of moral responses to transgression. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 63, 223-241.
- _____. The internalization of social control through punishment. Cited by Aronfreed, J. Conduct and Conscience. New York: Academic Press, 1968.
- _____. Punishment learning and internalization: Some parameters of reinforcement and cognition. Cited by Parke, R.D. Some effects of punishment on children's behavior. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.) Influences on human development. Illinois: Dryden Press, 1972, 378-396.
- _____. & Leff, R. The effects of intensity of punishment and complexity of discrimination upon the learning of an internalized inhibition. Cited by Parke, R.D. Some effects of punishment on children's behavior. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.) Influences on human development. Illinois: Dryden Press, 1972, 378-396.
- _____. & Rever, A. Internalized behavioral suppression and the timing of social punishment. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1965, 1, 3-16.

- Bandura, A. The role of modeling processes in personality development. In W. Hartup & N. Smothergill (Eds.) The young child reviews of research. Washington: National Association for the Education of Young Children 1967, 42-58.
- _____. & Walters, R. Adolescent aggression. New York: Ronald Press, 1959.
- _____. Social learning and personality development. New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1963.
- Barry, H. Bacon, M.K. & Child, I.L. Relation of child training to subsistence economy. American Anthropologist, 1959, 61, 51-63.
- Baumrind, D. Child care practices anteceding three patterns of preschool behavior. Genetic Psychology Monographs, 1967, 75, 43-88.
- _____. Current patterns of parental authority. Developmental Psychology Monograph, 1971, 4(1, pt. 2).
- _____. The development of instrumental competence through socialization. Minnesota symposium on Child Psychology, 1972, 7, 3-46.
- _____. Authoritarian versus authoritative parental control. In S. Scarr-Salapatek, & P. Salapatek (Eds.) Socialization. Ohio: Charles Merrill Publishing Co., 1973.
- _____. & Black, A. Socialization practices associated with dimensions of competence in preschool boys and girls. Child Development, 1967, 38, 291-327.
- Bayley, N. & Schaefer, E. Relationships between SES variables and the behavior of mothers toward young children. Journal of Genetic Psychology, 1960, 96, 61-77.
- Beck, C., Crittenden, B. & Sullivan, E. Moral education: Interdisciplinary approaches. Great Britain: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Bettleheim, B. Moral education. In N. Sizer & T. Sizer (Eds.) Moral education. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970, 85-108.
- Black, A., Solomon, R. & Whiting, J. Resistance to temptation in dogs. Cited by Mowrer, O. Learning theory and the symbolic processes. New York: John Wiley, 1960.
- Blatt, N. Studies on the effects of classroom discussion up on children's moral development. Cited by Kohlberg, L. Stages of moral development as a basis for moral education. In C. Beck, B. Crittenden & E. Sullivan (Eds.) Moral education: Interdisciplinary approaches. Great Britain: University of Toronto Press, 1971, 23-92.

- Bossard, J. & Boll, E. The large family system. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956.
- Bowerman, C. & Elder, G. The adolescent and his family. Cited by Elder, G. Adolescent socialization and development. In E. Boggata & W. Lambert (Eds.) Handbook of personality theory and research. Chicago: Rand McNally & Co. 1968, 239-264.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. Socialization and social class through time and space. In E.E. Maccoby, T. Newcomb & E. Hartley (Eds.) Readings in social psychology. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1958, 400-425.
- _____. The role of age, sex, class and culture in studies of moral development. Religious Education, 1962, 57, 3-17.
- _____. The changing American child: A speculative analysis. In R. Rebellsky & L. Dorman, (Eds.) Child development and behavior. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, 143-153.
- _____. Developmental research and public policy. In J.M. Romanshin (Ed.) Social science and social welfare, New York. Council of Social Work Education, 1973.
- Burton, R.V. Correspondence between behavioral and doll play measures of conscience. Developmental Psychology, 1971, 5, 320-332.
- _____, Allinsmith, W. & Maccoby, E. Resistance to temptation in relation to sex of child, sex of experimenter and withdrawal of attention. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966, 3, 253-258.
- Cheyne, J.A. & Walters, R.H. Intensity of punishment, timing of punishment, and cognitive structure as determinants of response inhibition. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 1969, 7, 231-244.
- Clarke-Stewart, K.A. Interaction between mothers and their young children: Characteristics and consequences. Monographs of Society for Research in Child Development, 1973, 38, 153.
- Cohen, U. The transition from childhood to adolescence. Illinois: Aldine Publishing Co., 1964.
- Dawson, J.L. Attitudinal consistency and conflict in West Africa. International Journal of Psychology, 1969, 4, 39-53.
- Deur, J.L. & Parke, R.D. The effects of inconsistent punishment on aggression in children. Developmental Psychology, 1970, 2, 403-411.
- Droppleman, L. & Schaefer, E. Boys' and girls' reports of maternal and paternal behavior. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1963, 67, 648-654.

