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SOCIAL EXCHANGE
Participation in Pre-Schools

A thesis presented in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF EDUCATION
at
Massey University

Fay Barbara Deane

1976

ABSTRACT

Pre-school roll numbers indicate that the proportion of European children who attend pre-school in New Zealand is greater than the proportion of ethnic minority group children. This thesis presents an exploratory study of some of the patterns of participation that exist within one Kindergarten. These patterns are compared with a non-participant sample which consisted of mothers from different ethnic backgrounds. In order to provide a viable framework for comparison, the study is carried out within the general context of exchange theory.

A research review of participation in education is presented at the beginning of the study. This is done in order to establish a rationale for some issues raised later in the study with regard to ethnic minority groups. As well, the research literature provides a base for examination of the research problem in the social exchange area.

Some theoretical implications of social exchange are then examined under three sections, the mechanics, commodities and dynamics of exchange. The empirical model is then presented with implications from the theory translated to the case of the Kindergarten and Playcentre.

Hypotheses are stated together with a definition of the research problem in the research design chapter. As well, the methodology including sample, interview techniques and data analysis are presented.

Results obtained from the interviews are then presented under three headings of access to information, anticipated rewards and expectation-meeting. A discussion which co-ordinates questions central to the research problem, and results and theoretical implications follows the presentation of results.

Finally, the conclusion highlights some implications from the results. These are discussed with direct relationship to Kindergartens and Playcentres.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people have helped and encouraged me during the completion of this thesis. To those who are neither named nor forgotten I owe thanks and appreciation, as well as to:

Professor R.S. Adams for guidance and constructive criticism.

Professor C.G.N. Hill for encouragement and constant support.

Mr Kai Hui for assistance from his Department.

Members of the Manawatu Free Kindergarten Association for financial assistance.

Dianna Smith, Kindergarten Supervisor, for willing co-operation.

Brian and Edith for assistance in interviewing.

Dr J. Harre and Community College Council Members for time to work.

Mothers we interviewed, for time and co-operation.

David, for endless patience and forbearance.

Barbara, for gentle humour in all crises.

John, for quiet supportiveness at all times.

Grant, for moral support and practical assistance with his calculator.

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INTRODUCTION

At the present time, pre-school services are somewhat underdeveloped. The need to expand them is underlined by the long waiting lists for entry and the lack of buildings for both Playcentres and Kindergartens. Although parents of pre-schoolers have in theory a certain flexibility in choice of alternative services, the growing demand for places has restricted, if not eliminated the opportunity to choose. As a consequence, both organisations will inevitably come to employ a selection device of some kind, intentional or non-intentional, thus determining who shall benefit from the service and who shall not.

Information available concerning growth patterns in Kindergartens and Playcentres indicates that a large proportion of minority group children are among those who for one reason or another are not recipients of the service. The question of whether this trend is one that is imposed, albeit unwittingly, by the organisations, or is self-imposed by parents, has important implications for the future development of pre-school education. If it is imposed by the organisation, then the manner in which this occurs needs to be identified. If it is self-imposed by non-participants, then it may be necessary to extend the range of alternatives available in the pre-school area in order to enable those who wish to participate to do so.

The question of why some mothers participate and others do not is the theme of this present study and it is to be approached by means of social exchange theory, principally because social exchange theory provides a useful means for viewing patterns of participation that already exist. Thus the study is structured to examine the nature of parent participation in pre-schools within the context of exchange theory. Further, the study is centred around the following questions fundamental to the issue:

1. How does ethnic background affect participation in pre-school organisations?
2. Is there a difference in communication patterns between participant and non-participant mothers that allows for accurate information gathering concerning participation?

3. What are the reward expectations of participant mothers in pre-school organisations?

To this end, the thesis is organised in the following way. Chapter One is a resumé of recent research which highlights some aspects pertinent to participation in education. Chapter Two is a consideration of the theoretical orientation within which the study is presented, that of social exchange. In Chapter Three, the empirical model is developed. Implications inherent in the theoretical stance for two pre-school organisations, the Kindergarten Association and the Playcentre Movement are discussed. Chapter Four serves two purposes. First issues central to the research problem are outlined and second, the research design is explicated. Results of the investigation are given in Chapter Five. The final Chapter is a discussion of the results. Discussion is presented within the framework of issues that arise from the research presented in Chapter One, the theoretical stance in Chapter Two and the empirical model developed in Chapter Three. Finally, in the conclusion, the outcome of the discussion is considered further in the light of the questions presented in this Introduction.

Chapter One

RESEARCH REVIEW

Material presented in Chapter one is arranged to highlight some of the relevant research concerned with parent and child participation in both the formal education system and the pre-school. The research review is not constructed in a conventional manner, but rather consists of a selection of research evidence used to argue a case and explicate the following items:

1. Ethnic cultural background and status as variables that influence participation and performance in education.
2. 'Client' participation in education as a dichotomy of parent/child participation.
3. Importance of decision making as a facilitator of achievement.

Thelen (1954) has made the point that every group is both a microcosm of the prevailing culture and yet a unique event, for each group develops its own set of norms. Being a part of an environment larger than its own particular setting, a group both receives pressures and exerts pressure on other groups, thus requiring continued adjustments. People move in and out of diverse groups, thus giving occasion for individual adjustment in a variety of situations.

The importance of situational factors in learning has been stressed by Bruner (1972) who sees cultural learning differences as lying not so much in differences between skills possessed, but rather as residing in differences in situations to which differing cultural groups apply the skills. Different minor cultural groups may possess the same underlying competencies as major cultural groups. Differences in performance are accounted for by the situational context in which the competence is expressed. For example, groups of Kpelle rice

farmers and Yale students were both asked to estimate the quantity of given amounts of rice. Although the students were rated higher in intelligence, the farmers' performance in the task was rated as superior. Differences in performance were accounted for by the situation in which the competency was expressed. (Gay and Cole, 1967.)

One inference that may be drawn from such research is that where children from minority cultures enter the school situation without learning experiences available to majority group children, performance will differ. However, conclusions about potential ability would require additional information. Further, such difference may be due to the situational context in which the competency is expressed. One solution to the problem of differences in performance due to the situational context may be for minority group children entering the education system to have opportunity to transfer already acquired skills in ways that will allow them to participate in the acquisition of intellectual skills necessary for success in a dominant culture. Opportunity to use already acquired skills contrasts with the line of 'cultural deprivation' taken in earlier research. Previously, research has attempted to discover origins of differences in performance by minority and majority culture groups. For instance minority groups have been seen as lacking in achievement motivation (Ausubal, 1964), lacking in the development of an elaborated language code (Bernstein, 1967), lacking in independent initiative and the ability to delay gratification (Chilman and Hunt, 1966).

From findings of this nature it could be argued that the ability of many minority culture members will not allow for participation on equal terms with members of majority culture groups. However, there may be considerable value in discovering what exists in a traditional system of learning that will allow minority groups to participate more proficiently in education. Where this occurred in conjunction with

necessary adjustments within the system, participation would then be based on a model of reciprocity rather than one of compensation or deficiency.

An example of a possibly important feature of participation within minority and majority culture groups emerges from tentative research carried out by Graves and Graves (1973) in schools, kindergartens and playcentres. In the study, differences in patterns of group formation were highlighted. Polynesians were seen to exhibit an 'inclusive' mode of interaction, while Europeans displayed an 'exclusive' mode. Differences in cultural norms are seen to govern contrasting principles in the formation of social units. Groups formed on the basis of 'inclusion' aim at solidarity among members and are pervaded by a sense of belonging. 'Exclusion' as a principle of group formation sets a standard whereby either solitary activities occur by individuals in the presence of others, or intensive one-to-one relations develop with a single other person.

Two earlier exploratory studies carried out by Ritchie (1968) and McDonald (1973) appear to support, in part, the differences found between minority and majority culture groups in the Graves' study. Ritchie suggests that it is the dominant culture that makes participation by Maori students a problem in the school. The apparent poor performance of Maori children is seen as resting far less on parental and home deficiencies than on the intransigent nature of the schools. Lack of participation amongst Maori parents at parent-teacher meetings and lack of support for the school are seen as symptoms of the problem rather than being the problem

McDonald's study indicated that in playcentres where a multi-racial composition of members emerged over a period of time, centres that were originally predominantly Maori, with Maori leadership, tended to become Pakeha dominated and finally Pakeha in composition as Maori mothers ceased to participate. In those multi-racial groups where Maoris did continue to participate, they did so at the formal level rather than the

informal, as this was where initial association mostly occurred. The separation effect was seen as being a consequence of differences in reasons for participation. Pakeha mothers were seen as participating for reasons of friendship while Maori mothers tended to participate for kinship reasons.

The differences found in European, Polynesian and Maori styles of participation have important implications for education institutions. For instance if pre-schools and formal education organisations do function only from an 'exclusive' mode to promote participation in learning activities then the European student may be adequately catered for, while the Polynesian or Maori student may be at a considerable disadvantage. Similarly if one of the major functions of the school is to assist in the child's socialisation, then again non-european students may be in a situation that could be detrimental to social and intellectual well-being by hindering participation rather than promoting it.

The discussion this far has centred on ethnic cultural factors as they may affect participation in education. Status, allocated through position and socio-economic factors may also influence participation. For instance restraints on people of low status against communicating in social situations involving individuals of unequal status have been noted by Hurwitz, Zarder and Hymovitch (1960). Individuals with high status were seen to communicate more frequently than individuals with low status. If, as is suggested in this present study, communication does provide the means of reinforcement and information gathering necessary to evaluate others expectations, then participants of low status may be most likely to withdraw from groups because of lack of information. This is in line with the Lewin, Zippitt and White (1939) research where it was demonstrated that social climate within the groups affected both performance and satisfaction of members. Again, where group composition includes members of high and low status, low status members may be

dissatisfied with the degree of participation they can display and consequently withdraw from the group. Such factors may help account for lack of parent participation in parent/teacher meetings and pre-schools as well as the high rate of truancy that appears to occur in schools amongst Polynesian and Maori students.

In order to accommodate adequately for participation in education by all members, both potential and actual, some changes may be required in the present system of education organisations. If so, then this statement made by Simon concerning participation becomes highly relevant. He says:

"Significant changes in human behaviour can be brought about rapidly only if the persons who are expected to change participate in deciding what the change shall be, and how it shall be made." (1955)

Implicit in and central to this statement is the notion that in order to obtain and maintain participation, activities engaged in by participants must be seen by them to be relevant. Where participants are involved in making decisions concerning activities they are to engage in, these are more likely to be seen by them as relevant. The statement is highlighted by results of a study carried out by French and Israel (1960), where a group of workers were given opportunity to participate in decisions concerning their work activities in order to increase production. However, even after participation in the decision making had occurred the expected production increase did not follow. Results were attributed to the fact that the decisions in which the workers participated had little relevance to their actual day-to-day work. For optimum participation by students in schools, work activities probably need also to have relevance for them. Again involvement in decision making may provide the most efficient means of this kind of feedback to students. A study carried out by Flanders (1951) showed that where students did participate in classroom decision ~~there was~~ less hostility towards teachers and less tension amongst students. Further the degree to which teachers are able to participate in

school decision making may be positively correlated with their interaction with students as Flijals (1967) found.

If involvement by workers, students and teachers in decision making facilitates participation, then parent involvement may also reasonably be expected to facilitate their participation. In line with this statement, a study by Cloward and Jones (1963) showed a positive correlation between the involvement of parents in schools affairs and their evaluation of the importance of education together with attitudes towards school as an institution.

While it is recognised in this present study that many education organisations do in fact attempt to involve students, teachers and parents in organisation affairs, the area of involvement is very often at the fund raising, cup of tea, small discussion level. When students, teachers and parents participate actively in decision making at a level of individual relevancy, then participation patterns may become markedly different.

Parental patterns characteristic of lower socio-economic groups have been noted by Chilman (1966) as showing an anticipation of failure and distrust of middle class institutions such as schools. Such characteristics may actually be reinforced by the institutions through lack of communication and presentation of opportunity to take part in decision making activities.

Repercussions from having parents involved in decision making may be more important than just that of having parent participation. Parent participation as a facilitator of their children's achievement appears to be an important variable in education. Again this is in line with available research. Studies carried out by Schiff (1967) and Lopate et al (1970) indicated that parent participation and co-operation in school affairs led to higher pupil achievement, better school attendance and study habits. Again, engaging parents in school activities that were relevant to their children's achievement was found by Shipman (1965) to assist in development of attitudes in children that aided achievement. Parental interest in a child's education is seen by Douglas (1964) as the most general variable that

influences school success. However, unless parental interest is given opportunity to become manifest through actual relevant participation, it may remain only a general rather than specific influential variable. Where parent-teacher meetings have poor attendance, lack of parental support is often attributed to lack of parental interest. More pertinent may be lack of relevance as perceived by parents rather than lack of interest. Parents have little or no opportunity to participate in decisions that will affect the day-by-day activities of their children in education organisations.

