PARENTAL BELIEF SYSTEMS, CONFLICT RESOLUTION STRATEGIES, AND CULTURAL ORIENTATION IN THE MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTIVE CONTEXT:
a comparative study of two Costa Rican samples

Dissertation Presented to the Faculty of Human Sciences, Department of Cultural and Developmental Psychology, University of Osnabrück in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor in Sciences (Rer.Nat.)

by

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Dedicated to

My children **Mariel** and **Mariano**, who have remained by my side, growing, supporting, and building a dream.

PREFACE

Psychological research on socialization goals and parent-child interaction began in Costa Rica almost 40 years ago, when the country's mainstream investigation of these subjects was oriented toward epidemiological studies. Several academic and government institutions, some more systematic than others, have developed incursions into this matter, but up until now a systematic research line including a systematic theoretical and methodological approach has not been established.

This document discusses and analyzes the theoretical implications as of developmental psychology, relating to variables that are essential for the study of socialization, such as parental ethno-theories and the context of the mother-child interaction, from the specificity of a cultural context. A relevant subject for psychology is approached, focusing on subjects of cultural, trans-cultural, and developmental psychology.

Thus, our research interest intends to fulfill the need for a first proposal of exploration and systematization of a culturally sensitive approach, which at the same time will facilitate further specific studies either with Costa Rican or with Latin American samples.

Thus, we reassess the subject of cultures of separateness and cultures of relatedness ever-present in psychology discussions, not in order to classify a culture but to know it in its specificity and variability.

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BID: *Banco Interamericano de Desarrollo* 'Interamerican Development Bank'
CEPAL: *Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe* 'Economic Comission for Latin America and the Caribbean'
CM: Centimeter (s)
CMT: Component Model of Parenting
GPD: Gross Domestic Product
HDI: Human Development Index
I-C: Individualism and Collectivism construal
INEC: *Intituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos* 'National Institute for Statistics and Census'
Km: Kilometer
M: meter (s)
MEP: *Ministerio de Educación Pública* 'Public Education Ministry'
Mths: Months
SD: Standard Deviation
SES: Socio-Economic status
SGI: Socialization Goals Inventory
SPSS: Statistics Program for Social Sciences
SQ. KM.: Square Kilometer
UNDP: United Nations Development Programm
UNICEF: United Nations Children's' Fund

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Problem Definition

The relationship between culture and psychological development is an interest that orients this investigation. In this context, parent-child interaction becomes a main axis for understanding the relationship between culture and early development, as well as for explaining the intimate spaces where subjectivity is built, as of concrete material structures. We find ourselves before subjects that have been worked from different approaches of psychology, that is cultural psychology, cross-cultural psychology, and development psychology. This subject, as the main interest in this investigation, is not only limited by these approaches, but also by the scopes permitted by theoretical conceptualizations and the subsequent methods established for their research.

This research intends to contribute to this discussion. Several interests guide it: exploring the relationship between culture and the child's psychological development, turning parenting into a specific cultural context; then, providing theoretical and methodological elements for a culturally-sensitive approach to this context, particularly in Costa Rica. In order to make this concrete, two basic axes were defined, based on which the work was done: the aspect of beliefs (ideas) and the contextual aspect (interactions).

To explain cultural diversity, the domains of cultures of separateness and cultures of relatedness, or independent and interdependent social orientation (Kağitçibaşi, 1996; Markus & Kitayama, 1991), have been established. In Latin American cultures that have been characterized as cultures of relatedness or independent social oriented, values such as respect, sympathy, and family relationship (Triandis et al, 1986; Triandis, 1989; Harwood et al, 1995) not only hold a great importance in the parental system (ideas), but they also determine the contextual system (interaction). This is concretely interesting for a culture in which social harmony is consolidated upon values of respect, sympathy, and where conflict resolution styles may reflect notions about both the individual and the group. For this, two Costa Rican samples (urban and rural) were assessed in the following manner: the interactive repertoire during two conflict scenario situations developed by mother-child dyads was filmed and analyzed. Scales were applied to measure social orientation, and an interview and an inventory to measure parental beliefs and socialization goals. The relationships between conflict resolution style scenarios and cultural values related with conflict, parental beliefs, socialization goals and interactive patterns, were analyzed.

Among the main conclusions, we have that in the parenting of the two Costa Rican samples, there is no homogeneous frame establishing direct correspondences between the two areas (beliefs and interactions). However, they are located within the general parameters that are characteristic of a culture of relatedness. This establishes the need to adapt and redefine traditional theoretical concepts, as well as the methods to assess them, having cultural specificity as the main consideration.

1.2. Purpose of the study

The purpose of the present study is to compare the social orientation, the parental beliefs, the behavioral components within the mother-child interaction, and the conflict resolution styles of two Costa Rican groups which differ in geographical area, namely an urban and a rural group. Each area is considered representative of both settings among Costa Ricans.

Even though Costa Rica is a relatively small country, both areas show differences in environmental conditions, economic activities, and cultural traditions that may be presumed to shape certain specificities related to childrearing and parental beliefs.

Despite the presumed interdependence orientation of Costa Ricans, it is assumed that both groups show differences in levels regarding individualism. Within the same general culture the parental beliefs, the resolution of conflicts, and the behavioral components will show urban and rural differences and particularities. Theoretical argumentation will deepen in the approach toward cultural specificity and variability in child development and its settings.

The scientific interests that guide this study attempt to contribute a characterization of childrearing patterns and local beliefs that surround Costa Rican settings, and the conditions related to the specificity and the variability between the two geographical areas.

1.3. Rationale

The variability study in social orientation has been related traditionally to the level of attitudes. However, from the point of view of development psychology, it appears relevant to assess the interactive level, as to which concrete behavioral components may be related to beliefs. There is special interest towards the study of paths to interdependence and independence among Costa Ricans.

Specifically in Costa Rican samples, conflict situations at the interactive level might elicit specific cultural behaviors that reflect context particularities in urban and rural zones. Within interplay, parental beliefs will be compared with their concrete behavior, and with the interaction with the child, but also confronted with social values such as social harmony and social desirability.

<u>1.4.   Assumptions</u>

The following assumptions guided the research:

Assumption 1

Among Costa Rican samples social orientation will correspond to an interdependent cultural orientation style.

Assumption 2

Despite an interdependent cultural orientation, urban and rural samples will show variability on the dimensions of the interactive components of body contact, warmth and stimulation.

Assumption 3

Specifically, urban and rural samples will show differences among parental beliefs, cultural values related to conflict resolution and conflict resolution styles during the conflict situations.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

> "How odd it would be to tell Ache or ¡Kung San women that in this country (USA), we learn our parenting skills from books and from doctors (mostly male). In modern Western culture, it is not their mothers or grandmothers or sisters to whom parents turn for counsel. They turn instead to the pediatrician, an expert "
>
> M. Small, 1998 p. 224

Introduction

This chapter is divided in two major sections. The main issues related with the main theoretical approaches toward cultures of separateness and cultures of relatedness from the point of view of developmental psychology, are presented and discussed in the first section. The second one centers on the characterization of the historical, social and cultural context of the Costa Rican samples, and systematizes the scientific evidence concerning parenting and mother-child interactions within the Costa Rican context, considering particular cultural characteristics of interaction. The details of each evidence are specified later.

The first part of the theoretical framework is divided into three sub-sections: The first sub-section introduces theoretical and methodological considerations regarding the interrelationship of cultural psychology, cross-cultural studies and developmental psychology. The first subsection also deals with the ethnocentrism in psychology and the theoretical and methodological limitations that can be broken when one approaches concretely child development and maternal relationships in a specific cultural context.

The second sub-section begins by discussing the implications of I-C (Individualism-Collectivism) construct for developmental psychology and the outcomes and limitations in cultural and cross-cultural studies. Secondly, the self constructs of independence and interdependence are defined and discussed with respect to their applicability to Latin American cultural contexts. Relevant cultural issues and childrearing styles in Latin America are also introduced and discussed. The section concludes with the discussion of the concept of cultural variability across and within cultures, strongly emphasizing Latin America.

The third sub-section conceptualizes mother-child interaction by discussing the concept of development and introducing the Component Model of Parenting (Keller, in press). An adaptation of this model, necessary for the present study, is introduced.

The fourth sub-section introduces and discusses conceptions of socialization goals and parenting, with particular attention to their importance for culture and development. The relationship between parental goals and emotions is introduced and discussed, considering discipline and conflicts in parent-child interaction. The section concludes with considerations about the role of conflict in pre-school age child development.

The second part of the theoretical framework introduces a historical background of Costa Rica, highlighting the origin, evolution and traits of the mestizo culture. It is divided into two parts. The first presents a bibliographical compilation that considers the main socio-historical aspects that shape present Costa Rica cultural context and its values. It also portrays the dynamics undertaken in terms of assimilation of different cultures since pre-Columbian times. This section concludes with a description of the present main cultural traits and values related to the rural and urban zones of Costa Rica.

The second part summarizes the psychological research on childrearing, parental socialization goals and mother-child interaction undertaken in Costa Rica. In order to facilitate a culturally sensitive approach, the most important socialization goals expected by Costa Rican parents and the main behavioral traits among parent-child interaction prevailing in the Costa Rican context are proposed.

2.1. Development and Culture: the Contributions of Cultural and Cross-Cultural Research

Human behavior and its evolution, particularly with regard to psychological development are strongly linked to their social and cultural context (Segal et al, 1990). In this respect Keller (in press) and later Keller & Greenfield (2000) define development as an interface between culture and biology. Under this conception two components interact, firstly, the biological predisposition genetically adapted through phylogeny, and secondly the cultural influences that shaped the ontogeny. (Keller, 2000). This theoretical proposal will be the basis for this study. It is assumed that to understand development within culture comprises the assessment of interactions and parental belief systems that surround the child's maturational process. Therefore is important not only to identify development traits, but also to determine developmental goals and how they are stimulated through cultural specific behaviors.

The present research departs from the theories of cultural psychology, specifically, from a socio-historical perspective of culture: Coles´s (1992, 1996) concept of culture as both a medium and context (see also Vygotsky, 1978). Culture is both, inside and outside the human psyche (Greenfield, 1994). This integrative perspective is assumed by this study, therefore allowing approaching culture as a "psychological phenomenon" and as a "psychological construct" (Keller & Eckensberger, 1998). This vision links human behavior with culture regardless of race and geographical determinism (Matsumoto, 1994).

Greenfield & Keller (in press) have been more specific, and view culture as "a socially interactive process with two main component processes: the creation of shared activity (cultural practices) and the creation of shared meanings (cultural interpretation)(…). The creation, acquisition, transmission and use of culture are psychological and interactional processes" (p. 4). Therefore such an approach implies understanding of psychological processes in tune with their cultural settings, linked with meaning systems, the particular ecology, and the knowledge accumulated and transmitted in order to adapt and evolve in a specific social environment (Triandis, 2000).

Areas of interest of developmental psychology, such as child rearing, interaction and parental ethnotheories, become especially relevant as research topics, particularly if they are linked to culture. The socialization practices will allow us closely to study both the cultural values that legitimate them, as well as the specific conduct that gives them a determined cultural context. The approach to parental ethnotheories allows relating socialization practices to cultural values (Greenfield & Keller, in prep.).

The concept of complexity and diversity as a characteristic element of culture is a variable that has not always been regarded as a predominant variable in the different undertakings of cultural and cross-cultural psychology. On the one hand, the appropriateness of a culturally sensitive focus, and on the other, the main limitations in the theoretical formulation and its corresponding methodology are cited and discussed in this section. The limitation involves Western ethnocentrism, the Individualism-Collectivism construct, and the independent/interdependent self-construal. The proposals that appear to be more appropriate for development in the cultural context specific to Costa Rica, will be analyzed.

Two main focuses have produced theory and data that enrich the study of psychological phenomena in relation to culture, namely, cross-cultural psychology and cultural psychology. Due to its impact and importance a few theoretical considerations will be introduced.

A traditional approach of the concept of culture departs from the concepts *emic* and *etic*. When applied to cultural studies, the emic-etic issue[1] (Haffez-Zaidi, 1979) poses a dichotomist perspective: understanding a culture requires placing oneself inside or outside that culture. When applied to cultural psychology, the emic perspective seeks to understand indigenous meaning systems, whereas the etic perspective considers a single meaning system –for instance, one single culture- for normative and comparative research purposes (Berry; Poortinga; Segal & Dasen, 1992; Harwood, 1992).

The etic perspective has been predominant in academic psychology[2] and cross-cultural psychology, with a consequent theoretical and methodological assumption: the western ethnocentrism, in which western cultural individualistic assumptions have been regarded as human nature (Kağitçibaşi, 1992, p. 10) and have been indistinctly applied to Western and non-Western cultures.

Despite the fact that approximately 80% of world populations is made up of non-Western cultures (Triandis, 1994; Greenfield, 1994; Kağitçibaşi, 1996a; Keller & Eckensberger, 1998), the predominant trends in cultural and cross-cultural psychology promote this comparative approach in which the West is privileged for theory and the East for data (Kağitçibaşi, 1992). More concretely, cross-cultural psychology seems to be

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[1] This issue has its origin in Pike (1954) from linguistics. He defined "Phonetics involves application of a universal coding system for sounds employed in any language, and Phonemics involved study of meaning-bearing units in a particular language." (Cited by Ramírez, p. 71)

[2] In this article, academic psychology should be understood as the psychology developed mainly in northern European and North American countries.

biased by testing "pan-human verities of psychological theories and principles developed in the West" (Sinha, 1989, p.27).

Dasen and Jahoda (1986) and Sinha (1989) agree that such a biased conception of the individual mainly seeks to find evidence of West-shaped universals in cultures through the recollection of individual responses. Such promotion of 'psychological universals' reinforces also a scientific acculturation, in detriment of cultural specific conceptions of human beings (Berry; Poortinga; Segal, & Dasen, 1992).

The roots of Western ethnocentrism according to Kağitçibaşi (1996) are attributed to the philosophical concept of 'individualism.' The ideas of English thinkers and philosophers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as Hobbes, Bentham, Smith, Berkeley, Hume and Locke, constitute the basis of modern individualism. These ideas became widespread through the Industrial Revolution, and later influenced disciplines such as history, religion and science. (Kağitçibaşi, 1996; Triandis, 1995).

The issue from which an entire approach that explains how the relationship between culture and psychological relationships has been developed, is the Individualism-Collectivism (I-C) issue. At this point it is important to introduce it as a bipolar and one-dimensional concept of individualism and collectivism. This issue has acquired a predominant role in cross-cultural psychology especially after research by Hofstede (1983) and Triandis (1986,1988, 1995). Culture is therefore viewed as "an antecedent or independent variable to behavior" (Greenfield and Keller, unpublished), a variable that explains the apparent behavioral differences between cultures. Ulterior revisions and expansions, such as the independent/interdependent self-construal, would be discussed in a later subsection.

The I-C issue presents several limitations. For instance, as a bipolar dimension, it offers a perspective confined to binomial categories such as "Western/non-Western" and that according to many can be overlapped with binomial categories such as "industrialized/non-industrialized." Some critiques of the I-C issue relate it to different possible causes, such as the Gross National Product (GNP) (Triandis, Bontempo, Villarreal, Asai, Lucca, 1988; see also Adelman & Morris, 1967; Cobb, 1976; Hofstede, 1980 cited by Triandis et al., 1988); 'cultural complexity' (Murdock & Provost, 1973, Triandis, 1988, 1989); competition (Triandis et al. 1988); and social class (Marshall, 1997).

In terms of culture comparison, the I-C issue appears to foster a prototype of psychological development that mirrors the European-North American white middle-class. Nsamenang (1992) argues that other white classes and non-western populations are excluded. Furthermore, according to Burman (1997), the I-C issue tends to privilege a "culturally normative masculine subject."

According to the I-C issue, two dimensions are manifested according to culture: individualism and collectivism. A type of self has been established for each dimension, in the case of individualism the type of self has been defined as a dimension emphasizing self-containment and self-reliance. Independence as a cherished value implies that personal goals have priority over communal goals (Kağitçibaşi, 1996b). Consequently, emotional detachment plays an important role setting distance in the relations among in-groups – co-

workers, friends, and family - (Triandis et al., 1988). Within individualistic cultures, self-reliance and independence are highly promoted as socialization goals (Kağitçibaşi, 1996a). In collectivistic cultures individuals are subordinated to the needs and goals of the collectivity (group or in-group) (Triandis et al). Therefore, the self is defined in terms of the in-group; interdependence then becomes a cherished value. Socialization stresses obedience and self-duty (Kağitçibaşi, 1996a), as important values maintaining harmony and preserving interpersonal relationships within the in-group.

As it was said earlier, Western bias inhibits cultural sensitivity towards whatever is not Western. Furthermore, other critiques stemming from recent studies speculate that this bias threatens to idealize non western cultures (Keller, Völker & Yovzi, under review), even could not explain cultural interchange due to globalization (Hermanns & Kempen ,1998). Specifically Saraswathi (1998) opposes to the use of a single model of humanity and a template for norms and comparisons, instead proposes the necessity of developing indigenous psychologies. Moreover, Kağitçibaşi (1992), points out the impossibility of explaining the diversity among cultures without indigenous approaches. Later she views that culture does not represent a proper psychological dimension (Kağitçibaşi, 1996a) since its character is multidimensional and multifaceted (see also Triandis, 1995; Kim et al., 1994, Killen & Wainryb, 2000).

It is therefore important for this study to be aware of the epistemological limitations of academic cross-cultural approaches, and to look for wider and cultural sensitive frames that incorporate diversity and are capable of explaining the particular and specific needs and demands of different contexts. Therefore, an important challenge is the development of various culturally shaped approaches, that permit understanding human behavior and its development, in its diverse manifestations.

Some examples to support this position follow. For instance, Ojiaku (1974), cited by Nsamenang (1992) affirms that the prevalent folk-knowledge "locked in maxims, proverbs, and folklore, is not easily translatable into Euro-American languages except at the cost of impairment to its essence, or distortion of its full meaning". In an extended study with present Mayan societies, for example, Gaskins (1995) demonstrates that among Mayan children the motivation and structure of play are not as universal and biologically based as assumed, but are culturally mediated. Contrarily to western children, Mayan children do not engage in object play in order to master the environment, or to control social interactions. Moreover the culture does not stimulate play behavior as a typical child activity. Also, Díaz-Loving (1998) demonstrates that theoretical conceptualizations of the self developed in US literature did not describe the complexity of self-concept present in the socio-centric orientation of Mexicans. He describes the two main components that refer to social and emotional dimensions as 'affiliative [sic] sociability' and 'expressive sociability'.

Contrasting the "contained self" of American psychology, Kağitçibaşi (1996b) demonstrates how in different cultures the self is defined in terms of culture specific approaches, of which some examples are the Filipono *Kapwa* 'relational self' (Enríquez, 1993), the Japanese "group self" (Yamaguchi, 1985), the "social selfhood" in West African cultures (Nsamenang, 1992), the "connectedness" of the Chinese self (Bond, 1986).

In order to break with the homogenous view of western psychology some scientists propose that indigenous psychologies must develop as an effort to surpass western models hegemony (Sinha, 1989; Kağitçibaşi, 1992), although others are in favor of co-existence (Georgas, 1999). Other cultural specific considerations have been developed in India (Sinha, 1989), México (Díaz-Guerrero, 1973; Ramírez, 1983) Central America (Martín-Baró, 1989), Cameroon (Nsamenang, 1992), Greece (Georgas, 1993, 1999), and China (Hui & Triandis, 1986) for example.

In Latin America concrete local issues in psychology were developed with western-theory bases. Examples include communitarian psychology (Montero, 1985) groups psychology (Martín-Baró, 1989; Caparrós, 1975), and approaches with tortured and disappeared people during civil war or military dictatorships (Lira, 1994).

It is also important to mention some efforts of different western psychologists, which also break with official trends and are re-oriented to the consideration of indigenous conceptions. Works that become relevant as antecedents to the present study, are the ones undertaken by Harwood and colleagues (1992, 1996) assessing indigenous conceptualizations of attachment comparing Anglo and Puerto Rican mothers; Rogoff and colleagues studies about child development through participation in cultural systems of practice with Guatemalan indigenous communities (Rogoff, Mistry, Göncü, and Mosier, 1993). Greenfield and Cocking (1994) and later Greenfield (2000) stressed the importance of indigenous ethnotheories. Saraswathi (1998, personal communication) explores the impact of modernity on cultural beliefs in child development across generations in India.

Saraswathi (1998) challenges psychology to a development and process-oriented understanding of how culture and individuals interact. This subsection could conclude that culturally specific approaches can enrich developmental psychology studies. Possible outcomes for this challenge will involve not only the theoretical constructs, but also the development of alternative methodological approaches. It should be reminded that contrary to industrialized western societies, lots of knowledge considered as "indigenous theories" still is existent in the form of proverbs, folk-knowledge in many non-western cultures, as in Latin America, Asia and Africa.

2.2. Interdependent and Independent Social Orientations

In this subsection the definitions of independent and interdependent self-construal are discussed and alternative proposals are introduced for this study.

In response to both the theoretical and methodological limitations of the I-C construct, we depart from the theory developed by Markus & Kitayama (1991) and Kağitçibaşi (1996a, 1996b), and different alternative approaches are discussed and proposed.

Next the definitions of the independent and interdependent self-construal according to Markus & Kitayama are introduced. The first one is commonly to be found in Western

cultures where " achieving the cultural goal of independence requires construing oneself as an individual whose behavior is organized and made meaningful primarily by reference to one's own internal repertoire of thoughts, feelings, and action, rather than by reference to the thoughts, feelings, and actions of others (….) The essential aspect of this view involves a conception of the self as an autonomous, independent person" (1991, p. 226). Labels such as 'individualistic', 'egocentric', 'separate', 'autonomous', 'idiocentric', and 'self-contained' have been used.

The interdependent construal is found in many non-Western cultures, where "experiencing interdependence entails seeing oneself as part of an encompassing social relationship and recognizing that one's behavior is determined, contingent on, and, to a large extent organized by what the actor perceives to be the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the others in the relationship" (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 227). Also Saraswathi (1998) explains the self of the interdependent construal as being linked to the others. Therefore the dimension of interpersonal relationships appears as a basic primary aspect to be considered in this study.

From a critical point of view, Keller (2003) stresses that interdependence and independence are prototypes or prototypical patterns and that it is the family who has the role of accommodating the individual according to the cultural context. This view stresses the issue on how culture shapes human development (see also Kağitçibaşi, 1996). This becomes relevant to understand how family interaction patterns and socialization values are affected by variables from socioeconomic and cultural contexts, particularly childrearing (Kağitçibaşi, 1996b).

A revision and amplification of the Independent/Interdependent self-construct has been done by Kağitçibaşi (1996a, 1996b) who concludes that there is a need to differentiate between two levels that explain cultural variation of the self-construal: value orientation, linked to normative aspects, social values; and the self-orientation, linked to the self's "boundaries and relationship to others" (1996 a, p. 34). She argues that the two independent dimensions of *agency* and *interpersonal distance* are confounded, and can occur in different mixtures without necessarily to be oriented to the dichotomy defined by the I-C construct.

In a further study (1996b) she describes the 'cultures of separateness' referring to "the contexts (cultural-familial) and interpersonal relational patterns characterized by relations between separate selves, with clearly defined boundaries (making them self-contained). While the 'cultures of relatedness', refers to contexts and relational patterns identified by relations between connected, expanding, and therefore partially overlapping selves with diffuse [sic] boundaries."(Kağitçibaşi, 1996b, p. 65). This model conceives a dimension of variation and levels of differentiation, which deserves special attention in this study.

In Kağitçibaşi's model three main levels are described: interdependence, independence and emotional interdependence. The first level is related with traditional rural agrarian societies, the second with western middle-class. In both of these levels socio-economic development plays a determinant role. That means that independence should occur more in urban educated sectors of collectivist cultures rather than in

traditional societies. The third level, emotional interdependence is conceived as a dialectical synthesis of the first two, on which material independence exists but also involves emotional interdependence, especially towards the family. This third level is seen as a by-product of the process of adjusting to urban living conditions.

We coincide with this conceptualization as long as this model surpasses the limitations for the one-dimensional and dichotomist I-C construct and offers a wider frame that allows appreciating the variability within a culture, and does not link psychological to economical factors.

This study uses terminology "**independence**" and "**interdependence**". Based on the distinction made by Kağitçibaşi (1990,1996) the terms "individualism-collectivism" will be employed in relation to value orientation level expressed in societal values and conventions and measured through scales. The terms "independence" and "interdependence" would concern about the family socialization variables and the self-orientation.

Keller & Eckensberger (1998) stress the importance of contextual background on which relationships are constructed. They affirm that many cross-cultural differences show that in collectivistic cultures childrearing is "co-active" and in takes place in "multiple contexts" whereas, in individualistic cultures childrearing characterizes as exclusive exchange between parents and children. Even though there is not a unique relational pattern, is considered that a universal base exists which varies according to different natural-cultural contexts. This variance can be understood as an adaptation or as response to different ecological conditions (Geenfield & Keller, unpublished). Therefore, the approach to parenting should respect the cultural particularities (Keller, 1998b). Diversity and cultural particularities in parenting styles must be understood as flexible continuum where parents and cultures find ways both to meet the needs of infants and carry on their lives. (Small, 1998)

Extending the concept of adaptation, it is important to consider the impact that modernization (Ramírez, 1983) and globalization (Featherstone, 1995) have in the current child rearing practices and socialization goals of parents. Saraswathi (1998) views modernization not always in the sense of progress, but also – and especially in non-Western societies – as the forced changes toward new social systems and therefore, new interaction patterns. Therefore is important to consider variability not only in terms of cultural specificity but also in terms to cultural adaptation. It is important to pay attention to this aspect in non-Western cultures, specifically in regards to transmission across generations and the loss of transmissions. In other words interests vary within and across generations regarding the transmission of socialization values and the practices of childrearing across generations. .

In the case of Latin American samples, Harwood et al (2000) demonstrated that although Puerto Ricans share the same long-term socialization goals, variability occurs with respect to individualistic values. Harwood views the turn to individualist values as a cultural change in Puerto Rico, related with highly educated professional mothers, to the detriment of traditional values.

Killen & Wainryb assessing Colombian, Japanese and Middle East samples demonstrated that the concerns for interdependence and independence were not mutually exclusive. Furthermore, they proposed a concern of "coexistence of orientations" (2000, p. 17), which lies with the individual instead of on culture. To this respect Harwood et al (1996) affirm that despite variability within the group, certain cultural issues are central enough that an agreement in parental beliefs occurs.

Despite the interrelated social orientation shown in Latin American cultures, cultural variability among cultures and within the same culture appears according to certain conditions. Parental beliefs remain inscribed in a shared social frame that may differ between individuals.

2.2.1. Interdependence among Latin American Cultural Contexts

As previously stated, cross-cultural studies have provided evidence regarding cultural differences in socialization, cultural values and patterns of child-rearing. Latin American and Hispanic cultures have been frequently labeled as collectivist/allocentric/interdependent cultures (Triandis et al, 1986; Triandis, Bontempo et al., 1988; Hofstede, 1983; Delgado-Gaitán, 1994). Specific cultural traits shared by Latin Americans, Hispanics and Costa Ricans will be characterized and related to socialization goals, ethnotheories and child-rearing patterns.

According to Ramirez in his "Psychology of the Mestizo" (1983) external historical facts have shaped contemporary mestizo way of being. One dimension is political, particularly the background of instable politic conditions in many countries where war and guerrilla-war have taken place for long periods of time. Another dimension strongly contrasts poverty and affluence, another the religious sphere, particularly emphasizes Christianity and autochthonous spiritual traditions as part of every day life and work as important reference contexts. All these factors are mentioned as determinant in shaping ideals and goals, a way of being.

Cross-cultural studies had evidenced allocentrism as a particular characteristic shown among interdependent oriented contexts. Trying to approximate a more psychological level, Triandis et al. (1988) defined the issue idiocentrism-allocentrism an aspect concerning the importance of the in-group for setting self-goals and monitoring social behavior of the individual. It was demonstrated that this domain was significant for explaining a psychological dimension underlying individualism and collectivism (see also Triandis, 1989).

Evidence from various studies allows us to establish traits proper to Latin American contexts. Hispanics and Latin Americans are described as more allocentric, whereas non-Hispanic and non-Latinos are considered more idiocentric. Specifically, a tendency to emphasize good interpersonal relationships and harmony, interdependence, acceptance of authorities, and values like loyalty and reliability, is shown by Hispanics and Latin Americans (Triandis 1983, cited by Hui & Triandis, 1986; Marin, G., & Triandis, H.,

1985). Furthermore, allocentrism is introduced by Yamaguchi et al (1995) as the conflict between the private and the collective self with a priority for the latter. This implies overvaluing the demands of in-groups like friends and family, to the detriment of the own interests. Concerns of social relationship with the in-group, kinship, and family are reported particularly strong in Hispanic and Latin American cultures (Ramírez, 1983).

Using Hofstede's classification, Triandis and colleagues (1986) found that the factors 'family integrity' and 'independence with sociability' were important descriptors of collectivist cultures and discriminated across countries. The key discriminating factor of individualism was the dimension of 'separation from in-groups'. The same study also reported that the highest scores in the dimension 'family integrity' were reported of Californian Asians, Indians, Hong Kongs, Costa Ricans and Indonesians.

The evidence so far considered allows us to highlight two culturally specific aspects, namely, the importance granted to the family, and the importance to the role in-groups can acquire when confronted with their own interests. Triandis' reports (1986, 1989) for example, that the bond to any in-group may decrease as the number of potential in-group increases.

Another characteristics of culturally interdependent contexts is the social complexity perceived as tight by Triandis (1994, 2000) which refers to the amount of social regulation trough rules and norms towards individual and group behavior. In this respect, personal relationships in Latin American contexts have a greater degree of subordination and acceptance of discipline than in individualistic cultures (Díaz-Guerrero, 1975). Specific values and societal goals such are introduced as basic to understanding the regulation of personal relationships.

Respect and dignity are a cherished value and plays an important role in social interaction as within the socialization goals in Latin American samples (Triandis, Bontempo et al., 1988), Cuban immigrants (Field & Widmeyer, 1981), Puerto Ricans (Harwood, 1992), and Costa Ricans (Miranda & Rosabal, 1997). Also, concern of others is very strong, therefore, social control mechanism like *vergüenza* 'shame' is very important for Latin Americans (Johnson, 1985; Triandis, Bontempo, Villarreal, Assai, Lucca, 1988). Whereas guilt, a value more related to moral instances is more related to individualist contexts (Bierbrauer, 1992).

"Honor-related values" and family values also play an important role in the expression of pride, shame and anger in the Spanish culture (Rodríguez-Mosquera et al, 2000). In this cultural context, honor is a family attribute. It is not an individual value, but is shared with the family, so that self-honor and family-honor are strongly related to each other.

Also in Latin American cultures greater emphasis is placed on one's ability to fulfill role obligations, particularly within the family, which plays the role of a network (Miller & Harwood, 2001; Marín & Triandis, 1985; Lay, 1998). Moreover, the authors found that mothers with high sociocentrically oriented socialization goals tend to have more frequent kin contacts, whereas mothers with more individually oriented socialization goals have less number of contacts with family-network members.

Expression of affection and emotional regulation related to social values and social goals are relevant to the present study. In this respect, there are different appreciations that relate expression of affection and emotions with values and goals. Markus & Kitayama (op. cit) considered that the affect regulation among interdependent cultures implies eliciting positive states and avoiding negative affect. It was corroborated by Stephan et al (1996), who affirmed that within collectivistic cultures there might exist a strong normative pressure to express emotions that foster interpersonal relations (e.g. sympathy, consideration, apology, sorrow) even though when they are not feeling these emotions. Although not a general rule, it appears that the avoidance of expressing negative emotions in social contexts may overlap in interdependent contexts, with social values like *simpatía* 'sympathy' and *respeto* 'respect' in the case of Latin American cultures (Triandis, 1995) it seems to increase social desirability (Markus & Kitayama, op. cit). These topics, concerning the Costa Rican cultural context, will be further explored in a later section.