- Elder, G.H. Parental power legitimation and its effect on the adolescent. Sociometry, 1963, 26, 50-65.
- & Bowerman, C. Family structure and childrearing patterns: The effect of family size and sex composition, American Sociological Review, 1963, 28, 891-905.
- Evans, J.L. Children in Africa: A review of psychological research. New York: Teachers College Press, 1970.
- Finney, J.C. Some maternal influences on children's personality and character. Genetic Psychology Monograph, 1961, 63, 199-278.
- Fitzgerald, H. Infants and caregivers: Sex differences as determiners of socialization. In E. Donnelson & J. Gullahorn (Eds.), Woman: A psychological perspective. New York: John Wiley, 1977.
- Gabarino, J. & Bronfenbrenner, U. The socialization of moral judgment and behavior in cross-cultural perspective. In T. Lickona (Ed.) Moral development and behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976.
- Glueck, S. & Glueck, E. Unraveling juvenile delinquency. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950.
- Hartup, W.W. Nurturance and nurturance-withdrawal in relation to the dependency behavior of preschool children. Child Development, 1958, 29, 191-200.
- Hatfield, J. Ferguson, L. & Alpert, R. Mother-child interaction and the socialization process. Child Development, 1967, 38, 365-414.
- Hertzog, M., Birch, M., Thomas, A. & Mendez, O. Class and ethnic differences in the responsiveness of preschool children to cognitive demands. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 1968, 33, 117.
- Hess, R. & Minturn, L. Authority, rules and aggression. Washington, D.C.: Office of Education-Bureau of Research, 1970.
- Hoffman, M.L. Childrearing practices and moral development: Generalizations from empirical research. In R.E. Grinder (Ed.) Studies in adolescence. New York: Macmillan, 1963.
- . Moral development, in P. Mussen (Ed.), Carmichael's manual of child psychology, vol. 2, New York: John Wiley, 1970, 261-359.
- & Saltzstein, H. Parent discipline and the child's moral development. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1967, 5, 45-57.

- Hsu, F., Watrous, B. & Lord, E. Culture pattern and adolescent behavior. In R. Grinder (Ed.), Studies in adolescence. New York: Macmillain Co., 1963.
- Jacobson, L., Berger, S. & Millham, J. Self-esteem, sex differences, and the tendency to cheat. Cited by Maccoby, E. & Jacklin, C. The psychology of sex differences, California: Stanford University Press, 1972.
- Kagan, J. & Freeman, M. Relation of childhood intelligence, maternal behaviors, and social class to behavior during adolescence. Child Development, 1963, 34, 899-911.
- _____ & Moss, H. Birth to maturity. New York: Wiley, 1962.
- Kaye, B. Bringing up children in Ghana. London: Allen and Unwin, 1962.
- Kelman, H. Compliance, identification and internalization: Three process of attitude change. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 1958, 2, 51-60.
- Kohlberg, L. Moral development and identification. In J.W. Stevenson (Ed.) Child Psychology: 62nd Yearbook of the national society for the study of education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.
- _____. Stages of moral development as a basis for moral education. In C. Beck, B. Crittenden, & E. Sullivan (Eds.), Moral education: Interdisciplinary approaches. Great Britain: University of Toronto Press, 1971, 23-92.
- Landauer, T., Carlsmith, J.M. & Lepper, M. Experimental analysis of the factors determining obedience of 4 year old children to adult females. Child Development, 1970, 41, 601-611.
- LeVine, B.B. Yoruba students' memories of childhood rewards and punishments. Occasional Publication No. 2, Nigeria: Ibadan University Press, 1962.
- LeVine, R.A. Cross-cultural study in child psychology. In P. Mussen (Ed.) Carmichaels Manual of Child Psychology, New York: Wiley, 1970.
- _____, LeVine, B.B. Nyansong: A Gusii community in Kenya. In B.B. Whiting (Ed.), Six cultures: Studies of childrearing. New York: Wiley, 1963.
- Lewis, M. & Richman, S. Social encounters and their effect on subsequent social reinforcement. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1964, 69, 253-257.
- _____ & Rosenblum, L. The effect of the infant on its caretakers. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1974.