Within the pre-school area, parent participation may be the critical factor in facilitating the later success of children from minority ethnic groups. Grotberg (1972) in fact sees the degree to which parents participate in the decision making process and educational programme of an institution as a possible determinant of the level of effect of that institution. While the Maori and Polynesian student may appear in some cases to be a reluctant participant, it may be that school organisation and methods of planning combined serve at best only to mitigate the effects of already existing differences as Calvert (1969) suggests.

All children, and particularly minority culture group children who have not participated in pre-school activities may already be at a disadvantage on entry to the infant room in relation to children who have attended pre-school. As the Report of the Committee of Enquiry into Pre-school Education states:

".... there is evidence in support of the view that social setting has an impact on children's cognitive development. Those who come from homes which do not transmit the varied cultural patterns, experiences and verbal skills which are characteristic of New Zealand society, commonly have difficulty in profiting from their educational opportunities. (1971, p.31.)

At this point, the relevancy of reciprocity as a model for participation becomes important rather than the deficiency model. Where only the individual has constantly to make adjustments, performance of minority culture group children is unlikely to reach the levels of realised potential.

Summary

The research has been arranged in this chapter to emphasize the importance of three areas in relation to participation in education. They are as follows:

1. Ethnic cultural background and status as variables that influence participation and performance in education.
2. The importance of parent and child participation in education.
3. Participation in decision making as a facilitator of achievement.

The importance of reciprocity as a model of participation for minority culture groups has been stressed rather than a compensatory model. Such a model would include decision making activities by parents and students, thus allowing for a greater degree of relevancy in educational programmes, and thus increasing performance.

Chapter Two

SOCIAL EXCHANGE SOME THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to provide, within the general context of exchange theory, a theoretical framework that attempts to explain why members participate in groups. The position to be taken in the study will be specified principally by focusing on crucial issues that have been raised by exchange theorists.

A basic premise of exchange theory is that whether or not members join or remain in social groups depends on a negotiated process of exchange of commodities that yield 'benefits' or rewards. Necessarily this exchange involves mechanisms by which commodities are transferred, while as well the process has its own dynamic character.

These three principal aspects, viz: mechanics, commodities and dynamics of exchange will serve as foci for the discussion that follows. However, while it may be convenient to discuss each of these aspects separately in order to identify characteristics which account for participation in groups, it should be noted that social exchange is a complexity of human behaviour that does not occur in a discrete manner. Social exchange is a diffusion of these three components. Therefore a consideration of the totality of the process is desirable rather than the separateness of each section.

Mechanics of the Exchange Process

For the purposes of this paper, the mechanics of the exchange process are defined as those aspects of human behaviour that give account to why participation occurs by group members. The mechanics of exchange also determine in part which commodity individuals will use in the exchange process. Such behaviour consists of the voluntary actions carried out by individuals on the basis of evaluations. Evaluations, in turn, are a function of value orientation held as a result of previous socialisation. Thus, prior to participation in a group, intending or

prospective members have expectations of the benefits that will eventuate as a result of involvement.

Because whether or not membership of the group is voluntary or compulsory affects the nature of the exchange process, and because the present study is concerned only with voluntary groups, it is necessary to discuss some aspects which are fundamental to the term 'voluntary'.

In this thesis, reliance will be placed on Taylor's position. The concept of rationality as presented by Taylor (1961, p.179) is inherent in the term 'voluntary action' and thus distinguishes between behaviour that is unsolicited and that which results from acts of coercion. Taylor lists three criteria necessary for rational choice to occur. They are freedom, enlightenment and impartiality and may be defined as follows. A rational choice is free to the extent that the choice is not decisively determined by unconscious motives. Although it is impossible to say to what extent subconscious motives have determined the decision, there must be an element of conscious thought. That is deliberation and choice have been involved. Secondly, a choice is enlightened according to the degree alternatives between which an individual has to choose are fully known to him. Three kinds of knowledge are required for enlightenment to occur - intellectual, imaginative and practical knowledge. Impartiality in making choices requires a detached or objective view, unbiased by previous experience to the extent that choice is made on the basis of present relevant information. To use Parson's (1959) terms, a judgement needs to be made largely on the criterion of performance, or what will be required of the individual in a given situation.

The criteria specified are ideal by nature and consistent with Weber's (1947) use of the Ideal Type. However, the criteria should apply in principle at least to decisions made by individuals concerning participation, since the extent to which individuals evaluate alternatives on a rational basis will affect the nature of their involvement. That is, the degree to which the choice to join a group can be made freely, impartially and with full

knowledge of how the group is structured and functions will affect the evaluations and therefore the expectations individuals hold in regard to participation.

Behaviour that results from individuals having to select from a number of behavioural choices the most appropriate to apply in response to the presence or action of others has, as Larson (1973, p.155) points out, been an inherent of both Thomas (1961) and Parsons (1959) with their concepts of 'activity' and 'action'. In this thesis, it is posited that such choices are made on the basis of previous evaluations which result in certain expectations prior to participation, and further that the degree to which participation is a voluntary action or contains the elements of rational choice, will determine the extent to which expectation-meeting occurs. Blau's (1964, p.129) position lends support. He makes the assumption that human beings choose between alternative potential associates or courses of action by evaluating the experiences or expected experiences with each in terms of preference ranking and then selecting the best alternative. Both rational and irrational choices are seen by Blau to be governed by these considerations. However, where evaluations are made with freedom, enlightenment and impartiality, it is reasonable to expect that rational choice will occur and therefore expectations are more likely to be met.

Following Berger, Cohen and Zelditch (1966), in the present study expectations are taken as disposition concepts that are activated in suitable settings. Thus expectations provide an important basis for the mechanics of the exchange process as they occur outside actual group participation, and also serve to account in part for that participation. However, expectations also need to be considered within the situational context of participation and so are a part of the dynamics of the exchange process. This aspect is developed further in section three of this chapter.

Further, this study considers expectation of reciprocation from participation as a fundamental of social exchange. Again,

Blau's (1964) position provides support. His definition of the social exchange process refers to actions of individuals that are contingent on rewarding reaction from others, such action ceasing when expected reactions are not forthcoming. Therefore, in order to continue receiving rewarding benefits, reciprocation must occur, and further before participation occurs, members will expect reciprocity to be an integral part of the exchange process. The importance of reciprocity within the structure of exchange theory has been highlighted by Ekeh (1974, p.205). Ekeh points out significant differences between mutual and univocal reciprocity as promulgated by Lévi-Strauss (1957, pp. 84-94). The former term has generally been employed to account for two-person interaction models. As Gouldner states:

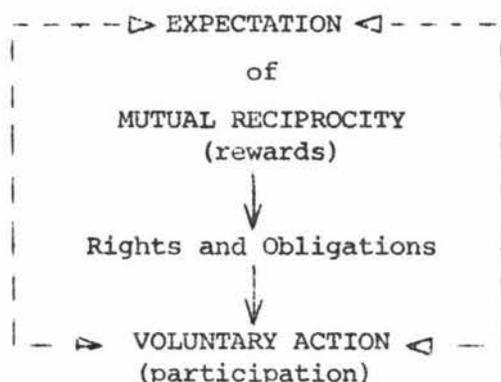
"Reciprocity connotes that each party has rights and duties these can be stable patterns of reciprocity qua exchange only insofar as each party has both rights and duties." (1960, p.169)

Univocal reciprocity applies to social interaction involving three or more persons. Rather than rights and duties being a matter of mutual reciprocation, they become 'generalised' in the sense that immediate or direct reciprocity need not occur. For instance, for the first arrival at the scene of an accident, there is a duty to do something such as apply first aid, call the police or an ambulance. Such action is not taken with the expectation of reciprocity from the accident victims, but rather with the expectation that anyone would do the same for the helper if necessary. Thus, univocal reciprocity is concerned with generalised rights and duties that lead to indirect rewards and tend to operate in a broad social context rather than within.

In the present study, however, emphasis is directed toward mutual reciprocity rather than univocal reciprocity since the study's main concern is directed toward a particular social setting. The character of mutual reciprocity is amplified in Figure 1, which describes the sequence of events prior to the exchange process where participation is on a voluntary basis. Expectations of mutual reciprocity, involving both rights and

obligations, is seen as the rewarding feature of participation that leads to voluntary action, or simply, the individual joins the group. Where expectation-meeting occurs, that is there is mutual reciprocity, there will be further expectation of reciprocation and so participation continues.

Figure 1
Characteristics of Mutual Reciprocity



However, where expectations are not met, that is, mutual reciprocity is not present, participation may then cease as the rewarding feature of membership would not be present. Further, where there is no expectation of mutual reciprocity, there will be no participation, since there will be no expectation of reward.

The present study follows Gouldner (1964) and sees the characteristics of mutual reciprocity as important in explaining initiation of voluntary actions and in this paper particularly within non coercive institutions. That is individuals have expectations of reward or benefit from interaction, together with expectation of having both rights and obligations which will arise as part of their interaction. Where both rights and obligations are not held simultaneously by participants, on an equal basis, exchange need not be mutually reciprocal due to mutual indebtedness. Rather a state may exist where rights are held without an obligation to

discharge duties and vice versa. Such conditions would probably be found most readily in coercive institutions such as prisons or asylums where clients' initial participation does not occur as a result of voluntary action. Thus it is likely there will be no expectation of mutual reciprocity.

A further important distinction should be made in relation to mutual reciprocity. While univocal exchange may be considered as generalised exchange, mutual reciprocity may be regarded as a restricted exchange process. Ekeh (1974, p.209) suggests two forms:

1. Exclusive restricted exchange.
2. Inclusive restricted exchange.

In the case of exclusive restricted exchange, the exchange occurs between dyadic relationships which are completely isolated. In the second instance, dyadic relationships are implicated in a network with other dyadic relationships. The second form allows for the explanation of wider exchange processes in group situations, for which account needs to be taken. For the purposes of this paper, mutual reciprocity is seen to contain the idea of rights and obligations held simultaneously, as well as the properties of both inclusive and exclusive exchange.

To summarize thus far, the participant enters the social context after evaluation, with the expectation that voluntary action will result in benefits, such benefits arising from a basis of mutual reciprocity. Expectation of reward in a mutually reciprocal situation is seen to account for interaction within groups such as voluntary organisations, friendship groups, clubs and work groups, together with tertiary education institutions such as universities and polytechnics. The case of the primary, intermediate and secondary schools may well be a special one, since students are compelled by law to enter the situation. The criteria specified earlier for rational choice in relation to voluntary action cannot be applied to either the students as clients or their parents as guardians.

Blau (1964, p.128) draws an analytic distinction between associations that are intrinsically attractive and those to which men are attracted by expectation of extrinsic benefits. However, wherever the difference lies between extrinsic and intrinsic expectation, such differences can only become manifest through the behaviour of participants. If participation is based on expectation derived from rational evaluation, then individuals attracted for intrinsic reasons will tend towards those groups where positive sentiment is activated and reinforced from the behaviour of others. For instance, if participation in a group is measurable by the act of attendance, the level of participation would also be identifiable by acts of involvement such as attending extra meetings. Thus the gratification or reward gained is identifiable through behaviour. That is members participate at varying levels of involvement.

Where extrinsic benefits attract individuals, they will tend toward groups which show evidence of utility or status gain. Again this is in line with Blau who says:

"Individuals often derive specific benefits from social relations because their associates deliberately go to some trouble to provide these benefits for them."
(1964, p.128)

It is posited in this study that the individual participates with the expectation that his action will be rewarded, and further that in groups where mutual reciprocity exists, expectation will fall into one or all of the following classifications

1. Gaining prestige or status.
2. Making utility gains.
3. Gaining approval or affect from others.

Following Adams (1967), these three aspects are considered as identifiable in the behavioural categories of status, utility and affect. They are dealt with more fully under section two of this chapter where the commodities of exchange are discussed.

It follows then, that the expectation of status, utility or affect gain held by participants will be a determinant of:

1. the groups in which individuals participate.

2. the level of participation within the group.
3. the commodity to be used in the exchange process.

Expectations held by participants are further considered as being a function of value orientation held as a result of prior socialisation, and are influenced by variables such as ethnicity, socio-economic status, sex and age. These variables are seen as modifiers of values, and therefore also modify expectations participants hold of gaining specific rewards from particular groups. For example, in societies where the extended family is central to life style, expectation of gaining affective reward from kinship groups is likely to be greater than in societies where the nuclear family is predominant. A further example is provided by recreational groups. In New Zealand society, the majority of men probably have greater expectation of reward from participating in a sporting group than from joining a dancing group. Such expectations are considered in this paper as being a function of value orientation derived from prior socialisation, such socialisation being affected in this case predominantly by ethnicity and sex. Thus, in line with Parsons (1959), values are seen as the normative patterns that are descriptive of a positively evaluated social system.

