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Folk parental pedagogies: the case of Moscow

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Scientific conferences

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- "Motherhood and Fatherhood through the Prism of Time and Cultures", an all-Russian and international scientific and practical conference (Russian Association of Researchers in Women's History, Smolensk, 2016). Presentation: "Everyday pedagogic practices of mothers of first-graders".

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Journal publications

Mikhaylova (Kozmina) Y.Y. Mothers' pedagogical beliefs in the first year of school // Psychology and Education www.psyedu.ru. 2017. 1. pp. 75-85.

Mikhaylova (Kozmina) Y.Y. Matching of Parental and professional pedagogical views // Modern preschool education. 2016. 9. pp. 34-41.

Mikhaylova (Kozmina) Y.Y. Sivak E.V. Do discrepancies between parents and other family about childrearing principles affect parental self-efficacy? // Journal of sociology and social anthropology. 2015. 4. pp. 65-81.

Polivanova K.N., Vopilova I.E., Mikhaylova (Kozmina) Y.Y. Sivak E.V., Nisskaya A.K. The concept of parental self-efficacy and modern parental education // Educational studies. 2015. 4. pp. 184-200.

Mikhaylova (Kozmina) Y.Y. Sivak E.V. Scientific parenting: What worries parents and what sources of information they use // Educational studies. 2018. 2. pp. 8-22.

1) Introduction: the relevance of the dissertation study

Child's home environment affects considerably his or her education. As demonstrated by extensive research carried out in the recent decades, parents are one of the key figures in the field of education. Parental practices and beliefs largely affect the conditions under which their child receives education, as well as the child's attitude to learning and his or her academic achievements. Attempts to overcome inequality in access to education face insufficient efforts exerted by professional teachers within educational institutions (for example [Savelyeva et al. 2016, Tenisheva et al. 2016, Goshin et al., 2017, Wilder 2014, Lareau 2011, Galambos 2003]). Russian and international experience of working with parents attest to the necessity of considering parents' views, rights, beliefs and other factors related to the situation of parents [Hämäläinen 1993]. However, in the modern context it proves to be a challenging task.

Firstly, one needs to take into account persisting demographic and institutional trends that have affected parenting in the recent decades and may have had an impact on the interaction between the child, his or her parents, and grandparents. Among the said trends one should especially consider the increase in the birth rate, the growing number of single-parent families and families with children whose parents got married for the second time, the increase in the divorce rate postponing the birth of the first child until a more mature age, the decline in the number of abortions, the decrease in the number of children born to parents who have not formally registered their marriage, the high proportion of nuclear families, and a large share of the population being oriented either at having many children or not having children at all [«Population of Russia – 2013» 2015, Shcherbakova 2014, Zabayev et al. 2012, Vovk 2005, Isupova 2000, Sinelnikov et al. 2010, Voronina et al. 2008]. Significant changes have been taking place in legislation regarding education and upbringing of children, as well as demographic and family policies [Chernova, Shpakovskaya 2013]. At the same time, experts are pointing at the increasing incidence of negative factors, such as dysfunctional family settings or violence affecting the life of a child in the family [for example, Volkova et al. 2016, Yarskaya-Smirnova et al. 2008].

Secondly, nowadays changes are taking place in the ways knowledge and beliefs about childrearing are transferred from generation to generation. As shown by research in ethnography and history, long before scientific theories were formulated, there already existed certain common beliefs about how and why adults need to interact with the child [Aries 1999, Luhmann 2006, Kon 1988, Kosheleva 2009]. However, in contemporary Russia the majority of parents at the moment of birth of their first child lack or hardly have any experience of «holding a baby» [Zabaev et al. 2012, Gross et al. 1989]. Young moms and dads tend to have less trust in their parents as to matters related to their children [Sivak 2016, Arber et al. 2012]. Modern parents prefer to rely on the media, opinions of their peers, friends, or other parents rather than on advice from previous generations [Sobkin et al. 2013]. Studies of the image of parenting in young people's minds state that the perceptions of parenthood of the young generation can be described

as diverse, contradictory, and inclusive of both traditional and modern cultural patterns [Bezrukov 2014].

