UNDERSTANDING AFRICAN AMERICAN PARENTS’ BELIEFS REGARDING
SOCIALIZATION GOALS, PARENTING, AND EARLY CHILDHOOD CARE

A Thesis

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my beautiful children; Anthony II, Jaleel, and Jamia. You have given me inspiration to soar. I pay special tribute to my father, Herman L. Lipford whose love, wisdom, and belief has guided my journey and built the foundation of our strong family. I also want to thank my mother, Lillian Lipford whose undying faith in the impossible has taught me the power of perseverance. Finally, to my husband, Anthony, thank you for being my consistent supporter.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

Parental beliefs guide childrearing. Childrearing focuses on many aspects of human development including socialization and education. Socialization goals and educational performance expectations are all rooted deeply in parental beliefs. A misunderstanding of any cultural group’s beliefs regarding parenting, socialization and education can be interpreted ethnocentrically if they differ from those of the dominant group whose beliefs are reflected in all of society’s institutions, particularly education. Parents, even those of very young children, have ideas regarding the academic development of their children. As early as the preschool level, parents are invested in the ways in which familial values will be supported in the early childhood classroom. These beliefs translate into parental expectations for socialization of children in both the classroom and the home. These parental beliefs and expectations exist, though the perception is often that they are not shared with the educators who work with this population of learners (Silva & Wise, 2006; Hand & Wise, 2006).

Learning in the early childhood education classroom involves both education and socialization of children. The early childhood classroom may be the first place parental beliefs are revealed in a formal learning environment. Because the early childhood classroom is usually ethnically diverse, gaining an understanding of parental beliefs of
minority populations is beneficial in avoiding assumptions that all cultures have the same values and expectations for children.

Although there is great variation in ethnic diversity, this project examined the parenting beliefs held by African American parents of preschool age children. It assessed the manifest content of those beliefs and how they impact socialization goals, parenting, and early child care. The literature review suggests that African American parents have high educational and occupational expectations for their children. They have beliefs regarding what they expect their children to gain in school and accomplish in life. These outlooks include what parents believe children need to learn, what they are capable of achieving, and the role of the family in this process. (Hanson, 2008)

Parents also have socialization goals. These aspirations are related to the environments that parents expect their children to acclimate to once they have reached adulthood. In building collaborative relationships between home and school, identifying the specific beliefs of African American parents and communicating those to childhood educators and other professionals potentially aids in creating an understanding of how much all parents have in common and diffuses many of the misconceptions associated with stereotypes.

Statement of the Problem

With regard to educational goals, it is important that beliefs and values of African American parents are communicated because there are often ethnic differences between the preschool age children and the staff members who teach them. Rouse, McCormick,
and Hallam (2006) conducted a survey that collected demographic data of public preschool teachers across the United States. Using an adaptation of a survey developed by the National Center for Early Development and Learning- the Kindergarten Transition Survey- researchers found that consistent with national data, thirty-two percent of preschool classrooms are located in urban environments. The early childhood classroom is made up of 74% Caucasian teaching staff that report working in classrooms composed of 56% non-Caucasian children (Rouse, McCormick, & Hallam, 2006).

Census data reports also show that more children have begun attending preschool in the last four decades than ever before. African American children represent the demographic group with the largest percentage of increase across the board (U. S. Dept. of Education, 2006). With the increase in the number of children having access to preschool, and the disproportionate relationship between ethnicity of the teachers and ethnicity of the children, a more accurate understanding of parental beliefs of African American children could help correct erroneous interpretations of parent and child behaviors.

Importance of the Study

To help educators better understand beliefs of African American parents, this study examined socialization goals and expectations they have for their children’s education. Parents were asked to share their knowledge of parenting, their beliefs, values, and the hopes they have regarding their children’s present and future, as well as the social and educational experiences they perceive as being valuable. This knowledge, translated into an increased understanding of parental beliefs of African American parents, is
intended to combat inconsistency in the early childhood classroom. Specifically, it works to ensure that parental socialization goals and performance expectations are based on the beliefs articulated by the family and that the values and goals are incorporated in the classroom by the child care teacher (Edwards, Gandini, & Giovaninni, 1996). It is important to diffuse any approach that relies heavily on dominant cultural expectations because these values dictate ideologies regarding specific behaviors children will display when socialization and learning occurs in response to teacher-initiated classroom activity. Educators’ interpretation of behavior must be culturally sensitive (Gill & Reynolds, 1999) and reflect an understanding of parental beliefs from the minority perspective.

Parental beliefs and expectations were considered among this demographic because it is in the child care setting that the two dynamic cultures of home and center initially converge. Also, among this population the culturally specific parental beliefs of minority parents of preschool age children, African Americans specifically, are not empirically clear. Conducting this research provided a greater understanding of African American parental beliefs to practitioners, family members and other support agencies. This study could be used to implement improved services and develop performance standards for preschool age children based on culturally specific expectations. It could influence teacher perceptions and approaches to teaching and help them to create stronger home-center relationships.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

A review of the literature on parental beliefs indicates that African American parents generally report that they are equipped to teach their children how to navigate cross-culturally and integrate in social settings but express the need to have the support of trained educational professionals to meet the most prominently valued need—educating their children for future success and stability. While many of the values placed on education are often reported as being a direct function of the parents past experiences, several studies among African American parents show that they hold in high esteem the same educational values as non-African American families. This research shows that African American parents are more interested in academic parity and less interested in diversity and inclusion (Johnson, Immerwahr, McHugh, & Farkas, 1998).

This literature review begins with an overview of Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems Theory. This is used to establish the theoretical framework for the research project. It is important to understand the dynamic relationship between the interacting variables in a child’s environment to explain how the beliefs held by those individuals responsible for the socialization and education of the child impact one another. The next section examines African American parental beliefs, and is followed by examining African American parental beliefs from a family strengths perspective.
The literature suggests that it is important for educators to identify the strengths in diverse populations instead of examining ethnic minorities from a clinical perspective. Incorporating an understanding of beliefs held by African American parents into this literature review was important in developing the research questions that guided the study.

The literature review ends with a look at African Americans’ experiences with center based child care to determine ways that awareness of cultural beliefs of African American parents may influence the classroom environment and the learning and socialization that occur in that setting.

Bronfenbrenner’s Ecological Systems Theory

Ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) is a theory of child development that views human development as always occurring within relationships to the environment. It provides an ecological view of human development. Ecology refers to a branch of biology that studies the relationship between organisms and their surroundings. Ecology addresses such issues as how an organism’s surroundings can influence the functioning of the organism. Simply put, an ecological approach to child development would consider an understanding of parental beliefs by professionals directly involved with the child as being a psychosocial force that contributes greatly to the formation of the child.

The basic tenets of Ecological systems theory suggest that the developing child is impacted heavily by his or her environment (Tissington, 2008). Bronfenbrenner posed
that there are four multiple levels of the environment that surround and simultaneously influence the developing child. These are the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. Each of these levels interacts with one another and with the developing child simultaneously. In ecological systems theory, the child is at the center of the model, enclosed in and affected by the various levels. The levels that are the closest to the child often have the greatest impact on his or her development but it is also the child’s interpretation of the experiences shared within that level of the environment that impacts growth.

The microsystem is the environment that is closest to and includes the child. All factors at this level directly affect the child, and in turn, may be affected by the child. The microsystem that is the focus of this study is the home, or rather the parental beliefs that influence the home environment and is affected by another microsystem, the child care center, preschool classroom. It is important to note that biology and social conventions affect the behavior of everyone within the microsystem, the child and those with whom he or she comes in contact. Within each person, parents, children, teachers there are internal forces always at work (thoughts, habits, attitudes, impulses, ability, beliefs, etc.) that influence the behavior that occurs within this setting. Ecological systems theory posits that individuals interpret those experiences, are shaped by them, and shape others because of them.

The next level in this model is the mesosystem. The mesosystem represents the interactions, relationships, and exchanges that occur between and among the various levels found in the microsystem in which the child actively participates. For example,
parental expectations regarding culturally appropriate pedagogy, family values, and views regarding socialization affect the exchanges that occur in the classroom. It is hypothesized that the way children feel about teachers and peers, and how children think their parents feel about teachers and peers impacts the quality of these interactions. How preschool teachers feel about the relationship with the family, child, philosophy of the child care center, and perceptions of support received from the child’s family, preschool center administration, and the overall approach to culturally appropriate pedagogy is a significant part of the mesosystem.

