



*Occasional Paper No. 29*

**Centre for Hong Kong Studies**

香港研究中心

June, 1990

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**CAREGIVING TECHNIQUES AND PRE-SCHOOL  
CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT IN HONG KONG FAMILIES**

by

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## **Acknowledgement**

This research project was supported by grants from the Lotteries Fund of the Hong Kong Government on the advice of the Social Welfare Department, and from the Centre for Hong Kong Studies, Institute of Social Studies of The Chinese University of Hong Kong. The original idea of the research project was initiated by Dr. Marion Potts of Cornell University as part of a cross-cultural study on modernization and child development. The authors would also like to thank all the families who participated in this study, and Ms. Mei Ho for assisting the project.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Three groups of families in Hong Kong varying in the degree of modernization and with children aged 3 1/2-4 1/2 and 5 1/2-6 1/2 were studied in terms of their childrearing practices and the children's intellectual and social behaviours. The sample included 45 professional families living in modern high-rise buildings, 34 working-class families living in low-cost public housing estates, and 20 indigenous village families living in rural cottages. The mothers were interviewed on their childrearing attitudes, techniques, and the children's behaviours. In addition, the children's interactions with their mothers, fathers, and other caregivers were observed. Results show that all families emphasized intellectual development, including the learning of skills and information, language learning, and the learning process. Aggressive behaviors were rare among all children. The families differed in terms of the child's social development, such as the training of compliance, and in terms of techniques of socialization, with the professional caregivers using more nondirective instructional and facilitative techniques.

## CAREGIVING TECHNIQUES AND PRE-SCHOOL CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT IN HONG KONG FAMILIES

In a review of the Chinese patterns of socialization, Ho (1986) observed that Chinese parents placed greater emphasis on 'obedience, proper conduct, moral training, and the acceptance of social obligations' than on 'independence, assertiveness, and creativity'. Impulse control, especially over aggression is stressed. Parental control and disciplinary techniques are found to vary with parental education, social class, geographical location, the sex and age of the child, and the parental figure. Some researchers have observed that Chinese parents change from the more lenient to stricter discipline around ages 4 to 6 (Levy, 1949; Tseng and Hsu, 1969-70; Wolf, 1970).

With modernization, some of the traditional practices may change. The boys' and Girls' Clubs Association of Hong Kong (1983) noted some changes in the conventional pattern of child-rearing. Parents understood the negative effects of authoritarian strategies such as scolding, spanking, and other forms of physical punishment, even though some still practised them in disciplining their own children. Most parents placed heavy emphasis on education and studying at the expense of play. Lam (1982) found that the use of physical punishment among working-class parents was less than expected, with mothers taking up more of the disciplinary role than fathers. The process of social change may be observed more consistently by comparing families at different levels of development. The present study compares three groups of families in Hong Kong: professional, working-class, and rural, representing different degrees of modernization. It is hypothesized that caregivers from these families would use different childrearing techniques and that their children would exhibit different patterns of intellectual and social behaviour.

### METHOD

#### The Sample

In terms of living standard, level of education, profession, and value orientation, upper-middle class families from private high-rise flats in Shatin, a rapidly developing new town in Hong Kong, were identified as families with the highest degree of modernization. Families from low-cost public high-rise housing estates in the same district were considered in-between, whereas families residing in rural cottages of indigenous villages prior to the new town development were the least

modernized.

In addition to the level of modernization, four types of caretaking forms were included in the study: care provided by mother, relatives from the extended family, paid domestic helper, and nursery. Two age-groups, aged 3 1/2 to 4 1/2 and aged 5 1/2 to 6 1/2, were included. An equal number of boys and girls in each age group was targeted.

Based on the specified criteria, the purposive quota sampling method was used to identify the subjects. The number of subjects for each condition was aimed at four. However, due to recruitment difficulties in some categories (e.g. paid helpers in the working-class and rural families, and nursery care in the older age group), only 99 cases were successfully completed. The distribution of subjects is shown in Table 1.