For the purposes of the present thesis, it is further argued that where group members share ethnic background, socio-economic status and gender, that expectations members have for reward will be more likely to be realised because the incidence of positive evaluation will be greater and thus reinforced as rewards are gained. If, following Parsons (1959) it is the normative culture of a collectivity that defines and regulates activity characterised by participation of members, then a shared cultural background should increase the likelihood of continued participation by those members. Where a given collectivity consists of individuals who hold a variety of cultural backgrounds, then the club, friendship and other groups that emerge are likely to consist of participants who reflect differentiated patterns of expectation, thus affecting both expectation-meeting and goal attainment. Such differentiation is seen as likely to

be more extreme at the intergroup level than the intragroup level.

A further important factor in the realization of expectations and inherent in the notion of values, is accurate communication that facilitates transmission of expectations and ideas between participants. Thus it is hypothesized that where there is similarity in ethnic background and socio-economic status, accurate communication is most likely to occur.

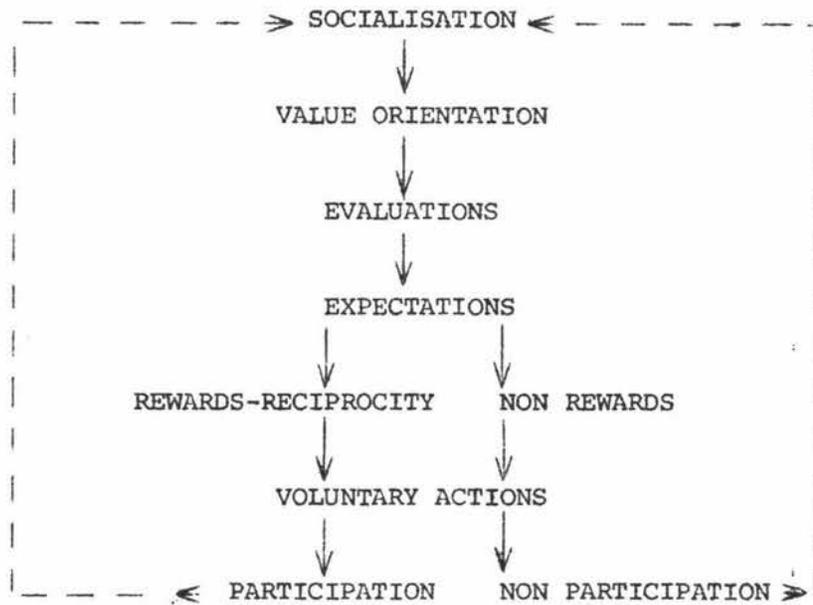
Newcomb (1963, p.168) extends this idea, arguing that insofar as accurate communication is in fact rewarding, reward value will attach to the co-communicator, and further that where increased similarity is the regular accompaniment of accurate communication, increasing similarity may become a rewarding achievement in itself. Accordingly, it is argued in this study that where groups consist of members who share ethnicity there is more likely to be shared value orientation. Further there will be a tendency for the group to remain ethnic oriented since similarity in group structure is most likely to increase due to its rewarding feature. It is also argued that potential members of differing ethnic background will have no reward expectation from participation and so remain outside the group.

While individuals will tend to participate in groups where they have expectation of prestige utility or status gains, action aimed at reward may be limited by cost involved. However, it may be argued that while costs are incurred by individuals in the exchange process, such investments need not be viewed as losses. For example, if individuals do participate in order to gain prestige, utility or approval rewards, then it may be assumed that non-participation could result in disapproval, lack of advantage or prestige. Such assumptions, however, may need to be made on a comparative basis, where in fact non-participation may result in approval or other gains from a source other than the groups concerned. Where this is so, it could not be claimed that non-participation or withdrawal results in losses or the result of punishment, but rather occurs as the result of differentiation between expectation and expectation-meeting.

Discussions concerning profit or losses are seen to be made prior to the exchange itself, and thus become part of the expectation. It is the subsequent isolation of the expectation that has the potential to cause withdrawal or even group disintegration, even in cases where the prestige, utility or approval gained is excessive.

In summary, the mechanics of the exchange process are considered as those acts of human behaviour that seem to determine both the level of participation displayed by individuals and the selection of appropriate behaviour in the exchange situation. The process by which the mechanics of the exchange process determine participation and selection are illustrated in Figure II. The figure indicates that socialisation is a modifier of value orientation held by individuals which affects both the evaluations made and the expectations held by them in relation to group participation. Also illustrated is that people join voluntary groups with the expectation that participation will be rewarded in terms of prestige, utility or approval gains on a basis of mutual reciprocity. That is members will expect to have both rights and obligations, which will necessarily involve expenditure or cost as well as receiving rewards. Voluntary actions are seen as those carried out by individuals after evaluations have been made and thus account for participation. Where voluntary action occurs, it is assumed that an element of rationality is present. The greater the degree of rationality, the greater the likelihood that expectation-meeting will occur and participation continue. Non-participation is accounted for where evaluations indicate that participation will be nonrewarding.

Figure II
Mechanics of the Exchange Process



Commodities of the Exchange Process

The commodities of exchange are defined in the present study as those behaviours or acts which can be classified as status, utility or affect. Such acts are seen to account for the questions of why people continue to participate in groups and why they leave or withdraw from groups. As with the construct 'intelligence', the constructs of status, utility and affect can only be inferred from behaviour. However, the constructs of status, utility and affect provide a useful means of categorizing behaviour, thus translating the commodities into identifiable forms. Specific behaviour can be used to distinguish between commodities, and the following definitions are in line with Bates' (1972) interpretation of Adams (1967).

Status Behaviour

Individuals are seen to display statusing behaviour when they engage in pecking order practices. That is they allocate or deny rank and recognition. Status behaviour may occur where mutual reciprocity exists since holding a position of rank may involve having rights and obligations. Characteristics of statusing

behaviour are ingratiating, deference, respect, insult or contempt.

Utility Behaviour

Those behaviours that involve the giving or denial of goods or services are seen as utility behaviour. The commodity includes barter goods, money and services such as those involved in work activities.

Affect Behaviour

The term applies to those behaviours characterised by affection, care, dislike or hate. Individuals engage in affect behaviour when they give or deny love or hate to others. The two extreme conditions where affect behaviour is most likely to occur are:

1. a love relationship such as that of Romeo and Juliet.
2. a conflict situation such as the Protestant/Roman Catholic confrontation in Ireland.

Thus where conditions of mutual reciprocity exist and individuals display status utility or affect behaviour toward one another, commodities have been exchanged in the process of social interaction.

Dynamics of the Exchange Process

Definitionally, the dynamics of the exchange process is the relationship that exists between various exchange networks and the social context in which the exchange takes place. As Burns points out:

"Most exchanges take place in a social or cultural context which affects actors' conceptions as well as the specific forms of their interaction behaviour." (1973, p.196)

The term 'network' may be considered in two ways. First in a broad manner to include organisations such as factories, clubs and lodges as utility, friendship or prestige networks. Secondly to apply to different exchange networks that exist within each of these individual social systems. Thus alternate networks offering alternate rewards may exist as subgroups, forming a lower order social system. In this manner, the social context in which exchange occurs becomes significant with regard to exchange at an individual

level, that is informally between persons, and at an organisational level, or between the individual and organisations.

The giving and receiving of status, utility and affect rewards is seen here as the act of consuming resources held by organisations and individuals in direct relation to their rights and obligations. This is in line with Stinchcombe (1965, p.161) who sees two of the important resources in the structure of an organisation as wealth and moral commitment or legitimacy. On this basis, it is assumed in this paper that where exchange networks exist at both the formal and informal levels, that both individual and organisational expectations are most likely to be met, since there will be greater opportunity for choice of rewards.

Identification of subgroup exchange networks should allow for a degree of prediction concerning level or participation in relation to members' reward expectation. For example, members in a friendship network such as a coffee club might reasonably be expected to display predominantly affect behaviour, with some statusing and utility behaviour present. However, participation could be expected to be based on reward expectation of approval. Thus continued participation would be dependent on the subsequent level of expectation-meeting that occurs, identifiable through affect behaviour. Alternatively, groups in a factory could, at the formal level, be expected to display predominantly utility behaviour, involving the giving or denying of services. However, prestige and friendship networks would also be present, some members possibly expecting approval or prestige rewards rather than, or together with, utility rewards. Within each network, an overlap of statusing, utility or affect behaviour would occur, with a predominance of the expected reward behaviour present.

The position of marginality or centrality a participant holds within a network is further considered as being, in part, dependent on the degree of expectation-meeting that occurs, which in turn will determine the degree of reinforcement received. This follows Jackson's (1959, p.547) point that the amount of contact members of a system have will determine how feedback mechanisms work, distributing information about expectations and symbolic rewards.

Interaction thus provides members with information concerning others expectations and evaluations through a communication system.

Networks are considered in the present study as important variables that act as catalysts in the integration, adaptation or alienation that occurs amongst participants at an individual level as well as a social systems level. At an individual level, the integrative, adaptive or alienative processes that occur are also seen as having a direct influence on value orientation as discussed in section one of this chapter.

In brief, then the social context in which behaviour occurs is seen as determining which networks participants are most likely to join, both at the formal and informal levels. Networks are seen to exist for exchange of status, utility or affect commodities, while the marginal or central position participants hold is posited to be a function of expectation-meeting, which thus determines whether participation continues.

Summary

Three aspects of the exchange process have been discussed under separate sections of this chapter - mechanics of the exchange process, exchange of commodities and the dynamics of the exchange process.

Mechanics of exchange have been presented as consisting of socialisation, value orientation, evaluations, expectations and voluntary action that leads to participation or non-participation. Commodities of exchange are defined as the acts of status, utility and affect. Exchange of commodities is seen to account for the question of why people continue to participate in groups and why they leave or withdraw. Dynamics of exchange refer to the situational context in which exchange occurs, together with the groups that emerge from expectation of particular benefits or rewards.

Chapter Three

EMPIRICAL MODEL: SOCIAL EXCHANGE IN PRACTICE

Chapter three is constructed to identify and examine the variable components of the exchange process outlined in chapter two. Examination is structured around the limited social context of two pre-school groups, the Playcentre Movement and the Kindergarten Association. Further, the discussion considers the components as they may serve to account for the disparity in patterns of participation that occur in the organisations in relation to European and non-European mothers, for as Barney states:

"Europeans fill a disproportionate number of places in both institutions. In Kindergartens they appear to do this at the expense of Maoris, and at Playcentres at the expense of the minor ethnic groups." (1975, p.207)

It is assumed in this present study that mothers look to the goals of the organisation when considering participation as well as the means used to achieve such goals. Thus the following outline of the goals and values of the organisations is pertinent.

Both organisations are concerned with the promotion of development of the pre-school child in the social, emotional, intellectual and physical areas. The main difference between the organisations lies in the manner in which goals are reached. Playcentres stress the role of the mother in the child's development through supervised play while Kindergartens promote trained teacher guided activities, some of which may be more formal than those concerned with play alone. Thus differences in values lie in the way it is considered goals ought to be attained. As McDonald states:

"All pre-school groups should be regarded as complex institutions whose different aspects may be perceived as carrying different values." (1974, p.62)

Therefore the structure of the organisation may be, in part, a determinant of who participates.

Mechanics of Exchange: Playcentre and Kindergarten

Because participation in both pre-schools is self-determined, it is assumed in this present study that the initial act of

participation contains the elements of voluntary action as defined in chapter two. Thus participation will be contingent on the rewarding features of that participation. The two significant terms in this statement are 'voluntary action' and 'rewarding features'. Both require closer examination in order to account for participation vis-à-vis exchange in the organisations under discussion.

Voluntary actions as considered in chapter two occur after evaluations have been made concerning the expected rewards of participation. Outcomes of evaluations concerning rewards were considered a function of value orientation held in respect of socialisation. Socialisation is in turn modified by variables such as ethnic background and sex. These statements may be translated empirically as follows.

Mothers as against fathers are the predominant participants in pre-schools due to socialisation of women to accept the role of 'home-maker' which most often includes the role of 'child-carer'. Thus socialisation is an indicator of value orientation. Men and women tend to value the 'home-making' function of women together with the vocational function of men, otherwise the status quo would be different.

Value orientation is also modified by ethnic background. For example, suggested differences in respect of goal attainment amongst Maori and Pakeha children has been noted by Bray (1973, p.103). Differences are seen as being related ethnic cultural values rather than just socio-economic status since the study was carried out with pupils from an homogeneously lower income group.

Thus in this present study ethnic background is also seen to affect value orientation, and it is further argued that value orientation will modify reward expectation.

In the specific case of the Playcentre and Kindergarten it is posited that non-participation by ethnic minority groups and other individuals may be due, in part, to evaluations that indicate participation will be non-rewarding. So that all potential members who are non-participants may be included, it should be noted that a further group would consist of those who make

evaluations concerning rewards or non-rewards that participation would bring, but who do not have sufficient information for evaluations to be accurate. For example a mother may want her child to attend Kindergarten, but does not know enrolment should occur when the child is two years old. When the child turns three, the mother may arrive with the child expecting that participation will occur. However, due to extensive waiting lists, enrolment after age two may mean the child actually begins school before her place on the list comes up. The situation appears to apply even in cases where a child may benefit more from participation than others ahead on the list. Thus the waiting list may become the determiner of participation rather than relevant judgements the trained supervisor may make regarding the needs of a child. Where this situation exists, it may be an example of trained incapacity as used by Merton (1949, p. 50). A blanket generalisation is applied to all cases rather than an adjustment to individual situations because regulations are not perceived as open to individual interpretation. Alternatively, a mother may decide that an only child would be too timid to mix with a number of unfamiliar children without knowing that peer interaction is an important aspect of social development.