A correspondence of emotional support could be expected from kin, with higher perseverance of values supporting family allocentrism. To this effect Delgado-Gaitán (1994), Stewart et al (1999) – with Asian immigrants -, and Greenfield et al. (2000) demonstrated how among second-generation Mexican immigrants in the USA family networks still play important roles maintaining interdependent patterns, despite acculturation due to migration in individualistic cultures.

Since maintaining harmony is an expected value among interrelated cultures, conflict resolution becomes a concern that elicits not only social beliefs but also behavioral traits. Triandis (1995) points out that among collectivistic cultures preserving the relationship is important when solving conflicts, and therefore the use of compromising styles of conflict resolution, and behaviors such as integrating, obliging and avoiding conflicts are frequent. Triandis (1988), points that this tendency of avoiding confrontation, contrast with individualist cultures where contrarily conflict is brought out and confronted. In a further section concerning Costa Rican cultural values this aspect will be developed.

This implies approaching the levels of variability within a culture, regardless of its social orientation and knowing the belief and behavioral factors that may explain the culturally specific patterns of rearing and specific ways of living reality (v.gr. conflict resolution in mother-infant interaction).

2.2.2. Particularities in Childrearing

According to many studies, in collectivist cultures parental authority shapes childrearing. There are several main traits of childrearing in interdependent contexts.

A first characteristic is parental guidance, and it is seen to lead to the maximization of interdependence between parent and child. Triandis (1995) points out that parental authority is sustained by obedience. Obedience has a two-way effect; on one side it is

highly valued in the child, on the other, it allows such parental control over the child that the child's private life is also of parental concern. These conditions result in a vertical relationship. The subordinated position of the child contrasts with individualistic cultures, where emotional detachment, independence, and privacy for the child are promoted. (Triandis, Bontempo et al, 1988, Keller & Eckensberger, 1998)

This parental conception of authority was confirmed by Gaskins for Mayan ethno theories. She confirmed that a strong respect for authority is promoted, even though parents give children ample opportunities to make decisions concerning their future, e.g. about going to school, taking medicine when they are sick, and the concern of how to spend money. A particularity is that the style of authority is seen as related to the concept of development, which is seen as gradual, continuous but also as "largely natural and automatic" (1995, p. 335). In other words "development happens", therefore age is not so relevant. This fact makes the period toward independence to take longer.

Despite strengthening of authority, childrearing styles in interdependent cultures are warmer than in individualist contexts (Triandis, 1995, Keller & Eckensberger, op cit). It was mentioned before that another characteristic is the role that family bond plays. Field and Widmayer (1981) observed lower socio-economic status Black, Cuban, Puerto Rican and South American samples in the US. Some of their findings were the tendency to protect the child from persons outside the family or in-group.

Some other elements in the study of Field & Widmeyer, lead to an interesting description of Latin American interactive traits. Those considered more important will be mentioned next. Independent of socio-economic status the child was viewed as the center of the household, on whom everyone may exert influence, parents but also grandparents, aunts, and uncles. High parental involvement in interactions appears as another important characteristic accompanied by certain behaviors like praising and frequent body contact. Particularly the South American and Central American groups appear to be very much involved with their infants and enjoy talking about them, emphasizing their intelligence. In these cases body contact appears to be frequent and is related specifically with the enjoyment/play by the child within interaction. Also, children are carried and rocked more. It also came out that it was more frequent among Puerto Rican mothers to use "baby talk" in much exaggerated intonations and brief phrases with little instructional content. Characterizing their interactive repertoire, it was shown: less baby talk, more frequent and longer speech utterances, less game playing, more singing, more acceleration of activity level during infant fussiness, and more verbal and non-verbal activity during feeding interactions (See also Leyendecker, et. al., 1997)

Concerning the particular accent on child stimulation, Cote & Bornstein (2001) observed also that South American mothers engage in more social behaviors, spoke to their infants more. They confirmed Field & Widmeyer's findings that mothers recognize teaching as an important task in parenting and this may reflect a cultural emphasis on verbal expressiveness, and therefore on social relationships.

The topic of social relationship has been also thoroughly studied by Harwood et al (1992, 1995, 1996, 2000) comparing Puerto Rican and US mothers. It was demonstrated

that Anglo mothers tend to optimize the sense of autonomy and personal choice, whereas, Puerto Rican mothers socialize toward a sense of interpersonal obligation.

In an observational study comparing Argentinean and Euro American mothers, (García-Coll, Pérez-Febles, Halpern, Nervaez, Andreozzi, & Valcarcel, 1992) it was shown that Argentinean participants tended to be more directive and over stimulating during play episodes than Euro American mothers.   These patterns coincides with the findings of Auginis (1988) about child rearing values, also confirming that Argentinean child rearing value-orientations tended more to stress dependency and obedience. Complementarily Bornstein & col. (1996) founded that the Argentinean culture sees discipline as important and that mothers promote a dyadic-social orientation.

In this subsection, it has been shown that family bonds among different Latin American cultures have their particularities. Relations are patterned through behaviors such as body contact between caregivers and children, a particular style of baby talk, and an over stimulating interaction comprising much verbal stimulation and praising. Mothers show a high involvement of interaction, shaping in-group bonds with a high affective component. These interactive patterns are supported by values of obedience, interpersonal obligation and parent directedness. For the present study how the family allocentrism domain behaves will be particularly considered (Lay et al, 1998).

2.3.   Developmental Pathways

In a preceding section an understanding of development that links culture and the individual, has been presented. The concept of developmental paths (Keller & Greenfield, 2000) consisting of a proposal that stems from developmental psychology considering culture, as an integral element will be explained next. Specifically, the CMP (Component Model of Parenting) and its adaptation to this study will be discussed.

Specifically, the CMP theory is linked to the concept of the child's age. Thus it is not directly adaptable to the samples in this study. However, it has been taken and adapted due to its explanation potential regarding the interactive factors that explain the developmental paths of independence and interdependence.

Considering a wide contextual frame, the concept of a developmental niche from Super & Harkness (1986) is also taken into consideration. The developmental niche comprises three integrated subsystems: the physical and social settings in every-day child life, the culturally defined customs of child rearing and childcare, and the psychology of caretakers (parental belief systems).   In this study, two main components are assessed: the interaction patterns – as circumscribed under the second subsystem of the developmental niche, and the parental beliefs about childrearing and child development (such as socialization goals, beliefs about certain concerns). According to Super & Harkness these three constraints may explain the organization of child development within a culture.

Harkness & Super define *parental ethnotheories* (parental belief systems): as "the parents' understanding about the nature of children, the structure of development, and the

meaning of behavior to a large extent shared by members of a cultural group or subgroup" (1995, p. 2). In their definition, the authors conceive the parental behavior as an expression of parental beliefs. According to this definition, is of interest how the first supports the second. Therefore how the parental beliefs and expectancies have an effect on the child and its behavior also appears interesting for this study.

According to Keller (2003) the goal of socialization is the acquisition of competence. The latter is crossed over by cultural values, therefore presents particularities across cultures. Both infant capacities and basic components of parental behavior are identified across-cultures but reflect cultural variability. (Keller & Greenfield, 2000)

Two developmental pathways have been proposed (Keller & Greenfield, 2000, Keller, 2000; submitted), a path to individualism or independence, and a path to collectivism or interdependence. The first is a path that fosters more in industrialized and commercialized urban-contexts, whereas the second is contingent to rural environments or non-highly westernized societies. Is assumed that in both pathways, psychological development is shaped by specific cultural values. At the same time, despite cultural specificity, an important variable is 'school-based literacy' which directly influences and reorients the cultural specific cognition skills, and the familiar transmission of education towards an independently oriented path (See also Yovsi, 2001). These conceptions assume that developmental contexts are related with the acquisition of individualistic and interrelated conceptions of infancy.

Keller postulates that in industrialized and urban contexts teaching and learning through verbal exchange are primed as developmental goals, differing from other contexts where teaching and learning are stimulated by imitation and observation. This reflects the fact that between western and non-western cultures the concept of development differs. While in western contexts development is defined in terms of acquisition of competence (Keller, op cit) in other contexts like the present Mayas development is not a chronological construct; development "happens" and parents do not have such expectations as western parents do (Gaskins, 1996). Other studies demonstrate how contexts shape expectations and therefore psychological development, Dubrow and colleagues (2001) and Kağitçibaşi (1996) show how parents in poor countries value the material contribution of their children, endorsing obedience as the quality they would most like to seen in their children.

Despite the developmental paths shaped by culture it should be clear that within the cultural consensus concrete individual variability exists (Keller, 2000). Moreover, Greenfield (1994) suggests that approaches that consider cultural scripts permit the understanding of the cultural variability.

To summarize, according to Keller & Greenfield (2000) the research of interaction between parents and children allows studying acculturation as a developmental process. This comprises, firstly, the understanding of how biological by determined factors in the maturational stages influence contents of learning in general and processes of cultural learning in particular. Secondly, how the teaching and transmission of culture is done. All these must lead to an understanding of how different developmental stages are cultural-specifically shaped in their content as in their variability.

<u>2.3.1. The Component Model of Parenting</u>

The main theoretical assumptions of the Component Model of Parenting (CMP) (Keller, Voelker & Zach, 1997; Keller, 2003) were mentioned above. Now this model is introduced and an adaptation for the present study is discussed, explaining how it will be applied to the developmental period of pre-school children.

Keller proposes that "the care giving systems consist of a set of genetically prepared behavioral propensities that can be activated due to the challenges of environmental demands" (under review, p. 4). These propensities are understood as "fixed and open genetic programs" (under review, p. 5) that are shaped according the socialization context given by the care givers, and at the same time by their own cultural context.

In the CMP, through phylogeny humans are considered to be "biologically predisposed with multiple parenting systems and interactive mechanisms" (Keller, Voelker & Yovzi, under review) and two basic practices exist among cultures: the stimulation model and the communication model.

The communication model is associated with independent socialization goals, in which prime parental care emphasizes positive communication. Primary child care is basically lead exclusively by the mother (Keller, 2003) whose interaction favors certain behavioral traits such as interaction supported by eye-contact, cognitive development (Keller, Miranda & Gauda, 1984; Keller, Yovzi & Völker, 2002), stimulation through toys, objects, and maternal communicational patterns that fosters equality with the baby. This model is related to the developmental pathway to independence, where self as agency is stimulated.

The stimulation model comprises a parental interest in developmental goals and results, implying the expectation of concrete developmental skills such as cognitive and motor development, obedience, etc. Childrearing tends to be child-centered with respect to developmental goals, not necessarily empathy-centered.[3] Consequently parent-child interaction is hierarchically structured. Interaction tends to maximize positive affect and more relationship oriented contexts. The here and now moment is primed. According to Keller socialization in these contexts is characterized by a high value on "interpersonal proximity with emotional warmth" (in preparation, p. 7) a parenting style with high contingency toward negative infant signals and intense body contact. (Yovsi, 2001; Keller et al, submitted). This model is related to the developmental pathway to interdependence, where self, as co-agent is stimulated.

The component model of parenting comprises various **parenting systems** and interactive **mechanisms**. The proposed parenting systems are primary care, body contact, body stimulation, object stimulation, and face-to-face contact. Primary care consists of all parental activities oriented to preserve the child's health and security, such as nursing and feeding. Body contact is related with carrying the child, and the experience of physically close proximity. Body stimulation implies motor behavior stimulation. Object stimulation

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[3] Keller's definition of „child-centered" differs from the one applied in this study. The concept will be further developed in the section related to conflict resolution.

is related with eliciting child's interest for objects; and face-to-face contact is understood as communication through facial and vocal means.

Within the parenting systems the following mechanisms operate, firstly, the *attention* the caregiver pays to the child, which could be exclusive and/or divided; secondly, *warmth* which is expressed through close body proximity and the sharing of positive affect; and thirdly *contingency*, understood as the prompt reaction to infants' signals and sensitivity towards infants' positive and/or negative cues. (Keller, in prep; 2000, and Yovsi, 2001).

Both parental systems and mechanisms are considered as universal components on parenting, which are shaped by environmental conditions as explained above. The parental systems are to be more influenced by the cultural conceptions concerning child development, whereas the mechanisms are defined more as intuitive operating. The mechanisms are able to influence more psychological processes directly, thus leading to the understanding of either cross-cultural or individual differences. (Keller, in prep.) In other words, these components are present in diverse cultural environments but according to the environment, may differ in the amount and intensity of occurrence. As a case mentioned above, formal schooling increases the systems of face-to-face contact, language and object stimulation in parental patterns, and therefore orients to an independent-oriented pathway.

2.3.2. Description of the Different Systems of Parenting and Interactive Mechanisms Adapted for this Study

The CMP has been applied basically to caregivers interacting with three months old infants. (Kulks, 1999, Voelker, 2000, Yovsi, 2001)

Since Keller (in prep.) defines interdependence as "rooted in the body contact system and warmth", the model seems to be applicable to pre-school children also. The interactive mechanism of 'warmth', and the parental systems of 'body contact', and 'stimulation' were therefore chosen for our approach. Next their conceptualization and adaptation will be presented.

2.3.2.1. Body Contact

The body contact system comprises bodily-based behaviors in an exclusive dyadic interaction. It comprises motor stimulation from the mother such as touching, mild and/or gross motor activity that involves the physical self. (Keller, et al. In press)

Body contact is related to bodily regulation and highly related to the emotional warmth. The body proximity between caregiver and child may result in further body stimulation for the child and also the fostering of the emotional bond. The assessment would be according to the proximity level between mother and child. It comprises four different levels from intense to distant.

2.3.2.2. Warmth

Scholars (Rohner, 1986, MacDonald, 1992, Keller, 1999) have described warmth as a basic mechanism based on biological systems, emphasizing its importance for the development of early attachment. Schaefer cited by MacDonald (1992) defined warmth as high affection, positive reinforcement, and sensitivity to child's needs and desires, MacDonald adds that warmth motivates particularly bonding, relationship and attachment. Rohner (1994) speaks about the "warmth dimension of parenting" as an inborn phenomenon but culturally patterned.

Warmth is understood as the mothers' physical and behavior towards the child, that reflects acceptance, support, and empathy and tender expressions. It can also occur as a verbal or facial expression within an interaction. Two main warmth dimensions are used: *verbal/facial warmth* and *body warmth***.**

The body warmth would be assessed as the bodily signals related with affective expressions, empathy and tenderness. These were considered because are directly related with warmth and positive affectionate situations that foster empathy within parent-child interaction. Three different behaviors were chosen as indicators that reflect this concept: tactile behavior, mild vestibular behavior, and hugging and embracing. Tactile behavior consists of bodily stimulation like caressing, touching any part of the child's body. Mild vestibular stimulation consists of motor and kinesthetic movements. Examples are rocking and swinging the child in a tender and gentle way. The behavior of hugging and embracing is the combination of both motor and tactile stimulation at the same time that the mother grabs and swings, or caresses the child**.**

2.3.2.3. Maternal Stimulation

The object stimulation system as an activity of childcare among western societies, fostering cognitive development through explorative activities (Keller, 1992), was adapted for older children through the categories of 'mother teaches' and 'mother plays'. Mother teaches is when during interaction episodes, playing or talking, the mother teaches her child something, transmits or tests new knowledge, social rules, moral or ethic norms. Mother plays is when the mother gets involved in the child's play adapting her behavior to the logic of the game, and not trying to deviate the child from its behavior.

2.4. Parenting and Socialization Goals

In the preceding section was affirmed that parenting systems occur in social and cultural settings, where specific interactive mechanisms built relational patterns between caregivers and children. According to Kagiticibasi´s (1996a) statement that childrearing and socialization mediate between culture and the individual, concretely the child, some considerations around parenting and socialization goals and how culture shape them, are convenient.

Understanding development placed between culture and biology opens the question about how the first is transmitted by parents and assimilated by children. To this respect Bornstein (1994) affirms that when parents transmit culture, they prepare the child to adapt to its own cultural context, it should be understood as a multidimensional construct (Bornstein, 1989).

In early stages of childhood, parenting concerns are more related to monitoring the child's emotional repertoire structuring behavioral strategies that favor the child's adaptation but also that fits to the interests of parents (Smith, 1987), as of culture (Hinde, 1987).

From an evolutionary point of view, emotions are seen as an important element in the display of interactions to which parents are predisposed to react (Keller, Schölmerich & Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1988). Emotions are part of an evolutionary strategy to succeed in the social life (Bowlby, 1973), like mate choice, reciprocal altruism and other pro-social behaviors. (Crawford, 1987; Schölmerich, 1997). Therefore the way the emotions repertoire of the child is constructed, stays as center for the child's later ability of social behavior (Kogan & Carter, 1996). Attachment theory (Bowlby, op cit.; Ainsworth et al, 1978) postulates that early emotional repertoire of the baby like crying, looking, smiling and vocalizing allow establishing a primary bond with caregivers. Therefore the first relationship not only guarantees the child's security and psychological care, but also teaches the basis for social relationships. Concretely to emotions and interaction, Campos and colleagues (1994) established a functional relation between emotions and their expression in the social context.

A direct consequence of the development of emotions in child, is overcoming the challenge of secure-base concerns through the organization and control of behavior. As important output the infant should acquire the capacity of developing plans or actions, maintain them in mind, and coordinate the actions according to the plans (Maccoby, 1980). In this sense parental expectancies and socialization goals run parallel to developmental goals, shaping the display of emotional behavior in child. Thompson (1994) stresses the importance of monitoring and regulating emotions in many directions, such as a way for supporting adaptive and organized strategies. Later leads to build effective strategies with peers, helping to successful cognitive performance in tasks that implies the pursuit of long-term goals. Also reciprocally parental emotive behavior influences on child's emotive behavior, so parental sensitiveness and responsiveness are related to better social development of the child (Dix, 1992).

It is not aim of this section to discuss the topic of regulation of emotions, but it should be mentioned how it relates with character and self-development of the child, particularly through internalizing social conventions. To this respect, feelings and emotions are socially patterned (Gordon, 1989b). The values and belief systems become an important element that supports not only the child rearing strategies of the caregivers but also gives meaning to the child's own behavior. According to Gordon, the experience of emotions, originally product of biologically based processes, is later interpreted and mediated by culturally patterned forms. It is relevant to stress the adaptive value of monitoring emotions, seen as a challenge, on which the child learns to deal with its own

experience repertoire, its own goals, and the values and demands of the setting (see Thompson, op cit.).

The issue of parenting goals deserves a special role with respect to parent-child interaction during infancy (Dix, 1992). It is understood as the parental attempt to achieve particular goals in interaction with their children, these constructs should guide cognition, affect and behavior development of child. The parental goals entail plans that parents try to promote, but also to achieve emotional and behavioral adjustments within the interaction (Dix, 1991; Hastings & Grusec, 1998).

For this study the issue of parental goals have a central role analyzing how they guide an orientate interaction with their children. In the next subsection the topic concerning parental goals and a proposed model assessing interaction will be further developed.

2.4.1. Early Childhood, Discipline, and Conflict

The range of age between one and two years has been identified as a period where biological, behavioral, and social domains reach a crucial point (Cole & Cole, 1996). At this time different basic developmental skills are in a consolidation process. The motor development at this age enables the child to move trough its environment with certain independence (Erickson, 1963, Cole & Cole, op.cit). The child shows control of his behavior, such that can develop plans or actions and coordinate them. (Maccoby, 1980). The language and cognitive development level enable symbolic and linguistic-based self-regulatory strategies, and are in the path from an inter-psychical to an intra-psychical emotional regulation (Friedlmeier, 1999). Also the child has developed its own capacities to lead with its own demands, control its own behavior, interpret others behavior and respond to social demands (Calkins, 1994). This period relates to learning rules allowing social interaction and moral development.

The child has the capacity for expressing feelings, basic for the social interaction, such as empathy, guilt (Bischof-Köhler, 1998), shame, embarrassment, and pride (Cole & Cole, op. Cit.). The interactive domain-concerns of autonomy and dependence with the maternal figure have a particular significance; to this respect relationship between parents and child adjust to the emergence of child's social world (Lamb et al, 1992). The way all these issues evolve will have an effect in later psychological development (Erickson, op. cit, Cole & Cole, op. cit.).

During pre-linguistic development moral behavior is controlled by direct parental contingencies, later language skills allow an explicit verbalized control (Gewirtz and Peláez-Nogueras, 1991). One of the main challenges during this period of time arouses through the form of setting of goals and discipline (Cole & Cole, 1996, Caplan, Vespo, Pedersen & Hay, 1991). The child is encouraged to the management of its own emotions but also to develop a level of responsiveness and interaction established with the mother as early experiences of authority.

Under discipline will be understood the teaching of self-control and self-discipline, rather than telling the child how to behave (Honig and Wittmer, 1991). Cultural context shapes also concepts of discipline and its strategies, some societies place value on external

controls like coercion, physical punishing, control, whereas other stress self-reliance and autonomy (Ellis & Petersen, 1992). Traditional studies on moral development consider these two issues as exclusive (Kohlberg, 1969). On the contrary, others (Killen & Nucci, 1995) stress that elements, morality and autonomy coexist in early development.

Killen & Nucci stress the importance that conflict and conflict resolution in early infancy, as facts that enable the acquisition of self-knowledge, the possibility of producing change in persobality, and stimulating child to social interaction (Nucci & Killen, 1991, Crockenber & Lourie, 1996). This means that the child struggles between its own interests and the ones of the counterpart aroused through the conflict, and the child is challenged with concerns such as autonomy, self-reliance, and social harmony for example. In this context emotions and emotional expression play an important role (see also Herrera & Dunn, 1997, Eisenberg, 1992).

Conflict episodes among peers or siblings may originate due to object disputes, social order, structuring activities, or even to physical aggression (Killen & Nucci, 1995), whereas mother-child conflict are focused more on rules (Herrera & Dunn, 1997). In the last study it was demonstrated that early experiences with family conflict provide children managing-skills for arguing effectively, which are transferred later to other significant interpersonal domains.

Parental behavior toward conflict resolution has consequences for later development. While parental avoidance of over-controlling their children fosters a sense of autonomy and agency in children (Erickson, 1963), and influences the acquisition of skills for resolving conflicts (Crockenberg & Lourie, 1996), parent-child conflict solution focused on the needs of parents instead of the child, may have negative consequences for child's development, such as dependence on parents or insecurity of the child (Dix, 1991; Herrera & Dunn, 1997). Moreover, in a longitudinal study Fagot and Gauvain (1997) demonstrated that over time, maternal guidance and the mother's perception of child's temperament influence the problem-solving capacities of the young child.

Parental behavior with respect to conflict and its resolution also may vary according cultures stimulating qualitatively different senses of personal autonomy in their children (Killen & Nucci, 1995; Killen and Waynrib, 2000). Strategies such as supporting, challenging, commanding or the use of rule statements could vary in frequency and or intensity according culture.

With respect to conflict resolution styles among interdependent societies, Gabrielidis and colleagues (1997) assessing adult Mexicans styles of conflict resolution demonstrated that the outcomes coincide with certain characteristics of collectivism. They stress that Mexicans prefer more accommodative and collaborative styles, which are related to the concern for others' outcomes. But, despite the high concern to harmony-enhancing strategies in conflict resolution and the use of competition as a strategy was also high.

Cultural sensitive studies on this issue show also certain patterns, specifically how the fostering of close and harmonious bonds among family members, play an important role in conflicts resolution. (see Grusec & Goodnow, 1994, Goodnow, 1992).

The preceding chapter about independence and interdependence as social orientations, mentioned that child-rearing practices could emphasize more self-achievement or others-concern. In the same way conflict and its resolution should imply a particular accent according to each culture, parental concerns may stimulate or guide their children to act and react towards a conflict and how it may be solved.

In the preceding section concerning particularities in child rearing among interdependent cultures, were pointed out how valued parental authority, but also the role that dimensions like warmth and family harmony plays on child rearing. In the context of parent-child interaction, it would be expected that especially conflict events would elicit specific cultural behaviors when harmony is endangered. Therefore, in our interest assessing an interdependent context it should be paid special attention to the role of parental authority, the concerns of social desirability, and of groups and family harmony in how far shape either parental behavior or parent-child interaction.

2.4.2. Parenting Goals and Conflict

In this study conflict is focused in the frame of parent –child interaction. According to Dix's (1992) definition of successful parenting conflict. Is when parental goals do not coincide with the child's needs. The author developed a model in which parental goals are differentiated as satisfying parental needs (self-oriented goals) or child's needs (child-oriented goals).

A further re-conceptualization of Dix's theory done by Hastings and Grusec (1998) describes instead of two, three modes: the needs of the parent, the needs of the child, or the relationship. Two reasons are in favor of this model for this study, first the third concern about relationship allows measuring an important component among interdependent orientation; second, because the preceding model conceives the influence that parental goals have on behavioral and affective states, and is considered applicable to understand mother-child interaction. Next an adaptation of this model will be introduced for its application.

The concern of parent-centered goals would elicit parental behaviors stressing more in power assertion, obedience and short-term compliance within the interaction. Hastings and Grusec demonstrated that this concern increases negative affect states and decreases sympathy within the interaction. Some specific behaviors shown by parents are verbal forcing, withdrawal of love or privileges, threatening, scolding, induction of guilt, and responses with negative signals to negative affect signals of the child.

The concern of child-centered goals is associated with empathic goals and less power assertion. Parents main concern is the teaching of personal and social lessons on behalf of the child's future benefit. Parent will promote reasoning but also behavior-modeling. Not only the child's point of view is important also its happiness, therefore interaction stresses positive feelings, responsive actions like warmth, reasoning, and communication.

Concerning the relationship-centered goals occurs an increase of the positive affect states like sympathy; but parent's responsive behavior would try more to achieve trust and

family harmony avoiding negative affect states. Some behavioral strategies to be expected are more body behavior, verbal praising, kisses, hugs, caressing, and the attempt of modeling and reinforcing a positive emotional outcome.

As argued earlier, these three alternatives are considered as appropriate for the assessment of conflict resolution in mother-child interaction. With these patterns we expect to describe and analyze parental goals elicited within conflict situations in interdependent contexts.

2.5. Historical Background of Costa Rica

Introduction

According to many cross-cultural studies about the I-C construct, Latin American and so Costa Rican samples are rated as 'collectivist', and the culture has been labeled as 'non-western ' (Hofstede, 1983; Triandis et. al., 1986; Triandis, Bontempo, et. al**.,** 1988). Due to the complexity of Costa Rica's cultural configuration, it is considered important to present the historical background that permits better comprehension of the nation's cultural genesis, and its particularities.

As a resulting culture that began evolving over 500 years ago, Latin America constitutes a multiethnic and multicultural subcontinent where, during different historical periods, the native indigenous population mixed with Europeans, Asians, and Africans. The final product is the modern day *mestizo*[4] population. As part of Latin America, Costa Rica shares a cultural heritage that still maintains indigenous roots, but at the same time has assimilated many other elements from the African world. Particularly Costa Rica has assimilated even more from the Western world: first from Europe, later from North America, and now, as part of the globalization process, from diverse cultures. Therefore Costa Rica's cultural uniqueness is viewed as a dynamic process related to acculturation rather than as a static and isolated phenomenon.

The present chapter comprises a historical overview of Costa Rica, in order to describe the conditions that led to the actual shape of its culture and its people. The indigenous heritage, the post-conquest cultural fusion, and the emergent mestizo culture are discussed. The evolution of the Costa Rican people from ancient farmers to their contemporary diversified status is discussed and related with the emergence of the concept of the *mestizo* individual and its new social values. Special attention is given to how western acculturation drove to the refusal of indigenous heritage, determining the self-perception of the Costa Rican during the XIX century. Despite the desired westernized values, it is concretely discussed how values like honor, family ties, group belonging, and social desirability have been consolidated as shaping predominantly the most relevant sociocultural characteristics of today's Costa Ricans relating them to the 'interdependent' self. This section is concluded considering the constant change of social values due to acculturation and modernization, and its relation a particular cultural substrate.

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[4] The term *mestizo* will be used to define the actual mixed race of Latin America , a mixture of Indigenous, Africans and European, mainly Spanish population. The term refers not only to the ethnic descent but also to the cultural background.

The chapter ends with a description of Guanacaste and San José, the two zones from which the samples of this study were recruited.

2.5.1. Pre-Columbian Period

Archeological findings attest to the presence of human beings for at least the last 5,000 years in Costa Rica, but it is thought that about 10,000 years ago the first humans passed through (Coe, 1998). Because of its geographical location, Costa Rica has been a bridge and filter for human cultures.   Before the Conquest, a path had been worn between the Mesoamerican[5] and Andean cultures.   Abundant archeological findings of handicrafts and jewelry show an interesting cultural diversity among northern populations (Olmecan, Aztec, and Mayan), southern groups (Chibchas and Chiriquis) and even Caribbean populations, that certifies Costa Rica's importance as an "ancient trade zone".

In the year 1502, during his fourth journey, Columbus reached the Atlantic coast of today's Costa Rica at the place called *Cariari*. In his logbook he mentioned the richness of the land he found, naming it *costarica* ´rich coast´, which later became the country's present name: *Costa Rica.*

Although Costa Rica became known early in the 16th century because of Columbus, unlike other Latin American countries its conquest was not begun until after the first half of that century. It was not until the late 1600s that the Spaniards settled there. Some reasons considered significant in the delay of colonization in Costa Rica were: the area's climate and geography, the intensive colonization already underway by the Spaniards in Guatemala, and the high resistance of Costa Rica's indigenous population (Zamora, 1980).

Even though Costa Rica served as a commercial path by providing communication among cultures, local cultural development was not as advanced as in Guatemala or Mexico. When the Spaniards arrived, there was no empire to conquer. Instead, the Spaniards found relatively highly developed chiefdoms[6] with well established trading traditions, metal working craft specialists, and well built settlements with features such as aqueducts, *plazas* 'squares', and well connected networks of cobblestone roads.

Two main cultural groups, one of northern influence and the other of southern influence populated pre-Columbian Costa Rica. The northern, Mesoamerican heritage consisted of Nicaraos and Chorotegans, and the southern, Macro-Chibchan heritage, consisted of Bruncas. The Chorotega culture was an ancient one that originated before the spread of the Mayan Empire and settled across the Pacific coast of Central America, extending from Soconusco, México to Nicoya, Costa Rica. That is why archeologists consider Costa Rica to be "the southern frontier of Mesoamerica." A trait among different cultural groups according to some archeologists (Coe, 1998) is their proclivity for developing unique cultural characteristics correlated with the "environmental niches" in

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[5] Mesoamerica: the zone extending from Mexico to the northern part of Costa Rica. During pre-Columbian times it was populated by different indigenous cultures.

[6] Spanish "cacicazgo". It is a dignity or territory of a chief or *cacique*. In anthropological terminology these tribal territories are referred to as chiefdoms (Service, 1962) or ranked societies (Fried, 1967).

which they live. These niches, however, were situated next to each other permitting the exchange of cultural ideas and traditions.

Although the Macro-Chibchan presence was the greater of the two it remains outside the scope of this study[7], which deals almost exclusively with aspects of the northern heritage.

Because today Nicoya is part of Guanacaste, and is crucial to this study, its main historical antecedents are introduced here. In the year 1522 the first conqueror, Gil González Dávila, arrived in what is now Guanacaste. At that time three organized indigenous groups existed there: the Chorotegas, the Corobicíes and the Nahuas or Aztecs, all part of the chiefdom of Nicoya.

The advanced local social organization as well as the high population index of Guanacaste was attractive for getting slave labor and taxes. The first Spanish settlements, basically in Nicoya and along its gulf coast, soon became *encomiendas*.[8]
As we shall see later, this is why, from the beginning of the early colonial period, the existing natives from this zone were the first and fastest to be assimilated to the Hispanic culture.

In 1563, Costa Rica constituted a *gobernación*,[9] but it was not until a couple years before 1560 that definite settlements appeared in the country, (Zamora op. Cit.). Many of the expeditions to settle the area came from neighboring Nicaragua, which during this time was highly colonized and became a very important political and administrative center in Central America. Nicoya, which at that time formed Nicaragua's southernmost border, was one of the first places to be settled.

Later colonization occurred not only because the expeditions were sent out from colonized territories, but also because *criollos*[10] and not only Spaniards took part in the conquest.

