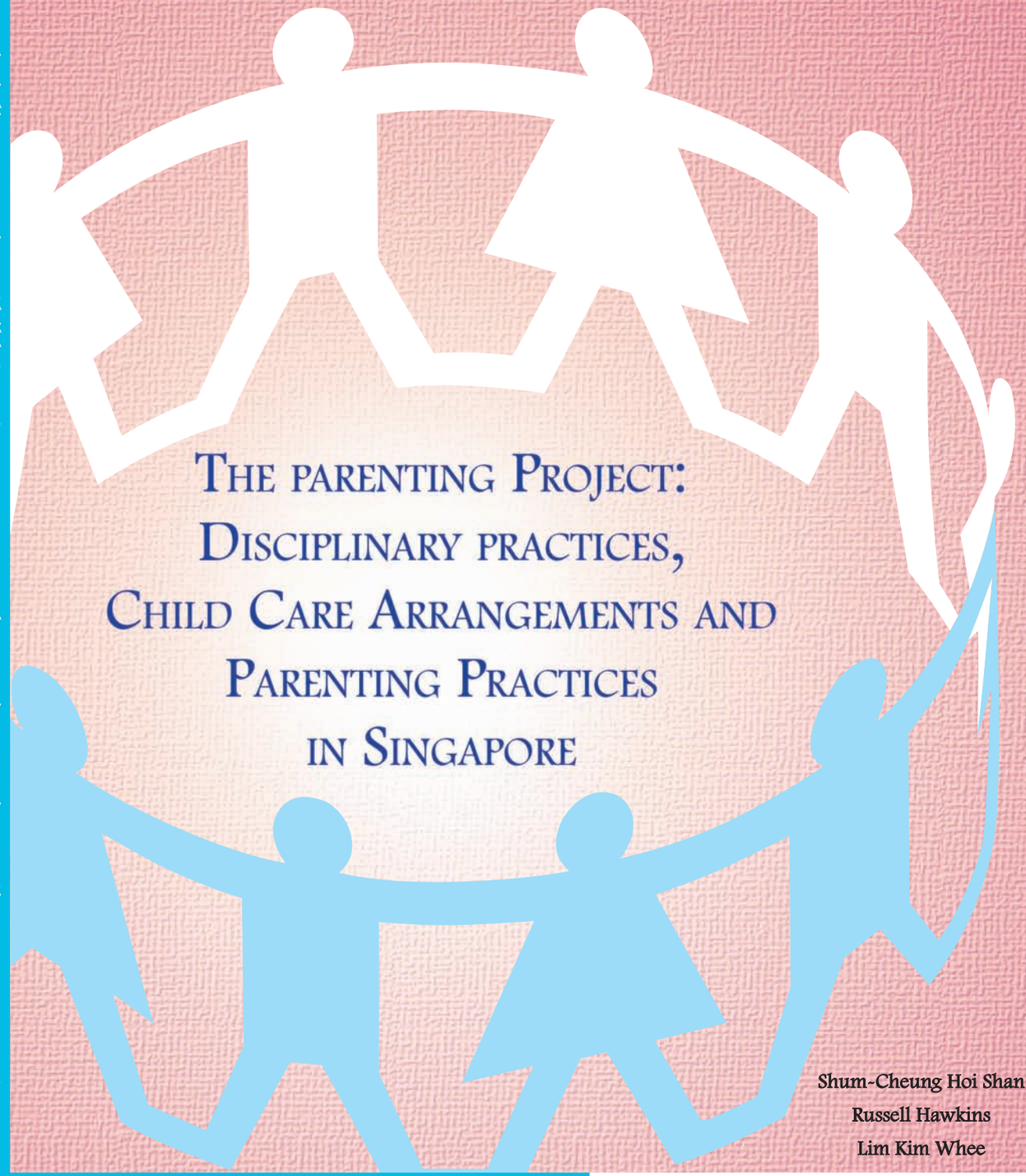
Children's
SOCIETY
Caring for the Future

ISBN 981 - 05 - 6791 - X

The Parenting Project: Disciplinary Practices, Child Care Arrangements and Parenting Practices In Singapore October 2006



The Parenting Project: Disciplinary Practices, Child Care Arrangements and Parenting Practices in Singapore

Shum-Cheung Hoi Shan
Russell Hawkins
Lim Kim Whee

SINGAPORE CHILDREN'S SOCIETY
Research Monograph No.6

The Parenting Project: Disciplinary Practices, Child Care Arrangements and Parenting Practices in Singapore

SINGAPORE CHILDREN'S SOCIETY

RESEARCH MONOGRAPH NO. 6

THE PARENTING PROJECT: DISCIPLINARY PRACTICES, CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS AND PARENTING PRACTICES IN SINGAPORE

SHUM-CHEUNG HOI SHAN
RUSSELL HAWKINS
LIM KIM WHEE

OCTOBER 2006

We welcome your comments, feedback and suggestions.

Contact	: Research Officer
Address	: Singapore Children's Society
	9 Bishan Place
	#05-02
	Singapore 579837
Telephone	: (65) 6358 0911
Facsimile	: (65) 6358 0936
Email	: info@childrensociety.org.sg

ISBN 981-05-6791-X

CONTENTS

FOREWORD

Parenting in Perspective

Raising children in the complexities of modern life is perhaps the most challenging of all jobs, and yet not many parents are well prepared for it. Poor preparedness in stepping into the roles of parents is at the roots of many problems of child abuse and neglect, parent-child relationship problems and dysfunctional families.

All societies hold parents responsible for raising their children. Parents are accountable for their children's health, safety, and socialisation until the time that young people can live without adult supervision and support. Parents cradle children's lives and, for most children, parents are the critical caregivers. Children's small worlds widen as they discover new refuges and new people. Their growth is therefore shaped by successive choirs of siblings, peers, friends, and teachers. Parents also compete with other potentially powerful sources of influence, including Internet, media, and all of the temptations of modern youth culture. In the end, there are but two lasting bequests that parents can leave children: one being roots, the other wings.

Parenting consists of a number of interpersonal skills and emotional demands, yet there is little in the way of formal education for this task. Most parents learn parenting practices from their own parents – some of these practices they accept, some they discard. Husbands and wives may bring different viewpoints of parenting practices to the marriage. Unfortunately, when methods of parenting are passed on from one generation to the next, both desirable and undesirable practices are perpetuated.

When deciding whether to have children, we may envision the joyful, tender moments that we associate with parenting. And such moments are plentiful. However, most parents discover that child rearing is more difficult than they anticipated. Good parenting takes an incredible amount of time and parenting changes our lives forever in a lot of ways.

Ideally, the decision to become a parent should be based on realistic expectations about living with children, the burdens of providing child care, and our own willingness and ability to place someone else's needs before our own. Deciding whether or not to parent raises many fascinating questions. Why have children in the first place? Will I be a good parent? In what ways will becoming a parent change my life? How will it affect my relationship with my partner? What will my children be like?

Upon further reflection, additional considerations arise. What are the financial implications of raising children? Who will care for my children during their infancy and toddler-hood? How will I discipline them? Though we may decide to have children to enrich our own lives, these questions remind us of the profound responsibilities associated with bringing a child into the world. The above questions suggest a polarity: the potential fulfillment of parenting versus the daily challenge and occasional struggle to do it well.

Parenting does not occur in a vacuum. Most parents are preoccupied with the stresses

and strains of their own hectic lives. Unfortunately, adults are vulnerable to multiple stressors, including job dissatisfaction, illness, marital conflicts, and financial pressures. The psychological effects of these stressors often spill over into parenting. Amidst the dramas of their daily lives, some parents lose direction. Many are relieved just to make it through another day. Parents who have one bad day after another and who find that they are not enjoying raising their children, begin to wonder why they had children in the first place, and may then feel guilty for having such selfish thoughts.

To parent effectively, we need considerable support, but we also need direction. We need to know what we are doing, but first we have to decide where we want to go. Many parents eagerly seek child rearing techniques and strategies that they believe will help their children become well behaved and self-sufficient. However, before we can make decisions about methods of child rearing, we have to be clear about our priorities. What types of outcomes are we seeking?

Parents in all cultures share four main goals that indicate desirable outcomes of parenting. They include: good behaviour, competence, good parent-child relationships, and positive self-esteem and self-confidence. Once we are clear of our goals, systematic and comprehensive parent education programmes can then be designed to provide information, skills training, and support to parents at every stage of their child's life, even before they become parents.

Research on parenting is important and interesting. We are concerned especially about the relationship between how parents raise their children and how children "turn out". We hope that the knowledge we acquire about the parenting process will help create optimal family environments in which children are able to achieve their full potential. The major obstacle to the study of the parenting process is its complexity. It is not enough for parents to understand children. They must also accord children the privilege of understanding them.

The publication of this sixth monograph on certain aspects of parenting styles and practices in Singapore marks another major milestone in the history of the Singapore Children's Society. We have previously completed a series of five monographs on public and professional perceptions on various aspects of child abuse and neglect in Singapore. The research will provide useful local information on the current trends in parenting process and navigate us in our advocacy and outreach endeavour. I would like to congratulate all the members of the Research Committee, headed by Associate Professor John Elliott, and the hardworking Research Officers for their great effort in setting a high standard of research in our Society. This is certainly just a new beginning of many more serious research works on growing up safely and happily in Singapore.

Professor Ho Lai Yun
Chairman, Research and Advocacy Standing Committee
Vice-Chairman, Singapore Children's Society

September 2006

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We would like to express our gratitude to the following persons and organisations who have contributed significantly to the completion of this research. We are grateful to the Singapore Children's Society Research & Advocacy Standing Committee and the Research Committee for their support and advice. We would like to thank Associate Professor John Elliott, Dr Cuthbert Teo, Mrs Maria Shiu and Ms Sue Cheng for their valuable inputs at various stages of the research, including comments on draft versions of this monograph. We are also grateful to Ms Jeniffer Tay, who contributed to the early stages of the work as a Research Officer, as well as colleagues from the Singapore Children's Society's Research and Outreach Centre for their useful comments on the study. Our appreciation goes to Dr Albert Liau for sharing his expertise on statistical analyses, and to Ms Sydney Peh for her useful comments and suggestions on sampling and data collection methods at the planning stage of the research. We would also like to thank Joshua Research Consultants and their interviewers for completing the fieldwork and attending to our requests and queries. Last but not least, we would like to thank the children and parents for their time and participation in the focus group, pilot studies and main study.

Mrs Shum-Cheung Hoi Shan
Senior Research Officer, Singapore Children's Society

Professor Russell Hawkins
Professor of Psychology, James Cook University Singapore
and Research Committee member, Singapore Children's Society

Dr Lim Kim Whee
Consultant Paediatric Neurologist, KK Women's and Children's Hospital
and Research Committee member, Singapore Children's Society

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

The Parenting Project consists of research undertaken by the Singapore Children's Society, with the aim of understanding more about how parents in Singapore bring up their children and how children view these practices. Previous monographs published by the Society had focused on child abuse and neglect issues. The present work supplements these monographs by examining child rearing in ordinary Singaporean families and allows us to better understand normal families as well as those where abuse or neglect is problematic. The information gathered is intended to assist the Society in its mission to improve the well-being of children.

Sample description

More than 1000 interviews were conducted with 533 parents (248 fathers and 285 mothers) and 533 children (262 boys and 271 girls) aged between 10 and 12 years. The children in the sample were the offspring of the parent participants but they were interviewed separately to avoid direct parental influence. The sample included the four major ethnic groups in Singapore – Chinese (68.1%), Malay (19.3%), Indian (8.8%) and Others (e.g., Eurasians, 3.8%) – who were sampled in close approximation to their representation in the local population. All the fathers and 40.7% of the mothers in the present study were employed. Close to 90% of the parents had attained secondary education and beyond.

Disciplinary practices

We wanted to know which types of discipline were used by parents and how effective both parents and children thought each type of discipline was. We were also interested in whether children thought the forms of discipline used by their parents were fair. Consequently parents and children gave ratings on seven types of disciplinary practices with eight different forms of misbehaviour.

Reasoning was deemed to be the most effective practice by both parents and children, while telling a child that he or she is not loved was regarded as one of the least effective practice. Consistent with these beliefs, parents used reasoning most frequently, and seldom told their children that they were not loved. Children also rated reasoning as the fairest practice, while telling the child that he or she is not loved was one of the least fair discipline methods. The match between parents' and children's views on discipline and parental practice is encouraging. It may be that in general, if children accept the legitimacy of their parents' disciplinary practices, they are more likely to behave in an appropriate manner even in the absence of their parents.

While Asian parenting is often described as authoritarian in Western-based literature, physical punishment was found to be relatively infrequently used in Singapore. The use of physical punishment was also deemed to be an ineffective discipline method by parents.

Doing nothing to discipline a child even when he or she has misbehaved was deemed to be one of the least effective methods by both parents and children. As well as being ineffective, children also regarded non-intervention (doing nothing) as being unfair. Fortuitously, parents resorted to this least frequently amongst the various discipline options.

The finding that children perceived non-intervention (doing nothing) as unfair is interesting as it suggests that children not only have a sense of what constitutes inappropriate behaviour, they also recognise that such misbehaviour deserves disciplinary actions by parents.

We were interested in reactions to the use of emotional forms of punishment such as telling a child that he or she is not loved, as well as physical punishment, which is a controversial subject world-wide. In the present study, children rated telling a child that he or she is not loved as an unfair disciplinary practice, while they felt relatively neutral about physical punishment and deemed this to be neither fair nor unfair. It seems significant that children were far more opposed to the emotional form of punishment than to the physical one. This is a clear reminder that parental rejection may be very frightening and upsetting for a child and it may be more consequential than the physical pain inflicted by corporal punishment. One could speculate that children may not develop ideally if they are constantly worried that they are not worthy of their parents' love. Considerable research effort has been dedicated to examining the detrimental effects of physical punishment on children, but in comparison, very much less research has been conducted on the impact of emotional forms of discipline on children. The present study reinforces the importance of further attention to emotional forms of abuse, but is reassuring in that emotional forms of discipline were found to be used relatively infrequently.

Child care arrangements

Mothers were very often the main caregivers for most children while fathers were less involved in child care. Only a very small percentage of the fathers indicated that they preferred fathers as main caregivers of children (at any age). This could be attributed to the role differentiation between fathers and mothers that is still rather prevalent in Singapore, where mothers are clearly expected to be mainly responsible for child care duties. Parents and children both preferred the mother to be the primary caregiver (at any age). There was thus a close match between actual practice (mother as primary caregiver) and desired practice.

Although mothers were the main caregivers to most children at different ages, a substantial proportion of children under the age of 3 were cared for by non-maternal caregivers, in particular paid workers. Infancy is an important period when the child and the parents form secure attachments. Parents in the present study may have realised the importance of the first years of the child's life in terms of mother-child bonding, as mothers were still the most preferred main caregivers during this period. The present study also found that children who were cared for mainly by parents were happier with their child care arrangements than children who had paid workers as main caregivers (at any age). This further suggested the importance of parents' involvement as main caregivers for children.

Parenting practices

Findings from the component on parenting practices showed that parents in Singapore frequently showed warmth and acceptance towards their children. On the other hand,

shaming, which involves making the child feel guilty when he or she does not meet the parents' expectations, was the least frequently used practice. Parents and children were consistent in reporting the low usage of shaming. Although shaming was the least frequently used practice, parents and children still reported some use. This shows that shaming as a form of parenting behaviour is still a relevant concept locally, and this may have implications related to the emotional impact of parenting on children.

Lastly, exposure to religion, which has not apparently been a focus in previous parenting studies, was found to be relatively frequently used by parents in the present study. Future studies on parenting practices could include the examples of practices used in the present study, and possibly examine how these practices may link to outcomes in children.

Conclusion

The Parenting Project considered various aspects of parenting in Singapore, including disciplinary and parenting practices as well as child care arrangements. Together with previous local research on parenting and the series of monographs published by the Singapore Children's Society, a picture is emerging of Singaporean family life involving both normal child rearing and dysfunctional parent-child interactions.

The picture revealed by the Parenting Project is certainly a positive one. The data showed that parents tend to use reasoning as a disciplinary tactic far more frequently than they use other approaches, including physical or emotional forms of punishment. This practice is likely to assist in the goal of efficient socialisation, especially since the discipline types given higher fairness ratings by children were those used most frequently by parents.

The data also showed a conservative picture of child care practice in that women were both the most frequent caregiver of children and were most often considered as the preferred caregiver. The sex-role stereotype of the mother as primary caregiver is certainly active in Singapore. This may be a source of stress especially for working mothers, who have to handle both work and family commitments. Nonetheless, the relatively high level of involvement by grandmothers as main caregivers may have offered some relief to these working parents.

While the overall picture is positive, with parents indicating that they frequently showed warmth and acceptance towards their children, it is noted that some parenting practices such as shaming a child remain in use to a significant extent. This may have negative implications for the emotional well-being of the child.

Finally, the involvement of children in the Parenting Project was an effort to hear from children on issues that matter to them. The present study has shown that it is useful and insightful to compare children's and parents' views on parenting. More research involving children as participants should be encouraged in order for us to understand the concept of parenting from the perspectives of children, who are also key players in parenting relationships. Children's views are interesting and important, and should not be dismissed.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Overview of the Parenting Project

Background

The present monograph is the latest in a series published by the Singapore Children's Society. Table 1 shows a list of previous monograph publications which can be freely downloaded from the Singapore Children's Society's website at http://www.childrensociety.org.sg.

Table 1: List of previous monographs

The "Public Perceptions of Child Abuse and Neglect in Singapore" published in December 1996, confronts the average Singaporean's thinking towards child abuse and neglect.
The "Professional and Public Perceptions of Child Abuse and Neglect in Singapore: An Overview" published in April 2000 focuses on the attitudes of professionals towards abuse or neglect, and their opinions on the experience and reporting of child abuse and neglect.
"The Professional and Public Perceptions of Physical Child Abuse and Neglect in Singapore" published in April 2000 focuses specifically on the attitudes of professionals and the public towards physical child abuse and neglect.
"Emotional Maltreatment of Children in Singapore: Professional and Public Perceptions" published in February 2002 focuses on the attitudes of professionals and the public towards emotional child maltreatment.
"Child Sexual Abuse in Singapore: Professional and Public Perceptions" published in June 2003 focuses specifically on the attitudes of professionals and the public towards child sexual abuse.

Previous monographs had focused on child abuse and neglect. The present study intends to supplement this by providing information about the various aspects of normal child rearing in Singapore. Here the focus is no longer specifically on abuse or neglect but more on commonplace parenting practices and beliefs. Together with the earlier monographs, a picture is emerging of Singaporean family life which includes not only problematic features such as abuse and neglect but also descriptive information about ordinary families and how parents raise their children. In combination, all of this information is intended to assist the Children's Society in its mission to advocate for change to improve the well-being of children.

Professionals, researchers and students may also find the research information useful for their work and parents themselves may be interested to learn more about practices in Singapore.

Parenting has been a topic of some interest locally in recent years as evidenced by media reports (e.g., The Straits Times, 16/08/2004), government-initiated publications (e.g., "Essential Parenting Tips" published by the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports) and seminars and workshops held periodically on the subject. The Straits Times newspaper also commissioned a survey on the relationships between students and their parents, which included a component on how parents discipline their children (The Straits Times, June 2004). Considerable work on describing Singaporean families and values has been reported by Stella Quah (1998, 1999) and in 1999 Ong completed a PhD thesis on parenting behaviour and relationships with adolescent adjustment. The present study builds on these local research efforts and other sources and updates the findings.

Approach taken

The Parenting Project took a broad approach to understanding parenting by examining how children are disciplined by their parents when they misbehave, who the main caregivers are, and how parents interact with their children. Table 2 shows a summary of the research questions of interest in each of the three components.

Historically, parenting studies have typically interviewed parents to learn more about their behaviour and attitudes. This common research focus on just the parents perhaps stemmed from a view that what really counted was the way the parent treated the child. This view suggested that children were very much shaped and influenced in their development by what their parents did. More recently, increased recognition has been given to the idea that the parent-child interaction is two-way, not one-way. According to this view, the characteristics of the child also influence the way parents treat their children (Harris, 1995; 1998). Recognition that resilient children often develop very well in spite of poor parenting practices has also drawn attention to the salience of child variables. Nonetheless, relatively few studies on parenting have involved children as participants. One reason for this may have been parents' reluctance to allow children to comment about their parents to strangers. For example, a study by Konstantareas & Debois (2001), in which pre-schoolers were asked to comment on the fairness or unfairness of maternal discipline, had found that participant recruitment was difficult.

A valuable aspect of the present study therefore is that children's views on

parenting were obtained. The children in this sample were also the offspring of the parent participants. This makes data from parents and children directly comparable. Recently the literature has emphasised the importance of the "voice of the child" and encouraged hearing from children too (Oppenheim et al., 1997). The present study responds to this recommendation. Children and their parents were interviewed at the same time but in separate rooms for privacy. This allows the opportunity for comparison of perspectives from the two groups on key issues.

In summary, the Parenting Project was undertaken by the Singapore Children's Society with the aim of understanding more about how parents in Singapore bring up their children and how children view these practices.

Table 2: Parenting Project summary

Disciplinary Practices			
Focus: How frequently did children misbehave?	Focus: How effective was each disciplinary practice on each misbehaviour?	Focus: How frequently did parents use each disciplinary practice on each misbehaviour?	Focus: How fair was each disciplinary practice on each misbehaviour?
Respondents: Parents	Respondents: Parents and children	Respondents: Parents	Respondents: Children
Scale: 5-point scale 1 = Never 5 = Very Often	Scale: 5-point scale 1 = Very Ineffective 5 = Very Effective	Scale: 5-point scale 1 = Never 5 = Very Often	Scale: 5-point scale 1 = Very Unfair 5 = Very Fair

Child Care Arrangements		
Focus: What were children's main care arrangements at ages 0 to 3; 4 to 6; 7 to 9 and 10 to present?	Focus: Were parents and children happy with the care arrangements? Why?	Focus: What would have been the preferred care arrangement for each age group?
Respondents: Parents and children (from age 4)	Respondents: Parents and children (from age 4)	Respondents: Parents and children (from age 4)
Scale: Multiple response	Scale: 5-point scale and qualitative 1 = Very Unhappy 5 = Very Happy	Scale: To choose only 1 option

Parenting Practices	
Focus: How frequently did parents adopt each of the 20 parenting practices?	Focus: The extent to which parents considered each of a set of 15 qualities to be important for children.
Respondents: Parents and children	Respondents: Parents
Scale: 5-point scale 1 = Never 5 = Very Often	Scale: 5-point scale 1 = Not Important At All 5 = Very Important

Pilot Studies

Preparations for the study included a number of literature reviews and a focus group discussion with a small convenience sample of 5 mothers. The themes for discussion included child care arrangements, disciplinary practices and parenting styles. Subsequently, initial versions of the questionnaires were designed by the Children's Society's staff and advisors and two (iterative) pilot studies were conducted to test the ease of understanding of the questionnaire items and to seek feedback from both parents and children. The first pilot study involved 9 parents and 12 children who were led through the questionnaires and asked to provide feedback, in particular about any ambiguous or poorly worded items. The contents of the questionnaires were modified accordingly. For example, some words were changed to make them more easily understood by children. The second pilot study involved 5 parents and 5 children who commented on the revised questionnaires. Following the second pilot study, further amendments were made to the questionnaires before the main study was carried out. None of the participants in the pilot studies were included in the sample for the main study subsequently.