It is further argued that positive evaluation will be made with expectation of gaining status, utility or affect rewards under the conditions of mutual reciprocity, and that these may occur from two perspectives. First the mother may expect rewards for the child in regard to areas of development. In this case, the prerequisite for positive evaluation will be that the goals of the organisation are valued, together with the means whereby goals are attained. Secondly, the mother may expect rewards for herself. For instance she may expect to gain utility rewards through 'extra' free time while the child is away. The latter situation requires that the mother have sufficient information concerning organisational procedure to be able to make such assessments, and also that 'time without children' is valued. Thus both organisations have two sets of clients and both may gain rewards from participation.

However, it is the mother's evaluation that will necessarily be the decisive one regarding participation.

The expectations of groups discussed thus far appear diagrammatically in Figure III. Here participants are divided into two groups. Those who value certain 'things' and expect to gain status utility or affect rewards for themselves from participation, and those who value the ideals of child development and expect rewards for their children.

Non-participants also form two groups. Those who expect to make no status utility or affect gains for themselves and those who do not value the notion of child development at least within the context of the Playcentre and Kindergarten, and therefore do not expect rewards for their children.

Of those who do not expect to gain rewards for themselves, possible non-rewarding features may be due to European dominance of group structure under two sets of conditions:

1. Where mothers have strong ethnic cultural identification with a minority group.
2. There may be a natural reticence or resistance from minority culture group mothers to participate in a majority culture dominated group. Such dominance may be interpreted by them as a barrier to entry

Where these factors apply, conditions of mutual reciprocity may not be perceived to exist since 'rights' and 'obligations' will be open to differing cultural interpretation.

Where there is no expectation of rewards for children, the dominance of European methods may hinder minority group participation again under two sets of conditions:

1. Where 'education' may be valued but child rearing practices differ.
2. Where minority group members have no access to relevant information concerning recent child development theories and pre-school goals.

Lack of information may occur because the two conditions listed above will also apply in regard to joining organisations other than pre-schools where such information may be acquired.

Figure III
Classification of Actual and Potential Members
Expectations

	Participants	Non-Participants
Self	Rewards	Non-Rewards
Child	Rewards	Non-Rewards

Commodities of Exchange - Playcentre and Kindergarten

Discussion now centres on some aspects within the organisations that may provide opportunity for display of status utility or affect behaviour together with an indication of how exchange occurs.

Status Behaviour

The allocation or denial of rank and recognition are the means whereby status becomes a commodity of the exchange process. Within the Playcentre organisation it is possible for mothers to become certificated helpers, assistant supervisors at a local level and supervisors at both local and federation level. The positions of assistants and supervisors are remunerative in some cases. In order to be eligible for a helper's certificate, mothers must first join, attend a series of Parent Education lectures and then undertake a series of elementary tasks. On completion, the assistant supervisor's course may be undertaken with a series of further tasks as may the supervisors. Thus the requirements of participation at each level act as a form of selection in allocation of rank. Such allocation ensures not all members will have equal knowledge or opportunity to utilise their knowledge within the Playcentre and status appears to be inherent in office. Further positions of office include liaison officers, education officers, committee and executive members. Thus there is opportunity for some but not all mothers to attain status positions allocated by the organisation. In exchange for allocation of status positions,

the organisation gains the services of mothers committed to the ideals of Playcentre.

Within the Kindergarten, the formal rank of assistant supervisor, supervisor or head teacher is generally denied to those who have not undertaken formal teacher training. Thus access to status positions by mothers is not possible except at committee level or where training has been completed before marriage.

The difference in training requirements between the two organisations may also mean that potential members allocate a different status ranking to the two kinds of supervising personnel - the teacher and the mother.

Utility Behaviour

Those behaviours that give or deny services or goods are utility behaviour. Both organisations offer services to parents for their children through supervised activities. However, an important aspect of these services seems to be that they must occur within the context of the building designated 'Kindergarten' or 'Playcentre'. Thus in one sense their services are denied to all children whose mothers for some reason do not have access to the appropriate buildings at the appropriate time.

Because fund raising is a necessary activity, both organisations require services and goods from participant parents from time to time.

Affect Behaviour

Affect behaviour is the giving or denial of hate or love to others. Necessarily there will be degrees of behaviour between these two extremes such as like and dislike. Since membership occurs at a formal level of the organisation, affect behaviour is most likely to be displayed at informal levels of activity. Thus it is at various clubs and committee activities offered by both organisations that affect behaviour is most likely to exist between participants rather than between the organisation per se and the participants.

Dynamics of the Exchange Process

Here the concern is with the exchange networks that exist within the organisations, and the social context in which the exchange occurs. In chapter one, the term 'networks' was considered from the viewpoint of organisations as utility, friendship or prestige networks as well as the various networks that exist among individuals within such organisations. Because the present study is concerned with the dynamics of exchange networks at the intragroup level, only these are developed in the empirical model. There may, however, be some merit in noting that positive exchange at the intergroup level between Kindergartens and Playcentres as well as other friendship, utility or prestige groups could possibly mean more efficient disposal of resources to the advantage of potential clients.

Groups that participants do belong to within the organisation are most likely to centre around their reward expectation and will therefore be most likely to reflect use of the commodity appropriate to that expectation. For instance where a participant has expectation or affect rewards, it may reasonably be expected that groups associated within the organisation such as Mothers' Club would be joined in order to meet more people and thus make more friends. Alternatively, where a participant has expectation of status rewards, it is most likely that participation in the Playcentre at least would be centred around completing supervisors' courses. Thus when the participant is in a 'supervising' position, status may be the expected reward. However, in order to obtain more qualifications, the participant may be required to attend a lecture or some other learning group. In this case, although status is the ultimate expected reward, utility rewards from the learning situation may be acceptable in the interim. Therefore, in this present study, the social context is seen to affect the participant's conception of acceptable rewards as well as the actual form of their interaction behaviour.

Where expectation-meeting occurs within any group, it is most likely that participation will either continue at that level, or become further involved. For example, a mother with a first

child attending pre-school would be more likely to want later children to attend also where expectation-meeting had occurred, thus reinforcing values held prior to initial participation.

While the situation of mothers with second or other children attending a Kindergarten or Playcentre may assist integration of existing networks, it may also hinder adaptation of the organisation to new situations that arise within the commodity through lack of new relevant information. One of the dangers in the lack of communication concerning new community needs and actual needs met may lie in the alienation of potential members that could arise as disparity grows between actual functions of the organisation and unrealised new functions.

Summary

The empirical model was constructed to examine and identify components of the exchange process outlined in the theoretical framework as they may apply in two pre-school organisations, the Kindergarten and the Playcentre. Goals of both organisations were seen to be concerned with the development of the pre-school child, differences occurring in the means of achieving goals. Playcentre stresses the role of the mother in supervised play activities, while the Kindergarten emphasises teacher guided activities.

Mechanics of the exchange process were examined within the context of the Playcentre and Kindergarten. Gender and ethnic background were considered two important variables in relation to evaluations made concerning reward expectations of participants. Reward expectation was considered from two perspectives which were presented diagrammatically. Evaluations may be made by both participants and non-participants with reward expectation for 'self' or the child. The condition of European domination in pre-school groups was presented as a possible cause of non-reward evaluations being made by mothers from ethnic minority groups.

Commodities of exchange within the two organisations have been discussed under status, utility and affect headings. Status rewards may be more readily available in the Playcentre, both organisations may offer services or utility rewards to a

limited group of people, while affect rewards may be gained when participants join other groups within the organisations such as Mothers' Club.

The dynamics of exchange are concerned with networks at the intragroup level. Such networks centre around participants reward expectations.

Chapter Four

RESEARCH DESIGN

The purpose of chapter four is to state the hypotheses from which the research is based, define the limits of the research study and explicate the design formulated to test the hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1. Participation is a function of access to information: the less the access to information the less the likelihood of participation.

Hypothesis 2. Participation is a function of anticipated reward: the greater the anticipation the greater the likelihood of participation.

Hypothesis 3. Intensity of involvement is a function of the extent to which expectations are met: the more that expectations are met, the greater the intensity of involvement.

Defining the Problem

One of the questions central to the research problem is why more minority group mothers do not participate in pre-schools NOT however because every child should or ought to attend a Kindergarten or Playcentre. The importance lies rather in acknowledging that if pre-school activities facilitate child development and enhance success opportunities within the school system, then all children should have similar opportunity for such development. If some ethnic groups do have greater access to pre-schools, then disparities already existent in performance are likely to become greater as only some children enter the school system with the skills necessary for success already highly developed, as is pointed out by the Report from the Committee of Inquiry into Pre-school Education (1971).

Convincing arguments in favour of the value of pre-school experience for most if not all children and their parents can be found in an extensive study of available literature on child development. Therefore equally important as the question of why

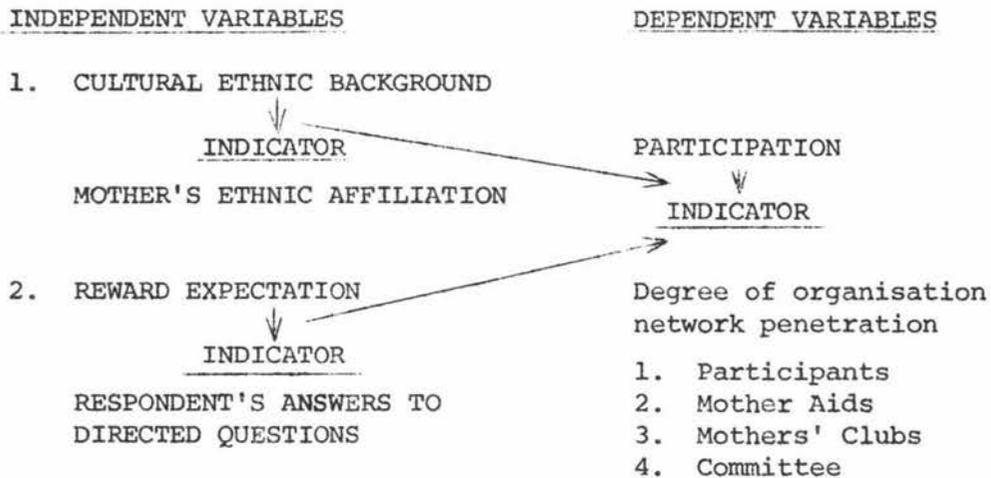
some groups do not participate is the issue of why other groups do participate in order to identify areas of possible existing dissidence. Once identified, areas of difference may then become facilitators to participation. Further, identification of reasons for differences in distribution of both participant minority and majority group mothers may provide indications for trends in possible future development in the pre-school area.

Statistics presented by McDonald (1970) on the growth of pre-school organisations and the enrolment of children aged three to five years between 1965-67 provide an indication of trends in parent participation within the Playcentre and Kindergarten movements. During the period stated, Kindergartens increased in number of units and child enrolment by ten percent. Within the ten percent enrolment increase, the number of Maori enrolments increased by forty-nine percent. For the same period, the Playcentre showed an increase in unit numbers of thirty-three percent, an enrolment increase of four percent, with an increase of only five and a half percent in Maori enrolments within that four percent.

One of the important implications from these statistics may be that urban Maori parents prefer to enrol their children in Kindergartens because active parent participation is not a prerequisite of membership as it is in Playcentre.

Thus the area of investigation for the present study is as in Figure IV. Here, the independent variables are viewed as a dichotomy of cultural ethnic background and mother's reward expectations. The indicator of ethnic background is mother's ethnic affiliation. Indicators of reward expectation is mothers' recorded answers to directed questions. Analysis of both variables should allow for measurement of the dependent variable-participation. The indicator of participation is seen as the degree of penetration in organisation networks such as initial participation, mother aids, mothers' club and the Kindergarten committee.

Figure IV
Research Design



Methodology

In order to pursue the objectives of the study, data would be required on cultural affiliation, expectations concerning participation in pre-schools and affiliation with friendship, status and utility groups from two sources - one group of participant mothers and one group of non-participant mothers.

A preliminary unpublished study of mothers' participation in two Playcentres was used as a base for determining final research procedures (Deane, 1974). Participant observation methods were used in this initial study. Results indicated that the methodology had two major limitations for the proposed research.

1. The amount of time required to observe all participants in a variety of interaction situations was not available.

2. The method did not allow for a sample of non-participants to be included from a base equivalent to that of participants. That is within a social structure similar to that of the Playcentre.

Instead, the structured interview situation was chosen as the major tool for data collection, particularly to meet the latter requirement. Important qualities of the structured interview were seen as twofold. First the amount of information that could be obtained from the interview and secondly a flexibility that allowed adaptation to individual situations. This is in line with Kerlinger (1970, p. 467) who sees the interview as a 'potent and indispensable research tool', capable of obtaining information not possible with other methods.