Table 1  
Distribution of Subjects by  
Residential Type, Caretaking Form, and Age

Residential Type	Caretaking Form										Total
	Mother care		Paid helper		Extended family		Nursery		Sub-total		
	Age 3-4	Age 5-6	Age 3-4	Age 5-6	Age 3-4	Age 5-6	Age 3-4	Age 5-6	Age 3-4	Age 5-6	
Rural	7	7	0	0	3	3	0	0	10	10	20
Public	8	8	0	0	5	7	6	0	19	15	34
Private	6	5	8	7	9	7	3	0	26	19	45
Sub-total	21	20	8	7	17	17	9	0	55	44	99

### Data Collection

Data were collected through the use of a closed-ended interview schedule with the mother and a series of natural observation in the child's home. The instruments and the coding system were refined on the basis of a pilot study on 46 three-year-old children (Cheung, Chau and Lam, 1986). The families were visited at their homes for three sessions within a period of four weeks in 1986 and 1987. Different times of the week and the day were selected to allow for some variations in the activities to be observed. The duration of each observation session was 20 minutes. The focus child was observed at home interacting with the mother, with the caregiver if she was other than the mother, and with the father. The child was also observed interacting with the primary caregiver during 20 minutes of play dough activity. The method was tried out in a pilot study involving 46 children (Cheung, Chau & Lam, 1986).

### Analysis

In the present analysis, modernization effects on socialization were studied by comparing the three groups of families residing in private tenement housing, public housing estates, and rural cottages. For the natural observations, the responses emitted by the caregiver and the child in each session were coded according to a pre-set classification schedule. The classification schedule was developed based on variables proposed by Dr. Marion Potts of Cornell University and refined on the basis of the pilot study in Hong Kong. Each protocol was coded by three researchers and disagreements were resolved through consensus. To reduce the data for more focused analysis, five responses which occurred with the highest frequencies were identified. In addition, four other responses -- independence, dependence, verbal aggression, and physical aggression -- were also noted as points of interest. Relevant information from the interview were included in the discussion.

## RESULTS

For the private housing group, 45 families were recruited. The fathers had mostly attained university education and were holding jobs of a professional, managerial or administrative nature. Most mothers had also attained university-level education with only a minority reaching senior high level. These families lived in more spacious apartments with modern facilities and in a better

neighbourhood.

For the 34 families from the public housing estates, about 70% of the fathers had completed secondary education, and were employed as technicians, skilled workers, clerks, or service workers. Slightly over half of the mothers had completed primary education while the rest have attended some form of secondary education. The families lived in cubicles ranging from 16m<sup>2</sup> to 33m<sup>2</sup> in size in high-rise blocks of public housing estates.

The 20 families from the indigenous rural villages lived in bungalows or three-storey cottages with more open area in the outskirts of the new town. There were little public facilities such as shopping arcades, restaurants, and entertainment establishments in the compound. The educational level of the parents and the occupation of the fathers were similar to those of their counterparts in the public housing estates.

The three groups of parents differed slightly in age, with those from the professional group being the oldest and the rural group the youngest. This difference may reflect the pattern that professionals tend to marry and have children at an older age.

### **Child's Development**

In addition to reports by the mothers, the child's interactions with the mother, the father, and the caregiver (if other than the mother) during the natural observation sessions were coded according to a classification scheme including the nature of the activity, initiative, and frequency (Appendix 1). The five most frequently observed behaviours during the home visits were **learning process, assertiveness, skills and information, labeling, and compliance**. In addition, **independence, dependence, verbal aggression, and physical aggression** will be highlighted even though these behaviours may not be exhibited as often during the observations. These nine categories of behaviour will be grouped under the areas of intellectual development and social development.

### Intellectual Development

Intellectual development was emphasized in all three groups of families. **Learning process, skills and information, and labelling** were three of the most frequently observed behaviours. The differences among the families may lie in the

learning environment at home. Children from the professional group were provided with better opportunities to learn. They had more chance to read story books, and their mothers would frequently read or tell stories to them. Children from the rural villages, relatively speaking, had the least opportunity for this kind of stimulation. Generally speaking, the level of intellectual development of all the children was good. The mothers reported that the majority of the children were able to recognize more than 20 Chinese characters, write the 26 English alphabets and their names, count and recognize the numerals from 1 to 100. More than half of them could do simple addition, and above 40% could do simple subtraction.