Sample Description[1]

Inclusion criteria focused on being the parent of a child in the age range of 10 to 12, being either Singaporean, or a permanent resident of Singapore, ethnicity and income.

Five hundred and thirty three families participated. The sample consisted of 533 parents (248 fathers and 285 mothers) and 533 children (262 boys and 271 girls) between the age of 10 to 12. The mean age of the parents was 41.9 years and the mean age of the children was 11.0 years. Stratified sampling was used. The sample included the four major ethnic groups in Singapore – Chinese (68.1%), Malay (19.3%), Indian (8.8%) and Others (e.g., Eurasians, 3.8%), who were sampled in close approximation to their representation in the local population (Census, 2000). The distribution of participants from four monthly household income groups was also matched with that of the Singapore population (Census, 2000), with a majority of the participants from middle-income families. All the fathers in the present study were employed, while 59.3% of the mothers had a job outside of the home.

Nearly all of the parents (97.9%) were married, while the remaining parents were either divorced, separated or single-parents. In terms of education level, close to 90% of the parents had attained secondary education or beyond.

[1] *Standard deviations of the mean age of parents and children, as well as statistics on average monthly household income, marital status and education levels of the participants are found in Appendix C.*

Procedure

Participants were recruited by a local research company, Joshua Research Consultants. The voluntary nature of the study was emphasised. Parents and children who met the sampling criteria were invited to a face-to-face interview. Children attended the interview with either their mother or their father (not both) and the sampling strategy attempted to achieve approximately equal numbers of mothers and fathers.

The procedure involved asking participants a list of questions from a structured questionnaire that required both quantitative and qualitative responses. Consent for the child's participation was obtained from the parent who was also the participant of the study. The voluntary nature of the study was also explained to the children, and it was made known to the children that they could decline participation at any point of the interview.

Before the start of the interview, trained interviewers gave participants a brief overview of the questionnaire contents, including a description of the format and an illustration on how to use the rating scales. The interviewers then took the participants through every item on the questionnaire and recorded their responses accordingly. Each interview took no more than 30 minutes to complete. The parent and child responded to the questionnaires in separate rooms concurrently. At the end of the interviews, participants were thanked for their time and were asked if they had any feedback or questions related to the research. The parents then received a token sum of money for their time and transport costs incurred.

Instruments

The questionnaires for parents and children consisted of three sections - a) disciplinary practices; b) child care arrangements and c) parenting practices. There were slight variations in the questions for parents and children in each of these sections, which will be described in the respective chapters for each component. The questionnaires were translated to Chinese and Malay, with the accuracy of the translations independently checked by native speakers of the languages. Slight amendments were subsequently made to both translated versions. The final version of the questionnaires for parents and children, in English, are in Appendices A and B respectively. The Chinese and Malay versions of the questionnaires are available upon request.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are devoted to each of the three components examined in this study. In each chapter, a review of previous research is provided, followed by findings of the present study and a discussion of these findings. Chapter 5 gives a summary of the findings of the study, and directions for future research are also discussed in this last chapter.

Reports on statistical analyses have been taken out of the main report in each chapter for simplicity. For readers who would like to understand more about the statistical analyses used and the results obtained, please refer to Appendix D.

Review of the literature

Types of discipline

Disciplinary practices are important in the process of socialising children to become effective members of their cultural groups. According to Brody and Shaffer (1982), disciplinary practices serve to "inculcate within the child a set of moral standards and values that provide the basis for self-controlled behaviour". There are, of course, many ways of disciplining children. For ease of understanding, these various types of discipline have been collected together using categories described by Henderson and Bergan (1976) and Papps and colleagues (1995).

This study used three main categories of disciplinary practices. The first is called power assertion. Power assertion generally involves force or threat of force to achieve compliance, such as in the use of physical punishment or verbal reprimand. The second category is called love withdrawal. Love withdrawal involves emotional isolation of the child. The third category is called induction. This term refers to the use of reasoning with the child, including drawing attention to the consequences of certain behaviours for the child or for other people.

As well as possibly using any of the three disciplinary practice categories of power assertion, love withdrawal and induction, it is recognised that when faced with child misbehaviour some parents may choose not to do anything at all to control this. Some of these parents may hold the belief that the child will learn independently (Siegal & Cowen, 1984) and that parental intervention is not necessary. Such parents are said to be permissive. Permissiveness in this sense is demonstrated by an absence of discipline, even when a child has misbehaved. Alternatively some parents may simply not notice or not be concerned by their child's misbehaviour. This type of response has been termed negligent in the parenting literature.

Research on disciplinary practices

Considerable research has been dedicated to establishing links between disciplinary practices and their results in terms of achieving the goals of socialisation. Some types of disciplinary practices tend to be favoured more than others. For instance, the use of reasoning has been associated with positive outcomes like compliance to parent-imposed rules in the parent's absence (see Grusec & Goodnow, 1994). On the other hand, corporal punishment has been associated with undesirable consequences and experiences such as decreased moral internalisation[2], decreased quality of the relationship between parent and

[2] Internalization refers to the process where a child takes over the values and attitudes of society as his or her own's, so that the child becomes self-motivated to behave well (Grusec & Goodnow, 1994).

child and more (for a review, see Gershoff, 2002). This is pertinent in Singapore where caning remains in use as a disciplinary practice and parental attitudes towards corporal punishment and their views about its effectiveness are salient (Elliott et al., 2000). International views about corporal punishment are increasingly condemnatory (Newell, 2005; Fu & Wang, 2005), which provides another impetus to assess this issue in the Singaporean context.

Parental use of disciplinary practice has been widely studied and cross-cultural perspectives are available. A cultural stereotype exists which suggests that Asians use corporal punishment very frequently and believe in its efficacy. Yet, in a study by Papps and colleagues (1995), Vietnamese mothers were found to use induction (explaining to the child what he or she had done wrong) more frequently than Anglo-Australian, Greek and Lebanese mothers.

In Singapore, a study on disciplinary practices by Kong and colleagues (1986) involving mothers of 200 children aged 7 to 10 also found reasoning to be the most frequently used method among the mothers. A more recent survey by the Institute of Mental Health in Singapore, which involved 230 Singapore parents with children aged 4 to 12, found that about 68% of those parents used just reasoning in disciplining their children (Lee et al., 2004). The study also found that only 11.3% of the parents had used caning alone. Reasoning is therefore a rather common form of disciplinary practice used in Singapore. However, in both local studies, the parents were not asked to give their responses based on a range of specific scenarios of misbehaviour. The present study sought to improve on this by asking parents about the frequency with which they used specific disciplinary practice on various types of child misbehaviour. In addition, parents and children were asked to rate the effectiveness of each type of discipline used on a range of child misbehaviour. Previously, what parents and children thought were effective discipline methods were seldom explored in tandem with how frequently parents used those disciplinary practices. The present study allows an assessment of what parents did to discipline their children across a range of circumstances, and whether parents and children considered those disciplinary practices to be effective and fair.

It is important to examine discipline practices used with a range of child misbehaviour, as we now know that parents do not use a single consistent practice in dealing with their children's various misdeeds. Rather, they vary their disciplinary technique according to the nature of the transgression (misbehaviour) (Grusec & Kuczynski, 1980; Trickett & Kuczynski, 1986; Palmérus & Jutengren, 2004). Presumably, parents hold varied beliefs about what is effective discipline in different situations, which in turn affect how frequently the methods are used. For example, even parents who generally disapprove of corporal punishment may

slap a child for running across a road without looking, in the belief that, while not desirable, slapping in this case is warranted by the need for a strong form of deterrent. Consequently this study was designed to include a wide range of child misbehaviour, including examples involving different levels of severity.

Types of misbehaviour

Common forms of misbehaviour by children can be broadly classified as moral and social-conventional transgressions. Moral transgressions are acts that have negative consequences on persons, which could be psychological or physical (such as bullying); while social-conventional transgressions involve violations of common social rules (such as being impolite) (Lopez, Schneider & Dula, 2002; Tisak & Turiel, 1984). Moral transgressions can be seen as more serious in nature, given the negative consequences on another person, as opposed to a violation of social norm that may do less harm. In the present study, examples of both moral and social-conventional transgressions were used.

Children's views on discipline and implications on internalisation

Just as parents have different beliefs about what is effective discipline in different situations; children also hold differential views about what is fair discipline for various misdeeds. That is, like their parents, children do not have an "undifferentiated, global perspective" on parenting (Siegal & Cowen, 1984, p. 1764). Konstantareas and Desbois (2001) found that even pre-schoolers of age 4 and 6 were capable of making judgments about the fairness or unfairness of discipline by mothers, with clear implications for their parents' disciplinary practices. Indeed, in the framework formulated by Grusec and Goodnow (1994), children's accurate perception of parents' message to behave as well as their acceptance of the message (whether or not it is fair) are believed to facilitate internalization. The more fair and appropriate an act of discipline is deemed to be by the child, the more likely it is that the child may comply.

Questionnaire on disciplinary practices

The eight forms of misbehaviour included in the questionnaire on disciplinary practices were:

1) quarrelling with others
2) fighting with others
3) bullying another child
4) vandalising objects
5) taking and keeping things that do not belong to the child

6) telling lies
7) refusing to obey instructions
8) being impolite to others

Some of the above misbehaviours were adapted from various sources (Dawber & Kuczynski, 1999; Kelley & Power, 1992; Lopez et al., 2002; Papps et al., 1995; Wu, 1996), while "quarrelling with others" and "fighting with others" were created for this study. These two forms of misbehaviour were included as they were considered as situations which required disciplining by parents who participated in the focus group we conducted prior to this study. In choosing the types of transgression for inclusion in the questionnaires, the seriousness of each form of misbehaviour as well as relevance to the local culture were taken into consideration. For instance, the item "pointing a gun at someone", which was included in a study by Lopez and colleagues (2002) in the United States, was not used in this study because of its irrelevance in the Singapore context (gun ownership or access is exceedingly rare in Singapore). Apart from relevance, care was taken to include misbehaviour of different degrees of severity (e.g., quarrelling with others versus vandalising objects), so as to capture, as much as possible, the wide spectrum of misbehaviour that could occur during childhood. With the exception of "refusing to obey instructions" and "being impolite to others", which were identified as social-conventional transgressions, the other forms of misbehaviour fell under the category of moral transgressions. The same examples of transgressions were presented to both parents and children, so that meaningful comparisons could be made between children's and parents' ratings.

Seven examples of disciplinary options were included in the questionnaires for parents and children. They were as follows:

1) use physical punishment on the child
2) show anger towards the child (e.g., scolding, shouting, etc.)
3) take away some of the child's privileges (e.g., no TV, games, etc.)
4) explain to the child what he/she has done wrong
5) isolate the child
6) tell the child that he/she is not loved
7) do nothing

The above options were derived from some of the discipline techniques used by parents as found in past research (Cheah & Rubin, 2004; Papps et al., 1995), which also included common practices used by parents in Singapore (Kong et al., 1986). Items 1, 2, 3 and 5 above were examples of power assertion, item 4 represented induction (or reasoning) while item 6 represented love withdrawal. Item 7 was

an example of permissiveness. Parents were asked to rate how effective they considered each disciplinary practice to be in dealing with a child who has misbehaved in the eight specific ways described above. Responses were given on a 5-point Likert scale, with "1" being very ineffective, "3" being neutral and "5" being very effective. Doing nothing was also included in the list of disciplinary methods, since the possibility that some parents may indeed not react to an act of misbehaviour could not be dismissed. Including do nothing as an option also allows comparisons to be made between evaluations of non-intervention and different forms of intervention (Siegal & Cowen, 1984).

In addition to the question on effectiveness of disciplinary practices, parents were also asked to indicate how often their children had misbehaved in the eight ways described, and how often they had used each of the disciplinary practices to discipline their children for committing each of the eight forms of misbehaviour. Parents gave their responses on a 5-point Likert scale, with "1" being never, "3" being sometimes and "5" being very often for both sets of questions. Parents who indicated that their children had not engaged in any specific form of misbehaviour were not required to respond to how frequently they had used each disciplinary practice on that misbehaviour.

Like the parents, the children were required to rate the effectiveness of each disciplinary practice in view of the eight forms of misbehaviour. Children were also asked how fair they thought each disciplinary practice was in dealing with children who have misbehaved in the eight ways described. Responses on fairness were given on a 5-point Likert scale, with "1" being very unfair, "3" being in-between and "5" being very fair.

Findings

The mean frequency of use, mean effectiveness, and mean fairness scores for each of the seven options of discipline were calculated for the eight forms of misbehaviour. Reliability coefficients of the measures were considered to be in the acceptable range.The coefficients can be found in Appendix C.

Frequency of child misbehaviour

Parents' ratings on how frequently their children had misbehaved are shown in Figure 1. Responses were grouped according to the number of misbehaviours parents said their children had engaged in, ranging from none to all eight forms of misbehaviour. This question was primarily included to identify parents whose children have misbehaved in the ways described. Figure 1 shows that majority of the parents indicated that their children had engaged in three or four types of misbehaviour. These parents were subsequently asked to rate how frequently they had used each type of disciplinary practice on their child when he or she misbehaved in the way described.

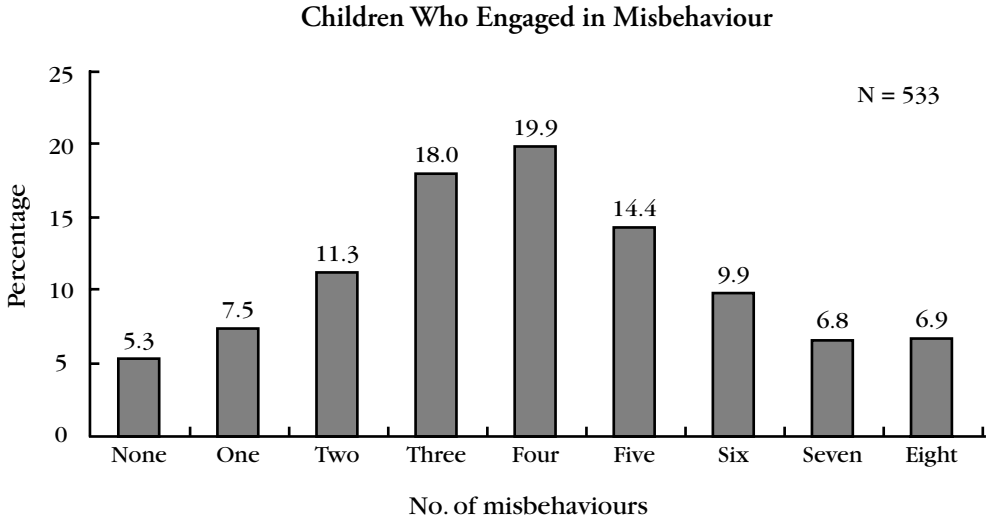


Figure 1: Percentage of children who engaged in misbehaviour

How frequently parents used each form of disciplinary practice

Parents rated the frequency with which disciplinary practices were carried out, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = never; 2 = almost never; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = very often). We began by examining how frequently parents used each of the disciplinary practices when their children misbehaved. Figure 2 shows that:

- Explaining to children what they had done wrong was the most frequently used disciplinary practice.
- Doing nothing was rated as the least frequently used of all options. Telling a child that he or she is not loved was the least frequently used active form of intervention.
- Telling the child that he or she is not loved was less frequently used than physical punishment.

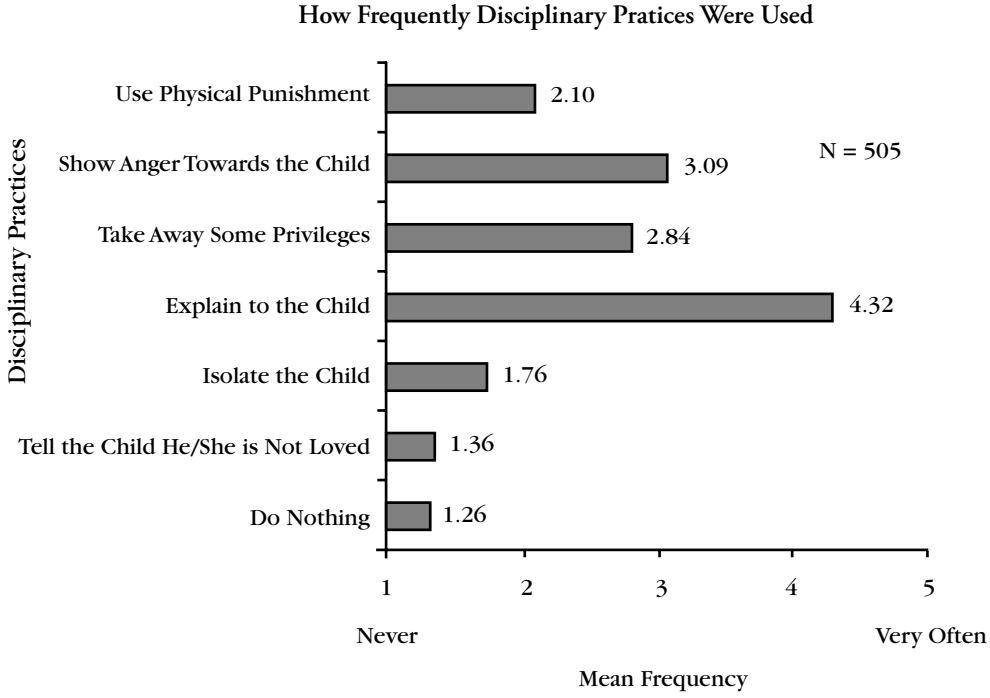


Figure 2: Frequency with which disciplinary practices were used by parents in dealing with children's misbehaviours

A comparison was then made between how frequently fathers and mothers had used each of the disciplinary practices when their children misbehaved. Figure 3 shows that in general mothers and fathers behaved in very similar ways. The only significant difference that emerged was that mothers tended to use physical punishment more frequently than fathers did.

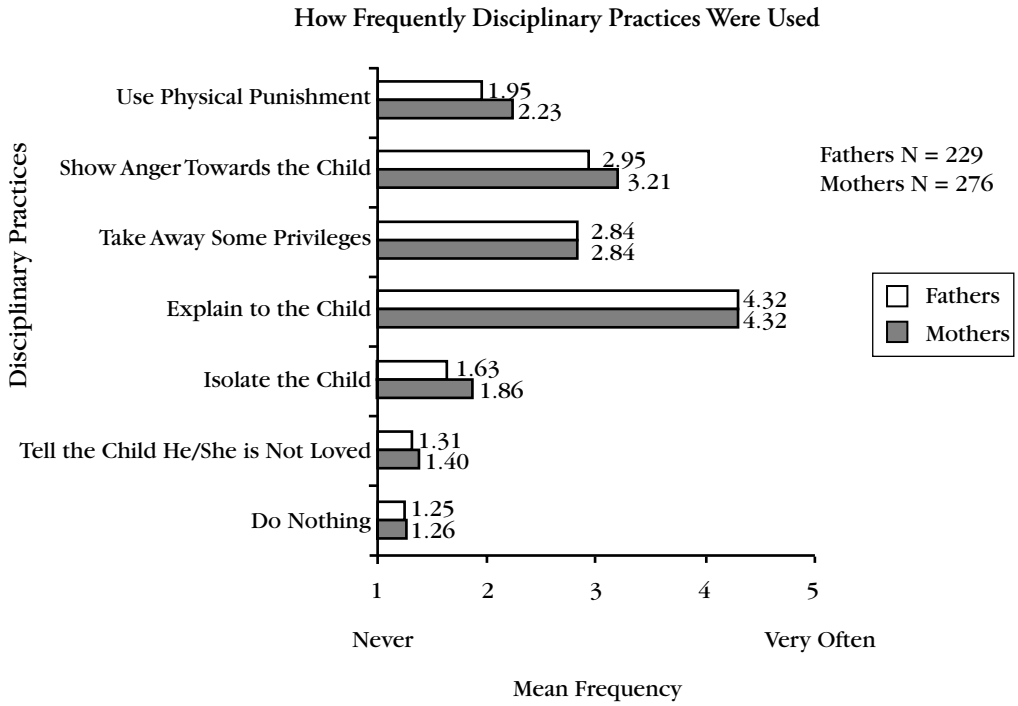


Figure 3: Frequency with which disciplinary practices were used by parents – a comparison between responses from fathers and mothers

Effectiveness of the disciplinary practices

Parents and children gave ratings on the effectiveness of disciplinary practices, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = very ineffective; 2 = ineffective; 3 = neutral; 4 = effective; 5 = very effective). The comparisons between parents' and children's responses are illustrated in Figure 4. The key findings were:

- Explaining to the child what he or she had done wrong was rated as the most effective disciplinary practice by both parents and children.
- Doing nothing was rated as the least effective disciplinary option by both parents and children.
- Telling the child that he or she is not loved was seen as an ineffective disciplinary practice by both parents and children.
- Parents regarded physical punishment as a somewhat ineffective practice, while children were neutral about the effectiveness of physical punishment.
- Both parents and children considered telling a child that he or she is not loved to be less effective than the use of physical punishment.

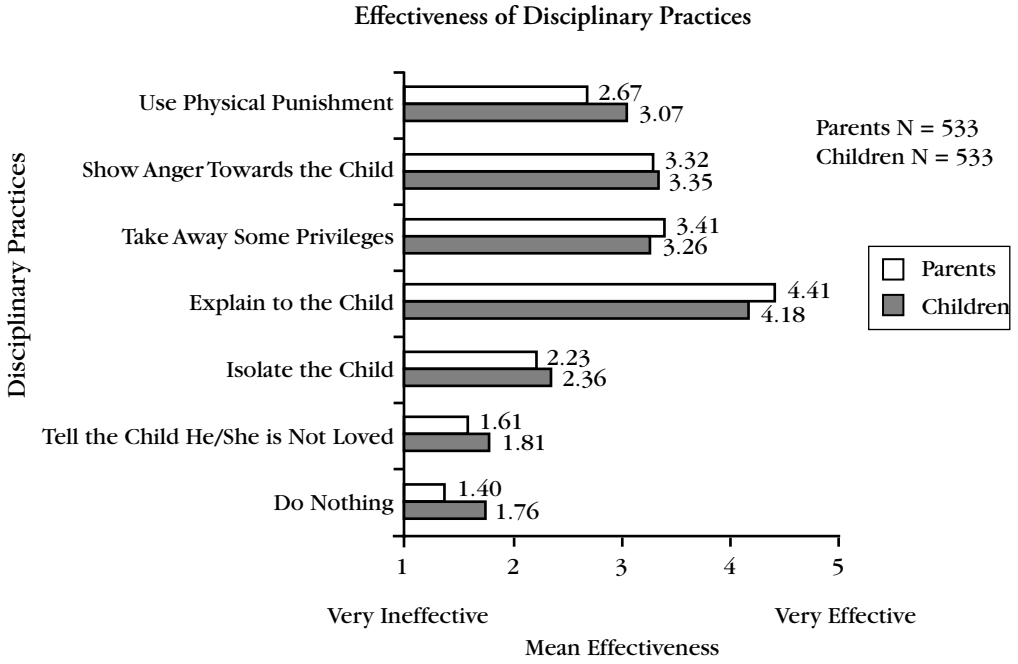


Figure 4: Effectiveness of disciplinary practices – a comparison between ratings by parents and children

Figure 5 shows the comparison between fathers' and mothers' ratings on effectiveness of discipline. Some key findings were:

- Although both parents generally did not consider physical punishment to be effective, mothers rated physical punishment as being more effective than fathers.

- While both parents did not consider isolating the child to be effective, fathers rated isolating the child as being even less effective than mothers did.