Two schedules were constructed, each with three sections (see Appendices A and B). The first schedule was designed for participant mothers and the second for non-participant mothers. Contents of both schedules were structured to move the interview from specific questions which required an impartial answer through to those that required a verbal indication of a value stance from the interviewee. The structure was also designed to give the interviewee time to feel at ease with the interviewer and thus increase the probability of gaining accurate information. Further, because the research problem was to be explored within the context of the theoretical stance outlined in chapter one, it was important for interviewees to be able to freely express a personal stance without undue interviewer bias. For this reason, section C of both schedules was conducted with an audio-tape. While the questions still remained structured, this method of recording ensured the flexibility necessary to retain the full meaning of each answer. Each interviewee was asked if they would co-operate by recording an audio-tape because answers to this section were likely to be more complicated than those covered previously.

Prompts were used after some of the questions for three reasons. First to ensure that where replies were likely to be hesitant, interviewers would use prompting techniques that were consistent for all interviewees. Secondly to ensure that the constructs of status, utility and affect were brought equally to the attention of each interviewee. Thirdly to allow the interviewer scope to explore the significant aspects of responses, for as Merton (1956, p.21) points out, the main objective of the focused interview is to elicit a report of what is involved that will be as complete as possible.

Two final schedules were constructed after each had been tested for range and specificity of questions with two pilot schedules. The question relating to ethnic affiliation was not posed as a separate question except in cases where ethnic affiliation was not obvious. Rather, other questions that were an integral part of the schedule gave an indication of this. For example, question forty-four in the first schedule reads:

"Do you see yourself as having any particular cultural association that influences your choice of activities to engage in?" (Appendix A)

The rationale was to reduce the number of unnecessary questions that may have affected empathy established between interviewer and interviewee.

Sample

Because of the constructives of time and resources that existed for the present study, it was not possible to use more than one Kindergarten in the research. However, selection of the Kindergarten used in the study was not arbitrary. The following aspects were significant in the choice. Since the initial study had been carried out in two Playcentres, it was felt that the choice of a Kindergarten for this present study would provide some basis for comparison between the nature of parent participation in the two organisations. Secondly, the chosen Kindergarten was situated in the suburb with the highest proportion of Maori residents recorded in the 1971 census figures for that city. Although the city itself does not have a high proportion of Maori residents when compared with some larger cities, it was felt that the number in the area was significant enough to provide a sample of non-participants in order to test the hypotheses.

The number of European residents recorded in the area from the 1971 census figures was 5599. The number of Maori residents was 150. However, although new census figures were not available when the study was carried out, there was reason to believe the number of Maori residents would have increased. This was indicated by the increased number of Maori enrolments that occurred at the local primary school. Further, the European population

had declined from 5614 in the 1966 census figures, while the Maori population had increased from 105. There were no reasons to suggest there had been a reversal in this trend.

Two Kindergartens and a Playcentre were so situated in the area that they served a similar central population, but each reached hindwise into different areas. A Day Care Centre also serviced the area. The total number of enrolments from ethnic minority groups for the three organisations was 18. The Kindergarten with the highest non-European roll of 6 was chosen for the sample.

Participant Mothers

It was considered important to have approval and co-operation from the supervisor and the parents in the Kindergarten sample. To this end, the supervisor was approached personally and informed of the research problem. At her instigation, the President of the Kindergarten Committee was also approached, and both gave full co-operation for implementation of the study. In order that mothers could also be informed, the Mothers' Club monthly meeting was attended and some indication of the area of research was given. The result was that almost all mothers co-operated fully with the interviewers. The total number of participant mothers interviewed was 69. This figure included morning and afternoon roll numbers at the time the study was carried out. Because interviewing proceeded over a period of three months, six of the mothers whose children were enrolled at the beginning of the study were not available at the time of completion. Ethnic composition was as follows: 63 were European, 5 Maori and 1 Chinese. Names and addresses of all participant mothers were obtained from the Kindergarten roll.

Non-participant Mothers

The number of mothers in the non-participant sample was 24. Again, time and resource restrictions prevented inclusion of a larger number. The major difficulty with this part of the research lay in systematically finding a suitable sample. Criteria for this sample were twofold. First the present pre-school children in the family must not be attending a pre-school, and secondly they were not to be currently enrolled at a pre-school.

Names for the non-participant sample were obtained from a list of prospective school entrants obtained from a yearly survey conducted by the local primary school. Approximately two-thirds of the sample were located in this manner. Before mothers in this group were interviewed, each of the three pre-schools in the area were asked if any of the children were enrolled. The remaining third of this sample was obtained by asking interviewees for names of relatives or friends with pre-schoolers who would meet the criteria.

Of the 24 members of the non-participant sample, 7 were European, 14 were Maori, 2 Polynesian and 1 Fijian.

Interview Training

Because members of the two samples were to be from different cultural groups, it was considered it would be an advantage to have a Maori and a European interviewer who would each interview Europeans and non-Europeans in order to reduce the possibility of contamination.

To retain interviewer reliability, two x two hour training sessions were held. During this time an interview was held and recorded by each of the interviewers, and the schedule was discussed in relation to the purpose of each question. One important aspect of the sessions was to gain familiarity with use of the audio-tape so that interviewees would be at ease during the interview sessions.

Analysing the Data

Although the two schedules were treated independently when collating the raw data, both followed similar procedures. Information from sections A and B of both schedules was coded directly onto collection sheets. Information from section C of both schedules was coded from transcripts of the audio-tapes.

Each mother in both samples was given a code number and relevant information from her schedule recorded alongside in the following manner.

First Schedule (See Appendix A)

Section A Questions 1-10 recorded directly onto coding sheets. Questions 11-12 recorded on coding sheet as coded in schedule.

Section B Questions 14-18, 20-21, 23-28, 30-34 recorded directly onto coding sheet. Questions 19, 22, 29, 35 recorded as coded on schedule.

Section C Questions 37-41 coded into behavioural categories of status, utility and affect as defined in chapter two. Recorded on code sheets. Question 42 coded into categories of 'same' and greater or less 'status', 'utility' and 'affect'. Questions 43-44 recorded as 'mixed' or 'segregated'.

For example, Question 37 asked why mothers decided to send their children to preschool at all. Answers were then coded on status, utility and affect content from transcripts of the responses, according to the behavioural categories outlined in chapter two. The following are examples of excerpts from the transcripts of Question 37.

A "Well she was lonely actually. There was hardly anybody around here for her to play with and she was inclined to be a bit shy....."

B "To give him some interest, things to do."

Transcript A was categorised as 'affect'. Transcript B categorised as 'utility - activities'. Utility reasons were further subdivided into three categories of 'control for children', 'activities for children' and 'unspecified', because mothers generally had specific reasons for wanting their children to attend a pre-school.

Question 38 asked if there was a particular reason for choosing Kindergarten rather than Playcentre. Again answers were categorised from content into status, utility and affect cells. The following are examples.

- A "Because at Kindy they seem to have organised activities and they don't just run riot like they do at Playcentre."
- B "Well Playcentre as it's name states is supposed to be a playcentre, they please themselves to a certain extent what they're doing."
- C "Oh yes, there's no discipline at Playcentre."

A was categorised 'utility-activities', B and C were categorised as 'utility-control'.

Second Schedule (See Appendix B)

- Section A Questions 1-14 recorded directly onto coding sheets.
Question 15 recorded as coded on schedule.
- Section B Questions 16-20 recorded directly onto coding sheets.
Question 21 as coded in schedule.
Questions 22-29 recorded directly onto coding sheets.
- Section C Questions 30-33 coded into behavioural categories of status, utility and affect as in chapter two and recorded.
Questions 34-35 recorded as 'mixed' or 'segregated'.

After recording information in the above manner, raw data were collected by means of tallies. For instance to find whether mothers chose Kindergarten rather than Playcentres for status, utility or affect reasons, responses recorded in each category were tallied and totalled. Thus a series of totalled categories was obtained from each section of both schedules. In order to test the hypotheses presented in this chapter, information relevant to each was first collected as raw data then used on a comparison basis supplemented by percentages and tables.

Where level of significance was required to test validity, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov one tail test was used in conjunction with the Chi-square test of significance. Where sample numbers in subcategories of data were small, the Kolmogorov-Smirnov test was used in preference to the Chi-square test. Seigel (1956, p.51) points out that the Kolmogorov-Smirnov one sample test treats individual observations separately and thus need not lose information through combining categories, and further:

"Kolmogorov-Smirnov one sample test is concerned with the degree of agreement between the distribution of a set of sample values (observed scores) and some specified theoretical distribution. It determines whether the scores in the sample can reasonably be thought to have come from a population having the theoretical distribution." (1956, p.47)

Chapter Five

RESULTS

Chapter Five sets out the results of the data analysis. Relevant data are presented under the headings of access to information, anticipated rewards and expectation-meeting. As well, the hypotheses stated in Chapter Four are listed with the appropriate heading.

Access to Information

Hypothesis 1. Participation is a function of access to information: the less the access to information the less the likelihood of participation.

One of the vital pieces of information necessary for those who wish to participate in Kindergarten is knowing to enrol the child at age 2 years. The 69 Kindergarten participants were asked where they gained that information. Results are shown in Table 1. There were two main sources for information. 21 (30.43%) of participants gained the information from a close friend, and a further 21 (30.43%) heard from the Plunket Nurse. 13 (18.84%) heard from a neighbour and 7 (10.14%) from a relative. Media was the source of information for 3 (4.34%) participants, 2 heard from radio and 1 from a formal programme. The remaining 4 participants heard from one of the following organisations: the Health Department, an Estate Agency, a Kindergarten and the Education Department. None of the participants gained their information from literature. Thus 42 (60.86%) of the participants gained involvement information from either a close friend or the Plunket Nurse.

Table 1

SOURCE: ENROLMENT INFORMATION: PARTICIPANTS

	INDIVIDUALS	MEDIA	ORGANISATIONS	LITERATURE
PERCENTAGE	Close Friend 30.43	Radio 2.89	Plunket Nurse 30.43	Magazine Nil
	Neighbour 18.84	Television Nil	Health Nurse 1.45	Newspaper Nil
	Relative 10.14	Formal Programmes 1.45	Estate Agent 1.45	Advertising Nil
	Other Nil	Advertising Nil	Kindergarten 1.45	Other Nil
		Other Nil	Education Dept 1.45	
TOTAL	59.41	4.34	36.23	Nil

Of the 24 non-participants interviewed, 20 (83.33%) knew that 1 or more pre-school facilities operated in the area. Sources for that information are shown in Table 1:1. All non-participants who had that information gained it from other individuals. None heard from organisations. 7 (35.00%) heard from a close friend and 7 from a neighbour. 4 (20.00%) heard from a relative and 2 (10.00%) from other individuals such as neighbours' children.

Table 1:1

SOURCE: PRE-SCHOOL INFORMATION: NON-PARTICIPANTS

	INDIVIDUALS	MEDIA	ORGANISATIONS	LITERATURE
PERCENTAGE	Close friend 35.00	Nil	Nil	Nil
	Neighbour 35.00	Nil	Nil	Nil
	Relative 20.00	Nil	Nil	Nil
	Other 10.00	Nil	Nil	Nil
TOTAL	100.00	Nil	Nil	Nil

Thus for 70.00% of the non-participants in this group, main sources for information concerning pre-schools were friends and neighbours.

A chi-square test used for the 43 participants and 20 non-participants who gained information from individuals, together with the 25 participants who gained information from organisations showed results significant at the .01 - .001 level. See Table 1.2.

Table 1.2

SOURCE OF INFORMATION

	INDIVIDUALS	ORGANISATIONS	TOTAL
PARTICIPANTS	(48.68) 43	(19.31) 25	68
NON-PARTICIPANTS	(14.31) 20	(5.68) 0	20
TOTAL	63	25	88

$$\chi^2 = 10.28 \quad df = 1 \quad P = 0.01 - 0.001$$

Thus non-participants are likely to gain information concerning pre-schools from individuals only, while participants are more likely to have access to enrolment information from both individuals and organisations.

Analysis of the participant group made on the basis of ethnic affiliation and source of information showed that of the 5 Maori participants, 1 heard from a relative, 2 from a close friend, 1 from the Plunket Nurse and 1 from the Health Nurse. Therefore 3 (60.00%) of Maori participants gained enrolment information from individuals and 2 (40.00%) from sources not available to non-participants. The 1 Chinese participant gained the information from a friend who was an assistant in the Kindergarten and also Chinese.

Further, when both participant and non-participant samples were compared for clubs and organisations belonged to other than Kindergarten, the following results were obtained. 42 (60.86%) of the participants belonged to other clubs, while only 7 (29.16%) of the non-participants did. A chi-square test showed significant results at the .01 - .001 level. See Table 1.3.