**Learning Process** Much of the interaction between the child and the caregiver involved a learning process related to academic, social, or general skills. A wide range of responses were coded under this category: attending to information, imitation, seeking feedback, recalling past experience, planning, self-instruction, exploration, questioning, as well as errors in memory or learning.

The broad definition of this category may account for its highest frequency of occurrence. Professional families placed a much stronger emphasis on this group of behaviour than the public housing and rural families. Fathers generally focused on learning processes more than mothers and other caregivers during the natural observation period. Male and older children were engaged in this category of behaviour more often (Table 2).

Table 2

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Learning Process

	Mean Occurrence	Number of Children Engaged
Total Group (N=99)	11.34	99
<b>Sex</b>		
Female (N=47)	9.94	47
Male (N=52)	12.61	52
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4 (N=55)	10.53	55
5 - 6 (N=44)	12.34	44
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural (N=20)	7.99	20
Public Housing (N=34)	9.34	34
Professional (N=45)	14.34	45
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	13.08	
Father (N=93)	19.33	
Others (N=47)	13.17	

**Skills and Information** Skills and information was coded when the child learned or expressed knowledge, information and skills in academic and general areas. These included reading, writing, learning concepts and rules, learning self-care skills, performing mathematical operations, etc. The three groups of families did not differ much in the occurrence of these activities. Both the father and the mother were engaged in these activities with the child more than the other caregivers during the natural observations. Older children also displayed more of these learning behaviours (Table 3).

Table 3

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Skills and Information

	Mean Occurrence	Number of Children Engaged
Total Group (N=99)	7.48	98
<b>Sex</b>		
Female (N=47)	7.59	47
Male (N=52)	7.40	52
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4 (N=55)	6.82	54
5 - 6 (N=44)	8.31	44
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural (N=20)	7.29	20
Public Housing (N=34)	7.54	34
Professional (N=45)	7.52	44
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	14.01	
Father (N=93)	14.30	
Others (N=47)	8.96	

**Labelling** Labelling refers to the use or training of language to name an object either in a single word, phrase or sentence. Consistent with the stage of language development, labelling became less central to the child's responses among the older age group when they have acquired more language skills including the use of sentences and narratives. Children from the public housing estates and children who were observed with their mothers were involved in less labelling behaviour during the natural observation periods (Table 4).

**Table 4**

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Labelling

	<u>Mean Occurrence</u>	<u>Number of Children Engaged</u>
Total Group (N=99)	3.91	90
<b>Sex</b>		
Female (N=47)	3.55	45
Male (N=52)	4.24	45
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4 (N=55)	5.21	52
5 - 6 (N=44)	2.29	38
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural (N=20)	4.39	16
Public Housing (N=34)	2.92	32
Professional (N=45)	4.45	42
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	4.33	
Father (N=93)	5.23	
Others (N=47)	5.64	

Social Development

Reports from the mothers indicated that the children generally demonstrated a good disposition in their character and manners. They were considered to be sociable and able to relate well with others. Traditional Chinese childrearing practices have emphasized obedience and submission to parents or other authority figures. Some variations in these emphases were observed in the present study.

Assertiveness In our sample, it was found that assertiveness training appeared to be emphasized more by the mother from the professional and public housing groups. According to the mothers in the interview, the children would ask for the reasons when told to do something. They were more ready to resist suggestions made by their mothers and would try to bargain with counter proposals or defy their mothers' requests. In contrast, the rural mothers described their children as less assertive and would simply comply with requests or grumble when they were unwilling to comply. They would seldom fight back even when bullied by others.

During the observations, assertiveness was coded when the child's behaviour involved persuasion, counter suggestion, disagreement, defending their own rights, and asking for reasons. While assertiveness was the second most frequent behaviour observed, the professional group showed a higher frequency of occurrence than the other two groups. Boys showed more assertiveness than girls (Table 5).