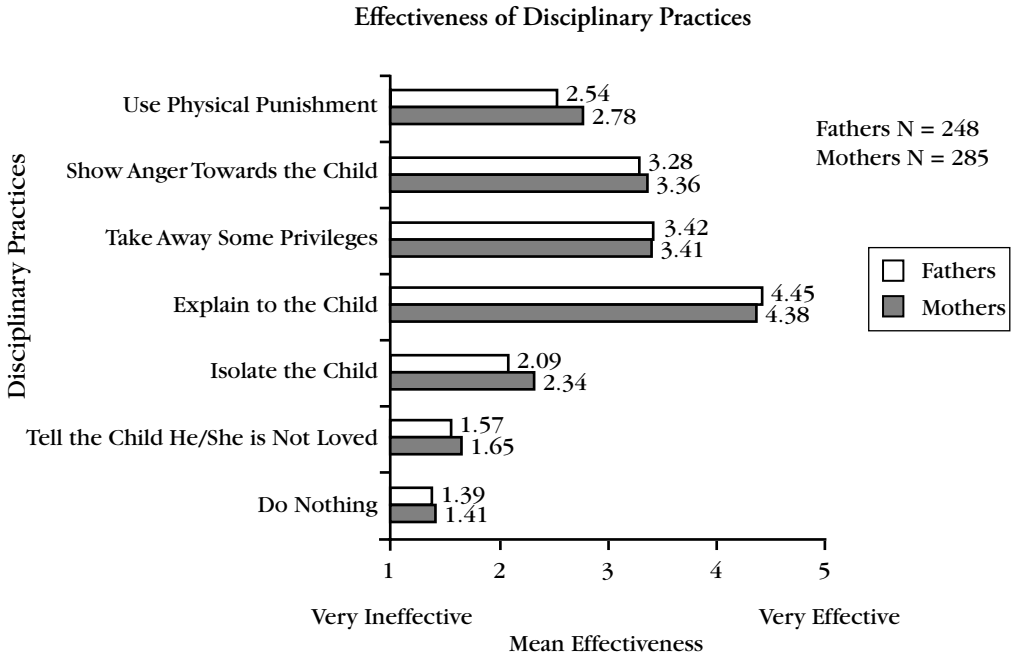


Figure 5: Effectiveness of disciplinary practices – a comparison between responses from fathers and mothers

Figure 6 depicts a comparison between boys' and girls' ratings on effectiveness of disciplinary practices. The key finding was:

- Although both boys and girls considered telling a child that he or she is not loved as ineffective, girls rated it as being even less effective than boys did.

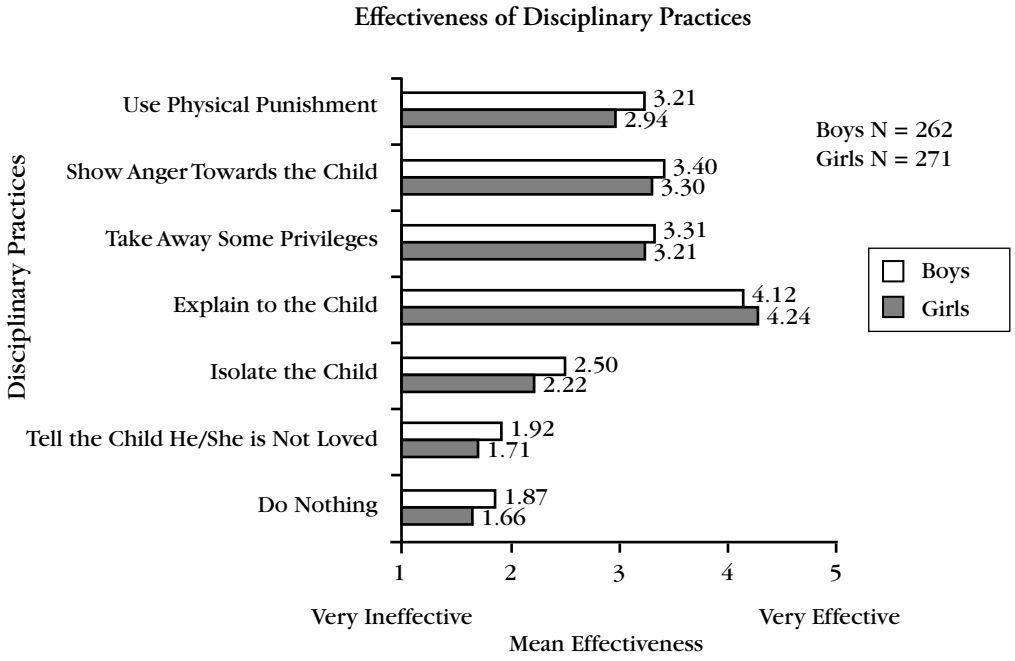


Figure 6: Effectiveness of disciplinary practices – a comparison between responses from boys and girls

In the present sample, 28 out of 533 parents (5.3%) interviewed indicated that their children had never engaged in any of the eight forms of misbehaviour, as shown in Figure 1. The disparity in the number of parents who said their children have or have not misbehaved in any of the ways (28 versus 505) posed an issue for detailed statistical comparisons to be made. However, it was still of interest to explore if there was any difference in the general patterns of responses between the parents of apparently well behaved children versus parents of children who had misbehaved in various ways. The chart for this comparison is shown in Figure 7. Results showed that the overall pattern is the same for both groups, in terms of the rank order of the responses.

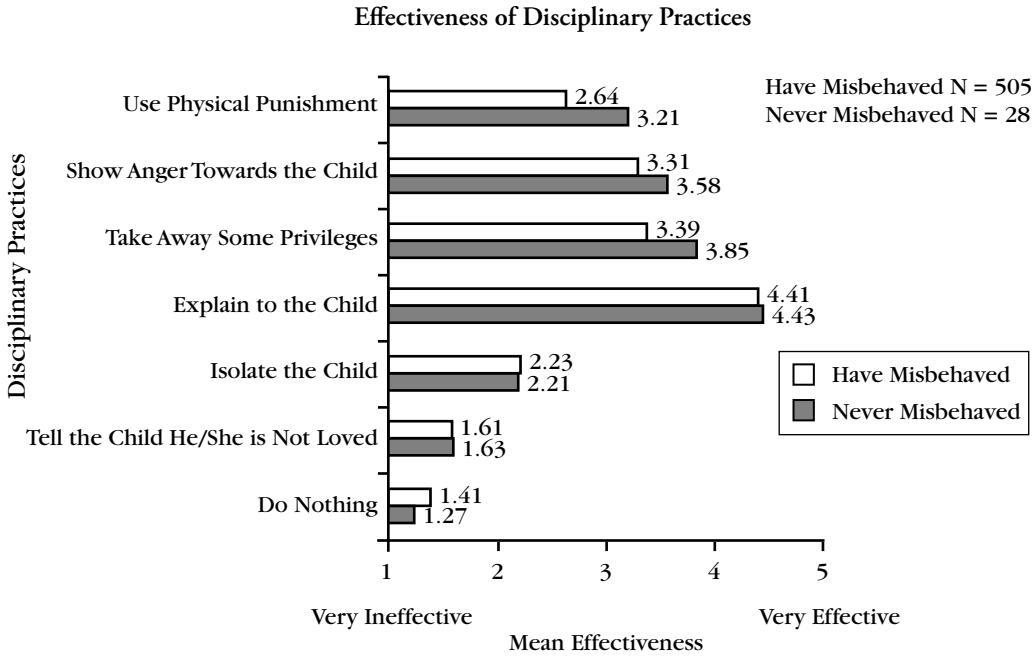


Figure 7: Effectiveness of disciplinary practices – a comparison between responses from by parents whose children have misbehaved versus those who have not

Fairness of the disciplinary practices

Children gave ratings on how fair they considered each of the disciplinary practices to be, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = very unfair; 2 = unfair; 3 = in-between; 4 = fair; 5 = very fair). In terms of fairness of disciplinary practices, responses from children are summarised as follows:

- Children considered explaining to the child to be the fairest practice of all.
- Telling the child that he or she is not loved was seen as the least fair practice.
- Children considered the use of physical punishment to be neither fair nor unfair.

Figure 8 shows children's mean ratings of fairness for each type of disciplinary practice.

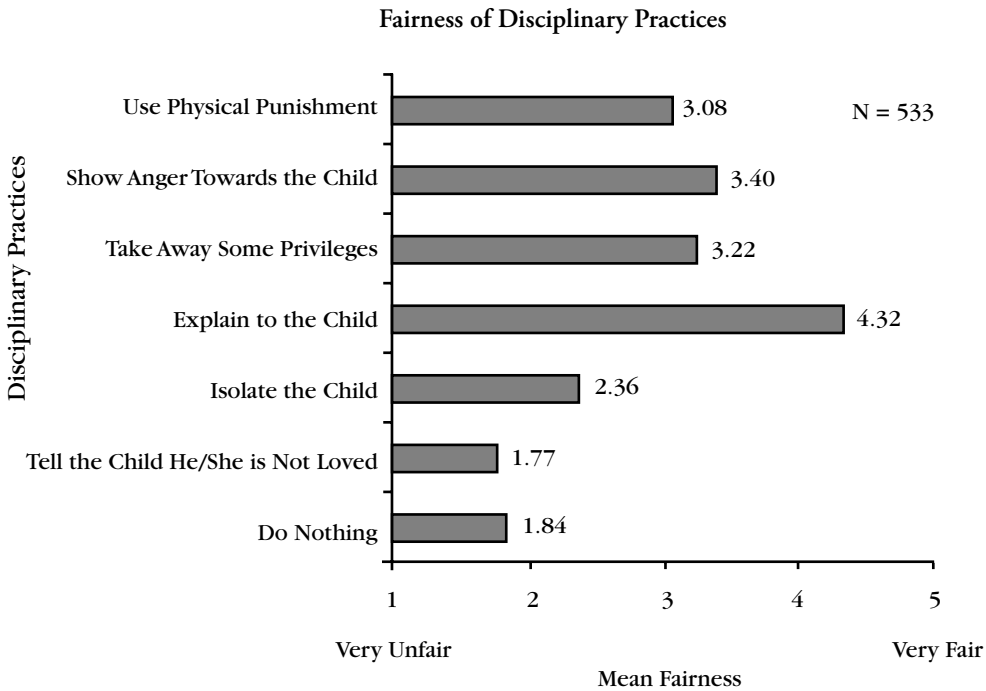


Figure 8: Children's ratings on the fairness of disciplinary practices in dealing with children's misbehaviour

On the whole, the patterns of responses by boys and girls on the fairness of disciplinary practices were rather similar, as shown in Figure 9. Results showed that:

- While both boys and girls considered telling a child that he or she is not loved to be an unfair form of discipline, girls rated it as more unfair than boys did.

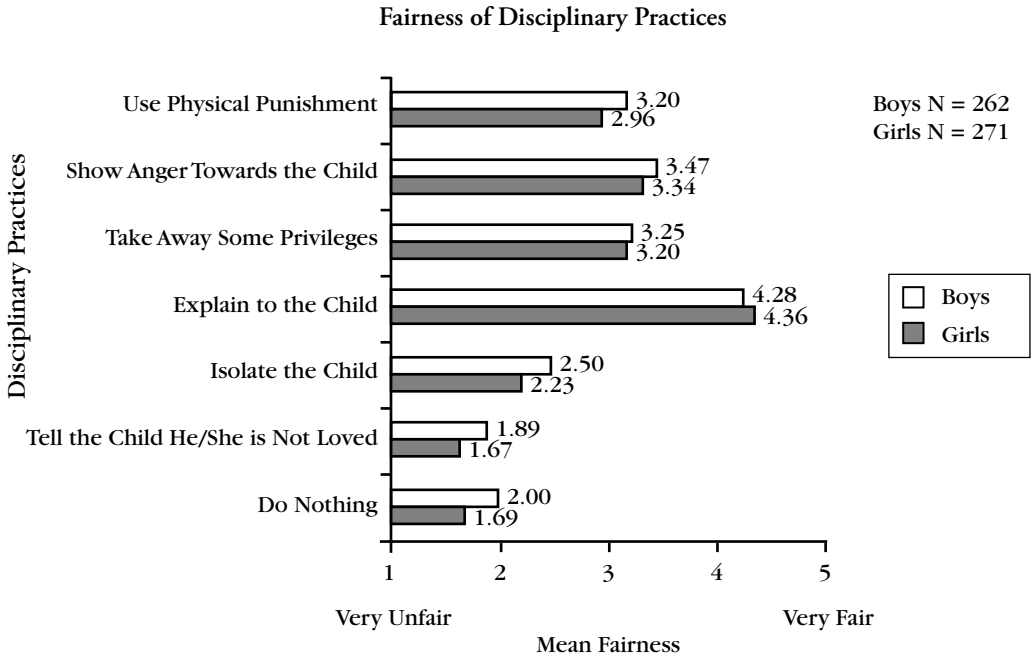


Figure 9: Fairness of disciplinary practices – a comparison between responses from boys and girls

Figure 10 shows a summary of parents' and children's responses on the frequency, effectiveness and fairness of discipline. The patterns of responses were very similar, in that parents and children usually gave similar ratings for the frequency, effectiveness and fairness of each type of disciplinary practice. For instance, explaining to the child what he or she had done wrong was the most frequently used practice. At the same time, it was also rated as being the most effective method by both parents and children, and the most fair method by children. On the other hand, doing nothing was considered to be one of the least frequently used, least effective and least fair method by parents and children.

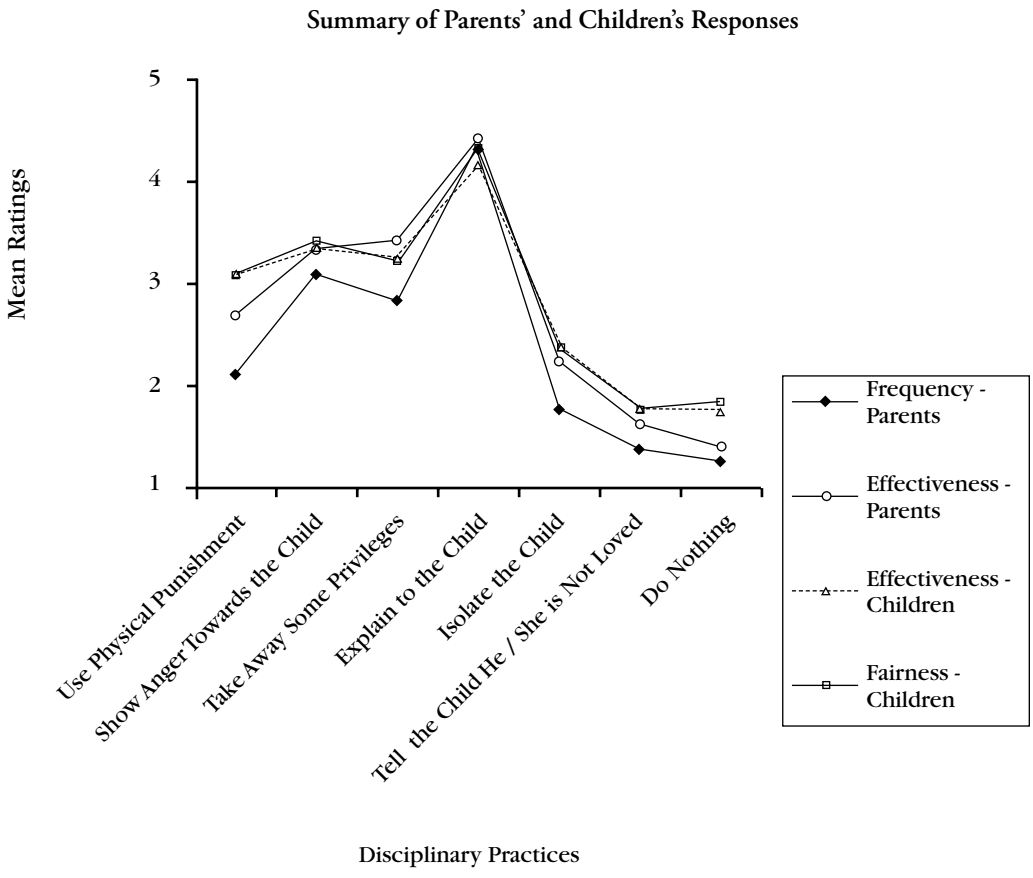


Figure 10: Summary of parents' and children's responses on frequency, effectiveness and fairness of disciplinary practices

Relationships between frequency of misbehaviour and frequency and effectiveness of disciplinary practices

Correlation analyses were run to examine the relationship between the frequency of children's misbehaviour and parents' ratings of effectiveness of discipline. The key findings were:

- The more frequently a child misbehaved, the higher the parental effectiveness ratings for physical punishment and isolating the child.

- The more frequently a child misbehaved, the less likely it was for parents to find explaining to the child effective.

The relationship between frequency of children's misbehaviour and how frequently parents used disciplinary practices was explored next. Results showed that:

- A higher frequency of misbehaviour was associated with parents' increased use of physical punishment; showing anger towards the child; taking away some of the child's privileges; isolating the child; and telling the child that he or she is not loved.

- The more frequently a child misbehaved, the less likely it was for parents to explain to the child what he or she has done wrong.

Discussion of results for disciplinary practices

In the component on disciplinary practices, parents' and children's perceptions of the effectiveness of seven types of disciplinary practices in the context of eight forms of misbehaviour of different degrees of severity were examined. We also explored how frequently parents had carried out each of the disciplinary practices, and how fair children considered each form of discipline to be.

The present study found reasoning to be the most frequently used practice among local parents. On the other hand, parents reported that they did not frequently use physical punishment. This finding is consistent with results obtained in past research on Asian and local populations (Kong et al., 1986; Lee et al., 2004; Papps et al., 1995; Quah, 1999; The Straits Times, 2004). This is contrary to the popular belief that Asian parents tend to use punitive disciplinary methods like physical punishment, given that Asian parenting is often described as authoritarian in Western-based literature (Chao, 2000). Not only was physical punishment infrequently used, it was also deemed to be an ineffective discipline method by parents. Children, however, were neutral about the effectiveness of physical punishment. The finding that children rated physical punishment to be neither

effective nor ineffective may seem counter-intuitive. However, this may not be surprising if we make clear the distinction between the degree to which children liked a form of discipline, and whether the discipline was deemed to be effective by children. Presumably, children do not like physical punishment, as it inflicts pain. However, this is conceptually different from asking children if they thought physical punishment is effective. It is possible for children to indicate that they dislike physical punishment, and yet they may not necessarily see it as being an ineffective practice.

The results also showed a match between parents' and children's responses on frequency, effectiveness and fairness of disciplinary practices. Parents used reasoning most frequently, and they seldom told their children that they are not loved. Both parents and children also considered reasoning to be the most effective practice, and telling children that they are not loved as the least effective practice. Similarly, reasoning was deemed to be one of the fairest disciplinary practices from the perspective of children, while telling a child that he or she is not loved was one of the least fair practices. The match between parents' and children's perspectives as found in this study was encouraging. According to the framework proposed by Grusec and Goodnow (1994), as discussed in the literature review in an earlier section, it is often desirable for parents to use a type of discipline that children considered as fair and effective. The framework stipulated that if children accept the legitimacy of the disciplinary practice when used to deal with a specific form of misbehaviour, they are more likely to internalise their parents' message to behave in an appropriate manner, even in the absence of their parents.

In the present study, mothers used physical punishment more frequently than fathers did. Mothers also considered physical punishment as being more effective compared to fathers. These results were contrary to the stereotype many hold about Asian fathers being disciplinarians in the family, who would most likely endorse and use power assertive methods more frequently. One plausible explanation for this finding could be the role differentiation between fathers and mothers in local families (Quah, 1998; 1999), where mothers are expected to be involved in caring for the child to a greater degree than fathers. If mothers spend more time with their children, then the opportunities for mothers to come to know of their children's misbehaviour would also be greater compared to fathers. As found in the present study, the more frequently a child misbehaved, the more likely it was for parents to use more power assertive methods of discipline, including physical punishment. It may therefore not be surprising that mothers in the present study claimed to have used more physical punishment. Future studies could examine how fathers and mothers share the responsibilities of disciplining and parenting children in the family, and whether mothers tend to play a bigger role in disciplining children if they are also primarily involved in child care.

Results of the present study also showed that a higher frequency of children's misbehaviour was associated with higher parental ratings of the effectiveness of physical punishment and isolating the child. A higher frequency of children's misbehaviour was also related to lower parental ratings of effectiveness of explaining. Similarly, a higher frequency of misbehaviour by children was linked to an increased use of power assertion and love withdrawal methods by parents, and a decrease in the use of reasoning. Nonetheless, it is important to note that these findings were correlations which could be interpreted in either direction. It means that although the frequency of children's misbehaviour may have caused high or low parental ratings of effectiveness and use of disciplinary practices, the reverse may also be true. In general, correlational data does not imply causation.

However, a study by Dix and Grusec (1985) did suggest that the more frequently a child misbehaves, the less likely it was for parents to use reasoning. To parents, the purpose of explaining to a child is to teach the child something useful and to counter any ignorance about the negative effects of his or her behaviour. If a child engaged in a form of misbehaviour repeatedly, parents would assume that the child is fully aware of the undesirability of that misbehaviour. This would render imparting knowledge through reasoning irrelevant in this instance. Consequently, with a child who often misbehaves, presumably despite previous parental intervention to stop the misbehaviour, parents may resort to harsher power assertive methods to pressure the child to change. This was indeed observed in a more recent study by Palmérus and Jutengren (2004), where parents used more coercion instead of verbal control when children continued to misbehave.

The present study supported the finding from previous research that children are capable of making judgments on the fairness of disciplinary practices (Konstantareas & Desbois, 2001). It is interesting to note that children in the present study rated telling a child that he or she is not loved to be an unfair disciplinary practice, while physical punishment, which is often focused on in research on child discipline, was deemed to be neither fair nor unfair. This is not surprising, as security is a basic need of children. For parents to express such rejection could be very frightening and upsetting for a child. Children often do not develop to their fullest potential if they are constantly worried that they may be abandoned by their parents, or not worthy of their parents' love. The emotional effects of discipline on the child are therefore no less important than the effects of physical punishment. A lot of research effort has been dedicated to examining the detrimental effects of physical punishment on children, but in comparison, very much less research has been done on the emotional impact of discipline on children, especially in the Asia-Pacific region (Ennew, 2006). The present study suggested that this is a vital aspect that should not be overlooked.

The results of the present study indicated that doing nothing was rated as one of the least effective option by parents and children. Children tended to view

non-intervention as being unfair, and parents also resorted to this method least frequently. The findings are consistent with results obtained by Siegal and Cowen (1984), where they concluded that permissiveness was generally not regarded positively by children. Building on this finding in the literature, the present study showed that like the children, parents in Singapore generally do not endorse the absence of discipline even when a child has misbehaved.

Children's perceptions of non-intervention as being unfair were interesting. Evidently, children in general have a clear sense of what constitutes inappropriate behaviour, and they believe that such behaviour warrants some form of disciplinary action by parents. Indeed, this observation is consistent with the finding of past research that children as young as 2 years of age are capable of reacting to misbehaviour with shame, embarrassment or sadness (Kochanska, 1994), which clearly showed that children by that age are usually aware of the undesirability of misbehaviour. In view of this, it is logical for children to find non-intervention by parents unsatisfactory. The findings that children do have a sense of "wrongness" and that they are able to judge the extent to which parental discipline are fair further reiterate the need to involve children in research on issues that concern them (Ennew, 2006).