2.5.2. Demographic situation of the early indigenous population

At the time the Spaniards arrived, the indigenous population of Central America was estimated at approximately 5 million inhabitants (Ibarra, 1999). Within that context, it has traditionally been believed that Costa Rica had a very small indigenous population at the time of the conquest. This argument has been always used to stress the ethnic and cultural differences between Costa Rica and the rest of the Central American countries prior to the area's European heritage. The subject merits discussion, since it is related to specific cultural characteristics of the Costa Ricans.

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[7] Cfr. Studies of Macro-Chibchan background and its influence, by Doris Stone (1961) and Ma. Eugenia Bozzoli de Wille (1979).

[8] From Spanish *encomendar* 'to entrust'. During the Conquest tribes or indigenous groups were put in charge of an *encomendero* a kind of landlord, who take advantage of their territories, products and taxes. Instead must he care to instruct that indigenous people in Christian faith. Indians and their land were redistributed in reserves and excluded from economic activities determined by the Spaniards. The *encomiendas* were called *pueblos indios* 'Indian towns'.

[9] Rank of high political organization of an area conferred by the Spanish Empire during the Conquest.

[10] The term *criollo*, ´creole´, is used to describe a person of European descent born in America.

Reports regarding the estimated number of indigenous inhabitants of Costa Rica at the time the Spaniards arrived, are conflicting. Recent studies (Ibarra, op. cit), calculate the population of that time at about 400,000 inhabitants. Suggesting that Costa Rica may not have had as small an indigenous population as many had previously stated.

During the first 90 years of colonization, the indigenous population was diminished by 43%. A tendency to reduction was maintained up to the first half of the 19th century. Ibarra (op. cit.) says the indigenous cultures of Costa Rica diminished over a period of 300 years. Another important reason put forth is the combination of new diseases and epidemics brought by the conquerors, and also because of the deaths brought about by the conquest process itself (Fonseca, 1983). These epidemics killed a high percentage of the indigenous population even before the actual period of conquest. Even though contact between the indigenous population and the white man was minimal, it is suspected that commercial trade practices and social contact among tribal entities were a possible factor in propagating these new diseases, as will be seen in the following section.

In contrast to this reduction process, the rest of the population began to increase due to the merging of resulting *criollos* with later Spanish immigrants and with Africans brought in by the African slave trade (Lobo & Meléndez, 1997). Seen as a possible cause of the nation's ethnic homogeneity, this course of early events in Costa Rica definitely limited later integration and assimilation of the indigenous people with the resulting population.

During the early years of the conquest, the methods employed by Spaniards to subdue the Indians involved torture, murder, plunder, and destruction and showed no respect for sex or age. Entire villages were destroyed and tribes were forced to regroup following the *encomienda* system. In this new concept of social organization, the traditional family structure of the Indians was condemned to disappear.

Another factor that explains the unequal assimilation of Indians was the widely differentiated economic development that existed within indigenous groups. The Spaniards´ strategy was to conquer the more highly organized groups. Tribal groups with more developed levels of culture were an attractive prey to the conquerors. As a result, the groups with the greatest economic development disappeared because this strategy did not promote any kind of integration between cultures. The remaining indigenous population divided into two main groups—the conquered faction and the rebellious one.

The conquered Indians were confined in the *reducciones[11]*, while the rebellious faction battled and resisted. A different path developed for each group. The former group, although their socio-cultural world was undermined, kept their ancestral religions and traditions. As a result, their reproductive patterns showed increased endogamy (Ibarra, op. cit.). The latter group composed of many tribes, resisted colonization by moving to outlying zones where they took refuge and were isolated from the Spaniards. Mainly they settled in the northern and southern parts of Costa Rica: in Guatuso and Talamanca, respectively. Talamanca, the more populated of the two areas, remained as an autonomous

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[11] Indian reservations.

zone free of Spanish influence up to the end of the colonial period. Today it constitutes Costa Rica's main area of indigenous population and has the best-preserved indigenous cultures.

The present Costa Rican indigenous population is calculated at about 60,000 (*INEC*, 2001).

Costa Rica did not share in the indigenous cultural integration processes present elsewhere in Latin America. Despite the unavoidable ethnic mixture, there was no occurrence of explicit cultural assimilation.

2.5.3. Organization and social life of ancient indigenous populations

Socially, the ancient Costa Rican Indians were organized in chiefdoms calculated at between 14 -16 different groups at the arrival of the first Spaniards. These chiefdoms formed lordships, only a few of which were powerful. Despite the cultural differences among them, a common organizational pattern can be found in all the ancient indigenous groups of Costa Rica. Certain underlying common cultural patterns can also be found. Land and religion are two examples.

The tribes lived in complex urban development areas called compounds with big rounded houses formed around *plazas*. Many families lived in each house, generally in clans. The groups were sedentary and had mainly an agricultural economy complemented with fishing and hunting. As in the other Mesoamerican cultures, in Nicoya communal land as the basic landholding type also prevails (Fonseca, 1983). Land not only played a very important role in the economic life of Nicoya; it was also a vital part of the entire lifestyle. Complete loss of land was known to cause the disappearance of indigenous compounds. (Ibarra, op. cit.) The Talamancan saying, *un indio sin tierra es un indio muerto* ´an Indian without land is a dead Indian´ reflects this idea.

The extended family was the basic unit of social organization. Families were subordinated to clans and each clan tended to organize itself around a particular subsistence activity, thus allowing distribution, organization and specialization of labor among groups. Due to the characteristics of the clans, marriage was exogamous[12].

According to Ibarra indigenous women played a clear basic role in indigenous social organization, which was well documented until the 19th century. Clan land rights and political and religious positions were inherited through matrilineage[13]. As a result, clans were also associated with political power.

Trade in local resources and products were a common form of exchange among chiefdoms. This commercial exchange was highly related to social contact and ritual meetings that assumed the disposition for solidarity and mutual help followed trade transactions. As mentioned in the previous section, this fact later favored the transmission of epidemics. (Ibarra, 1999)

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[12] A marriage to a partner outside one's clan.
[13] A group of related people who claim common descent through the female line.

Religious beliefs were aspects present in indigenous life. A holistic vision of the world, where everything was part of an integrated system prevailed. This view defined the relationship between the natural and the human world. Everyday life was oriented by the principle of reciprocity: "something is obtained by something that is given". This refers to roughly equivalent exchanges of goods or services between two parties. Although the concept applies to everyday economic interactions, it also applies to one's spiritual relationship to the animate and inanimate worlds. (Webster et al., 1995) This principle fosters an expectancy of equilibrium among persons, families, and groups, between human beings and nature, and between human beings in the present and afterlife (Ibarra, 1999). Ancient populations had different beliefs according to the tradition to which they belonged. The worship of natural elements, and zoomorphism, particularly in the form of animals like the jaguar, the crocodile, the snake, the monkey, and the eagle were shared among the different tribes. All the elements of nature were integrated with their environment. In many cases religious power was held by the *caciques,* but *sukias* Costa Rican 'shamans' were very important in relating religious beliefs and practices to everyday life.

In many respects the social organization and cosmology of the early American population coincides for the most part with the actual concept of a collectivist culture. Some studies even suggest that the particular social form of organization characterizing different ancient indigenous groups was related to specific ecological and geographical conditions to which they adapted throughout the course of their own cultural evolution. This has been described in detail for the ancient Mayas with respect to their forms of land tenure, the evolution of their urban centers, and their social organization. Many of these traits appear to be adaptive responses also prevalent in some ancient Asian societies. (Rivera Dorado, 1982.)

The Spaniards took advantage of Indian social organization, manipulating the rivalries among local tribes and chiefdoms, reducing the size of these groups significantly.
The chiefdoms were condemned to disappear, and the *encomiendas* appeared. This condition terminated the particular social organization of the indigenous people.

2.5.4. Mestizaje and Costa Rican identity

According to the conditions mentioned in the previous section, during the early conquest the tendency to intermix among ethnic groups was lower. However, it is important to describe the phenomenon of *mestizaje*[14]. Two critical periods of intermixing occurred yielding two different types of *mestizaje.* The first period was simple, limited to female Indians and male Spaniards because the first Hispanic expeditions were composed of men only. This intermixing produced the first generations of *mestizos.*

The second, more complex period can be observed from the late 16th century on. During this period the indigenous population decreased drastically while the *mestizo* population increased remarkably, according to city census reports. Pérez (1997) for example, calculated Costa Rica's ethnic composition for the period between 1777 and 1778 as 60% *mestizo*, 18% black and mulatto, 12% Indian, and 10% Hispanic. Ibarra and Acuña (cited by Ibarra, 1999) attribute this notorious increase of *mestizos* to unions among

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[14] The process of ethnical mixture.

mestizos themselves and not to a mix of Spaniards and Indians[15]. At this point we should speak about the second type of *mestizaje,* which also involved either a mixture of Indians and *mestizos* or a one of mulattos and *mestizos.* The presence of mulattos began in late 17th and early 18th centuries, when black Africans brought by the slave trade and coming mainly form the areas of the Congo, Angola, Nigeria, Benin, and Ghana were registered in what is now Costa Rica (Marín González, 2001). These blacks mixed with the local Hispanic population to produce mulattos who, in turn, mixed with *mestizos.*

At this time cultural practices permitted the establishment of a reproductive pattern that involved various types of endogamy. [11] In general, the Spanish practiced endogamy between themselves and avoided mixing with Indian groups (Bolaños, 1986). The endogamic process was also associated with certain social practices. Marriage itself was not a traditional value at the time, but rather constituted a means for social mobility mainly of lower class *mestizos*, farmers, and artisans (Rodríguez Sáenz, 2000). Among lower class groups it was common to practice "geographic and kinship endogamy," [12] whereas the upper class practiced a more "social endogamy". These endogamic practices, together with the high rate of reproduction among *mestizos*, strengthen the idea of an Indian minority (Ibarra, op. cit.). The conquest thus fostered adverse conditions that confined Indians as a population minority and blocked their cultural integration as well.

The idea of an indigenous minority has been used to support the belief of a "white" [16] Costa Rican national identity. In this respect Soto Quirós (1998) and Molina (1979) maintain that since the beginning of the Republic in 1848 concepts such as "racial homogeneity" were widespread. Lobo and Meléndez (1997) also demonstrated how the acknowledgement of African heritage was systematically refused, despite its presence since the early colonial period. The exaltation of this point of view was very strongly supported by intellectuals. This fact was reflected in history books and scholarly texts avoiding the integration of the indigenous origins of Costa Ricans and instead directly linked their origins with Spanish ancestors (Fernández Guardia, 1925).

However outside influences also contributed to discredit this direct linkage in a cultural sense. Since the beginning of the Republic, two main migrations have also enriched the area's cultural panorama. The first, occurring after 1867, was a large immigration of Afro-Jamaicans to Costa Rica's Caribbean coast. The second was an immigration of Europeans between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.

For a long time social representation of the indigenous population has been linked with very distant groups, in terms of time and geographical location, and uncivilized, almost wild people. As such, the Indians were not integrated with the rest of the country (Soto Quirós, 1998). Even today in Costa Rica, most indigenous groups still remain

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[15] Regarding the mixtures of cultures during the early colony, authors Pérez and González (1996) talk about a process of multiple *mestizaje* among Indians, Africans, and Spaniards.

[11] Endogamy can be related to a strategy that preserved social rank. Some authors speak about social endogamy or class endogamy.

[16] *Blanqueamiento* „whiteness", denominated by Palmer (1995) as the process during the XIX Century, where the idea that Costa Rican population was constituted by an ethnic majority of European descent, diminishing the presence of indigenous ancestors.

isolated from national decision-making, and are not active in economics and/or politics. The acceptance of Costa Rican culture as the result of a *mestizaje* with indigenous roots has been generally resisted. Despite the efforts in the late 20th century, when some reforms took place at the educational level, there still predominates in many minds the idea of a "whiter" culture among Latin America, and the belief that that the majority descent from Europeans.

Ever since the pre-Columbian era Costa Rica has clearly been composed of a heavy mixture of many different ethnic groups. This weakens the argument for the predominance of one particular race: It not only involves the indigenous factor, but also applies to the African factor as well. Inclusive in recent studies in genetics, (Barrantes, 2000) found that between 13% and 15% of African genes are present in most Costa Ricans.

Together with ethnic assimilation came a certain amount of cultural homogeneity. From the primary stages of the conquest on, assimilation of the African heritage also took place. Despite their differences, all groups shared a social organization supported by strong group and family bonds and were surrounded by a cosmology that allowed integration with the environment. So, despite the refusal of the Spanish to accept the fact, a type of cultural *mestizaje* took place together with the ethnic variety. And along with the ethnic *mestizaje*, this cultural *mestizaje* developed more intensively among the popular social classes to produce new cultural manifestations, whereas among the early urban groups stressed more values linked with western world.

At present Costa Rica has seven population groups: 87% mestizos, 7 % descendents of Spanish and Chorotega natives, most of them reside in Guanacaste; 2 % black and mulatto, 0.2 % Chinese, 1.7% Indigenous groups[17]. The remaining 2.5 % is composed of other ethnic types.

2.5.5. The Shaping of a Culture of Relatedness

The colonial and post-colonial periods have been determinants in shaping present Costa Rican cultural identity. Life during the colonial period was determined by certain facts. For example, the new land did not provide for any mineral activity. Moreover, the topography and climate limited access and expeditions to different zones. Also, the lack of indigenous labor combined with the commercial politics of Spain and the negligence of authorities was not conducive to prosperity.

Many factors influenced the socio-cultural development of the colonial and post-colonial periods. Among these factors were Spanish cultural institutions, the ancient cultures, the agricultural economy based on the cultivation of coffee and bananas, the 18th century Jamaican immigrations, and the early differentiation in cultural values in both rural and urban groups.

Spanish cultural institutions really shaped Latin American culture. The role of the Catholic Church was fundamental to the acculturation process. The Church fostered not only new beliefs, but also new concepts of family, education, and group and social

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[17] Around 70,000 living in reserves, of which 70% reside in the Talamanca range, and the rest in the northern Atlantic zone.

organization. Some authors recognize that the propagation of Catholicism was successful due to the increase of *mestizaje* (Blanco Segura, 1983). However the ancient cultures believed strongly in their own system. Pérez and González (1996) offer as proof the fact that the multiple *mestizaje* process was lower among some ethnically constituted groups such as Indians and Africans who tended to preserve their culture and traditions.

Settlements of poor farmers prevailed during colonial times. Costa Rica was a Spanish colony up to 1821, when it became independent from Spain. In 1824 the province of Nicoya, then part of Nicaragua, was annexed as a new province of Costa Rica. After its independence and before 1838, Costa Rica was a republic in the Central American Federation and then later became a separate republic.

Agriculture has been the main economic activity ever since colonial times, when coffee and tobacco constituted the most important agricultural activities and prevailed as important economic activities. In 1885, with North American transnationals, the cultivation of bananas became the most important activity. Since then Costa Rica has been economically dependent on agricultural activities involving coffee and bananas. This fact not only shaped the development of local culture, but also affected social relations. First armers, and later, large landowners and the oligarchy surrounding coffee and bananas constituted themselves as the elite. This group was significant in determining the course of national life up until 1948, and the resulting socioeconomic structure influenced the socio-cultural world of the Costa Ricans.

During the second half of the 18th century a large migration of Afro-Jamaicans, who came as "guest workers" to build the railroad and work on the banana plantations took place. These workers subsequently spread to Cartago (the former capitol), the Central Valley, and Guanacaste. After the railroad was built, most of the workers stayed and settled along the Atlantic coast. Even though the African presence has existed since colonial times, this Jamaican immigration has constituted the principal Afro-American influx into Costa Rica.

In a rich explanatory study about the cultural ontogeny of the Costa Rican, González Ortega (1997) demonstrated how traditional collectivist constructs originated during the colonial period and evolved to more complex forms. He related the "social construction of individuality" to the post-colonization period, with the Catholic Church and liberalism playing a very important role. Analyzing everyday life through 19th century documents, he found, for example, that infidelity among rural communities did not mean the same as in urban zones. Rural people tolerated more, regardless of gender. Ancient San José did the opposite.

Spanish values transmitted since the Conquest shaped early colonial Costa Rican society significantly. The sense of 'honor' played a significant role, particularly the *honor conyugal,* 'conjugal honor' was strong, and related to the concern of social desirability (Cubillo, 2001). After the colonial period the concept of "honor" still constituted a very important social value. But is important to stress a particular emphasis on the "group concept of honor", rather than on a self or individual concept, which influenced much of personal life. For example, Rodríguez Sáenz (2001), who analyzes family evolution during the first half of the 19th century, describes how among rural groups, engaged couples were

submitted to the community at large, to elderly people, and to neighbors for social scrutiny. Just a few negative testimonies in these instances could abort the marriage plans of any couple. Among urban groups, however, engagements and marriages were already experienced as private events. The group concept of honor introduced here reminds one of the description of Rodríguez-Mosquera (2000), cited in a chapter above, concerning the culture of honor-related values and its relation to the pride, shame and anger still to be found in present Spain.

In contrast to the strong colonial sense of honor, Rodríguez Sáenz (op. cit), affirms that sexuality was relatively relaxed and free of many taboos among rural groups. During this period pre-marital sexuality was seen as a "public expression of love" and was common and even tolerated among rural groups (González Ortega, 1997).

Things changed during the second half of the 19th century, when new beliefs based on Catholicism were imposed. This homogenization of values brought rigidity and repression toward female sexuality due to the value of virginity. The support of a liberal state and the Catholic Church later favored patriarchy as the predominant family style. Also clear differences among urban and rural zones were firmly established. An example is the contrast between the moral codes that predominated among urban groups and the more relaxed interaction patterns in rural groups. In the cities sexual appetites were more effectively satisfied and controlled, and in the provinces sexuality was not yet a completely private and individualized aspect as it was in the cities.

During this period a strong and elaborate network that directly influenced and regulated individual behavior through codes of norms and moral beliefs emerged among families and clans.   This framework of social behavior and personal choices occurred regardless of group.   As Gonzalez Ortega states, it seems that "modernity brought the fragmentation and privatization of personal life"[18]. Concerning the daily life of the early Costa Ricans he says that: "the experience of a life in community, such as the one lived in the small town, slowly began to yield a more atomized, individualized, and anonymous everyday life." (ibid.)   Within this context, concepts of the "parental family" ideal gained ground. A new concept of family involved the concept of "privacy". Later, under the liberal ideals of "progress, civilization, and social harmony" this concept of privacy was used to foster "moralization and hygienization among the popular groups."[19]   Thus 19th century Liberalism strengthened the Western values of secularization of education, promotion of liberal ideas, and the passage to a new capitalism. At that time the concept of "homogeneous race", as explained previously, developed among some Costa Rican liberal thinkers, and by then the early commercialization of coffee had opened the door to other European countries. Thus, Western values also entered by way of England, France, Belgium, and Italy.

To summarize, conquest and later colonization of Costa Rica did not favor the equal assimilation of the ancient indigenous cultures; instead, the cultural heritage is easily found in the Spanish descent. The post-colonial Costa Rican was of *mestizo* descent, a product of a multiple ethnic mixture of Indigenous, Spanish, and Africans. In both the rural and urban groups Spanish descent determined social but not necessarily economic status.   It was also demonstrated that a *cultural mestizaje* did not take place. Ancient cultural heritage was

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[18] González Ortega (op. cit.) P. 236
[19] ibid. p. 115

slowly assimilated, but maybe more among rural groups. Rather than integrating traditional indigenous religious beliefs, the early Costa Ricans were more likely to adhere to Spanish Catholicism, through which western values such as the sense of intimacy and individuality were assimilated. The new citizen stressed the importance of values such as strong bonds to an extended family, and the concern for honor. The latter, was strongly related to a group sense of honor, to predetermined social desirability and a sense of social status.

Despite the predominance of Catholicism, a differentiation between the incipient urban settlements across the country and the rural county appeared. An example was that religious practices in the rural context were less strengthened and controlled than in the cities.

Despite the acculturation toward European values motivated by Catholicism, it is important to note that Spanish Catholicism, in content as in practice, was strong supported by a group and collective-sense of achievement, rather than the protestant north European as the self and individual achievement. (Weber, 1934)

2.6. Cultural Background of Contemporary Costa Rica

This section introduces the socio-historical background that shapes contemporary Costa Rica. The main cultural values and consequences of social change are discussed.

Political and social factors influenced contemporary Costa Rican identity and culture. Politically, the liberal democracy of the late 19th century became a welfare democracy through revolutionary military outbreaks until 1948. During this period of transition important institutions involving education and health were consolidated, which promoted significant social mobility within the population.

Social factors according to some authors (Gudmunson, 1990) relate Costa Rica's democratic context and social characteristics to the wide distribution of coffee landholding mentioned in the previous section, and to the political-democratic reforms of 1940 and 1948.

A period of social and political instability occurred between 1940 and 1948 followed by ultimate stability. In 1943, major social reform was promoted by an alliance of the Conservative and Communist parties. This reform was the basis for social, educational, health, and labor guarantees. In 1948, there was an outbreak of civil war due to fraud in that year's presidential elections. The alliance between the Conservative and Communist parties was defeated, which led to social, political, and economic changes that determined Costa Rica's present situation. Some of these changes involved abolishment of the army and maintenance of the social reforms of 1943. The results of the changes supported the emergence of a middle class that was politically oriented toward an improved welfare state and marked the beginning of Costa Rica's modern era.

Some authors associated the middle-class boom with the expansion of both schooling and public welfare. Education became a cherished value, particularly a means for social mobility. (Biesanz, et al, 1987)

From 1948 to the present, Costa Rica has had a stable democracy supported by a presidential system. This political stability contrasted with the situation in neighboring Central American and Latin American countries. While basically every other country in the rest of Central America during the decade of the 1970´s struggled and fought against military dictatorships from guerrillas and leftist movements, conditions in Costa Rica led to steady development in the fields of education, social security, health, and social welfare. Costa Rica avoided military intrusion from the region by being neutral, and became a shelter for many refugees and immigrants, mainly from El Salvador and Nicaragua. Finally during this time, the efforts of former President Oscar Arias to pacify the region led to the Esquipulas Peace Agreement and the successive ending of war in the whole region.

There were other indications of modernization during this time as well. The Costa Rican State was re-oriented toward a model of economic liberalization, which accelerated important socio-economic changes. Some authors talk of a "regulative democracy" (Rodríguez Céspedes et al., 1998) with a very neo-liberal orientation. The country became more dependent on private capital investment that promotes industrialization and services and fosters the development of tourism in particular. Formerly an agricultural country long and strongly dependent on the exportation of coffee and bananas, Costa Rica now counts tourism as one of its main economic activities. This shift in focus has abolished many institutional practices relating to social mobility and the welfare state and has influenced social values and introduced globalization processes.

At the end of the 1990s the country's economic growth was due in particular to the increase of important computing and industrial investments. Also, a better exploitation of the high pluvial precipitation favored the development of new hydroelectric power plants that not only supply the present national needs, but also allow exportation as well.

At present the main economic activities are commerce and tourism, which together provide 40% of the GDP, industry, which accounts for 22% of the GDP, and agriculture, which produces 13% of the GDP (CEPAL, 2000). Despite a lack of systematic development and sustainability, the national road system now accesses practically all areas of the country, thus diminishing the isolation between rural and urban zones.

2.6.1. Values and Culture

In the following section Costa Rica's main cultural values are discussed and the consequences of social change in the values are analyzed

Values such as the sense of family, the social-oriented tendency, and the individualism among Costa Ricans are discussed. The interaction among these issues and the consequences of social change are analyzed.

The concept of the family is still an important social value. This fact reinforces the sense of "family ties" and the prevalence of extended families. The family sphere is experienced in a particular way and accompanied frequently by mistrust toward other social dimensions. Close kinship ties make it possible for family to control and significantly influence the individual. Family also plays an important role in mutual financial aid,

support for childrearing, and on many occasions as a unit of politics and business. (Biesanz et al, 1987)

An individual may invest more free time and deserve intimate friendship to kinsfolk than with others, so interaction is preferred with themselves than with outsiders. Values such as family honor, and the strength of extended family link these structures, and likewise support traditional gender roles. (Biesanz, op. cit.) Particularly the stressing of family honor still remains as trace of Spanish values. This does not mean that close friendships outside the family are not frequent, but toward outsiders the reaction could be wary and mistrustful.

Socially oriented life is another characteristic among Costa Ricans that shows a notorious particularity concerning social exchange and conflict avoidance. Lots of social rituals in the terms of greetings and leave-taking, kindness, and good manners take part of every day life. Some authors (Biesanz, op. cit) relate this social behavior to a way of favoring interactions but at the same time, as building barriers to an undesirable degree of intimacy. Social life implies a high investment not only in constructing harmony through social rituals, but also in invasion of intimacy. The rupture of this condition threatens a conflict of social harmony.

The strength of harmony could be seen as a matter associated to the sense of social desirability. Therefore bargaining, courtesy and dignity are values that support this social behavior and strengthen not embarrassing others in public. In social as well as in individual spheres, the solving of conflicts must tend to respect the considerations of good manners. This tendency is reflected in diverse studies. In a study by Kupersmidt and Trejos (as cited in Schneider, 2000), it was found that in peer relations among Costa Rican school children, peer rejection was often associated with withdrawal from group activity. The author relates this to the collectivist orientation among Costa Ricans (Schneider, 2000). In a later study about competition among seventh graders, involving Canadian, Cuban and Costa Rican samples; Schneider (2001) found that Costa Rican children perceived competition to be a factor that significantly endangers friendship.

This specific behavior diminishes the risk of confrontation and promotes a "peaceful" way, the so-called "Costa Rican way" of solving problems instead. Even though the avoidance of open conflict is an important tendency, critic and confrontation occur but also in a particular way.

The *choteo,* 'mockery' is the way of facing differences with someone else, where through jokes or even irony, somebody could be told the truth, without being embarrassed and openly criticized. At the same time, *choteo* works as a kind of social control over personal differences or possible conflicts without explicit violence. But the *choteo* works effectively when *el qué dirán,* 'what will others say about you', is present. González Ortega (1997) affirms that *el qué dirán* is a "worry" that makes people aware of their own behavior in such a way that they adapt to "appropriate accepted behavior". In other words these two every-day components of social life, strength the concern of social desirability and might exert a considerable level of social control.

A study about emotional expression (Stephan et. al, 1996) that compared Costa Rican and U.S. samples, found that among Costa Ricans the "friendly" attitude was

associated with the reluctance to express negative emotions. According to the authors, this confirmed findings from other studies in the sense that in Latin American cultures, *simpatía* 'congeniality' is more related to the external pressure of well-mannered behavior. It was also found that Costa Ricans felt more comfortable expressing emotions reflecting an interdependent concept of self. Particularly these findings deal with the concern of social desirability and harmony supported in the local *choteo* and *el que dirán* above discussed.

Despite the tendency of social orientation in Costa Ricans, values as freedom and individualism are very cherished (Biesanz , op. cit., Rodríguez Céspedes, 1998; Campos Ramírez, 1988). Naranjo (cited by Biesanz) affirms, "Individualism often takes the form of a selfish concentration of personal and familiar affairs and an unwillingness to work with others or to cooperate and sacrifice for the common good" (1987, p 70). This particular form of individualism seems to complement the family allocentrism above discussed, and appears to be articulated with stronger bonds within the nuclear family and low diversity of in-groups (Triandis, 1986). Higher levels of individualism among Costa Ricans are related to the lack of interest showed toward political participation, and a concentration on immediate primary values such as improvement in social status, work, and social mobility. This topic will be developed in the following subsection.

2.6.2. Social change

It is said that of the change in the social model of Costa Rica after the 1970's had implications for social beliefs and values among the population. But new problems emerged in the social sphere of Costa Ricans. In this subsection changes in values and social contexts are approached.

In the level cultural belief tendencies a series of studies emerged which show tendencies not previously seen: Campos (1988) refers to authoritarian tendencies among university students, Hidalgo & Flores (1990) demonstrate how homophobic values are related to the emerging fundamentalist religious groups, Pérez Sánchez (1992), in referring to Costa Rican bureaucrats, reports on indices of individualism that relate to a tendency to depoliticize and desolidarize social coexistence among this sector. M. Vega (1996) relates the changes between the 1980's and the 1990's to globalization processes such as life styles that emphasize the cult of the body and strong Western consumption patterns.

In a recent review of family beliefs and social change, Vega Robles (1998) points out that certain subsistence values such as the fostering of social mobility, are still present in Costa Rica today. The priorities are arranged to give more importance to immediate values. In a national survey, Gómez (cited by Vega Robles, 1996) found that "family" and "work" were the two most important value categories, whereas "politics" was considered to be of little or no importance. In general work was seen as a valuable means of self-improvement, and in particular respondents with a high educational level have seen work in terms of self-achievement.

In a study of political culture, Rodríguez Céspedes et al. (op. cit.), describe an arousal of intolerance toward Nicaraguan immigrants and homosexuals in particular [20]; and

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[20] Complementing homophobic values, Salas (1998) found homosexuality closely related to traditional patriarchal structures, *machismo* and domestic violence.

a lack of solidarity and trust in interpersonal relationships. The authors also discuss a lack of cultural participation, with an accompanying increase of opposite tendencies toward authoritarian solutions combined with individual isolation. Some time before Dobles & Ruiz (1996) found high mistrust and reticence toward people outside the family. Another recent social change, this one related to religion, is that the percentage of Catholicism decreased to about 82%. (Unimer, 1999)

Costa Rica, like many non-industrialized countries, has experienced an accelerated process of change in a relatively short period of time, mainly of an economic nature. This economic process has influenced social and cultural life, as well. Changing from an agrarian model to industrialization has had consequences, which have brought new issues to social organization. Some notorious problems that emerged in the last decade are: an increase of narcotraffics and a growth of crime, as well as the reappearance of old diseases and epidemics formerly eradicated in Costa Rica, such as dengue and cholera.

The Human Development Report from UNDP 'United Nations Development Program' (*Estado de la Nación*, 1999) states that rural areas are more socially vulnerable, not only because of the urban influence they receive but also because they have reached a paradoxical point between the traditional heritage of ancient farmers and economic modernization (Villalobos, C. 2001.)

The UNDP also reports that women, young people, and children are among the more fragile or vulnerable populations. An example is that one in five children between 5-11 years of age has to work. Many adolescents with few or low technical skills and who are forced to work are underpaid. In many households, domestic violence against women and children constitutes a prevailing problem.

This same report stresses the difficulty of an ambivalent relationship between economic modernization and traditional values. Traditional households frequently face changes, which particularly affect the care and socialization of small children. For example, this provokes more influence of the mass media, where it is reported that children and adolescents watch TV on an average of 6-7 hours a day, while they have a school schedule of less than 5 hours per day.

In conclusion, regarding main cultural values and the contemporary social changes in Costa Rica, some specific traits may be identified. The concepts of high allocentrism toward in-groups and family fit describing the case of the Costa Ricans (Triandis, 1986, 1989). The fact that matters of honor and emotional support strengthen family allocentrism, shows how these structures are still important, giving a particular sense of kinship and supporting interdependence (Miller & Harwood, 2000, Lay et al, 1998). Social desirability and harmony play a definite role in everyday life, has the best example of how external influence is exerted is found in the criticism and discredit expressed in jokes avoiding confrontation. *El choteo* and *el qué dirán* constitute effective means of conflict avoidance and of social control.

Individualism has a place in the form of withdrawal of social compromise. Individualism strengthens family and/or in-group bonds instead. The social changes resulted in an increase of mistrust toward social spheres outside the family with phenomenon like desolidarization and depolitization. Sign of this mistrust can be seen in the increase of levels in intolerance and consumption patterns.

Modern Costa Rican society has enjoyed stability during a considerable period of time within an unstable regional context. This social stability has also led to important social mobility favoring the diminishing of class differences particularly in the time period between the 1950's and the 1970's. Presently social changes related to economic changes are occurring. The geographical frontier between rural and urban areas has diminished and now accelerated modernization reaches all aspects of everyday life nationwide.

2.6.3. Guancaste at Present

Because of the importance that the region of Guanacaste has for this research, in this section the main socio-cultural characteristics are described and discussed.