**Table 5**

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Assertiveness

	<u>Mean Occurrence</u>	<u>Number of Children Engaged</u>
Total Group (N=99)	8.81	99
<b>Sex</b>		
Female (N=47)	7.59	47
Male (N=52)	9.92	52
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4 (N=55)	9.14	55
5 - 6 (N=44)	8.41	44
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural (N=20)	7.11	20
Public Housing (N=34)	7.54	34
Professional (N=45)	10.73	45
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	1.97	
Father (N=93)	2.29	
Others (N=47)	2.36	

Compliance In the interview, rural mothers regarded complete obedience as the most essential personal attribute whereas professional mothers did not find this as important. However, little difference was found among the three groups in the frequency of compliance during the natural observations. Compliance was coded when the child obeyed commands or prohibitions, or complied with requests and suggestions. Compliance was emphasized most by the mother than by other caregivers or the father during their interactions with the child. Slightly more compliant behaviours were observed among the boys, but these behaviours were mostly initiated by the caregiver trying to exercise control (Table 6).

**Table 6**

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Compliance

	<u>Mean Occurrence</u>	<u>Number of Children Engaged</u>
Total Group (N=99)	3.37	96
<b>Sex</b>		
Female (N=47)	2.94	44
Male (N=52)	3.76	52
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4 (N=55)	3.73	53
5 - 6 (N=44)	2.91	43
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural (N=20)	3.50	19
Public Housing (N=34)	3.65	32
Professional (N=45)	3.10	45
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	1.97	
Father (N=93)	2.29	
Others (N=47)	2.36	

**Dependence** According to the reports of the mothers, few of the children exhibited attention-seeking behaviours. The actual interaction during the natural observations showed that children from the professional families showed slightly less of these behaviours, which included seeking for contact, affection, approval, recognition, or help even when there was no instrumental need. As expected, the older children showed less dependence. Dependent behaviours and the press for dependence took place more often when the child was interacting with other caregivers than with the mother and least of all, with the father (Table 7).

**Independence** Mothers reported during the interview that their children demonstrated the initiative to perform assigned tasks on their own. Children from the professional group, in particular, showed the most initiative in doing their homework. During the natural observations, independence was coded when the behaviours demonstrated freedom from the support of others, initiation of activities on one's own, and evidence of self-reliance. In addition, the degree of the child's initiative was calculated on the basis of the percentage of the total amount of the child's behaviour being initiated by the child rather than being a response to the caregiver's press.

**Table 7**

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Dependence

	<u>Mean Occurrence</u>	<u>Number of Children Engaged</u>
Total Group (N=99)	2.31	96
<b>Sex</b>		
Female	2.09	45
Male	2.52	51
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4	2.58	54
5 - 6	1.98	42
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural	2.56	19
Public Housing	2.67	34
Professional	1.93	43
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	2.04	
Father (N=93)	1.20	
Others (N=47)	2.98	

Independent behaviour was not found to be occurring frequently during the natural observations. There was not much difference among the three groups of families in terms of the frequency of such behaviour (Table 8). The categories of behaviours most often initiated by the child during natural observations were **assertiveness, dependence, physical aggression, verbal aggression, and mastery**. Behaviours which were most often reaction to the caregivers' press were **independence, pronunciation, and compliance** (Table 9).



**Table 8**

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Independence

	<u>Mean Occurrence</u>	<u>Number of Children Engaged</u>
Total Group (N=99)	1.53	86
<b>Sex</b>		
Female (N=47)	1.38	41
Male (N=52)	1.65	45
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4 (N=55)	1.67	47
5 - 6 (N=44)	1.34	39
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural (N=20)	1.13	17
Public Housing (N=34)	1.27	27
Professional (N=45)	1.89	42
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	2.94	
Father (N=93)	2.95	
Others (N=47)	2.36	

**Table 9**

Initiative vs. Response in the Child's Behaviour

<u>Behavior</u>	<u>Child's Initiative %</u>	<u>Response to Caregiver %</u>	<u>Ratio of Child's to Caregiver's Initiative</u>
Assertiveness	93.62	6.38	14.67:1
Dependence	89.38	10.62	8.42:1
Physical Aggression	88.68	11.32	7.83:1
Verbal Aggression	88.53	11.47	7.72:1
Mastery	86.89	13.11	6.63:1
Compliance	30.18	69.82	0.43:1
Pronunciation	25.15	74.85	0.34:1
Independence	18.94	81.06	0.23:1

Verbal and Physical Aggression On the whole, none of the children from our sample was found to be aggressive by the mothers. The majority of the mothers would not allow their children to fight with others under any circumstance. The observations confirmed that the occurrence of verbal and physical aggression was very low among all the children, especially for girls and the older age group. While the children from the different family backgrounds did not vary so much in verbal aggression, physical aggression occurred the least among the professional group (Tables 10 and 11).