- Mackinnon, D.W. Violation of prohibition. In H.W. Murray (Ed.) Exploration in personality. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938, 491-501.
- Maccoby, E. & Jacklin, C. The psychology of sex differences, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.
- May, P. Moral education in school. London: Methuen Education Ltd., 1971.
- Mazrui, A. Cultural engineering and nation-building in East Africa, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1972.
- McCord, W., McCord, J. & Howard, A. Familial correlates of aggression in non-delinquent male children. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 62, 79-93.
- Munroe, R.L. & Munroe, R.H. Obedience among children in an East African society. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1972, 3, 395-399.
- _____. & Levine, R.A. Africa. In F. Hsu (Ed.) Psychological anthropology. Massachusetts: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1972.
- National Development Plan, 1970-1975. Gaborone: Government Printer, 1970.
- Parke, R.D. Nurturance, nurturance withdrawal, and resistance to deviation. Child Development, 1967, 38, 1101-1110.
- _____. Effectiveness of punishment as an interaction of intensity, timing, agent nurturance and cognitive structuring. Child Development, 1969, 40, 312-326.
- _____. Some effects of punishment on children's behavior. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.), Influences on human development. Illinois: Dryden Press, 1972, 378-396.
- _____. & Deur, J. The inhibitory effects of inconsistent and consistent punishment on children's aggression. Cited by Parke, R.D. Some effects of punishment on children's behavior. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.) Influences on human development. Illinois: Dryden Press, 1972, 378-396.
- _____. & Murray, S. Re-instatement: A technique for increasing stability of inhibition in children. Cited by Parke, R.D. Some effects of punishment on children's behavior. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.) Influences on human development. Illinois: Dryden Press, 1972, 378-396.
- _____. & Walters, R.H. Some factors determining the effects of punishment for inducing response inhibition. Monograph of Society for Research on Child Development, 1967, 32.

- Piaget, J. The moral judgment of the child. Illinois: Free Press, 1965.
- Pikas, A. Children's attitudes toward rational versus inhibiting parental authority, Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1961, 62, 315-321.
- Radin, N.A. A comparison of maternal behavior with 4 year old boys and girls in lower class families. Cited in E. Maccoby & C. Jacklin (Eds.) The psychology of sex differences, California: Stanford University Press, 1974.
- Raum, O.F. Chaga childhood. London: Oxford University Press, 1940.
- Read, M. Children of their fathers: Growing up among the Ngoni of Nyasaland. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960.
- Roseblith, J.F. Learning by imitation in kindergarten children. Child Development, 1959, 30, 69-80.
- Rothbart, M. & Maccoby, E. Parents' differential reactions to sons and daughters. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1966 4, 237-243.
- Saltzstein, H.D. Social influence and moral development: A perspective on the roles of parents and peers. In T. Lickona (Ed.), Moral development and behavior, New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1976.
- Sears, R.R. Maccoby, E.E. & Levin, H. Patterns of Childrearing, Evanston: Row-Peterson, 1957.
- Siegelman, M. Evaluation of Bronfenbrenner's questionnaire for children concerning parental behavior. Child Development, 1965, 36, 163-174.
- _____, Maier, S.R. & Solomon, R.L. Unpredictable and uncontrollable aversive events. In F.R. Bruse (Ed.) Aversive conditioning and learning. New York: Academic Press, 1969.
- Serbin, L.A., O'Leary, K.D., Kent, R.N. & Tonick, I.J. A comparison of teacher responses to pre academic and problem behavior of boys and girls. Child Development, 1973, 44, 796-804.
- Sizer, N. & Sizer, T. Moral Education, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970.
- Slaby, R.G. & Parke, R.D. The influence of a punitive or reasoning model on resistance to deviation and aggression in children. Cited by Parke, R.D. Some effects of punishment on children's behavior. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.) Influences on human development. Illinois: Dryden Press, 1972, 378-396.

- Stouwie, R.J. Inconsistent verbal instruction and children resistance to temptation behavior. Child Development, 1971, 42, 1517-31.
- . An experimental study of adult dominance and warmth, conflicting verbal instruction and children's moral behavior. Child Development, 1972, 43, 959-71.
- Tasch, R.J. The role of the father in the family. Journal of Experimental Education, 1952, 20, 319-361.
- Thema, B.C. The changing pattern of Tswana social and family relations. Botswana Notes and Records, 1972, 4, 39-43.
- Van den Berghe, P. European languages and Black Mandarins. Transition, 1968, 7, 20.
- Walters, R.H. Delay-of-reinforcement effects in children's learning. Psychonomic Science, 1964, 1, 307-308.
- & Andres, D. Punishment procedures and self-control. Cited by Parke, R.D. Some effects of punishment on children's behavior. In U. Bronfenbrenner (Ed.) Influences on human development. Illinois: Dryden Press, 1972, 378-396.
- , Parke, R.D., & Cane, V.A. Timing of punishment and the observation of consequences to others as determinants of response inhibition. Journal of Experimental Child Psychology, 1965, 2, 10-30.
- Ward, W.D. & Furchak, A.F. Resistance to temptation among boys and girls. Psychological Reports, 1968, 23, 511-514.
- White, M.A. Pupils' perceptions of the school as a system. In Child growth and development projects, National Institute of Education, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda, 1967.
- Whiting, B. & Whiting, J. Task assignment and personality: A consideration of herding on boys. Cited by Evans, J.L. Children in Africa: A review of psychological research. New York: Teachers College Press, 1970.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES



3 1293 01740 3134