The province of Guanacaste occupies twenty percent of the national territory --10, 140,71 sq. km -- and comprises most of the Nicoya Peninsula. The territory of Guanacaste is mainly tropical dry forest surrounded by rich marine landscapes with important fauna. Both the lowlands and the Guanacastecan Volcanic Range not only offer an interesting landscape, but also provide suitable conditions for agricultural activities and cattle rising. These constitute the province's most important economic activities. The agrarian structure is composed of large landholdings and other, smaller farms. Although rich in terms of natural resources, the region has the lowest income per capita of the entire country as well as a high unemployment rate. (Informe Estado de la Nación, 1999). Moreover, mechanization of agriculture and further changes in economic models has lead to the implementation of new activities, such as tourism and the sale of services. Almost the entire Guanacaste coastline is filled with zones available for tourism operation. Specifically, the tourism industry has gained importance as the first income source.

According to the last census (2001), Guanacaste now has a population of 264.238, with a growth of 3.2%. Other statistics indicate that 35.5% of Guanacastecan families live in poverty and 22.3% fall below poverty level.

Present day Nicoya is a *canton*[21] part of the province of Guanacaste. It has an extension of 1.333 sq. km, and a population of approximately 40,000, of which 51.73% are male and 48.27% female. The population density is of 27 inhabitants per sq. km. From the indigenous groups that originally lived in Nicoya, there is only one remaining community, Matambú, which represents 1% of the region's population.

Guanacaste has important social problems. Moreno (1997) refers to alcoholism -- especially among men-- and a gradual reduction in the number of extended families. Both problems are associated with an absence of the paternal role within the family, as with paternal family heads that desert the household and migrate to the cities. As a result, the

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[21] Political status of a group of districts.

affective ties between mothers and their siblings become more intense, while the masculine figure tends to lose importance as a role model.

Ironically, besides the internal migration of Guanacastecans to the urban zones, according to the last Census (INEC, 2001) Guanacaste is the main destination of migration mostly coming from San José.

As mentioned above, present-day Guanacastecans are the product of mestizaje among Indians, Spaniards and Africans. Mata (1995, cited in Díaz, 1997, p. 13) describes the Guanacastecan as "dark-skinned, snub-nosed, of Spanish descent, naive, talkative, funny, good-humored, a lover, a singer, a horse and bull breaker, and a dancer". Guanacastecans are considered to be hospitable, spontaneous, and extroverted.

Guanacaste's major autochthonous cultural traditions are rich and unique within Costa Rica. Diaz (1997) refers to them as musical instruments, songs, tales, dances, legends, proverbs, religious feasts, and typical cuisine. Musical instruments, such as the marimba, a xylophone of African origin, which coexists with indigenous instruments and the guitar of Spanish origin. Autochthonous songs are an important component of many social, religious and civil activities of daily Guanacastecan life. An interesting example is the well-known song about *vino de coyol,* a very popular drink consumed at every feast in Guanacaste and extracted from the fermented resin of a palm.

The Guanacastecan dances have a rich heritage, and recreate old Indian and Spanish tales to the accompaniment of musical elements of African origin. Legends and proverbs are also important and religious feasts are common. They show an interesting syncretism of Catholic colonial heritage and indigenous traditions. The cuisine is varied, unique and flavorful. Of all the traditions, music is the most prominent and distinctive. A major expression of the Guanacastecan sense of humor is the *bomba.*[22] A typical element in Guanacaste, and one rooted in its agrarian tradition, is the local *sabanero*, or cowboy, who performs skills and tasks such as the *monta de toros* ´bull-breaking´, *corridas*[23], and horse races, all of which are usually present at local events.

The Guanacastecans show certain specific and particular traits that are related to the rural context in general but that contain cultural specificities. A stronger presence of traditional autochthonous values concerning family structures and patterns would be expected. And even though, like all rural zones in Costa Rica Guanacaste does not escape the acculturation process that affects the country, still presents characteristics that differentiate it from the rest of the country and the urban centers.

The precedent characterization shows how this specific rural context reflects a variety of elements proper of an interdependent cultural orientation. Facts such as family-bond orientation, indigenous cultural heritage plus extended family patterns generally identified among interdependent cultures, are also among Guanacastecans identified.

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[22] A humorous 4-line verse form.
[23] The local version of a bullfight where anyone who wants to can enter the bull ring

<u>2.6.4. San José and the Greater Metropolitan Area</u>

The province of San José, with an extension of 4,959,63 sq. km, serves as seat for the capital city and the government, and comprises the major part of the so-called Greater Metropolitan Area. As the majority of Latin American cities, most people live and work in the cities, but also most poor people now live in urban areas (Griffin, 1999). Thirty-five percent of the country's total population --1,345,750 inhabitants-- live in San José, which now has a population growth rate of 2,6%.

Although the province is highly industrially developed, its temperate climate permits agricultural production of coffee, sugar cane, beans, corn, ornamental plants, and vegetables. These still are major economic activities.

Spaniards first settled the Central Valley in 1561 and the first town, known as San José, was founded in 1737. Due to the strong individualistic agrarian society of the colonial period, people in the surrounding areas were forced to migrate and populate San José. Even though until the late XIX century remained as a little village. In 1823 the capital city was moved from Cartago to San José.

Despite the political importance, it was not before the second half of the XIX century that an infrastructure proper of a city was created. Theatres, hotels, churches, buildings, public services of transport, street lighting, aqueduct and piping systems shaped another image to the city. As mentioned in the historical background, the flourishing of the early urban population in Costa Rica took place in San José.

San José reflects many contradictions in terms of economical development, social organization and urban distribution. Biesanz et al (1987) describe that here the range of classes is wider, where the most middle-class jobs are concentrated, but where also exists a higher social mobility in the population. To the present time is the city with a wider offer of cultural, educational and public services offer in the country.

San José represents the main urban concentration of the country. Many facts such as high concentration of academic, politic, economic and cultural centers foster a higher influence and receptivity of western values, therefore their assimilation. At the same time socio-demographic indices, such as significant increase in divorce rates, the accelerate insertion of women in labor force and important changes in family composition are present. This panorama suggests how traditional values are less predominant and therefore, evidences of individualistic related cultural values and a higher independent cultural orientation may be expected.

<u>2.6.5. Summary</u>

The chapter sought to describe the constitution and development of main cultural traits of Costa Ricans and its interdependent orientation. An historical overview demonstrated that contrarily as some theories, *mestizaje* in both ethnical and cultural terms is the present issue that may explain the present way of being of the Costa Rican. Even

though much of the ancestral heritage of the indigenes was not directly assimilated, the process of multiple *mestizaje* allowed many elements from music, traditions, and social behavior to be integrated. The mixture of Indigenous, Spanish and African roots yielded in the cultural level patterns of social orientation that fit in the description of collectivism and interdependence. Despite the three main cultures hold a sense of kinship, tight family bonds and social relatedness, the new *mestizo* society maintained this values. Also cultural specific traces, like the Spanish group-sense of honor, many African and Indigenous folk musical traditions were gradually integrated.

A strong agrarian tradition since pre-Columbian times has maintained across the time, and with it, family structures related.

Spanish Catholicism consolidated a religious dominion shaping concepts of family, and intimacy influenced sexuality and supported patriarchal structures of family. However, since colonial times urban and rural spheres showed differentiation in terms of influence of western European values. Since social status obeyed to European ascendant, the assimilation of western values worried more than among rural areas, remaining in the last more opening and less resistance to autochthonous outcomes. The case of mating behaviors and sexuality was an example.

Contemporary Costa Ricans stress much value on social competence, worrying for harmonic social relations. Confrontation is avoided and indirect forms of affronting conflict are promoted instead. Individualistic tendencies in Costa Ricans are linked to a self-sphere not necessarily opposed to family, but related with political apathy.

Modernization and progress have been motors for social and cultural change, affecting in different intensity rural and urban sectors, where the first tend to preserve longer autochthonous life styles. Starting since pre-Columbian times, and despite the intense European influence, Costa Ricans have shaped a particular and proper way of life, with specific cultural values that require to be understood in their specificity. Even though sharing the same cultural frame, urban sectors are more permeable to acculturation than rural. The cases of San José and Guanacaste are an example of it.

2.7. Research on socialization goals and parent-child interaction in Costa Rica: an overview

This chapter reports studies related to research involving socialization goals and parent-child interaction in Costa Rica. The chapter will provide a characterization of both, ethnotheories related to an interdependent social orientation and behaviors of Costa Ricans.

To date there are two major areas of research in developmental psychology. This obeys to different theoretical approaches and its subsequently methodological assessment. The first area, mainly developed by local researchers, relates more to ethnotheories about child development and parental beliefs. The second area consists of behavioral research assessing child behavior and/or mother-child interaction tasks specifically.

The research overview mainly follows chronological lines beginning with the local studies, followed by the external studies.

2.7.1. Local studies

The first local study comprised a sociological approach. Araujo Ribeiro (1976) assessing parental expectancies reported SES (socioeconomic status) differences with respect to parental expectations toward children. The author related the prevalent expectancies to the parents' class belonging, and summarizing that high-socioeconomic class parents expected values that strengthen the leading and dominant orientation proper of this group. Middle-class parents' values were related with the necessity of social-rise, and success. Finally, lower-class parents' expectations were related with work-oriented values.

If these expectations are viewed from the independent and interdependent issue point of view, could be appreciated that values more related with independent social orientation like "success", "personal realization" and "independence" appear more frequently in the middles SES. While the expectations of the low SES group fit more in the kind of interdependent social orientation, like "obedience", "respect", and "discipline". The values are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Comparison of Expected Values in Children in three SES Groups

High SES	Middle SES	Low SES
Responsibility	Occupational success	Obedience
Honour	Personal realization	Respect
Loyalty	Individual independence	Discipline
Self-steem	Honesty	Honesty
	Generosity	

Note: from Araujo Ribeiro (1976)

The first psychological study (Chang & Castro, 1979) assessed ideal children's characteristics, involving 39 urban women over 18 years of age, each with a single child and with a stable partnership. The following descriptors are listed in the order of the assumed importance: obedient, respectful, responsible, well-mannered towards parents, tender, concerned about rewarding parents and making them happy, concerned of its parents' economical situation, careful of everything.

The mothers were also asked to describe a *good child* and a *bad child*[24]. The rank ordered first five answers are presented in the following table. As could be seen, either, both positive and negative descriptors are highly related to the concept of *respeto*, respect, particularly toward parents. An obliging and well-mannered child is seen in terms of parental and family concern. The contrary describes someone who transgresses social norms.

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[24] The criterion for this characteristic was behavior. A good child was well behaved; a bad child was not.

Table 2. Comparison of Good and Bad Child

Good child	Bad Child
1. Obedient	1. Disobedient
2. Educated – well mannered	2. Ill-mannered
3. Tender	3. Naughty
4. Able to do favors	4. "Mafioso" [25]
5. Calm and quiet	5. Given to fighting

Note: From Castro & Chang (1979)

Gender differences were reported in the study. For girls more passive attributes were mentioned like girls are more "capable and easy to educate, and more calmed", whereas active attributes were chosen for boys, for example, "boys are more aggressive, obstinate, more difficult to control". These findings were later confirmed particularly with rural participants. Flores Astorga and colleagues (1983) assessing 120 urban-rural pregnant women found that gender expectance was clearly related to traditional attributes, like that boys were expected to help the father with his work whereas girls were expected to attend the mother and help in the household.

The first antecedent of a parental behavior study (Madriz & Zúñiga, 1985) was made among rural mothers and combined observation and clinical research.   The participants were observed in interaction with their child during 10 minutes. This study is the first report using observational techniques and applying behavioral categories. Observation techniques were combined with some clinical tests such as that of Rorschach, that of Phillipson Relational Test, and Fromm's Interpretative Questionnaire. Each interaction was evaluated according to a scale developed by the researchers. They found that 61% of the mothers with children younger than 9 months of age established adequate relationships with their siblings (caressing, eye contact, warmth interaction). This contrasted with the findings dealing with older children. According to these authors, only 35% of the mothers with children over 9 months of age established positive relationships. The researchers concluded in the case of the children over 9 mos., that the older the child, greater the decrease in intensity of body contact and proximity.   Mothers of first-born children, showed more affective behavior than mothers with more than one child. Results in personality tests yielded more traits of dependence and submission participants among the rural sample.

After the study of Madriz & Zúñiga were developed another three studies using observational techniques, but only references and abstracts were found[26].

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[25] That belongs to Mafia, but not in the literal sense. Very common term used to resemble naughty and disobedient children.

[26] The first of these studies is about parental and teacher beliefs and child development among Costa Ricans in the early childhood school context (González Vargas, 1984). The second, an observational comparison of Costa Rican and United States samples, explores the role of caregivers' strategies and their relation to infants´ social experience of the world (Stansbery, 1998). Chavarría (1991) conducted a later observational study involving pre-school children and interaction with their environment in nurseries and pre-school institutions.

The largest report dealing with child-rearing patterns was conducted in the mid 1980s (Alvarez, Brenes, and Cabezas, 1990). This study compared different SES groups and assessed a considerable number of categories. The most relevant results are introduced here.

With respect to family composition it was found that the higher the educational level of the head of the family, the less number of children a family has. Extended families of from 8 to 10 members correlated with agricultural activity.

Joint families and relatives, play an important support role in child rearing: Mothers reported support from their families of origin. Although public community institutions, such as pre-schools, nurseries, and recreation centres are available, relatives still form an important support network both economically and socially. Generally the main relationship is between the mother and her own family of origin. This kind of cooperation exists also in childcare, as confirmed by Loewer (1990).

Regarding values fostered by parents, there was a tendency to divide roles among parents: mothers tended to be in charge of child rearing and fathers tended to be responsible for exerting authority and fostering family values. The study indicated that the fathers did not perceive their role in their tasks as parents, but rather as providers of material goods.

In the assessment of socialization goals, the study reported that basically, values were related to social desirability and good interpersonal relations, such as good feelings toward others, good manners, and orderly habits[27].

The characteristics of honesty, obedience, responsibility, humility, courage, tranquility, loyalty, respect, industriousness, usefulness, lack of bad habits, being a good friend, and good-temperedness were mentioned.[28] A child's acquisition of these characteristics was much appreciated by parents. Specifically, mothers tended to appreciate values related to economic success, to doing outstanding work, and to helping others. The authors interpreted this values related to social mobility.

With respect to emotional development, mothers reported a very low tolerance toward negative affective expressions of their children, such as hate and anger. The mothers also interpreted items like „disorder" or „excessive demands for affection" from the child, as negative items.

Concerning discipline, physical punishment was reported as being the most frequently used disciplinary method and the administrator was usually the father. More dialogue or reinforcement was used at the higher educational levels than at the lower levels. SES differences were also found in strategies for solving conflicts: high SES mothers were more interested in fostering solutions related to social desirability, while lower SES mothers tended to stimulate the avoidance of conflicts. The main parental reaction toward conflict among children was to remove the child from the situation and isolate him. Mothers tended to scold or punish instead of trying to understand the situation. The authors

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[27]In Spanish: "buenos sentimientos, buenos modales, hábitos de orden" .

[28] In Spanish: "honradez, obediencia, responsabilidad, humildad, valentía, tranquilidad, lealtad, respeto, laboriosidad, ser útil, sin vicios, buen compañero, de buen carácter."

conclude that any of these styles do not stimulate an adequate facing of conflict, because both promote avoidance.

Another SES difference was that mothers from lower SES reported that they did not read stories or books to their children and that fathers preferred to play games involving physical activity instead of educational games.

Chanto & Vargas (1997) conducted a qualitative study about mother-child interaction. It focused on the role of body communication in the affective bond between mother and child.   The authors established that the quality of the bond was related to the personal history of each mother.

The Education Ministry of Costa Rica conducted the most extensive studies about socialization goals and child-rearing strategies.   The first study (*Departamento de Educación Preescolar*, 1990) consisted of an extensive two-part survey in different geographic zones of Costa Rica including both urban and rural groups, and was both explorative and descriptive.

This study was developed into two parts; the first one assessed child-rearing patterns used by parents, teachers, and caregivers of 2156 pre-school children. In the second part, 60 families from the original sample were chosen and the topics about child rearing, parental expectancies*,* socialization, family context, health, and nutrition were assessed through questionnaires.

The following table shows the characteristics that assessed parents expected of their children:

Table 3. Child-Expected Characteristics

Educated	12%
Honest	11%
Responsible	10.5%
Kind	10%
Affectionate	7.5%
Obliging [29]	6%
Respectful	5.5%
Humble	5.5%
Industrious	5%
Good habits	5%

Note: From Departamento de Educación Preescolar (1990)

The study revealed a clear picture of preference to a well-behaved child, able to fit into the social setting, more than oriented in personal and self-achievement. A different way to examine these expectations is to look at the reasons reported for punishment. In this case, more than 25% reported that they have to punish their children, and among the main reasons the following were given: disobedience (52.5%), fighting among siblings (16.5%), rebel and naughty (14.5%), disrespect and talking[30] (4%). Discipline is associated with respect to parental authority and not as self-control.

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[29] Spanish: „servicial"
[30] Spanish: „contestar de mal modo"

Another important finding related to the social conditions of child rearing contexts was that in rural zones the prevalence of single mothers was higher than urban zones. At the time of the study the paternal absentee rate in San José was high (23%). This correlates with the latest statistics that show 27% of the total households in Costa Rica were under the exclusive responsibility of women. (*Estado de la Nación*, 1999).

In terms of family composition, the highest number of family members in nuclear families (more than 5 members per nuclear family) was found in the indigenous areas of the province of Limón, the area of Turrialba, and the rural and coastal zones of Guanacaste. It was also documented that in the regions of Limón, Guanacaste, South Pacific and Puntarenas the marriage rates tended to be lower than in urban zones.

The most important values that parents expected to transmit to their children were "religion, respect, education, sincerity, honesty, work, and study", in that order of importance.

This value scale was confirmed when the parents were asked about the values that their own parents transmitted to them. The most important values that sixty-eight percent of parents reported were "respect, religion, and education." Also when asked about community values, "religious activities-celebrations" was the most frequent.

Concerning the parents' belief of child's basic necessities it was reported that "love" (30%) as the most important, followed by "comprehension and communication" (16%) and finally "education" (14%). Concerning the last, the researchers noticed that among parents the notion of "education" was not homogeneous; it could refer to formal education and/or to the acquisition of good manners, discipline, and other items of family concern.

Parents were asked about how many hours a day they played with their children. Despite mothers reported a very high amount per day; children reported that fathers played more time than mothers did. It was concluded that the time the mother spent with the child, even though each one had his own individual occupations, was assumed as playing. In other words, mothers considered these co-occurring episodes to be "play".

Another interesting aspect of the second part of the study is the parental expectation of what effect education would have. When asked about their reasons for sending their children to pre-school, parents responded mainly as follows: "it is a way to relate with others" (31%), "is basic for future development" (21%), "that way the child learns" (21%), "the child learns to develop" (8.5%), "the child learns to develop intelligence" (2.5%). It is interesting how these parents place before the child's development potential to his social relations, than its self-achievement.

In conclusion, this study has demonstrated that it is important for parents to stress the relevance of social dimensions to child development. The interest of parents in fostering "social competencies" in their toddlers, gives way to interdependent oriented values.

In the second study of the Education Ministry (*Departamento de Educación Pre-escolar*, 1994) the sample was smaller than in the first study. Parents and caregivers of 360 children were assessed. The sample was recruited from three geographical areas: the Greater Metropolitan Area, the Central Valley, and the rest of the country grouped in urban and rural zones. The children were divided in four age groups by years: 0-1,1-2,2-3, 3-4. A revised version of the survey applied in the first study of 1990 was used. The findings complemented the picture observed in family patterns in the first study, it was found also that rural zones tend to have not only largest nuclear families, but also more joint family groups than the urban area.

Concerning parental beliefs, the study concluded that within non-urban families there was already a tendency to incorporate what the authors called "nontraditional values" which correspond more to urban contexts. Values such as love, communication, respect, and responsibility were frequently mentioned. Religion still stands as an important referent for these nontraditional values.

For most parents of both zones, urban and rural, a child was expected to acquire control of his temper between the 2nd and 4th year of age. Children were also expected to become somewhat independent and to begin assuming some responsibilities at that same time. This was interpreted as the tendency among Costa Rican families to encourage more control over their children, thereby fostering more dependence and less autonomy.

Regarding disciplinary aspects, parents tended to report that they speak and spoil more than they punish, without a significant difference between the rural and urban sectors, but it was interesting that the number of parents in the rural zone who did not respond was very high (over 40%). Disciplinary measures among urban parents more than in the case of rural parents, involve the use of reinforcements and prizes more frequently than punishment. The researchers associated this with traditional punishment and non-traditional reinforcements methods with cultural differences between urban and rural.

The future characteristics that parents expected of their children were found to be:

Table 4. Comparison of Desired Characteristics Between Urban and Rural Parents

Urban	Rural
Responsible	To be a good person
Kind and obliging	Kind
Honest	Honest
Well-intentioned [31]	Respectful
Educated/well mannered	Responsible

Note: From Departamento de Educación Preescolar (1994)

The authors concluded that differences between groups are related to the change from "traditional" to "new values". Also the parental expectancy that toddlers become "professionals" in the future came out high in both samples.

In a contemporary study about early parenting patterns of 40 Costa Rican middle and low SES urban parents (Miranda & Rosabal, 1997), the indicated desirable characteristics expected of children were the following order of importance (Table 5):

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[31] *buenos sentimientos*

Table 5. Child Characteristic Expectations of Urban Costa Rican Parents

Desirable Characteristics in a Child	Undesirable characteristics in a Child
Educated (as well mannered, respectful) and intelligent	Disobedient
Obedient	Bad habits, bad person (related to criminal behavior, drugs, etc.)
Calm, patient	Bad humor and lack of self control
Sociabilty	

Note: From Miranda & Rosabal (1997)

Once again the importance of socially oriented values and social desirability for both categories, desirable and undesirable characteristics are reiterated. Despite obedience appear to be very important to both groups; education is primed in the desirable characteristics.

Another interesting SES difference among mothers is their reported reasons for maternal satisfaction   Low SES mothers gave experience as the primary reason for maternal satisfaction, whereas Middle SES mothers attached more importance to the child's development, health and growth.

The authors also concluded that SES tends to influence parental expectations, with the upper class groups tending to assimilate traditional Western values. However in both groups "social desirability" still plays an important role when parental expectancy is defined.

In a national survey conducted by Gómez (1997), parental beliefs were also assessed. Although the focus of the Gómez study was different, the data are consistent with the studies described above (Departamento de Educación Preescolar, 1990, 1994). In Gómez, the most important values were religious faith, which occurred in 71% of the parents examined, obedience, which occurred in 64%, and saving money, which occurred 23% of the time.

The following table reported in Rosabal (2000), shows a summary of the parental beliefs across four studies.

Table 6. Parental Beliefs in Costa Rica Across Four Studies

Order of importance	1976			1979	1990	1994		1997
	High SES	Middle SES	Low SES			Urban	Rural	
1.	Responsibility	Occupational success	Obedience	Obedient	Educated	Responsible	Good person	Educated, respectful and intelligent
2.	Honor	Personal realization	Respect	Respectful	Honest	Kind and obliging	Kind	Obedient
3.	Loyalty	Individual independence	Discipline	Well mannered with parents	Responsible	Honest	Honest	Calm and patient
4.	Self-esteem	Honesty	Honesty	Tender	Kind	Good intentions	Respectful	Sociable
5.		Generosity						

Even though the four studies do not obey to a same theoretical frame and originate in different disciplines, they offer a vision across a period of twenty years, about parental beliefs in Costa Rica. Unfortunately the data did not assess systematically SES and zone differences and therefore only general tendencies can be summarized. This view shows that passive attributes and values related to social desirability are more frequently mentioned among the parents than active attributes. In other words, parental expectations are not focused in a sense of individual self-competence; instead they are focused on concerns about social competence. The competence of the child in the social setting is valued as a goal in child development, therefore the capacity to engage with others, as the capacity to achieve good social skills is highly valued.

The term 'educated' becomes vague because good schooling and well manners are overlapping in the understanding of education. In the first case the term is related with self-improvement concerning social rise, and in the second case is related with social competences. It could be confirmed that variability exists among the use of the concept, due to class or zone, but remain a positive expectation for skills allowing social success. Reminding the middle-class boom mentioned in the chapter before, it could be better understood why education appears as a cherished parental expectation.

These description of parental beliefs of Costa Rican parents coincide with the appreciations of Harwood et al (1992, 1995, 1996, 2000), Field & Widmeyer (1981), which stress the high concerns among Latin Americans of 'proper demeanor' and 'decency' over 'self-maximization' or 'self-achievement'. In terms of parenting goals, as described in a precedent chapter (Hastings & Grusec, 1998), Costa Rican parents seem to expect child-centered goals. The question emerges about which are the strategies and behaviors promoted to reach these expectations.

The preceding summary appears to be consistent with the notion of interdependence already discussed (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, Kağitçibaşi, 1996). At least with respect to the level of parental beliefs and values, Costa Rican parents are highly oriented toward interrelatedness and interdependence. However, the difference between urban and rural groups concerning the socialization goals deserves also an important consideration in terms of variability within the same context.

2.7.2. Cross-cultural and external studies

The following subsection presents and discusses a group of studies that compare Costa Rican data to similarly assessed data in other cultures, especially in Germany.

Keller, et. al (1984) conducted a cross-cultural study between 63 German and 101 Costa Rican pregnant women, regarding their expectancies and child rearing beliefs. The researchers found that Costa Rican mothers tend to prolong bodily dependence of children from mothers, whereas German mothers expected earlier cognitive competencies of their children and wanted to stimulate these behaviors earlier. Another study (Keller, Miranda, Gauda & Degenhardt, 1986) explored beliefs about the prediction of the gender among pregnant women in Germany and Costa Rica, but no cultural specificities were found.

In an observational cross-cultural study with Costa Rican and German parents, Loewer (1990) found that Costa Rican fathers from lower SES were more involved in feeding the baby than Costa Rican fathers from higher SES. In Costa Rican mother-child interactions, babies had to share their attention with other persons who were usually present. This situation contrasted with that of German mother-child interactions. German mothers had a more dyadic and exclusive interaction with their babies.

In another study using samples from different SES Leyendecker, Lamb, Schölmerich, & Miranda (1997), showed that mothers spent most of their time in social interaction rather than in play interaction using objects**.** SES explained only differences in functional and social contexts. It revealed differences in parenting goals in, for example, the interest in stimulation using toys. Comparison between rural and urban samples, or between high SES and low SES was suggested for further research.

In a cross-cultural observational study Kulks (1999) assessed parenting behaviors within the mother-child interaction. It was found that by holding a baby face-to-face, German mothers stimulated eye contact initiative between the child and herself. The Costa Rican babies were held by their mothers in more outward positions**,** in which not only mother-child eye contact could be stimulated, but also a wide angle view of other persons and the environment was possible as well. This particular characteristic was also related to another kind of "affective sharing". During these episodes the mothers did not circumscribe themselves to an exclusive dyadic behavior with smile sharing; they also exhibited smile sharing without eye contact. This fact reminds the concept of emotional closeness and social competence discussed in the precedent section.

Other interesting findings from the study indicated that Costa Rican mothers showed a higher contingency toward crying babies than German mothers. During "baby talk", Costa Rican mothers made more acute and higher voice tones, displayed both more kinesthetic stimulation and soothing than German mothers. These two behaviors were associated with warmth. It was concluded that body contact appeared to be related with warmth more strongly among Costa Ricans. Maternal reactions toward "baby talk" remind the findings of Field & Widmeyer (1981) about high involvement and over stimulation.

Other studies (DeRosier & Kupersmidt, 1991) that examine Costa Rican and U.S. children's perceptions of their relationships with social network members, reported that Costa Rican children consistently perceived their social relationships more positively than did U.S. children relating this view to a more "pro-social and congenial social attitude" (p.) proper of collectivist cultures.

Assessing adolescents Alarcón & Rosabal (1993) described differences between SES concerning emotional expression. It was shown a pattern on which high SES teenagers displayed less and controlled more emotions than lower SES participants. The later showed more affective and expressive relationships, centered on the peer-group, whereas the first placed more importance in their relationship with authority figures such as parents instead of peers. Related to this topic, in a recent research about German and Costa Rican adolescents, Pérez (2001) concluded that Costa Rican teenagers showed tendencies toward stronger emotional and social dependency on their families, whereas German adolescents related more to their peers and friends than to their own families.

2.7.3. Summary

   In the following, the results reported so far are summarized and discussed with respect to the main traits of parental behaviors and beliefs among Costa Ricans. Table 7 comprises a characterization of parental ethnotheories and child rearing concerns. Table 8 comprises the behavioral traits observed among parent-child interactions with Costa Rican samples.

Table 7. Characterization of Ethnotheories and Child Rearing Concerns Among Costa Ricans

Family	➢ Great concern for family integrity (Biesanz, 1987;Triandis et al., 1986) ➢ Importance of bonding within nuclear and joint family (ibid idem.) ➢ Family networks for social and economic support, for example childcare. Such support is expected and demanded specially from the mother's family of origin. (Alvarez, et al, 1990; Loewer, 1990) ➢ Family size decreases according to educational level; larger nuclear families and extended families are mainly associated with agricultural and rural settings. (Alvarez, et al, 1990; Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar, 1990, 1994). ➢ A significant percentage of households (27%) are lead by women (Vega Robles, 1994; Estado de la Nación, 1999) ➢ School age children show more emotional and social dependency toward family than toward peers. (De Rosier & Kupersmidt, 1991) ➢ Adolescents show more emotional and social dependency toward family than toward peers (Pérez, 2001).
Parental roles	➢ Fathers as material supplier and the figure that exerts authority and punishment. (Alvarez, et al, 1990) ➢ Mothers are expected to be responsible for child rearing (Ibiden) ➢ Maternal expectations differs according to SES: middle SES stress more importance towards child's development, health and growth; lower SES mothers stress more importance on experiencing mother-child interactions. (Miranda & Rosabal, 1997)
Gender differences	➢ Parental expectations coincide with traditional gender roles (Castro & Chang, 1974; Flores Astorga et al, 1983; Madriz & Zúñiga, 1985)
Conflict solution among children	➢ High SES parents foster solutions related with social desirability, whereas low SES parents tend to stimulate avoidance of conflicts. The child is not confronted, may be isolated or even scolded. (Alvarez et al, 1990)
Discipline	➢ Physical punishment is a commonly used method for discipline, but educational level (Alvarez, et al, 1990), and geographical area (Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar, 1994) may correlate with other strategies such as dialogue or reinforcement of behavior. ➢ "Disobedience" is a major fault which deserves punishment (Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar, 1990) Being "good mannered" (Educado) and "obedient" are very important values expected of children (Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar, 1990; Miranda & Rosabal, 1997) ➢ A child between 2 and 4 years of age is expected to assume responsibilities. ➢ "Well mannered, respectful, obedient, kind and obliging, honest, calm and

Socialization Goals	sociable are the main and most frequent descriptors reported in studies since 1979. All of them are social oriented values related to social desirability. This was valid not only for positive descriptors, but also for negative ones. (Rosabal, 2000).
	➢ However, in the studies from Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar (1994) and Leyendecker et al. (1997) there were some slight differences more related to western values between geographical area. (Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar, 1994) and or SES (Leyendecker, 1997)
	➢ Even though the term "Educado" appears in all the studies, is used indistinctly for both good education in the sense of instruction and for good manners. It is important to underline the belief that "education" is a means of upward social mobility. (Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar, 1994; Leyendecker et al., 1997)
	➢ SES explained only differences in socialization goals, for example the parental interests on stimulation and use of toys. (Leyendecker et al, 1997)

From Table 7 it could be summarized that Costa Ricans give special emphasis to the family and relationships within it. Both nuclear and extended families play a very important role in providing material and subsistence conditions for the development of the toddlers and their family. A special role is given to maternal grandmothers. Family size appears to be related to SES and educational level, as well as to urban and rural zones. Urban nuclear families follow more "modern" patterns. The family plays a more crucial role than do peers or "out-groups".   Within this family constellation, there are still traces of traditional values that support traditional family roles, such as those of gender and child rearing. These traces may diminish according to educational level.   The fostering of a child's self-achievement and independence from parents is found more among urban groups and associated with higher educational levels.