**Table 10**

Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Verbal Aggression

	<u>Mean Occurrence</u>	<u>Number of Children Engaged</u>
Total Group (N=99)	0.48	42
<b>Sex</b>		
Female (N=47)	0.29	18
Male (N=52)	0.66	24
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4 (N=55)	0.65	28
5 - 6 (N=44)	0.27	14
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural (N=20)	0.40	9
Public Housing (N=34)	0.42	14
Professional (N=45)	0.57	19
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	0.44	
Father (N=93)	0.30	
Others (N=47)	0.45	

**Table 11**

**Mean Occurrence and the Number of Children Engaged in Physical Aggression**

	<u>Mean Occurrence</u>	<u>Number of Children Engaged</u>
<b>Total</b>	0.48	20
<b>Sex</b>		
Female	0.39	11
Male	0.58	9
<b>Age</b>		
3 - 4	0.63	14
5 - 6	0.32	6
<b>Modernization</b>		
Rural	0.93	2
Public Housing	0.81	9
Professional	0.27	9
<b>Caregiver during observation</b>		
Mother (N=99)	0.53	
Father (N=93)	0.30	
Others (N=47)	0.29	

**Caregiver's Techniques**

During the natural observation sessions, the caregiver's techniques in training the child were recorded and classified as **instruction, facilitation, and control**.

Instruction refers to any direct transmission of knowledge or skill. The behaviour to be trained may be demonstrated or modelled by the caregiver, or instructed verbally either in the form of a directive statement or indirectly in the form of a nondirective question allowing the child to figure out the answer. The caregiver may explain, point out relationships, provide informational feedback or state rules.

Facilitation includes techniques which are meant to promote or encourage rather than direct or restrain a behaviour. The caregiver would make it easier for the child to learn or perform the behaviour. The facilitation may be given verbally, such as making encouraging remarks, praising, or giving choices. Nonverbal facilitation included attentively watching or listening, hugging and patting. Tangible rewards and promises of material goods or privileges may also be offered as a form of facilitation.

Control consists of techniques used to limit or inhibit undesirable or disapproved behaviours. The caregiver may verbally tell, request or command the child not to engage in that behaviour, or channel the child into another activity. Restraint may be expressed in the form of disapproving look, removing the object, or physically restraining the child. Punishment includes both threats or actual use of aversive behavioural consequences including physical punishment, withholding privilege, or shaming.

Among the five most frequently occurring behaviours during the natural observation, the training of learning process was primarily achieved through instructional techniques. Skills and information were trained through instruction and control. Labelling was predominantly taught verbally. The training of assertiveness made use of both instruction and facilitation; compliance was trained through control (Table 12).

The use of these caregiving techniques among the three groups of families will be described in greater details (Table 13).

Instruction

While all three groups of mothers showed willingness to help the children to complete difficult tasks, the professional mothers demonstrated their willingness in a more instructional approach. Before proceeding to help their children, they would usually wait and let the children try out first. If the mothers were to intervene, they would instruct their children how to do the task rather than taking over the task and doing it for them. On the other hand, a higher percentage of the rural mothers tended to take over the task from the children. If the children were to give up trying, the rural mothers would coerce their children to carry on while the mothers from the other two groups would coax and encourage instead.

The three groups of families did not differ much in the relative frequency to which they used the technique of instruction during the natural observations except in the training of skills and information, for which caregivers of the professional families used instruction more often than the other two groups. Although the training of compliance was primarily achieved via control techniques, the professional group tended to use more instructional techniques than the rural or public housing families.

### Facilitation

According to the interview responses, 80% of the mother from the professional group were ready to give encouragement and support to their children by giving instant recognition. Slightly more than half of the mothers from the other two groups also expressed readiness to give due recognition although 40% of these mothers would only show appreciation to their children in a more discriminative way.

In providing encouragement and support to their children, the means most frequently used by the caregivers was verbal recognition. Material rewards were only occasionally used. Other rewards such as awarding special privilege and spending more time with the child were seldom used. None of the mothers reported that they had hugged or kissed their children as a form of reward and recognition for good behaviour.