The exosystem is the next level. Children are not a direct part of the Exosystem but are in fact affected by what occurs within that context. For example, the preschool center board members and child care management are heavily responsible for the hiring of teachers and for creating a culturally appropriate environment via resources and professional development training. The program’s philosophy and how the center is run can affect the relationship of staff and parents. Other examples of elements operating at the Exosystem level include the interactions of professionals responsible for early childhood education programs, formal and informal policies of the child day care center, state licensing rules and regulations, educational and cultural diversity and sensitivity training requirements of child care center staff, and policy funding that affects child care at the local, state, federal, or regional level. Though the child is not an active part of these components, a change in any of these Exosystem factors can affect the experiences that each individual child involved in the preschool program may have.

The final level in Bronfenbrenbrenner’s model is the macrosystem. The macrosystem surrounds the microsystem, mesosystem, and exosystem. This is the level
that demonstrates the influence of culture on all human interaction. Cultural attitudes about child care and the appropriate role of parents in the preschool environment affects the experiences children will have in the child care center. Parents’ interpretations of the child care staff’s ability to understand the values of their specific culture might impact the parent-teacher relationship and set the tone for the experiences the child might have on a daily basis.

Ecological systems theory also includes the component of time and the impact that significant changes at any point in time in the environment can have on any and all levels. This is referred to as the chronosystem. An example of a chronosystem change that might occur at this level would be a change in the age for children to begin or end preschool.

Bronfenbrenner’s model was influential in designing and implementing this study because of his theoretical focus on the simultaneous impact of various environmental influences on the developing child. Both the parents and child care staff are strong influences on the developing child. These adults must form a collaboration built on strong communication to provide support to each other and the child. Based on Bronfenbrenner’s model, the interactions between the child and parent, child and staff, parent and staff are heavily influenced by beliefs. The approaches parents take toward child rearing manifest in the form of behavior of both child and parent. Understanding or lack of understanding of parental beliefs manifests itself in the form of reactions to observable behavior. Each response solicits another response and each has dynamic influences on the other. Each encounter produces a reaction which produces even more
reactions. From a child and family development perspective, Bronfenbrenner’s theory views the problems and challenges that arise within individuals and families as societal issues. It places value on the influence that intervention and network support can play in altering the developmental experience that children have (Franco & Levitt, 1997).

Based in part on the work of Bronfenbrenner, Charles M. Super and Sara Harkness (1986) created the “Developmental Niche” to examine the influence of the household and community. Essentially, they look at the developing child in relation to the physical and social settings in which they live, the cultural and social practices of the society in which they live, and the psychological characteristics of the child’s parents as they relate to child rearing and child development. This framework is also useful in this study because parental beliefs guide parenting practices and expectations. The way beliefs are communicated to both the child and staff influences the relationships that are formed. Parent beliefs may or may not align with the cultural and social practices of mainstream society. The physical setting of the home may operate according to a set of beliefs that are in conflict with the setting of the child care environment. This theoretical model suggests that the child is directly and simultaneously impacted by both.

African American Parental Beliefs

African-American families have been identified as having a high orientation for achievement, strong work ethic, flexible family roles, strong kinship networks, and strong religious orientation (Hill, 1998). African American parents value respect. They indicate a high regard for educational equity. They want their children to have the same educational and social opportunities perceived available to Caucasian children. They
want child care center staff to treat their children with the same level of respect given other children and their families (Zionts, Zionts, Harrison & Bellinger, 2003).

African American parents value education and encourage academic achievement in their children, and that success can be achieved through hard work and perseverance (Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008; Holloway, Fuller, Raumbaud, & Eggers-Piérola, 1997). They believe their family units are strong, and they emphasize close family relationships and following parents’ rules (Julian, McKenry, & McKelvey, 1994; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008; Thomas, 2000). African American parents believe that their children draw strength from the generational and extended family support that exists within their culture (Thomas, 2000). African American parents believe that their children’s behaviors are often mislabeled by teachers as problematic or inappropriately vocal (Craig & Washington, 2002). They also believe that misinterpretations of child behavior and parent response to behaviors exist in the educational system and society overall. They relate these misunderstandings to poor communication and a lack of knowledge of cultural differences and resiliency strategies embraced and used by the African American family (Ogbu, & Simmons, 1998; Cozier, 1996).

For example, African American parents believe there are often misinterpretations in the area of language and self-expression of the African American child when compared to other ethnicities. Craig and Washington’s (2002) study of the oral expectations teachers have for African American preschoolers and kindergartners attempted to develop culturally fair assessment tools to be used on children prior to their transition to formal education. The participants were 100 African American children identified by both parents and teachers as being typically developing. Spontaneous
language samples were collected during free dyadic play. The study revealed that African American children, especially boys, remain at risk of being misidentified. The research concluded that educators that work with African American children need to improve their cultural knowledge regarding the language skills these children bring with them to the classroom.

African American parents believe that as a unit, the Black family is strong. They believe that socialization of their children is a primary indicator of the success of their parenting. In the more than twenty-four speeches and papers presented during the 1985 conference on the Black Family (Cleveland, Ohio, September 25-28) proceedings show a strong affiliation toward family, love, education, success, and socialization among the African American family. This collection of works yields a theme of combating negative social stereotypes concerning the black family; specifically as it relates to parenting goals (Hale Benson, 1985).

Examining African American Parental Beliefs from a Family Strengths Perspective

Examining the beliefs of the African American family using the family strengths perspective, an approach that encourages practitioners to expand the lens of analysis when working with minority families, helps provide an understanding of parental values not necessarily highlighted in traditional research.

The family strengths perspective is a way of acknowledging that all families have strengths-and in many cases, assists in understanding ethnicity or culture which aids in understanding and identifying the familial strengths (Early & GlenMaye, 2000 and Itzhaky & Bustine, 2003). The most critical benefit of examining the parental beliefs of
the African American family from a strengths perspective results in the identification of both the personal and professional beliefs of the parent and the specific goals they have for their family’s involvement in the educational process.

African American parents believe it is important for educators to understand the life experiences and parental expectations that children bring with them to the classroom—any classroom. In a 2003 research study, Zionts, Zionts, Harrison, and Bellinger investigated the perceptions among African-American families regarding sensitivity within the special education system. Participants, twenty-four parents of children with moderate to severe cognitive and behavioral disabilities participated in semi-structured interviews. Participants were asked about perceptions concerning the impact of ethnicity on the planning and delivery of special education services and asked to discuss parental satisfaction with both the special educational system and community-based services. Results indicated that 41 percent of the respondents reported having been unaware of any teacher training initiatives to increase cultural understanding or sensitivity, and 57 percent of respondents reported that outward evidence suggested that teachers correlated the child’s disability with his or her race. The results indicated that generally, African American parents communicated being frustrated with the lack of cultural understanding typically expressed by children’s Caucasian teachers. They indicated frustration with the lack of experience that the school system’s predominantly Caucasian teachers seemed to have regarding the social, cultural, and economic differences between the teachers and the students and the families (Zionts, Zionts, Harrison, and Bellinger 2003).

Historically, the parental beliefs of the Black family have been considered an important dimension in early education. Concern for issues of minority children and
family were influenced by the 1965 Moynihan Report, titled: The Negro American Family, The Case for National Action. In this account, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan painted a bleak picture of what he identified as the crisis in the Black family specifically in the area of family structure and how this related to unemployment, poverty, education, and family stability (Moynihan, 1965). His work, though rejected by many African American leaders, compelled other policy makers to consider his prophesied perspective that a current breakdown in the Black family would lead to a future breakdown in society overall. His premature report was embraced by President Lyndon B. Johnson, who in 1965 established the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the enactment of Project Head Start (Hymowitz, 2005).

Head Start, a project initially designed as an eight-week summer program to help low-income children and families from urban areas with preschool education, nutrition, parenting, was purposed to attack the cycle of poverty by offering support services to impoverished families with children, ages three, four, and five. Slaughter-Defoe and Rubin’s (2001) concluded that the evaluation of the project resulted in modifications to the educational system overall. Recommendations were made to schools to accommodate and understand the social and cultural differences of children, particularly ethnically diverse children and those from lower income families (Slaughter-Defoe and Rubin, 2001).

The Head Start Project made another significant contribution. Head Start established both parents and preschool teachers as principal agents in the long-term goal setting of children. It illustrated how teacher perceptions of preschool children, based on an understanding of family beliefs, can later affect the aspirations held by students. The
study further established a connection between preschool experience and later academic pursuits of minority children. Goal setting was identified as a variable that was impacted by the relationship between normative expectations of teachers and the unconventional, culturally specific needs and behaviors of minority children (Slaughter-Defoe and Rubin, 2001). The results of the longitudinal case study data strongly implicated the role of teacher assessment, based on cultural and familial understanding, at the preschool level and beyond, into children’s perceptions surrounding self-efficacy. This revelation led to a proliferation of research in the areas of meeting the needs of ethnically diverse children.