Generally little distinction between moral and social-conventional forms of transgression was found, so these analyses have been included only in Appendix E. This was not expected, as past research had found discipline techniques to vary according to these two types of transgression (Grusec & Kuczynski, 1980; Trickett & Kuczynski, 1986). The results of the present study seemed to suggest that Singaporean parents tended to use similar types of discipline for both moral transgressions (those which involve consequences on another person) and social-conventional transgressions (those which involve violations of common social rules) However, the similarities in responses could also be related to the disadvantage and ambiguity entailed in classifying behaviour into categories. For instance, being impolite to others, which is generally understood to be a form of social conventional transgression, could well become a moral transgression if it involves teasing and hurting the feelings of another person. In the latter interpretation, the severity of the transgression would have been escalated to that associated with a moral transgression. In this instance, the distinction between these two categories would not be as clear as it should be. To counter this possibility, future studies which involve examining disciplinary practices in different situations (misbehaviours) could consider phrasing some examples of misbehaviour as being obviously more severe than others. Parents could also be asked to rate the severity of each form of misbehaviour in question as a check that parents have also perceived these items as differing in levels of severity. If this was done, the different misbehaviour could be classified according to their severity (high or low), rather than whether they are moral or social-conventional in nature.

Finally, for the component on disciplinary practice, social desirability effects could not be completely ruled out. In face-to-face interviews, parents may find it threatening to disclose the frequency with which they have used power assertive methods, which are generally not advocated in contemporary society. The use of self-administered questionnaires rather than an interview format may have reduced the possibility of socially desirable responses. However, given the complexity of the current questionnaire, some parents would have found it difficult to complete this without guidance from interviewers. Nonetheless, in a local study by Lee and colleagues (2004) where participants filled out the questionnaires privately (thereby minimising socially desirable responses), a low frequency of the use of power assertive methods by parents (e.g., physical punishment) was also found. Thus, social desirability effects in the present study may not have been too influential.

Review of the literature

Types of care arrangements

Child care arrangements constitute important and possibly difficult issues that parents often have to negotiate, especially if both parents would like to remain in the workforce after the birth of a child. Common types of caregiving arrangements are well summarised by the three approaches elaborated by Hertz (1997). Through qualitative interviews conducted with 95 employed fathers and mothers, Hertz found that the caregiving patterns of these parents fell under three approaches – the mothering approach, the parenting approach and the market approach. Families which adopt the mothering approach believe that the person best suited to raise the couple's children is the mother. In this instance, mothers usually stay out of paid employment during the early developmental years of their children, and may engage in part-time or shift work as the child becomes more independent. In the parenting approach, the family is organized around child care, such that both parents become full participants in caring for their children. Unlike the mothering approach, the fathers too, may alter their work arrangements to care for their children in the parenting approach. Finally, for the market approach, persons are hired to care for the children. The market approach is most commonly adopted in families where both parents remain in the workforce, and such child care arrangements could vary according to the developmental needs of the child (e.g., from home care by a live-in helper during infancy to being cared for at a child care centre when the child is older).

In the Singaporean context where nuclear, dual-earner families have become more prevalent in recent decades, we would expect many parents to adopt the market approach. As Singapore is still a rather patriarchal society, the parenting approach may be less prevalent as mothers are often expected or have made a personal choice to make arrangements to accommodate child care responsibilities. Parents who do not have support at their workplace or from their extended families may find themselves hiring other people to care for their children instead.

Studies on care arrangements

Few studies have been done to track the forms of care arrangements children had at different ages. Most research on child care arrangements has focused on the experiences of latchkey children (Belle, 1997) or compared various outcomes of children who were under self-care or had an adult caregiver (Rodman, Pratoo, &

Nelson, 1985). Local studies on describing children's care arrangements across ages are equally scarce. A local study on care arrangement was carried out in as early as 1979 (Wong, Oon & Lung), although the authors had reservations about the validity of responses by mothers in that study. Subsequently, Kong and colleagues (1986) carried out a study in Singapore on child rearing practices, which included examining care arrangements for children. In that study, mothers of 200 children between the ages of 7 and 10 years were administered a structured questionnaire concerning the types of caregiving arrangements prevailing when the child was from birth to 3 years of age. Results showed that 26.5% of the children sampled were cared for mainly by a non-maternal caregiver from birth to 3 years of age, with grandparents playing a rather prominent role in the care of the child. More recently, Quah (1999) completed a study on the various aspects of family life in Singapore, which included a brief component on child care arrangements. It was found that younger children (age was not specified) were primarily cared for by the mother or grandparent, with only a very small proportion of cases involving the husband, older siblings or other family members.

The present study

In this component of the Parenting Project, we were interested to find out how children are being cared for in contemporary Singapore, where nuclear, dual-in come families are increasingly commonplace. Unlike previous studies which focused only on the child care arrangements of children from a specific age or age range, the present study sought to describe the types of care children had when they were at various ages, from birth till present. The present study went one step further to explore how happy the parents and children were with the care arrangements, and the reasons as to why they were happy or unhappy. Given that some parents may have adopted certain child care arrangements for lack of a better alternative at that point in time, we also asked which one type of care arrangement both parents and children might have alternatively preferred, and the reasons behind their preferences.

Questionnaire on child care arrangements

Parents were asked to indicate the main care arrangements for their children (the children who also took part in the present study) when the children were from birth till 3 years old, 4 to 6 years old, 7 to 9 years old and 10 years old to present. The list of potential caregivers included mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, adult relatives who were not parents or grandparents, non-relative adults (e.g., family friends), older siblings, paid workers (e.g., maid, babysitter), child care centre or others.

The parents then gave a rating on how happy they were with the care arrangements, on a scale of 1 to 5 with "1" being very unhappy, "3" being neither unhappy nor happy and "5" being very happy. They were also asked to give reasons as to why they were happy or unhappy with the care arrangements. Parents were then asked to choose one care arrangement they would have preferred when their children were at each of the age ranges specified, and to give a reason for their choice.

Children responded to the same set of questions as their parents, except that they were not asked to answer the questions for the period between birth till age 3, since memory is unreliable at this age.

Findings

The main types of care arrangements

Table 3 shows parents' reports of the main types of care arrangement children in the present study had at various points of their childhood (age 0 to 3; age 4 to 6; age 7 to 9; age 10 to present). Each percentage value was derived from the responses given by 533 parents. For instance, from Table 3, about two-thirds (64.2%) of all the parents in the sample of 533 parents indicated that mothers were the main caregivers of their children. As each child could have been placed under more than one form of care at a specific age range, parents were allowed to indicate more than one type of care arrangement. As a result, when the column percentages shown in Table 3 for each age group are summed, the total percentage exceeds 100%.

The main forms of care arrangements were relatively consistent from the time the children were born to the present, with mothers, grandmothers, paid workers and fathers being the most common caregivers. The key findings were:

- Mothers were the main caregivers to most children, with over 60% of the children being cared for by mothers throughout their childhood.

- The percentage of children being cared for by fathers remained small (less than 20%) compared with mothers at any age.

- There was a high reliance on paid workers throughout, although the prevalence of paid workers as main caregivers gradually declined as children grew older.

- About 40% of the children were cared for by grandparents from birth to 3

years old, with grandmothers being very much more involved compared to grandfathers. A gradual fall in grandparents being main caregivers was also observed as children grew older.

- More parents became main caregivers of their children, when their children were from age 7 onwards.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, about one quarter of the children in the study conducted in Singapore by Kong and colleagues (1986) were being cared for by non-maternal caregivers. In the present study, the findings could not be directly compared with that finding, as the present participants could select more than one form of care arrangement at any specific age. Therefore, further analyses were carried out to identify parents who only indicated one form of care arrangement for their children when they were from birth to 3 years old. Results showed that out of these 318 parents, 44% indicated that their children were not cared for by their mothers when they were from birth to 3 years of age. Out of these children who did not have mothers as the main caregivers, 42.1% were cared for by grandmothers, while 48.6% were cared for by paid workers or were placed in child care centres.

Table 3: The main types of care arrangements for children at different ages (N = 533)

Main Types of Care Arrangement	Age 0 - 3 (%)	Age 4 - 6 (%)	Age 7 - 9 (%)	Age 10-present (%)
Mother	64.2	63.4	70.7	70.9
Father	18.4	15.2	17.3	18.8
Grandmother	31.1	22.7	17.8	15.0
Grandfather	7.5	5.1	4.3	2.8
Adult relative	5.1	2.3	2.1	1.3
Non-relative adult	1.3	1.5	0.9	0.6
Older sibling	1.9	1.7	2.3	2.6
Paid worker	27.2	20.8	19.5	18.9
Child care centre	4.9	12.4	7.5	4.9
Others	0.2	0	1.1	3.0

Parents' and children's happiness with care arrangements

More than 80% of the parents and children in the present study were either very happy or happy with the care arrangements throughout the childhood years. Table 4 shows the exact percentages. For parents who rated the child care arrangements positively, the main caregivers of their children were usually mothers,

grandmothers, paid workers and fathers. The parents were happy mostly because they felt that the parents and grandmothers could usually discipline the children well, teach the children the correct values and bond with the children. For some parents, they found joy in watching their children grow up. In instances where parents were happy with paid workers as main caregivers, the paid workers were usually deemed to be reliable and trustworthy. Parents also liked the idea that they were able to return to the workforce when they engaged paid workers to care for their children.

For children who mentioned that they were either happy or very happy with the care arrangements they received at various ages, the main caregivers were often mothers, fathers, grandmothers and paid workers. Children were happy as they felt that their parents, grandmothers and paid workers took good care of them and loved them. They also enjoyed the opportunity to bond with their parents, and to receive academic guidance from their parents. The children also felt that their parents and grandmothers understood them best. For children who were cared for by their mothers, some of them were happy because they were aware that their mothers stopped paid work just to care for them. In addition, they also felt that their mothers were able to teach them the correct values. Some children were also happy that paid workers were their main caregivers because the paid workers were playmates to the children, and they were often not too strict with them.

Given that a relatively large proportion of children were being cared for by paid workers in the course of childhood, further analyses were done to find out if children were happy with paid workers being their main caregivers. As most children were placed under more than one type of care arrangement, the extent to which they were happy could not be attributed to only one form of care. Thus, the analyses done to examine whether children were happy with having paid workers as main caregivers were only performed for children who indicated that they had paid workers as the sole main caregivers. Results showed that:

- Out of the 35 children who indicated that they only had paid workers as main caregivers from age 4 to 6, 71.4% of them indicated that they were either happy or very happy with the care arrangement.

- Out of the 44 children who indicated that they only had paid workers as main caregivers from age 7 to 9, 68.2% felt that they were either happy or very happy with the care arrangement.

- Out of the 45 children who indicated that they only had paid workers as main caregivers from age 10 to present, 60% indicated that they were either happy or very happy with the care arrangement.

When a comparison was done between the extent to which the children were happy with their care arrangements and whether they were cared for by parents or paid workers from age 4 to present, the results showed that:

- Children who indicated that they had parents as main caregivers from ages 4 to 6, 7 to 9 and 10 onwards were happier with the care arrangement than children who were cared for mainly by paid workers.

Table 4: Parents' and children's happiness with the care arrangements at different ages
(Parents N = 533; Children N = 533)

Ratings	Age 0 - 3		Age 4 - 6		Age 7 - 9		Age 10 - present	
	Parents (%)	Children (%)	Parents (%)	Children (%)	Parents (%)	Children (%)	Parents (%)	Children (%)
Very Happy	36.6	-	37.5	34.7	37.1	30.6	38.3	31.7
Happy	49.5	-	50.3	54.6	49.9	56.8	49.3	53.7
Neither Happy Nor Unhappy	10.5	-	10.7	8.4	10.7	10.1	10.0	11.1
Unhappy	3.0	-	1.3	1.9	1.9	1.9	2.4	3.2
Very Unhappy	0.4	-	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.6	0	0.4
Total	100.0	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Parents' and children's preferred care arrangements

Parents' and children's preferred types of care arrangements were also examined, and the percentages are shown in Table 5. From the perspectives of both parents and children, mothers were the most preferred caregiver across all age groups, followed by grandmothers. The following were some common reasons cited by parents as to why they preferred mothers to be the main caregivers:

- Mothers know what is best for the child, and therefore could provide better care.

- Mothers could guide children in their studies and behaviour.

- It is the mother's responsibility to look after the child.

For those parents who indicated their preference for grandmothers as main caregivers, the main reasons mentioned were:

- Parents felt more secure with a trusted and experienced family member caring for their children.

- Parents saw grandmothers as being more patient and loving, and would likely pay more attention to the children.

- With the help of grandmothers, both parents could remain in full time employment.

Reasons given by children who preferred mothers as their main caregivers included:

- A preference for their mothers to spend more time with them, instead of being at work.

- Feelings that mothers could take better care of them, as mothers are likely to understand them best and could guide them in their school work.

On the other hand, some children preferred their grandmothers instead because they felt that grandmothers are likely to be less strict and more caring towards them.

Only a very small percentage of parents preferred fathers and paid workers as main caregivers for their children between birth to 6 years of age. This is despite the finding that a notable proportion of children were cared for by paid workers and fathers during these periods (refer to Table 3). Children's preferences for fathers and paid workers as main caregivers were also relatively low throughout the course of childhood.

Table 5: Parents' and children's preferred care arrangements at different ages (Parents N = 533; Children N = 533)

	Age 0 - 3		Age 4 - 6		Age 7 - 9		Age 10 - present	
Preferred Types of Care Arrangement	Parents (%)	Children (%)	Parents (%)	Children (%)	Parents (%)	Children (%)	Parents (%)	Children (%)
Mother	75.2	-	72.2	68.9	79.7	68.3	79.9	68.5
Father	1.5	-	1.9	4.9	2.8	7.1	3.2	7.1
Grandmother	17.4	-	13.3	13.9	8.8	12.0	8.4	9.4
Grandfather	0.2	-	0.4	1.3	0.4	0.9	0.2	1.3
Adult relative	0.6	-	0.8	1.7	0.6	1.7	1.1	1.9
Non-relative adult	0	-	0	0.6	0	0.6	0	0.2
Older sibling	0.4	-	0.2	2.8	0.4	2.4	0.8	4.5
Paid worker	2.6	-	1.7	3.8	2.8	4.5	1.9	3.8
Child care centre	1.9	-	9.6	2.1	3.9	1.9	3.0	1.7
Others	0.2	-	0	0.2	0.6	0.6	1.5	1.7

Fathers' and mothers' preferred child care arrangements were then compared. Results are shown in Table 6. Of interest is the low preference for fathers as main caregivers at any age, even by the fathers themselves. On the whole, fathers preferred mothers to be the main caregivers of the children, more so than mothers themselves, from birth to 3 years of age and from age 4 to 6. No such difference persisted as the children grew older.

When comparisons were made between boys' and girls' preferences for a particular form of care arrangement, no difference was found for mothers, fathers, grandmothers and paid workers for all age groups. The percentages of boys' and girls' preferences for the distinct types of care arrangements are shown in Table 7.

Table 6: Fathers' and mothers' preferred care arrangements at different ages (Fathers N = 248; Mothers N = 285)

	Age 0 - 3		Age 4 - 6		Age 7 - 9		Age 10 - present	
Preferred Types of Care Arrangement	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)	Mothers (%)	Fathers (%)
Mother	70.5	80.6	67.4	77.8	76.8	83.1	77.9	82.3
Father	1.4	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.1	3.6	1.8	4.8
Grandmother	19.6	14.9	15.4	10.9	10.5	6.9	10.2	6.5
Grandfather	0	0.4	0	0.8	0.7	0	0.4	0
Adult relative	0.7	0.4	0.7	0.8	0.4	0.8	1.1	1.2
Non-relative adult	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Older sibling	0.7	0	0	0.4	0.7	0	0.7	0.8
Paid worker	4.2	0.8	2.5	0.8	2.5	3.2	2.5	1.2
Child care centre	2.5	1.2	12.3	6.5	5.6	2.0	3.9	2.0
Others	0.4	0	0	0	0.7	0.4	1.8	1.2

Table 7: Boys' and girls' preferred care arrangements at different ages (Boys N = 262; Girls N = 271)

Preferred Types of Care Arrangement	Age 4 - 6		Age 7 - 9		Age 10 - Present	
	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Boys (%)	Girls (%)	Boys (%)
Mother	72.3	65.3	70.8	65.6	69.7	67.2
Father	4.8	5.0	7.0	7.3	7.4	6.9
Grandmother	13.3	14.5	10.3	13.7	7.0	11.8
Grandfather	0.7	1.9	1.1	0.8	1.5	1.1
Adult relative	0.7	2.7	1.1	2.3	1.8	1.9
Non-relative adult	0	1.1	0	1.1	0	0.4
Older sibling	2.6	3.1	2.6	2.3	6.3	2.7
Paid worker	3.7	3.8	4.1	5.0	3.0	4.6
Child care centre	1.5	2.7	2.2	1.5	2.2	1.1
Others	0.4	0	0.7	0.4	1.1	2.3

Discussion of results for child care arrangements

Results from the care arrangement component showed that mothers were very often the main caregivers to most children, whereas only a very small percentage of fathers were main caregivers to children across all age groups. This is consistent with the findings by Quah (1999) that mothers in Singapore were usually the primary caregivers to young children, with very minimal involvement by fathers. This suggests that the mothering approach is still very much subscribed to in Singapore, whereby mothers, instead of other persons, make provisions to accommodate child care duties. This is despite the fact that more than half of the mothers in the present study were working mothers. The finding that mothers were usually the main caregivers, regardless of their employment status, is indicative of the general tendency of local married couples to follow the traditional role differentiation between husband and wife (Quah, 1999), as described in the discussion of results on disciplinary practices in Chapter 2. Indeed, Quah (1999) found that the majority of local ever-married citizens in her sample felt that in cases of conflicting demands, the working woman's main responsibilities are to her husband and children, and that the mother and not the father should stay at home if a child falls ill. As shown in the present study, mothers were cited as the preferred main caregiver by parents as they felt that it is the mother's responsibility to look after the child.

Although dual-income families are increasingly common in Singapore, the practice of shared parenting responsibilities does not seem to be prevalent among local families. The belief that mothers should be mainly responsible for domestic duties like child care may cause mothers to be under substantial stress. Indeed, some mothers in the present study mentioned that being tied down with child care responsibilities had caused them to often feel tired and bored. It is likely that this is especially difficult for working mothers, who have to juggle with both work and family commitments with seemingly little support from the spouse. However, on a positive note, the relatively high level of involvement by grandmothers as main caregivers to children at any age as found in this study did offer some relief to working parents, in particular mothers. This is supported by the reports from some parents that they preferred grandmothers as the main caregivers, as this arrangement allowed them to remain in full-time employment.

In the present study, very small percentages of fathers indicated that they preferred fathers as main caregivers of children (at any age). This could be again related to the strong belief in traditional role differentiation between spouses as mentioned above. Fathers may still see their role as providing financial support for the family, at least partially if not fully, instead of being concerned with child care duties. However,

it is beyond the scope of the results of the present study to suggest that fathers were uninterested in child care because of their low preference for fathers as main caregivers. Fathers in this sample may still be interested in child care, but may feel that there were better alternatives apart from themselves. Recent media interest on the topic of stay-at-home fathers also seemed to suggest that fathers may not be totally indifferent towards caring for children (The Straits Times, 21/07/2006), as some fathers are also willing to quit their jobs to engage in full-time child care. Indeed, in a study by Wong and colleagues conducted in 1979, about 84% of the fathers interviewed showed a keen interest in child care. Future studies could be conducted locally to explore the roles and perceptions of fathers towards child care in Singapore, where more women are returning to the workforce after the birth of a child, sometimes to jobs that earn a higher income than their husbands.

A higher proportion of children in the present study was cared for by a non-maternal caregiver between the age of 0 to 3 years, compared with the findings by Kong and colleagues (1986). Specifically, the non-maternal caregivers referred to in the present study included paid workers and child care centres.This is evidence for the higher prevalence of the market approach being adopted by parents in Singapore in recent years, possibly as more mothers are returning to full time employment shortly after the birth of a child. However, when it came to parents' and children's preferences for care arrangement such as paid workers, their preferences were for other care arrangements even though many children were cared for by paid workers from birth to present. Nonetheless, the finding that children had low preference for paid workers as main caregivers when a substantial proportion of them were being cared for by one may not be cause for alarm, as results have shown that the majority of the children who only had paid workers as main caregivers at various ages indicated that they were either happy or very happy with the care arrangement. However, children in the present study who had parents as their main caregivers were generally happier with the care arrangement, compared to children who were cared for solely by paid workers. Thus, the importance of having one or both parents figure prominently in the life of a child on a daily basis must not be discounted, given that children's preferences are clearly still for parents, especially the mothers, to be the primary caregivers.

The results of the present study also supported the findings by Kong and colleagues (1986) which showed that grandparents were also rather actively involved in the care of the child. But as the present study made a distinction between grandmothers and grandfathers, we found that many more grandmothers were engaged in child care compared to grandfathers. Moreover, parents and children also preferred grandmothers to a greater extent. This could be explained by parents' and children's perception of grandmothers as being more experienced in child care and more

caring towards children. Grandmothers were also seen as better caregivers than paid workers, as parents had more trust in grandmothers. Consequently, parents could continue in the workforce with peace of mind. Also observed was the gradual fall in grandparents and paid workers being main caregivers as children grew older. This could be attributed to higher independence of the children with age, or in the case of grandparents, unavailability due to ill health or death.

Of interest were children's views on their preferences for grandmothers as main caregivers because grandmothers were likely to be less strict and more caring. This may seem parodoxical in Asian societies, where strictness is often equated with being more caring (Chao & Tseng, 2002), bearing in mind that the grandmothers in the present study also belonged to a generation where strictness had been quite conventional. This could be explained by a shift towards grandmothers being more indulgent, a trend which was also observed in other cultures. For instance, in the 1950s, grandmothers in the West were found to have "stricter and more authoritarian views than mothers" (Smith & Drew, 2002, p.143). But by the 1980s, grandmothers were seen as having taken a more supportive role, being rather free and easy with their grandchildren. By then, the grandparental and parental roles were clearly demarcated, with grandparents tending to be lenient towards the grandchildren, but at the same time showing love and care for them. Parents, on the other hand, are expected to be fairly strict with the children, even by the grandparents. There may be some truth in the saying that it is the parents' responsibility to discipline the children, but the grandparent's right to spoil them (The Straits Times, 24/07/2006). The "more strict, therefore more caring" attitude may apply to parents, but not to grandparents.

It was also observed in the present study that parents more frequently became the main caregivers of their children from age 7 (i.e., the use of paid caretakers decreased with older children). We speculated that this could be the case as children started to attend primary schools at that age. Parents could possibly have made themselves more available to guide their children in schoolwork, since parents' ability to give children academic guidance was frequently cited as a reason why parents preferred mothers and fathers as main caregivers to children.

Finally, for the section on child care arrangement, self-care could have been added as one of the care options, as it is known that the latchkey phenomenon has been a rather common issue in Singapore (Ministry of Social Affairs, 1985; Teo, 1989). In fact, a few parent and children participants in the present study had indicated "self-care" under "others" when asked for main care arrangements for the children.

Review of the literature

Research publications on local samples on parenting practices or styles were found to be scarce, and to date there is no established multi-cultural scale that measures parenting practices specifically in the local context. The component on parenting practices was therefore exploratory in nature, driven by an interest in understanding what are some of the parenting practices that are commonly adopted by parents in Singapore.