Facilitation, especially through nonverbal expression, was used relatively less frequently than the other two forms of techniques. Facilitation techniques were used most often in the encouragement of dependent behaviour, particularly among the professional group, and to a lesser extent, the training of assertiveness.

### Control

In the interview, the mothers considered physical punishment to be too harsh for children of this young age. In case of mischiefs and disobedience, they would restrain their children verbally. Mothers from the rural families tended to give stronger verbal restraint, usually in the form of verbal reprimand. Mothers from the professional families would use a milder approach by explaining and reasoning with the children instead of scolding them. The mothers from the public housing estates were somewhat in between in their use of control techniques.

Control was used infrequently during the natural observations. It was most often used in the enforcement of compliance through verbal directives and in the restriction on physical aggression through actual restraint. In addition, the professional families would also tend to use more control techniques in restricting verbal aggression.

## DISCUSSION

This study confirms the observation that Chinese parents place a strong emphasis on the intellectual development of their children at a young age. Regardless of the educational level or the socioeconomic background of the families, learning strategies, acquisition of information and skills, and language training are among the most practised activities in the interaction between caregivers and children. However, variations among families were found with regard to the process of learning. Traditional rural families placed the least emphasis on the learning process whereas professional families were most concerned. The latter group would use more nondirective instructional techniques and facilitative techniques to stimulate the child's learning. Families from the public housing estates, although similar in educational and economic backgrounds to the rural families, were somewhere in between the modern and the traditional groups.

Variations among the families were also found in the child's social development. The more modern families would tend to be less concerned with obedience and compliance. Instead, these parents would allow the child to be more assertive and independent. They were also less inclined to use control techniques to train their child. On the other hand, although the children in this group were most assertive, they were not any more aggressive than the other groups of children. Verbal aggression and physical aggression were rare among all three groups of Chinese children.

In contrast, the majority of the rural mothers regarded complete obedience as the most essential personal attribute for their young children while about half of the public housing mothers thought so. Both groups of caregivers used more control techniques to exert compliance from their children. Although these two groups of children exhibited assertiveness frequently during the natural observation sessions, these behaviours were given little instructional or facilitative encouragement by the caregivers. The socialization practices of these families conform to the traditional Chinese pattern of socialization which emphasizes obedience, proper conduct and impulse control (Ho, 1986).

Modernization is influenced by education and contact with modern facilities which expose parents to Western ideas of child development such as through books and the mass media. These values are reflected in the childrearing practices of the professional families, and to a lesser extent, the public housing families in the present study. However, traditional Chinese values in academic achievement and control of aggression are still prevalent irrespective of the degree of modernization.

In the present study, the method of natural observation provided an objective evaluation of the information obtained in interviews. Granted the possible effects of social desirability factors in direct observations, the actual interaction between different caregivers and the child would provide a fuller picture of caregiving techniques. As may be seen in the results, use of authoritarian strategies were infrequent among all the families. Punishment was very rarely used at all. Even in disciplinary control, verbal directives were more common. In this study, fathers and mothers did not differ much in their caregiving techniques. Both were concerned with direct training of the children, although the fathers were more inclined towards the task-oriented aspects of the interaction.

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# 香港家庭之教養技巧及學前兒童的發展

(中文摘要)

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本研究探討香港家庭教養子女的方式和子女的智能和社會行爲。研究對象是三類不同程度現代化、並有年齡在三歲半至四歲半和五歲半至六歲半之間的子女的家庭。研究的樣本包括45個居住於現代化多層大廈的專業人士家庭，34個居住於公共屋邨的藍領階級家庭，和20個居住在村屋的新界原居民家庭。本研究通過個別晤談，訪問母親對教養子女的態度、技巧和對子女的行爲的看法；此外，亦實地觀察子女與父母或其他照顧者相處的情況。研究結果顯示所有家庭都著重子女的智能發展，包括技能和知識的學習，語言的學習，和學習的過程。全部小朋友都很少表現攻擊性的行爲。三類家庭的分別在於子女的社化發展，例如對順從方面的訓練；和在社化過程中運用的技巧，專業人士一般較多採用非訓令式的教導和誘導的技巧。