For example, Smetana and Chuang (2001) examined the parental attitudes, beliefs, and parenting styles of 87 middle class African American parents. Participants, 87 mothers and 51 fathers, were administered a semi structured interview. They were asked questions regarding the socialization goals they have as parents for their early adolescent age children and their view on their role in this process. The results indicated that African American parents value parental involvement, setting limits, and restricting behavior in an effort to make sure children embrace societal rules, adhere to social standards, and simultaneously demonstrate a commitment to the family unit.

Because parents transmit cultural values and expectations to their children and create an environment of perceived competence regarding their children’s performance expectations, parents believe that child care staff benefit when agreeing with parents that children internalize their parents expectations and in exchange attempt to make the parent happy by conforming behavior to meet these expectations. Theoretically, this forms the developmental niche (Harkness and Super, 1991) in which the physical and social
settings, culturally regulated customs of child care and child rearing combine (Sharma, Vaid, & Dhawan, 2004).

According to Early & GlenMaye (2000), the African American parents in their study believed that when the relationship between parent and child care teacher is based on trust, and it is evident that the child care teacher respects the parent as the child’s primary educator, teachers are better equipped to induce insight from parents about what works best to help the developing preschool age child. Relationships between parents and teachers are strengthened using this approach because it is not theoretical, it is practical. Understanding what parents value and consequently what make the family unit strong, provides a way of looking at and working with families by supporting their uniqueness, structurally or functionally, and valuing the impact their belief and support systems have on the way they deal with the child, the staff, and even crisis situations (Early & GlenMaye, 2000; Itzhaky & Bustine, 2003)

African American family structure, beliefs, practices, and resiliency strategies form the basis of parental expectations which drive the socialization of African-American children. As opposed to the deficit model which traditionally looks at cultural variations in minority parenting and socialization as being pathologically inferior to the cultural “norms” as determined by the dominant European American cultural group, this study examined the specific family values embraced by African American families that influence child performance. Encouraging the sharing of parenting beliefs held by African American involves cultivating an environment where parents feel valued, listened to, and understood (Gleason, 2007).
African Americans’ Experiences with Center Based Child Care

This study recognizes that center based child care plays a large role in the socialization process and education of the developing child. Child care programs are accepted as an important extension of the family unit (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002, Diamond, Reagan, & Bandyk, 2000, and Vandivere, Pitzer, Halle, & Hair, 2004). Child care providers have joined primary care givers in being largely influential in the early years of child development. In the best interest of the child, it is necessary for parents and teachers to work together in creating a nurturing learning environment (Hand & Wise, 2006).

Child care providers cannot assume that parents see children through the same lens that they do, nor can they assume that they share the same developmental expectations. An increasing number of research studies is focusing on the implications the child care environment has on the cognitive, social, and emotional development of children. Recent studies have concentrated on measuring both social competency and cognitive development of children in child care programs (Burchinal, Roberts, Riggins, Zeisel, Neebe, & Bryant, 2000; NICH, 2000; and Broberg, A.G., Wessels, H. and Lamb, M.E., and Hwang, C.P., 1997). Assessments include uncovering why children do or do not perform according to certain standardized norms. While relevant benchmark standards have been created to determine learning outcomes, it is imperative that cultural understanding is integrated into content and performance standards or the social development of minority children will continue to be measured according to the more dominant population and not according to culturally specific criteria (Smith-Maddox, 1998). In the absence of empirical data, teachers must rely upon informal and subjective
sources of information, such as cultural stereotypes or anecdotal accounts from colleagues. This is a concern for parents. African American parents are aware that many evaluations of children based on observational studies are strengthened when they include parental input.

Brooker (2003) conducted an ethnographic study of the way children learn specifically as it related to the influence of home and parental ethnotheories. Sixteen children; eight were Bangladeshi, and eight were Anglo, identified as being extremely poor and at-risk for academic failure were the subjects of the study. Brooker concluded that it is the responsibility of both the school and the family to gain a greater awareness of the expectations each has for the education and socialization of the developing child. Brooker concluded that the experiences children have in the home and school simultaneously and significantly impact one another.

In the review of the literature on parental values and beliefs of African-American parents, there was a preponderance of research that supported the importance of behavioral control to African American parents. Bradley (1998) conducted research on the African American family and provided a body of work to help professionals gain a multi-cultural understanding of the disciplinary practices of the African American family in order to better serve them in counseling. Denby and Alford (1996) challenged social workers to determine if professional involvement with the family allows the family to retain use of the disciplinary practices traditionally embraced by their culture. All of this research relates to discipline. When it comes to a general understanding of African American families’ parental beliefs and values of preschool age children, there is a paucity of research available.
Summary

As indicated in the literature review, there are some similarities and also some differences among parenting beliefs cross culturally. Culture and beliefs influence parenting. Beliefs are passed from parents to their children. Beliefs manifest in expectation. Expectations manifest in behavior. An overview of ecological systems theory by Bronfenbrenner was offered, with particular attention paid to how the tenets of this theory correlate directly with Super and Harkness’ term, “parental ethnotheories” which help explain how beliefs impact parenting and socialization of children. This perspective reasons that parenting beliefs are the culture itself and not merely derived from the culture which provides the basis for this research.

An examination was made of beliefs held by African American parents. Literature was reviewed and research was conducted to improve this relatively small body of research on the beliefs held by African American parents of preschool age children in relation to building collaborative relationships between parents and staff. Through in-person interviews and a parent satisfaction survey, data were collected from African American parents on their beliefs regarding child rearing, expectations for child performance in school and social settings, aspirations for their children’s socialization goals, desires for early childhood care experiences, and hopes for their children’s future achievements. The parents were asked if they were satisfied with their early childcare program and with the experiences their child and family had when encountering the staff at the centers. The final research questions were as follows:
1. Compared to dominant cultures, what are African American origin families’ beliefs and values regarding childrearing and socialization?

2. What are African American origin families’ long term expectations regarding the education of their preschool age children?

3. Do African American parents believe that child care center staff embrace parental beliefs and support efforts of the family in moving their child toward goal attainment?

Based on the review of the literature the following hypotheses were formed:

1. The beliefs regarding parenting, socialization goals, and early child care expressed by African American parents will fall within the domains of success, personal orientation, affective/behavioral attributes, affiliation and love--with an emphasis on social orientation.

2. African American parents who have had higher levels of experiences with education and generate higher incomes are likely to express strong beliefs in values on education and expectation of academic and social achievement from their children.

3. Parents will express a desire to achieve ethnic inclusion/diversity in the childcare setting.
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to access African-American parents’ beliefs regarding the education, socialization, and long-term performance expectations they have for their preschool age children. It was designed to provide empirical research to preschool educators of African-American children regarding the educational and social experiences the families believe are important to shaping the development of their children to help them support parental efforts.

Participants

Twelve African American parents over the age of 21 that had at least one child between the ages of 36 and 60 months enrolled in and attending a center based child care program in NE Ohio participated in this study. Because the study was concerned with assessing the African American parenting beliefs of adult parents only, African American parents under the age of 21 were excluded. Because the study was concerned with assessing the performance and socialization expectations at child care centers, also excluded from this study were parents of preschool age children that were currently attending in-home day care programs. The Human Subjects Review Board at the
University of Akron approved this study (Appendix A). Participants received no compensation for their participation in this study.

Recruitment

To accomplish the aims of this study, the principal investigator contacted directors of area child care centers and asked them to pass along information about the study, including the consent form (Appendices B and C) to African American parents of preschool age children currently attending their child care programs. Once a parent consented to participate in the study, directors were asked to have the parent sign the consent form and return it to the child care center director. The center directors were asked to collect the signed consent forms, and give them to the principal investigator. After reviewing the consent forms, the principal investigator contacted the participants by telephone to schedule an in-person or telephone interview. The principal investigator explained to each participant that the interview could take approximately 2.5 hours. All participants agreed to an in-person interview. No participant agreed to an in-home interview. The principal investigator had made prior arrangement with the Akron Community Service Center & Urban League to allow the principal investigator to interview participants in a private conference room located in a secluded area in its building (Appendix D) in the event that an in-home interview was not possible. Interviews were conducted over an eight-month period.
Instruments

Participants in this study were interviewed using the (PBI) Parental Belief Interview (Appendix E); an interview administered survey questionnaire used effectively to inductively derive socially and culturally embedded systems of belief, and for assessing belief variations among African American parents of school age children (Jones, 1996). The tool created by Holliday and Curbeam (1996) was comprised of 22 multiple choice items and fifteen open-ended questions. The goal of the survey tool was to pose questions that uncovered African American parents’ beliefs about childrearing and socialization (Jones, 1996). This tool was chosen because the content of the questions aligns precisely with the research questions identified in this study; the clear guide it provides for the researcher to administer to the participants; and the concise language that is used.