Parenting styles versus parenting practices

In the present study, parenting practices were examined instead of parenting styles. Parenting styles, which have been widely used in research on parenting, are defined as "aggregates of behaviours that describe parent-child interactions over a wide range of situations" (Mize & Pettit, 1997, p. 312). One well-known model of parenting styles uses the terms authoritarian, authoritative, permissive and neglectful parenting (Baumrind, 1968; Maccoby & Martin, 1983). According to Baumrind (1968), parental control and acceptance are the main dimensions underlying parent-child relationships, with different combinations of each giving rise to the four styles mentioned. However, such a typology where parenting behaviour is categorised may not always be desirable, as there is a risk of over-generalising behaviour. This latter point will be more apparent as we review the literature on parenting styles in Western and non-Western societies later in this chapter. Taking the disadvantage of the use of a typology into consideration, parenting practices were the preferred focus of this research. Parenting practices are defined as parenting behaviours aimed at achieving specific outcomes (Stevenson-Hinde, 1998). For instance, by pointing out to a child good behaviour in others, the parent's goal may be to encourage the child to learn and acquire that positive behaviour. Parenting practices are therefore descriptions of what parents do in the course of bringing up their children. Parenting practices are usually assessed in terms of the content and frequency of behaviour, which is the approach taken in the present study.

Research on parenting

Although a literature search revealed a good deal of published research conducted on Chinese or immigrant Chinese populations, there was virtually nothing available on parenting among Malays and Indians, which are two of the four major ethnic groups in Singapore. Consequently, the literature review for this research included many studies carried out on Chinese or immigrant Chinese samples, which may not generalise well to the remainder of the local population.

Most research conducted on Western samples tended to categorise parental behaviour into the four parenting styles mentioned, and the results of these studies usually supported the use of the authoritative style, in comparison with the three other common styles (authoritarian, permissive and neglectful). In this system, warmth involves high levels of affection and emotional support and control involves the imposition of rules and insistence on standards of behaviour. The authoritative style is characterized by high levels of warmth and control by parents whereas the authoritarian style is also high on control but low on warmth. In Western studies, authoritative parenting has been linked to a number of positive outcomes in children, such as higher levels of academic achievement and adjustment, as well as less likelihood of getting into trouble (Lamborn et al., 1991; Steinberg et al., 1992). However, studies which used the same typology on non-Western samples have consistently found contradicting results. Research conducted on Chinese or immigrant Chinese samples tended to suggest that authoritative parenting may not necessarily bring about positive outcomes in children from Chinese families. For instance, in a study involving immigrant Chinese parents in the United States, Chao (2001) found that first-generation Chinese adolescents from authoritative homes were not better off academically compared to adolescents with authoritarian parents. These findings seemed to suggest that Baumrind's typology may not apply well in explaining parenting in non-Western samples. The typology may be able to describe parental behaviour well, but it loses its appeal when it fails to predict the same outcomes in diverse cultures.

An attempt had been made to construct and validate a parenting scale that suits the local context (Chang et al., 1996). However, the scale constructed in that study was also based on the typology by Baumrind (1968) and Maccoby and Martin (1983). This included sub-scales representing authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent and neglecting parenting, and the reliability of the sub-scales on indulgent and authoritative parenting turned out to be low. A scale with low reliability suggests that the items do not consistently measure the same general concept. For instance, a low reliability on the sub-scale of authoritative parenting means that some items may be measuring concepts other than authoritative parenting. Consequently, a scale that has low reliability is not satisfactory.

Apart from efforts in devising a local parenting scale, Ong (1999) examined the relationship between adolescents' perceptions of their fathers' and mothers' parenting styles and their levels of adjustment (e.g., school adjustment, psychological and social adjustment and behavioural problems). However, this study also made use of the typology of parenting styles, which has already been established as being less-than-ideal earlier in this section.

Part of the reason for the inadequacy of the use of the typology in the local context as well as other non-Western samples could be that while warmth tends to be equated with love and care in Western societies, love and care in Asia may be evident without overt demonstrations of warmth. Studies have found that although Chinese parents tended to display high control and restrictiveness (Chao, 1994; Kelley & Tseng, 1992; Lin & Fu, 1990), the control and restriction seemed to arise from concern for their children's well-being, and a desire to protect the children (Chiu, 1987). This fits the description of the Chinese concept of *guan* (管教), or training, described by Chao (1994; 2000), which involves teaching children through "guidance and continuous monitoring of their behaviour" (Chao, 2000, p. 234). This training is based on care and love for the children. In fact, parents who do not train their children may be viewed as negligent and uncaring (Chao & Tseng, 2002). The concept of *guan* was speculated to be also an important practice in Singapore. It is therefore included in the present study.

The present study is interested in describing parenting practices instead of categorising them into different parenting styles. As mentioned, the styles described in Baumrind's typology may not capture parenting of local parents accurately. The parenting practices included in the present study were the concept of training or *guan*, encouragement of modest behaviour and shaming which are all largely Asian (Chinese) concepts (Wu et al., 2002). Modest behaviour involves being humble and moderate and encouragement of modest behaviours stems from the belief in collectivistic cultures that a person should conform to societal norms even at the expense of individual needs and desires (Wu et al., 2002). Shaming, which involves making a child feel bad about something that he or she has done, is aimed at encouraging the child to change his or her behaviour to avoid disapproval from others. Shaming is an especially relevant practice predominantly in Chinese cultures, where children are socialised to be aware of and value others' opinions about them (Fung, 1999). Other concepts that were well-established in non-Asian studies were also included, such as parental participation, warmth or acceptance and parental control and autonomy. Examples of parenting practices represented by these concepts can be found in Table 8. Exposure to religion, which involves ensuring that the child knows about his or her religion, was included due to the belief that it may be relevant to some families in the local context. As mothers and fathers also tend to have different levels of involvement in parenting their children (Paulson & Sputa, 1996), the present study also sought to compare frequencies of parenting practices between fathers and mothers. Children's views on parenting practices have rarely been examined in research and thus, to rectify this, children's views were specifically solicited in the present study.

Questionnaire on parenting practices

The section on parenting practices contained 20 examples of parenting practices that represented eight broad categories such as training/*guan*, encouragement of modest behaviour, shaming, parental participation, warmth or acceptance, parental control, autonomy and exposure to religion. Table 8 contains a list of the items which correspond to each of these eight categories. All of the items were adapted or adopted from past research (Block, 1965; Chao, 1994; Gecas & Schwalbe, 1986; Ong, 1999; Schaefer, 1965; Stewart et al., 1998; Wu et al., 2002), except for the single item on exposure to religion. The item on exposure to religion was created for this study due to the belief that it may be relevant to some cultural groups in Singapore.

Parents were asked to indicate how frequently they have adopted each parenting practice in bringing up their child. Parents gave their responses on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = never; 2 = almost never; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = very often). Children were given the same scale except that they were asked to respond separately for their mothers and fathers. For example, the item "I train my child to work very hard" in the parents' questionnaire was reworded in the questionnaire for children as "My father (mother) trained me to work very hard".

Table 8: Items on parenting practices and their corresponding categories

Parenting Practices Categories		Items
Training / *guan*	1.	I train my child to work very hard.
	2.	I train my child to be disciplined.
	3.	I teach my child by pointing out good behaviour in others.
Encouragement of Modest Behaviour	4.	I tell my child not to "show off" when other people say nice things about him/her.
Shaming	5.	I make my child feel guilty when he/she doesn't meet my expectations.
Parental Participation	6.	I do everything for my child's education.
	7.	I spend time with my child.
	8.	I encourage my child to always do his/her best.
	9.	I show an interest in what my child does.
	10.	I am too busy to bother with my child. (Reverse coding required)
Warmth/Acceptance	11.	I give praise when my child is good.
	12.	I express affection by hugging, kissing and holding my child.
	13.	I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset.
Parental Control	14.	I do not allow my child to question my decisions.
	15.	I make sure I know where my child is and what he/she is doing.
	16.	I am strict.
	17.	I supervise all of my child's activities.
Autonomy	18.	I listen to my child's ideas and opinions.
	19.	I let my child decide many things for him/herself.
Exposure to Religion	20.	I make sure that my child knows about our religion.

Important Qualities for Children

Another focus of the component on parenting practice concerned the extent to which parents considered a list of qualities for children to be important. Parents are one of the channels through which transmission of values from one generation to the next takes place (Quah, 1998). Therefore, it is of interest to know which qualities are important for children to acquire from the perspectives of parents. 15 qualities were included in the study. The qualities are as follows:

1. To be independent
2. To do well in school
3. To be obedient
4. To get along with others
5. To not harm others
6. To be polite
7. To show emotional self-control
8. To not be selfish
9. To be helpful
10. To share with others
11. To respect people older than self
12. To be modest / humble
13. To be honest
14. To be responsible
15. To be assertive

The qualities listed above included those that are valued in Asian societies, such as to do well in school, to get along with others, to show emotional self-control, to respect people older than self and to be modest/humble (Chao, 2001; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Falbo, 1991; Hoffman, 1988; Jose et al., 2000; Kelley & Tseng, 1992). In the literature, these qualities are generally known to be collectivistic in nature, as children are encouraged to view themselves as being a part of a family and society, and individual differences are not emphasised. However, qualities such as independence and assertiveness are considered to be valued by parents in predominantly Western, individualistic cultures, where children are encouraged to develop a self that is autonomous and unique (Jose et al., 2000). In an urbanised society like Singapore, one may expect parents to embrace a mix of collectivist values of Asian tradition as well as modern, individualist views. For instance, it is generally recognised that parents in Singapore tend to emphasise on values such as respect for elders and doing well in school. On the other hand, past research also suggested that assertiveness was a quality valued by parents in Singapore (Wu, 1996). Therefore, both collectivist and individualist values were included in the present study.

Parents were asked to rate to what extent they felt each of the 15 qualities are important for children to have on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = not important at all; 2 = somewhat unimportant; 3 = neutral; 4 = somewhat important and 5 = very important).

Findings

Frequency of parenting practices

Parents and children rated the frequency with which parenting practices were carried out by parents, on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = never; 2 = almost never; 3 = sometimes; 4 = often; 5 = very often). Figure 11 shows a comparison between parents' self-evaluation on how frequently they had used certain parenting practices and their children's perceptions of those frequencies.

From the bar chart, shaming was least frequently used by parents. Although shaming was not as frequently used when compared with other parenting practices, parents and children nonetheless indicated that shaming was sometimes adopted.

Parents indicated that they often engaged in training (*guan*), parental participation and a display of warmth and acceptance towards their children. Exposure to religion, which apparently has not been a focus in past research on parenting, was also found to be a relevant concept in the present study, with parents and children indicating that parents here also engaged it in. Overall, the pattern of responses by parents and children was very similar.

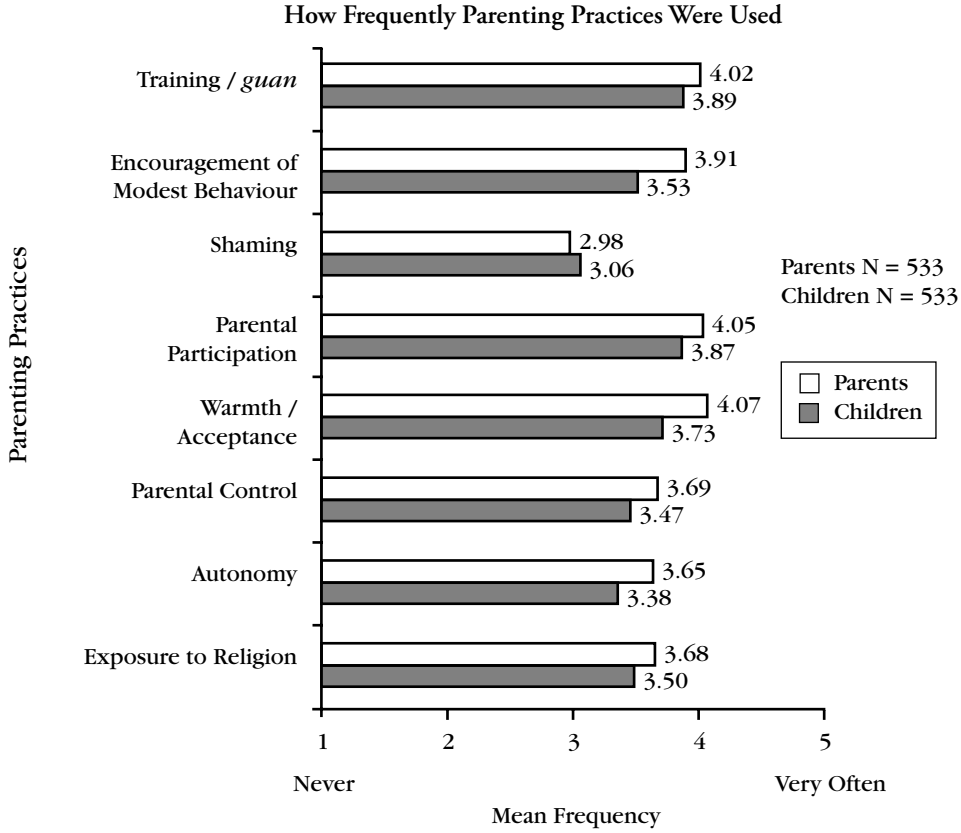


Figure 11: Frequency with which parenting practices were adopted - a comparison between parents' and children's ratings

A comparison between how frequently fathers and mothers had used the parenting practices was also performed. Results showed that mothers engaged in training (*guan*) more frequently than fathers did. No difference was observed for the other forms of parenting practices. Figure 12 shows the bar chart with the mean frequencies for each parenting practice adopted by fathers and mothers. The pattern of responses by fathers and mothers was also very similar.

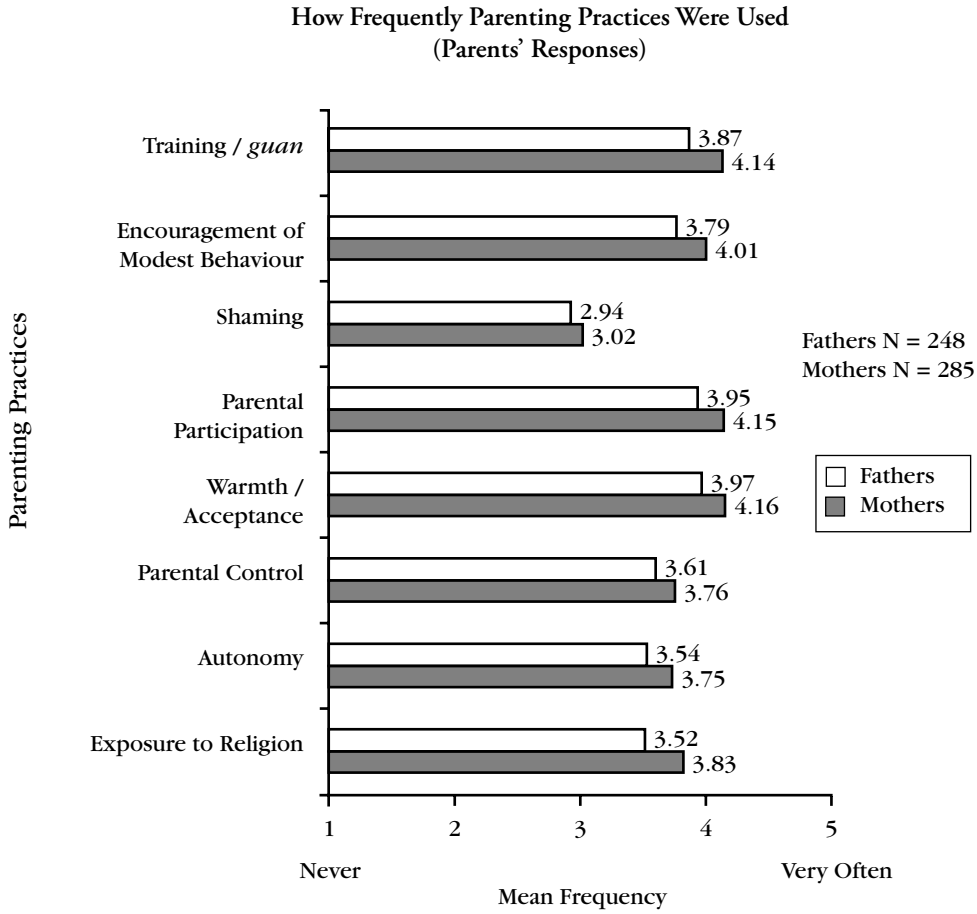


Figure 12: Frequency with which parenting practices were adopted by fathers and mothers

Finally, children's ratings on the frequencies with which their fathers and mothers adopted each parenting practice were compared. Results showed that children perceived mothers to have engaged in more training (*guan*), encouragement of modest behaviour, shaming, parental participation, display of warmth or acceptance and parental control to a greater extent than fathers did. No difference was observed for autonomy and exposure to religion. The bar chart depicting the results is shown in Figure 13.

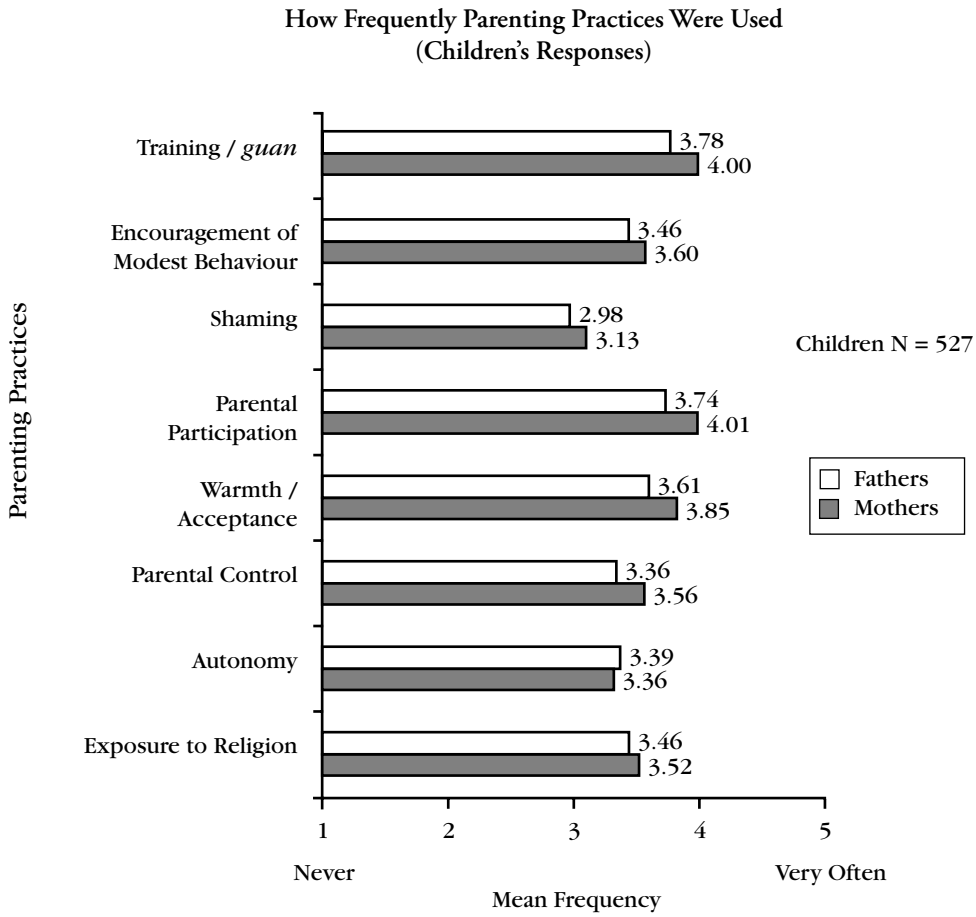


Figure 13: Frequency with which parenting practices were adopted by fathers and mothers (children's responses)

Importance of qualities for Children

Overall, parents rated all the qualities listed as being important qualities for children to have. When the qualities were rank ordered according to their mean importance, the qualities "to be honest", "to be responsible" and "to not harm others" turned out to be the three most important qualities. These qualities ranked even higher than doing well in school and assertiveness, which were rated to be important by local parents in past research (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Wu, 1996). Results are shown in Figure 14.

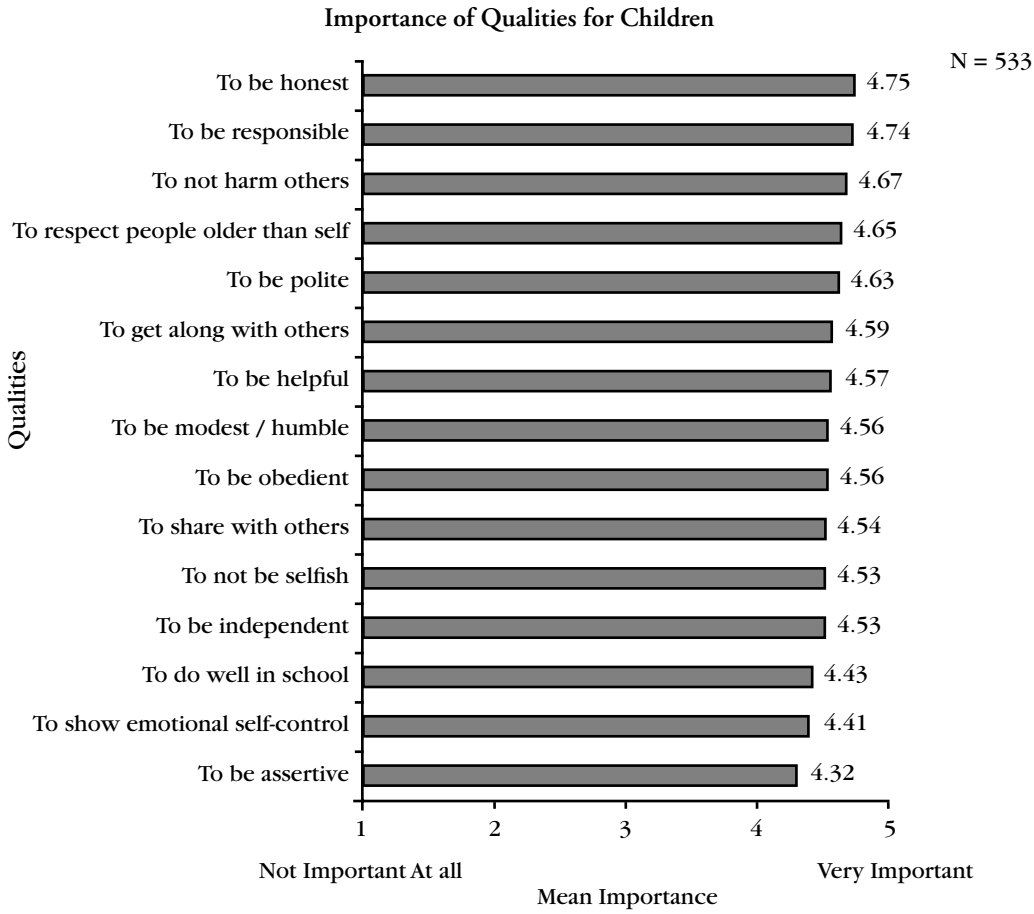


Figure 14: Parents' views on the importance of qualities for children

Discussion of results for parenting practices

Results from the parenting practices component showed that shaming was the least frequently used practice, with parents' reports being consistent with children's perceptions on how frequently each practice was adopted. Although shaming was the least frequently used practice, parents and children still reported that it was used sometimes. This shows that shaming as a form of parenting is still a relevant concept locally, similar to Asian and predominantly Chinese societies elsewhere (Fung, 1999). Although cultural norms were often cited as a justification for the use of shaming as a parenting practice, the emotional impact of shaming on local children is still unknown. The effectiveness of shaming in inculcating desirable values in our children is also questionable. This further reiterates the importance of examining the emotional effect of discipline and parenting on children. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to note that local parents frequently showed warmth and acceptance towards their children, and also often engaged in parental participation to a greater extent than shaming. Showing of warmth or acceptance and being actively involved with the child were examples of positive parenting advocated in many educational publications for parents (e.g., "Essential Parenting Tips" published by the Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports).