Table 1.3

CLUB AND ORGANISATION AFFILIATION

	PARTICIPANTS	NON-PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL
BELONG TO CLUBS	(36.35) 42	(12.64) 7	49
DO NOT BELONG TO CLUBS	(32.64) 27	(11.35) 17	44
TOTAL	69	24	93

$$X^2 = 7.18 \quad df = 1 \quad P = 0.01 - 0.001$$

Further to this, of the 42 participants who belonged to other clubs, 20 (47.61%) belonged to more than 1 other club. Where individuals belong to other clubs or organisations, they are more likely to belong to Kindergarten or vice versa. Also, where individuals do not belong to other clubs, they not only have less access to information, they are also less likely to belong to Kindergarten.

An analysis of ethnic affiliation and clubs attended by the 7 non-participants who belonged to clubs showed the following: 5 were Maori and belonged to Maori Clubs, 1 of these belonged to 5 Maori Clubs and 1 to 2 Maori clubs, 1 was Polynesian affiliated to a Church Club and 1 European belonged to the Women's League of a Men's Club. Therefore, in this instance, access to information concerning Kindergarten from club or organisation activities was limited mainly to Maori mothers attending Maori Club.

Clubs attended by participants were as follows: 7 attended Church Clubs, 3 attended Maori Clubs, 29 sports clubs, 7 Plunket organisations, 6 school clubs and 10 attended other clubs such

as Weight Watchers.

The 3 participants who belonged to Maori Clubs were also Maori, and 2 Maori participants also belonged to Sports Clubs. 2 ethnic minority group participants did not belong to any other club.

Further to this, although 20 of the non-participants knew that pre-school facilities existed in the area, such information may not have been sufficient to ensure participation. In response to Q.30, Second Schedule (See Appendix B) it was found that 7 (35.00%) of the 20 with some information still did not have sufficient information to enrol in a pre-school. Therefore a total of 11 (45.83%) non-participants did not have sufficient information to enrol. Of these, 6 (54.54%) were Maori, 2 (18.18%) European, 2 (18.18%) Polynesian and 1 Fijian. Thus 52.94% of non-European non-participants and 58.51% of the Europeans did not have sufficient information.

The hypothesis that participation is a function of access to information is supported by the results. It also appears that ethnic minority non-participants may have less access to information than European non-participants.

Anticipated Rewards

Hypothesis 2. Participation is a function of anticipated reward: the greater the anticipation, the greater the likelihood of participation.

Of the 13 non-participants who knew of the pre-schools in the area and also how to enrol, 2 did not attend through lack of transport. Both of these were Maori. The remaining 11 were categorised under utility and affect headings in response to Q.30, Second Schedule (See Appendix B). Results obtained were as follows: 10 did not participate for utility reasons and 1 for affect reasons. Utility reasons were further divided. 4 non-participants said their children did not need pre-school, 3 Maori and 1 European. 2 Europeans were working and had no time, 4 Maori non-participants had other reasons such as 'no patience'. 1 European non-participant wanted the child at home with her. See Table 2.

Table 2

REWARD ANTICIPATIONS: NON-PARTICIPANTS

	UTILITY			AFFECT	TOTAL
	<u>Pre-school Not Needed</u>	<u>Working Mother</u>	<u>Other</u>		
MAORI	3	Nil	4	Nil	7
EUROPEAN	1	2	Nil	1	4

Therefore 11 (84.61%) of the non-participants who had enough information to join a pre-school did not anticipate rewards for their children through participation that were greater than rewards from other activities. 7 (53.84%) were Maori and 4 (46.16%) were European. Further, the 7 Maori non-participants who did not anticipate rewards from pre-school greater than from other activities formed 50% of the total non-participant Maori sample. Further to this, 9 (81.81%) of the 11 non-participants who did not anticipate rewards from pre-school said that pre-school activities offered would cater for any cultural group. 7 (77.77%) of these were Maori and 2 were European.

Thus although half of the Maori non-participants saw pre-school activities as being suitable for children of all cultural groups, they did not participate because there was no anticipation of reward greater than those gained from activities already engaged in.

Reasons participants sent their children to pre-school were categorised under the behavioural categories of status, utility and affect. 33 (47.82%) were in the utility category, and 36 (52.17%) in the affect. Again the utility category was further divided. 7 (21.21%) of the utility participants specified control or discipline for their children as the expected utility reward, 18 (54.54%) specified the activities children would engage in and 8 (24.24%) did not specify which. See Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

STATUS, UTILITY, AFFECT ANTICIPATIONS

	STATUS	UTILITY	AFFECT
	Nil	Unspecified 8 Control 7 Activities 18	36
TOTAL	Nil	33	36

The choices made by participants of the most important of the status, utility and affect categories for their children in any activity was as follows: 3 (4.34%) rated status or social advantage as most important, 30 (43.47%) utility or useful activities and 33 (47.82%) friendliness or affect. 3 answers could not be coded accurately. Thus the reasons participants reported for attending pre-school were closely related to the rankings participants made of the most important considerations for the child.

Further to this, reasons participants chose Kindergarten rather than another pre-school were categorised under status, utility and affect headings. 65 (94.20%) chose Kindergarten for utility rewards or services offered. 30 (46.15%) of the 65 specified control or discipline and 24 (36.92%) for activities. 11 (16.92%) did not specify. Only 4 (5.79%) of the participants chose Kindergarten for affect reasons or the opportunity to make friends. There were no status reasons.

It appears that although participants rated both affect and utility rewards as being important for their children, and anticipated utility and affect rewards in attending a pre-school, when actually choosing which pre-school to attend, anticipation of utility rewards was greatest for all but 4 of the participants. Further to this, where participants do anticipate utility rewards, they may have greater anticipation of gaining such rewards from Kindergarten in preference to other pre-schools.

An analysis of the 6 ethnic minority participants showed the following: 2 (33.33%) wished their children to attend a pre-school for affect reasons, and 4 (66.67%) for utility reasons.

2 of the utility reasons were specified as control and 2 as activities. In rating status, utility and affect as important for their children, 2 (33.33%) rated affect as most important and 4 (66.67%) utility. In choosing a Kindergarten in preference to other pre-schools, 3 did so for affect reasons and 3 for utility reasons. Numbers in this sample were too small to do other than note them. However, 3 of the total of all 4 participants who remained in the affect category when choosing Kindergarten belonged to ethnic minority groups.

When the 17 ethnic minority and 7 European non-participants were compared with the 6 ethnic minority and 61 European participants, a chi-square test showed differences significant at the .001 level. See Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

	ETHNIC AFFILIATION		
	EUROPEAN	NON-EUROPEAN	TOTAL
PARTICIPANTS	(50.06) 61	(16.93) 6	67
NON-PARTICIPANTS	(17.93) 7	(6.06) 17	24
TOTAL	68	23	91

$$\chi^2 = 35.85 \quad df = 1 \quad P = 0.001$$

Thus participants in Kindergarten are most likely to be European. Therefore ethnic minority group members are likely not to be participants in Kindergartens.

The hypothesis that participation is a function of anticipated reward has been supported by the results. Further it appears that Europeans are more likely to anticipate rewards than members of ethnic minority groups.

Expectation-Meeting

Hypothesis 3. Intensity of involvement is a function of the extent to which expectations are met: the more that expectations are met, the greater the level of involvement.

There was opportunity for participants to be involved in the Kindergarten at 4 levels. Those at level 1 only had children attending the Kindergarten. At level 2, participants assisted in the Kindergarten and attended on some occasions with the child. Level 3 was the Mothers' Club and involved extra attendance at a night meeting once a month. Level 4 was the Kindergarten Committee, a decision-making body with membership by election.

28 (40.59%) of the 69 participants interviewed were involved beyond level 1. 13 (46.42%) were Mother Aids, 8 (28.57%) belonged to the Mothers' Club and 7 (24.99%) were on the Kindergarten Committee. Of those 28, 15 (53.57%) said their children gained as much from participation in Kindergarten as had been expected prior to participation. For the remaining 41 involved at level 1, expectation-meeting occurred for 32 (78.04%). Thus it appears that expectation meeting is more likely to occur when participants are involved at a minimal level only. However, when participants for whom expectation-meeting had occurred were further divided into levels of involvement, the following results were obtained. At level 2, 7 (53.84%) had their expectations met. Level 3, 3 (37.50%) had expectations met and at level 4 this occurred for 5 (71.42%) participants. Thus it appears that expectation meeting is most likely to occur at the extremes of minimum and maximum levels of involvement. It follows that the greatest differences between anticipated rewards and expectation-meeting occurred at levels 2 and 3. At level 2, 4 (30.76%) of participants found services less rewarding than anticipated. At level 3, 1 (12.50%) also found services less than anticipated. At level 1, 4 (9.75%) gained less service rewards than anticipated, while the number who gained less at level 4 was 1 (14.28%). The group who found services more rewarding than expected were the 4 who formed 50.00% of level 3. See Table 3.

Table 3

EXPECTATION-MEETING: PARTICIPANTS

LEVEL OF EXPECTATION-- MEETING	LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT			
	1	2	3	4
SAME	78.04%	53.84%	37.50%	71.42%
LESS	9.75%	30.76%	12.50%	14.28%
GREATER	12.19%	15.38%	50.00%	14.28%

When the 6 participants from ethnic minority groups were considered for level of involvement, only 1 was further involved at level 2. Further, expectation-meeting occurred for all ethnic minority participants and for 40 (63.49%) of the European group.

Further to this, participants were divided into 2 groups. Those who showed consistency between utility rewards anticipated for their children from pre-school, anticipation of gaining that reward from Kindergarten and the priority ranking of status, utility or affect. These formed 1 group. Those who did not formed the second group. Of the 20 (28.98%) of all participants who were consistent, 11 (55.00%) were involved at level 1. 4 (20.00%) were further involved at level 2, 4 (20.00%) at level 3 and 1 (5.00%) at level 4. A Kolmogorov-Smirnov test showed significant differences in the degrees of expectation-meeting ($\chi^2 = 8.05, 2 \text{ df}, P = .02 - .01$) that occurred. See Table 3.1. Expectations were met for the 11 involved at level 1. For the 9 involved at levels 2, 3 and 4, only 4 (44.44%) had their expectations met. 2 were involved at level 2 and 2 at level 3.

Table 3.1

CONSISTENCY IN EXPECTATIONS
AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT

	LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT				TOTAL
	1	2	3	4	
EXPECTATIONS MET	(0.733) 11	(0.866) 2	(1.000) 2	 0	15
EXPECTATIONS NOT MET	 0	(0.400) 2	(0.800) 2	(1.000) 1	5
TOTAL	11	4	4	1	20

$\chi^2 = 8.05$ $df = 2$ $P = 0.02 - 0.01$

Therefore it appears that where participants consistently anticipate the same rewards from pre-school and Kindergarten, expectation-meeting is more likely to occur at a minimal level of involvement. Where these participants become further involved, expectation-meeting may occur, but may also tend to be greater than expected.

The results have supported hypothesis 3 in part only. It may be that where expectation-meeting occurs for participants at a minimal level of involvement, differences occur when they become further involved in two ways. Either expectation may become greater or information may be gained from further involvement that indicates rewards are in fact greater than those anticipated prior to participation.

Chapter Six

DISCUSSION

The purpose of the concluding Chapter is to discuss results of the study as they bear on: research evidence presented in Chapter One, the theoretical orientation together with the implications from it presented in Chapter Two and Three and finally the questions posed in the Introduction.

Communication Patterns

Results showed that there were some commonalities in the sources from which participants and non-participants gained their information concerning pre-schools. There were also some significant differences. Approximately the same number of participants had access to information from an individual in an organisation as did the number who heard from a close friend. However, for non-participants, no information came from individuals as part of an organisation. Information was only from people classified by the respondents at the personal level as close friends or neighbours. Further, results showed that information provided for non-participants from these sources was not sufficient in all cases to enable enrolment to occur. The largest proportion of non-participants was from ethnic minority groups (70.83%) and more than half of these (52.94%) did not have sufficient enrolment information. It seems then that where non-participants have access to information from individuals at a personal level only, they may be at a disadvantage with regard to prospects for participation in pre-schools. Even among participants where there was access to a greater variety of information sources, there was still not a wide range of differences in those sources. Thus if non-participants do not go to the few places where information is available, then they are likely to remain without it.

Of the six ethnic minority participants in the study, two went to places where sufficient information was available, and four knew individuals at a personal level who also gave them sufficient information for enrolment to occur. The pattern of their use of sources of information does not differ significantly from that of other participants.

They did, however, constitute only 8.69% of the total participant group.

It appears then from the results of this present study that the source from which individuals gain pre-school information may be a possible determinant of participation. Two processes for gaining information were in operation. All non-participants and some participants gained their information from an exclusive restricted exchange process, that is within the context of an isolated dyadic relationship. Participants only gained information from an inclusive restricted exchange process. That is from a dyadic relationship where the informant was part of a network of other relationships. Where inclusive restricted exchange occurs, access to information may not only be greater, but information gained may also be more accurate. Where there is access to both more and accurate information, decisions concerning participation are likely to contain elements of rational choice. That is, individuals will have a knowledge of how the organisation functions and is structured.