Additionally, to gather information on parents’ perception of their child care center staffs’ understanding of their unique concerns as African American parents, the principal investigator used an open ended questionnaire derived by converting Likert-type items found on various parent surveys identified during the literature review (see Appendix F).

Procedures

The in-person interview began with a verbal review of both the consent form and rights of the participant. Participants were given a copy of their signed consent form. The Principal Investigator then collected the demographic data for each participant and recorded it on the Participant Demographic Information form (Appendix G).
Next, the Principal Investigator asked the participants the first nine (primary) items found on the PBI (Appendix E). The researcher was careful in documenting the response to each question to insure proper coding. This documentation included recording responses, qualifications, and restrictions. The principal investigator took handwritten notes during the interview as well.

Next, the principal investigator placed a card on the table (Appendix H). The principal investigator read the following statement to the participant, “Here is a card which lists different qualities that children have. Please read everything on the card.” The principal investigator then asked the participant questions ten through fourteen found on the PBI. Again, careful consideration was given to the proper recording of responses given by the participant.

The principal investigator asked questions fifteen through twenty-two found on the PBI. At the conclusion of administering the PBI, each participant was permitted to take a short break. Upon returning from break, each participant was given the Parent Satisfaction Survey (Appendix F) and an ink pen. Each participant completed the Parent Satisfaction Survey silently without any interaction with the Principal Investigator. Once the participant handed the survey in, the Principal investigator asked if the participant had any additional information they would like to share or questions that they wanted to ask. The Principal Investigator documented both questions and comments made by the participant. The principal investigator announced that the interview was complete and thanked the participant for sharing in the study. The Principal Investigator then walked the participant out of the building.
Upon returning to the interview room, the Principal Investigator assigned the participant a number and indicated it on the participant’s consent form, demographic information form, PBI interview questionnaire, and parent belief survey. Upon returning to the home office, the principal investigator placed the consent form along with all identifying information in a separate file, in a locked cabinet, away from the rest of the collected data. From that point on, only the participant number was used to identify the particular questionnaire, survey and transcript. All raw data and consent forms were kept in a locked file cabinet in the home of the Principal Investigator and will remain there for five years in accordance with APA guidelines. After five years, the original data will be shredded and discarded.
CHAPTER IV
RESULTS

Introduction

This chapter describes the results of the data collected from this study. A descriptive analysis of the participant demographics is presented first, followed by the results of the in-person interview data collected and the results of the parent satisfaction survey.

Demographics

Twelve families participated in this study. As reflected in Table 1, the subjects included eight mothers (67%) and four fathers (33%), all African-American. As reflected in Table 2, the preschool aged children of the parents that were administered survey questionnaire ranged in age from three years to five years, and were equally split between males and females.
To accurately describe the participants, the researcher collected data on the following demographic variables: number of adults living in home that are directly involved in child-rearing, number of children in the household, annual income of family, type of household income, city of residence, and educational levels.

Table 3 shows that half of the participants were female heads of households and another twenty-five percent represented homes in which both a mother and father reside. Only 8.33% of families surveyed had only the father of the preschool age child living in the home with the child. There was also represented a category called “other” in which the child resided with one of their parents and a live in companion of the custodial parent (mother’s boyfriend, father’s girlfriend). In some cases the “other” individual represented another significant adult, like a grandparent, who lived in the home and shared the responsibility of child rearing of the preschool age child.

The modal household income range of participants in this study was between $35,000 – 49,999 annually. As depicted in Table 4, two families reported earning $5,000 or less during the year of the study, one of which indicated being unemployed and the
other receiving public assistance. Another participant reported being employed part-time and also receiving public assistance. Six of the participants indicated that they received Title XX funding to help pay for child care services.

Ten of the participants and their families lived in the City of Akron. One family lived in Copley Township and another family lived in Barberton. Both of the participants living outside of the City of Akron transported their preschool age child daily to the child care center, located in urban Akron, Ohio.

Table 5 shows that the participants reported having achieved a wide range of educational levels. Two parents reported having obtained a master’s degree; one reported having a bachelor’s degree. Four respondents had attended college or a technical training, vocational, or trade program. As shown, only four participants had, at the time of the study, reported having no education beyond high school or its equivalent. None of the participants reported having less than 12 years of education (high school degree or equivalent).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3 Grouped Frequency Distribution for the Number of Adults Living in Home</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father Only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother and Father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother and Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Father and Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4_Grouped Frequency Distribution for Income Level

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Income of Family</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$0 – 5,000</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 – 9,999</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 – 14,999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 – 24,999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 – 34,999</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$35,000 – 49,999</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50,000 – 74,999</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 Educational Levels of Primary Caregivers in Our Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level Attained</th>
<th>#Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High School Graduate/GED</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical Training/Vocational/Trade</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associate Degree</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bachelor’s Degree</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master’s Degree</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctorate</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

PBI Coding and Analysis

After the interview data were collected, descriptive statistics were run on the demographic variables to obtain frequency data for each of the categories. The parent responses to the PBI were then coded according to the five major topics identified by the creators of the PBI as being the basis of the model of Black parental beliefs. According to the heuristic model used by the creators of the PBI, each question on the instrument is designed to elicit responses that might be coded into one or more of the following categories: values, substantive beliefs and perspectives, expectancies,
prescriptions/proscriptions, and technology. For coding purposes, a statement made by a parent referencing something that is good, bad or preferable is a value (VAL). Substantive beliefs and perspectives (SBP) are statements that the parent indicates is a generally held belief according to their culture or worldview. Expectancies (EXP) are those things that parents believe are likely to occur in the future. Prescriptions/Proscriptions (PP) are parent statements that suggest action or offers alternatives. Technology (TEC) is a statements made by parents in which they identify ways to achieve goals or acquire resources. The goal of this coding process was to be able to inductively derive socially and culturally embedded systems of belief and for assessing belief variations. After the data were separated into categories, a modification of the PBI model was employed to conduct frequency distribution for participant responses. Parallels were drawn between quantitative results and findings were also supported by qualitative responses.

Research Question One

The first research question examined beliefs regarding childrearing and socialization that might be unique to African American parents. PBI questions one and two focused on the childrearing component and were designed to identify SBP and P/P. Responses that fit into each category will be discussed.

Substantive Beliefs and Perspectives (SBP)

Eleven of the twelve participants interviewed reported that there was something different about being a Black parent than being a Caucasian parent and that Black parents
have to teach their children things that Caucasian parents do not. The most common response to differences in parenting was in rearing children to function in both a Caucasian world and a Black world. One parent responded, “I have to tell my child to work harder than other children to be accepted.” Another parent said, “They must learn that they have to be the best at things that other children can just be good at doing.” The most common response, shared by more than half the participants related to unique lessons that Black children must learn. This involved language and communication. One parent said, “My child must learn how to talk outside of our community and family.” Another parent said, “They must learn to talk Caucasian in order to be accepted.” A third respondent said, “My child must learn to speak one way in public and another way at home.” The SBP most commonly identified was the belief that Black children have to be given tools needed to live and function in dual cultures.

Prescriptions/Proscriptions (P/P)

The most common P/P were obtaining an education, working harder than children of other ethnicities, and learning to speak what they described to be proper English. During the in-person interview parents were asked to rate the importance placed on children demonstrating various social qualities as a result of their child rearing and socialization efforts. PBI questions ten through fourteen addressed these areas. As depicted in Table 6, the social quality of self-control ranked highest among the most desired traits. Eleven out of twelve of the parents indicated, “It is extremely important for my child to demonstrate self-control when in public.” The quality of self-control was followed closely by “obedient to parents” and “being responsible” with nine out of
twelve parents indicating that these traits were extremely important. Collectively, when combining quite important with extremely important, 92% of participants selected having good manners, trying hard to succeed, and being considerate among the most important social characteristics. Responses to this question varied. One parent responded by saying, “I believe high self-esteem will give a child the ability to be successful at anything they attempt to do. Independence will teach them to stand on their own two feet and not be a follower.” Another parent responded, “My child must have respect for others and treat them the way they want to be treated. This is not an option, it is a directive.”