Results of the present study also showed that high levels of parental participation corresponded with high frequency of training (*guan*) by parents. This was an expected pattern, as it had been previously found that the concept of training involves high involvement and control on the part of the parents, as well as a certain degree of physical closeness (Chao, 1994). The concepts of training, parental participation and parental control are thus interdependent rather than distinct.

As children were rarely invited to comment on the parenting practices of their parents in previous studies, a study by Berndt and colleagues (1993) was found to be most relevant to the present work. In that study, adult participants gave their perceptions of their mothers' and fathers' warmth and control during their childhood. In line with the findings of that study, children in the present study perceived mothers to show more warmth towards them than fathers did. This may be associated with a differentiation in parental roles that was also observed in some Western societies (Block, 1983), where mothers were also seen as more affectionate than fathers. However, mothers in the present study were also seen to be more controlling than fathers. This was inconsistent with the finding by Berndt and colleagues (1993) that adult children rated their fathers to be more controlling than their mothers. Nonetheless, this may not be surprising given that mothers

also trained their children to a greater extent than fathers did. As the desire to train or *guan* stemmed from care and love for the child (Chao, 1994) with the exercise of control in the process, the higher frequencies of mothers' parental control would seem logical.

Exposure to religion, which apparently has not been a focus in previous parenting studies, was found to be emphasised to children by parents here. Apart from just identifying religion as being an important aspect that some parents would like to impress upon children, it would be interesting for future research to go a step further in identifying how religion has contributed to the parenting of children.

Finally, each of the 15 qualities in children was rated as being important by parents in the present study. There was generally little distinction in the degrees of importance of the qualities, suggesting that all the qualities examined, regardless of whether they were collectivistic or individualistic in nature, were important parental concerns.

CHAPTER 5 – CONCLUSION

The Parenting Project began with the aim of examining three areas, namely disciplinary practices, child care arrangements and parenting practices, all of which are related to the concept of parenting.

The component on disciplinary practice examined how parents and children perceived the effectiveness and fairness of various discipline methods in dealing with a range of child misbehaviour, as well as the frequencies with which each of the methods was carried out. The findings saw a match between parents' practices and views and children's views on disciplinary practices. This match is promising, as it is often desirable for parents to choose a form of discipline which children find fair and effective. The congruence may make it easier for children to learn appropriate behaviours and to exhibit these behaviours even when they are not under the supervision of their parents.

In this study, explaining to the child was regarded as the most effective disciplinary method by parents, and children also rated it as being one of the most fair and effective practice regardless of situations. Clearly then, explanation deserves a central role in disciplinary practice. To qualify this though, there is no "one-size-fits-all" type of discipline technique that one can recommend and advocate to all parents in all circumstances, as what works for a specific child still hinges on a variety of factors, one of which is the temperament of the child. Presumably, the way a parent deals with a child with a difficult temperament would be very different from another parent with an easy child (Kong, 1983), and the present study confirms that disciplinary practices did indeed vary when children were perceived as more disobedient.

The finding that children rated love withdrawal to be an unfair practice brings to question the degree of emotional impact discipline has on children. A lot of attention has been paid to the effects of physical punishment on children in the literature, but in contrast very much less has been done on examining the effects of discipline on children's emotional well-being. This suggests that emotional neglect warrants equal, if not more, attention in child abuse and neglect research, to the effects of physical punishment.

The results of the present study also showed that parents and children were generally not in favour of permissiveness. The findings seemed to imply that children may not resist discipline, as long as it is perceived as fair. Most parents and adults working with children may intuitively think that children would prefer to avoid being disciplined after misbehaving. But the results of the present study

suggest that the children may not want their parents to leave them alone by doing nothing, even when they have misbehaved. Perhaps children also see discipline as a way by which a parent shows that he or she cares, but more research has to be done in order to decipher the meaning of permissive parenting to children.

It has been shown in the present research that children are able to make sophisticated judgments that misbehaviour warrants discipline, and to evaluate the effectiveness and fairness of parental discipline for different situations. Research that includes the voices of children should be continuously encouraged in view of the wealth of information and insights that can be thus uncovered.

The chapter on child care arrangement looked into the various types of care arrangement children were placed in at different points in their childhood, what care arrangements parents and children might have preferred instead and whether parents and children were happy with the care arrangements. Although mothers were still the main caregivers to most children at different ages, the reliance on non-maternal caregivers, especially paid workers, was still rather substantial, especially when the children were younger than 3 years of age. This was despite the finding that a relatively smaller percentage of parents indicated that paid workers were the preferred care option for children between birth to 3 years old. Infancy is an important period when secure attachments are formed between the child and his or her parents (Bowlby, 1980). Parents interviewed in this study may have realised the importance of having at least one parent as a main caregiver during this period. This is because parents, in particular mothers, were still the most preferred caregiver for children from birth to 3 years old.

The parenting practices component of the study, which was more exploratory in nature at the outset, examined the frequencies with which parents adopt each of the parenting practices listed. Shaming was found to be a relevant concept in Singapore, as is the case in some other Asian Chinese societies, although it was the least frequently used practice reported. Implications of shaming in relation to the emotional impact of parenting on children were highlighted. In addition, exposure to religion was also found to be a relevant concept. Future studies could look into constructing and validating a parenting scale to fit the local culture and context without the creation of a typology. Examples of parenting practices included in this component could be included in the scale, due to their relevance to Singapore parents as found in the present study.

Directions for future research

In the present study, parents and children were asked to rate the frequency, effectiveness and fairness of each disciplinary practice based on certain

misbehaviours. This has enabled us to examine each disciplinary practice in isolation, but it would also have been interesting to explore the relationships between combinations of disciplinary practices. For instance, when a child fought with others, the parent may explain to the child and take away some of the child's privileges at the same time. Some parents may also find combinations of disciplinary practices more effective than when used in isolation. Future studies might explore various combinations of disciplinary practices, in light of how effective and fair parents and children perceived them to be, and how frequently parents actually used those combinations of discipline methods.

Moreover, there is also a need to link practices with outcomes, as it would be very useful from a practitioner viewpoint to be able to identify in general the types of disciplinary practices that are related to positive outcomes in children. Examples of outcomes would be children's self-esteem and behaviour (desirable or undesirable). However, without discounting the importance of the parents in the upbringing of the children, it should be noted that how children turn out in life may not necessarily be attributed fully to what parents have done to the children. There are also many factors involved in shaping the way children are, such as the children's peers as well as their environment outside of the home (Harris, 1995; 1998). Parenting is without doubt a complex issue, and one would expect an interplay of many factors other than parenting in the way young children progress into adolescence and adult life.

The fathers who participated in this study indicated little preference for fathers to be main caregivers of their children. However, we were not able to conclude from this finding whether fathers had indicated this because they felt there were better care alternatives available, or if they really showed no interest in child care. Future studies may consider exploring fathers' interest in child care, as was done more than two decades ago by Wong and colleagues (1979). This would enable us to understand more about how keen fathers are in taking on child care responsibilities in Singapore where dual-income families are becoming more common.

Finally, as emphasised in Chapter 4, there is still a lack of an established measure of parenting practices in the local context, one that does not make use of the parenting style typology that was found to be less appropriate in the Asian context. The present study has identified some parenting practices which may be relevant to the local context, in that parents and children indicated that these practices were used by local parents. Future research efforts may focus on constructing and validating a parenting scale to suit the Singapore context. With such a scale, we can go a step further to examine relationships between the use of certain parenting practice and outcomes in children, such as academic achievement or the social and emotional well-being of children.

REFERENCES

Baumrind, D. (1968). Authoritarian versus authoritative parental control. *Adolescence*, *3*(11), 255-272.

Belle, D. (1997). Varieties of self-care: A qualitative look at children's experiences in the after-school hours. *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, *43*(3), 478-496.

Berndt, T. J., Cheung, P. C., Lau, S., Hau, K. T., & Lew, W. J. F. (1993). Perceptions of parenting in mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong : Sex differences and societal differences. *Developmental Psychology*, *29*(1), 156-164.

Block, J. H. (1965). The child-rearing practices report (CRPR): A set of Q items for the description of parental socialization attitudes and values. Institute of Human Development, University of California, Berkeley.

Block, J. H. (1983). Differential premises arising from differential socialization of the sexes: Some conjectures. *Child Development*, *54*(6), 1335-1354.

Bowlby, J. (1980). *Attachment and loss*. London, Hogarth P: Institute of Psycho-Analysis.

Brody, G. H., & Shaffer, D. R. (1982). Contributions of parents and peers to children's moral socialization. *Developmental Review, 2*(1), 31-75.

Census 2000. [Online]. *Statistics Singapore*. Available: http://www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/people.html#census [2006, March 18].

Chang, W. C., Tan, P., & Hui, T. (1996). The construction & validation of the parenting scale - parents' self report and parenting scale - perceived. Working Paper No. 37. Singapore: Department of Social Work and Psychology, National University of Singapore.

Chao, R. K. (1994). Beyond parental control and authoritarian parenting style: Understanding Chinese parenting through the cultural notion of training. *Child Development*, *65*(4), 1111-1119.

Chao, R. K. (2000). The parenting of immigrant Chinese and European American mothers: Relations between parenting styles, socialization goals, and parental practices. *Journal of Applied Developmental Psychology*, *21*(2), 233-248.

Chao, R. K. (2001). Extending research on the consequences of parenting style for Chinese Americans and European Americans. *Child Development, 72*(6), 1832-1843.

Chao, R. & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. H. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of Parenting: Vol 4, Social conditions and applied parenting* (pp. 59-93). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Cheah, C. S. L., & Rubin, K. H. (2004). European American and mainland Chinese mothers' responses to aggression and social withdrawal in preschoolers. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, *28*(1), 83-94.

Chiu, L. H. (1987). Child-rearing attitudes of Chinese, Chinese-American, and Anglo-American mothers. International Journal of Psychology, 22, 409-419.

Dawber, T., & Kuczynski, L. (1999). The question of ownness: Influence of relationship context on parental socialization strategies. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, *16*(4), 475-493.

Dix, T., & Grusec, J. E. (1985). Parent attribution processes in the socialization of children. In I. E. Siegal (Ed.), *Parental belief systems* (pp. 201-233). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Elliott, J. M., Thomas, J. I., Chan, J. S., & Chow, Y. (2000). *Professional and public perceptions of child abuse and neglect in Singapore: An overview.* Singapore: Singapore Children's Society.

Ennew, J. (2006). *Comparative research on corporal punishment in eight countries: What children say.* Paper presented at the Asia-Pacific Childhoods Conference – An 'Ethnography of Childhood' Workshop, Singapore, July 2006.

Essential parenting tips. Singapore: Ministry of Community Development, Youth and Sports.

Falbo, T. (1991). The impact of grandparents on children's outcomes in China. *Marriage and Family Review, 16,* 369-376.

Fu, B., & Wang, K. (2005). *Stop the hitting hand by transforming the mind - The revolution of attitude towards child abuse in Taiwan.* Paper presented at the 6th ISPCAN Asian Regional Conference, Singapore, November 2005.

Fung, H. (1999). Becoming a moral child: The socialization of shame among young Chinese children. *Ethos, 27*(2), 180-209.

Gecas, V., & Schwalbe, M. L. (1986). Parental behavior and adolescent self-esteem. *Journal of Marriage and the Family, 48*, 37-46.

Gershoff, E. T. (2002). Corporal punishment by parents and associated child behaviors and experiences: A meta-analytic and theoretical review. *Psychological Bulletin, 128*(4), 539-579.

Grusec, J. E., & Goodnow, J. J. (1994). Impact of parental discipline methods on the child's internalization of values: A reconceptualization of current points of view. *Developmental Psychology, 30*(1), 4-19.

Grusec, J. E., & Kuczynski, L. (1980). Direction of effect in socialization: A comparison of the parent's versus the child's behavior as determinants of disciplinary techniques. *Developmental Psychology, 16*(1), 1- 9.

Harris, J. R. (1995). Where is the child's environment? A group socialization theory of development. *Psychological Review, 102*(3), 458-489.

Harris, J. R. (1998). *The nurture assumption: Why children turn out the way they do.* New York: Free Press.

Henderson, R. W., & Bergan, J. R. (1976). *The cultural context of childhood.* Columbus, Ohio: Merrill.

Hertz, R. (1997). A typology of approaches to child care. *Journal of Family Issues, 18*(4), 355 - 385.

Hoffman, L. W. (1988). Cross-cultural differences in childrearing goals. In R. A. LeVine, P. M. Miller, and M. M. West (Eds.), *Parental behavior in diverse societies. New Directions for Child Development* (pp. 99-22). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Jose, P. E., Huntsinger, C. S., Huntsinger, P. R., & Liaw, F. R. (2000). Parental values and practices relevant to young children's social development in Taiwan and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 31*(6), 677 - 702.

Kelley, M. L., & Power, T. G. (1992). Children's moral understanding: Developmental and social contextual determinants. In L. T. Winegar & J. Valsiner (Eds.), *Children's development within social context: Vol 2, Research and methodology.* Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.

Kelley, M. L., & Tseng, H. M. (1992). Cultural differences in child rearing. A comparison of immigrant Chinese and Caucasian American mothers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 23*(4), 444 - 455.

Kochanska, G. (1994). Beyond cognition: Expanding the search for the early roots of internalization and conscience. *Developmental Psychology, 30*(1), 20-22.

Kong, S. G., Kok, L. P., Tsoi W. F., Wong M. L., Tay, G. E., & Yeoh, S. P. (1986). Some aspects of child-rearing practices and their relationship to behavioural deviance. *The Journal of the Singapore Paediatric Society, 28*(1 & 2), 94-103.

Kong, D. S. G. (1983). The difficult child. *Insight*: *Official Publication of the Singapore Association for Mental Health, 1,* 49-55.

Konstantareas, M. M., & Desbois, N. (2001). Preschoolers perceptions of the unfairness of maternal disciplinary practices. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 25,* 473-488.

Lamborn, S. D., Mounts, N. S., Steinberg, L., & Dornbusch, S. M. (1991). Patterns of competence and adjustment among adolescents from authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent and neglectful families. *Child Development, 62,* 1049-1065.

Lee, Y. P., Fung, D. S. S., Koh, J. B. K., Wei, K. C., Woo, B. S. C., Teo, J. (2004). Between the rod and reason:A study on Asian parental disciplinary methods and child emotional/behavioural outcomes. *Annals Academy of Medicine, 33*(5), S27-S28.

Lin, C., & Fu, V. R. (1990). A comparison of child-rearing practices among Chinese, immigrant Chinese, and Caucasian-American parents. *Child Development, 61*(2), 429 - 433.

Lopez, N. L., Schneider, H. G., & Dula C. S. (2002). Parent discipline scale: Discipline choice as a function of transgression type. *North American Journal of Psychology*, *4*(3), 381 - 393.

Maccoby, E., & Martin, J. (1983). Socialization in the context of the family: Parent-child interaction. In E. M. Hetherington (Ed.), *Handbook of child psychology: Vol 4, Socialization, personality and social development* (pp. 1-101). New York:Wiley.

Ministry of Social Affairs. (1984). *Report on national survey on married women, their role in the family and society.* Singapore: Research Branch, Ministry of Social Affairs.

Mize, J. & Pettitt, G. S. (1997). Mothers' social coaching, mother-child relationship style and children's peer competence: Is the medium the message? *Child Development, 68*(2), 312 - 332.

Newell, P. (2005). *Eliminating corporal punishment – A human rights imperative.* Paper presented at the 6th ISPCAN Asian Regional Conference, Singapore, November 2005.

Ong, A. C. (1999). Parenting behaviors and their relationship to adolescent adjustment. PhD Thesis submitted to the National Institute of Education, Nanyang Technological University.

Oppenheim, D., Emde, R. N., & Warren, S. (1997). Children's narrative representations of mothers : Their development and associations with child and mother adaptation. *Child Development, 68*(1), 127 - 138.

Palmérus, K., & Jutengren, G. (2004). Swedish parents' self-reported use of discipline in response to continued misconduct by their pre-school children. *Infant and Child Development, 13*, 79 - 90.

Papps, F., Walker, M., Trimboli, A., & Trimboli, C. (1995). Parental discipline in Anglo, Greek, Lebanese, and Vietnamese cultures. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 26*(1), 49 - 64.

Paulson, S. E., & Sputa, C. L. (1996). Patterns of parenting during adolescence: Perceptions of adolescents and parents. *Adolescence, 31*(122), 369 - 381.

Quah, S. R. (1998). *Family in Singapore. Sociological perspectives.* (2nd ed.). Singapore: Times Academic Press.

Quah, S. R. (1999). *Study on the Singapore family.* Singapore: Ministry of Community Development.

Rodman, H., Pratto, D. J., & Nelson, R. S. (1985). Child care arrangements and children's functioning: A comparison of self-care and adult-care children. *Developmental Psychology, 21*(3), 413 - 418.

Schaefer, E. S. (1965). Children's reports of parental behavior: An inventory. *Child Development, 36*(2), 413 - 424.

Siegal, M., & Cowen, J. (1984). Appraisals of intervention: The mother's versus the culprit's behavior as determinants of children's evaluations of discipline techniques. *Child Development, 55*(5), 1760 - 1766.

Smith, P. K., & Drew, L. M (2002). Grandparenthood. In M. H Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting:Vol 3, Being and becoming a parent* (pp. 141-172). Mahwah, N.J.: Earlbaum.

Steinberg, L., Lamborn, S. D., Dornbusch, S. M., & Darling, N. (1992). Impact of parenting practices on adolescent achievement: Authoritative parenting, school involvement, and encouragement to succeed. *Child Development, 63,* 1266 - 1281.

Stevenson-Hinde, J. (1998). Parenting in different cultures: Time to focus. *Developmental Psychology, 34*(4), 698 - 700.

Stewart, S. M., Rao, N., Bond, M. H., McBride-Chang, C., Fielding, R., & Kennard, B. D. (1998). Chinese dimensions of parenting: Broadening western predictors and outcomes. *International Journal of Psychology, 33*(5), 345 - 358.

Teo, M. G. (1989). *Latchkey pupils and working mothers.* Academic Exercise submitted to the Department of Sociology, National University of Singapore.

The Straits Times (2004, August 16). *Discipline: the rights and wrongs,* pp. H10.

The Straits Times (2006, July 21). *More men let wives bring home the bacon,* pp. 1.

The Straits Times (2006, July 24). *His impact remains deep-rooted,* pp. H3.

The Straits Times (2004). *My parents and I survey.* MPD (R): Singapore Press Holdings.

Tisak, M. S., & Turiel, E. (1984). Children's conceptions of moral and prudential rules. *Child Development, 55*(3), 1030 - 1039.

Trickett, P. K., & Kuczynski, L. (1986). Children's misbehaviors and parental discipline strategies in abusive and nonabusive families. *Developmental Psychology, 22*(1), 115 - 123.

Wong, S. T., Oon, D., & Lung, K. C. (1979). Survey on child-rearing patterns of families of low socio-economic status living in high rise flats in Singapore: A preliminary report. *Annals Academy of Medicine, 8*(3), 227 - 236.

Wu, D. Y. H. (1996). Chinese childhood socialization. In M. H. Bond (Ed.), *The handbook of Chinese psychology.* Hong Kong: Oxford University Press.

Wu, P., Robinson, C. C., Yang, C., Hart, C. H., Olsen, S. F., Porter, C. L., Jin, S., Wo, J., & Wu, X. (2002). Similarities and differences in mothers' parenting of preschoolers in China and the United States. *International Journal of Behavioural Development, 26*(6), 482 - 491.

APPENDIX A:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

INTERVIEW FACT SHEET Resp. No F/M

Name of Interviewer : _____

[Interviewer to fill in after interview]

Telephone Number : _____

Time taken for interview : _____ minutes

Interviewer comments:

_____

_____

RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND DATA [To be filled in by interviewer]

SEX
1] Male 2] Female

RACE
1] Chinese 2] Malay 3] Indian 4] Others (Please specify)

AGE _____

EDUCATION LEVEL

1] No formal education
2] Completed primary education
3] Completed secondary education
4] Completed GCE 'A' Level
5] Obtained a Diploma
6] Obtained a Bachelor degree
7] Obtained a Postgraduate degree

OCCUPATION _____

MONTHLY HOUSEHOLD INCOME

1] below 2000
2] 2000 - 4999
3] 5000 - 7999
4] above 8000

MARITAL STATUS _____

please tell us the sex and age of all your children.
[Interviewer: Please put a tick in the box for the child the parent will be responding on. The parent may choose which child he / she would like to respond on if more than one child meets the sampling criteria.]

Birth Order		Sex	Age
1st Child	☐	_____	_____
2nd Child	☐	_____	_____
3rd Child	☐	_____	_____
4th Child	☐	_____	_____
5th Child	☐	_____	_____
6th Child	☐	_____	_____

SECTION 1 : DISCIPLINARY PRACTICES

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

General Introduction
We are going to present you with a list of possible misbehaviour of children. For each of the 8 forms of misbehaviour, I am going to ask you 3 questions.

Firstly, we would like to find out how effective you think certain disciplinary practices are in dealing with children. Every now and then, we hear parents say that what they do is not effective, and so we are interested in hearing your views on what is effective in dealing with children who have misbehaved.

You will be given a list of disciplinary methods labelled (a) to (g), and you will be asked to indicate how effective each method is in dealing with a child who has, say, shown disrespect to adults.

For instance, if you think using physical punishment is very effective in dealing with a child who has shown disrespect to adults, please circle "5". If you think physical punishment is effective, please circle "4". On the other hand, if you think using physical punishment is ineffective, please circle "2". If you think physical punishment is very ineffective, please circle "1". Please circle "3" only if you are neutral. Please do the same for the rest of the disciplinary practices.

SHOW DISRESPECT TO ADULTS

i	**How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has shown disrespect to adults?**	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

Next, we seek to find out how often your child would engage in certain misbehaviour. We know that your child is good in many ways, but your response will help us understand better how children in general may misbehave at times.

We are going to ask how often your child has, for example, shown disrespect to adults.

ii	How often does your child show disrespect to adults?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

If your child shows disrespect to adults very often, please circle "5". If your child often shows disrespect, please circle "4". If your child only shows disrespect to adults sometimes, please circle "3".
If your child almost never shows disrespect to adults, please circle "2". If your child has never shown disrespect to adults, please circle "1".

Finally, we are interested to know how parents have reacted to their children's misbehaviour, knowing that in general there is no right or wrong way to do things.

We are going to ask how often you have used specific disciplinary methods, when you deal with your child who has shown disrespect to adults.

iii	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for showing disrespect to adults?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

If you use physical punishment very often to deal with your child who has shown disrespect to adults, please circle "5". If you use physical punishment often, please circle "4". If you use physical punishment sometimes, please circle "3". If you have almost never used physical punishment on your child who has shown disrespect to adults, please circle "2". If you have never used physical punishment on your child, please circle "1". Please do the same for the rest of the disciplinary methods.

[Interviewer: Please ask respondent if he/she has any questions. If no question, proceed with the questionnaire.]

1. QUARREL WITH OTHERS

1a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has quarrelled with others?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

1b.	How often does your child quarrel with others?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never quarrelled with others, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q1c. ☐

1c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for quarrelling with others?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

2. FIGHT WITH OTHERS

2a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has fought with others?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

2b.	How often does your child fight with others?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never fought with others, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q2c. ☐

2c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for fighting with others?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

3. BULLY ANOTHER CHILD

3a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has bullied another child?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

3b.	How often does your child bully another child?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

[Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never bullied another child, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q3c. ☐

3c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for bullying another child?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

4. VANDALIZE OBJECTS

4a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has vandalized objects?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

4b.	How often does your child vandalize objects?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

[Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never vandalized objects, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q4c. ☐

4c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for vandalizing objects?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

5. TAKE AND KEEP THINGS THAT DO NOT BELONG TO HIM/HER

5a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has <u>taken and kept things that do not belong to him/her?</u>	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

5b.	How often does your child <u>take and keep things that do not belong to him/her?</u>	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

[Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never taken things that do not belong to him/her, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q5c. ☐

5c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for <u>taking and keeping things that do not belong to him/her?</u>	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

6. TELL LIES

6a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has <u>told lies?</u>	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

6b.	How often does your child <u>tell lies?</u>	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

[Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never told lies, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q6c. ☐

6c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for <u>telling lies</u>?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

7. REFUSE TO OBEY INSTRUCTIONS

7a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has refused to obey instructions?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

7b.	How often does your child refuse to obey instructions?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

[Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never refused to obey instructions, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q7c. ☐

7c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for refusing to obey instructions?	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

8. BEING IMPOLITE TO OTHERS

8a.	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has <u>been impolite to others?</u>	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	Neutral	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

8b.	How often is your child <u>impolite to others?</u>	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
		1	2	3	4	5

[Interviewer: If the respondent says his/her child has never been impolite to others, please tick in the box on the right and skip Q8c. ☐

8c.	How often have you used the following methods to discipline your child for <u>being impolite to others?</u>	Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
a.	Use physical punishment on my child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards my child (e.g scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of my child's privileges (e.g no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to my child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate my child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell my child I don't love him/her	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION 2 : CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

In this section, we are interested in understanding more about the care arrangement of children from different age groups. We are going to ask you a few questions on the care arrangement of your child.

For Question 1, please think about the care arrangement of your child when he/she was <u>from age 0-3.</u>

[Interviewer: The respondent may choose more than 1 option]

1a. <u>From age 0 to 3,</u> my child was mainly cared for by

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

1b. How happy were you with the above care arrangement? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Neither Unhappy Nor Happy	Happy	Very Happy

_____

_____

Ideally, which of the following care arrangement would you have preferred when your child was from age 0 to 3? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

[Interviewer: Please tick one only]

1c. From age 0 to 3, my child was mainly cared for by

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

_____

_____

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

For the remaining questions, we are going to ask about the main care arrangement for your child before and after school each day.

[Interviewer: The respondent may choose more than 1 option]

2a. From age 4 to 6, my child was mainly cared for *before and after school by*

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

2b. How happy were you with the above care arrangement? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Neither Unhappy Nor Happy	Happy	Very Happy

_____

_____

2c. Ideally, which of the following care arrangement would you have preferred when your child was <u>from age 4 to 6</u>? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

[Interviewer: Please tick one only]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

_____

_____

3a. From age 7 to 9, my child was mainly cared for *before and after school* by
[Interviewer: The respondent may choose more than 1 option]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify_____

3b. How happy were you with the above care arrangement? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Neither Unhappy Nor Happy	Happy	Very Happy

_____

_____

3c. Ideally, which of the following care arrangement would you have preferred when your child was <u>from age 7 to 9?</u> Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

[Interviewer: Please tick one only]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

_____

_____

4a. <u>From age 10,</u> my child was mainly cared for *before and after school by*

[Interviewer: The respondent may choose more than 1 option]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

4b. How happy were you with the above care arrangement? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Neither Unhappy Nor Happy	Happy	Very Happy

_____

_____

4c. Ideally, which of the following care arrangement would you have preferred when your child was <u>from age 10</u>? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

[Interviewer: Please tick one only]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

_____

_____

SECTION 3 : QUALITIES FOR CHILDREN

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

I am going to read to you a list of qualities. Please tell me to what extent you think each of these qualities is important for children, on a scale from 1 to 5.

If you think a quality is very important, please circle "5". If the quality is somewhat important, please circle "4". If the quality is somewhat unimportant, please circle "2". If you think the quality is not important at all, please circle "1". Please circle "3" only if you are neutral.

		Not Important At All	Somewhat Unimportant	Neutral	Somewhat Important	Very Important
1	To be independent	1	2	3	4	5
2	To do well in school	1	2	3	4	5
3	To be obedient	1	2	3	4	5
4	To get along with others	1	2	3	4	5
5	To not harm others	1	2	3	4	5
6	To be polite	1	2	3	4	5
7	To show emotional self-control	1	2	3	4	5
8	To not be selfish	1	2	3	4	5
9	To be helpful	1	2	3	4	5
10	To share with others	1	2	3	4	5
11	To respect people older than the child	1	2	3	4	5
12	To be modest/humble	1	2	3	4	5
13	To be honest	1	2	3	4	5
14	To be responsible	1	2	3	4	5
15	To be assertive	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION 4 : PARENTING PRACTICES

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

We are going to read to you a list of things parents may do in the process of bringing up their children.
We are interested to find out how often you have done certain things when you bring up your child. Your response will help us to understand better what parents do when they interact with their children.

		Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
1	I train my child to work very hard	1	2	3	4	5
2	I train my child to be disciplined	1	2	3	4	5
3	I teach my child by pointing out good behaviour in others	1	2	3	4	5
4	I tell my child not to "show off" when other people say nice things about him/her	1	2	3	4	5
5	I supervise all of my child's activities	1	2	3	4	5
6	I make my child feel guilty when he/she doesn't meet my expectations	1	2	3	4	5
7	I do everything for my child's education	1	2	3	4	5
8	I spend time with my child	1	2	3	4	5
9	I give praise when my child is good	1	2	3	4	5
10	I show my love by hugging, kissing and holding my child	1	2	3	4	5
11	I give comfort and understanding when my child is upset	1	2	3	4	5
12	I listen to my child's ideas and opinions	1	2	3	4	5
13	I let my child decide many things for him/herself	1	2	3	4	5
14	I do not allow my child to question my decisions	1	2	3	4	5
15	I make sure I know where my child is and what he/she is doing	1	2	3	4	5
16	I am strict	1	2	3	4	5
17	I encourage my child to always do his/her best	1	2	3	4	5
18	I show an interest in what my child does	1	2	3	4	5
19	I am too busy to bother with my child	1	2	3	4	5
20	I make sure that my child knows about our religion	1	2	3	4	5

We have come to the end of the survey.
Thank you very much for your participation!

APPENDIX B:

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR CHILDREN

INTERVIEW FACT SHEET **Resp. No** | C |

Name of Interviewer : _____

[Interviewer to fill in after interview]

Telephone Number : _____

Time taken for interview : _____ minutes

Interviewer comments:

_____

_____

CHILD RESPONDENT'S BACKGROUND DATA [To be filled in by interviewer]

SEX

1] Male 2] Female

RACE

1] Chinese 2] Malay 3] Indian 4] Others (Please specify)

AGE _____

EDUCATION LEVEL

1] Primary 4

2] Primary 5

3] Primary 6

4] Others _____

SECTION 1 : DISCIPLINARY PRACTICES

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

We are going to present to you a list of things children like youself sometimes do. Most parents usually do not like those things, and they will respond in various ways, such as:

1 use physical punishment on the child
2 show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc.)
3 take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc.)
4 explain to the child what he/she has done wrong
5 isolate the child
6 tell the child he/she is not loved
7 do nothing

We want to know what you think about these actions, when parents deal with children who misbehave.

Here is an example of how to answer this section. Before I start each question, I will tell you the misbehaviour to be considered. For the first question, you will be given a list of disciplinary methods labelled (a) to (g), and you will be asked to tell me how fair it is for a parent to do those actions to a child if the child has, for example, been rude to adults.

BEING RUDE TO ADULTS

i	If a child is <u>rude to adults,</u> how fair is it for parents to	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

If you think it is very fair for parents to use physical punishment on a child who has been rude to adults, please choose "5". If you think it is fair to use physical punishment, please choose "4". If you think it is unfair to use physical punishment, please choose "2". If you think it is very unfair to use physical punishment, please choose "1". Please choose "3" if you think using physical punishment is neither fair nor unfair. Do the same for the rest of the actions.

For the next question, we would like to know how effective you think a list of actions are, when a parent deal with a child who has, for example, been rude to adults.

ii	**How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has been rude to adults?**	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

If you think using physical punishment on the child who has been rude to adults is very effective, please choose "5". If you think physical punishment is effective, please choose "4". On the other hand, if you think physical punishment is ineffective, please choose "2". If you think physical punishment is very ineffective, please choose "1". "Please choose "3" if you think using physical punishment is neither effective nor ineffective". Do the same for the rest of the actions.

[Interviewer: Please ask the respondent if he/she has any questions. If no questions, proceed with the questionnaire.]

1. QUARREL WITH OTHERS

1a	If a child quarrels with others, how fair is it for parents to	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

1b	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has quarrelled with others?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

2. FIGHT WITH OTHERS

2a	**If a child <u>fights with others</u>, how fair is it for parents to**	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

2b	**How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has <u>fought with others</u>?**	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

3. BULLY ANOTHER CHILD

3a	**If a child <u>bullies another child</u>, how fair is it for parents to**	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

3b	**How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has <u>bullied another child?</u>**	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

4. VANDALIZE OBJECTS

4a	**If a child <u>vandalizes objects,</u> how fair is it for parents to**	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

4b	**How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has <u>vandalized objects?</u>**	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

5. TAKE AND KEEP THINGS THAT DO NOT BELONG TO HIM/HER

5a	If a child takes things that do not belong to him/her, how fair is it for parents to	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

5b	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has taken things that do not belong to him/her?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

6. TELL LIES

6a	If a child tells lies, how fair is it for parents to	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

6b	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has told lies?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

7. REFUSE TO OBEY INSTRUCTIONS

7a	If a child refuses to obey instructions, how fair is it for parents to	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

7b	How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has refused to obey instructions?	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

8. BEING IMPOLITE TO OTHERS

8a	**If a child is <u>impolite to others</u>, how fair is it for parents to**	Very Unfair	Unfair	In-Between	Fair	Very Fair
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

8b	**How effective do you think the following methods are in dealing with a child who has been <u>impolite to others?</u>**	Very Ineffective	Ineffective	In-Between	Effective	Very Effective
a.	Use physical punishment on the child	1	2	3	4	5
b.	Show anger towards the child (e.g. scolding, shouting etc)	1	2	3	4	5
c.	Take away some of the child's privileges (e.g. no TV, games etc)	1	2	3	4	5
d.	Explain to the child what he/she has done wrong	1	2	3	4	5
e.	Isolate the child	1	2	3	4	5
f.	Tell the child he/she is not loved	1	2	3	4	5
g.	Do nothing	1	2	3	4	5

SECTION 2 : CHILD CARE ARRANGEMENTS

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

We are interested to know who takes care of you before and after school each day. We are going to ask you some questions, please answer them as accurately as possible.

[Interviewer: The respondent may choose more than 1 option]

1a. From age 4 to 6, I was mainly cared for by

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify_____

1b. How happy were you with the above care arrangement? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Neither Unhappy Nor Happy	Happy	Very Happy

_____

_____

1c. Think about the time when you were <u>from age 4 to 6.</u> If you had a choice, who would you have liked to be your caregiver? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

[Interviewer: Please tick one only]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

_____

_____

2a. <u>From age 7 to 9,</u> I was mainly cared for *before and after school* by

[Interviewer: The respondent may choose more than 1 option]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

2b. How happy were you with the above care arrangement? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Neither Unhappy Nor Happy	Happy	Very Happy

_____

_____

2c. Think about the time when you were <u>from age 7 to 9.</u> If you had a choice, who would you have liked to be your caregiver? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

[Interviewer: Please tick one only]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

_____

_____

3a. From age 10, I was mainly cared for *before and after school* by
[Interviewer: The respondent may choose more than 1 option]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify_____

3b. How happy were you with the above care arrangement? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
1.....	2.....	3.....	4.....	5.....
Very Unhappy	Unhappy	Neither Unhappy Nor Happy	Happy	Very Happy

_____

_____

3c. Think about the time when you were <u>from age 10</u>. If you had a choice, who would you have liked to be your caregiver? Please tell us the reason(s) for your choice.

[Interviewer: Please tick one only]

- ☐ the mother
- ☐ the father
- ☐ the grandmother
- ☐ the grandfather
- ☐ an adult relative (not parents or grandparents)
- ☐ a non-relative adult (e.g. family friends)
- ☐ an older brother or sister
- ☐ a paid worker (e.g. maid, babysitter)
- ☐ a child care centre
- ☐ Others Please specify _____

_____

_____

SECTION 3 : PARENTING PRACTICES

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

We are going to read to you a list of things parents may do when they are bringing up their children.
We are interested to find out how often your <u>mother</u> has done these things to you. Your response will help us understand better what parents do when they interact with their children.There is no right or wrong anwer.

		Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
1	My mother trains me to work very hard	1	2	3	4	5
2	My mother trains me to be disciplined	1	2	3	4	5
3	My mother teaches me by pointing out good behaviour in others	1	2	3	4	5
4	My mother tells me not to "show off" when other people say nice things about me	1	2	3	4	5
5	My mother supervises all of my activities	1	2	3	4	5
6	My mother makes me feel guilty when I don't meet her expectations	1	2	3	4	5
7	My mother does everything for my education	1	2	3	4	5
8	My mother spends time with me	1	2	3	4	5
9	My mother gives praise when I am good	1	2	3	4	5
10	My mother shows love by hugging, kissing, and holding me	1	2	3	4	5
11	My mother gives comfort and understanding when I am upset	1	2	3	4	5
12	My mother listens to my ideas and opinions	1	2	3	4	5
13	My mother lets me decide many things for myself	1	2	3	4	5
14	My mother does not allow me to question her decisions	1	2	3	4	5
15	My mother makes sure she knows where I am and what I am doing	1	2	3	4	5
16	My mother is strict	1	2	3	4	5
17	My mother encourages me to always do my best	1	2	3	4	5
18	My mother shows an interest in what I do	1	2	3	4	5
19	My mother is too busy to bother with me	1	2	3	4	5
20	My mother makes sure that I know about our religion	1	2	3	4	5

[Interviewer: Please say the following to the respondent]

We are going to read to you a list of things parents may do when they are bringing up their children.
We are interested to find out how often your <u>father</u> has done these things to you. Your response will help us understand better what parents do when they interact with their children.There is no right or wrong anwer.

		Never	Almost Never	Sometimes	Often	Very Often
1	My father trains me to work very hard	1	2	3	4	5
2	My father trains me to be disciplined	1	2	3	4	5
3	My father teaches me by pointing out good behaviour in others	1	2	3	4	5
4	My father tells me not to "show off" when other people say nice things about me	1	2	3	4	5
5	My father supervises all of my activities	1	2	3	4	5
6	My father makes me feel guilty when I don't meet his expectations	1	2	3	4	5
7	My father does everything for my education	1	2	3	4	5
8	My father spends time with me	1	2	3	4	5
9	My father gives praise when I am good	1	2	3	4	5
10	My father shows love by hugging, kissing, and holding me	1	2	3	4	5
11	My father gives comfort and understanding when I am upset	1	2	3	4	5
12	My father listens to my ideas and opinions	1	2	3	4	5
13	My father lets me decide many things for myself	1	2	3	4	5
14	My father does not allow me to question his decisions	1	2	3	4	5
15	My father makes sure he knows where I am and what I am doing	1	2	3	4	5
16	My father is strict	1	2	3	4	5
17	My father encourages me to always do my best	1	2	3	4	5
18	My father shows an interest in what I do	1	2	3	4	5
19	My father is too busy to bother with me	1	2	3	4	5
20	My father makes sure that I know about our religion	1	2	3	4	5

We have come to the end of the survey.
Thank you very much for your participation!

APPENDIX C:
DEMOGRAPHICS AND RELIABILITIES

Demographic statistics

Table 9: Demographic statistics

Age of Participants	Mean	SD
Parents	41.9 years	5.3 years
Children	11.0 years	.81 year
Average Monthly Household Income Groups ($)		%
Below 2000		26.5
2000-4999		37.0
5000-7999		19.5
Above 8000		17.1
Total		100.0
Marital Status of Parents		%
Married		97.7
Divorced		1.1
Separated		0.9
Single Parent		0.2
Total		100.0
Education Levels Attained by Parents		%
No formal education		1.9
Completed primary education		10.1
Completed secondary education		45.4
Completed GCE 'A' Level		8.6
Obtained a Diploma		17.8
Obtained a Bachelor Degree		10.1
Obtained a Postgraduate Degree		6.0
Total		100.0

Reliability coefficients

Table 10: Cronbach alphas of measures of effectiveness, frequency and fairness for each disciplinary practice

Disciplinary practices	Cronbach α			
	Effectiveness of Discipline		Frequency of Discipline	Fairness of Discipline
	Parents	Children	Parents	Children
	N = 533	N = 533	N = 533	N = 533
Use physical punishment	.91	.90	.93	.89
Show anger towards the child	.90	.85	.96	.87
Take away some privileges	.91	.90	.92	.89
Explain to the child	.83	.85	.84	.83
Isolate the child	.91	.91	.94	.91
Tell the child he/she is not loved	.92	.91	.96	.90
Do nothing	.88	.90	.95	.88

APPENDIX D:

REPORT ON STATISTICAL ANALYSES

Disciplinary practices

In instances where MANOVA was performed to test the differences between the means, the IV, DVs, univariate *F*s, stepdown *F*s and their respective dfs were reported. Estimated marginal means and pooled within-cell correlations (with standard deviations on the diagonal) were also shown.

For analyses on disciplinary practices, the DVs were entered in the following order: 1) explain to the child, 2) tell the child that he/she is not loved, 3) use physical punishment, 4) take away privileges, 5) show anger towards the child, 6) isolate the child and 7) do nothing. The top-priority DVs were of interest in the present study, given that past research on discipline had also focused on these discipline methods more so than others.

Given the large sample size and the multiple comparisons, a more conservative ρ (.01) was used for the MANOVAs.

1. Parents rated telling a child that he or she is not loved as being less frequently used than physical punishment.

A paired samples *t*-test was done to test the difference between the frequencies of telling children that they are not loved and physical punishment. Result showed that telling a child that he/she is not loved was less frequently used than physical punishment, t (504) = 17.58, $\rho < .01$. $d = .78$.

2. Mothers were found to have used physical punishment more frequently than fathers did. This result was obtained through MANOVA.

Table 11: Main effect of sex for frequency of disciplinary practices
F (7,324) = 3.50, $\rho < .01$, partial eta-squared = .07

IV	DV	Univariate *F*	df	Stepdown *F*	df
Sex	Explain to child	.00	1/330	.00	1/330
	Tell child that he/she is not loved	2.22	1/330	2.21	1/329
	Physical punishment	*12.63	1/330	**10.78	1/328
	Take away privileges	.00	1/330	1.10	1/327
	Show anger	*12.41	1/330	4.52	1/326
	Isolate child	*9.83	1/330	5.46	1/325
	Do nothing	.07	1/330	.04	1/324

* Significance level would reach $\rho < .01$ in univariate context
** $\rho < .01$

Table 12: Estimated marginal means for frequency of physical punishment by fathers and mothers

Frequency of physical punishment	
Parameter	Estimated marginal means
Fathers	1.97
Mothers	2.22

Table 13: Pooled within-cell correlations with SDs on the diagonal, for frequency of disciplinary practices rated by parents

Disciplinary Practices	Explain	Tell child he is not loved	Physical punishment	Take away privileges	Show anger	Isolate child	Do nothing
Explain	.58						
Tell child he is not loved	-.05	.67					
Physical punishment	-.11	.25	.89				
Take away privileges	.03	.14	.28	1.03			
Show anger	-.04	.12	.48	.21	.83		
Isolate child	.01	.39	.27	.24	.12	.80	
Do nothing	-.23	.37	.04	-.03	-.03	.19	.46

3. Children were found to be neutral about the effectiveness of physical punishment.

A one-sample *t*-test was done to test if the mean score for the effectiveness of physical punishment given by children (3.07) was statistically significant from the mid-point 3 (neutral). Result showed that children were neutral about the effectiveness of physical punishment, t (532) = 1.91, n.s.

4. Parents and children considered telling a child that he or she is not loved as being less effective than physical punishment.

A paired samples *t*-test was done to test the differences. Result showed that parents rated telling a child that he/she is not loved as being less effective than physical punishment, t (532) = 24.81, $\rho < .01$, d = 1.07. Similar result was obtained for children's ratings, t (532) = 29.21, $\rho < .01$, d = 1.27.

5. Mothers considered the use of physical punishment and isolating the child as being more effective than fathers did. The results were obtained through MANOVA.

Table 14: Main effect of sex for effectiveness of disciplinary practices by parents $F(7,346) = 3.19,\ \rho < .01$, partial eta-squared = .06

IV	DV	Univariate *F*	df	Stepdown *F*	df
Sex	Explain to child	2.97	1/352	2.97	1/352
	Tell child that he/she is not loved	1.99	1/352	.89	1/351
	Physical punishment	*10.56	1/352	**8.31	1/350
	Take away privileges	.03	1/352	1.08	1/349
	Show anger	1.06	1/352	.44	1/348
	Isolate child	*11.91	1/352	**8.24	1/347
	Do nothing	.20	1/352	.12	1/346

* Significance level would reach $\rho < .01$ in univariate context
** $\rho < .01$

Table 15: Estimated marginal means for effectiveness of physical punishment by fathers and mothers

Effectiveness of physical punishment	
Parameter	Estimated marginal means
Fathers	2.56
Mothers	2.77

Table 16: Estimated marginal means for effectiveness of isolating the child by fathers and mothers

Effectiveness of isolating the child	
Parameter	Estimated marginal means
Fathers	2.12
Mothers	2.32

Table 17: Pooled within-cell correlations with SDs on the diagonal, for effectiveness of disciplinary practices rated by parents

Disciplinary Practices	Explain	Tell child he is not loved	Physical punishment	Take away privileges	Show anger	Isolate child	Do nothing
Explain	.48						
Tell child he is not loved	-.29	.71					
Physical punishment	-.16	.19	.87				
Take away privileges	.07	.03	.30	.85			
Show anger	-.08	.17	.55	.37	.80		
Isolate child	-.07	.36	.18	.11	.15	.84	
Do nothing	-.26	.48	.05	-.09	.01	.14	.49

6. Boys considered telling a child that he/she is not loved as being more effective than girls did. This result was obtained through MANOVA.

Table 18: Main effect of sex for effectiveness of disciplinary practices by children $F(7,503) = 4.27$, $\rho < .01$, partial eta-squared = .06

IV	DV	Univariate *F*	df	Stepdown *F*	df
Sex	Explain to child	5.41	1/509	5.41	1/509
	Tell child that he/she is not loved	*11.83	1/509	**7.41	1/508
	Physical punishment	*12.08	1/509	6.77	1/507
	Take away privileges	1.80	1/509	.00	1/506
	Show anger	3.22	1/509	.05	1/505
	Isolate child	*14.82	1/509	3.00	1/504
	Do nothing	*13.29	1/509	**6.78	1/503

* Significance level would reach $\rho < .01$ in univariate context

** $\rho < .01$

Table 19: Estimated marginal means for effectiveness of telling the child that he or she is not loved, rated by boys and girls

Effectiveness of telling the child he or she is not loved	
Parameter	Estimated marginal means
Boys	1.89
Girls	1.73

Table 20: Pooled within-cell correlations with SDs on the diagonal, for effectiveness of disciplinary practices rated by children

Disciplinary Practices	Explain	Tell child he is not loved	Physical punishment	Take away privileges	Show anger	Isolate child	Do nothing
Explain	.62						
Tell child he is not loved	-.40	.71					
Physical punishment	-.21	.23	.87				
Take away privileges	-.12	.18	.28	.87			
Show anger	-.09	.13	.58	.40	.70		
Isolate child	-.25	.56	.30	.19	.21	.82	
Do nothing	-.18	.40	.01	-.12	-.11	.24	.65

7. Children considered the use of physical punishment as being neither fair nor unfair.

A one-sample *t*-test was done to test if the mean score for the fairness of physical punishment given by children (3.08) was statistically significant from the mid-point 3 (neutral). Result showed that children were neutral about the fairness of physical punishment, t (532) = 2.14, n.s.

8. Boys considered telling a child that he/she is not loved as being more fair than girls did. This result was obtained through MANOVA.

Table 21: Main effect of sex for fairness of disciplinary practices by children
F (7,503) = 5.92, $\rho < .01$, partial eta-squared = .08

IV	DV	Univariate *F*	df	Stepdown *F*	df
Sex	Explain to child	3.06	1/509	3.06	1/509
	Tell child that he/she is not loved	*16.03	1/509	**13.29	1/508
	Physical punishment	*10.69	1/509	6.39	1/507
	Take away privileges	.46	1/509	.22	1/506
	Show anger	3.83	1/509	.15	1/505
	Isolate child	*15.13	1/509	2.56	1/504
	Do nothing	*28.03	1/509	**14.84	1/503

* Significance level would reach $\rho < .01$ in univariate context
** $\rho < .01$

Table 22: Estimated marginal means for fairness of telling the child that he or she is not loved, rated by boys and girls

Fairness of telling child he or she is not loved	
Parameter	Estimated marginal means
Boys	1.87
Girls	1.68

Table 23: Pooled within-cell correlations with SDs on the diagonal, for fairness of disciplinary practices rated by children

Disciplinary Practices	Explain	Tell child he is not loved	Physical punishment	Take away privileges	Show anger	Isolate child	Do nothing
Explain	.52						
Tell child he is not loved	-.28	.64					
Physical punishment	-.08	.18	.84				
Take away privileges	.09	.14	.27	.89			
Show anger	.04	.11	.54	.44	.74		
Isolate child	-.09	.50	.31	.20	.26	.81	
Do nothing	-.26	.41	.05	-.12	-.06	.21	.67

9. Correlations between how frequently parents used each disciplinary practice, and how effective parents considered these practices to be.

Table 24: Pearson correlations between frequency of misbehaviour and parents' ratings of effectiveness of disciplinary practices

Parents' Rating	Frequency of Misbehaviour
Effectiveness of physical punishment	**.18
Effectiveness of showing anger	.08
Effectiveness of taking away privileges	.00
Effectiveness of explaining	**-.21
Effectiveness of isolating child	**.12
Effectiveness of telling child he/she is not loved	.05
Effectiveness of doing nothing	-.01

** $\rho < .01$ (2-tailed)

10. Correlations between how frequently children misbehaved, and the frequency with which parents have used each of the disciplinary practices.

Table 25: Pearson correlations between frequency of misbehaviour and frequency with which disciplinary practices were used

Parents' Rating	Frequency of Misbehaviour
Frequency of physical punishment	**.39
Frequency of showing anger	**.24
Frequency of taking away privileges	**.15
Frequency of explaining	**-.14
Frequency of isolating child	**.19
Frequency of telling child he/she is not loved	**.14
Frequency of doing nothing	.05

** $\rho < .01$ (2-tailed)

Child care arrangements

Independent samples *t*-tests were performed to examine if there were any difference in the extent to which children were happy with their care arrangements, when either parents or paid workers were their main caregivers. Comparisons were done for ages 4 to 6, 7 to 9 and 10 to present.

Results showed that children were happier with parents being their main caregivers compared to paid workers, from ages 4 to 6, 7 to 9 and 10 to present, $t\,(202) = 3.97$, $\rho < .01, d = .56$; $t\,(272) = 3.90$, $\rho < .01, d = .47$; and $t\,(261) = 7.26$, $\rho < .01$, $d = .90$ respectively.

Parenting practices

In instances where MANOVA was performed to test the differences between the means, the IV, DVs, univariate *F*s, stepdown *F*s and their respective dfs were reported. Estimated marginal means and pooled within-cell correlations (with standard deviations on the diagonal) were also shown.

For analyses on parenting practices, the DVs were entered in the following order: 1) Training/*guan, 2*) Encouragement of modest behaviour, 3) Shaming, 4) Parental involvement, 5) Warmth/acceptance, 6) Parental control, 7) Autonomy, 8) Exposure to religion. The top-priority DVs were of interest in the present study, as they were found to be relevant to Asian (Chinese) samples in previous studies.

Given the large sample size and the multiple comparisons, a more conservative ρ (.01) was used for the MANOVAs.

1. **Mothers adopted training (*guan*) more frequently than fathers did. This result was obtained through MANOVA.**

Table 26: Main effect of sex for frequency of parenting practices by parents
F (8,345) = 4.58, $\rho < .01$, partial eta-squared = .10

IV	DV	Univariate F	df	Stepdown F	df
Sex	Training/*guan*	*24.70	1/352	**24.70	1/352
	Encourage modest behaviour	*8.94	1/352	.55	1/351
	Shaming	.79	1/352	.52	1/350
	Parental involvement	*18.38	1/352	4.14	1/349
	Warmth/acceptance	*11.19	1/352	.44	1/348
	Parental control	*10.75	1/352	.45	1/347
	Autonomy	*12.48	1/352	3.01	1/346
	Exposure to religion	*10.58	1/352	2.46	1/345

* Significance level would reach $\rho < .01$ in univariate context
** $\rho < .01$

Table 27: Estimated marginal means for frequency of training/*guan,* by fathers and mothers

Frequency of Training/*guan*	
Parameter	Estimated marginal means
Fathers	3.87
Mothers	4.14

Table 28: Pooled within-cell correlations with SDs on the diagonal, for frequency of parenting practices by parents

	Training/ *guan*	Encourage modest behaviour	Shaming	Parental Involvement	Warmth/ acceptance	Parental Control	Auto- nomy	Expose to religion
Training/ *guan*	.64							
Encourage modest behaviour	.46	.86						
Shaming	.32	.16	1.15					
Parental Involvement	.46	.33	.08	.54				
Warmth/ Acceptance	.37	.30	.11	.52	.67			
Parental Control	.47	.24	.33	.39	.29	.55		
Autonomy	.22	.19	.01	.30	.37	.20	.68	
Expose to religion	.25	.10	.14	.23	.25	.19	.17	1.12

2. **Children perceived mothers to have used more training *(guan)*, encouragement of modest behaviour, shaming, parental involvement, display of warmth/acceptance and parental control more frequently than fathers did. No difference was observed for autonomy and exposure to religion. Results of paired samples *t*-tests were shown in Table 29.**

Table 29: Comparisons between frequencies with which fathers and mothers used parenting practices (responses by children)
N = 527

Pairs	Mean	S.D	*t*	df
Mothers – Training/*guan*	4.00	.59	**6.66	526
Fathers – Training/*guan*	3.78	.81		
Mothers – Encourage modest behaviour	3.60	1.13	**2.98	526
Fathers – Encourage modest behaviour	3.46	1.15		
Mothers – Shaming	3.13	1.11	**2.82	526
Fathers – Shaming	2.98	1.14		
Mothers – Parental involvement	4.01	.51	**11.34	526
Fathers – Parental involvement	3.74	.62		
Mothers – Warmth/acceptance	3.85	.75	**7.70	526
Fathers – Warmth/acceptance	3.61	.84		
Mothers – Parental control	3.56	.59	**6.78	526
Fathers – Parental control	3.36	.65		
Mothers – Autonomy	3.36	.75	-.75	526
Fathers – Autonomy	3.39	.82		
Mothers – Exposure to religion	3.52	1.16	1.29	526
Fathers – Exposure to religion	3.46	1.21		

** $\rho < .01$

APPENDIX E:

ANALYSES OF MORAL VERSUS SOCIAL - CONVENTIONAL TRANSGRESSIONS

Moral vs Social-conventional Transgressions

Preliminary analyses were performed by grouping parents' and children's responses according to the types of transgression (i.e., moral versus social-conventional transgressions). As mentioned in Chapter 2, moral transgressions are considered to be more serious in nature as compared to social-conventional transgressions.

Comparisons between responses for moral and social-conventional transgressions were done using paired samples *t*-tests. In view of the large sample size and multiple comparisons made, a more conservative ρ (.01) was used. In the tables below, "moral" stands for moral transgressions, while "social" stands for social-conventional transgressions.

Table 30: Frequency of disciplinary practices – comparisons between moral and social-conventional transgressions (responses by parents)
N = 433

Pairs	Mean	S.D	*t*	df
Moral – Frequency of physical punishment	2.19	.94	1.77	432
Social – Frequency of physical punishment	2.12	1.00		
Moral – Frequency of showing anger	3.15	.89	-.50	432
Social – Frequency of showing anger	3.17	1.04		
Moral – Frequency of taking away privileges	2.93	1.06	.61	432
Social – Frequency of taking away privileges	2.91	1.17		
Moral – Frequency of explaining	4.28	.65	-.69	432
Social – Frequency of explaining	4.31	.67		
Moral – Frequency of isolating child	1.79	.84	.05	432
Social – Frequency of isolating child	1.79	.87		
Moral – Frequency of telling child he is not loved	1.39	.68	.51	432
Social – Frequency of telling child he is not loved	1.38	.71		
Moral – Frequency of doing nothing	1.28	.49	1.44	432
Social – Frequency of doing nothing	1.25	.51		

** $\rho < .01$

Table 31: Effectiveness of disciplinary practices – comparisons between moral and social-conventional transgressions (responses by parents)
N = 533

Pairs	Mean	S.D	*t*	df
Moral – Effectiveness of physical punishment	2.71	.91	**6.15	532
Social – Effectiveness of physical punishment	2.54	.97		
Moral – Effectiveness of showing anger	3.34	.81	**2.86	532
Social – Effectiveness of showing anger	3.26	.94		
Moral – Effectiveness of taking away privileges	3.43	.88	**2.93	532
Social – Effectiveness of taking away privileges	3.35	1.0		
Moral – Effectiveness of explaining	4.41	.50	.64	532
Social – Effectiveness of explaining	4.40	.59		
Moral – Effectiveness of isolating child	2.26	.86	**4.77	532
Social – Effectiveness of isolating child	2.13	.90		
Moral – Effectiveness of telling child he is not loved	1.63	.69	**3.29	532
Social – Effectiveness of telling child he is not loved	1.56	.75		
Moral – Effectiveness of doing nothing	1.41	.51	1.67	532
Social – Effectiveness of doing nothing	1.38	.56		

** $\rho < .01$

Table 32: Effectiveness of disciplinary practices – comparisons between moral and social-conventional transgressions (responses by children)
N = 533

Pairs	Mean	S.D	*t*	df
Moral – Effectiveness of physical punishment	3.11	.92	**4.48	532
Social – Effectiveness of physical punishment	2.96	1.0		
Moral – Effectiveness of showing anger	3.37	.73	2.28	532
Social – Effectiveness of showing anger	3.30	.89		
Moral – Effectiveness of taking away privileges	3.26	.89	-.04	532
Social – Effectiveness of taking away privileges	3.26	1.02		
Moral – Effectiveness of explaining	4.19	.63	.64	532
Social – Effectiveness of explaining	4.17	.77		
Moral – Effectiveness of isolating child	2.38	.86	**3.54	532
Social – Effectiveness of isolating child	2.29	.92		
Moral – Effectiveness of telling child he is not loved	1.83	.73	**3.70	532
Social – Effectiveness of telling child he is not loved	1.75	.80		
Moral – Effectiveness of doing nothing	1.78	.69	2.20	532
Social – Effectiveness of doing nothing	1.73	.77		

** $\rho < .01$

Table 33: Fairness of disciplinary practices – comparisons between moral and social-conventional transgressions (responses by children)
N = 533

Pairs	Mean	S.D	*t*	df
Moral – Fairness of physical punishment	3.14	.89	**7.91	532
Social – Fairness of physical punishment	2.88	1.01		
Moral – Fairness of showing anger	3.45	.76	**5.18	532
Social – Fairness of showing anger	3.28	.94		
Moral – Fairness of taking away privileges	3.25	.91	**2.80	532
Social – Fairness of taking away privileges	3.15	1.05		
Moral – Fairness of explaining	4.31	.55	-1.30	532
Social – Fairness of explaining	4.34	.67		
Moral – Fairness of isolating child	2.40	.85	**6.63	532
Social – Fairness of isolating child	2.24	.90		
Moral – Fairness of telling child he is not loved	1.80	.67	**4.60	532
Social – Fairness of telling child he is not loved	1.71	.70		
Moral – Fairness of doing nothing	1.85	.71	1.81	532
Social – Fairness of doing nothing	1.81	.79		

** $\rho < .01$

In general, parents and children tended to rate certain disciplinary practices as being more effective for moral transgressions than for social-conventional transgressions. Similarly, children tended to consider certain discipline methods as being more fair for moral transgressions than social-conventional transgressions. However, parents were found to have used each of the disciplinary practices to the same extent for both moral and social-conventional transgressions. The charts depicting the comparisons between moral and social-conventional transgressions are shown in Figures 15, 16, 17 and 18. Given that the differences in responses observed for moral and social-conventional transgressions were not consistent throughout, and that the patterns of responses for effectiveness, fairness and frequency turned out to be very similar for moral and social-conventional transgressions, we have combined the responses for the two types of transgressions in the main report.

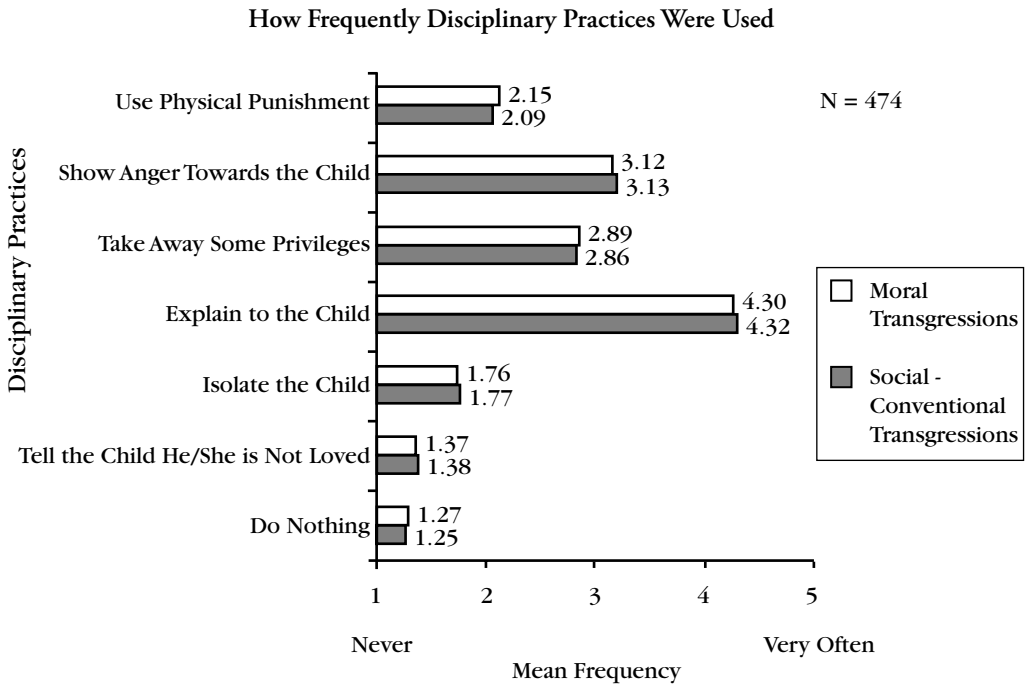


Figure 15: Frequency with which disciplinary practices were used by parents differentiated by types of transgressions

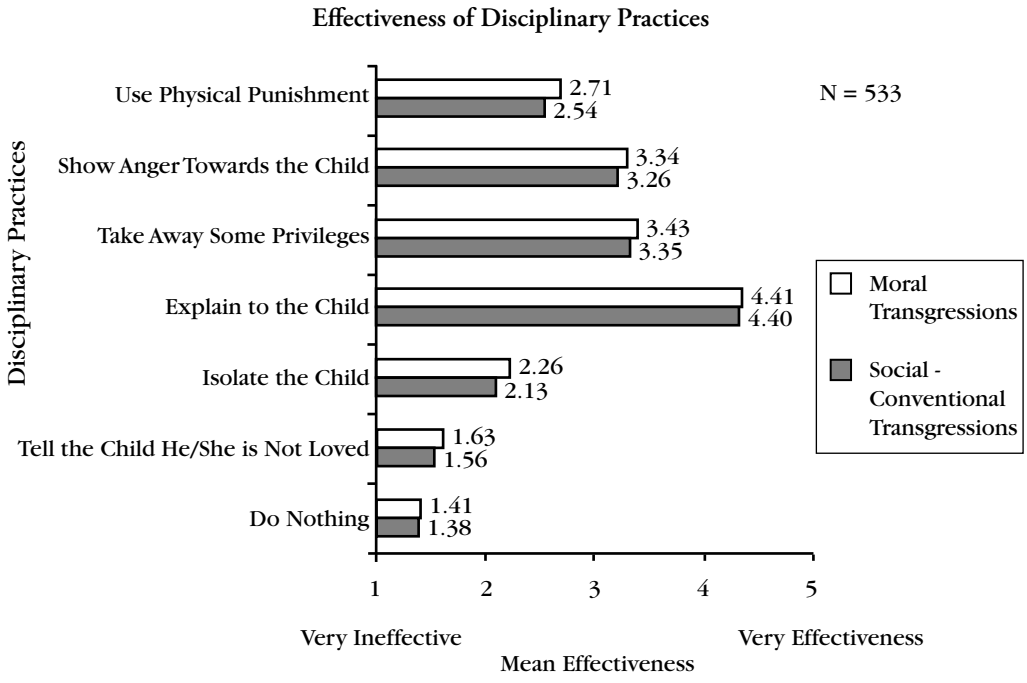


Figure 16: Parents' ratings on the effectiveness of disciplinary practices differentiated by types of transgressions

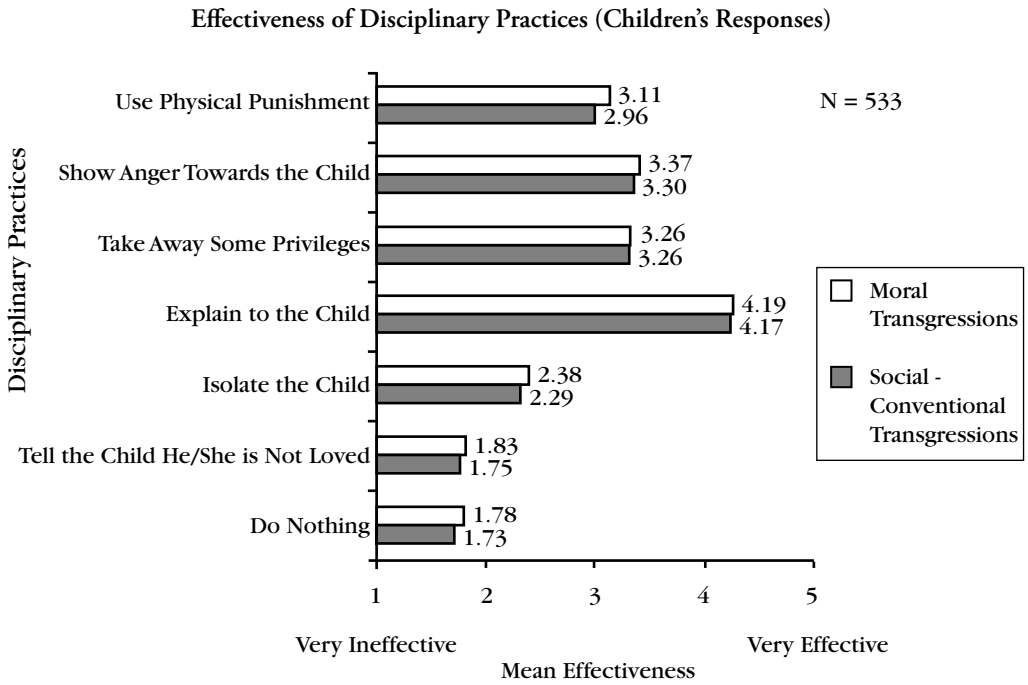


Figure 17: Children's ratings on the effectiveness of disciplinary practices differentiated by types of transgressions.

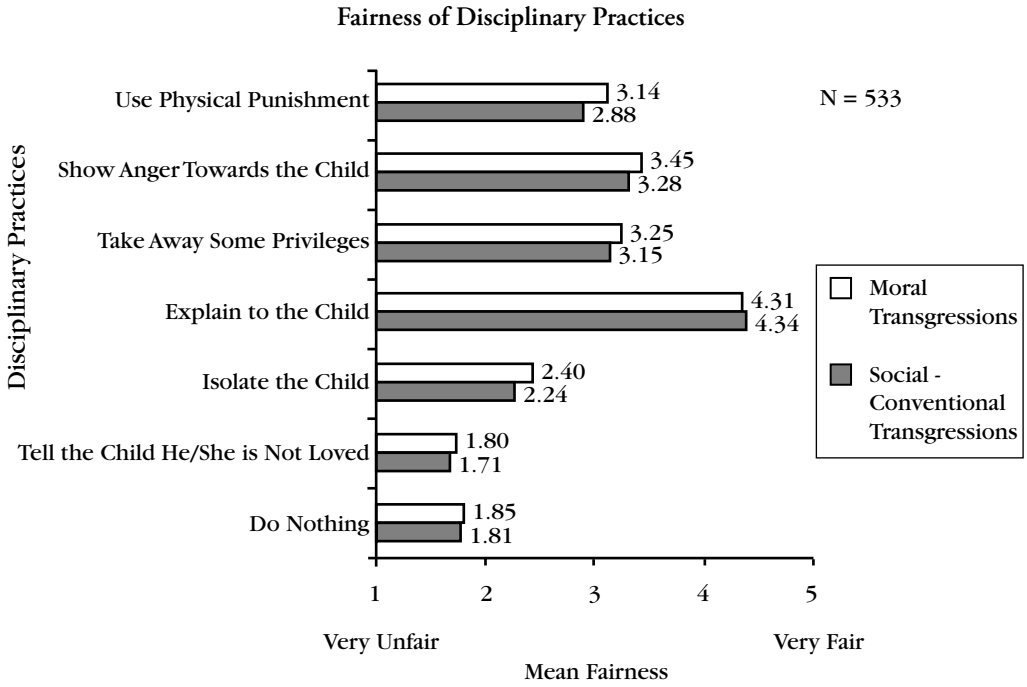


Figure 18: Fairness of disciplinary practices differentiated by types of transgressions