When social conflicts appear between children and social groups, a child's self-achievement is not valued as highly as social harmony. Smile and positive emotions are preferably elicited. Confrontation may be seen as a threat of relationships.

Despite rural and urban differences in terms of socialization goals, generally the "educated and well mannered " child is valued. A series of complementary virtues allow him to develop these primary qualities. The family and other social actors are important points of reference in this process.

Table 8. Behavioral Traits Observed Among Parent-Child Interaction Costa Rican Samples

Body Contact	➢ Intensity and proximity in body contact decreases, as child over nine months of age becomes older. (Madriz & Zúñiga, 1985) ➢ Costa Rican mothers compared with Germans, showed a high expectancy of prolonged physical dependence between them and their siblings. (Keller et al., 1984) ➢ Comparing to German, Costa Rican mothers tend to carry babies in more outward positions ("facing-out"), instead of face-to-face eye contact positions. (Kulks, 1999)
Interaction	➢ During mother-child interaction episodes, mothers tended to co-share simultaneously with other persons present, including themselves in the dyadic interaction. (Loewer, 1990) ➢ Also during "affective sharing" episodes mothers did not limit themselves to an exclusive dyadic behavior, and "smile sharing" was exhibited also without "eye contact" (Kulks, 1999) ➢ Co-occurring episodes of time and space sharing during household work is often interpreted by mothers as play. Fathers may be more involved in effective play with children (Departameto de Educación Pre-escolar, 1990), physical activity instead of educative play (Alvarez, et al, 1990) ➢ Mothers may spend more time in personal interaction with babies rather than using objects to interact with the children. (Leyendecker et al, 1997) ➢ Fathers from lower SES were more involved in feeding episodes than higher SES fathers. (Loewer, 1990) ➢ SES explained differences in functional and social contexts (Leyendecker, 1997)
Contingency	➢ Costa Rican mothers exhibited a significant higher contingency toward crying babies, than German mothers.
Warmth	➢ Both voice intonations and intense body contact in form of soothing and motor stimulation, and are related with warmth. (Kulks, 1999)

Physical warmth and affection play a special role in positive mother-child interactions and strengthen the intimacy between the participants. When this intimacy is extended to others present during the mother-child interaction, the sense of exclusivity diminishes. This permits individuals to participate in the interactions, who would be excluded from them in other cultures.

The discussion of the empirical studies conducted in Costa Rica concerning socialization goals, parental beliefs and interactional behaviors reveals an impressive conformation of many assumptions that have been formulated earlier on the basis of the discussion of independent and interdependent developmental pathways. The role that the body contact dimension plays in the quality of mother-child bond is significant, also expressed in the form of intense tactile and motor stimulation. Body contact, together with

voice intonations and smiling forms a dimension of warmth that possibly enables to elicit a positive attitude towards the social environment.

Also intense parental involvement may constitute a specific atmosphere that may increase the sense of relationship between caregivers and child. Intensity but also the quantity of caregivers, in the case of extended-family networks, enables the child from early stages of development to interact simultaneously and adequately social-competent.

The theoretical background of this study had reviewed meta-theoretical issues concerning the study of culture and psychological development. Particularly the issue of cross-cultural psychology in its success and shortcomings was focus of discussion. Considering ethnocentric and western-focused paradigms, was criticized the disadvantage for other cultural contexts to be understood in their own specificity. Concretely western-shaped issues like the concept of individual, the construct of development (chronological sense), and the lack of cultural specific sensitive models restrict and distort the apprehension of other cultural contexts due to the dualistic opposition of the Individualism-Collectivism construct.

Main issues within Latin American culture were discussed. Values like r*espeto, honor, simpatía,* and *familia* are considered basic to understanding culture and childrearing. Family allocentrism and in-group allocentrism are determinant concerns that shape the interdependent social orientation of Latin Americans. The social-competence is a specially elicited parental goal among this context. It contrasts with other cultures that stress a higher value in self-achievement instead.

Taking on account its limitations the I-C issue was discussed, considering the particularities of the Latin American cultural contexts, is proposed an adaptation to the independence interdependence developmental pathways. To this respect is assumed that a level of cultural variability in both, across and within a culture occurs. Therefore might be expected to find this variability shaped differently within a same culture, concretely was demonstrated in the Cost Rican context.

Looking for an alternative model that allows a cultural sensitive approach the concept of development is an interface between culture and biology (Keller, 2000) is assumed. The complement with the notion of "developmental niche" (Harkness & Super, 1995) allows integrating theoretical and methodological concerns, so that the dimensions of parental ethnotheories and their influence in the interaction became center of study and culture specificity is considered.

The Component Model of Parenting offers an approach that lets combining behavior observation and parental beliefs, which later are to be interpreted within a specific cultural context. An adaptation of the model considering the particularities of preschool children was proposed and the behaviors considered proper of the Costa Rican context were described.

A final consideration about parenting and socialization goals leads to the concern how concrete beliefs may coincide with determinate behaviors or interactive styles. The

context of conflict solving is presented as relevant particularly in the interdependent oriented contexts of Costa Rica.

The historical backgrounds presented how, in the particular case of Costa Rica, autochthonous contexts have been influenced through different periods of time. Western acculturation favored an unequal assimilation of cultural values and traditions. The resulting *mestizo* culture offers a more intense mixture in the ethnical than in the cultural level. Even though the Spanish heritage enjoys a predominant role, the new *mestizo* culture yield a highly sense of family bonds and social relatedness that was in a certain way, common between Indigenes, Spanish and Africans. Since early periods, is observed a path to individualism, which expected to be associated with the influence of Christianity, and modern structures. This path is drawn also between early rural and urban groups.

The present in Costa Rica offers a well-mixed and non-homogenous panorama. It appears a society that still have very traditional patterns in values, traditions and beliefs, but at the same time with a lot incorporated from western. Concerns such as family structures and its bonds, the values related with social competence and social desirability, mark a clear tendency to interdependence. But at the same time a contradictory concept of individualism shape the culture and the social interaction. Structural changes in the Costa Rican society challenge all these values and set it in course of adaptation.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

<u>Introduction</u>

This chapter comprises of two main sections. In the first section the geographical and socio-demographic context of Costa Rica is introduced.   In the second section the sample frame of the study with a detailed description of the participants is presented. Further procedures in data collection, instruments and assessment of the different variables are introduced.

<u>3.1. Costa Rica: Geographical Location and Description</u>

Costa Rica, a Central American country with an extension of 51,100 sq. km, is bordered on the north by Nicaragua and on the southeast by Panama.   The western and southwestern borders are the Pacific Ocean and the eastern border is the Caribbean Sea.

Mountainous ranges, beaches, swampy lowlands, large volcanoes, highlands, lowlands, and valleys comprise for Costa Rica's geographical diversity. The plains and lowlands occur mostly in the northern and Atlantic parts. There are four main mountain ranges, all volcanic in origin: Guanacaste, Tilarán, Talamanca, and the Central range. The Central Valley is the area of greatest population. The country has a diverse climate, although tropical rain forests and tropical dry forests predominate.

Costa Rica is divided into 7 provinces. San José, Alajuela, Cartago and Heredia are situated in the Central Valley area of the country and share both urban and rural populations. The population of Limón, Puntarenas and Guanacaste, the remaining provinces, are mainly rural.

The country's official language is Spanish, although the Afro-Caribbean population on the Atlantic coast speaks English and indigenous minorities keep their autochthonous languages.

The Roman Catholic religion is the official religion of the state (Asamblea Nacional Constituyente, 1949, p. 17). It was estimated, in 1998, that about eighty-six percent of the population is Roman Catholic (Soto-Valverde, 1998), and more than ten percent includes Protestants and a significant number of sects. Secretariado Episcopal de América Central, 1991).

3.1.1. Demographic Descriptors

3.1.1.1. Population and Demography

At present Costa Rica's population is more than four million inhabitants. Has a population density of 75 inhabitants per sq. km, with a distribution of fifty-nine percent concentrated in urban areas and forty-one percent in rural areas.[32]

Life expectancy has been increasing steadily over the last decade being the present rate 76.78 years at birth. (*Programa Centroamericano de Población*, 2001) Life expectancy for women is 5.7 years more than for men[33].   The infant mortality rate is 13 per 1,000 live births, while in children younger than 5 years old age it is of 14. According to the latest UNICEF report (*Estado de la Situación de la Primera Infancia en Costa Rica*, 2001), the mortality rate has been decreasing steadily during the 1990s.

There are notable factors leading to new demographic profiles among Costa Ricans. For instance, the Inter-American Development Bank (2000)[34] predicts that the majority of the population --presently concentrated in rural areas-- will become concentrated in urban settings. Population density studies, according to Official Statistics (*Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos*, 2001),[35] indicate that there has been an increase in the population and a decrease in the average number of members per household.   The following table captures this development:

Table 9. Population Density over the Last Three Censuses

	1973	1984	2000
Av. members per household	5.6	4.8	4.1
Population Density (in. /Sq. km)	38[36]	47	75

Note: According to the Instituto Nacional de Estadísticas y Censos (2001)

This fact could be the result of the decrease in the individual fertility rate; while the nationwide tendency in the number of births has increased. As shown on the next figure, ten years ago the fertility rate was 3.15%, while the present rate is 2.8% (*Programa Centroamericano de Población*, 2001.), whereas the number of births has increased in more

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[32] according to the last National Census, 2000.
[33] Sexto Informe Estado de la Nación, 1999.
[34] http://www.iadb.org/int/sta/english/staweb/#laig
[35] http://www.inec.go.cr/INEC2/pagcenso.htm
[36] From the year 1975. Source: Observatorio del Desarrollo.

than 10,000 per year. The prognosis from specialists (Rosero Bixby, 1999) predicts that the fertility rate might reach 1.6% --similar to the ones of industrialized countries--by the middle of the 21st century.

Figure 1.
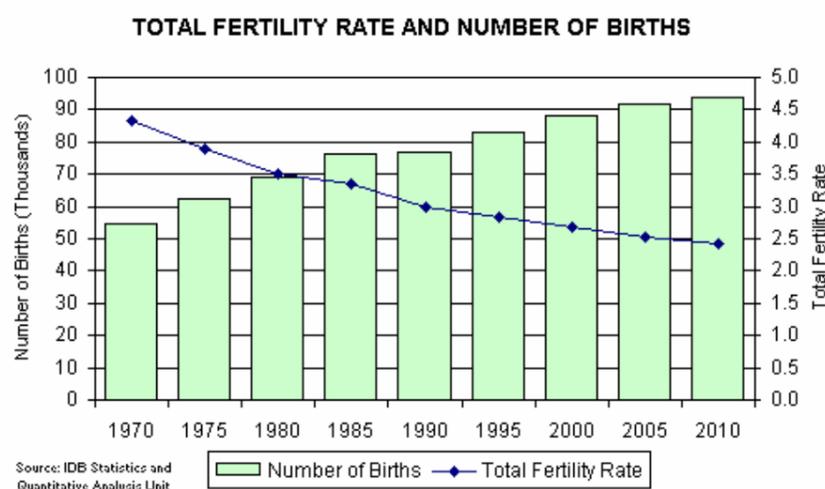
Note: Reproduced from International Development Bank, Statistic and Quantitative Analysis Unit.

Moreover, in Table 10 the main tendencies regarding life expectancy, population, and the fertility rate are shown in perspective. It captures the increasing tendency behavior of both life expectancy and population, but also the opposite decrease of fertility rate.

Table 10. Demographic Indicators per Decade

	Life expectancy	Fertility rate	Population
1930	42,23	-	-
1940	46,93	-	664,086
1950	55,59	6,5	831,358
1960	62,60	7,29	1,224,687
1970	65,48	5,09	1,729,824
1980	72,6	3,65	2,278,345
1990	75,1	3,15	3,047,641
2000	76,90	2,8	4,000,000
2010[37]	77,26	2,24	4,371,733[38]
2020[39]	77,77	2,10	5,153,632[40]

Note: Source Programa Centroamericano de Población, Universidad de Costa Rica

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[37] Projected data.

[38] Estimated for the year 2005.

[39] Estimated for the year 2005.

[40] Estimated for the year 2015.

Concerning reproductive health, Costa Rica's rate of the use of contraception methods is very similar to that of industrialized countries. According to specialists, this could be a reason for the decrease in the fertility rate. The last national survey about reproductive behavior (Chen Mok, M. et. al, 2001) shows an increase in the use of contraceptive methods from seventy-five to eighty per cent between 1992 and 1999. The same study shows an increase from 49.8% to 51.6% in the number of women who do not wish to bear another child, as well as a decrease from 3.4 to 2.7 in the expected number of children ($p<.001$, the tendency showed since 1964) (ibid.). In addition, the survey contends that religion, especially Catholicism, correlates with a higher number of expected children.

3.1.1.2. Health

Ninety-percent of the population has access to safe drinking water, in both urban and rural areas. The nationwide implementation of social security and an ongoing governmental health planning has decreased the mortality rates for the population in general.

3.1.1.3. Education

Elementary and secondary education in Costa Rica is free and subsidized by the government. The absence of an army as a permanent institution since 1948 has continuously freed state funds for education. As a result, Costa Rica has an adult literacy rate of ninety-five percent, and during the last decade[41] the pre-school enrolment rate -- ages 0 to 6-- increased significantly.

3.1.1.4. Poverty

According to the *Informe Estado de la Nación* (1999), 20.6% of Costa Rican households live below poverty level; half of them in the nation's Central Valley, and 18,4% in the Greater Metropolitan Area. According to the national distribution, the Chorotega (Northwest) and the Brunca (Southeast) regions have the highest incidence of poverty: 35. 5% and 34.1% respectively.

3.1.1.5. Family Patterns in Costa Rica

Research on family patterns in Costa Rica is limited. There is a lack of longitudinal studies that systematically document development and changes in family patterns. Although demographic data may give a better overall, most available data comes from national surveys.

Composition of the Costa Rican family is diverse and responds to a complex context. In her recent classification of household patterns within an urban sample, Vega (1994) identifies five household patterns, shown in table 11.

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[41] (in 1990 it was 61.7% and the last report, in 2000, was 81. 3%)

Table 11. Costa Rican Family Patterns and Their Distribution

Married couple (only couple without children)	2,8%
Nuclear family (mother-child dyad)	15,8%
Nuclear two generation family (triad)	56,4%
Extended (couple with or without children with other non-married relatives)	18,6%
Enlarged (with more than a married couple with or without children, with other relatives or non-relatives with different status as married)	6,4%

As expressed in the table above, the present patterns tend to favor the nuclear family, even though other data seem to reveal a paradoxical different situation. Specifically to be considered are women without partner, who are head of households. For instance, according to the National Home Survey of 1999, women without partner headed 23.1% of the Costa Rican households. (*Encuesta Nacional de Hogares,* 1999, and *Encuesta Nacional de Salud Reproductiva*[42] ,2000). Particularly in the capital city, 27% of the households are exclusively under women's responsibility (*Estado de la Nación*, 1999). This agrees with the fact that in 30.4% of the births in 1999 were registered without an identified father (*Situación de la Primera Infancia*, op. Cit.). [43]

According to historical studies about the Costa Rican family, there has been a double demographic pattern of smaller families in cities and larger ones in agricultural zones before 1850 (Rodríguez, 2000). Until 1998, the percent of children born within marriage was higher (55%) than of those born outside of marriage (45%). However in the first half of 1999 the percentage of children born out of wedlock increased to 51.5%, especially along the coasts and in the rural zones of Puntarenas, Limón, and Guanacaste. In urban zones like San José, Alajuela, Cartago and Heredia, children born within the bonds of marriage are still in the majority.

Family composition seems to be affected by socio-economic status. The poor households are the ones with the higher number of members (4.7) (E*stado de la Nación*, op. cit.). Another influential factor in the development of family patterns is the increase of women labor force and motherhood among adolescents. Regarding the former in 1999 about 33.1% of the total labor force was composed of women, a notable increase of 30.2% was observed in the province of Guanacaste (*Estado de la Nación*, op. cit.). Concerning regarding the latter, during the last decade a gradual increase of motherhood among adolescents --almost 25 % in the last decade was observed (ibid.).

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[42] National Survey of Reproductive Health
[43] The diversity documented here seems not to be of recent origin, since the 1843-44 Census cited by González (1996), indicates that more than 20% of the households were under the responsibility of women.

Furthermore, Reuben (1989) and Vega Robles (1994) agree that the variety of family patterns increased towards the end of the eighties. This is associated with the socio-economic changes that occurred during this time period. The increase of urbanization indices, migration from rural to urban zones, and the demographic explosion during the 1960's are examples of this tendency. However no pattern is static, since each family may evolve in different ways over time.

A traditional, patriarchal conceptualization of family patterns prevails among Costa Ricans, despite the multiple factors that affect the conceptual diversity of such patterns. According to the *Informe del Estado de la Nación* (1999), traditional values and modernization have an ambivalent relationship. It is considered that the incorporation of women into the job market attempts toward the dissolution of traditional household arrangements. Although modernization stimulates women's personal achievement, it has as consequence that children's care is affected as well. Also changes in the reproductive patterns are highly related to educational level, which suggests that changes could be associated with the modernization of family life.

3.1.1.6. Types of Mating

Mating patterns seem to differ between urban and rural zones. While urban women tend to marry, women from rural zones do so to a lesser extent. The incidence of common law practices is higher in rural context. It was mentioned in the section 2.5 that rural and urban groups evolved differently during the post-colonial period in terms of morality and sexual tolerance. It appears that the formality concerning mating is still stronger among urban than rural. Authors like Rodríguez (2000) attribute this fact to the relatively low impact of Christian morality, due to the late occurrence of its instruction in rural areas during the last century.

Until 1998, the number of religious marriages exceeded that of civil ones. However, as shown by reports by Costa Rica's Civil Registry[44] these patterns have changed significantly since then. In 2000 there were more civil than religious marital unions. In addition, divorce seems to be increasing among the urban population.

3.1.1.7. Development level

Despite many paradoxical conditions concerning the socio-demographic settings of Costa Rica, according to international standards the development level calculated by the United Nations Development Program (UNPD), Costa Rica's index reached its highest ranks (HDI, High Development Index) until the year 1999, after this period there has been a tendency to decrease. [45]

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[44] *La Nación*, 25-05-00.

[45] This index is calculated upon measures such as life expectancy, adult literacy rate, gross enrolment ratio in education, and GDP.

3.2. Sample frame of the study

The study was proposed and conducted as a doctoral dissertation[46] between April 1997 and November 2001. A pilot study, which assessed everyday conflict situations between mother and child, took place during the first semester of 1998. The fieldwork was completed between August and October of 1998.

3.3. Contacts and Sampling

The research comprised two phases: a pilot study and an experimental phase.   A hired assistant in Costa Rica, who contacted potential participants, made the data collection of the pilot study. The process was under supervision direct of an Associate Researcher from the Insituto de Investigaciones Psicológicas of the Universidad de Costa Rica.

For the pilot study, middle class mothers' beliefs were assessed in urban and rural contexts (see Appendix 2) during the first semester of 1998, and analyzed by the author in Germany. The instrument was an open-ended questionnaire about every day conflicts between mothers and their children. Response frequencies were statically processes, which later allowed to establish culturally sensitive vignettes of two different conflict situations, representative for each zone.

In San José, pre-school institutions were contacted and so were interested mothers. Also, personal contacts with colleagues yielded possible participants. Contacts in Nicoya were made through a native person.

A final list of mothers was prepared (30 participants); each mother was contacted personally per mail and phone.   Once potential participant mothers were informed of the purpose of the study and had accepted to take part in it, they were asked to sign a consent form to authorize the use of audio and videotaped material. (See Appendix 1)

The majority of the participants in the final study were recruited for the pilot study. The reasons not to continue were mainly disinterest and change of address. In order to fulfill desertion, the researcher recruited eight new participants at the time of the final study. The same selection criteria used for the pilot study were followed.

3.4. Participants

The following section presents a description of the two samples, subdivided into socio-demographic characteristics, mother characteristics and infant characteristics.

The sample (N=28) consisted of middle SES groups, one with a rural and one with an urban background (n= 14 each). The urban sample comprised mother-child dyads from the

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[46] The entire study was conducted by the author supported by a grant in the Development and Culture Department from the Human Sciences Faculty at the University of Osnabrück. The Psychological Research Institute (IIP) from the Universidad de Costa Rica formally supported the sampling and fieldwork, where the author works as Research Assistant.

Great Metropolitan Area, specifically from the province Heredia and San José. The rural sample consisted of mother-child dyads from the province of Guanacaste, especially from the city of Nicoya and the district of Corralillo.

3.4.1. Socio-demographic Description of the Samples

The mean age for the San José mothers was 30,71 (SD=5,22), ranging from 18-38 years of age; the mean age for the Nicoya mothers was 27,14 (SD=9,56), ranging from 18-43 years of age.   Thus, the mothers from San José were older than the mothers from Nicoya.

The mean number of children per mother in the San José sample was 1,42 (SD=0,51), ranging from 1-2 children, whereas the mean number of children in the Nicoya sample was 1,57 (SD=1,81), ranging from 1-4 children (see table 13). The difference is not significant. Differences in age and parity reflect actual socio-demographic differences of both zones. In the rural area, women begin their married life earlier than in the urban area, and the number of children is also greater.

Table 12.   Percentage of Socio-Demographic Variables According to Sample

Maternal characteristics	Zone					
	San José= 14			Nicoya=14		
	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range
Age	30,71	5,22	18-38	27,14	9,56	18-43
Number of children	1,42	0,51	1-2	1,57	1,81	1-4

3.4.2. Contextual Variables of the Mothers

Among the samples three possible marital statuses were found: married, cohabiting couple, and single parent.   In San José, 78,6% of the mothers was married, 12,5% was cohabiting couples and 33,3% (2 participants) was single parent. In Nicoya 21,4% were married, 87,5% cohabiting couple, and 66,7% single parent. These characteristics coincide with the national statistics, which indicate that marriage is more prevalent in the urban areas than in the rural zones.

The San José mothers had a higher mean number of years attending education, surpassing the Nicoya mothers by more than four years; this difference was significant (t= 2.912, df= 26, p= 0.007, two-tailed).

Most of the mothers have more occupation other than housewifery. 21,4% of the mothers in San José is exclusively engaged in their households, in Nicoya this figures comprises 28,6%. Professional mothers were found only in San José (35,7%). In Nicoya

occupation related to services and assistance prevailed (28,13%). In some cases mothers pursue university education.

Table 13.   Percentage of Contextual Variables Describing Mothers According to Sample

| Variable | Zone | |
	San José	Nicoya
Marital Status		
Married	78,6	21,4
Cohabiting couple	12,5	50,0
Single parent	14,3	28,6
Education		
1- 6 years	0	21,42
7-11 years	27,27	28,57
12-17 years	78,57	50
Religion		
Catholic	96,4	100
No religion	3,6	0
Occupation		
Housewifery	21,4	28,6
Student	7,1	14,3
Professional	35,7	0
Public official	7,1	14,3
Assistant	0	14,3
Housewifery/job	7,1	14,3
Study/housewifery	14,3	14,3
Study/job	7,1	0

Religion turned out to be very homogeneous: 100% of Nicoya mothers were Catholic, and 96,4% of the mothers in San José. Only one participant reported not having a religious creed. (See table 14)

As may be appreciated in the former data, there are differences in the samples, and the conditions do not allow for their contrast, which limits the comparisons. In this sense, the research will be more exploratory than a search for statistical representation.

The occupational distribution of fathers between the two groups is different; in San José there are more professionals, in Nicoya technicians, and employees predominate. However, the differences may be related to educational opportunities within the two zones. Educational level of fathers was not assessed. (See Table 14)

Table 14. Percentage of the Fathers' Occupation According to Samples

Variable	Zone	
	San José	Nicoya
Occupation of father	(Percentage)	(Percentage)
Student	0	7,1
Professional	42,9	7,1
Public official	0	7,1
Freelance	14,3	21,4
Worker	21,4	14,3
Technician	7,1	14,3
Pensioner	0	7,1
N. A.	14,3	21,4

3.4.3. Infant characteristics of the samples

The mean age of the infants' sample was 28,28 months (SD=10,88), ranging from 14-28,8 months, and no significant differences were found between the two samples. Among the San José infants the mean age was 29,28 (SD=13,71), ranging 17-72 months, whereas the in Nicoya the mean age was 27,28 (SD=7,47), ranging 14-44 months. 10 (74,4%) of the San José infants were males and 4 (28,6%) were females, while 6 (28,6%) of the Nicoya infants were males and 8 (57,1%) were females. Regarding the ordinal position, 10 (71,4%) of the San José infants were firstborns and 4 (28,6%) later born, while 11 (78,6%) of the Nicoya infants were firstborns and 3 (21,4%) later born.   (See Table 16)

Table 15. Description of Infant's Characteristics of the Sub-Samples

Variable	Zone	
	San José	Nicoya
Age of infant		
Mean in months (SD)	29,28 (13,7)	27,28 (7,4)
Sex of infant %		
Male	62,5	28,6
Female	33,3	57,1
Ordinal position %		
First born	71,4	78,6
Later born	28,6	21,4

3.5. Time Frame

As mentioned above, the pilot study took place during the first semester of 1998. The empirical part of the study was conducted in San José and Nicoya between August and October of 1998.

3.6. Data Collection

Each participant was assessed in two sessions both during the same week. During the first session, after learning the purpose of the research, each mother was asked to perform three different interaction episodes with her child: a free play episode and two scenario situations. All episodes were videotaped.

In the second session each mother was interviewed, and the following instruments were administered: the Collectivism Scale (Yamaguchi, 1984), the Family Allocentrism Scale (Lay, 1998), and the Socialization Goals Inventory (SGI) (Harwood, 1992). Each interview was tape-recorded and later transcribed for further analysis.

3.6.1. Instruments of the Study

The following instruments were applied: the conflict situations vignettes, interview, scales, and a structured inventory. The application of each instrument will be described below.

3.6.1.1. Conflict Situations Vignettes

The scenarios involved mother-child interaction and required the use of dolls. In order to standardize the procedure, the researcher supplied the dolls.

The initiating instructions for the scenarios were the following:

Story 1: A naughty child is fighting with a friend but the child does not pay attention to the mother.

Story 2: The mother must feed her child, but the child does not want to eat.

Each participating mother was asked to complete the story using doll play with her child.

3.6.1.2. Interview

The interview was focused on socio-demographic data from both mother and child, concrete aspects of parenting, such as socialization goals, the mothers' own perception about the resolution of conflicts, and the mothers' desirable and undesirable expectations of how their children should solve their own conflicts, (See Appendix 3).

<u>3.6.1.3. Scales</u>

Two one-dimensional scales were chosen, the Collectivism Scale from Yamaguchi (1984) and the Family Allocentrism Scale from Lay et. al. *(1998).* The Collectivism Scale from Yamaguchi (1984) consists of 10 items "measures allocentric tendency to give priority to the groups goals over personal goals when the two goals are in conflict" (p. 662) Responses are ranged in a five-point scale in order to indicate the extent of agreement. (See Appendix 5) The Family Allocentrism Scale from Lay (1998) consists of 21 statements pertaining to family connectedness of the respondent; agreement is also expressed in a five-point scale. (See Appendix 6)

The original versions of both the Collectivism Scale and the Family Allocentrism Scale were translated into Spanish by the researcher, and were translated back into English by an English linguistics specialist from the Universidad de Costa Rica.   With the purpose of testing the translated version, it was applied and discussed within a focus group of undergraduate psychology students from the same university.

<u>3.6.1.4. Socialization Goals Inventory (SGI)</u>

The Socialization Goals Inventory by Harwood (1992) comprises four open-ended questions that assess desirable and undesirable social behaviors that reflect long-term socialization goals. (see Appendix 4). The individual words and phrase descriptors in the answers of the four questions were coded according to the following six exclusive categories (defined by Harwood): self-maximization, self-control, lovingness, decency, proper demeanor, and miscellaneous. Definitions and examples of the answers given are described in table 11. Given the low number of respondents, the responses were grouped in two question groups, the first concerning desirable characteristics of the child and the second concerning undesirable characteristics of the child. Thus, there were two types of answers to work with. The procedure for answer regrouping has already been discussed by Harwood (1992).

The researcher obtained an authorization from Dr. Harwood to develop a Spanish translation of the four questions in the SGI.

Table 16.   Long-term Socialization Goals descriptors assessed in the SGI

Category (as described by Harwood, 1995)	Examples of Positive characteristics mentioned by the respondents	Examples of negative characteristics mentioned by the respondents
Self-maximization: It indicates the focus that a child becomes self-confident, independent, and develops his or her talents and abilities as an individual.	Self-confident child, creative, good student, studious, industrious, independent, practices sport, professional, successful, faces life, with goals in life.	Does not study, not interested in succeeding, egoistic, no profession, does not worry about improving him/herself.
Self-control: It indicates the focus that a child learns to curb negative impulses toward greed, egocentrism, and aggression, or positively, to learn to share, accept limits, and cope with frustration.	Calm, responsible, serious, patient, humble, docile	Bad mood, aggressive, negative, destructive, inconstant, egocentric, does not have its own opinion.
Lovingness: It indicates the focus that a child be friendly, emotionally warm, and able to maintain close affective bonds with others.	Sensible, happy, passive, sympathetic, affectionate, loving.	Manipulator, despicable, arrogant, repulsive, capricious.
Decency: It indicates the focus that a child grow up to meet basic societal standards of integrity, such as being a hard-working, responsible, and honest person who does not use drugs.	Honest, lives without drugs, shares, fair, religious, with values.	Uses drugs, alcoholic, homosexual, prostitutes, lazy, lives in the street, forgets about God, vicious, depraved.
Proper Demeanor: It indicates the focus that a child be well-mannered, well behaved, cooperative, and accepted by the larger community, and that parents likewise perform their parental duties appropriately.	Educated, respectful with others/elderly/parents/women, says the truth, obliging, kind, sociable, friendly, helpful to others.	Ill-mannered, rebellious, disrespectful, insolent, naughty, given to fighting.
Miscellaneous: It contains all responses that could not be coded in the first five categories.	Trusts his/her mother, does not have a maliciousness life.	The child has control over its parents.

3.6.1.5. Videotaping

Mother-child interactions were videotaped in their naturalistic environment. When the setting chosen by the mother was unsuitable in terms of light and space conditions, an alternative setting was requested. The researcher operated the video camera.

The mothers were given a substantial explanation about the research. Each mother was asked to spend time playing with her child as she usually did. The playing episodes were not directed and there was no specific time limit established. Videotaping finished when either the mother or the child, or both, decided to stop.

After the free play situation, both mother and child were asked to develop the conflict situation scenarios. The performances of these tasks were also videotaped. In most cases, the video camera was placed on a tripod and focused on both actors and their locus of action. Whenever participants decided to move across the room, the video camera followed them.

The videotaped material was analyzed according to the coding system designed for this purpose and which will be introduced in the next section.

3.7. Coding System of Mother-Child Interaction Episodes

The interaction episodes were coded according to the predefined categories. For this purpose, the researcher developed a manual for the assessment of parent-child interaction according to the theoretical categories (see Appendix 7). Most of the behavioral categories were adapted from Völker et al. (1999) and Yovsi (2001). The conflict scenarios were analyzed according to the categories adapted from Hastings et al. (1998). The verbal content categories were defined after a qualitative analysis, taking into account language specificity. Thus, frequencies and standard types expressed by mothers during the episodes were consigned, such as the content of the stories developed.

Since each mother-child dyad had three video sequences available, the coding was done with a time sampling procedure: incidence in 10 sec. interval. With respect to the behavioral categories, specifically during the playing situation sequences, it seemed evident that the camera in the last minutes of interaction less influenced mother and child behavior. Therefore, after obtaining the criteria of several specialists, it was decided to code only the last three minutes of every playing sequence. The two conflict scenarios were completely coded.