Not only did significant differences exist between the information sources for participants and non-participants, as well as a greater proportion (60.86%) of participants belonged to Clubs than did non-participants (29.10%). Further, those participants also belonged to more Clubs, with a resultant increase in the number of individuals who are likely to be a source of accurate information through inclusive restricted exchange. Twenty-one (30.43%) participants belonged to Plunket prior to participation in Kindergarten and further gained their enrolment information from the Plunket Nurse. As a source of accurate information concerning Kindergarten, the Plunket Nurse has a significant role in the process of inclusive restricted exchange. It may also be that where participants gained information from individuals, those people may also have been members of Plunket or another shared Club. Data collection from the research was not sufficient to establish this point.

In the present study, where ethnic minority non-participants did belong to Clubs, these tended to be ethnic affiliated even where there was membership in more than one Club. Therefore, gaining accurate information about pre-school activities by means of inclusive restricted exchange may be restricted for Maori non-participants at least. Europeans tend not to participate in Maori Clubs and Maoris tend not to attend pre-schools. Thus although members of ethnic minority groups may appear, in some cases, as reluctant or hesitant to participate in pre-schools, non-participation by them may be more accurately accounted for through lack of information concerning the aims and goals of the organisations.

While the small sample used for the purposes of the present study prevents the possibility of making generalisations, one implication that may be drawn from the results is that not all parents who wish to participate in pre-schools have opportunity to do so. In order that opportunity be available, it may be necessary for pre-school organisations to ensure information regarding their organisations reaches parents who do not participate in other Clubs or organisations. For these parents, information gathering may occur only as a process of exclusive restricted exchange. If pre-school organisations employed or sponsored personnel to visit homes of potential members, then the likelihood of non-participants gathering sufficient accurate information would be increased.

Where the purpose of pre-school organisations is to provide facilities and activities for all who wish to participate, so that discrimination or unintentional selection of clients does not occur, new actions may be required in order to maintain the original purposes of that organisation. As Merton states:

"A formal, rationally organised social structure involves clearly defined patterns of activity in which, ideally, every series of actions is functionally related to the purposes of the organisation." (1961, p.47.)

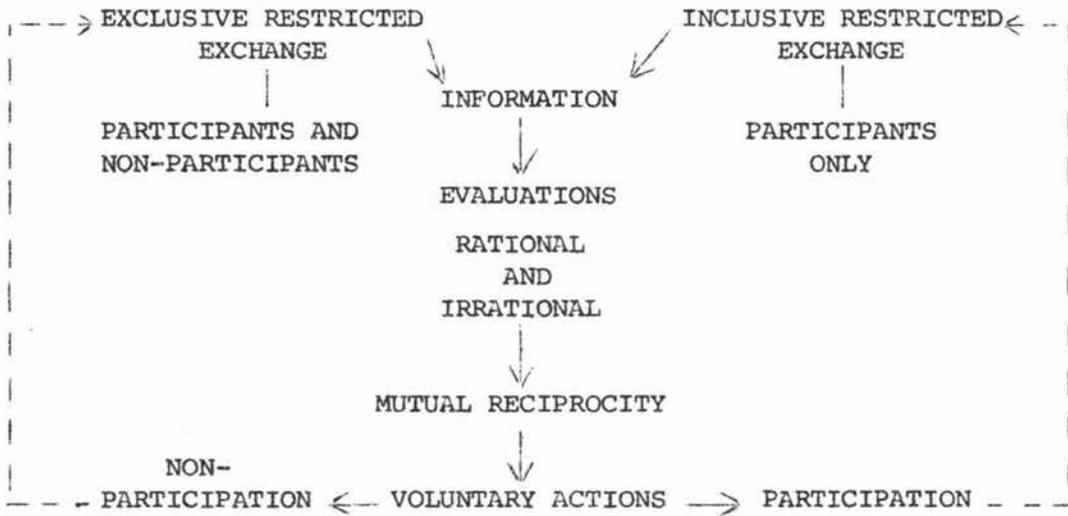
One suggested need from research evidence presented in Chapter One was for continued adjustments by groups and individuals to the pressures of the larger environment of which they are a part.

Research evidence in Chapter One further suggested that participation in education is a dichotomy of parent/child participation which in turn is a facilitator of achievement. Opportunity that pre-school activities provide to involve both sets of clients under conditions of mutual reciprocity may require greater consideration than has previously been given.

Within the context of social exchange theory, critical factors relating to participation are those that occur as part of the mechanics of the exchange process, or in other words those actions that occur prior to participation. Results of the present study show that differences did exist in the mechanics of exchange for participants and non-participants. Differences are illustrated in Figure V. Information necessary for participation in pre-school may be gained from either an inclusive or restricted exchange process. On the basis of information gained, evaluations are made concerning both the means of participation and rewards expected from participation. Where sufficient information is given, it is more likely that evaluations will lead to decisions on rational grounds, with implications for participation and its continuation. Further, participation may be positively evaluated as containing conditions of mutual reciprocity. That is, both rights and obligations will be expected from participation. Expectations lead to voluntary action. Individuals either participate or they do not.

Figure V

MECHANICS OF EXCHANGE



A large identifiable proportion of participants gained their information from an inclusive restricted exchange process. All non-participants gained information from an exclusive restricted exchange process. Thus the conditions of exchange under which information is gained emerge as a potential critical factor to participation in pre-schools.

Anticipated Rewards

Of the non-participants who did not anticipate or expect rewards from pre-school greater than those from other activities engaged in, the ethnic minority group were proportionately the largest. All were Maori and they formed a little more than half of the total ethnic minority group. A little less than half of the European non-participants were in the 'no-reward' category. Thus it appears that where there is sufficient information to enable participation, Maori non-participants may be less likely to expect rewards from pre-school activities than European non-participants. Differences in anticipated rewards may be accounted for in part, by differences in communication patterns already discussed in this Chapter.

But again, generalisations are not warranted due to small sample numbers.

Significant differences did exist however between the reward expectation participants had for participation in pre-schools and those they had for participation in Kindergarten specifically. Such differences may again be accounted for in part by the source and kind of information participants were given. For instance, where Plunket activities are valued and engaged in by participants, the Plunket Nurse may be viewed as an 'authority'. If Kindergarten is recommended by the Plunket Nurse, then utility rewards may take precedence over other priorities participants have. Clearly Kindergarten participants in this present study regarded Kindergarten activities differently and as being more useful from those offered by other pre-schools. Thus in line with the theoretical orientation presented in Chapter Two, expectation of gaining utility rewards became the determinant of:

- (1) the group which participants joined
- (2) the commodity to be used in the exchange process.

Further, if such expectations are a function of value orientation derived from prior socialisation, then support emerges for the conditions of exchange under which information is gained as being a critical factor in participation.

In addition, participants reward expectations were not only clearly defined, they were also child oriented. The rewards mothers expected and which determined choice of pre-school were those that were relevant for their children rather than themselves. However, patterns of participation in other pre-schools such as Playcentre may differ on account of differences in structure and therefore also in specific rewards expected.

Expectation Meeting

Two significant areas where expectation-meeting occurred for participants were at the two extremes of involvement, levels one and four. Where participants are involved only at level one, because they are not meeting other participants within the organisational setting, there will be little likelihood of receiving feedback concerning others' expectations and evaluations.

Thus it is also likely that little shift or change will occur in ideas held concerning Kindergarten activities prior to participation. Where participants are involved at Committee Level (Level 4) they are more likely to be involved in decision making activities. If a change in expectation-meeting does occur, because of involvement in decision making such change or shift may tend to be seen only as part of prior expectations rather than as differences in expectation-meeting.

The greatest number of participants who found activities more rewarding than expected were involved in the Mothers' Club (Level 3). Opportunity to communicate or exchange ideas with other mothers concerning both children's progress and Kindergarten activities may play an important role in expectation-meeting. As well, participants may find more 'going on' than they expected.

The greatest number of participants who found activities less rewarding than expected were involved as Mother Aids (Level 2). One possible reason may be that assisting in Kindergarten activities does not necessarily mean participants understand the objectives of such activities. Mother Aids may require more information concerning the purpose of Kindergarten activities in relation to their children's development.

Results indicate that the level of involvement, or network in which mothers participate may be related to the level of expectation-meeting that occurs. Thus the dynamics or situational context of exchange appear in this present study as possible significant factors in the process of social exchange that occurs between the individual and the organisation. Research evidence presented in Chapter One suggested that parent involvement in decision making concerning their children's education activities was an important facilitator of child achievement. It is beyond the scope of this present thesis to be able to substantiate that evidence. However results from this present study do suggest that parent involvement in networks supporting children's activities may partly determine the level of expectation-meeting that does occur for parents. However, again small sample numbers preclude generalisations concerning results.

Conclusion

Results and discussion presented thus far have provided tentative answers for two of the questions considered central to the present study. It has been demonstrated that differences in communication patterns do exist between participant and non-participant mothers. Such patterns appear to allow for accurate information gathering concerning membership for participants. Disparities in communication patterns have been accounted for in the study by differences that occur in the process of social exchange. Participants were seen to have communication patterns that included both inclusive and exclusive restricted exchanges. Social exchange where information was gained by non-participants was of an exclusive restricted nature only. Opportunity for gaining sufficient or accurate information may be reduced when exclusive restricted exchange only occurs, thus also reducing opportunity for participation in pre-schools.

Further, reward expectations of participants in the study have been shown as having two dimensions. On a broad level of wanting pre-school activities for their children, half of the participants expected affect rewards and half expected utility rewards. However, at the specific level of choosing which pre-school to attend, nearly all of the participants chose Kindergarten because they expected to gain more utility rewards from that organisation than they would from any other. Thus activities offered by Kindergarten were evaluated as being more rewarding than those offered by Playcentre.

The question of how ethnic background affects participation in pre-school organisations has not been answered. Rather indications of what may be possible trends have emerged. Because the sample of participant and non-participant ethnic minority groups was small, further research would be required to explore the significance of ethnic background as a variable in the communication and anticipated reward patterns that emerged in the present study.

However, whether or not ethnic background does account for differences in patterns of communication, it appears that non-participation is not always self-imposed by parents nor is it intentionally imposed by the Kindergarten at least. Rather it appears that in some cases an unintentional pattern of selection may occur on the part of the Kindergarten. Selection in this manner may be accounted for by either inefficient or selective dissemination of information concerning organisation activities. Not only does the means by which potential members gain initial information appear to be critical, but having access to that information is vital. One implication may be that if future Kindergarten development continues along existing lines, the organisation may continue to serve a proportionately predominant ethnic majority group. Thus Kindergartens may serve least those children who could benefit most from participation. Similarly people who most require family skills may be least likely to have access to these through Playcentres.

The significant utility reward expectations of the Kindergarten participants also have implications for future development. If non-participant mothers expect affect rewards from both participation in pre-school activities and the selection of the organisation to attend, then Kindergarten activities may be seen as being unable to provide those rewards. Further research would be required both in other Kindergartens and Playcentres in order to establish categories of rewards parents anticipate for their children. If differences in reward anticipations are established, then it may be necessary to either extend the range of alternatives already in existence or offer alternatives within the framework of established Playcentres and Kindergartens.

Parsons, (1961, p.33) makes the point that the defining characteristic of an organisation which distinguishes it from other types of social systems is the 'primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal'. Thus while the goal of the Kindergarten Association and Playcentre Movement may be to provide pre-school activities for children and involve their parents, the question of which children and which parents may

require close examination. Without closer consideration, the goal may unintentionally become to provide pre-school activities for specific groups of parents and their children.

APPENDIX A

FIRST SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR KINDERGARTEN MOTHERS

11. To have your child start Kindergareten, you had to know about regulations concerning Kindergarten membership. Such as enrolling your child at 2 years of age. How did you come to know about this?

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Media</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Literature</u>
a) Close friend	a) Radio	Name:	a) Magazine
b) Relation	b) Television		b) Newspaper
c) Neighbour	c) Formal Programme	District:	c) Advertising
d) Other	d) Advertising		d) Article
	e) Other		e) Other
1	2	3	4

12. Do you hold a position of responsibility in the Kindergarten?

Prompt: For instance have you been voted to any committees, or do you hold a special job such as a mother aid?

- 1) Mother aid ()
- 2) Committee Member ()
- 3) Treasurer ()
- 4) Secretary ()
- 5) President ()
- 6) Other ()

If NIL branch to Q. 14, Section B and continue

If YES proceed to Q. 13 and continue.

13. How long have you held that position? months

Section B

Introduction

We think one of the reasons people do not send their children to pre-school is because they do not know people who can tell them how to join. For this reason, I would appreciate it if you could tell me what kinds of contacts you have with people who know about Kindergarten.

14. Are there any TAKARO Kindergarten mothers who you regard as close friends: Would you mind giving me their names?

If NIL branch to Q. 17

If YES list in Column A and proceed to Q. 15.

A. Names of Friends	B. No. Times meet formally	C. No. times meet informally	D. Position in Kindergarten
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15. I wonder if you could now indicate how frequently you meet those friends at Kindergarten meetings during the space of a month?