In addition, parents face dozens of competing approaches to upbringing offered to them by psychology, medicine, and pedagogy [Chernova, Shpakovskaya 2016, Polivanova 2015]. There is a growing number of publications, websites and web communities offering advice on children and methods of upbringing [Chernova, Shpakovskaya 2013, Kukulin, Mayofis 2010, Gurko 2000]. As the researchers note, what used to be a commonplace, relatively unimportant and private routine of families and children, has become the subject of intense debate about the effects produced by parental practices upon the new generation and the society in general [Lee et al. 2010, Hardyment 2007, Gillies 2006, Isupova 2000, Chernova, Shpakovskaya 2010, Shadrina 2017].

In the context of such variety, those who have children face the necessity to build their parental strategies on their own, to reflect their own pedagogical beliefs and to choose suitable models of upbringing [Chernova 2013]. Today's «good» parents are supposed to intensify their efforts and investments with respect to their child [Polivanova 2015, Chernova 2010 Hardyment 2007, Lee et al. 2014, Furedi 2001, Avdeeva 2012, Bezrukova 2016]. At the same time, it is worth noting that parents do not always succeed in implementing their ideas about parenting in practice. For example, in his study based on interviews with parents in big cities I.V. Zabaev shows that children between the ages of 7 to 17 prove to spend more time under the tutelage of educational and medical institutions rather than their parents. As a result, parents «often fail to see what tools they can use in the upbringing of their child» [Zabaev 2005]. Thus, on the one hand, it is recognized that parents' goals, values, attitudes, and practices should necessarily be taken into account, and that parents need to be involved in the learning process. On the other hand, there is a growing differentiation in the level of parental competence, parental practices and beliefs.

2) Problem statement; a brief literature review with indication of gaps in the scientific knowledge

Since the twentieth century, parenting has been the focus of interest of historians, psychologists, sociologists, anthropologists, doctors, and teachers. A wide range of studies explores the problem of childhood and parenthood (for example, [Denzin 1973; Bluebond-Langner 1980; Qvortrup 2005; James et al. 2008; James et al.. 2015; Jenks 1996; Osorina 2008; Arjes 1999; Bornstein et al.. 2017]). It has been shown that different areas of adult life, such as family, career, and mental health, are affected by the context in which a person was growing up, which, in turn, is largely determined by parental practices [Kon 1988; Bronfenbrenner 1979; Domitrovich et al. 2001]. A large portion of research explores the correlation between parental practices and beliefs, on the one hand, and the academic results shown by children, on the other (please refer to [Roksa et al. 2011] for a review of studies on the issue).

Notwithstanding the above, the researchers acknowledge that so far there is no complete and consistent description of parenthood [e.g., Reid et al. 2015]. Therefore, many theoretical and

methodological issues arise, whereby researchers agree that parenthood cannot be looked at as something constant, culturally universal, or contextually independent. In particular, J. Valsiner, continuing the line of reasoning of L.S. Vygotsky, shows that the context largely determines the development of the child [Valsiner 2000, Valsiner 2005]. This, *inter alia*, dictates what actions should be taken by parents and other surrounding people to support the child's development, not to mention the fact that in various cultures the goals of upbringing and development may vary significantly. Thus, it proves to be impossible to create a universal model of parenting practices. What a parent does, in what contexts he or she performs, what results he or she expects: all this proves to be determined by a complex amalgam of existing cultural concepts and practices.

State-of-the-art studies in the sphere of parenthood face the lack of thorough research methodology relevant to the phenomena under investigation. In addition, there is the gap in the knowledge of modern parenthood and, particularly, on the cognitive aspect of parenthood, including parental cognition and parental beliefs.

The present study focuses on everyday pedagogical beliefs of mothers in the situation when their child undergoes a transition from pre-school to elementary school education. The study follows the logic of J. Valsiner, who assumed that parental beliefs are primarily responses to challenges generated by the context. A child's transition to the first grade of an elementary school is a challenge relevant for most modern parents.

3) Research questions, goal and tasks of the study

We focus on the following research question: what are modern parental beliefs? The goal of the study was the description of everyday pedagogical beliefs of parents at the time of the child's transfer to elementary school. Specific research tasks included:

- Analysing theoretical and methodological approaches to studying parental beliefs, synthesising of the results of existing research in the field of parenting with the view to develop the research methodology;
- Identifying and describing everyday pedagogical beliefs of mothers at the time of the child's transfer from pre-school to the general school system.