3.7.1. Coding of Behavioral Categories

The behavioral categories observed and assessed will be described next:

The body stimulation system comprises not only bodily-based behaviors; it also focuses on the exclusive dyadic interaction. It comprises motor stimulation such as touching, mild and/or gross motor activity that entitles the body self. (Keller, et al. In press)

Body contact is related with bodily regulation and expresses emotional warmth. The assessment refers to the proximity level between mother and child. It comprises four different levels, ranging from intense to distant.

The first level 'intense proximity' is reached when either both bodies or a significant part of them are in contact (photographs 1 and 2).

Photographs 1 and 2: Intense Body Contact

'Close proximity' is the second level understood as a relative bodily proximity that allows mother and child either body contact or independent movements (photographs 3 and 4).

Photographs 3 and 4: Close proximity Body Contact

The third level, 'proximity' means a distance that does not stimulate body contact but allows both actors to interact intensively with each other (photographs 5 and 6).

Photographs 5 and 6: Proximity in Body Contact

The fourth level, 'distance', comprises an out-of-reach position of the mother, where the interaction is not focused on body contact (photograph 7).

Photograph 7: Distant Body Contact

Warmth comprises verbal/facial warmth (baby talk, smooth tone of voice of the mother, and smiling), and body warmth (tactile stimulation, small vestibular stimulation and hugging). It is understood as the mothers' physical and emotional behavior towards the child, that reflects acceptance, support, empathy, and tenderness expressions. Two main warmth dimensions are used: *verbal/facial warmth* and *body warmth*.

Baby talk, and smiling are behaviors reflecting verbal/facial warmth. Baby talk occurs when, the intonation pattern changes in adults' speech to children to a more affectionate way. It takes the form of consonants' aberration, particularly of sibilants and palatals. Smiling is also considered a signal of warmth (photographs 8, 9 and 10).

Photographs 8, 9, and 10: Mother Smiles

Body warmth can be understood as the bodily stimulation signs related with affective expressions, empathy, and tenderness. Three different behaviors show this concept: tactile stimulation, mild vestibular stimulation, and hugging and embracing. Tactile stimulation consists of bodily stimulation like caressing, touching any part of the child's body (photographs 11 and 12).

Photographs 11 and 12: Body Warmth - Tactile Stimulation

Mild vestibular stimulation consists of motor and kinesthetic movements. Examples are rocking and swinging the child in a tender and gentle way. (Photographs 13 and 14)

Photographs 13 and 14: Body Warmth - Mild Vestibular Stimulation

The behavior of hugging and embracing is the combination of both motor and tactile stimulation while the mother grabs, swings, or caresses the child (photographs 15, 16 and 17)

Photographs 15, 16, and 17: Body Warmth - Hugging sequence

According to Keller (1992) the object stimulation system is an activity of childcare among western societies, which fosters cognitive development through

exploratory activities; the researcher adapted this category for older children in two categories, 'mother teaches' and 'mother plays'.

'Mother teaches' is when during interaction episodes, playing or talking, the mother teaches her child something, transmits or tests new knowledge, social rules, and moral or ethic norms (photograph 18).

Photograph 18: Mother Teaches

'Mother plays' is when the mother gets involved in the child's play, adapting her behavior to the logic of the game and not trying to deviate the child from its behavior (photograph 19).

Photograph 19: Mother plays

3.7.2. Coding of the Conflict Scenarios: Content Categories

The conflict scenarios were coded according to the following criteria. The content categories comprised two parts, the first regarding the topic of conflicts and its resolution, it included: solution to the conflict, type of conflict resolution, content quality of the scenario development, use of norms within the episodes, maternal values toward conflict resolution and desirable and undesirable resolution style of their children.   The second part of the content categories comprised the maternal expectations of children.

Solution to the conflict comprised three possible orientations: mother-oriented solutions, child-oriented solutions, and relationship-oriented solutions. (Hastings & Grusec, 1998)

Mother-oriented solutions are characterized by maternal guidance; instruction and development of a solution depends on her. Child-oriented solutions are characterized by the maternal support of child's initiative, respecting his/her proposal of a solution. Relationship-oriented solutions tend to integrate both initiatives, where both, actors elaborate and develop the story and its end.

The type of argumentation towards conflict resolution is related to the predominance of rational and/or emotional elements that are predominant in conflict resolution. There were four possible types defined: rationally based, emotionally based, a basis integrating rational elements and affective elements, and a fourth possibility when there is no argumentation. The number of elements appearing were accounted for each category, classifying them according to the three levels, they were all added up, and a majority was established when the number of elements composed more than 70% of the answers. An appearance of 50% of each defined the third alternative, the integration of both.

The category 'content quality of the stories' comprised two possible dimensions: enriched, well-done stories and poorly developed stories. The criteria to evaluate the first was if more than one story was told, if there were specific characters, the inclusion of new elements such as arguments, toys, new characters aside from the ones established in the drawing, the development of new situations. Poorly developed stories were those that, to the contrary, were limited to developing the story proposed in the drawing, circumscribed to a practically immediate resolution of the conflict, without developing any argument, and with poor contents as to elements (such as characters and argument*)*.

'Norms' comprised all the norms mentioned by the mothers during the conflict scenarios, concerning social, behavioral rules. Their use, or lack thereof, was coded.

3.7.3. Coding Procedure

Four independent coders did the coding of the video categories, except for the culturally sensitive ones.   The culturally sensitive categories were coded by a Spanish speaking coder and revised by the author.   All the analysis procedures were undertaken by the author, and discussed with colleagues from the University Osnabrück and the *Instituto de Investigaciones Psicológicas*.

3.8. Inter-observer Agreement and Reliability

This part of the research had a particular background, which led to certain limitations. Two concrete situations had to be resolved: firstly, the requirement of independent coders was difficult to fulfill during a certain period of time; and secondly, coding material from another culture also implied certain limitations for foreign coders, particularly related with gestures and behaviors associated with language content. This

meant that the categories proposed and their respective coding form developed by the researcher in a manual had to be tested.

In order to confront the first limitation, hiring psychology students as independent coders was considered; however, their commitment to the research was affected by the semester time frame. This procedure was carried out in two stages (in the frame of two semesters of one Research Methodology Course in the School of Psychology of the University of Osnabrück). Thus, psychology students from the course Empiriepraktikum ("Empirical Practice") tested this manual and its categories. Four behavioral categories were proposed: body behavior, interaction, warmth and emotional reactions o the child, each one composed of several indicators.

The coders were introduced to the cultural specifics of parenting of the Costa Rican culture by the author. However they remained blind to the assumptions of the study. After being trained in observation and coding for specific categories, each coder coded 10 randomly-selected tapes separately, with a total observation time of at least 20 minutes for each tape. Both the appropriateness of independent coders with certain culture specific categories, and the relevance of the type of coding were tested. The inter-observer agreement coefficient was computed; not every coder reached the expected minimum value of .70 according to Bakeman & Goodman (1987). Also, it was proved that coding material from another culture also implied certain limitations for foreign coders, particularly related to gestures and behaviors associated with language content. This meant a steep reduction of several indicators for each category, as well as the elimination of one category.

The procedure was repeated a semester later and under the same conditions (Gjorgie-Bünger, et al, 2001). This time, the students coded only one dimension where language knowledge was not required: body behavior. After being trained in the selected category, each one coded 4 different subjects tapes corresponding to its three interaction episodes. The total observational time per subject was of approximately 15 minutes. The mean reliability of codes was more acceptable: **0,79493**.

According to the former conditions, and having proved the adequateness of both the categories and their coding, a group of four independent coders was recruited; all of them advanced students of Psychology from the University of Osnabrück. One of them is Spanish native speaker. After being trained in the revised categories, the inter-observer reliability was tested. Each coder coded 4 different subjects tapes corresponding to its three interaction episodes. The total observational time per subject was of approximately 15 minutes. The inter-observer reliable coefficient was computed with the SPSS package. Mean reliability of codes was: **0,75564**

Categories of body behavior, warmth, and stimulation were completely coded by the independent coders. The native Spanish speaking coder and the author coded the categories where language was a requisite.

Table 17. Categories for Assessing Mother-Child Interaction and their Corresponding Inter-Observer Reliability

Behavior	Inter-observer reliability
Warmth	0,67066
Body behavior	0,79493
Stimulation	0,86194

3.9. Statistical Analysis

The different variables were analyzed according to the type of data. The codes of the interactive components within the episodes were entered into an Excel mask, and later transformed into SPSS package. Due to the significant differences in educational level, this variable was controlled together with the age of child. The groups were compared by a 2x3 MANOVA (two zone x three episodes) and univariate repeated measures were used to compare between-group effects (Siegel, 1986). Data concerning socio-demographic information from the interviews were entered into a SPSS package and analyzed.

In both Collectivism and Family Allocentrism scales, reversed-keyed items were recoded. Both were treated as one-dimensional scales and a total scale score was computed. The Reliability was measured with Cronbach's Alpha.

With respect to the SGI, after transcription of the answers, the relative percentages of subjects' descriptors were coded into each of the categories. A MANOVA was then performed.

The remaining qualitative data regarding solution orientation, type of solution, content quality of stories, norms within episodes, maternal values toward conflict resolution, and desirable and undesirable resolution style in their child, were coded from the videos, entered into a SPSS package, and analyzed.

Table 18 shows a summary of the variables, instruments and procedure.

Variables	Specific Aspects	Instruments	Procedure
Socio-demographic	- Mother's contextual variables: Age, occupation, educational level, religion, number of children - Child: Age, sex	Interview	Statistical Analysis
Cultural Orientation (Interdependence / Independence)	Family Allocentrism Orientation Collectivism Orientation	Allocentrism Scale Collectivistic Scale	Statistical analysis
Interactive Components	Mother-child interaction: - Body Contact System - Warmth Mechanisms - Stimulation System	Video taping of Scenario Situations Manual for the Assessment of mother-child interactions	Statistical Analysis
Parental Belief System	Cultural conception of desirable and undesirable child Expectations on her own child	S.G.I. Interview	Statistical and qualitative analysis
Conflict Resolution Style	Resolution orientation Consistency with mothers' experience	Scenario Conflict Situations Interview	Statistical and qualitative analysis

Table No. 18 Specifications

CHAPTER FOUR

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS

<u>Introduction</u>

This chapter comprises of two sections. In the first part, the descriptive results in regard to the time of interaction and settings will be introduced. In the second part, the results related to the assumptions will be presented.

<u>4.1. Descriptive Results with Regard to Time and Setting of Interactions</u>

<u>4.1.1. Descriptive Results Regarding Interaction Time</u>

The videotaping of the two samples produced over six hours of taped material. According to the findings, the San José participants spent more time in interaction than did the participants in the Nicoya sample in all three types of interactions; play episode and the two scenarios. (See Figure 3)

The mean interaction time for the San José sample was 17 min 23 sec ranging from 9 min 46 sec to 24 min 22 sec, while the mean interaction time for the Nicoya sample was 13 min to 33 sec, ranging from 8 min to 18 min 25 sec. The San José sample showed a longer mean time invested in every episode than did the Nicoya sample.   These differences were significant ($t=2.76$, $df=26$, $p<0.012$, two tailed).

Figure 2.
Time of Interactions According to Zone
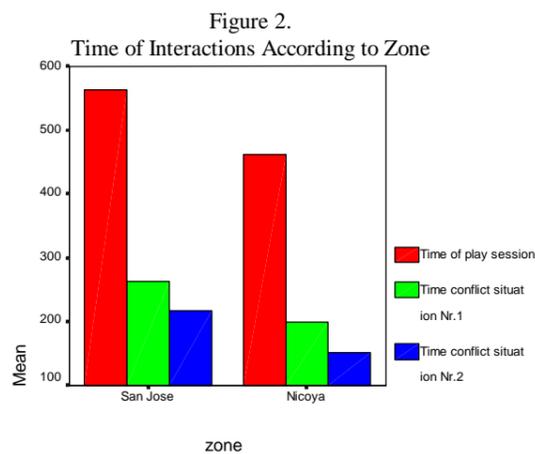
Significant correlation was found between the sex of the child and the duration of episode 2 in the Nicoya sample ($r=0,536$, $n=14$, $p>0,05$, two tailed). Nicoya mother-girl

interactions were longer than Nicoyan mother-boys interactions in the second episode (see Figure 4).

Figure 3. Time of Interactions in Nicoya Dyads According to Sex of Child
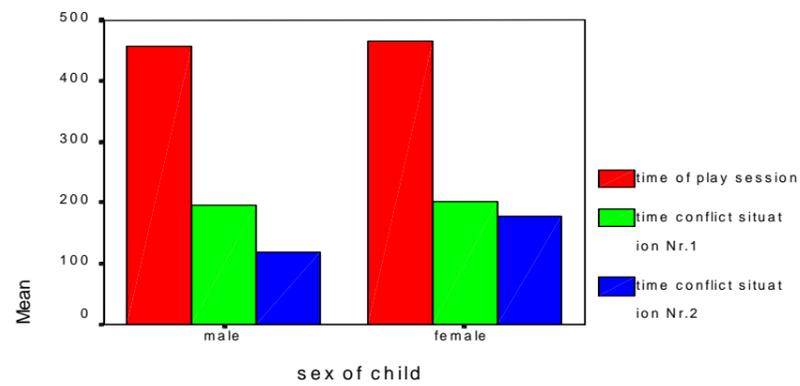
4.1.2. Descriptive Results Regarding Interaction Settings

While almost all participants in both samples carried out three of the requested episodes, two dyads in the San José sample developed a fourth, episode.

The settings where the interactions were carried out differ between samples.   Most participants in the Nicoya sample developed their episodes in places such as living rooms, halls, and public social areas within the house. Choosing a playroom or the child's room was more frequent in the San José sample, as can be observed in figure No 5. These differences were not found to be significant. (See figure 5)

Figure 4.   Places Chosen for the Episodes According to Zone
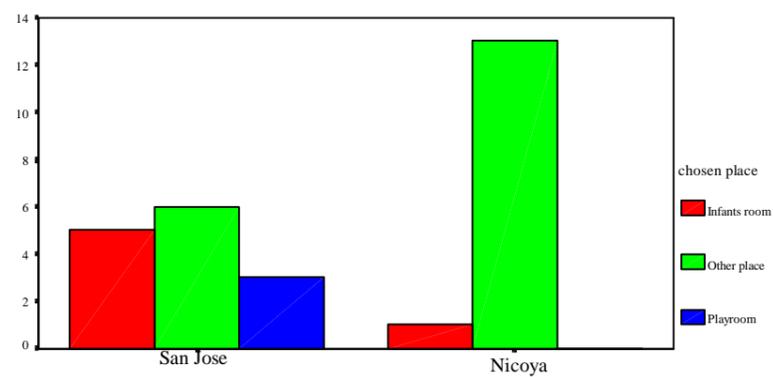
4.2. Relationship Between Results and Assumptions

4.2.1 Assumption 1: Cultural Orientation of the Samples

The first assumption was that among Costa Rican samples the social orientation will correspond to an interdependent cultural orientation style.

The Collectivism Scale and the Family Allocentrism Scale were assessed in both the urban and rural samples in order to test this assumption.

4.2.1.1. Cultural Orientation According to the Collectivism Scale

The mean of the whole sample was 34.68 (SD= 5.32). The Cronbach´s Alpha for the complete sample was 0.504. The San José sample mean was 34.7 (SD=4.75) Cronbach's Alpha= .56, whereas in Nicoya the mean was 34 (SD=6.05) Cronbach's Alpha= .48, as shown in table 17.

The Collectivism Scale did not indicate one-dimensional results in both samples. Items 4,6 and 9 of the scale showed a negative correlation with respect to the rest of the scale items in both samples. It could be considered that Alpha values are related with the number of participants.

Table 19.   Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Coefficient (Alpha) for the Collectivism Scale by Sample

Sample	Mean	SD	Alpha
Yamaguchi's Collectivistic sample	28.28	6.09	**.85**
San José	34.7	4.75	**.56**
Nicoya	34	6.05	**.48**
Combined San José/Nicoya	34.68	5.32	**.50**

Given that both Alpha values, combined and that of each subsample, are so low, the less significant items were eliminated. The elimination of items 1,4, 6 and 9 allowed the increase in reliability a ,7374 and each subsample's reliability. (San José was ,7509 (SD=4,1251) and Nicoya was ,7428 (SD=5,8914). The remaining items are 2,3,5,7,8,10. (See Table 18).

Table 20.   Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Coefficient (Alpha) for the Collectivism Scale by Sample without items 1,4,6,9.

Sample	Mean	SD	Alpha
Yamaguchi's Collectivistic Sample	28.28	6.09	.85
San José	23.6429	4.1254	.7509
Nicoya	22.6429	5.8914	.7428
Combined San José/Nicoya	23.1429	5.016	.7374

The elimination of the items improved in a significant way the Alpha values for both, each sub-sample values as for the combined value. The means show a very homogenous tendency towards group allocentrism.

Eliminated items are particularly related with the sense of group harmony, which is based on the sacrifice of the own needs. Nevertheless, the sense of harmony still prevails but as the avoidance to confront.

In the assessment of the Collectivism scale, as expected, both urban and rural samples showed a high level of Collectivism.

4.2.1.2. Cultural Orientation According to the Family Allocentrism Scale

The mean for the complete sample was 69.67 (SD=10.19), and the Cronbach's Alpha was 0.67. The mean of the San José sample was 69.90 (SD=7.10) and the Cronbach Alpha was .46, whereas in Nicoya the mean was 73.72 (SD=11.75) and the Cronbach's Alpha was 0.70.

Table 21.   Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Coefficient (Alpha) for the Family Allocentrism Scale by Samples

Sample	Mean	SD	Alpha
Lay's Eastern group (1998)	70.3	10.9	.84
Lay's Western group (1998)	59.5	12.0	.85
San José	69.90	7.10	.46
Nicoya	73.72	11.75	.70
Combined San José/Nicoya	69.67	10.19	.67

In the assessment of the Family Allocentrism Scale, results should again be interpreted taking into account non-homogeneous values of reliability. As shown in table 21, in both samples, the reliability coefficient expressed in Cronbach's Alpha was differentiated and

not significant, particularly in the urban sample. Given the scores, it could be said that both simples show an evident tendency to family allocentrism. There is also a difference between both samples.

As well as in the Collectivism Scale, Alpha values should be related with the low number of respondents for each sample, but also to the total number of items (21). Due to this reason, after a reliability analysis for all items, the original 21-item version was reduced to 13 items. The reliability coefficient is shown in table 22.

Table 22.   Descriptive Statistics and Reliability Coefficient (Alpha) for the 13-items version by Samples

Sample	Mean	SD	Alpha
San José	43.71	5.73	**.53**
Nicoya	53.31	9.26	**.76**
Combined San José/Nicoya	48.51	9.00	**.77**

Interestingly, after the reduction, it shows a consistent behavior despite the increase (improvement) of the Alpha reliability values. San José keeps showing a minor and less significant value, whereas reliability for Nicoya seems to increase. The decrease of the values in the scores, despite their significant decrease, appears to maintain a proportion similar to the scores of the 21-item scale.

From the above it could be inferred that the Allocentrism Scale behavior in both samples is not what could have been expected, according to what the current literature reports. The scale seems to work more sensitive with the Nicoya sample than with the San José sample. Future applications with bigger samples should generate more information to broaden this issue.

Both scales did not show internal consistency with both Costa Rican samples, since they affect the subsamples' size to a great extent. The reduction of less significant items improves Alpha reliability values that make acceptable the use of both scales for these samples. Though the behavior of the Collectivism Scale is more homogeneous than the one of the Family Allocentrism, it could be concluded that both scales characterize the assessed samples.

The data reveals that mothers from both the San Jose and the Nicoya samples show higher tendencies towards Collectivism as then they do in terms of Family Allocentrism. A higher difference in terms of geographical areas was observed in the results of the Family Allocentrism Scale: the Nicoya respondents showed more orientation to family than did the San José respondents.

The results from both scales confirm the first assumption: in both urban and rural samples social orientation corresponds to an interdependent cultural orientation style. It

also appears that Nicoya respondents show a greater differentiated level in family allocentrism than San José respondents.

4.2.2. Assumption 2: Variability of Interactive Components

The second assumption was that despite an interdependent cultural orientation, urban and rural samples would show variability on the dimensions of interactive components of body contact, warmth and stimulation.

The results regarding these cultural differences are presented and discussed in the subsections below.

In studying the level of variability among both rural and urban Costa Rican samples, the interactive components of body contact, warmth and stimulation; were assessed.

4.2.2.1. Differences in Interaction between the two Geographical Zones

A 2x3 MANOVA (two zone x three episodes) with repeated measurements of the factor episode in relation to sex of child and education level of the mother as a covariate was assessed. There were nine dependent variables during the three episodes: body distance, smooth voice of mother, baby talk, mother's smiles to the child, tactile stimulation, mild vestibular stimulation, hugging, mother's teaching and mother's playing. The analyses revealed a multivariate effect of the factor zone (F(9.15)=3.70, p< 0.013). There was no significant multivariance main, or interaction effects of episode, education and sex of child (see table no. 19).

The univariate analysis revealed significant zone differences for the variables "baby talk" F(1.23) = 11.79, p=.002, and "mother plays" F(1.23) = 5.46, p= .028. A tendency to zone differences was also shown in the variables "mother smiles to the child" F(1.23)=3.93, p=.059, and "mother's smooth voice" F(1.23) = 3.66, p= .068. These results reveal that mothers in San José play with the child and resort to baby talk more than the Nicoya mothers do, whereas mothers from Nicoya tend to smile and resort to voice smoothing more than San José mothers do. The two last variables are related to verbal and facial warmth, whereas from the first two one relates to stimulation and the other to verbal and facial warmth. The effect of zone shows certain differences concerning the dimension of verbal and facial warmth. However, stimulation by playing appears to be more prevalent of the urban group.

Table 23. Means and Standard Deviations of Interactive Components According to Zone and Episode with Summary Statistics for Univariate Measures Analysis for Zone

Interactive component	San José N= 13		Nicoya N=14		Zone of respondents ANOVA statistics	
	M	SD	M	SD	F(9,15)	P
Body Distance (BD)	1.29	.13	1.51	.12	1.16	.292
BD during Play Episode	1.48	.71	1.80	.67		
BD during Episode 1	1.36	.52	1.43	.62		
BD during Episode 2	1.31	.62	1.05	.53		
Verbal and Facial Warmth						
Voice smooth	.47	.082	.71	.078	3.66	.068
Voice smooth during play episode	0.51	.31	0.59	.35		
Voice smooth during episode 1	0.54	.27	0.69	.30		
Voice smooth during episode 2	0.46	.28	0.75	-29		
Baby Talk	.17	.031	.01	.03	11.78	**.002**
Baby talk during play episode	0.021	.05	0.017	.02		
Baby talk during episode 1	0.22	.19	0.022	.03		
Baby talk during episode 2	0.26	.25	0.097	.02		
Mother Smiles to Child	.21	.065	.40	.062	.51	**.059**
Mother smiles to child during play episode	0.23	.18	0.32	.25		
Mother smiles to child during episode 1	0.26	.20	0.49	.30		
Mother smiles to child during episode 2	0.16	.11	0.36	.28		
Body Warmth						
Tactile Stimulation	.056	.032	.10	.030	1.08	.310
Tactile stimulation during play episode	0.26	.05	0.92	.15		
Tactile stimulation during episode 1	0.3	.07	0.12	.12		
Tactile stimulation during episode 2	0.06	.11	0.14	.15		
Mild Vestibular Stimulation	.016	.008	-.029	.007	2.07	.163
Mild vestibular stimulation during play episode	0.02	.05	0.006	.02		
Mild vestibular stimulation during episode 1	0	0	0	0		
Mild vestibular stimulation during episode 2	0	0	0.02	.07		
Hugging	.008	.010	.006	.009	.02	.887
Hugging during play episode	0.03	0.12	0	0		
Hugging during episode 1	0	0	0	0		
Hugging during episode 2	0	0	0.009	.03		
Stimulation						
Mother Teaches	.056	.028	.089	.026	.598	.447
Mother teaches during play episode	0.007	.01	0.09	.23		
Mother teaches during episode 1	0.10	.15	0.08	.08		
Mother teaches during episode 2	0.06	.08	0.07	.08		
Mother Plays	.97	.033	.85	.032	5.46	**.028**
Mother plays during play episode	0.97	.09	0.84	.23		
Mother plays during episode 1	0.90	.26	0.85	.21		
Mother plays during episode 2	0.98	.03	0.91	.09		

4.2.3. Assumption 3: Conflict resolution styles and parental beliefs

      The third assumption was that particularly urban and rural samples would show differences among parental beliefs; cultural values related to conflict resolution and conflict resolution styles during the conflict situations.

      The conflict scenarios were assessed in both the urban and rural samples in order to test this assumption. Therefore the following dimensions were analysed: solution orientation to the conflict, type of conflict resolution, richness of the scenario development, use of norms within the episodes, maternal values toward conflict resolution and desirable and undesirable resolution style of their children. Also the Socialization Goals Inventory was assessed in both the urban and rural samples in order to test the maternal expectations of children.

      The results regarding these cultural differences are presented and discussed in the subsections below.

4.2.3.1. Differences Regarding Orientation and Type of Solution

      With respect to solution orientation, both the urban and rural samples exhibit the same tendency in the first episode (t= 0.782, df=26, p=.441) as well as in the second, "mother oriented solutions" (t=1.20, df=25, p=.241). In the second episode, the San José mothers showed a lower tendency to use "mother-oriented solutions". During the second episode, both samples tended to develop more "child-oriented solutions" than in the first episode. (See Figures 5 and 6)

Figure 5. Solution Orientation in Episode 1 According to Zone
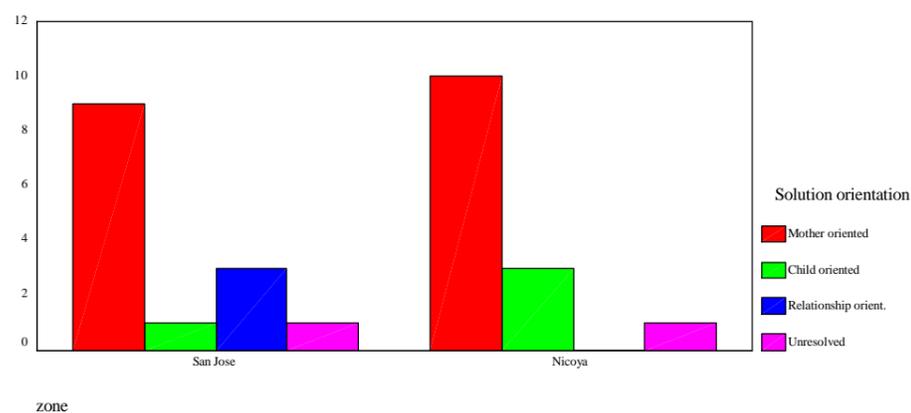
Figure 6. Solution Orientation in Episode 2 According to Zone
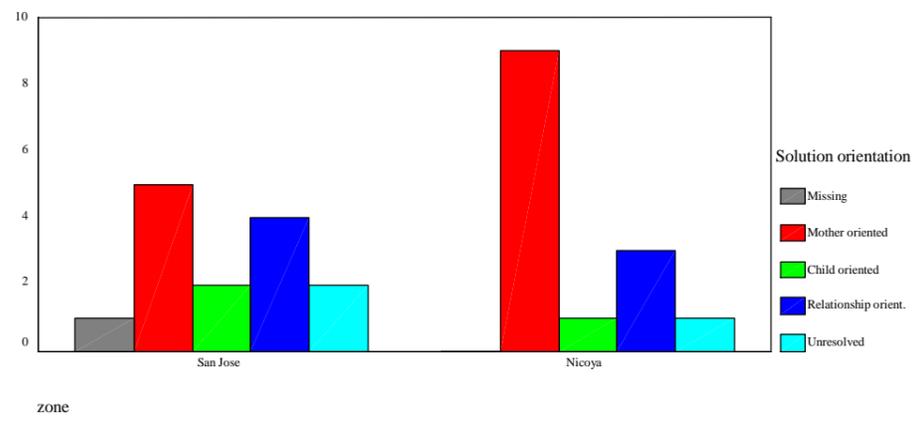
With regard to the type of solution, there was a different pattern in both samples in both episodes. First, the Nicoya participants avoided developing any kind of clear solution, and in doing so, they primed emotional solutions.   Secondly, the San José participants sometimes proposed reasoned solutions and other times resorted to integrative solutions (see figures 7 and 8).

Figure 7. Type of Solution in Episode 1 According to Zone

Figure 8. Type of Solution in Episode 2 According to Zone
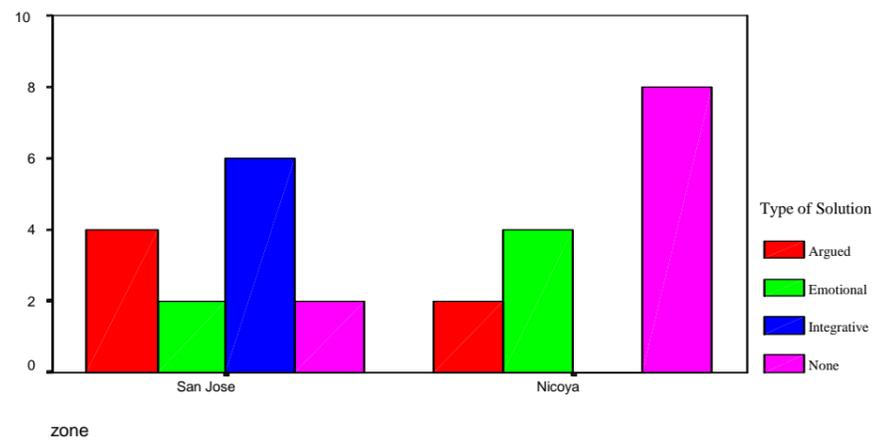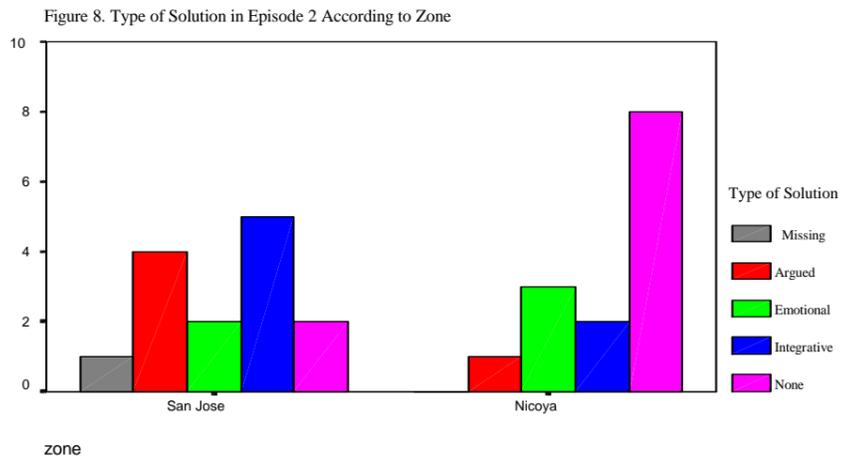
4.2.3.2. Differences Regarding the Content of Quality of Stories and the Use of Norms

The data revealed a significant difference between zones regarding the content of quality of the stories developed during both episodes. In both episodes 1 (X^2= 9.33, df=1, p= .006) and 2 (X^2=16.4, df=1, p=.000) the San José mothers exhibit more richness in the stories (see Figures 9 and 10).