Research Question Two

The second research question asked about the ultimate level of educational attainment African American parents wanted or expected for their preschool aged children. PBI questions fifteen through seventeen focused on this component and were designed to identify the dimensions of VAL, P/P, and EXP. When asked how much schooling the parents would like their children to receive, 67% of the parents reported a desire to have their children obtain a graduate level degree. Common responses for eight out of twelve parents included, “I want my child to obtain a master’s degree. It’s not easy to gain employment with just a diploma or college degree” and, “I want my child to go as far in college as possible and become lifelong learners [sic].”
Values (VAL)

The qualitative statements made by parents were consistent with VAL that focused on economic self-sufficiency and independence, achieved through education and entrepreneurship. Seventeen percent of the parents indicated a desire for their children to achieve bachelor’s degrees. One parent’s open-ended response was “I want my child to receive whatever level of education is needed that will teach how to make, keep, and invest money wisely” Another parent responded, “I want my child to start their own business (sic). I want my child to be a lender and not a borrower.”

Table 6 Parents’ Ratings of Socialization Goals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>Not</th>
<th>Somewhat</th>
<th>Quite (Q)</th>
<th>Extremely (E)</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good Manners</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tries hard</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Sense</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-control</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender Appropriate</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gets Along With</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obedient</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsible</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Considerate</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curious</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good Student</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Expectancies (EXP)

When asked what is the least amount of education participants believed their preschool age children must have, three out of twelve parents indicated their child must earn nothing less than a graduate level degree. The responses for eight out of twelve
parents were equally split between earning a bachelor’s degree and high school diploma. PBI question sixteen identified shared EXP of education that went beyond the high school level. Common open-ended remarks included, “At the very least my child must finish high school and complete some college or technical training program. Although I want them [sic] to earn a college degree I know this is not always possible, but I also know that making a decent living with a high school diploma will be extremely hard to do.” Parents also expressed the hope that their children will accomplish more than they, as parents, had achieved. Statements to support this theme included: “I’m struggling right now. I want my child to grow up and avoid some of the mistakes I made. I didn’t finish college and our life is hard. I expect my child to do better than this.”

Prescriptions/Proscriptions (PP)

In terms of P/P, ten out of twelve of the parents indicated a commitment to making certain that their child achieved their educational goals. PBI question seventeen asked parents to compare what they wanted their child to achieve to the resources their family could actually implore to help them achieve these goals. Participants consistently responded with comments such as, “Oh, I can get my child through school. I will take out a second mortgage on my home if I have to.” Other comments included, “I will help my child fill out financial aid forms. I will help my child apply for scholarships. Even if my child has to take out loans, I will help them [sic] repay them--they will go to college. They will achieve their dreams. They will have a better life than I have been able to provide.”
Research Question Three

The third research question asked the parents to evaluate whether or not they believed the childcare center that their preschool age child was currently attending embraced the unique beliefs of African American families and whether they supported their efforts in a way that helped move their child toward educational and social goal attainment. The results of the Parent Satisfaction Survey are depicted on Table 7. Items one through four addressed this question.

When combining strongly agree with agree, eight out of twelve of the participants indicated that the staff listens and responds appropriately to their concerns as parents. One parent commented, “Even though the staff is all Caucasian, they are very open. They treat us very well.” Another parent commented, “I don’t allow them not to. I am very expressive when it comes to my concerns and my children’s needs.”

When asked if the staff understands their unique concerns as an African American family almost 60% of parents indicated they did not. Participant responses included, “Only the African American staff do and they work in the kitchen or in housekeeping. The director and teachers are all Caucasian.” Among the 40% that felt the staff had a solid understanding of the unique concerns of the African American family common responses included, “The staff and center are all African American so of course they understand.” One parent indicated strong displeasure by saying, “The staff at the center seems to put all Black children in a box.” Another parent expressed her experiences with the child care staff as follows, “I’m more educated than the staff and directors. The Black staff treat me like I’m unapproachable and the Caucasian staff are confused and just don’t seem to
know how to deal with me at all. They are improving though. The program is really
good—which is why I didn’t pull my child out. They are better this year than last year.”

Table 7 Responses to Parent Satisfaction Survey

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement #</th>
<th>Scale</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
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<td>25%</td>
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<td></td>
<td>D</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SA</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nine of the participants believed the child care classrooms and social activities
did not reflect an understanding of African American family values. Consistent
comments included, “There are no Black books, pictures, music, etc. The only time
Blackness is celebrated is during Black history month-otherwise, it’s not brought up at
all.” Other comments included, “The curriculum guides [and] classroom activities [sic].
I’ve seen a strong emphasis on Spanish culture, pictures of kids and families, but
not a lot of Blacks. Most pictures on the wall are of the kids art work and not faces. I
would like to see Black faces somewhere. I would even love to hear that they play Black
music sometimes.” Of those parents that were pleased with the classroom integration of
African American family values the common response was, “The staff is really trying
hard to be culturally appropriate. They participate in diversity training as a staff and it shows.”

For overall satisfaction with the child care program and its ability to support the socialization, parenting, and early care goals of the African American family there was an equal split between those satisfied and those dissatisfied. One parent responded, “They work really hard at building parent-teacher relationships. They are really trying to support me in my efforts to educate my child.” Of those dissatisfied, one unique comment was made by a participant, “I’ve had a really negative experience in this all Black center. I would actually take my child to an all Caucasian center if I could. In the all Black centers there is a tendency to be common with one another. It’s like I’m not supposed to hold them to a higher standard because we are all the same. Caucasian centers tend to have a higher standard of excellence.” One parent that indicated being satisfied with the all Black center that her child attends said, “the teachers in the Caucasian centers are most likely educated with bachelor degrees, even master degrees. In most Black centers the staff has a high school diploma or GED.”
CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Studies over the past fifty years have identified a myriad of factors that impact child socialization, education and behavior of preschool age children (Merrell & Holland, 1997; Darwish, Esquivel, Houtz, & Alfonso, 2002; Dietrich, 2005). The most influential and perhaps more often ignored is the impact of culturally specific parental beliefs, values and expectations of minority parents. African American parents in particular are underrepresented in this area of research. Increased knowledge of the parental beliefs, values and expectations that these families have regarding their children’s performance and the social and educational experiences they perceive as being valuable provides information that is useful to educators and ultimately benefits the African American child.

The review of literature summarized studies on African American families; there was a large body of literature available on disciplinary methods preferred by parents. The literature also indicated the values African American families placed on generational support systems, respect, and socialization of their children.

I will discuss the results of this study in light of the review of the literature. This chapter will be organized by research question, and will end with a discussion of implications for early childhood educators and suggestions for future research studies.
For the first research question, finding out the beliefs African American parents felt were unique to their child rearing, almost all parents (eleven out of twelve) reported that they believed there was something different about being a Black parent than being a Caucasian parent. The parent that indicated there were no differences; this parent clearly communicated that his experience as a Black parent was different than most. “I have two children. My five year olds mother is Caucasian. I have custody of that child. My wife, who is also Black, and I also have another child together. We teach both of the children in our home the same things. Both of our children need the same type of love and guidance to grow up.”

Of the twelve families interviewed, eight mentioned the need for Black children to learn to speak well in public and not to use the same dialect that was used in the home. It was interesting to discover the frequency with which parents expressed concern that their children might speak improper or “nonstandard” English, and thus be considered uneducated. Although there was no specific question that asked about language use, 100% of the eight families responded that Black children are evaluated socially on the way they speak and present themselves in public. This belief aligns closely with the strong parental social expectations for self-control (92%) and having good manners (92%). Consistent with Smetana and Chuang’s (2001) findings, the results of this research suggest that that African American parents’ assessment of their success at parenting is somehow linked to the extent to which children exhibit social skills that reflect disciplined, socially appropriate behavioral characteristics. In a related study conducted by Suizzo, Robinson, and Pahlke (2008), it is reported that African Americans promote education to promote achievement and to overcome barriers of discrimination.
Again, this speaks to the belief that Black parents somehow believe their children must be socialized and educated differently than other ethnic groups.

The results of this research supported hypothesis #1 which proposed that the beliefs regarding parenting, socialization goals, and early child care expressed by African American parents would fall within the domains of success, personal orientation, affective/behavioral attributes, affiliation and love—with an emphasis on social orientation. PBI questions three through seven focused on identifying these beliefs. Through open-ended comments, 100% of participants indicated that they wanted their child to grow up and be “whatever they want to be” with the following parameters:

1. Ten out of twelve parents reported that successful childrearing would manifest in the form of their child having a solid relationship with God
2. Eight out of twelve parents indicated that socially it was critical that their child understood that they were just as good as anyone else and could achieve whatever they set their mind to do
3. All of parents responded that keeping family first and being true themselves was an important goal of socialization, parenting, and early care experiences
4. All of parents responded that a good education was a key to personal and family success for their child
5. All of parents responded that having belief in self, support from family and demonstrating the social constraint of discipline would result in their child being able to succeed in life.
The second research question examined parental expectations regarding the future education of their children. Frequency distributions indicated that no matter what level of education the parent had obtained for themselves, they expected their child to go further. Interestingly, even though all parents wanted their children to obtain at the least a college education, not all parents believed it was essential to success for their child. Participant responses reflected a value on educational attainment, seeing it as a means to achieving financial security, which they seemed to equate with success. Three of the parents talked about their children owning a business in the future and placed a high emphasis on financial security that did not involve working for someone else. Most of the participants in this study seem to have experienced or were currently experiencing financial struggles, this may have lead them to predominantly focus on financial independence as a long-term goal for their children.

The results of this research did support hypothesis #2 which proposed that African American parents who have had higher levels of experiences with education and generate higher incomes are likely to express strong beliefs in values on education and expectation of academic and social achievement from their children. However, it also demonstrated that parents with lesser educational experience and lower wages expressed these same beliefs, values, and expectations. Seven out of twelve parents responding to PBI questions fifteen through seventeen indicate expecting their child to earn at the very minimum a bachelor’s degree. The median income of participants in this research was below $50,000, and only three out of twelve of the parents interviewed were college graduates.
The third research question focused on whether or not the parents believed that their child care center staff embraced their beliefs and supported the family’s efforts in socialization and education. Almost all parents reported that their family’s beliefs were not embraced or incorporated in the classroom. Based on the work of both Bronfenbrenner and Super & Harkness, which supports that the various contexts in which a child develops is interrelated and mutually influential, it is reasonable to expect that parents would view this lack of understanding and support from child care staff as being negative. As evident in the parents’ responses, parents’ beliefs led them to choose center based child care and suggests that they desire programs that are more “academic” as opposed to “creative/play based,” and that they have particular expectations regarding cultural-appropriateness as well. They indicate, however, that their interactions with staff and perceptions of the center are filtered through a particular cultural lens. This affects the interaction (meso-system) between childcare staff and parents, and of course these things all influence the developing child (who is an active participant with his or her own interests/motivations).

While parents indicated a desire to see cultural diversity incorporated in the classroom and child care centers, it did not appear to be an overwhelming concern. The findings indicated that parents viewed the child care center classroom in much the same way they viewed society. As identified in the literature review, the comments made by African American parents in this study suggested that their desire was for the child care center staff to focus on academics, and the parents would focus on the social development of their own children.
Hypothesis # 3 which proposed that parents will express a desire to achieve ethnic inclusion/diversity in the childcare setting was supported. According to the Parent Satisfaction Survey, question #3 “Staff incorporates an understanding of African American family values in the classroom and social setting,” as depicted on Table 4.8, nine out of twelve of parents disagreed with this statement. Statements made on the comment section of this survey reported common responses such as, “I would like to see more representation of our culture in the classrooms.” According to the Parent Belief Interview, eight out of twelve participants indicated that it was critical that their child understand that they are “just as good as anyone else” and can “achieve whatever they set their minds to.” The need to build esteem that will hold up in the face of negative stereotypes and discrimination was thematic in both the open-ended questions and indicated on the likert-type scale categories.

Additional Findings

Although this study did not have a particular hypothesis regarding religion, previous studies have shown that African-American families demonstrate strong orientation toward religion (Hill, 1998). Likewise, the African American parents in this survey expressed an overwhelming interest in God and how important they believed having a relationship with God was to their child’s development and success. Eleven out of twelve of the parents mentioned that cultivating their child’s relationship with God was goal of childrearing and socialization. They believed it was fundamental to establishing their child’s foundation for life.
Practical Implications

The results of the current study raise several questions that remain unanswered. For example, researchers may want to examine the belief systems of child care providers and whether those beliefs hinder or aid their relationships with parents. Examining whether child care provider beliefs impact their ability to effectively care for and teach minority children—with a focus on cultural values and strengths of all families served. For example, is belief in the superiority of what is called developmentally appropriate practices (DAP), which tends to be different from what most parents think of as “academic”, a cultural belief system? Is there evidence that children from different cultural backgrounds may benefit from different types of curricula? Could it be that conflicts can arise between parents and staff when parents view the staff as emphasizing play over academics? Do parents view staff as de-emphasizing appropriate respect and proper demeanor, but rather over-emphasizing individual rights and interests instead?

Communication between the parents and child care center staff is thematic throughout the research. The implications are that the cultural values of parents are important for child care staff to understand, and cultural values at home can exert an influence on the child care setting. The implications of this research suggest that developmentally appropriate practices needs to include an emphasis on true multiculturalism. The academic/cognitive value of developmentally appropriate practices needs to be explained to parents, who must be regarded as partners with center staff. Center administration must give staff feedback on the cultural appropriateness of their curriculum and the classroom environment. Communication with parents is crucial; parents must feel included and respected.
Limitations of Study

The sample that was used in this study was a small convenience sample. With convenience sampling, there exist limitations related to how representative the sample is of the population, although the exact extent to which bias may exist cannot be known. The participants in this study were primarily mothers. It is reasonable to expect that there may be differences in the beliefs and expectations of mothers and fathers; however, due to the small sample size, it was not possible to compare the responses of mothers and fathers. It would be advantageous to attempt to recruit more fathers in future studies to allow for a more complete assessment of factors influencing the parental beliefs of African American parents of preschool age children.

Another limitation would be the relatively consistent income among participants interviewed. Forty-two percent of the participants earned between $35,000 and $49,000 total household income. It is unknown whether the results reported would generalize across a broader range of socioeconomic groups; however, according to City-Data.com these income ranges are typical for African American families in the Akron area. Based on the review of the literature, class differences and socio-economic levels for the African American community is a research area that is increasingly being explored. The sample, although small and non-random, is actually fairly representative on some demographic measures of the broader community and would be strengthened by including responses from both higher and lower socio-economic groups within this population.

It should also be noted that only 25% of the participants represented parents of preschool age children in which both a mother and father resided in the home with the
developing child. The belief-based findings in this study should be interpreted with this consideration in mind. Future research studies should include a representative sample of two parent homes, including married biological parents and blended families. This would allow comparisons of differences based on SES and household composition.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study was designed to identify the parental beliefs and values that are being taught in the home of African American parents and to recognize the parental expectations they have for the education and socialization of their preschool children ages three, four, and five that attend center based child care programs. During the literature review phase, this researcher found one similar study conducted on parents of children of this age group. That study was conducted in Australia. As far as is known, this is the first study to examine this topic from the child care center perspective for African American families. The results of the current study suggest several important directions that research on African American parents could take.

In-depth interviews could be conducted with African American parents of preschool age children to ascertain their perceptions regarding early childhood education and what they expect their children to gain in early learning environments. While Suizzo, Robinson, and Pahlke (2008) conducted a study on twelve mothers of preschool age children to ascertain the beliefs and parenting goals of middle class African American mothers, the findings of thesis suggest that examining the beliefs of both mothers and fathers is critical to understanding the Black family. This analysis could include identifying expectations that include what parents believe children should learn and also
what and how staff should teach their children, as well as, dispel some myths regarding the structure of the Black family. Research that would focus on determining if child care staff believe they have an understanding of the African American family structure, as well as, parenting beliefs and expectations assessing their ideals regarding appropriate methods for incorporating parental beliefs and family values in the classroom and center.

As discovered during the literature review, a vast amount of research has already been conducted on African American parent’s discipline styles of their own children. Researchers should examine parents’ expectations for the way child care center staff discipline their children and also the types of social interaction they will encourage and discourage between the children in the program. It would also be interesting to assess child care staff’s understanding of the discipline methods embraced by the African American community. In a 1996 study for social workers by Denby and Alford, researchers encouraged professionals to examine if the intervention they offered families demonstrated both an understanding and support of culturally embraced family practices. Research with a similar theme for child care professionals would be beneficial.

Conclusion

In conclusion, parents have perceptions regarding early childhood education and what they expect their children to gain in early learning environments. These expectations include what parents believe children should learn and also what and how staff should teach their children. Parents also have socialization goals. Like educational ones, parents have expectations regarding the social environment that is created in the child care center classroom. They have expectations for the way staff will discipline their
children and also the types of social interaction they will encourage and discourage between the children in the program. Parents have expectations that both learning and socialization will occur in the classroom and that their children will ultimately be kindergarten ready (both educationally and socially) when they complete the preschool program. Parental beliefs and expectations toward childrearing, socialization, and even perceived support (or lack of support) can easily be misunderstood—even in conflict with child care environments. Increased effort to develop a culturally inclusive environment among child care center staff, including curriculum and other deliverables can encourage an atmosphere of enhanced communication and participation by African American families.

Because it is common for African American children to be taught by all-White staff, parents’ concerns with their children’s educational attainment must be a priority when developing relationships with both parents and children. While empirical research in early learning has not yet identified the extent to which parents embrace the belief that they have significant influence on their child’s learning, studies do support that parents recognize that child care programs are an important extension of the family unit. Another factor for consideration is that parents’ emphasis on socialization, particularly conduct and respect for authority, can be at odds with standard developmentally appropriate practices for child-centered curricula which emphasizes freedom and creativity. Child care teaching staff needs to be sensitized to the reality that their interpretations of behavioral responses may not always be culturally relevant. It becomes imperative that the early learning staff understand how to work with both the parent and child to support the lessons being taught in the home and supplement the focus of the
classroom activity. Collaborative partnerships between early learning staff and parents increase learning and socialization opportunities for African American children, and children overall.
REFERENCES


APPENDIX A

UNIVERSITY OF AKRON’S INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD (IRB) FOR
THE PROTECTION OF HUMAN SUBJECTS APPROVAL LETTER

April 28, 2006

Belinda M. Richardson
2300 Ryerson Ave., Suite H
Copley, Ohio 44321

Ms. Richardson:

The University of Akron’s Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRB) completed a review of the protocol entitled “Working Effectively with African American Families: Helping Child Care Center Staff Understand Parenting Rules Regarding the Socialization and Performance Expectations of Preschool Age Children.” The IRB application number assigned to this project is 20040419.

The protocol was reviewed on April 28, 2006 and qualified for exemption from continuing IRB review. The protocol represents minimal risk to subjects and matches the following federal category for exemption:

(1) Research involving the use of educational tests (cognitive, diagnostic, aptitude, achievement), survey procedures, interview procedures, or observation of public behavior, unless: (i) information is recorded in such a manner that subjects can be identified, directly or through identifiers linked to subjects; and (ii) any disclosure of responses outside the research could reasonably place the subjects at risk of civil or criminal liability or be damaging to subjects’ financial standing, employability or reputation.

Enclosed are copies of the informed consent documents, which the IRB has approved for your use in this research.

Annual continuing applications are not required for exempt projects. If you make any changes or modifications to the study’s design or procedures that either increase the risk to subjects or include activities that do not fall within one of the categories exempted from the regulations, please contact the IRB first, to discuss whether or not a request for change must be submitted. Any such changes or modifications must be reviewed and approved by the IRB prior to their implementation.

Please retain this letter for your files. If the research is being conducted for a master’s thesis or doctoral dissertation, the student must file a copy of this letter with the thesis or dissertation.

Sincerely,

Sharon McWhorter
Interim Director

Cc: Pamela A. Schutte, Advisor
Department Chair
Phil Allen, IRB Chair
APPENDIX B

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT PARTICIPANT COPY

Belinda M. Richardson
School of Family & Consumer Sciences
University of Akron
Akon, Ohio 44326-6103
Telephone: (330) 972-7721, Fax: (330) 972-4934
E-mail Address: hrichardson2004@uakron.com

Statement of Informed Consent
PARTICIPANT COPY

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research study entitled, "Working Effectively with African American Families: Helping Child Care Center Staff Understand Parenting, Beliefs Regarding the Socialization and Performance Expectations of Preschool Age Children." The purpose of this study is to examine the beliefs of African American parents regarding the beliefs, values, and expectations about childrearing and socialization. This information will be beneficial in aiding our understanding of what factors help to determine the educational and social experiences African American parents' expect their children to have while attending preschool at center based child care programs. Should you consent to participate in this study, your participation will involve responding to an approximately 1 hour interview administered survey questionnaire. In order to increase the accuracy of the data, I would like to tape record the interview, but will only do so if you consent.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Any participant is free to refuse to participate at any time. All information that you provide will be kept confidential. Individual results will not be shared with anyone, presented to any group, or published in any form. All results will be presented or published as group data only. Once your interview is complete, your interview will be assigned a number, all other identifying information will be separated and placed in a separate file. The only individuals who will have access to the questionnaires will be the principal investigator. Original data will be kept in the home of the principal investigator in a locked file cabinet for a period of five years (in accordance with APA guidelines).

Should you have any questions about the study, please contact the principal investigator, Belinda Richardson, immediately at the phone number provided below. This project has been reviewed by the University of Akron Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact Sharon McWhorter at 330-972-7666 or 1-888-223-8790 for more information.

There are no anticipated risks involved with participation in this study. If by chance you would like to discuss any discomforts that may have been generated by participation in this study, you can contact the University of Akron Center for Individual and Family Therapy at 330-972-5622.

There will be no costs to participants associated with participation in this study. If you wish, we will mail you a summary of preliminary results once the data have been analyzed.

Please sign this form to indicate your consent to participate in this study. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns regarding this study, please contact Belinda Richardson, Graduate Research Assistant, School of Family & Consumer Sciences, The University of Akron, Schermak Hall South, Room 716. You may reach Belinda Richardson by telephone at 330-972-7721.

Thank you for your help with this research study.

Sincerely,

Belinda M. Richardson, Graduate Student

PLEASE KEEP THIS FORM FOR YOUR RECORDS
APPENDIX C

STATEMENT OF INFORMED CONSENT INVESTIGATOR COPY

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the research study entitled, “Working Effectively with African American Families: Helping Child Care Center Staff Understand Parenting Beliefs Regarding the Socialization and Performance Expectations of Preschool Age Children.” The purpose of this study is to examine the beliefs of African American parents regarding the beliefs, values, and expectations about childrearing and socialization. This information will be beneficial in aiding our understanding of what factors help to determine the educational and social experiences African American parents expect their children to have while attending preschool at center-based child care programs. Should you consent to participate in this study, your participation will involve responding to an approximately 1 hour interview administered survey questionnaire. In order to increase the accuracy of the data, I would like to tape record the interview, but will only do so if you consent.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Any participant is free to refuse to participate at any time. All information that you provide will be kept confidential. Individual results will not be shared with anyone, presented to any group, or published in any form. All results will be presented or published as group data only. Once your interview is complete, your interview will be assigned a number; all other identifying information will be separated and placed in a separate file. The only individuals who will have access to the questionnaires will be the principal investigator. Original data will be kept in the home of the principal investigator in a locked file cabinet for a period of five years (in accordance with APA guidelines).

Should you have any questions about the study, please contact the principal investigator, Belinda Richardson, immediately at the phone number provided below. This project has been reviewed by the University of Akron Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects. If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact Sharon McWhorter at 330-972-7666 or 1-888-532-8790 for more information.

There are no anticipated risks involved with participation in this study. If by chance you would like to discuss any discomforts that may have been generated by participation in this study, you can contact the University of Akron Center for Individual and Family Therapy at 330-972-6822.

There will be no costs to participants associated with participation in this study. If you wish, we will mail you a summary of preliminary results once the data have been analyzed.

Please sign this form to indicate your consent to participate in this study. If you have any questions, comments, or concerns regarding this study, please contact Belinda Richardson, Graduate Research Assistant, School of Family & Consumer Sciences, The University of Akron, Schrank Hall South, Room 213. You may reach Belinda Richardson by telephone at 330-972-7721.

Thank you for your help with this research study.

Participant’s signature ___________________________ Date ______________

Participant’s printed name ___________________________

Daytime Phone Number: ___________________________

In order to increase the accuracy of the data, I would like to tape record the interview, but will only do so if you consent. Please sign here if you agree to the taping of your interview.