4) Theoretical framework of the dissertation study

The study of parental pedagogical beliefs was based on the concept of «folk theories». According to this approach, «folk theories» are cognitive elements that underlie a person's views on interrelations between phenomena [Devyatko et al. 2010, Sigel et al. 2014, Valsiner 2000, Malle 2004, Tudge 1993]. The theoretical framework for this kind of research is made up of concepts of social cognition, culture models, as well as folk theory, ethnotheory, and social representations [Goodnow et al. 1990, Reid et al. 1986, Super et al. 1986].

The concept of folk pedagogical theory lies at the core of the dissertation study. The concept of folk pedagogy was introduced by J. Bruner [Bruner 1990, Bruner 1996], who argued that the activities of a teacher are inevitably based on his or her assumptions about the nature of the student. Bruner believed that «educational practices are based on the sum of folk beliefs about the student» [Bruner 1990]. According to his definition, everyday pedagogies are the means used by the members of some sphere of activities (e.g., teachers) to organize their experience in this field (e.g., education), their knowledge about this field and their transactions with the social environment (e.g. school).

Analysis of interviews was based on the methodology of research of pedagogical views of teachers and parents [McGillicuddy-DeLisi et al. 1995, Sigel et al. 2014, Tudge 1993, Kagan 1990], in particular, the methodology of identifying the practical pedagogical argument [Fenstermacher 1993, Fenstermacher 1986]. In order to clarify what the «pedagogical» argument means, we adopted the understanding of a pedagogy [Kohn 1988, Schedrovisky 1993] as a description of activities aimed at «modifying» the child using certain procedures in accordance with the image of a desired result or a certain cultural model. Thus, the «everyday pedagogical theory» includes the parents' beliefs of the «object» of change (child), their views regarding the ways, procedures, and methods of such change, as well as images of the desired result or the culturally established normative result.

We also took into account research on parent self-efficacy based on the theoretical framework proposed by A. Bandura in his theory of self-efficacy [Bandura 1977, Bandura 1989, Coleman et al. 2003]. Particularly, in accordance with the theory of A. Bandura, we considered the following components of the situation: the opportunity to acquire and expand the range of parental tools and methods, and the availability of interaction with the environment with respect to issues of parenthood etc., which we looked at as factors affecting the level of a mother's self-efficacy, i.e. her ability to solve the problem and achieve the desired result [Bandura 1977].

5) Methodology and study design in brief

In the course of work we conducted:

- a statistical data analysis of quantitative data collected through an all-Russian parents' survey. At this preliminary stage the analysis showed that parents have pedagogical beliefs which are different from those of professional pedagogues. Moreover, parents construct their own pedagogical arguments.
- a collection and analysis of qualitative data (semi structured interviews with mothers in Moscow). At this stage we focused on a narrower social group, namely: mothers of children at their first year at elementary school, living in Moscow, in a relatively safe situation, i.e. excluding children with special educational needs, low income, etc.). The selection and the scope of the sample was guided by the following reasons. Firstly, we chose mothers as opposed to fathers, because as A. Lareau shows in his study [Lareau

2000], fathers tend to redirect researchers to mothers for child-related questions. Secondly, as illustrated at the preliminary stage of analysis, parental beliefs are highly differentiated, therefore we preferred to choose a more homogenous social group with similar socio-economic status and in a similar situation in order to provide a thicker and a more meaningful analysis. Thirdly, in the first year of child's enrolment at elementary school parents seem to face a number of new (compared, for example, to the daycare setting) situations and requirements from educational system.

The empirical basis of the study included:

1. An all-Russian survey of 2000 parent of children aged 1 to 12, conducted in 2016 by the Center for the Research of Modern Childhood with the HSE Institute of Education as part of the sociological research titled «The parents' need for additional knowledge and competencies regarding the upbringing of children». Quota sample was used. The following parameters were used to define quotas: region and size of locality.
2. The Economics of Education Monitoring data «The Economics of Education Monitoring - Pre-school Education» (memo.hse.ru, 2015 survey), an annual survey in the field of education held among heads of educational institutions, teachers, students or their parents, and employers. Quota sample was used. The following parameters were used to define quotas: region, size of locality, and ownership of educational organization (public or private). In total, 1156 educators and 1653 nearest relatives of preschoolers (usually, the mother) were questioned.
3. A set of 42 in-depth semi-structured thematic interviews with mothers of children aged 1 to 12 living in Moscow. The set included 18 interviews with mothers of first-graders from Moscow schools, located both in the city center, and in other areas (featuring an in-depth study of cognitive aspects of modern parenting).

Empirical the study drew on two samples, namely: mothers who have higher education and living in Moscow (qualitative study), and all Russian survey of mothers of preschoolers (quantitative study). The study design has certain limitations. For instance, we imply that modern situation of parenthood is heterogeneous, which may not be the case. For this reason, the design of empirical study limits the possibility to extrapolate results and conclusions obtained in research on other social groups, such as: fathers, parents of different ages, children with special needs or those who are in a difficult life situation.

6) The main results of the research, scientific and practical significance of the results obtained

The study improved our understanding of the challenges of modern parenthood. The dissertation identified key categories that underlie pedagogical beliefs of modern mothers.

The findings of the study can be summarized in the following way:

1. The analysis of interviews (chapter 3 of the dissertation) revealed that mothers do have practical pedagogical argumentation: mothers are able to describe their intentions to act and actions in relation to their child. Those descriptions usually included references to the initial state of their child, goals of pedagogical influence and the desired results of such influence on that state. Therefore, modern mothers are substantially involved in the education process of their child, despite the fact that most respondents are working full-time.

1.1. We have observed observe (chapter 2) the complex configuration of parental beliefs and practices. In addition, we frequently observed a mismatch between parental beliefs about what is desired for the child and current psychological concepts and professional pedagogical beliefs. Parents are aware about different theories of upbringing and there is an abundance of psychological, pedagogical and other concepts found in parental beliefs. However, scientific and expert theories and recommendations influence parental practices indirectly by being included into practical pedagogical argumentation together with already existing pedagogical beliefs about the child or the goals of interaction with the child. Mothers use scientific terminology, such as “psyche”, “trauma”, “norm”, “rules”, and “socialization”, but tend to attribute their own meaning to these terms and, at their discretion, "embed" them in their reasoning.

1.2. One should also note a contradictory nature and incompleteness of parents’ practical reasoning (which is recognized by the parents themselves). Parents say that they often encounter high expectations and criticism from their environment as well as experience failures or difficulties in the implementation of their ideas in practice.

2. Everyday pedagogical argumentation on child’s education is built around a number of categories the core of which are the following:

2.1. «Life path» («fate», «straight path»). This category points to the connection between the child’s present and future, including the stage of adulthood. In his or her parental practice a parent has to consider both the child’s life situation at present and the child’s future life prospects.

2.2. «Psyche» and «character» are inherent properties of a child. «Psyche» reflects the child’s vulnerability and fragility, while «character» represents his or her resistance to mother’s pedagogical influence. From parents’ point of view the resistance of the child is manifest as «lasiness», «stubbornness» etc. The problem for parents here is how not to «traumatize» the psyche and, at the same time, «break» the character on the way to ensuring high academic achievements of the child.

2.3. «Norm». When describing a child, mothers evaluate him or her based on the child’s compliance with norms. In this, attribute scales (for example, «an ability to sit still», «the quality of memory») and scale values which are considered as «normal» (for example, «remembers everything from the first time») are different for the mothers interviewed. Parents’ anxiety is caused not only by worries about the child’s future («life path») or present («psyche» and

«character»), but also originates from concerns on how well their child fits the image a «normal» child, and what to do when a child does not comply with a norm.

The scientific significance of the research lies in attempting to specify and articulate the construct of «everyday pedagogical theories» in relation to modern Russian parenting, as well as in the development of ideas of parental self-efficacy. Concerning the significance of the results for educational sphere, as we can see, parents face many factors that can lower their parental self-efficacy. This, in turn, may negatively affect their current parental practices and satisfaction with parenthood, as well as mastering new parental practices (including their involvement in child's education).

Therefore, it is reasonable to take into account specifics of parental practices and beliefs, as well as factors influencing on parental self-efficacy, when creating programs of psychological and pedagogical accompanying of modern parenting.

The practical significance of findings lies in the fact that they can be used for further research focused on the national specifics of parenting and the problems of psychological and pedagogical support of parenting in Russia. The said materials may be used:

- to create programs parental support;
- to increase the involvement of parents and contribute to practical work with parents, educators, psychologists and centers for working with parents and children;
- to design course syllabi in Pedagogical Anthropology.

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