Figure 9. Content Quality of Stories in Episode 1 According to Zone

Figure 10. Content Quality of Stories in Episode 2 According to Zone
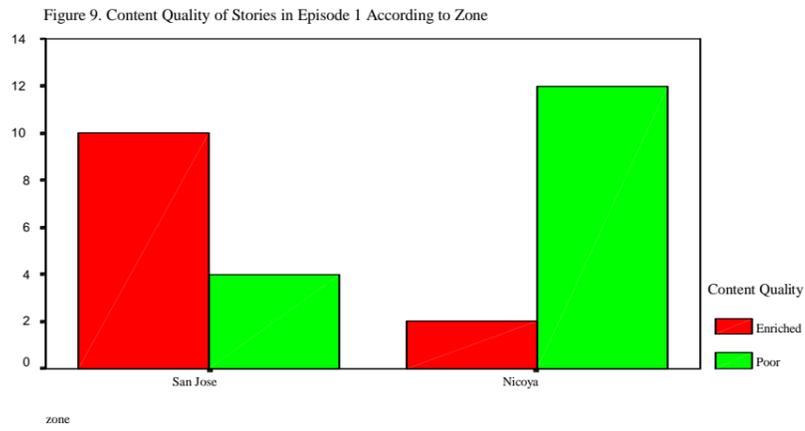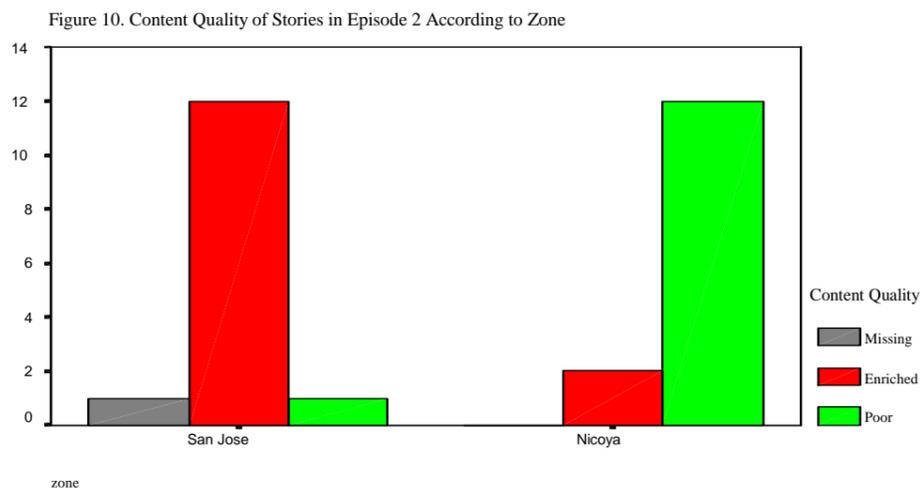
Although the San José mothers used more norms during both episodes than the Nicoyan mothers, the difference was significant only in the first episode ($x^2$03.74, df=1, p=<0.053). Nevertheless significant differences did not aroused, it is noticeable that in the shortest episode (episode 2) the San José mothers had the tendency to mention the biggest amount of norms.

Figure 11. Use of Norms Within the Two Episodes According to Zone
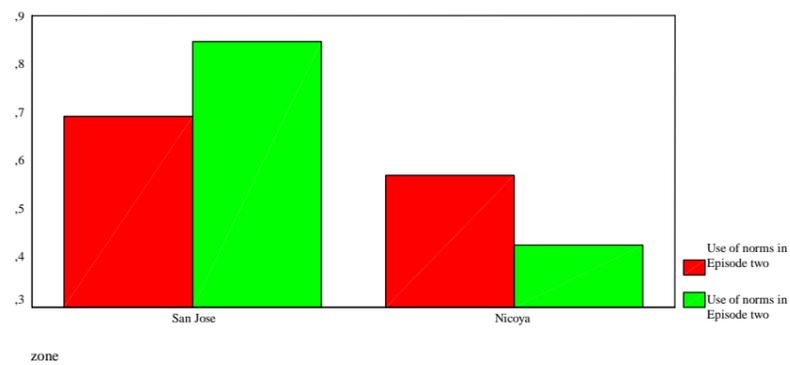
4.2.3.3. Differences Regarding Conflict Resolution and Parental Beliefs

The parental beliefs concerning conflict resolution and their expectations of children's conflict resolution were assessed with an open interview. Issues such as mothers' values concerning conflict resolution, and their beliefs about desirable and undesirable resolution styles in their children are described. Responses to these open interviews were grouped and statistically assessed.

4.2.3.4. Maternal Values Towards Conflict Resolution.

In the case of facing a conflict, Nicoya mothers answered that they may tended more to take advice or look for help from an outside source such as their mother, father, or partner, than the San José mothers did. The difference between the two groups of mothers was significant (t= -2.36, df=20.02, p=.028, two-tailed). A second contrasting tendency, but not significant, was to think about and analyze the causes of conflict, to evaluate conditions, and to look for a solution. The San José mothers preferred this alternative method of conflict solution. They also considered that being patient, keeping one's serenity, and not loosing one's mind, is of secondary importance[47]. (See figure 12)

Figure 12. Maternal Expectancies toward Conflict Resolution According to

Zone

ZONE
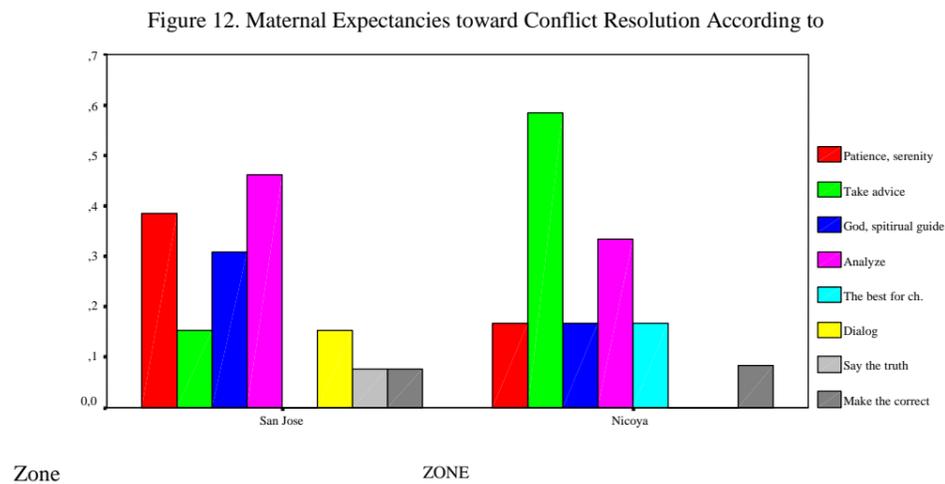
4.2.3.5. Desirable and Undesirable Resolution Style for Children.

The data revealed that Nicoyan mothers considered their own conflict resolution style to be valid for their children as well. To "take advice or seek help from someone else" was a Nicoyan mother's most frequent answer to the question about how to solve problems. "To face problems without fear, with self-confidence and in an independent manner" was their second most important response. San José mothers, however, considered the capacity to face problems to be the most important solution, while engaging in dialogue and being tolerant and diplomatic is considered to be in second place. The

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[47] The responses of the mothers were grouped in the following categories: taking advice, facing problems fearlessly, abstaining from the use of violence, being prudent and calm, using diplomatic dialogue, and being reasonable.

former response was particularly significant (t=-2.30, df=12, p=.040, two-tailed). (See figure 13)

Figure 13.   Maternal Concepts about How Children should Solve Problems
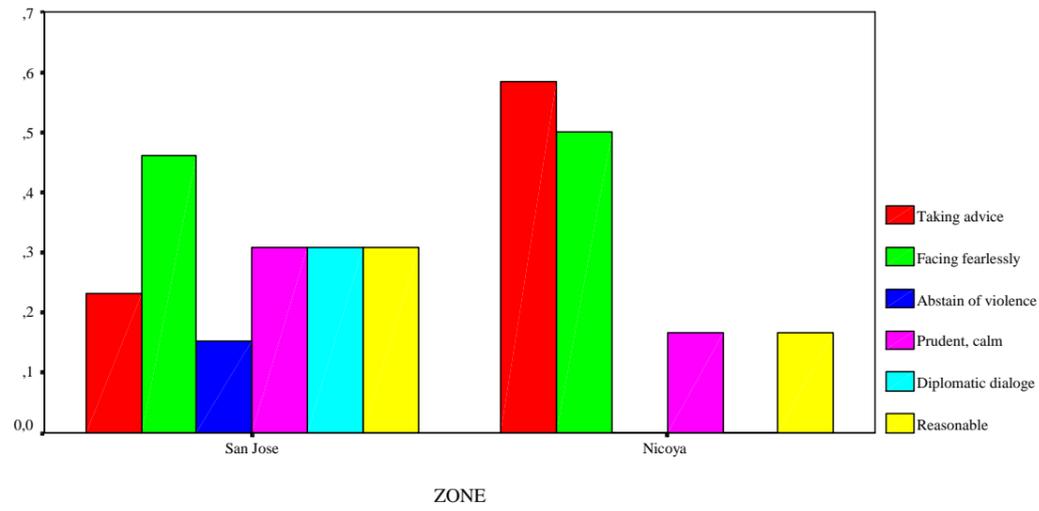
The data did not reveal significant differences regarding undesirable resolution style, although   the most frequent answers deserve to be highlighted.   San José mothers considered two main strategies to be undesirable: 1) ignoring problems, and 2) becoming violent, aggressive, and belligerent. The item the Nicoyan mothers considered most undesirable was "seeking advice from bad influences on the streets or outside the home." "The use of drugs", "alcohol and violence", and "becoming violent", as well as "insecure dependency on someone", was the Nicoyan mothers´ second most frequent reply[48] (see figure 14).

Figure 14. Maternal Concepts about How Children Should not Solve Problems

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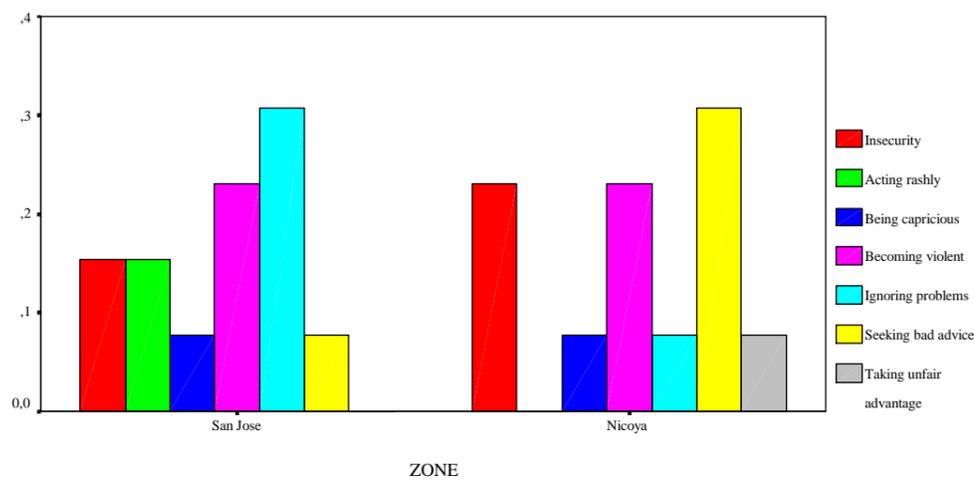
[48] The responses of the mothers were grouped in the following categories: showing insecurity, acting rashly, being capricious, becoming violent, ignoring problems, seeking bad advice, and taking unfair advantage.

4.2.3.6. Differences Regarding Parental Beliefs.

In order to identify the relevant cultural differences in terms of parental beliefs, responses from the Socialization Goals Inventory were analysed.   The six-category system (self-maximization, self-control, lovingness, decency, proper demeanour, and miscellaneous) was assessed using MANOVA. The analyses yielded no multivariate effect of the factor zone ($F(5,19)=1.62$, $p=.201$). However, the univariate analysis revealed significant effects of zone respondents for the variable self-maximization descriptors that were resorted more by San José mothers than Nicoya ones. ($F (1,23)=4.41$, $p= .047$) (see Figure 15).

Figure 15. Long-term Socialization Goals According to Zone
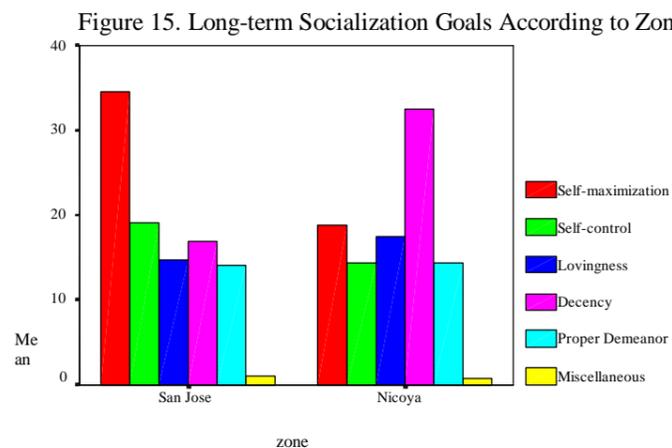
The absence of zone differences could be explained by the expected level of "interrelated" orientation among Costa Ricans. It is considered that the six-category system of the SGI does not discriminate differences between the two groups. However, the high frequency descriptors priming self-maximization among San José mothers, agree with the expected influence of individualistic values fostered in urban contexts.

In summary, both samples show differences concerning the parental beliefs, the interactive components (body distance, warmth, and stimulation), and conflict resolution styles. These differences do not build a homogenous pattern: mainly values concerning individualism appear more in San José mothers, whereas Nicoya mothers show traits in terms of warmth, and beliefs proper to interrelated styles. Assumption two is therefore partially accepted.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.1. Purpose of the study

In this study the social orientation, parental beliefs, interactive components, and conflict resolution styles from two Costa Rican samples were assessed. Three assumptions were tested. The first assumption stipulated that, among Costa Rican samples, the social orientation would correspond to an interdependent cultural orientation style. The second assumption was that despite the interdependent cultural orientation, urban and rural samples would show variability on the dimensions of interactive components of body contact, warmth and stimulation. And the third assumption was that urban and rural samples will particularly show differences among parental beliefs, cultural values related to conflict resolution, and conflict resolution styles during the conflict situations.

In summary, it was assumed that zone differences would occur as a reflection of the variability within one same cultural context with interdependent social orientation.

5.2. Discussion about the social orientation in the two samples

The following is a discussion about the social orientation in the two samples, considering both theoretical and methodological aspects.

The results obtained through the two scales corroborate Assumption 1 partially. Regarding this, the results must be interpreted according to the behavior of the scales on both samples. First, the Collectivism Scale in its original version of 10 items, which measures allocentric tendency to group goals over personal goals, did not indicate one-dimensional results and did not achieve satisfactory reliability levels. After eliminating the less significant items, the reliability levels were satisfactory, both for each sample and for the combined rating. Thus, the averages show a highly homogeneous tendency towards group allocentrism. This tendency was confirmed according to the reports of collectivism among Costa Ricans from Hofstede (1983) and Triandis (1986).

The size of the sample is considered to have affected the reliability level. However, the results after eliminating items deserve to be discussed.

The items eliminated (1,4,6,9) were those related to the sense of group harmony based on the sacrifice of one's own needs. This drives us to consider several things: the

concept of group allocentrism peculiar to collectivism, according to Yamaguchi (1984) does not show the same characteristics in Costa Rican samples. More precisely, the group sense in the Costa Rican context is not the same one that is predominant in oriental cultures, such as the Japanese or Chinese cultures. This last aspect reinforces the position assumed in this research, by discussing the theoretical and methodological limitations of issue I-C, specifically as to its application to Latin American samples. It also shows that the measuring capacity of this dimension of collectivism in Costa Rican samples is partial, since it does not discriminate between zone differences.

On the other hand, regarding the abovementioned concept of group harmony that emerges from valid items, one might assume that it would be based not so much on what is internally "sacrificed", that is an "internal locus", but on competences of social performance, or an "external locus" (Yamaguchi, 1994). This would fit with the importance that the Costa Rican cultural context grants to the repertoire of values and behaviors related to sympathy, respect, and avoiding confrontation. One might think that the importance given to these values and their respective behaviors, in the level of social interaction, grants exemption from a consequent internal sacrifice and orients efforts towards a display of social competences. This refers to one of the three dimensions of self (according to Greenwald & Becker, 1984, quoted by Yamaguchi), the concept of public-self, as an effort "to gain favorable evaluation from important others like parents or authority" (p. 178), and not necessarily the effort to fulfill a particular role within a certain reference group.

According to Yamaguchi (1995), two possible reasons for allocentric tendencies are the "psychological attachment to an in-group or the fear of rejection from in-group members" (p.660). According to this, it appears that the second reason can better explain the Costa Rican context. One would have to investigate sensibility to rejection and its relation to group allocentrism. One may also assume that the feeling of belonging to the group cannot be extrapolated to these samples. Apparently, there is more sensibility to the group when it is related to in-groups o closer reference groups.

As to family allocentrism, another dimension of interdependent social orientation, in spite of the scale's limitations family allocentrism was both high in the combined group San José/Nicoya, as in each sample. Comparing it with the results reported in the reference literature (Lay, 1998), the rates are closer to those of the eastern group than to those of the western group. In our case, mothers from Nicoya show a stronger family allocentrism than mothers from San José.

The results obtained with these samples reflect the relevance of preferably researching orientation towards the family (family allocentrism) and the elements motivating or inhibiting group allocentrism. If the research had focused on a measurement based on an one-dimensional dychotomic concept (I-C issue), this would have limited the explanation scope about social orientation, as well as intracultural variation.

We suppose that one dimension, family affiliation, is shown as a more discriminating variable than the group variable (in the sense of the Asian collectivism), at least in the group of mothers that were evaluated. This reminds us of the sense of "social tightness" regarding family bonds (Triandis, 1989). It also reinforces the thesis that the

affiliation favored by family bonds coincides with the "emotional interdependence" of Kağitçibaşi (1996c), or else it reinforces the sense of collectivism (Freeberg & Stein, 1996).

We may conclude that, theoretically, the applicability of the concept of interdependence allows us a more sensible approach to this cultural context. The cultural specificity can be accurately assessed based on family allocentrism, instead of the generality of collectivism. This is due to the fact that no relation may be found between both scales, and one would have to think that they measure different dimensions.

Methodologically, there is also a need to reapply the assessments of both scales with wider samples that thus allow for more complex analyses, aside from the fact that the samples are exclusively made up by women. It will also be important to analyze the behavior of items, as long as they provide information reinforcing culturally specific aspects.

As a conclusion, this section shows that cross-valid findings originated at an international level do not show a monolithic behavior. The cultural specificity of the nation and of each sample might be considered as the factors accounting for this, aside from being categories and methods with a certain level of generality. Now, with a certain level of intra-cultural variability, they have also provided evidence of tendencies such as family allocentrism and fear of in-group rejection characteristic of cultures of relatedness, and thus Assumption 1 would be partially accepted.

5.3. Discussion about Variability on the Interactive Components of the Two Samples

This subsection comprises the discussion about Assumption 2 concerning the variability on the dimensions of interactive components of body contact, warmth and stimulation among samples. First, the validity and extent of the proposed behavioral categories is considered, and zone differences and descriptive results are discussed.

The first aspect to be considered is the fact that, according to the analyses, none of the variables of sex of the child, education of the mother, and episode, showed any differences. The zone effect did. At the same time, the differences did not occur in all the indicators of the three components. Regarding the nine categories proposed to describe the interactive components, it is concluded that not all of them adequately described mother-child interaction. A zone effect was found in the following interactive categories: body distance, verbal and facial warmth, body warmth, and stimulation. The rest of the categories, tactile stimulation, mild vestibular stimulation, and hugging, did not reach a satisfactory descriptive level for the present Costa Rican pre-school samples.

Only two indicators, "baby talk" corresponding to the warmth component, and "mother plays" of the stimulation component, showed difference due to zone effect. Regarding the "mother plays" and "mother smiles at child" indicators, one may only speak of tendencies.

If we analyze these first data not only as differences, but also as tendencies portraying each sample, we find that: the "warmth" and "stimulation" categories tend to

show differentiated tendencies in each zone. The thesis of variability within a national context emerges as a possible explanation.

According to the discussion established in the theoretical framework, "warmth" is a dimension to which cultures of relatedness are particularly sensitive, precisely as it is a mechanism (Keller, 2000) that fosters the maximization of positive affection and more relationship-oriented contexts. The San José sample showed a greater frequency in the "baby talk" variable, whereas Nicoya showed an important tendency towards the "mother smiles to child" variable. Both variables are indicators of the verbal component and facial warmth.

The first aspect that must be discussed is the fact that there was no homogeneity between samples, which reinforces the assumption of this study regarding variability, which also arises, not as a dichotomy but in two variables of the same component. This refers to the fact that, during the interactions, the mothers from San José showed more empathy through "baby talk", while those from Nicoya do it by smiling more. Interpreting this based on variability would mean that the mothers from San José foster a greater orientation towards the child through a communicational empathic pattern such as "baby talk". The role of "baby talk" was reported in Costa Rican samples by Kulks (1999). This characteristic is predominant in the communication model described in the CMP (Keller, 2000). If we consider that the urban context of San José is more exposed to acculturation of western values, this type of communicational patterns would be more present (see Leyendecker et. al., 1997). Its particularity relates to the fact that it is the mother who promotes an approach, and the intonation of the voice becomes a resource of symmetry and empathy.

On the other hand, the resource of smiling seems to be more used by mothers from Nicoya for the promotion of facial warmth. The resource of this mechanism is corroborated in the evidence registered in theory as typical of cultures of relatedness. In this sense, it coincides with the fact that, in rural contexts within an interdependent oriented culture, traits are more marked (Field & Widmayer, 1981; Kağitçibaşi, 1996; Yovsi, 2001).

The fact that the variable "mother plays" was exhibited frequently among the mothers from San José suggests that playing comprises a condition in the interaction of mothers with their children. This could be related with the fact that for many of the mothers from Nicoya, playing with the child was understood as sharing their time and activities with him/her, instead of exclusive play. Mothers from San José had already experienced the task of playing as an empathic interaction assuming a symmetric posture.

The results show that the interactive components of body contact, warmth and stimulation, even when they reflect behavioral traits of interdependent contexts, they also show some differences by zone, as well as tendencies that particularize each sample. Thus, these results allow us to corroborate Assumption 2.

5.4. Conflict Resolution Styles

This subsection comprises the discussion on Assumption 3 concerning the differences among samples on the parental beliefs, cultural values related to conflict

resolution and conflict resolution styles during the scenario situations. Firstly, zone differences and descriptive results are discussed. Secondly, the conflict resolution styles are discussed and introduced possible relations with the parental beliefs. Finally the validity and extent of the categories is considered.

The conflict resolution styles were classified into three kinds: mother oriented, child oriented and relationship oriented. So as to characterize the particularities of the responses shown by the participants, the variables for the type of conflict resolution, the content quality of the scenario development, and the use of norms within the episodes, were also analyzed. In fact, it was confirmed that there was a diverse and variable behavior that, however, allows us to establish relationships that deserve to be discussed.

It is important to remember that both scenario situations recreate two different conflicts that set in contradiction values that are important for the cultural context of Costa Ricans. The first story was: "A naughty child is fighting with a friend but the child does not pay attention to the mother". This story confronts values of respect, sympathy, harmony, and parental obedience, but basically conflict among peers (Killen & Nucci, 1995). The second story was "The mother must feed her child, but the child does not want to eat." In it, the mother-child relationship is shaded with the obligation of the mother to feed the child. The child's response confronts two possible ways to assume the fact: rejection is seen as disobedience, or it is accepted as the will of the child. In this case, mother-child conflict is focused more on rules (Herrera & Dunn, 1997).

Regarding solution orientation, both samples show the same tendency towards promoting "mother oriented" solutions, but the mothers from Nicoya do it more frequently in both episodes. A particular aspect is that, for the second episode, the frequency increases in Nicoya and decreases in San José, without the difference being significant. At the same time, in the second episode both samples proportionally increase child-oriented solutions, but more so in San José. Regarding this, one can only make considerations related to tendencies.

The fact that both samples promote a mother-orientated solution in both episodes may be related to more directive forms of conflict resolution. The solution is subordinated to one of the actors, in this case the mother. We find a correspondence with findings in other interdependent contexts (Keller & Eckensberger, 1998) such as Latin American ones (Triandis et. al., 1988; García- Coll et. al., 1992; Auginis, 1998 and Bornstein, 1995).

Regarding the tendencies in the other types of resolution, San José shows a greater frequency in relationship-oriented solutions for both. One might interpret that mothers from San José show a greater conciliatory concern in which the criteria of neither actor will prevail. This kind of response is reported as frequent in mothers belonging to societies that have an independent and individualistic orientation (Dix, 1992; Killen & Wainryb, 2000).

In relating the tendencies with the specific conflict for each episode, even if causal relationships cannot be established, at least the difference in tendencies cannot

be attributed to the type of conflict. However, it may be established that, both regarding peer conflict and meal times, child-oriented solutions are not fostered. Apparently, the mothers reacted to both types of conflict (peer and rules) pursuing their own goals, and not stimulating a sense of personal autonomy in the child. As speculation goes, one could only attribute more child-oriented solutions among mothers from San José to the influence of western values that foster more interest towards the child's individuality. (See Triandis et. al., 1988; Keller & Eckensberger, 1998)

As can be observed up until now, the picture shown is not homogeneous. Again, the differences cannot be significantly appreciated probably due to the size of the samples. However, attention is drawn to the different tendencies that emerge both within and among samples. Even if dispersion does not allow us to unify unidirectional tendencies that portray an interdependent context, variability may be inscribed within this orientation, but with zone particularities: upon both episodes, mothers from San José are less directive that those from Nicoya, and they also show a greater frequency of conciliatory solutions. The argument exposed above about acculturation of urban mothers would allow us to interpret a less directive concern, however with more concern towards more harmonic solutions. This coincides with the interest of Costa Ricans in showing an approach that will avoid confrontation as an end product. We must remember the conflict avoidance in interrelated cultures quoted by Triandis (1995) and the tendency towards "paper over" (Triandis, 1988). Whether the way in which this is achieved is consistent with what is considered typical of interdependent contexts, is something that must be verified after considering the rest of the data.

Regarding the types of solution, we must focus on the fact that there was a certain pattern within the samples and among them. San José showed a greater tendency towards more argumentative stories for both episodes than Nicoya. The same conditions arose for the "integrative" solution. On the contrary, Nicoya showed more "emotional" stories for both episodes than San José. Finally, we may complete this panorama by saying that within the Nicoya sample there was a greater number of episodes without a pattern that could be classified within one of the three categories proposed.

The fact that mothers from Nicoya give primacy to not developing clear solutions, or else emotional ones, can be inscribed within a conflict confrontation that is not oriented towards clear solutions or an emotional display that provides a solution. The concern for social desirability exhibited by Costa Ricans seems to be an attractive argument to explain this fact. At the same time, the fact that mothers from San José develop more argumentative solutions, or else integrative ones, refers us firstly to the differences in the educational levels of the mothers of both areas. But one must also consider that the urban area is more exposed to western values that favor talking or reasoning with the child, as well as trying to integrate rational and emotional values. Regarding this, González Ortega (1998) has already referred to the fact that urban groups elicit more individualized patterns than rural groups. Also, findings reported by Killen & Wainryb (2000) show that, when facing conflict

resolution situations, individualistic tendencies promote more verbal explanation, whereas collectivistic tendencies promote more feeling statements.

The argument provided above may also explain the significant differences as to the content quality of stories in both episodes. In the case of use of norms, it is interesting that there is a greater use in mothers from San José than in mothers from Nicoya, even when this is significant for the first episode, in spite of showing a greater repertoire during the second episode. The fact may be complemented with the mother-oriented solution tendency discussed above, since it is more consistent to think that more directive styles are accompanied by more standards and rules (Dix, 1992; Hastings & Grusec, 1998). If one interprets the response of urban mothers based on the meaning of the conflict in both episodes, it would seem that in the matter of mother-child conflict resolution (conflict episode 2) standards tend to favor a faster solution (we must remember that it is the episode with the shortest average duration in both samples). Not with such intensity, but always predominantly, the resource of standards is also applicable to peer conflicts. The general behavior of both samples regarding this corroborates the findings of Alvarez et. al. (1990) among Costa Ricans, where high SES parents foster solutions related with social desirability, whereas low SES parents tend to stimulate avoidance of conflict. Other findings report a high parental directiveness within interactions among Latin American samples (García-Coll et al, 1982).

This leads us to consider that in backgrounds promoting directiveness, a sense of autonomy and self-reliance is limited or not fostered, but at the same time this promotes a higher responsiveness to maternal expectations (See Ellis& Petersen, 1992).

If we were to integrate the results analyzed so far as to solution orientation with the behavioral components, we would find that mothers from San José make greater argumentative and normative displays, but with empathic behavioral repertoires like playing and "baby talk". Meanwhile, mothers form Nicoya invest more in smiling, promoting more directive solutions, or else less argumentative solutions with more affective elements related to emotional experience, although not necessarily clearer.

Even if the assessment procedure does not allow us to establish a direct or causal relationship of behavioral repertoire and solution orientations with their respective contents, some considerations are worth making. The behavioral and content responses analyzed up until now are a product of what arises when harmony is endangered. From this point of view, one may interpret that solution orientations were accompanied by a display of emotional behaviors that strongly elicits positive affective states (baby talk, smile, playing), which provide an interactive environment as the context for conflict confrontation. Regarding this, findings were related to interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) where affect is regulated eliciting positive states and avoiding regulative affect. It is important to note that interactions tended to favor a positive attuned moment and an attractive sense of affiliation. In other words, an intense positive emotional display colludes with not showing direct ruptures and subsequent differences.

In both samples, the interaction patterns do not seem to favor emotional or interactive repertoires that openly promote self-reliance or independence. On the contrary, by not favoring the arousal of conflict and its resolution, they might limit the acquisition of self-knowledge (Killen & Nucci, 1995; Herrera & Dunn, 1998, Eisenberg, 1992). It seems that these contexts give more instrumentation for social competences oriented by social desirability (Stephan et al, 1996; Miranda & Rosabal, 1997; Rosabal, 2000). One might speculate that reinforcing the affective sense of the mother-child bond counteracts the anxiety generated by the rupture of harmony (or the appearance of a conflict). At the same time contents favoring empathic outcomes are fostered, but not necessarily because they respond to the child's needs.

5.4.1. Parental Beliefs

The following is a discussion on maternal values towards conflict resolution, and desirable and undesirable resolution styles of their children. It also comprises the discussion about maternal expectations from children assessed in both the urban and rural samples.

The main difference between the samples concerning values associated to conflict resolution, highlights the relevance that mothers from Nicoya give to the possible support that kinship and family networks may offer. Although the task researched was that of solving a conflict personally, an interesting fact is the resource of support sources, particularly from relatives. This coincides with the findings of Grusec & Goodnow (1994) and Goodnow (1992), stating that some cultures report that close and harmonious bonds among family members play an important role in conflict resolution. This contrasts with the manner reported by mothers from San José, who target strategies that prioritize individual skills: analyzing and evaluating. The need for family advice and support is not cast aside, and it is a second option for the mothers from San José. This reflects the fact that, even if there are zone differences concerning certain issues, both groups share similar values but with different ranges. The concept of intracultural variability would again provide a way to understand this.

There is consistency between maternal expectancies about themselves for conflict resolution and those about their children. The mothers from Nicoya mothers considered their own conflict resolution style as also valid for their children. The response from San José mothers may also be considered consistent: they considered the capacity to face problems to be the most important solution. We must also remember that this difference was significant.

However, we not only find consistency in the content, but also in the two responses that were more frequent for each sample. Curiously, the response tendency is inversely proportional: mothers from Nicoya value "taking advice" first and "facing fearlessly" second, while mothers from San José valued them inversely, first "facing fearlessly" and secondly "taking advice". A tendency of mothers from San José pointing towards values related with independence and self-reliance in the child seems to be more insistently clear.

No relationship or consistence could be appreciated regarding a reverse question about an undesirable resolution style for their children. However, a fact that stands out is

that the most important tendency among mothers form Nicoya was "seeking bad advice", where again we can see the importance granted to support and to the role of third parties in problem resolution, while the greatest concern for mothers from San José is about "ignoring problems". The sense of mistrust implicit in the mothers from Nicoya reminds us of the findings of Field & Widmeyer (1981), in which Latin American parents report that they must protect the child from persons outside the family and in-groups.

So far, we can summarize that, even if the data do not systematically present significant differences, the analysis of tendencies matches the assumption that both samples are inscribed within a tendency typical of interdependence social orientation, but that they also show an interesting intracultural variability in their particularities, basically regarding more interdependent values in a rural area, such as the role granted to the family group before the individual, and also values among the urban areas that exhort more certain dimensions of the individual, such as self-reliance.