Participant’s signature ___________________________ Date ______________

Participant’s printed name ___________________________

PLEASE RETURN THIS FORM TO YOUR DAY CARE CENTER DIRECTOR.
APPENDIX D

AUTHORIZATION TO USE FACILITIES

July 24, 2006

Belinda Richardson
2760 Ryewood Avenue, Apt. H
Copley, OH 44321

Dear Belinda,

This letter is to inform you that I have reviewed your request and granted you permission to interview the participants involved in your graduate research study for your Master's program. Interviews may take place in our private conference room (library). This room is located in a secluded area of the Akron Urban League, 250 E. Market Street, Akron, Ohio.

There will be no costs associated with your using this facility during the hours the facility is open for service, Monday – Friday, 9:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. I wish you well in your studies and educational pursuits.

Sincerely,

Bennett L. Williams
President

Bennett L. Williams
President and CEO
Akron Urban League

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APPENDIX E
PARENT BELIEF INTERVIEW (PBI)

Participant # __________

The Parental Belief Interview (PBI)
"Interview Survey Questionnaire"

Question #1 - Do you think there is something different about being a Black parent rather than a White parent?

 Are Black Parents Different?

____ No  ____ Yes  ____ Ambivalent  ____ “Don’t Know” or No Response

What is Different (or Similar) About Black Parents? What Must They Do or Teach?

1. _____________________________________________
2. _____________________________________________
3. _____________________________________________
4. _____________________________________________
5. _____________________________________________
6. _____________________________________________

Question #2 - Do you believe that there are different things that Black children must learn that White children don’t have to learn?

 Do Black Children Learn Different Things?

____ No  ____ Yes  ____ Ambivalent  ____ “Don’t Know” or No Response

What must Black children learn?

1. _____________________________________________
2. _____________________________________________
3. _____________________________________________
4. _____________________________________________
5. _____________________________________________
6. _____________________________________________
Question #3 - All parents believe there are certain things in life that are very important for their children... Tell me three things you feel are most important for ___child___ to know when s/he is grown up?

   1. ______________________________________

   2. ______________________________________

   3. ______________________________________

Question #4 - Now would you tell me three things that you believe are important for ___child___ to love when s/he is grown up?

   1. ______________________________________

   2. ______________________________________

   3. ______________________________________

Question #5 - What are three things you believe are most important for ___child___ to be able to do when s/he is grown up?

   1. ______________________________________

   2. ______________________________________

   3. ______________________________________

Question #6 - Many of the things parents want for their children are things that they did or did not have when they themselves were children. Would you tell me the one thing you did not have as a child which you most wish ___child___ to have?

   1. ______________________________________

Question #7 - What is the one thing you did have as a child that you most wish ___child___ to also have?

   1. ______________________________________
Question #8 - All parents know their children's strengths and weaknesses in dealing with life. What is the one thing about ___child___ that worries you most? That you consider to be his/her biggest weakness?

1. ____________________________

Question #9 - What is the one thing about ___child___ you are most proud of? That you would consider to be his/her biggest strength?

"Here is a card which lists different qualities that children have. Please read everything on the card."

Question #10
Tell me which three qualities you feel are most desirable for a boy/girl of ___child___'s age to have?

Selection One __________
Selection Two __________
Selection Three __________

Question #11
Which one of these is the most desirable of all?

Selection __________

Question #12
Which three of the qualities are least desirable for a boy/girl of ___child___’s age to have?

Selection One __________
Selection Two __________
Selection Three __________

Question #13
Which one of these is the least desirable of all?

Selection __________
Question #14
Now would you tell me how much importance you have placed on each of the qualities in raising __child__? That is, has the quality been:

1) Not important
2) Somewhat important
3) Quite important
4) Extremely important

13 responses

01) That he/she has good manners  Response _____
02) That he/she tries hard to succeed  Response _____
03) That he/she is honest  Response _____
04) That he/she is neat and clean  Response _____
05) That he/she has good sense and sound judgment  Response _____
06) That he/she has self-control  Response _____
07) That he (or she) acts like a boy (or girl)  Response _____
08) That he/she gets along well with other children  Response _____
09) That he/she obeys his/her parents well  Response _____
10) That he/she is responsible  Response _____
11) That he/she is considerate  Response _____
12) That he/she is interested in how and why things happen  Response _____
13) That he/she is a good student  Response _____
Question #15
How much schooling would you like for ____child____ to receive?

6) Graduate or professional school
5) College graduate
4) Attend college
1) Technical/trade training
2) “Complete high school” or “High school”
1) Some high school

Question #16
What is the least amount of education you think ____child____ must have?

6) Graduate or professional school
5) College graduate
2) Attend college
3) Technical/trade training
2) “Complete high school” or “High school”
1) Some high school

Question #17
Considering his/her abilities, grades, interests, and the family’s financial situation, how much schooling do you actually expect ____child____ to receive?

6) Graduate or professional school
5) College graduate
4) Attend college
3) Technical/trade training
2) “Complete high school” or “High school”
1) Some high school
Question #18
What kind of work would you like ___child___ to do when s/he is grown up?
Response

Question #19
Considering his/her abilities, grades, interests, and the family’s financial situation, what type of work do you actually expect ___child___ to be when he/she grows up?
Response

Question #20
What kind of work would you not like ___child___ to do?
Response

Question #21
Why did you choose to name your child ___child’s name___?
Response 1
Response 2
Response 3
Response 4
Response 5
Response 6
## APPENDIX F

### PARENT SATISFACTION SURVEY

Parent Satisfaction Survey

Please indicate how satisfied you are with services you receive from your child's program. For each item put an X mark to show how strongly you agree or disagree with that statement. Please provide a comment for each of your responses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Staff listens and respond appropriately to my concerns as a parent.</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Staff understands our unique concerns as an African American family.</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. Staff incorporates an understanding of African American family values in classroom and social activities.</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>STRONGLY DISAGREE</th>
<th>DISAGREE</th>
<th>AGREE</th>
<th>STRONGLY AGREE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4. Staff works to improve the experiences my child and family have while attending the center.</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>SA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comments:
APPENDIX G

PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHIC DATA FORM

Working Effectively with African American Families: “Helping Child Care Center Staff Understand Parenting Beliefs Regarding the Socialization and Performance Expectations of Preschool Age Children”

Participant Demographic Information

Family Make Up

1. Number of adults living in the home DIRECTLY involved in childrearing: ________

2. Who are these adults? (check all that apply)
   ___ Mother  ___ Grandmother  ___ Aunt
   ___ Father  ___ Grandfather  ___ Uncle
   ___ Other (please explain)  

3. Number of children in household: ________

   Number of children by Age Group:
   ___ __ 0 to 5
   ___ __ 6 to 13
   ___ __ 15 to 17

Income Level: (annual income of family). “Optional”

I. I do not wish to answer ANY questions related to annual household income. ________

II. Please select a range of the annual family income for your household

| Less than $5,000  | $35,000 to $49,999 |
| $5,000 to $9,999  | $50,000 to $74,999 |
| $10,000 to $14,999| $75,000 to $99,999 |
| $15,000 to $24,999| $100,000 plus       |
| $25,000 to $34,999| Not known           |
Type of Income  "Optional"

I. I do not wish to answer ANY questions related to TYPE of household income. 

OR

II. Please select all that apply:
   - Employed (full/part time)
   - Social Security
   - Public Assistance
   - S.S.I.
   - Entrepreneur
   - Unemployed

Location of Residence  "Optional"

I. I do not wish to answer ANY questions related to location of residence. 

OR

II. Please indicate where you and your family live:
   - City of Akron
   - Copley Township/City of Fairlawn
   - Medina
   - Barberton-Norton
   - Wadsworth
   - Rest of Summit County
   - Other city in NE Ohio

Education Level  "Optional"

I. I do not wish to answer ANY questions related to educational level. 

OR

II. Educational level of primary caregivers. Please check all that apply:
   - High School Graduate/GED
   - Technical Training/Vocational/Trade/Some college
   - College graduate "circle" (Associate Degree, Bachelor's Degree, Master's, Ph.D)
   - Other

Do not write below this line.
APPENDIX H
CARD WITH CHILD QUALITIES

Here is a card, which lists different qualities that children have.
Please read everything on the card.

01) That he/she has good manners
02) That he/she tries hard to succeed
03) That he/she is honest
04) That he/she is neat and clean
05) That he/she has good sense and sound judgment
06) That he/she has self-control
07) That he (or she) acts like a boy (or girl)
08) That he/she gets along well with other children
09) That he/she obeys his/her parents well
10) That he/she is responsible
11) That he/she is considerate
12) That he/she is interested in how and why things happen
13) That he/she is a good student