Prompt: Repeat names listed in Column A, Q. 14

Record number of times in Column B. Q. 14.

16. How often would you meet these friends informally outside of Kindergarten, such as at morning tea or shopping, during the space of a month?

Prompt: Repeat names listed in Column A, Q. 14.

Record number of times in Column C, Q. 14.

17. Apart from those close friends you listed for me, I wonder if you could tell me roughly how many Kindergarten mothers you regard as acquaintances? By acquaintances I mean those people you do in fact feel free to talk to from time to time.

Number ()

If NIL branch to Q. 19 and proceed

If YES proceed to Q. 18 and continue.

18. I wonder if you would indicate how frequently you meet those acquaintances in the space of a month in the following places?

1) Kindergarten Meetings ()

2) Informally shopping etc. ()

3) Husband's work activities ()

4) Husband's social activities ()

5) Other organisations you belong to ()

19. Do you belong to any organizations, clubs or societies such as P.T.A., Church clubs, sports clubs, etc.?

Prompt: These are activities you have joined as a member and attend perhaps weekly, fortnightly or monthly.

If response YES list in column B and proceed to Q. 20

If NO, branch to Q. 26.

A. H/C	B. Name of organization	C. Position
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20. Are any of these clubs or activities shared with

a) your husband's interests?

b) your child's interests?

Record H for a) in column A, Q. 19

Record C for b) in Column A, Q. 19

21. Do you hold a position of responsibility in any of these organizations you have just named?

Prompt: Read list of organizations listed in Column B, Q. 19

Record position, if any, in column C, Q. 19.

22. I wonder if any of the friends named earlier from the Kindergarten also attend any of these activities?

Prompt: Return to Q. 14, Column A and repeat names of friends

If YES record friend's name in Column A

record name of organization in Column B,

proceed to Q. 23.

If NIL branch to Q. 26

A. Name of Friend	B. Name of Organization	C. Name of Position
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23. Do any of these friends hold a position of responsibility in that organization?

Record position in Column C, Q. 22.

24. Do you meet any of these friends over the space of a month in connection with your husband's work activities?

Prompt: These are functions held in connection with your husband's work, such as Rotary, Work dinners etc.

25. Do you meet any of these friends over the space of a month in connection with your husband's social activities.

Prompt: Such as clubs or sporting activities you attend with your husband for pleasure.

26. Do you have any professional or other kind of work qualifications you obtained before you married?

List:

27. What was your pre-marital occupation?

List:

28. What, if any occupation are you able to pursue outside of your marriage?

List:

29. You have been kind enough to list friends and acquaintances in the Kindergarten you see at various places. Because word about various activities tends to get around through people, I wonder if you would now be kind enough to tell me the close friends OUTSIDE the Kindergarten that is NOT Takaro Kindergarten mothers, who also attend those organizations you named previously.

Prompt: Return to Q. 19 and repeat the names of the organizations Record names in Column A and proceed to Q. 30.

If NIL branch to Q. 35.

A. Friends OUTSIDE Kindergarten	B. Name of Organization	C. Position of Responsibility	D. Formal	E. Informal
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30. Do any of these friends outside the Kindergarten hold a position of responsibility in any of these organizations?

Prompt: Read through list of friends, Q. 29.

Record position in column C, Q. 29.

31. I wonder if you would indicate how often you meet these friends outside the Kindergarten in the space of a month at any of these organisations?

Record in Column D, Q. 29.

32. How often would you meet these friends outside the Kindergarten in the space of a month informally such as at coffee or shopping?

Record in Column E, Q. 29.

33. Do you ever meet any of these friends outside the Kindergarten over the space of a month in connection with your husband's work activities?

Prompt: These are functions held in connection with your husband's work, such as Rotary, Work dinners etc.

34. Do you meet any of these friends over the space of a month in connection with your husband's social activities?

Prompt: Such as clubs or sporting activities you attend with your husband for pleasure.

35. Do you have any close friends outside the Kindergarten who belong to other pre-school organizations such as Play Centre?

If YES record name in column A

record organization in column B and proceed to Q. 36.

If NIL branch to Q. 38, Section C.

A. Name of Friend	B. Organization	C. Position
	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;"> Kindergarten Play Centre Day Care </div>	

36. Do any of these friends outside the Kindergarten hold a position of responsibility in that organization?

Prompt: Read list of names in Column A, Q. 35.

Record in Column C. Q. 35.

Section C.

Introduction

I would like to use the audio-tape now to record the last of the questions. This is because the questions are concerned with what you think about pre-schools and are likely to be more complicated. If you do not mind, I will start to record now.

37. Could you tell me why you decided to send your child to a pre-school at all?

38. Is there a particular reason why you chose a Kindergarten rather than a Play Centre for instance?

- Prompt:*
- A. Do you feel that attending Kindergarten is more useful for your child than say the Play Centre?
 - B. Do you feel your child will have a better opportunity to make friends by attending a Kindergarten rather than other pre-schools.
 - C. Do you feel your child will benefit socially from attending Kindergarten.

39. Of the three questions which concern your child, that is useful activities, friendliness and social advantage, which of these do you consider more important than the others?

40. Is there a particular reason concerning yourself which you decided would make Kindergarten more preferable than another pre-school?

- Prompt:*
- A. Is associating with a Kindergarten more useful to you personally, than associating with another pre-school?
 - B. Do you like being associated with the Kindergarten because of its friendliness, rather than with another pre-school?
 - C. Do you feel that there are social advantages to be gained from associating with the Kindergarten rather than with other pre-schools?

41. Of those three choices, which do you consider is more important than the others - the usefulness, friendliness or the social advantage.

42. Before you joined the Kindergarten there may have been certain kinds of activities you expected to take place in connection with what your child would do and learn.

Now that your child has been attending Kindergarten is there a

difference between what you expected might occur and what does actually occur?

If YES - probe to establish a relation to

- 1) *Social benefits for the child*
- 2) *Intellectual benefits for the child*
- 3) *Prestige benefits*
- 4) *The kind of involvement the mother expected for herself if this appears part of her expectancy framework.*

43. Do you consider that the kinds of activities the Kindergarten offers cater in particular for any cultural groups?

Prompt: 1) For instance would you think Maori, Polynesian and Pakeha children would all benefit from and enjoy the activities at Kindergarten?

2) Would you feel some children of different races may have trouble fitting into the Kindergarten routine?

44. Do you see yourself as having any particular cultural association that influences your choice of activities to engage in?

Prompt: For instance would you expect to find people of different races at the social or formal activities you attend which we spoke of earlier?

Switch off recorder.

Thank you for your time and patience. It has been very much appreciated.

APPENDIX B

SECOND SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR NON KINDERGARTEN MOTHERS

Interview Schedule for Non-Kindergarten Mothers

Introduction

Good morning. I'm I'm conducting interviews for a survey that you may have heard about from people in your neighbourhood. The questions aim at establishing how people get to hear about pre-schools, and I wonder if you would be kind enough to give me some answers.

The first of these questions are general information.

Section A

- 1. How many children do you have? ()
- 2. How many are boys? ()
- [3. How many are girls?] ()
- 4. How many are pre-schoolers? ()
- 5. How many of these are boys? ()
- [6. How many of these are girls?] ()
- 7. Have any of your children attended a pre-school before? Yes
No

If Yes go to Question 8

If No branch to Question 14

- 8. How long did your child attend that pre-school? months
- 9. What pre-school organization was that? Kindergarten ()
Play Centre ()
Day Care ()
Other ()
- 10. How long were you associated with that pre-school? months.

*If Response is same as Question 8
branch to Question 14 and proceed*

*If Response is NOT same as Question 8
proceed to Question 11 and continue*

- 11. Would you mind telling me why your association with this pre-school is different from the time your child was associated with pre-school?

Prompt: Were you on the Council or a similar committee?

12. Did you hold a position of responsibility in the pre-school?

- 1) Mother aid/helper ()
- 2) Committee member ()
- 3) Treasurer ()
- 4) Secretary ()
- 5) President ()
- 6) Other ()

If NO branch to Q. 14 and proceed

If YES proceed to Q. 13 and continue

13. How long did you hold this position? months

14. Do you know of any of the pre-school facilities or organizations that are available in the TAKARO area?

- 1) Kindergarten ()
- 2) Play Centre ()
- 3) Day Care ()
- 4) Other ()

Prompt: That is, places you can take your children for some sort of pre-school experiences.

If NO branch to Q. 16, Section B

If YES proceed to Q. 15 and continue

15. Would you tell me how you came to know about these facilities:

<u>Individual</u>	<u>Media</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Literature</u>
a) Close Friend	a) Radio	Name:	a) Magazine
b) Relation	b) Television		b) Newspaper
c) Neighbour	c) Formal Programme		c) Advertising
d) Other	d) Advertising	District:	d) Article
	e) Other		d) Other

1

2

3

4

Section B

Introduction

We think one of the reasons people do not send their children to pre-school is because they do not know people who can tell them how to join. For this reason, I would appreciate it if you could tell me what kinds of contacts you have with people who know about pre-school.

16. Are there any mothers who you regard as close friends who belong to a pre-school organization? Would you mind giving me their names?

If NIL branch to Q. 20 and proceed

If YES list in Column A and proceed to Q. 17

A. Names of Friends B. Name of Pre-school C. Position

17. What is the name of that pre-school?

Prompt: Repeat names of friends listed Column A - Q. 16

Record in Column B

18. Do any of those friends hold a position of responsibility in that organization?

If YES Prompt: Repeat names of organization

Record in Column C

19. I wonder if you would indicate how frequently you meet these friends in the space of a month in the following places

- 1) Informally shopping etc. ()
- 2) Husband's work activities ()
- 3) Husband's social activities ()
- 4) Other organisations you belong to ()

20. Apart from those close friends we spoke of who belong to a pre-school organization, could you give me a rough indication of the number of mothers you regard as acquaintances who belong to a pre-school organization? By acquaintances I mean people you do in fact feel free to talk to from time to time.

Number

If NIL branch to Q. 23 and proceed

If YES proceed to Q. 21 and continue.

21. Do any of them hold any of the following positions in pre-school that you know of?

- 1) Mother aid ()
- 2) Committee ()
- 3) Treasurer ()
- 4) Secretary ()
- 5) President ()
- 6) Other ()

22. I wonder if you would indicate how frequently you meet these acquaintances in the space of a month in the following places.

- 1) Informally shopping etc. ()
- 2) Husband's work activities ()
- 3) Husband's social activities ()
- 4) Other organizations you belong to ()

23. Do you belong to any organizations, clubs or societies such as P.T.A., Church clubs, sports clubs etc.?

Prompt: These are activities you have joined as a member and attend perhaps weekly, fortnightly or monthly.

If YES list in Column B and proceed to Q. 24

If NO branch to Q. 26.

<u>A. H/C</u>	<u>B. Name of Organization</u>	<u>C. Position</u>
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24. Are any of those clubs or activities shared with

- a) your husband's interests?
- b) your child's interests?

Record H for a in column A, Q. 23

Record C for b in column A, Q. 23

25. Do you hold a position of responsibility in any of these organizations you have just named?

Prompt: Read list of organizations listed Q. 23, Col. B.

Record position, if any, in column C, Q. 23.

26. Do you have any professional or other kind of work qualifications you obtained before you married?

List:

27. What was your premarital occupation?

List:

28. What, if any, occupation are you able to pursue outside of your marriage?

List:

29. What is your husband's occupation?

List:

Section C

Introduction

I would like to use the audio-tape now to record the last questions. This is because the questions are concerned with what you think about pre-schools and are likely to be more complicated. If you don't mind, I will start to record now.

*If mother knows about pre-school facilities only,
as recorded in Section B, Q. 14.*

Otherwise branch to Q. 34.

30. Is there a particular reason why you chose not to send your child/ children to pre-school?

*Prompt A: Did you think that little of much use to him/her
would be gained?*

*B. Did you think that the opportunity to make friends
with other children would not be of much benefit?*

*C. Did you think that there was not much social
advantage to be gained from his/her going?*

31. Of these 3 questions which concern your child, that is useful activities, friendliness and social advantage, which of those do you consider more important than the others?

32. Is there a particular reason why you yourself decided not to attend a pre-school?

Prompt A: Would associating with pre-school not seem to be of much use to you personally?

B: Do you feel that pre-schools are not friendly towards mothers?

C: Do you feel that association with a pre-school is not particularly desirable from a social point of view (your friends do not regard pre-schools very highly)?

33. Of these three choices, which do you consider is more important than than the others, usefulness, friendliness or social advantage?

34. Do you consider the kinds of activities pre-schools offer children, cater in particular for any cultural groups

Prompt A: For instance would you think Maori, Polynesian and Pakeha children would all benefit from and enjoy the activities of pre-schools?

B: Would you feel some children of different races may have trouble fitting into the pre-school routine?

35. Do you see yourself as having any particular cultural association that influences your choice of activities to engage in?

Prompt: For instance, would you expect to find people of different races at the social or formal activities you attend of which we spoke earlier?

Switch off recorder

Thank you for your time and patience. It has been very much appreciated.

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