Regarding the socialization goal expectancies, we find that the sample size factor again prevents us from obtaining zone effects in the responses. Therefore, the validity of the SGI and its measurement capacity is limited. Also, the application of an instrument that is sensitive to differences among diverse cultural contexts does not necessarily guarantee the measurement of differences within one same cultural context, such as zone differences. However, although the 6-category system of long-term socialization goals (SGI) did not discriminate differences between the two groups, it appears that mothers from San José prime Self-Maximization oriented values more than mothers from Nicoya (the only significant effect of zone in an univariate analysis). Also, it shows a tendency among mothers from Nicoya to prime descriptors related to the category of Decency.

Is important to note that the same category was the second most mentioned one by mothers from San José. This suggests that values related to social desirability (like the ones in decency), are stronger among Nicoya mothers. The fact that both samples are inscribed within an interdependent context, would explain the behavior of the SGI. Despite this, the instrument shows sensitivity to identifying the tendency shown by mothers from San José mothers towards values, reported by the instrument's author as characteristic of individualistic contexts (Harwood, 1992, 1996; Miller & Harwood, 2000).

Finally, after having discussed evidence related to parental beliefs, conflict resolution styles, and cultural values related to them, one may establish that Assumption 3 can be accepted, since both samples show differences that can be attributed to specific contexts, but that are mainly a reflection of an intracultural variability existing in the Costa Rican context.

5.5. General Discussion

The results discussed allow us to form a more detailed frame relating the Costa Rican cultural context, parental beliefs, and interaction patterns between two specific groups of that country. The study grants us an approach to the particularity of child development traits, as well as to the issues orienting the child's psychological development in a cultural context. Also, the study provides us with socio-historical elements that, along with the findings available up until now, give us a culturally sensitive approach to the Costa

Rican context, functioning as a key to interpret the results of the empirical part of the study. We trust that these also provide a basis on which to construct theoretical and methodological parameters that respond to the child's development needs in this country.

Up until now, the discussion has been oriented by assumptions that are based on theoretical conceptualizations and their subsequent methods. Upon the question of how significant the research questions turned out to be, two levels must be considered: the theoretical one and the methodological one, both obviously having intimate links to one another.

Firstly, in the theoretical considerations there was a polemic as to the fact that the categories established for the study of psychological development are overrun by conditions such as ethnocentrism (Kagitçibasi, 1992, 1996a, 1996b), lack of sensibility to cultural specificity (Saraswathi, 1998, Killen & Wainryb, 2000), and that they are the product of cross-valid findings from international studies (Hermans & Kempens, 1998; Conway et. al., 2001). These conditions are assumed as a starting point, again considering the issue of independence-interdependence (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) along with the concept of cultural variability (Killen & Wainryb, 2000), so that specificity may be detected in variability.

Delving into the cultural meaning system of the Costa Rican context has complemented a more sensitive apprehension of the parent-child interaction (Harwood, et al, 1996). Specifically, it has been established how in this society the particular sense that the family bond has (Marín & Triandis, 1985; Triandis et. al., 1986; Triandis et. al., 1989) orients and provides sensibility towards the sense of personal relationships in other spheres. The results of the Collectivism Scale and the Family Allocentrism Scale make us think that family Allocentrism is a dimension that explains the interrelated orientation better than group orientation. Also, as to group allocentrism, further research must be done into sensibility to rejection, especially due to its relationship with social desirability.

A correlation among cultural values, parental beliefs, and behavioral traits, reinforce sensitivity to others, in which the weight of individuality, self-achievement and autonomy may vary. The case of the "respect" value may be exemplified, since it overlaps meanings, both of not transgressing the rules and of maintaining good interpersonal relations. It may also hide fear of confrontation. In spite of the weight it has socially and in parental beliefs, one could also see how there are other ambivalent social behaviors that transgress the limits of respect, such as "mockery". Just like there were variations in the interdependence levels, there were also differentiated levels of individualism. The processes of acculturation that are the product of education (Keller, 2000; Yovsi, 2001), social complexity (Saraswathi, 1998) and influence of western values and adaptation processes in urban life conditions, are also identified in this study as factors that activate levels of individualism. This sets upon us the challenge of researching acculturation and the combination of traditional autochthonous values with new ones.

The design proposed by this study included inquiring about and relating three levels that are traditionally approached by different areas of psychology: cultural orientation, parental belief systems and mother-child interaction patterns. This pretense implied both theoretical and measurement limitations. Certain categories have an explanation potential limited to

their areas, whose adaptation presented the threat of interpolation. Because of these reasons, and because of the fact that it is a first systematical approach to the Costa Rican context, the character of the study was defined as exploratory. This limits highly the scope of the interpretations.

The proposal of the CMP (Keller, 2000) allowed us to overcome some of the limitations mentioned above, by establishing correlations between interaction patterns and cultural aspects. Some categories were shown to be sensitive and applicable to samples. The Collectivism Scale (Yamaguchi, 1984), the Family Allocentrism Scale (Lay, 1998), and the SGI (Harwood, 1992), did not allow for such flexibility. They didn't present a homogeneous frame because reality just isn't like that. This makes us suppose that the categories established for finding differences in other contexts do not necessarily work in the same way in our environment.

Apparently, the assumption that Costa Rican samples are inscribed within an interdependent social orientation, makes more sense as long as intracultural variability (Greenfield, 1994; Keller & Greenfield, 2000) y la coexistence of orientations (Killen & Wainryb, 2000) are considered. The study makes it clear that the dichotomous and unidirectional proposals such as issue I-C issue do not bear justice to reality. The thing is that the validity of this assumption is corroborated by the results that strengthen the acceptance of the other two. The interactive components show differences related to areas, but also to levels of variability within one same orientation. Their results give us some light, but they mainly incite us towards investigating further into this line within the same cultural context and, moreover, towards delving deeper into both rural and urban contexts. One may corroborate how mothers, according to their culture, attend to different culturally relevant dimensions of behavior.

It is relevant to orient the study of child development within a culture, but incorporating new categories that allow us to delve deeper into specificity, such as variability and complexity. This study validates the proposals of the theoretical background related to understanding socialization as the acquisition of competence, but crossed-over by particularities across cultures (Greenfield, 2000; Keller & Greenfield, 2000). If we consider development as cultural-specific shaped, one may know culture in its psychic sense (Keller & Eckensberger, 1998).

Analyzing behavioral repertoires within mother-child interaction in Costa Rican samples, based on situations that elicited specific cultural values (conflict resolution styles), was appropriate, since this not only activates the specific behavioral display, but also reveals elements that explain its transmission, assimilation, and staging. We could perceive how the transmission of culture is not limited to the transmission of belief systems or ideas, but also of the sense they acquire through bodily manifestations and interactive patterns.

Regarding the pertinence of the variables used with models that have an integrative character, such as this, but that explain less variables more deeply, one real limitation is the difficulty that arises in these type of observational studies due to the cost (in the ample sense of the word) of establishing and recruiting the sample, the instruments, data assessment, especially when the number of participants will be a basic condition to achieve statistic significance. This results in the inability to separate variable definition, its specific methods, with the scope of the results.

Perhaps the challenge of developing models whose effectiveness criteria are not mainly based on statistic significance will allow us to promote methodological strategies that are more adaptable to real conditions and, why not, more human-friendly.

5.6. Shortcomings

The following shortcomings can be identified:

There should be a greater deepening into the systematization of indigenous concepts and ethno-theories related not only to child development, but also to other relevant issues like family relations, health and care, and nutrition. It would also be important to identify and retrieve specific autochthonous beliefs and traditional folk knowledge that still plays a role on socialization goals and psychological development, particularly the ones from ethnic groups such as today's indigenous people, the Afro Caribbean group, as well as the important number of Nicaraguan immigrants.

The subject of ethno-theories must also be approached in its changes and evolution, from a perspective throughout time and throughout generations.

At a research level, we must meet the challenge of refining and precising theoretical categories and methods that allow us to identify differences among subcultures/zones, and attend to different culturally relevant dimensions.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Located within the general background of the study of cultures of relatedness and cultures of separateness, this study is based on the intention of recognizing intracultural variability indicators and levels that would allow for an exploratory approach to cultural specificity. Thus, we planned three assumptions oriented towards corroborating the applicability of concepts and methods that are the product of cross-valid findings applied to an international level, to one same cultural context, the Costa Rican one. Social orientation, parental beliefs, interactive components, and conflict resolution styles, were investigated.

The study provided wide historical, social, and cultural context placements that allow for an adequate interpretation of the data obtained. The results reported in literature regarding interdependent social orientation exhibited in Costa Rican samples were corroborated, but we also found indicators that reinforce the idea of variability levels within the independence and interdependence levels. There were certain particularities identified that distinguish them from the definitions in traditional cross-cultural psychology, which makes us think that said dimensions are not always adequate for describing culture in its specificity, as they are for its differences.

The dimensions that are shown to be culturally sensitive are family orientation, a sense of own-fulfillment linked to others, and manners of emotional expression varying in the level of warmth. Approaches from conflict responsiveness evidenced a particular sense of harmony linked more to social agreement upon avoiding before confronting.

As possible reasons that explain the differences, we have acculturation processes linked to urban areas and certain lifestyles, as well as the presence of cultural referents that are typical of a Latin American context, such as social harmony, responsiveness to social conventions and social desirability.

The study contributed in establishing the bases for an approach based on developmental psychology, that was sensitive to Costa Rican reality, as of which theoretical and methodological elements may be derived, even for other similar samples (for example, Central American).

Regarding the limitations found in the study, we must detail the following: we assume that the size of the sample may have affected error levels, such as significance, for the different measurements made.

The instruments were not capable of providing a homogeneous frame, nor of fully reflecting the dimensions for which they were originally designed.

An ulterior application must be given to the scales; they must be reproduced with a greater sample, so as to corroborate if there is validity for all the items in each, or if a greater sensibility of the Costa Rican sample to certain items must be considered.

The following recommendations are proposed:

- Developing research programs oriented towards exploring and characterizing child-raising patterns in Costa Rica, with their particularities and their cultural specificity (in ethnic groups, social classes, Nicaraguan immigrants)
- Extending the research to the Central American area. Working with immigrants from different nationalities is presented as a first option, as well as for the analysis of acculturation processes.
- Opening the scope to trans-generational studies and to the transmission of ethno-theories, child-raising patterns and interactive patterns.
- Developing trans-generational studies regarding the transmission of ethno-theories, child-raising patterns and interactive patterns.
- Producing local texts concerning socialization within the Costa Rican culture.
- Researching, refining, and developing methods that are sensitive an applicable to local samples.

Thus, the challenge remains for local psychology to avoid the risk of reproducing, within our contexts, imported models of science and psychology that would make us part of the "scientific acculturation", instead of developing our own models. As opposed to this, scientific work must allow us to transit by paths that open wide to cultural differences as a part of the psychological phenomenon.

As one last reflection, which may be summarized in the theoretical and methodological dimensions of a new field, we may state that the dimension of cultural specificity may be a starting point as well as a limitation, depending on the point of view. We are partly responsible for reproducing imported models of science and psychology within our contexts, and for participating in "scientific acculturation" instead developing our own models. It would make sense to stop some sort of "transplantation" of knowledge very much related to "cultural domination", and begin treading along paths that are wide open to cultural differences as part of the psychological phenomenon.

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<u>APPENDICES</u>

APPENDIX 1

(CONSENT FORMULA FOR PARTICIPATION)

Estimada señora,

Sirva la presente para saludarla y a la vez solicitar su colaboración. Actualmente se lleva a cabo una investigación entre la Universidad de Costa Rica y la Universidad de Osnabrück, de la República Federal de Alemania sobre la relación entre la madre y su hijo(a) en las culturas costarricense y alemana. La misma coincide con en el proyecto de investigación de Tesis Doctoral del Licenciado Mariano Rosabal Coto, profesor investigador del Instituto de Investigaciones Psicológicas de la Universidad de Costa Rica. El Dr. Domingo Campos R. se encarga de coordinar por el Instituto de Investigaciones Psicológicas, y el suscrito, Geovanny León S. como asistente y entrevistador.

La colaboración solicitada consiste en su anuencia a participar ya sea la primera o la segunda parte de dicha investigación, o bien en ambas. La primera parte consiste en una breve entrevista con base a un cuestionario. Esta sería efectuada por el asistente.

La segunda parte tomaría lugar en los meses de Agosto y Septiembre. Consiste en la filmación de situaciones de interacción entre Ud. y su hijo(a), además de una entrevista grabada en audio. Esta parte está a cargo del responsable de la investigación, Lic. Rosabal. La filmación puede durar cerca de media hora en total, y los cuestionarios cerca de una hora. Ambas situaciones se pueden hacer el mismo día o en otro posterior.

La entrevista inicial es anónima. Para la segunda parte de la investigación tanto los videos como la entrevista serán empleados con fines estrictamente investigativos.

Todo el material que se obtenga ser procesado en Alemania y permitir enriquecer una gran base de datos sobre investigaciones transculturales que estudian el desarrollo del niño(a) y su relación con la madre.

Sírvase responder el formulario adjunto indicando su disposición o no a participar. En caso de que acepte participar solo en la primera parte, nos pondremos de acuerdo para una cita y muy probablemente coordinar la entrevista a través de la institución.

Si acepta participar en ambas partes agradeceríamos que nos facilite sus datos personales básicos en la hoja para ese efecto se adjunta, además de firmar una carta aceptando tomar parte en la investigación y colaborar según lo establecido en la misma.

Para cualquier pregunta respecto a la investigación y su eventual participación, puede ponerse en contacto con el Dr. Domingo Campos del Instituto de Investigaciones Psicológicas al teléfono 207 - 4217.

Agradeciendo de antemano su colaboración y atención a la presente, se despide,

Atentamente,

Bach. Giovanny León Sanabria.
C. 911983.

Asistente de Investigación.
Universidad de Costa Rica

Por favor llene este formulario lo más completo y claro posible. Gracias.

Acepta participar en la investigación:

( ) NO

( ) SI, solo en la primera parte.
( ) SI, solo en la segunda parte.
( ) SI en toda la investigación.   (Sírvase contestar las siguientes preguntas)

Nombre y dos apellidos:
Dirección exacta:
Dirección Postal (si se tiene):
Teléfonos donde localizarla:
Fax:
Edad:
Ocupación:
Fecha de nacimiento de su hijo(a):
Mi disposición de tiempo durante la semana es:
( ) cualquier día de la semana
( ) solo de Lunes a Viernes
( ) solo fines de semana

Mi disposición de tiempo durante el día es:
( ) solo durante las mananas
( ) solo durante las tardes

Yo, (nombre de la madre)   estoy en disposición de participar en la investigación arriba mencionada. Con ello se entiende: aceptar ser entrevistada, dar la información solicitada, grabada y aceptar ser filmada en interacción con mi hijo(a) en mi hogar, facilitar las condiciones para que tanto las entrevistas como las filmaciones se lleven a cabo segœn los plazos que se definan.

Además estoy de acuerdo que el material obtenido (entrevistas, cintas de audio y vídeos u otro material impreso) sea utilizado con fines investigativos en la Universidad de Osnabrück y la Universidad de Costa Rica.

Firma:

Muchas gracias por su colaboración.

Original (para Investigador)
Copia (para la Madre)

APPENDIX 2

Participant No. _____

Questionnaire about Conflict Situations among Mother-child interaction.

This questionnaire is part of an investigation in developmental psychology developed by the University of Costa Rica and the University of Osnabrück in Germany, I would appreciate your collaboration answering the following questions.
The data will be used as an important part of a research project about the experience of Costa Rican mothers in child rearing practices.
The information is anonymous, what is important is your opinion about the topics questioned. For each question, answer according to your experience as a mother.

1) According to your experience rearing a child, and to your responsibility as a mother, what do you define as a Conflict Situation between you and your son/daughter? That is in everyday experience, the moments in which you and your child do not agree about something (for example a daily activity, something that must be done, etc.) and a solution must be found.

_____
_____

2) According to the definition given above and considering a representative week in your everyday life, could you remember and tell me, which conflict situations do occur? And how many times each one does so?

Conflict Situations   Weekly frequency
 1._____   _____
 2._____   _____
 3._____   _____
 4._____   _____
 5._____   _____
 6._____   _____
 7._____   _____
 8._____   _____
 9._____   _____
10._____   _____

3) What do you think was the reason for each of the conflicts?

 1._____
 2._____
 3._____
 4._____
 5._____
 6._____
 7._____

8._____
9. _____
10._____

4) How was it solved?

1._____
2._____
3._____
4._____
5._____
6._____
7._____
8._____
9._____
10._____

5) In which situation did the child suffer most?

_____
_____

Why?

_____
_____

6) In which one did you suffer most?

_____
_____

Why?

_____
_____

7) Could you tell me personally, which conflict situation is the most difficult for you to handle with your child?

_____
_____

Why?

_____
_____

8) Which do you think was the worst conflict situation that you ever faced with your son/daughter? Describe it, please.

_____

_____

9)   Do you have any commentary or opinion?

_____
_____

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX 3

UNIVERSIDAD DE COSTA RICA
INSTITUTO DE INVESTIGACIONES PSICOLOGICAS

UNIVERSITÄT OSNABRÜCK
ENTWICKLUNGSPSYCHOLOGIE

Researcher: Mariano Rosabal-Coto

Participant No. : _____   Date: _____
Place: _____

Interview with the mother.

This interview is the second and final part of the research in which you and your son/daughter have participated. I would appreciate it if you could share with me some aspects about your experience as a mother. The information is anonymous; what is important is your opinion about the topics questioned.

A.   Personal Data:

1. Birth date: _____

2. Education:
2.1. Pre-school: _____
2.2. Primary: _____
2.3. Secondary: _____
2.4. University: _____
2.5. Other: _____

3. Occupation: _____

4. Religion: _____

5. Civil Status: _____

6. Occupation of partner: _____

3.1   **B. Emotional Behavior of the Child**

7. Think about a child as old as yours, and tell what you think his/her character should be. Also tell what your think his/her emotional behavior should not be.
8. What do you feel is unique or different about your child compared to other children?
9. During our lifetime, we face different conflicts or situations that require solutions. Please tell me which values or considerations you think must prevail when looking for defining a solution.

10. Tell me about the way you usually face a situation that makes you feel in conflict. What helps you find a solution?

11. How would you like your child to face and solve a conflict? What conflicts would you like him/her not to face and solve?

12. Do you have any commentars or something more to say?

   Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX 4
SOCIALIZATION GOALS INVENTORY   (SGI)

SGI   SUBJECT # _____

In this part of the study, we are looking at mothers' views about child rearing goals, what they like and what they don't like. First, I am going to ask you a couple of questions about what you would like for your own child(ren), and then I am going to ask you to describe other children you know.

1) First, I would like you to think about your own child(ren). Most mothers, when they have a child, have some ideas about what sorts of qualities they would like them to possess – what kind of person they'd like them to grow up to be. When you think about your own child, what qualities would you really like him/her to possess and he/she grows older?

2) Now I would like you to think about your own child(ren). Again, most mothers, when they have a baby, have some ideas about what sorts of qualities they would really <u>not</u> want their child(ren) to possess. When you think about your own child(ren) growing up, what are some of the qualities or behaviors you'd really not want to see him/her come to possess as he/she grows older?

3) You told me about some of the qualities you would like to see in your own child come. Of course, all children have both good and bad qualities, but right now I would like you to think just about the good qualities you were describing to me. Can you think of a specific child you know who has some of the good qualities you mentioned, or at least the beginnings of them, and describe that child for me?

4) You told me about some of the qualities you would not want to see your own child come to possess. Of course, all children have both good and bad qualities, but right now I would like you to think just about the negative qualities you were describing to me. Can you think of a specific child you know who has some of the negative qualities you mentioned, or at least the beginnings of them, and describe that child for me?

APPENDIX 5

COLLECTIVISM SCALE ITEMS

Response format:
1= extremely uncharacteristic
2= very uncharacteristic
3= characteristic
4= very characteristic
5= extremely characteristic

1. I sacrifice self-interest for my group. 1 2 3 4 5
(I don't sacrifice self-interest for my group.)

2. I act as fellow group members would prefer. 1 2 3 4 5
(I don't think it necessary to act as fellow group members would prefer.)

3. I stick with my group even through difficulties. 1 2 3 4 5

4. I maintain harmony in my group. 1 2 3 4 5

5. I respect the majority's wish. 1 2 3 4 5
(I don't change my opinions in conformity with those of the majority.)

6. I don't support my group when they are wrong. 1 2 3 4 5
(I support my group, whether they are right or wrong.)

7. I don't change my opinions in conformity with those of the majority 1 2 3 4 5

8. I remain in my group if they need me, even though dissatisfied with them. 1 2 3 4 5

9. I assert my opposition when I disagree strongly with the members of my group. 1 2 3 4 5
(I avoid arguments within my group, even when I strongly disagree with other members.)

10. I make an effort to avoid disagreements with my group members. 1 2 3 4 5

The items in parentheses correspond to the original English version. The numbered items were the ones applied in Spanish.

APPENDIX 6

FAMILY ALLOCENTRISM SCALE ITEMS

Response format:
1= Extremely uncharacteristic
2= Very uncharacteristic
3= Characteristic
4= Very characteristic
5= Extremely characteristic

1.	I am very similar to my parents.	1	2	3	4	5	
2.	I work hard at school to please my family.	1	2	3	4	5	
3.	I follow my feelings even if it makes my parents unhappy. *(reverse key)*	1	2	3	4	5	
4.	I would be honored by my family's accomplishments.	1	2	3	4	5	
5.	My ability to relate to my family is a sign of my competence as a mature person.	1	2	3	4	5	
6.	Once you get married your parents should no longer be involved in major life choices. *(reverse key)*	1	2	3	4	5	
7.	The opinions of my family are important to me.	1	2	3	4	5	
8.	Knowing that I need to rely on my family makes me happy.	1	2	3	4	5	
9.	I will be responsible for taking care of my aging parents.	1	2	3	4	5	
10.	If a family members fail, I feel responsible.	1	2	3	4	5	
11.	Even when away from home, I should consider my parents' values.	1	2	3	4	5	
12.	I would feel ashamed if I told my parents "no" when they asked me to do something.	1	2	3	4	5	
13.	My happiness depends on the happiness of my family.	1	2	3	4	5	
14.	I have certain duties and obligations in my family.	1	2	3	4	5	
15.	There are a lot of differences between me and other members of my family. *(reversed key)*	1	2	3	4	5	
16.	I think it is important to get along with my family at all costs.	1	2	3	4	5	
17.	I should not say what is on my mind in case it upsets my family.	1	2	3	4	5	
18.	My needs are not the same as my family's. *(reversed key)*	1	2	3	4	5	
19.	After I leave my parents' house, I am not accountable to them. *(reversed key)*	1	2	3	4	5	
20.	I respect my parents' wishes even if they are not my own.	1	2	3	4	5	
21.	It is important to feel independent of one's family. *(reversed key)*	1	2	3	4	5	

The reversed key items applied in the Spanish version are specified in parentheses.

APPENDIX 7

MANUAL FOR THE ASSESSMENT OF MOTHER-CHILD INTERACTIONS

by

Mariano ROSABAL-COTO

University of Osnabrück

Department of Culture and Developmental Psychology

INTRODUCTION

This manual is conceived to help in the assessment of the interaction between dyads of mothers and their young children during free-play and scenario episodes. The age of the children ranges from one year six months to two years six months. The analysis of the video material comprises maternal behavioral categories and verbal content related to the scenario episodes, which are related to the meaning and the verbal content of the interaction. Since the maternal behavior should be assessed by independent coders, this document constitutes a guide for the required procedures.

In a first part of the document, the definition and assessment of the maternal behavior related to body contact, warmth, and maternal stimulation towards the child during the episodes are introduced. In the second part of the document, the assessment of the verbal content in the scenario episodes is defined.

Categories related to maternal body distance, maternal warmth, and maternal stimulation were adapted from the study of mother-child interaction with newborns developed by Keller, Völker & Zach (1997). Categories for the assessment of verbal content specifically related to conflict situations were revised and adapted by the researcher according to the literature. All the procedures consider the cultural context of Costa Rica.

The assessment of the free-play episodes differs from the assessment related to the two scenario episodes. Maternal behavior should be assessed in all three episodes in each dyad, whereas verbal content should only be assessed in the two scenario episodes. The coding should be done according to a time sampling, incidence in 10 sec. interval for each video sequence. Spanish native speakers should assess the verbal content.

With respect to the amount of time to be coded in each episode, only the last 3 minutes of each free play episodes should be coded. The two scenario episodes should be coded completely without any time limit.

The register of each variable should be made on the available formulas. (See Appendix 8)

Maternal Behavior

Body distance

Definition: The body contact system is related to bodily regulation and highly related to emotional warmth. The body proximity between caregiver and child may result in further body stimulation for the child and also in fostering the emotional bond. The assessment would be according to the proximity level between mother and child. It comprises four different levels from intense to distant:

Intense: The occurrence of intense proximity between mother and child means that their bodies touch each other. For example, the child sits and/or lies over parts of the mother's body.

Close proximity: The distance between the mother and her child is 50 cm or less so that body contact could occur easily (e.g. the distance of the mothers' arm). Body contact may not be constant, but is frequent.

Proximity: This means a distance of 50 cm or less but without any body contact.

Distance: This is when the child is out of reach of the mother. The body distance is more than 1.50 m. between mother and child and the interaction is not centered on body contact.

Maternal stimulation

Definition: The object stimulation system as an activity of childcare among western societies, fostering cognitive development through explorative activities (Keller, 1992). Adapted for older children, maternal stimulation should be understood as two possible maternal behaviors toward the child: 'mother teaches' and 'mother plays'.

Playing / Teaching Orientation:

Mother teaches something to the child:
This is when the mother teaches her child during play or conversation. For example by transmitting or testing new knowledge, social rules, moral or ethic norms.

Mother plays with the child:
This is when the mother gets involved in the child's play adapting to the logic of the game, and not trying to deviate the child from its behavior. The behavior can be described as enjoying the pleasure of playing.

Warmth

Definition: Warmth is understood as the mothers' physical behavior towards the child, that reflects acceptance, support, and empathy and tender expressions. The warmth could occur

in different ways, whether bodily or verbally within an interaction. Two main warmth dimensions are used: *verbal/facial warmth* and *body warmth***.**

Verbal/facial warmth
This is the acceptance and empathy shown in the maternal behavior towards the child either or through gestures.

Mother's tone of voice

This category relates directly to the changes in the range of the maternal tone of voice during the interaction. Four main distinctions of tone should guide the assessment: silence, a normal tone of voice, smoothening of the voice and bay talk. The last two are directly related to warmth.

The normal tone of voice and silences during the interaction should be assessed as control variables. This may make it easier to distinguish modulations in the voice. Before assessing each episode it is necessary to look them previously without coding, and to try to define which is the normal tone of the mother. For example, sequences where the only verbal expressions are "yes", "no", "uhm", "aja", and when the mother speaks with someone else, should be considered as normal voice. Because voice intonations may alternate in short periods of time, the coding criterion is that the sequence goes on for more than five seconds. Short periods of silence in a sequence do not rate as silence; the criterion is that the silence goes on for ten seconds or more.

Baby talk

Baby talk occurs when, within adults' speech with little children, the intonation ot the pattern changes in an affectionate way. Forms are consonant aberration, particularly of silibants and the palatals.

Examples are the mothers' childish voice related with role-playing. The gesticulation of the mother tends to increase during these moments.

Smoothening
This is when the voice tone is tender and soft. Examples are alternation of low and/or high voice intonations expressing tenderness in a melodious way. Phrases and words tend to be shortened. Maternal singing during the episode should be coded as smoothening.

Smiling

This is when the mother smiles widely and tenderly as an explicit gesture of her affective attunement to the child. For instance, smiling could occur in the context of face-to-face sequences, but these should not be a condition. All short-time smiles should be considered. In cases in which the mother's face is not visible on the videotape but the sound indicates that she is smiling should be coded. Cases in which the mother does not smile at the child but to a third person (e. g. interviewer, relative, etc) are not considered.

Body warmth

Tactile Stimulation

This consists of any kind of sensitive stimulation initiative and behavior from the mother that stimulates the proprioceptive system of the child. Examples are the touching, and caressing of any part of the child's' body. It does not imply necessarily motor activity from the child, whose attitude may be passive and receptive. Verbal behavior can occur at the same time. Casual touching from the mother should not be coded.

Small vestibular stimulation
This is when the mother moves the child in a gentle way, rocking and swinging it. For example the mother softly tickles generating a body reaction in the child. Due to this stimulation, the position of the child's body is not supposed to be significantly disturbed.

Hugging, embracing
This is a kind of stimulation that combines both motor and tactile stimulation. The mother hugs/embraces the child, grabs, and swings, or caresses him (her).[49]

Verbal content

Solution of conflict situation episodes

Mother oriented solutions:
The mother guides, instructs and elaborates the argument frequently whereby the child must repeat her words. At the end she precipitates the behavior or situation, or acts in such a way (placing things, toys, puppets, etc.) that the child develops the solution because of the mother.
Child oriented solutions:
In this case the mother lets the child suggest, guide and elaborate the argument. She accepts that the child refuses to repeat what she suggests.   There exists a tolerance of what the child defines as solution of the conflict, without trying to influence the solution. Mainly her role is to support the child's initiative.
Relationship oriented solutions: Both, mother and child elaborate and develop the story.

Type of conflict resolution

The type of conflict resolution is related to the level of rationality and/or affectivity that predominates in the resolution of the conflict. Three possible criteria are to be considered:
Rational: the resolution is argued, rationalized and/or the conflict is explained.
Emotional: An effective resolution for the conflict is not stimulated.   A kiss, a hug, an affective signal or gesture is substituted for the resolution.
Integration: An integration of affective elements with rational elements towards the resolution takes place.

Content Quality of the stories

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[49] *This category responds to a more culture specific practice (The Costa Rican "acurruque" or "sangoloteo")*

This comprises two possible dimensions: an enriched story or a poor story.

1. *Enriched story:* at least three of the following criteria should occur: the story is personalized (e.g. the child and/or his/her own family are protagonists in the stories); new elements, beside the dolls, are included in the story (e.g. songs, rhymes, jokes, dancing, games); new or parallel conflict situations arise during the episode (e. g. the child does not follow instructions, refuses to participate); when more than one story is developed or both elaborate their own stories.

2. *Poor story:* at least two of the following criteria should occur: only the suggested story is developed; the same predefined characters are used; the content in terms of argument is poor.

Norms

This term refers to the explicit norms mentioned by the mothers during the scenario episodes.

APPENDIX 8 CODING FORMULAS

Participant: **Situation:**

Coder: **Date:**

BODY BEHAVIOR												
Body Distance					Body Position							
Body Distance				Stimulation	Same Level				Different Level			
Int.	C.P	Pro	Dist.	Vestibular Stim	Lap	Side	Conv.	Front.	Behind	Floor	Change Pos.	

Sekunden												
0	10											
10	20											
20	30											
30	40											
40	50											
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Int.	C.P	Pro	Dist.	Vestibular Stim	Lap	Side	Conv.	Front.	Behind	Floor	Change Pos.	
Body Distance				Stimulation	Same Level				Different Level			

Participant : Situation:

Coder: Date:

INTERACTION									
Attention			Playing			Initiative			
Sekunden	Excl.	Div.	M.teaches	Mother plays		M. Verbal	Mnon-verb	Ch. V.	Ch.non-ver.
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Participant: Situation:

Coder: Date:

Warmth									
Verbal and facial warmth							**Body warmth**		
Tone of Voice									
Sekunden	silence	normal	smooth	baby t.	**Smile**		*Pra.*	*T.stim.*	*S.V.S.*	*Hug/emb.*
					ch.	som.				
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

Verbal content of Conflict situations

Participant :   Siuation:
Coder: Date:

SOLUTION:

Mother oriented	Child oriented	Relationship oriented

TYPE OF SOLUTION:

Argued	Emotional	Integration

NEW CONFLICTS:

No	Yes

New conflicts:

3.2   CONTENT QUALITY OF STORIES:
_____   A. Enriched

More than story	
Personalize	
Inclusion	
New situations	

_____   B. Poor

Only one story	
Same characters	
Poor content	

NORMS: