

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

TEMPORAL ENVIRONMENTS IN DAY CARE
AND THE
PROCESS OF CULTURAL LEARNING

by
HEATHER KAY

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree
of Master of Education

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA

DECEMBER, 1982

TEMPORAL ENVIRONMENTS IN DAY CARE
AND THE
PROCESS OF CULTURAL LEARNING

BY
HEATHER KAY

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of
the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

© 1983

Permission has been granted to the LIBRARY OF THE UNIVER-
SITY OF MANITOBA to lend or sell copies of this thesis, to
the NATIONAL LIBRARY OF CANADA to microfilm this
thesis and to lend or sell copies of the film, and UNIVERSITY
MICROFILMS to publish an abstract of this thesis.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the
thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or other-
wise reproduced without the author's written permission.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate temporal environments in day care and the process of cultural learning. Emphasis was on the children's experiences with the temporal environment, the factors influencing this environment and the hidden curriculum surrounding it.

For many young children a day care centre is their first encounter with numerous other children and adults in a setting outside of their family home. Past research has focused mainly on the developmental consequences of day care without describing the particulars of the day care environment. Using the assumption that the structure of an environment is an important element in influencing behaviour and in the transmission of culture to young children, a field method of research - ethnography - was used in this investigation.

A comparison of four day care settings differing in numbers of children, population served and program format was undertaken. Along with hand written transcripts of the temporal environment in the four settings, a tape recorded interview was conducted with each of the four head teachers. Also a Likert scale of child rearing beliefs was handed out and completed by each of the respondents.

The resulting data was combined to form a descriptive account of the temporal environment in each of the day care settings. The method of compare and contrast was then used to analyze the data and the process of cultural learning.

In general it was found that the four teachers subscribed to similar child rearing beliefs on the Likert scale. But the temporal environment observed in the four settings did not always reflect these beliefs. External factors such as the teacher/child ratio, amount of space and population served also influenced the temporal environment. Other beliefs of the teachers were also found to influence the settings. The belief in the maintenance of control and order in a setting was one of these.

In examining the process of cultural learning, a hidden curriculum was found to exist. In two of the centres observed, the children were being enculturated for participation in the school and bureaucratic work world. In the other two centres, where the children had more control over their temporal environments, they were being enculturated to a less time disciplined world of the family and social groupings.

Other cultural norms were revealed through the observations of the temporal environment. The authority of the teacher, keeping busy and task orientation were three of these.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Appreciation is expressed for the support and guidance given by my advisor Dr. I. McIntire and the committee members, Mrs. M. Ferguson and Dr. T.R. Morrison.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
ONE	THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	1
	Statement of the Problem	6
	The Ethnographic Approach	6
TWO	THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	11
	Introduction	11
	Time and Early Childhood	13
	Time and the Family	14
	Time and the School	15
	Time and the Day Care Centre	17
	Society and Cultural Variations	20
	Day Care Programs	22
	Summary	23
THREE	THE STUDY DESIGN	25
	Introduction	25
	The Population Studied	25
	The Settings	26
	Methods of Gathering Data	30
	Techniques of Analysis	34

CHAPTER	PAGE
FOUR	THE DATA: INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS 37
	Introduction 37
	Child Rearing Beliefs 38
	Temporal Environments 43
	Centre A 43
	Centre B 54
	Centre C 65
	Centre D 75
	Lunch Transitions and Analysis 80
	Centre A 80
	Centre B 83
	Centre C 86
	Centre D 88
	Summary 90
FIVE	INTERPRETATIONS 91
	Introduction 91
	Influences on the Temporal Environment 92
	Synchronization, Sequence, Rate 100
	The Authority of the Teacher 104
	Keeping Busy 108
	Orientation to Tasks 111
	Summary 113
SIX	CONCLUSIONS 115
	REFERENCES 126
	APPENDICES 135

CHAPTER ONE

THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

During the past two decades, due to the increasing rates of single parenthood and maternal employment, the care of young children outside of the home has become prevalent (Child Care Data and Materials, 1978). Day care has become an alternative for the rearing of children in our society. Due to the multitude of factors capable of influencing an environment, children's experiences in day care will vary. Increased attention to children, to their caretakers and to the environment is essential in understanding what actually occurs in a day care setting. As Cochran (1977) stated:

The research that has examined group child rearing patterns has been seriously limited by its tendency to emphasize the developmental consequences of those patterns without systematically describing the environmental circumstances with which they took place. (p. 702)

This was evident in the early research on group care for young children. In the 1940's the research contributed to the belief that group care was detrimental to the development of young children because of the separation of mother and child. More recently, however, this theory of maternal deprivation has been challenged. It is now believed that it was the actual environment of the institution rather than the absence of mother

that contributed to the delay in development. As Breitbart (1974) so aptly stated: "It was the lack of mothering and not the lack of mother that caused the negative effects" (p. 13).

Studies in the last decade have also refuted the negative outcomes of group day care for young children. Belsky and Steinberg (1978), in their comprehensive review of the literature, emphasized that most of the research focused on developmental consequences (e.g. attachment, anxiety, cognition, social behaviour) without reference to particular aspects of the environment. A small benefit in cognitive development for "disadvantaged" children in day care over their family reared counterparts was found. Other than this finding, they concluded that these investigations had not revealed significant differences between day care and family reared children.

It is important to note that most of these studies were carried out in "top quality" university supported programs, representing only a small portion of the day care population. Bronfenbrenner (1979) adds that much of this research is also limited by its exclusive reliance on standardized tests, artificial settings and activities typically employed to assess child development. Thusly, these results may not be analagous to all day care programs. As Rutter (1981) emphasizes: "Day care, like home care, cannot be regarded as a homogeneous set of experiences; both vary greatly in style and quality of

child rearing" (p. 14). However, this research seemed to fulfill its function of easing people's fears of profound developmental problems associated with group day care experiences.

Day care has emerged as an institution in our society (Prescott & Jones, 1972) and it is important to examine what happens to children in day care, as opposed to what happens as a consequence of the experience.

Although much is being written about what preschool habitats ought to be like, with great variety represented in the different recommendations (ranging from pattern drill to complete free play), relatively little effort is being made to describe what actually takes place in a preschool environment. (Honig, Caldwell, Tannenbaum, 1970, p. 1046)

This investigation attempts to describe these settings.

Children do not learn by chance; they develop according to the practices of the worlds in which they live (Fowler, 1980). Bronfenbrenner (1979) defines this development as

The progressive mutual accommodation between an active growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings and by the larger contexts in which these settings are embedded. (p. 21)

In order to compare day care settings as they influence children's experiences, it is important to understand the influence of these larger contexts, of which culture is one.

Anthropologists have been defining the concept of

culture and studying its impact on man since Tylor's classic definition in 1874. He proposed it as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1958, p. 1).

Nisbet (1972) further defined it to include

A nuclear weapon, a high-rise office building, a pattern of family life, religion, friendship, morality, language, life style generally as well as each of the prescribed ways we interact with others. (p. 41)

Culture is learned according to anthropologists and sociologists and the influence it has upon an individual is aptly described by Benedict (1934).

From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behavior. By the time he can talk, he is a little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities. (p. 2)

Kimball (1974) contended that the communities of mankind transmit their culture to each new generation to ensure its continuity. It also establishes the conditions necessary for further cultural growth (Kimball, 1974).

Within North American culture, the school has an impact upon the molding of the young. Many investigators (e.g. Jackson, 1968; Johnson, 1982; Kohl, 1969; Silberman, 1970) have examined schools as they transmit cultural norms and values to students. Along with the

overt curriculum of lessons and textbooks, these authors investigated the more subtle messages children received in the classroom. They referred to this as the hidden curriculum or hidden dimension of school life.

Children are taught a host of lessons about values, ethics, morality, character and conduct every day of the week, less by the content of the curriculum than by the way schools are organized, the way teachers and parents behave, the way they talk to children and each other, the kinds of behavior they approve or reward and the kinds they disapprove or punish.
(Silberman, 1970, p. 36)

LeCompte (1978) added that even though teachers may not be aware of the powerful effect of their management strategies and organizational patterns, "they are no less important to a child's learning experiences than explicitly cognitive objectives" (p. 23).

Similar to any other system of education, day care in our society functions as a vehicle for the transmission of culture. The process of cultural learning in a day care setting may be occurring overtly and covertly, through the hidden curriculum.

One institutional characteristic reflecting a cultural value is the setting's orientation to time. Beliefs and attitudes will manifest themselves in the temporal environment of the day care setting. These in turn will be transmitted to the children in care.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The intention of this study is to investigate the temporal environments in four day care settings and the process of cultural learning. Within this framework, attention will be given to 1) comparing children's experiences with the temporal environment, 2) investigating the components of a setting influencing the temporal environment and 3) discussing the hidden curriculum surrounding the temporal environments in four day care settings.

This investigation takes the form of an ethnography, based on the assumption that "people's behavior is consciously and unconsciously shaped by the setting in which it occurs" (Wilson, 1977, p. 254). It explores, in four day care settings, the observed interactions between the children and the temporal environment.

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC APPROACH

Many educational researchers have turned to the method of ethnography to study the processes of day-to-day life in classrooms and schools. Tindall (1975) gives an accurate account of this method of research:

Ethnography requires that careful and complete written descriptions be made over time in such a way that the observer is able to identify the patterns of relationships which characterize the behavior of people in specific situations. Carefully prepared written records lead the ethnographer to an understanding of behavior

which is minimally skewed by his own perception of what is or ought to be. Such understanding should be the basis for decision making . . . but can only function in that capacity if the ethnographer descriptively accounts for all of the dimensions of a situation: actors, behaviors, context and setting. (p. 17)

Jackson (1968) used this method to examine the processes of classroom life as they influenced both the teachers and students. He emphasized that a frown or a yawn contributes pertinent information to the study of classroom life. The ethnographer attempts to become aware of all of these transitory events as they influence the participants in a setting.

Kohl (1969) and Rosenfeld (1976) have both used the method of ethnography to write about ghetto schools and the tacit lessons many children must learn to survive in the classroom. Lightfoot and Carew (1979), through ethnography, provided a detailed analysis of four teachers, their methods of interaction and the dynamic life in their grade one classrooms.

Accurate field notes, non-structured interviews with students, teachers and principals; listening to conversations in hallways, lounges and playgrounds enabled these researchers to collect data, analyze it and test their assumptions. Their investigations provided new perspectives on the educational systems operating in the settings they observed.

Developmental and social psychologists, including Damon (1971), Denzin (1977) and Cairns (1979) have argued that in order to clarify our knowledge of how a child becomes a member of a social system such as a classroom, we will have to move beyond the past research emphasis of looking only at personality characteristics of primary socializers or at predetermined social rules as determinants of social action. (Wallat & Green, 1980, p. 284)

Bremme and Erickson (1977) and Shultz and Florio (1979), in an attempt to accomplish this, used the method of ethnography to study aspects of the socialization process in a kindergarten/grade one classroom. Along with field notes, these researchers videotaped actual experiences within the classroom. Both studies concluded that the teachers, in a given context, signal behaviours both verbally and non-verbally and the children needed to learn these to become socially competent. They had to learn the tacit rule that when the teacher said "Stephanie is speaking now", she meant "You may not speak."

Investigations of day care centres have yet to examine the process of cultural learning. A few studies to date have employed the method of naturalistic observation to investigate day care as a behaviour setting. Prescott and Jones (1972) sampled fifty centres to investigate a multitude of components. They concluded that there were differences in day care environments and these reflected the experiences offered to children.

These differences were found to be related to staff characteristics (e.g. attitudes, education), structural variables (e.g. number of children, amount of space) and program format (e.g. child initiated, teacher initiated). Berk (1976) compared five preschools and focused on the extent that teachers' ideal goals of a program matched the actual experiences of the children. She found discrepancies in all of the programs that she observed. Other investigations (e.g. Rohe & Nuffer, 1977; Sheehan & Day, 1974; 1975; Smith, 1974) have concentrated on the physical environment and its effects on children's behaviour and experiences.

One researcher, in an investigation of Nursery to Grade Six Classrooms did examine the physical environment in terms of cultural learning. Johnson (1982) described the arrangement of classroom furniture in a public school as it functioned to transmit sociocultural norms for participation in the wider bureaucratic society. The set-up of long rectangular tables with large open areas in the nursery classroom "condition for group and cooperative patterns of social relations" (Johnson, 1982, p. 40). As the grade level got higher, the desk area increased until there was one desk per student and no open areas. This arrangement discouraged the earlier pattern of mobility and collective efforts while reinforcing competition and autonomous action. This,

Johnson concluded, was enculturating children to the norms of the bureaucratic work world.

It can be assumed from the research cited in this chapter that the structure of the environment influences children's behaviour and experiences. According to Lewin (1951) this influence remains with the child and provides a basis for reacting to later situations. He sees development as a function of the interaction between the child and the environment. Given this assumption, then, the importance of investigating children's day-to-day environments is emphasized.

Vander Ven and Mattingly (1981) suggested that research in day care needs to take a turn when they wrote:

Child care can join other human service disciplines in realizing that it does not need to emulate the experimental models of the "hard" sciences. It can utilize methodologies which are congruent with the problems under investigation . . . For the generation of productive research models in child care, qualitative and field methods may be particularly appropriate. (p. 286)

Given the problem of observing cultural learning through the temporal environment, it was decided to move into the natural setting of the day care environment, employing a field method of investigation - ethnography.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

INTRODUCTION

Through his/her earliest contacts with society, a child is acquiring an image of time (Cottle & Klineberg, 1974). The molding of biological tensions, especially hunger, thirst and fatigue, by the social constraints of "proper" times is commonly one of the earliest phases of socializing the young (Moore, 1963). This temporal information varies widely among human cultures and is transmitted and reinforced by every society or group.

The modes of time-reckoning in many "primitive" societies are embedded in the concrete activity and social life of the group. For the Uganda tribesman, six o'clock is "milking time" and three o'clock is "watering time" (Werner, 1948). The Nuer, writes Evans-Pritchard

Have no expression equivalent to "time" in our language, and they cannot, therefore, as we can speak of time as though it were something actual, which passes, can be wasted, can be saved, and so forth. I do not think that they ever experience the same feeling of fighting against time or of having to co-ordinate activities with an abstract passage of time because their points of reference are mainly the activities themselves, which are generally of a leisurely character. Events follow a logical order, but they are not controlled by an abstract system, there being no autonomous points

of reference to which activities have to conform with precision. (Evans-Pritchard in Thompson, 1967, p. 96)

Ours is a lineal culture, emphasizing the internal divisions of whole units, notions of sequence and the idea of progress through time (Lee, 1976). We segment and schedule time, orienting ourselves toward a foreseeable future. Thompson, in his work "Time, Work-Discipline and Industrial Capitalism" traced the attention to time back to the seventeenth century when farmers began to hire labourers to work on their fields. He wrote:

The employer must use the time of his labour to see it isn't wasted; not the task but the value of time when reduced to money is dominant. Time is now currency: it is not passed but spent. (1967, p. 61)

We, in North American society, are taught to take time very seriously as the constant demands for efficient work, punctuality and regularity call for an acute sense of mechanical timing. More strongly than most cultures of the world, we place an emphasis on the future, in the anticipation that it will be "bigger and better" (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). We are seldom content with the present and this seems to lend to the general atmosphere of haste in our society. Elkind (1981) sees ours as a hurried and hurrying society when he writes:

We have the supermarket to speed up shopping and fast food restaurants to speed up eating. We build super highways to speed up transportation and household gadgets to speed up housework. And the current revolution in information processing will dramatically speed up the work done in offices. We even hurry our recreation with automated pin-

setters, golf carts and ball tossers. And designers work hard to increase speed for leisure craft, whether driven by motor or sail. We are a time-oriented and time regulated society and we impart these values to our children. (Elkind, 1981, p. 183)

TIME AND EARLY CHILDHOOD

It is important to examine young children's understanding of time before going on with a discussion of the process of cultural learning in day care. Before the age of five, time and space are confounded in the mind of the child (Piaget, 1968). Similar to "primitive" cultures, time is not a uniform and homogeneous flow, but tied to particular objects, locations or events (Jahoda, 1962). The young child's time is qualitative and not quantitative.

Piaget (1968), writes about the "lived" time of the child. The four to seven year old judges duration by results and not inner feelings. In experiments with this age group, Piaget instructed them to draw lines on paper. Even though they all began and ended the task at the same time, they all said that the papers with more lines took longer. The young child has not learned that time, in our culture, passes in constant and measurable units. Harner describes this progression.

First they experience order on a sensorimotor level; then language appears and children acquire words to indicate sequence, simultaneity and duration, finally they are able to construct a complex system of temporal relations that indicate

a mastery of Western society's linear model of time. (Harner, 1981, p. 52)

The young child's time is qualitative and subjective, with development taking him/her from a personal to a more universal concept of time. On the average it takes a child twelve years to master our society's time concepts. Even then, they still may not have fully internalized either the details or the emotional overtones of our formal time system (Hall, 1959).

TIME AND THE FAMILY

Women, or men, who are at home rearing their children, are not wholly attuned to the measurement of the clock (Thompson, 1967). But when one of the adults is employed, some of the activities in the home may be governed by the routine of the employing agency. The times for getting up in the morning, for the eating of meals and for going to sleep at night may all be influenced by the work world (Hawley, 1950). Other than these time constraints, schedules in the home are usually flexible. The child at home is unaffected by rigid time schedules, punctuality and a hurried pace to get things done. The temporal orientation in the home "has not altogether moved out of the conventions of 'pre-industrial' society" (Thompson, 1967) as the child and parent's time is qualitative and oriented around tasks, rather than time.

Gurvitch (1964) described the different temporal orientations of monetary and nonmonetary groupings. Monetary groupings, such as offices and factories, are conscious of the time they produce. The punch clock, delivery dates, appointment times, over-time and break times are all attempts to manage time in our modern day work world. The family, however, a nonmonetary grouping, is not as aware of the time it produces and "does not make any effort to master it" (Gurvitch, 1964, p. 81). The rhythms of the individual's natural time cycles are more apparent in the family environment than in the work world.

Schools, although they are considered nonmonetary groupings, are "dominated by the times of the global society to which they belong" (Gurvitch, 1964, p. 81). Because of this influence from the formal time system of the work world, schools are differentiated from the less time disciplined family grouping.

TIME AND THE SCHOOL

Temporal patterns in schools are imparting the cultural values of our society's formal time system. Rist (1973) described schools as "collective organizational experiences requiring the child to subordinate his/her desires to those of the institution" (p. 92). He saw the division of time into activity segments

as training children to adjust their interests to the hands of the clock. Rosenfeld (1976) added that, knowing that deep involvement in any activity may be cut short by a bell, children may actually be learning not to learn.

In describing life in the classroom, Jackson (1968) referred to the teacher as the official timekeeper when he wrote:

He (the teacher) determines the proper moment for switching from discussion to workbooks, or from spelling to arithmetic. He decides whether a student has spent too long in the washroom, or whether those who take the bus may be dismissed. In many schools he is assisted in this job by elaborate systems of bells and buzzers. But even when the school day is mechanically punctuated by clangs and hums, the teacher is not entirely relieved of his responsibility for watching the clock. The implications of the teacher clock-watching behavior for determining what life in school is like are indeed profound. This behavior reminds us, above all, that school is a place where things often happen not because students want them to, but because it is time for them to occur. (Jackson, 1968, pp. 12-13)

It has been argued (Dreeben, 1968; LeCompte, 1978) that one function of school in the socialization process is the preparation of the child for the work world. This is accomplished through stressing authority, achievement, order and time. "In modern society the pace, periodicity and regularity of the workday must be learned; time is divided into discrete segments for which there are appropriate and inappropriate activities" (LeCompte, 1978, p. 35). Can the day care, which for many children is a first encounter with institutional arrangements also be viewed in this way?

TIME AND THE DAY CARE CENTRE

In investigating day care programs, Davidson (1980) described the time that was spent in "needless" waiting.

Children may be waiting for everyone to finish lunch before they can leave the table. Children may be waiting for a turn on the swing because there are only two swings for 70 children, and both are being used. Or they may be waiting for a story to be continued because the teacher has stopped reading to quiet a noisy child. Each instance may involve only a short waiting time. However, all too often these small incidents are so numerous they add up to a substantial amount of wasted time per day. (Davidson, 1980, p. 13)

Other studies, in day care centres and elementary schools, have examined the temporal environment in terms of scheduling procedures and transition times. Schedules are designed as a framework for a group's operations. They "tell children how fast they have to move, how often they have to respond to other people's decisions and how much time there is to get involved in anything" (Robison, 1977, p. 390). Krantz and Risley (1972), in their study of kindergarten schedules, found that the sequencing of certain activities was important in producing appropriate behaviours. Attentiveness to the teacher and materials decreased when the children went from an active large muscle activity to a quiet period prohibiting any movement. They found that the temporal relationship between various settings influenced children's behaviours.

Phyfe-Perkins (1980) compared children's behaviour in two architectural similar "open" day care centres that

varied on several dimensions, one being the scheduling procedures. She found higher levels of on-task, constructive play and total verbalizations in centres with a flexible schedule. Waiting, unoccupied and antisocial behaviour were found in centres with a more rigid time schedule. The temporal environments of a setting were in fact influencing children's experiences.

Transition times, the period of time between activities have been investigated as part of the temporal environment. Berk (1976) found in her investigation of five day care settings that transition times consumed from 20-35% of the total program format. She concluded that these times needed to be looked at as a part of the centre's program. LeLaurin and Risley (1972), in their investigation, found that children in classrooms where everyone moved as a group spent more time in transition than when children moved around individually. Huston-Stein, Friedrich-Cofer and Susman (1977) in their study found children in highly structured settings spending more time waiting between activities than those in centres with low structure. Studies on group management (Kounin, 1970) have revealed that lack of appropriate transition techniques leads to disruptive behaviour in the classroom. From these investigations of scheduling procedures and transition times, it appears that the program format influences the temporal environment. This, in turn,

influences the behaviours of children. The question can be asked: What cultural values are being imparted to the children through the temporal environment?

Dreeben (1973) argued that the arrangement of experiences provided children in schools functions to transmit norms and values relevant to socialization for participation in the wider bureaucratic society. It is here that temporal ordering is of the essence. In particular, synchronization, sequence, and rate of action become the fundamental time concerns of our bureaucratic and administrative organizations (Moore, 1963).

Synchronization refers to actions beginning and ending at the same time. In a day care setting, children, as they eat, nap and often toilet together, are learning to be synchronized. They have to give up their individual senses of time to that of the group. In order to be synchronized, our society emphasizes punctuality - we have penalties for being late and for not keeping appointments.

Sequence means that activities require that actions follow one another in a prescribed order. Children are provided with a priority schedule which is often "work before play." In our society leisure does not usually begin until after the workday has ended.

The frequency of events during a time period is important and this refers to the rate of action. There

is a desperate quest for speed in modern societies and this also may be reflected in the day care environment. The tempo and emphasis on the future may result in a pervasive feeling that time is "running out" and there is a tendency for the child's experiences to be pushed forward in advance of physiological development (Seeley, Sim & Loosely, 1956). These feelings of urgency in our society are succinctly summed up by Moore (1963) when he states:

A sense of current urgency, probably more acute and affecting more people than ever before in man's history, prompts a new regard for clocks, both real and figurative. For the measurement of time is at once a symbol of man's attempt to order and control time and a symbol of time's fateful, final mastery over the human enterprise. (Moore, 1963, p. 11)

SOCIETY AND CULTURAL VARIATIONS

In a society different orientations may exist which represent variants to the dominant value orientation. It is this interrelationship of the variations which form the structure of the society (Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). This can be better understood by the following passage from Stenhouse's analysis. He writes:

The more advanced and elaborate a society becomes, the more fragmented becomes its culture . . . There may be specialized cultures, like those shared by fishermen, art-lovers, jazz fans or gardeners; or there may be more general cultures like those identified by such labels as "middle

class" or "working class", "beatnik" or "bohemian". The lower-middle-class culture and the beatnik culture for example, are opposed in their standards at almost all points. The existence of such a multiplicity of cultures allows the individual a range of choices so that he is able to select the groups with which he will identify himself culturally . . . The individual who reacts against any given cultural climate seldom finds himself completely isolated, and he is able to sustain his revolution by identifying himself with a like minded group. (Stenhouse, 1967, pp. 23-24)

In North American society these variations in cultural standards can be extended to the goals and methods of child rearing. Here, there does not seem to be a superordinate goal in child rearing as there may be in other cultures such as the Kibbutz or Soviet Union (Bronfenbrenner, 1970). Gesell (1943) was one of the first to distinguish between the major philosophies dealing with the principles and practices of child care. One is the authoritarian approach. It assumes that the adult culture knows what the new generation needs to know and proceeds to impose its input. The laissez-faire philosophy takes a contrasting position. Freedom of action for the child is encouraged with very little adult direction. The developmental approach, the third philosophy, takes the child's individual needs as its point of departure. In this approach, adult guidance is required to aid the child's development.

Day care centres also reflect these child rearing patterns and philosophies; some being oriented to one philosophy while others are eclectic (Prescott & Jones,

1972). Prescott (1973) used the terms "open" and "closed" in describing day care environments. The activities in an "open" program being mainly child initiated, while in the "closed" format they are primarily teacher initiated. The structuring of a day care's temporal environment, also, may be influenced by the variant child rearing philosophies.

Many writers (e.g. Cass, 1975; Leacock, 1969; Stenhouse, 1967; Tindall, 1975) stress the importance of the teacher as he/she influences the transmission of sociocultural norms in the classroom. As Stenhouse (1967) saw it, the teacher seeks to influence the class by the "light of his own standards." Unlike a classroom, a day care centre may be operated by multiple caregivers and the influence of one teacher may not be as apparent. In order to examine these influences, a brief summary on the types of day care settings follows.

DAY CARE PROGRAMS

Family day care, non-profit centre care and corporate profit making centres are three distinct types of day care settings that have emerged. Family day care, which may be private or government affiliated, involves up to five children in a family home setting. The environment will, to some extent, be controlled by the beliefs and attitudes of the sole day care provider. Non-profit,

government affiliated centres, which are often located in churches, community halls or renovated houses, are comprised of multiple caregivers. A director, numerous child care workers and a parent board may all work together to develop the child rearing environment for the centre. The third type, corporate profit making day care, often have a centralized administrative office which controls the program framework. The local administrators and day care workers merely implement preconceived programs or operate within established guidelines (Ross, 1978). Even though these three distinct types of day care services are subject to the same licensing requirements by the city, there may be great latitude in child rearing methods.

SUMMARY

Every day care setting provides different experiences to children and this may be due to particular aspects of the environment and/or the diverse child rearing beliefs of the teachers. In reviewing the literature, it can be assumed that each setting is transmitting beliefs and attitudes of the culture to the children in care. The orientation to time is a cultural value being transmitted through the temporal environment of a setting. There are variant orientations to time in a society and this review has examined some of these.

The purpose of this study, then, is to examine the temporal environments of four day care settings and the process of cultural learning. Because human behaviour is so complexly influenced by the environment in which it occurs, any research plan which takes the actors out of the setting may be negating these forces. The ethnographer, by entering into the natural environment of the subjects being studied, has the chance to observe these influences on behaviour, in action and in context.

Since the intention of this investigation is to study a broad range of behaviours, it was decided not to begin with a prearranged coding system. Instead Barker's (1963) method of handwritten transcripts to record information occurring in a setting will be employed. The following chapter will describe the specific research methodology to be used in this investigation.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STUDY DESIGN

INTRODUCTION

Temporal patterns in day care and the process of cultural learning is the problem to be investigated in this study. A sample of three group day care centres was taken from the city of Winnipeg day nursery registry. A fourth sample was obtained through the Provincial Day Care Office, which offered a list of the licensed family day care providers.

THE POPULATION STUDIED

The investigation involved selecting four centres which differed on several dimensions: 1) population served, 2) number of children enrolled and 3) program format. Since this investigator was involved in day care in Winnipeg for five years, she was familiar with the existing centres and the programs that they offered. Four centres, each located in different residential areas of the city were selected to ensure a somewhat differing population of children. One family day care with four children enrolled and one large centre with an enrollment of over one hundred were selected as part of the study

samples. The other two centres were each considered medium sized centres, enrolling from twenty-five to thirty-five children. The ages of the children observed in the study ranged from eighteen months to six years.

Phone calls were made to the various centres and a visit and interview with the director or family day care provider was arranged. The interview involved an explanation of the study and the selection criteria. Questions were asked to obtain information pertaining to numbers of children enrolled, population served, program format, numbers and qualifications of staff and administrative policies. An initial observation of the centre or family home was conducted to investigate the program format.

If the setting met the study requirements and the director or family day care provider agreed to be included in the study, further visits were scheduled. The following descriptions of the settings selected will give a more detailed account of the population studied.

THE SETTINGS

Centre A

This day care centre, one in a chain of many throughout North America, is situated off of a busy major avenue, making it accessible to a wide range of families. The building and adjoining playground, as they span across

part of a city block, resemble a large modern school building. On entering, there is a central office and reception area where the director and assistant director work. They are solely involved with the administrative duties of the centre. The classrooms extend along either side of this central area.

The centre contains nine separate classrooms, a pool, a gymnasium and a central kitchen, where meals and snacks are prepared for the entire centre. Each classroom, being one large undivided open area, is furnished with similar equipment and materials. Three tables, a bathroom and sinks make up the front area. Art equipment, puzzles, small manipulative games and toys are kept in storage shelves in this area. A piano, circle area, books, records and house corner are in the mid section and blocks and toys are in shelves at the back of the room. Large windows run along the back wall of each room, with a door leading to the outdoor playground. After lunch, mats are laid out covering most of the floor space, to be used for the children's naps.

Approximately 150 children, ranging in age from six weeks to six years are present in the centre at one time. Less than half of them are under the provincial government fee subsidy program, which is designed to assist those who cannot afford the cost of day care. The majority of the centre's population are from middle-income, two parent families. The children are grouped

into classrooms by age and there is seldom a span of more than one year between the oldest and youngest child.

In this study, the classroom observed contained twenty-five, three to four year old children who were cared for by one head teacher and two full time child care workers. A program with goal objectives and weekly themes is set up by a centralized office out of the city and is followed by the staff in each room. The program format in Centre A was highly structured. Most activities were initiated by the teacher, followed a set time period and involved the entire group together.

Centre B

This centre, which occupies the second floor of an old, partially run-down senior citizens' building, is located in what has been termed the "core area" of the city. The centre consists of one large, windowed room, divided into activity areas. Along with tables, a house centre, a library centre, sand, water, blocks, puzzles and manipulative toys, there are numerous hamsters, guinea pigs, birds and fish to provide experiences for the children. Plants along all of the window sills and hanging every few feet from the ceiling make this centre look very green and alive. A kitchen and bathroom are two rooms off the main area and the downstairs gym serves a dual purpose of active play and naptime for the children enrolled.

The centre, a non-profit program with a high Native population, enrolls twenty-five, two to five year olds who are cared for by a director, two full time and two part time staff. All of the children are under the provincial government subsidy program and over half of them are fully subsidized. The program format in Centre B appeared to maintain a balance of structured, teacher initiated activities and child initiated free play activities.

Centre C

This non-profit day care centre is located on a residential street, across from a large park, in an old brick house that has recently been renovated. The centre, which uses two floors of the house and the basement, has an abundance of equipment and furniture for the children's use. The main floor contains the kitchen, two bathrooms, a dining room, which is used for eating and small motor activities, and a living room. This area is set up with a house centre, library centre and block play. The second floor has two bedrooms for naptime, a large arts and crafts room and a room with small blocks and toys. The basement is divided into two areas, one with sand and water and the other a climbing frame.

The centre, which contains a high immigrant population, enrolls twenty-five, two to five year old full time children and ten, six to ten year olds, who come at noon and after school. All but eight of the children

enrolled are partially subsidized by the provincial government. A staff of one director, four full time and one part time person, care for the children in Centre C. Individual, child selected activities, with the teachers helping or participating, was the basic format of the program in this centre.

Centre D

This family day care is located on a quiet residential street, with a small park directly in front of the house. The day care provider, a woman with her own nine year old daughter, takes in four children. They range in age from eighteen months to five years. Two of them are partially subsidized under the provincial government subsidy program.

The children spend much of the day in the living room and kitchen area on the main floor. The basement of the provider's home is set up with a house corner, wheeled toys and small blocks and puzzles for the children's use. There are also cots here, for the children to nap on in the afternoon. The daily activities and physical environment make this setting resemble a home away from home.

METHODS OF GATHERING DATA

Interview

Each setting was scheduled for six visits, to

observe and participate in the day's program. One visit at the end of the observation period was scheduled for the observer to meet privately with the director, head teacher and family day care provider. This was to enable the observer to conduct a tape recorded interview to obtain information on child rearing beliefs, the centre's orientation to time and information pertaining to the respondents' own background. The interview was held with the directors of Centres B and C, the head teacher in the room observed in Centre A and the provider of the family day care. For stylistic purposes, all four will often be referred to as teachers throughout this study.

As the same classes of information were desired from the four respondents, a nonscheduled, standardized form of interview was chosen (Richardson, Dohrenwend & Klein, 1965). The questions to be asked were the same, but unlike a scheduled interview, they could be rephrased and asked in a different order to the different respondents. This allowed for a more natural course of discussion.

Many of the questions on the centres' orientation to time were taken from Clift, Cleave and Griffin (1979). Others were formulated by reading numerous materials on day care and programs for early childhood education. From these readings also, a Likert scale of child rearing beliefs was developed and handed out to each respondent at the beginning of the interview. This was to provide

discussion for the interview and to gain additional information on each respondent's child rearing beliefs.

Observations

Using hand written transcripts, the observer recorded all information pertaining to the interaction between the children and the temporal environment during the weekly visits to each setting. Schedules were recorded, transition times investigated, references to time documented and tempo rated. Throughout the observation period, the observer talked with staff, interacted with children and formed friendly relationships with all the participants. The observer, when she was not taking notes, participated in many of the children's activities during the day and often helped the staff when it was needed. During naptimes, the observer left the setting, to read over notes, add information or write impressions, and returned two hours later as the children were awakening.

Approximately thirty hours of observation was completed in each of the group centres and twenty-four hours in the smaller, family day care home.

Along with making notes on the day-to-day activities in each setting, a complete description of transition times was recorded. These times were observed by focusing on the settings in which they occurred and the behaviours of the teachers and children.

The setting was looked at to examine: 1) where transitions occurred, i.e. between what two activities, 2) the number of children involved, 3) the length of time involved and 4) who or what initiated the transition.

Observations of the teachers were made in order to determine: 1) the cues emitted to signal a transition, 2) the instructions given to children for this time, 3) the management strategies used and 4) the pace set for the transition.

Observations of the children were made in order to determine: 1) their responses to the cues and 2) their behaviours during the transition time.

To follow all of the teachers and children at all times during transitions was not always possible in the different centres. Nor was it possible to always see, hear or record what was involved in the inflexion of a teacher's voice or a spontaneous gesture without following a person so closely as to make them uncomfortable. Therefore, the observer stood back from the group and tried to capture all that she could without influencing the setting in any other way than her actual presence.

In Centre A, the highly structured program and Centre D, the family day care, transitions involved the whole group and could be viewed as they affected everyone. In Centres B and C, the less structured programs, the observer followed groups of children to record smaller

group transitions while other children were involved in different activities. Individual transitions were not investigated in any of the settings. Only transitions that involved teachers and groups of children were observed in this study.

TECHNIQUES OF ANALYSIS

Anecdotal information describing the temporal environments is provided to give a complete description of what children are experiencing in day care settings. The method of compare and contrast, using Moore's (1963) concepts of synchronization, sequence and rate of action, is used to analyze the data gathered from the observations of the four day care settings.

Certain categories of teacher behaviour have emerged from the detailed observations of transition times. The following coding categories, taken from Prescott and Jones (1972) are used to analyze teachers' verbalizations. These are:

Guidance: Guidance is assumed to have both facilitative and restrictive properties. It may guide, control, train and/or direct the children (child). Included here are routine mechanics of management, handled without evidence of conflict.

Direct: The teacher tells the child(ren) what is to be done or she requests specific behavior. There is no emotional content to this type of guidance, but it is clear that authority is vested in the teacher.

Indirect: This includes suggestive requests or statements which indicate to children what is expected, e.g. Have you washed your hands?

Distraction/redirection: Teacher attempts to stop an activity which she considers undesirable by diverting child's attention.

Restriction: Teacher behavior which deals with conflict between child's wishes and those of teacher. Conflict exists where child does not accept teacher's goals and teacher moves to obstruct child's activities.

Simple: Teacher calls attention to fact that child is not accepting teacher's goals or standards. Teacher warns or reminds.

Firm Enforcement of Limits: Teacher makes it clear to child that there are limits which must be respected and that she will impress these limits on the child. There is firmness and absence of intent to hurt.

Belittling/disparaging: Conflict situation in which teacher activity is designed to lower the child in esteem, to discredit his activity or behavior. Includes scolding, and physical punishment, such as grabbing the child by the shoulder or tapping him on the hands and deliberate ignoring of child by teacher. Teacher shows no acceptance of child's viewpoint. There is an indication of desire to punish or hurt. (Prescott & Jones, 1972, p. 12)

In the following chapters, the patterns of behaviour which have emerged in the four settings between the participants and the temporal environment are analyzed by focusing on the categories mentioned above. By using the method of compare and contrast, the following will be looked at in each setting: 1) the temporal environment, 2) the time elements of synchronization, sequence and rate of action (Moore, 1963) and 3) the management strategies (Prescott & Jones, 1972) surrounding the temporal environment. The teacher interviews are used to glean insight into the relationship between their child rearing beliefs, their personal background and the structure of the temporal environment in their

day care settings. Other components of the environment found to influence the temporal patterns in a setting will also be discussed.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DATA: INTERVIEWS AND OBSERVATIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a description of four day care settings and the structure of the temporal environment. It combines the six days of written observations with the teacher interviews. Anecdotal observations are recorded, and where appropriate, comments made during the interviews are interspersed. These are the teachers' exact words, transcribed from the tape recorded interview.

The first section provides an account of the teachers' child rearing beliefs. This information was taken from both the Likert scale and the tape recorded interview. The second section describes the temporal environment of each of the settings. Attention is given to the daily schedule, a description of a typical day and transition times, as they were observed in each centre. The third section provides a detailed account of the transition period from outdoor play to lunch in each centre. This is outlined in order to compare and contrast the different management strategies used by the teachers in the four settings. The verbalizations of two teachers were recorded in three of the centres

and those of one teacher only in Centre D.

CHILD REARING BELIEFS

Before beginning a discussion of each setting's orientation to time, a comparison of child rearing beliefs is in order.

The head teacher in Centre A agreed with the belief that children, as they develop at their own rate and time, should be free to explore their environment, actively and individually without much adult intervention. But on observing this program, it appeared that she did not practice this belief in Centre A where the activities were mainly teacher directed. An environment, used to maintain order and focusing on the group rather than the individual is a more apt description of this centre. Even during free play, the teachers specified what the children could play with and where they could play. Activities that were requested by children were rejected by the teachers every day. The piano could not be touched, a small upstairs loft was out-of-bounds and other activities such as painting, colouring, water play and play dough could only occur at times specified by the teachers. Numerous materials and activities were not made available for the children's use when they were requested. The views of the head teacher on how children best learn and develop reflected a more open philosophy than what was observed in the

actual day-to-day occurrences in Centre A.

However, the head teacher did believe that there were certain lessons that children needed to learn for later school years which should be taught in the day care. The learning of routines, cooperation and adjustment to group activities were emphasized in Centre A's program. "That's what I like to teach, sharing and things like that. I think that should be the most important thing that we teach them," commented the head teacher.

This centre seemed to be affected with problems of bureaucracy that the head teacher could not solve. Conflicts were apparent in her views of child rearing and the responsibilities she felt she had to undertake to "meet the standards" of the institution. Even though she commented that ideally day care should be run like a family, by meeting individual needs and providing a higher ratio of teachers, she felt that it was beyond her control to make any changes.

Centre B's balance of teacher directed and free play activities seemed to reflect the present director's child rearing beliefs. Unlike the head teacher in Centre A and the director in Centre C, she felt that children needed to be directed and supervised in their activities in order for "productive" learning to occur. Because many of the children in this centre have not been offered the same type of stimulation at home as in the day care, the director felt that they would not know what to do with

their time. The older children, who had been at the centre for a longer period were more capable of progressing without adult intervention, but the younger children needed more direction. As she explained, "The younger ones will start off on something, lose their attention span and won't know where to go next. They don't even know how to rotate to another centre. They really need a lot of direction." The program provided for this as teachers constantly intervened in children's play to direct learning content and to teach lessons.

For part of the day, the children were divided into two age defined groups for teacher led activities. All of them were expected to terminate their own activities, join the group and participate in the preplanned program. Even though the director felt that problems arose when the children were brought together, often when they were not ready, she believed that more learning often occurred at these times than during free play. Giving children the choice of joining an activity or not, may lead to a chaotic and uncontrollable situation. Although the director emphasized that "the last goal we want here is to be able to control," she was worried about giving a "free rein" to all of the children.

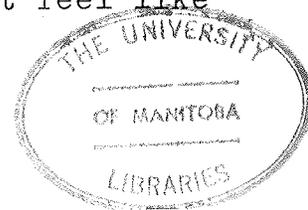
Conflicts were apparent in the director's theoretical framework which strongly agreed that children developed at their own rate and time and the problems of catering to these differences in a day care setting.

Because of the numbers of children, their young age and the low staff/child ratio, she believed that it was almost impossible to meet their individual needs.

Centre C, which provided an environment focusing on the individual child's needs seemed to operate according to the beliefs of the director. Even though the teachers were expected to initiate activities, the children did not have to participate. "We give them choices," the director commented. "The kids shouldn't be forced to join in anything they don't want to." Children's differences should be catered to in a day care setting and this was apparent in the centre's program format.

The director did not feel that children had to be directed by adults for "productive" learning to occur when she stated, "They're learning all the time and I want them to enjoy themselves too. I want them to have a happy childhood when they're away from home."

Preparation for later school years, emphasizing lining up, using indoor voices and participating in group activities was not the responsibility of the day care centre. The goals of Centre C, as expressed by the director reflected a different role and aptly described the climate of this centre. "We try and make it (the day care) more of a childhood, like the kids would have in their families, so that they're not being put into a school or institution . . . I don't feel like



we're preparing them for school. In school they'll do that." During certain times of the day, especially lunch and naptimes, the individual child did seem to be overpowered by the needs of the group and the institution.

The family day care provider in Centre D also agreed with the belief that children develop at their own rate and time and day care should cater to these differences. Similar to the director in Centre B, she felt that direct adult intervention was important for "productive" learning to occur. But this was not apparent when observing in her home. The children, after they had chosen their activities, were left to play on their own. The older five year old child directed the play much more than the provider. She spent most of her time observing, without interacting in the actual play experiences of the children.

The provider commented that she did not want the children to be burdened with the same pressures as they would get in a school situation and this was evident in the observations of her program.

These four teachers had differing views on the role of day care as a child rearing environment. The head teacher in Centre A stressed the teaching of sharing, getting along with others and preparation for later school years. The director in Centre B saw the teaching of basic skills and concepts as the fundamental

goals in her program. She felt it was the responsibility of the day care to provide the children with experiences that they may not get in their own homes. Even though their beliefs on adult intervention were not the same, a teacher directed format was more apparent in these two centres than in the other two settings.

In Centre C the child's happiness and individuality was stressed. No emphasis was placed on the preparation for later school years in this program. In Centre D also, the day care provider felt that it was not her responsibility to prepare the children in her care for later school years. She emphasized learning how to play without "getting into trouble" as a goal in her day care program.

These goals, as they were implemented in the four programs provided children with differing day care experiences. The next section will outline some of these.

TEMPORAL ENVIRONMENTS

CENTRE A

After visiting this centre, its orientation to time became very apparent. The children were not involved in the planning of their own activities or the times of their occurrences. Their time was predetermined by the institution. Even though the head teacher described the posted schedule as "basically a guideline", throughout the observation period it was adhered to consistently.

The Daily Schedule

Each day was divided into short activity segments, seven in the morning and five in the afternoon following naptime. The times for gym and swim, which were strictly adhered to by this classroom, were determined by the administration. The director and assistant director arranged the schedule for the entire centre. Lunch and snack times also, being centralized functions, were scheduled at the same time everyday and were standardized throughout the centre. It was the responsibility of the head teacher to draw up a schedule around these times, "providing a balance of quiet and active growth activities, structured around a preplanned theme of the week."

The head teacher felt that having a schedule was important to the children but proclaimed to frequently feel constricted by these guidelines when she admitted, "If it wasn't my job, I wouldn't feel so responsible to keep standards and to follow the program. What I want to do and what I feel I have to do, it's a combination." Because she is a paid employee, the head teacher feels accountable to the institution and disregards her own child rearing beliefs at times.

The schedule is posted. Times for specific activities were prearranged and the start and finish were determined by the time. The presence of a large round wall clock, placed centrally in the room, may be seen as a symbol of time regulating this centre's acti-

vities.

Along with arranging the timetable for the children's activities, the head teacher also arranged the break times for herself and the two other child care workers in the room. These breaks were also strictly adhered to and often the head teacher felt that the absence of one staff affected the children's program. As she explained:

I would appreciate more people in the room at circle time, but then we'd have trouble later . . . When I'm planning activities, for example art, I have to make sure I do it before the breaks come and before the parents start picking their children up. If we have water play in the afternoon I have to pick the kids who go home early, first, so that everyone will get a turn. ¹

Once again the schedule was determined by forces external to the child in this centre, i.e. the administration, the staff breaks and the parent pick up time.

The children were expected to follow the schedule, move as a group and control their individual desires.

We can't consider the individual as much as a parent could. We have to consider the group . . . I'd like the program to be more flexible but we really have no place to send them if they don't want to join an activity. Just to separate them from the group by sending them to the table or sitting in their locker, but other than that there's not too much they can do. If we had more staff it would be better to give them the choice, but we don't₂ have the space and we don't have the staff.

1. There were no recorded observations of water play occurring during the six visits to Centre A.

2. When children were sent to their lockers during an activity, it appeared to be a punishment technique rather than an alternative activity. The child was directed to sit quiet and still at this time.

Time and the Institution of the Daily Routine

Once the schedule has been set up and the times for activities and breaks determined, it is interesting to note how this routine is instituted.

A typical day in Centre A's program begins at 7:00 a.m. with the children playing at the front tables. Small manipulative toys, puzzles and crayons have been put out by the teacher for the children's use. As more children arrive, they join the others at the tables or talk quietly at their lockers. With the arrival of the next teacher, at 8:00 a.m., one activity centre is opened in the room and children can move into this area to play. Free play³ in these specified areas continues until 8:40 a.m., when a teacher announces clean up time. After all equipment and materials have been put away, the children are assembled cross legged on the floor in the book area. A teacher sits on the rocking chair facing the group and reads two or three stories, depending on the time. This is followed at 9:00 a.m. by play in the upstairs gym and swimming for a small group of children. The children are directed to line up and to be still and quiet before ascending the stairs to the gym. The third staff member, who has arrived at the centre at this time, takes the swimmers to the pool.

3. The children can develop their own play themes either individually or in small groups without teacher direction at this time. But they can only play in areas and with materials that have been selected by the teacher. This is termed their free play time.

She then returns to the classroom to set up the morning snack for the children.

Play in the gym lasts for twenty minutes until the sound of another group can be heard ascending the stairs. On the teacher's signal to "line up", all activity is stopped and the children assemble against the wall. They descend the stairs single file and walk back to their room. They sit at the tables, where a snack has been placed in front of each. Before they can begin eating though, a teacher leads a short lesson on the day of the week, the calendar and the weather. She then waits for all to be quiet, with their hands under the table, before giving the signal to eat.

As the children finish their food, they get up from the table and take their glasses to the front dish rack. They seem to use this time to talk and walk to other tables before sitting down at their places once again. Five minutes after snack has begun, and about half of the children are finished, they are directed to the next activity. "Hurry up", "drink up" and "let's go" can be heard directed to those who are still eating. The children have to finish eating quickly, to make it to the next activity.

Circle time follows, an activity where the group sits cross legged on the floor around a taped circle. The teacher leads a good morning song, discusses the theme of the week and may play records or organized

games. Bathroom routine follows at 10:15 a.m. The children are then divided into two groups; one group sits at the tables for an art activity while the other has free play in areas specified by the teacher. The groups alternate after a half hour, or as each child finishes the activity, another is called to fill the place. Outdoor play or walks in the neighbourhood may occur at this time instead of indoor activities.

Lunch is served at 11:30 a.m. Frenzied activity to clean up, get washed and go to the tables is followed by sitting motionless and quiet, while waiting for the signal to begin. The teacher concerns at this time are "good" manners and minimum noise. Lunch does not begin until all are seated quietly with their hands under the table and the food has been passed around to everyone. It often takes ten minutes before these conditions are met.

At approximately 11:45 a.m., as the children finish eating, they are called by a teacher, who is directing bathroom routine at this time. The children have to be sitting to be called and those who have gotten out of their chairs to walk around are directed back to the table. By 12:10 p.m. all of the children have finished their lunches, have gone to the bathroom and are lying on their mats, which were laid out during lunch time. The lights are switched off and a teacher goes around to each child tucking him/her in and whispering "good

night."

During this time, the staff alternate their lunch breaks and at 2:30 p.m., when the third teacher has returned to the room, naptime is officially over. Those children who have awakened before this time wait quietly in their beds. Some are directed to the bathroom and to sit quietly at the front tables. The lights are then switched on, the blankets are folded, mats put away and the sleeping children are awakened.

A second gym period and an afternoon snack follow. From 3:45 p.m. to 4:00 p.m., the group once again sits on the taped circle for teacher-led activities. This is followed by free play either outside or in, depending on the weather. As the group diminishes, the remaining children move up to sit at the front tables to play with puzzles and other small toys until it is time to go home.

Other than free play, the activities in this centre were well regulated by the teachers. The children moved as a group and all were expected to be still, to be quiet and to wait for the teachers' signals before beginning and ending activities. Initiative taking on the part of the child was generally not encouraged in Centre A.

Transition Times: The Clock Prevails

On a typical day there were twelve group transitions recorded in Centre A. They consumed from 36-44% of the

time on the days observed.

All transitions were signalled by the teachers, who, in turn, were regulated by the clock. Even though the head teacher said that she often took her cues to change activities from the children, this was not evidenced in the programs observed. One anecdote, describing a morning story time may provide some information to support this.

It is 8:50 a.m., on a very hot day in May and the children are assembled in the book area, cross legged on the floor. A teacher, sitting on the rocking chair, reads a story. She is holding the book up so that all can see the pictures as she reads.

"When are we going outside?" "I wanna go out", is heard lamented from the group of children. The teacher stops reading to remark firmly, "If you can't be quiet, we won't go outside today." The group is hushed but only for a few seconds.

"He hit me," a small child wails. The teacher puts the book down on her lap, glares at the culprit, who is sitting with his head down, points her finger at him and says harshly, "L, go sit in your locker, and stay there."

He leaves to sit in his locker, which is along the wall directly behind the group and once again all is quiet. But not for long.

At 8:56 a.m. the group is restless; heads are moving around, shoes are being untied, voices are heard whispering, bodies are squirming and the teacher reads on. At 9:00 a.m., the story is finished. The teacher stands, and as she does, so do three of the children.

"I didn't say you could get up yet," she scolds. Nevertheless, they remain standing as she walks to the front of the room and announces, "O.K. Room Five, line up."

Even though the children appeared restless and disruptive, the teacher did not take this as a cue to end the activity. Instead, she continued until 9:00 a.m., the scheduled time to move on to the next activity.

On a signal from the teacher, all of the children were directed to terminate their actions, assemble with the group and move on to the next activity. Very little time was given between activities and the children were rushed to move on. The head teacher admitted that she found transitions "the most confusing times of the day," and she "likes to get them over with as soon as possible." This was evident in the frenzied activity that occurred during these times.

She differentiated between certain types of play that she considered beneficial for children to complete. As she explained, "If they're doing a puzzle, I like to let them finish, but if they're just taking a cape around their shoulder and playing Batman, I want them to clean up when I ask, even if they aren't quite finished." In the observations of this centre, there were very few incidents recorded where children were encouraged to complete tasks after the signal to end an activity had been given. On the contrary, children were expected to stop everything immediately and assemble with the group. One instance, describing the termination of activities in the gym, gives an extreme example of the time limits set by this centre.

It is 9:25 a.m. and the signal for the end of gym time is announced. "Room Five, line up," the teacher calls from the doorway. Most of the children immediately stop what they are doing and run to the wall to line up. Two children are left standing on the top of the climber, waiting their turns to slide down. The teacher yells out to them,

"D and R, come on, now! Go down the stairs. When we say line up, you line up." One child slides, while the other climbs back down the ladder. They both run to the wall.

Rather than continuing their activity of sliding, the teacher expected the children to stop, turn around and climb back down the ladder. The teachers spent a longer time controlling movement and talking once the group was assembled than they did in helping children terminate their activities or preparing them for a change. Very seldom were warnings given to children that activities were coming to an end. The teacher just announced "Line up", "Clean up time" or "Let's go."

Racing the Clock

Throughout the day, the teachers were conveying the impression that the schedule came first, i.e. before the children. A child who went to a teacher with an untied shoelace was told, "We'll tie it later, after story time." At 9:00 a.m., the end of story time, a child who wanted the teacher to read his book was told, "No, we don't have time for any more books. Let's line up for gym." During a circle activity, one morning, the teacher was leading a discussion on families. While each child was asked about their family, the rest of the group was directed to be quiet and listen. Even though the group was very restless and four children had already been sent to their lockers, the teacher continued on.

At 9:58 a.m., after glancing at the clock, the activity was terminated. All of the children had not had a turn to talk, but in this case they seemed to be "saved by the bell", as outdoor free play followed.

Future Emphasis

An emphasis on the future, which was anticipated to be "bigger and better" was very apparent in this centre. The classrooms were numbered with the higher the number, the older the group of children. Upon reaching the next age level, a child was moved into a new room, as long as there was space, to be grouped with unfamiliar teachers and children. References were often being made to the children that they "won't get to Room Six if they misbehave" or "We don't have babies in Room Five, why are you here?"

On one occasion that the observer was at the centre, a six year old boy was sitting in the midst of the group at story time, quietly crying. The observer was told that this was his punishment for "acting silly" and being disruptive in his own room. He was being demoted and put into a room with younger children. When his teacher came to get him, she announced for all to hear, "Are you going to stay with the babies or can you act your own age and come back to Room Eight?" Not only were the children grouped by age in this centre, but the older ones seemed to have the higher status.

The element of time was very important in Centre A. Time was predetermined by the institution and conformity to the schedule was made imperative. For most of the day the children had very little control over the use of their time. There were very few instances observed where the child's time won over the schedule.

CENTRE B

Depending on the time of day being observed, there were noticeable differences in the climate of Centre B. The director aptly described this when she stated:

We just love mornings. We find, and I think it's the total fault of the day care, that once we have snack and they're into slots, we start having trouble. Bathroom, circle, outside and the trouble begins.

On the one hand she criticized this arrangement, while on the other she felt that changing it would affect the children's well being and learning.

Thusly a scheule was arranged by the director, staff and a parent board each year, timetabling the activities for the children and the accompanying staff duties. It was kept in a notebook in the room, to be consulted by the teachers when the need arose.

The Daily Schedule

In this centre there were five activities scheduled for the morning between 9:00 a.m. and 11:30 a.m. and two for the afternoon, after naptime. This schedule, unlike

that of Centre A, was flexible in that children were often given advance warnings and time to complete an activity before moving on to the next. However, they also, were expected to move on and were directed by the teachers to do so.

Changes could be made to the schedule at the general meetings, which were held every three months. Recently, due to requests from several parents, the morning snack time was made a half hour earlier to provide for those children who did not eat breakfast at home. But what about those who did eat at home or who arrived at the centre at a later time? The director commented that she would like to let the children eat whenever they wanted, but felt that in her centre this would not be feasible. "Some kids will end up not getting anything," she commented and "once again it comes down to control." They decided on a time that would be best for most of the children and 9:00 a.m. became the new scheduled snack time for the centre. Even if a child had just eaten breakfast and was not hungry at this time he/she was directed to join the group and sit down at the table for snack. On occasions when children announced, "I'm not hungry," the teachers responded with, "You don't have to eat, we all sit together at snack time and talk with our friends." Thusly, even with this new arrangement, some children ended up "not getting anything."

Along with scheduling activities for the children

the staff duties and breaks were also organized at the general meetings. The staff breaks, which used to affect the children's program by decreasing the teacher/child ratio, were recently changed. The shifts were shortened so that the staff could work through without taking coffee breaks. During naptime they alternated their lunches, always leaving two teachers in the naproom with the children. However, the director and staff did not always agree on the scheduling of their breaks. Every Thursday, the centre planned a field trip and on these occasions the staff had to forfeit their break times. One Thursday, on returning from their outing, two staff, recently hired through a grant, wanted to leave early due to missing their break time. "They all want to get out of the centre, they all want to take the kids somewhere, and they know it's so nice to do that and they all want their time too," the director commented. This, she felt, was what essentially separated a day care from a family environment. She continued, "We're supposed to be a supplement to the home environment and go places and do things, be like a family, but no, the bottom line is, they (the staff) come first."

Centre B structured the program so that all of the children would be exposed to the activity centres under the direction of a teacher at specified times of the day. Even though she was aware of the conflicts which arose

during these times, the director felt that these structured activities were necessary to promote "productive" learning experiences for the children in this centre.

The director felt that a schedule, set up into activity segments, was important to children. This was indicated when she stated:

They learn a lot from scheduling, so that they can relate to time. After snack we have this, etc. and then our moms come. It's a beginning for learning to tell time, not that we're teaching how to tell time.

The children, through the schedule, were being enculturated to our society's linear notion of time.

Time and the Institution of the Daily Routine

A typical day in Centre B begins at 7:00 a.m. with free play in any of the activity areas in the main room. The teachers join groups and help or participate in the children's play as they are needed. At 8:00 a.m. one teacher is responsible for providing a science activity which is optional for the children to join. As more arrive, the cook and a group of children prepare the morning snack. All of the children appear busy, scattered in areas throughout the room.

4. During this free play time children play individually or in small groups in any of the activity areas in the room. They were often heard requesting stored materials which were given to them for use at this time. This is unlike the free play time observed in Centre A.

At 9:00 a.m., a third teacher arrives and clean-up time is announced. "It's happy clean-up time," she calls out for all to hear. The other teachers, in different areas of the room, take this as a cue to terminate the activities they are involved in. They help children put materials away before directing them to the bathroom. The children assemble at three age-grouped tables, and after all are seated, each table becomes a separate unit. Each teacher, responsible for one table, sits with the group, helps pass food around and initiates conversation. Unlike in Centre A, the children can begin eating as soon as their table has been served - they do not have to wait for the whole group before beginning. On finishing, the children are directed to wait for the rest of the table and then they go together with the teacher to the bathroom. One group may join together and walk as a caboose, another may hop as bunnies. The staff are encouraged to provide activities for the children as they wait or move from one area to another. The children are kept busy. Constant activity is apparent in this centre.

At 9:30 a.m. the children break off into their organized groups; the younger twos and threes stay upstairs for circle and art activities, while the older children go downstairs for free play in the gym. Circle time involves a discussion, songs or stories on a theme preplanned by a teacher. The group assembles in an area

and before the teacher begins, they wait for all to be seated and quiet. "Hurry, you're late" and "Sh, listen" can be heard directed to individual children. After approximately fifteen minutes, the group moves to the front tables and the teachers lead an art activity. All of the children are directed to participate. After finishing, the children can leave the table and go downstairs to the gym. As more children begin entering the gym, the teachers here take this as a cue to move their group upstairs. By the time they get upstairs, the younger group is finishing their projects and the teachers are hurrying them along. The circle and art activities are repeated, with the same teacher leading the session.

Before the second group leaves the gym, at 11:00 a.m., all of the toys are put away, the climber is disassembled and a teacher lays out the mats for the afternoon nap. The children continue playing while waiting for the teacher to give the signal to move on. They then ascend the stairs, get their jackets and wait in the front hall for a teacher to lead them outside. When about six of the children are assembled, a teacher may lead a sing-song before taking the group outside. Free play and organized games for those who want to join are the activities at this time in the playground.

At 11:30 a.m., the children are called into the centre to wash up and sit at the tables for lunch. One staff stands at the gate, one at the door to the centre

and the children leave the playground individually or in small groups. Once again, after all are seated, each table becomes a separate unit that eats, talks and then leaves the table together.⁵

After lunch, all but five children who are walked to school, go downstairs for a two hour nap. During naptime, the teachers alternate their lunch breaks and at 2:30 p.m., when the last teacher has returned, naptime is officially over. The children who have awakened remain quietly in their beds until the lights have been switched on. Activity then begins. Blankets are folded, mats put away and individuals or small groups taken to the bathroom. They all come back to the gym and wait for the entire group before going upstairs for a snack.

Snack is served and as each child finishes, he/she puts his/her cup in the garbage can before beginning free play. Free play continues until 4:00 p.m., when they all either go outside or downstairs to the gym to play. At 4:30 p.m. the group once again assembles in the main room of the centre to continue with activities until it is time to go home.

5. On the first two visits to Centre B, the lunch ritual involved the children sitting with their heads down and hands in their laps while waiting for their lunches to be served. This procedure was not observed during the next few visits. The director commented that this routine had been discontinued because it was getting too much into the "school thing."

Transition Times: The Clock and the Teacher

On a typical day, there were eight group transitions which consumed from 30-33% of the day's activities.

Unlike in Centre A, which was most often cued by the clock, the transitions in Centre B did not appear as regulated. Transitions occurred by the schedule and also by the group needs of children and individual teachers. During a crowded gym period, teachers were seen taking groups of children outside for walks, for drives or to play in other areas of the centre. The schedule, on one hot day, was disregarded altogether and the entire group spent the morning outside.

The teachers also played a part in determining an activity change, even when neither the schedule nor the children were demanding it. One afternoon, during free play, the children were busy at their activities. Some were doing puzzles, others colouring, groups were in the house area, at the water table and in the library centre. Two teachers were standing and talking together, when one said to the other, "I'm so hot in here, let's have clean-up and go outside." If any of the children heard this, it was not apparent. There was no mad rush to the door, as there often was in the morning, when they moved from circle time to outdoor play. One minute later, at 3:30 p.m., the teacher yelled out for all to hear, "Let's clean up now." The children, who were still actively involved in their play had to terminate their activities, clean up, assemble at the door and wait for the rest of

the group. It was obvious that the children were not ready for this change as the whole process took twenty minutes of guiding, restricting and reprimanding before they all left the centre to play outside.

The director described transition times as "awful" and felt that they were even more structured than activity times. "If they don't want to be at circle, supposedly then they can go to the gym or do something else, but transition times - there's no choice in the matter."⁶ All of the children were expected to terminate their activities and move on at the request of the teacher.

The director encouraged the staff to give advance warnings before activities were scheduled to end, but admitted that they sometimes forgot. "That is hard on the children," she commented. Even without warnings, though, the teachers were observed going to individual children and helping them terminate their activities. They often made plans to finish activities at a later time. For those children who were ready first and were waiting for the group, the director encouraged the staff to provide activities for them so that they would not get out of control during the waiting period. She felt

6. There were no observations recorded of children being allowed to go to another activity area at structured circle times. On the contrary, children were seen restricted from going down to the gym, kept out of the house and animal areas and made to sit with the group. Occasionally a younger child looked at books or puzzles while sitting in the same area as the group but they were physically kept from going to other areas of the centre.

that it was important to keep the children occupied at all times of the day. In this centre the transition times were often structured with teacher led activities.

Time To Move On

Similar to Centre A, this centre was not without its time limits. The children were given a certain amount of leeway before the pace quickened and the teachers hurried them on to the next activity. One anecdote describing this occurred during an organized art activity where a group of children were being directed in making elephant faces. The scenario begins at 11:00 a.m., the time for the transition to the gym.

Three children are sitting at a table, the rest are downstairs in the gym. These three want to add a new feature to their projects and one child announces to the teacher, "I want to make a mask." The teacher responds with, "We'll make masks later, this afternoon."

Another child responds, speaking for the group, "No, we want them now."

"Well, I don't know if we have time, wait til this afternoon," the teacher answers. The children stay seated and the third one says, "I want a mask."

The teacher pauses and replies, sounding irritated, "Well, why can't we give you some string and you do it yourself. I can't help you cuz we're going downstairs." She gives them some string and adds, "O.K., you can do what you want but I'm not helping."

She leaves and the children are left upstairs to finish their masks. Another teacher, who is responsible for clean-up and lunch preparation is also upstairs at this time. She approaches the three and says firmly, "Hurry up, we're going downstairs."

Two minutes later she walks by them again and adds, "Quickly finish up boys." A minute later, two finish and they go downstairs to join the group. The third child is diligently working at his mask when the teacher says, "I don't want

to rush you, but aren't you hungry?" He shakes his head and continues working. The teacher keeps on, "Aren't you going to go downstairs with your friends?" There is no response.

The time is 11:15 a.m.. There is still fifteen minutes left until lunch time. The teacher, intent on hurrying him finally says, "O.K., time's up. We have to get ready for lunch and you have to go downstairs. Go!"

Within seconds the child finishes, gets up from the table without looking at the teacher and goes downstairs to the gym.

These children were using their own initiative to expand on the art activity. Even though the teachers did not force them to move on to the gym at the scheduled time, they rushed them and did not give any support for their creative efforts. The group played in the gym for another twenty minutes before ascending the stairs for lunch. In this instance, the schedule had come before the children.

Future Emphasis

Similar to Centre A, there was also an emphasis on the future as being "bigger and better." At lunch and snack times, the children were divided amongst three tables; the twos and threes at one, the fours at another and the five year olds at the third table. There was a sense of moving up as a child had a birthday and graduated to an older table. On one occasion a child, who had turned five the day before, forgot to sit at his new table. The teacher, who was sitting with him at the four year old table realized this and said, "D, you're five now. You go sit at the five year old table." D looked at her

but remained seated. She added, "You're a big boy, you're five now. You don't have to sit with the four year olds." He smiled at her, stood up and walked to his new table, while the group of four year olds looked on. As in Centre A, there seemed to be a higher status given to the older children.

Learning the Appropriate Times

The children in Centre B were receiving the message that all activities had appropriate times. A child, who brought out a cookie from his pocket was told, "It's not time to eat things like that, put it away." A child holding a book at circle time was told to put the book down as it was not story time. A child who requested a drink was told he'd have to wait for lunch time. The schedule came before the individual child during many instances in this centre.

CENTRE C

The scheduling of activities and grouping procedures in this centre were very flexible. The director described the schedule as a routine that the children got into for themselves. It was not something that had been predetermined by the centre. As she described it:

Well, we have a certain amount of scheduling, but not a schedule that tells you exactly when something begins or ends. Things don't have to end at a certain time. It's more of a routine. They do their activities, most of them finish it and then they go on to something else.

The program involved individual child selected activities and as long as a teacher was in a room, the children could freely move from one area to another. They were restricted, at most times, from playing in rooms not occupied by a teacher and the doors to these rooms were kept closed.

The Daily Schedule

A written schedule, outlining the staff duties was kept in the office of the centre. Shifts were rotated weekly and each shift had certain responsibilities and tasks to be performed at specific times of the day. It almost appeared that in order for the children's program to be kept flexible, the staff needed to be structured in their tasks. Each teacher was responsible for certain areas and duties to ensure the smooth running of the program, maintaining individual child selected activities.

The five teachers most often took their coffee breaks without leaving the children. During naptime, they alternated lunch breaks and it was not unusual for one or two children to accompany a teacher on her break. Two of the shifts, those that started at 7:30 a.m. and 11:00 a.m., rather than taking a lunch break away from the centre, worked less hours and ate with the children.

One of the staff duties was to organize a project each morning for the children and it was set up as an optional activity. The director firmly believed that

"children have a right to their opinions - we give them choices." This was apparent in the observations of Centre C. If a teacher suggested going downstairs to play and not all of the children wanted to go, the director said "that's fine. We have lots of staff, so they can stay upstairs." ⁷

Similar to Centres A and B, all of the children were expected to terminate their activities and participate in lunch and naptimes according to the schedule. These were two activities regulated by the clock in Centre C. The school children had an hour break and their lunch needed to be served at that time. To make lunch time less chaotic for the centre, they had scheduled two lunch shifts. The younger children, who stayed at the centre all day, ate first, at 11:30 a.m. This was so that most of them would be finished and playing in other areas when the school children returned. The first group was not hurried out of the room when the others arrived and could stay and eat with them also.

Unlike in Centres A and B, the children did not wait for the group to begin or end their lunches. Individually, they started, finished and moved on to their next activity. The children continued playing after lunch

7. The ratio of teachers to children did not differ significantly from Centres A and B, where the problems of not enough staff was often stressed. The ratios were: Centre A, 1:8, Centre B, 1:6 and Centre C, 1:6.

which was contrary to the routine in the other two centres. There, naptime directly followed lunch. When questioned about this, the director responded with, "The kids usually aren't tired right after lunch and they need some time to digest their food. They know they can go to lie down anytime, if they want to."

Once again, the children are divided into two groups during naptime; the sleepers and the resters. The two and three year olds with a few fours make up the first group and the remaining fours and fives make up the second. The sleepers nap from 12:30 p.m. to approximately 2:30 p.m. or whenever they wake up. The resters lie down for an hour, from 2:00 p.m. to 3:00 p.m., with a few children falling asleep and remaining downstairs until they awaken.

Time and the Institution of the Daily Routine

The centre opens at 7:30 a.m. Some children are involved in free play on the main floor, while others eat their breakfasts, which they have brought from home. The staff may also eat breakfast with the children at this time. Free play continues until 8:45 a.m., when the older children and one staff leave the centre to walk to school. Often at this time the remaining children and teachers will move to the dining room to engage in activities there. But when the groups seem equally divided between the two rooms, they will remain in different rooms. The teacher, who has walked the children to school and a fourth teacher enter the centre at 9:00 a.m.

Activity begins to spread out to the kitchen, main and second floors of the centre.

At approximately 9:45 a.m. a snack is made available in the dining room. A teacher announces "snack time" to the children by going to the different rooms. It stays out until every child has had a chance to eat and the teachers at this time tend to follow the responses of the children. If the children in their areas move to the dining room, they will also. Activity spreads out again as children finish eating their snacks. At about this time, the teacher responsible for bathroom duty, asks individual children if they need to go and also changes the diapers of others.

At 10:30 a.m., a teacher and a group of children go outside, while the others remain in the centre to play or finish eating. By 10:45 a.m. they are all outside and the entire group leaves the centre together to play in the park across the street. Whenever going to the park is mentioned, the children all seem to eagerly leave their activities and assemble in the yard.

At 11:00 a.m., one teacher and a few children return from the park to make lunch and about twenty minutes later all of the children are assembled at the gate, directed to hold a long rope and walk back to the centre to eat. As they enter the house the children are directed to the bathroom, where a teacher supervises wash-up. Vegetables and dip have been placed on the tables and as

the children sit, they can begin eating. Often children will be eating vegetables, while walking around deciding where to sit. Unlike Centres A and B, there are no rituals for this time. Lunch is served, or the children serve themselves while the teachers either sit at the tables or help pass food around.

Upon finishing eating, the children take their dishes into the kitchen. They then may bring puzzles, crayons or other small toys to the tables. As more children finish, they either bring something to the table, remain talking or move to the living room to play. A teacher waits until most of the children have finished before taking a group downstairs to the basement to play. By this time, the older children, who have been met at school by one staff, are returning sporadically to the centre for lunch. They are directed to wash, before taking their lunches from the kitchen and sitting down to eat. When they finish eating they move on to other areas of the centre.

At 12:30 p.m. the teachers start rounding up the "sleepers" who nap in the two upstairs bedrooms. Approximately sixteen children along with two staff sleep at this time. At 12:50 p.m. the school children are off again and ten children are left in the front yard or in the centre at this time. Often they will go across the street to the park for an hour before returning to the centre to rest.

The younger children, who usually start waking up

at 2:30 p.m. wait for the teacher before going downstairs. The others remain asleep and individually go down when they awaken. At 3:30 p.m., one staff makes sure that all of the children are awake, folds blankets and helps children get dressed, go to the bathroom and go downstairs for their snack.

A snack, which has been put into individual bowls while the children were sleeping, is available for them when they awaken. They can either eat it at this time or save it for later. The school children begin to arrive back at the centre at 3:45 p.m. and they also have the option of eating their snack then, or later. Free play continues in all areas of the centre and often the front yard until approximately 5:00 p.m. At this time, all activity often moves to the main floor rooms until the children are picked up to go home.

Transition Times: Child Initiated

Transitions were mainly individually determined, with children choosing their activities and continuing as long as they wished. There were approximately four group transitions on a typical day. They consumed from 12-16% of the time on the days observed.

The director believed that children should not be forced into activities that did not interest them at the time. The staff, though, were responsible for providing activities and suggesting alternatives to children through-

out the day. They were to take their cues from the children's interests.

Because the children usually initiated their own transitions, "We have avoided the confusion that can take place at these times," the director commented. She added that when a group was leaving the centre to go to the library or on a field trip, it could get a "bit hectic because of all the excitement to be going somewhere."

A major transition that concerned the director was for the children who had to terminate their activities at the day care centre and go to school. She felt that it was important to give them lots of time to get ready. As she explained:

We try and give them advance warnings for school time . . . so they'll be ready. Otherwise, if we just say "school time", they'll make more of a fuss. It seems a long time for them, five minutes. They do make a big fuss if they're not given enough time.

One anecdote, describing the transition to school, will follow to provide an account of the use of advance warnings in this centre. It begins at 8:30 a.m. when there are twenty-one children and three teachers divided into the two rooms on the main floor.

At this time a teacher announces, "If any school children want to have their snack, have it soon." Some children go get their snacks from their lockers and continue with their activities while eating in the dining room.

The children in the front living room are listening to a stereo, with a group of six standing on a stage imitating a rock band routine. At 8:40 a.m., the same teacher walks to both rooms and announces, "Five minutes you guys and then it's

time for school." To the group in the living room she asks, "Do you want to hear one more song before you go to school?"

The name of a song is yelled out, the teacher puts it on and the children go back to their routine. At 8:45 a.m., the song is over. The teacher turns the stereo off and announces, "School kids, time to get ready for school." A group of children leave the room, get their jackets and stand around the locker area and hallway. Some go outside to wait in the front yard.

Four school children are eating their snacks in the dining room. "Come on J, get your coat," the teacher calls to one child as she puts her own coat on. "We're going now," she adds to another.

They all go outside together, the teacher looks around, counts, then walks back into the centre checking to see that no one was left behind before leaving.

Unlike in Centre A, where no time was given to prepare children for transitions, this centre provided warnings much in advance of the change.

Yes, There's Time

Even though naptimes were most often regulated by the clock for the early group, the second group seemed to have more of a say in determining their naptime. On one occasion a group of eleven children and two teachers came back from the park at 2:00 p.m., the usual time for their afternoon naps. The scene continues as follows:

One teacher says to the group, "We're going to get a drink of water, then go to bed. Is everybody ready?" One child mentions that he wants his snack and the teacher asks the rest of the group, "Does anyone else want to have a snack before we have a nap?"

The answer is "yes" and they sit at the tables in the dining room where some children colour, and some look at books and magazines while eating their snacks. After fifteen minutes

of sitting, eating and talking, the teacher announces, "O.K., five more minutes and then we go to bed and we'll read a story." She stands up and starts cleaning the food off of the tables, while talking to individual children, "V, can you help T put the letters away?" To the children who were colouring, "Put your names on your pictures when you're finished."

While one teacher and child remain upstairs to finish a picture, at 2:20 the rest of the group go downstairs. Once on their mats, all activity is restricted and the teacher waits for the group to be quiet before beginning the story.

Even though naptime was usually regulated by the clock, the children's wants were considered and in this instance it was they who determined the change in routine. Unlike the children in Centre B who were rushed to finish their masks, the teacher here went along with the group, giving them another twenty minutes to eat and play before going downstairs to nap.

The teachers played a part in determining the transitions also. In the morning, after the school children had gone, there were often only a few children left in the living room. A larger group and one teacher were in the dining room. Even though these children in the living room may be involved in their activities, a teacher must direct them to the other room, where two of them are needed. A technique that was noticed to occur in this centre, to encourage the children to move on if necessary was to emphasize something positive about the change. A teacher was heard saying, "Why don't we do that puzzle that you like?", or "Let's go make jello." This contrasted with

Centre A where the teachers abruptly announced a change.

Future Emphasis

An emphasis on the future as being "bigger and better" seemed to occur at naptime in this centre. The children who went to sleep early were often referred to as the "babies" and some of them were looking forward to the day when they could stay up later with the "big kids." Comments such as, "I'm a big kid, can I stay up?", or "When I go to kindergarten I don't have to sleep with the babies," were often heard lamented by children at naptime.

When examining the orientation to time, Centre C's scheduling procedures, transitions and general tempo were noticeably different from the observations of the other two settings, Centre A and Centre B.

CENTRE D

This day care provider felt that it was important not to give children specific time limits for activities and this belief was reflected in the relaxed tempo observed in her home. Her reasons were explained when she stated:

I don't feel we have to make everything a specified time because the kids, once they get into something might want to do it for an hour or two. And if you're just going to do it for half an hour, they're not really enjoying themselves. They feel, "I want to still do some more." So I just let them do their own thing.

There was no formal schedule set down in this setting. The children participated in both group and individual activities which seemed to be determined by the children themselves rather than the clock.

The provider, being the only adult supervising, was not able to take her breaks away from the children. As she commented:

The only time I take a break is when I sit on the front step with a cup of tea and they're playing. That to me is my break. And then they like to come up to me and play ball. I like to keep it casual.

Time and the Institution of the Daily Routine

A typical day in this family day care home begins at 8:00 a.m., when two children, a brother and sister, arrive. They watch television and play with the provider's daughter until she leaves for school. The other two children usually arrive at this time. If they are all there by 9:00 a.m., they will go downstairs with the provider to play with the materials and equipment there. Otherwise, they will stay upstairs and read stories, listen to music or watch television while they are waiting. The provider may do some household chores at this time also, often with the children helping her.

At approximately 9:30 a.m. a snack is served and the provider and the four children sit at the kitchen table to eat. Upon finishing she suggests activities or asks the children what they want to do next. They decide as

a group and usually start off doing the same activity. It may be an activity at the table, such as play dough or painting or it may be records and musical instruments in the living room.

When one child does not want to continue with the activity, he/she can do something else. But they all must stay in the same room at this time, especially if they are involved in messy crafts.

Outdoor play in the front yard and the attached park follows. A sand box and climber, bicycles, balls and ropes are all provided for outdoor play. The provider usually sits on the steps to watch, play ball with one of the children or talks to neighbours who come to visit. The children often play with other children in the park at this time also.

At 11:00 a.m. they all come in from outside; the children watch television in the living room and the provider prepares lunch in the kitchen. There is much walking back and forth between the two rooms during this time. At 11:30 a.m., when the program has ended, the children are directed to the bathroom and then to the kitchen to eat. Lunch is a very relaxed, slow activity and often they sit here for over a half an hour. As they finish eating the children either stay at the table talking, play with toys in the living room, watch television or help the provider clean up.

At 12:30 p.m. the oldest child goes downstairs to

put the cots down and a few minutes later the provider and the other three all go downstairs for a nap. She will either nap with the children or do household chores at this time.

The first child is usually up by 2:15 p.m. and she stays downstairs playing until the others have awakened. They fold their blankets and together walk upstairs to talk to the day care provider. She helps the younger two in the bathroom at this time. A snack has been prepared and once again the group assembles at the kitchen table.

Weather permitting, they go outside again after their snack. If not, they stay in and play with toys, read books or watch television. The daughter is home from school by 4:00 o'clock and she spends this time interacting with the children and her mother. They may go for walks, play games, do puzzles, watch television or listen to her records until they are picked up to go home.

Transition Times

On a typical day there were four group transitions which consumed from 7-16% of the daily program time.

Transitions in this centre were not usually regulated by the clock. They were more often determined by the needs of the provider and/or the children. If she had time to prepare the lunch in the morning and the children seemed busy outside, they would not come in for lunch until

12:00 noon. The cue for lunch on those days was not determined by the television as it often was.

When asked how the decision to change activities was made, the day care provider responded with:

Well, usually you can tell. If the children are kind of standing around and not really getting involved, they're starting to get bored. It's best to switch. And if I feel that they're really not interested, we'll just end it. I'll read them a story. They're always interested in stories and you just have to decide what you're going to do.

Transitions were also determined by individual children. One anecdote describing this follows:

One morning, during a music activity, the record ends and the provider asks the children, "Are you ready to go outside?"

J, the five year old replies, "One more skipping song." Another record is put on and the children hop up and down to the music. The record ends. "Are you ready to go now J, C, J?", the provider asks. They nod their heads and the group goes outside.

Advance warnings were usually given to the children to prepare them for coming inside from outdoor play. The provider would call out to them, "Five more minutes and then we're going inside." On some occasions she called to them to come to the door and once they were there, asked them individually if they were ready to go in. Similar to the tactics observed in Centre C, she stressed something exciting to encourage the children to come in. "We're going to have hamburgers today," or "Why don't you help me set the table?" were statements often heard being used.

Unlike in the other three centres, lunch was not regulated by the clock. However, in this centre, television influenced this time. The children often watched Sesame Street and lunch would be served when it ended. But this was not consistently observed. The children were sometimes called to lunch while the program was still on and at other times the program was not watched at all.

Similar to Centre C, the children were not expected to wait for the group to start or finish their lunches. They could leave the table individually when they had finished and move on to the living room to play.

An emphasis on the future as being "bigger and better" was not apparent in Centre D. Unlike the other three settings, the children were never grouped by age, which may have accounted for this difference.

Time was not an important element in Centre D. These children spent their days in a relaxed home atmosphere, free from the demands of the clock.

LUNCH TRANSITIONS AND ANALYSIS

Centre A

It is 11:20 a.m. and the children from the centre are outside in the playground. Some of the groups are beginning to assemble at their doors and the sounds of teachers' voices can be heard calling their rooms into lunch. The head teacher in Centre A begins walking

towards the room and calls out along the way, "Room Five, come on. P, come on. V, H, R, let's go. Let's go."

The children leave what they are doing and congregate at the door. A straggler is called, "Come on D, don't you know it's lunch time?"

At the door the children take their shoes off and empty any sand out before entering the room. A teacher directs the activity, "Hurry up. You're going to be late for lunch. Quick, quick," and "Can't you do it faster" are comments directed to the group.

Individually the children enter the room, wash up and sit at the tables for lunch. There is movement and talking as the twenty-three children assemble. At 11:30 a.m., after all are seated, the teachers begin to control the scene. "Hands down everyone. Where are your whisper voices. You're not going to get served til you're quiet." A teacher shouts out in a loud voice, "Everyone, quiet. You were talking so loud, no one heard me. No lunch til it's quiet."

The teachers single out the children who are talking or moving about in their chairs, "M, be quiet. J,L, be quiet." To the group one adds, "Where should your hands be?"

At 11:35 a.m. all is quiet and a teacher begins passing out the food. A child who touches his fork is spotted, "Hey, hey, hey, hands down."

Movement and talking are apparent again as the children wait for the signal to begin eating. A teacher steps in, "What happened to our whisper voices?" Another adds, "Sh. Shush guys." "Oh Room Five, do we always have to be so loud. All hands should be under the table." "Quiet!"

The room is still once again and the teacher whispers, "Oh is it ever nice and quiet." It is now 11:38 a.m., and the children are given the signal to begin, "Eat up guys."

At 11:48 a.m., when the first two children finish, they are directed to the bathroom and on to the next activity - naptime.

At the teacher's signal, the children immediately terminated their activities and assembled at the door. There was no advance warning given and no reference to the next activity as the head teacher walked through the playground, calling to both the group and to individuals to "come on" and "let's go." One child, who was slow to reach the door was verbally hurried along and indirectly told of the next activity as the teacher called to him firmly, saying, "Come on D, don't you know it's lunch time?" The pace was fast and frenzied as children were hurried into the room, to the bathroom and to their seats.

At the tables the elements of synchronization, sequence and rate of action were of the essence. The teachers'

comments were directed to a few individuals but mostly¹ to the group as order and control was maintained.

Rigid group synchronization was expected as the children waited for all to be seated, quiet and still before the signal to begin eating was given. The teachers had instituted a sequencing pattern of wash, sit, hands under the table, quiet, listen and wait for the signal. The children must conform to this pattern at this time.

Approximately ten minutes later, at 11:48 a.m., the first children had finished their lunches. A teacher was then positioned at the bathroom door and the next activity began. The names of those who had finished were called to the bathroom and then sent to their mats to lie down. The others were often rushed through their meals and on to the next activity to keep up with the pace set by the faster eaters.

Centre B

The group is in the playground when the cook calls out the window at 11:25 a.m., "Lunch is ready." A teacher, upon hearing this repeats for all to hear, "Lunch is ready, lunch is ready."

1. A frequency count of the teachers' comments using Prescott and Jones' (1972) coding system yielded 8 guidance and 17 restrictive statements during this transition. Eighteen statements occurred during the 8 minute wait at the table. Sixteen statements limited movement and talking and 4 statements hurried the children along.

The children continue playing and the signal is repeated, "Lunch is ready. Let's get ready, go inside and wash up for lunch." One teacher situates herself at the door while two others round up the children. To the group on the climber, a teacher says, "I'm going, aren't you hungry?" "Come on in for lunch. Come on in for lunch, we'll go outside again later."

Children begin leaving the playground and individually or in small groups enter the centre. One child is lifted out of the sandbox and walked to the gate by a teacher. Upon entering the room, the children are directed to the bathroom before sitting at the tables. At 11:30 a.m., after a few are seated, one teacher reads a story while waiting for the entire group to assemble. She announces, "I'll read a story while we're waiting for the other kids. Let's listen."

The children are quiet for a few seconds and as more take their places, talking begins. A teacher steps in, "Let's listen to a story. A, listen to my story." She reads on and one child, who gets up from his seat, is silently directed to sit down again.

By 11:41 a.m. all of the children are seated and the teacher stops reading. She says to a group of children, "Sit on your bums please." Each teacher passes food around at their tables and the children begin eating as soon as they are served. At 11:58 a.m., seventeen minutes later, some children are finished and are directed

to wait for the rest of the group at the table before getting up.

Unlike in Centre A, the activity in this centre did not stop on the first announcements made by the teachers. The next activity was announced both to the group and to individuals eight times before the children started to leave the playground. The children may have been more attentive to their activities or may not respond to authority as quickly as was observed in Centre A. Reference to the next activity was mentioned as the teachers announced, "Lunch is ready" and a promise to go back outside again later was given to a group who did not want to go in at this time.

The sequence of events during this transition was prescribed by the teachers as they told children to wash, sit and listen to the story while waiting to begin lunch. At the tables they had to wait for the entire group to assemble and the teacher provided an activity to fill the time. Once all were seated, there was no further wait as in Centre A with its strict enforcement of group synchronization.² The children began eating as soon as they had been served.

After approximately seventeen minutes, some children

2. Nine guidance and 3 restrictive statements were recorded at this time. Four statements limited movement and talking and no statements stressed the pace of the transition.

had finished eating. Unlike in Centre A, where the fast eaters set the pace, the pace in Centre B was set by the slower eaters. The children were directed to stay in their seats and wait for the rest of the group before moving on to the next activity.

Centre C

Eighteen children and two teachers are at the park and at 11:15 a.m. a third teacher comes from the centre to announce that lunch is ready. She walks to groups on the climber, on the swings and in the sandbox. "Lunch is ready. It's lunch time." One teacher and a group of children run to the gate and wait for the rest to assemble. The other two teachers go to individual children to announce lunch. "Lunch time, let's go. Do you want French toast?" To a child on a swing a teacher asks, "R, lunch time, are you ready for lunch? I'll give you one more push."

At 11:21 a.m. they are all at the gate. Some of the children are walking along the edge of a flower bed, some are running up and down a small hill and the others are standing with the teachers. "O.K. let's start. Let's go before we lose everybody." They all hold onto a rope as they walk back through the park and across the street to the centre. At the street, they stop and a teacher says, "Who's looking for cars?"

They walk across the street into the yard and the

rope is dropped. It is 11:25 a.m. as they enter the centre, wash up and sit at the tables for lunch. Vegetables and dip have been placed on the tables and the children begin eating anytime. The teachers place individual bowls on the tables and the children each take one for themselves, or are served by a teacher.

Thirteen minutes later, when the first child has finished his lunch, he takes his bowl into the kitchen. He then returns to the dining room, takes a puzzle from the shelf and sits back down at the table.

Contrary to the individual child initiated activities observed during most of the day, group synchronization was imposed at lunch time. The children had to terminate their activities at the request of the teacher and go back to the centre for lunch. A child was given one more push, children engaged in self-initiated activities while waiting at the gate and the mention of the lunch menu differentiated the management techniques observed in this centre from Centres A and B.

The sequence of events at this time was wash up and eat. Some children took vegetables and dip before finding themselves a seat. The lunch was brought into the room and the children took their own or waited to be served by a teacher. Unlike the more formal lunch procedure and rituals observed in Centres A and B, this time in Centre C was similar to a casual lunch that one would be

involved in in their own home.³ They began eating anytime, without waiting for the group, as in Centre B or a signal from the teacher, as in Centre A.

Unlike in Centres A and B, where the pace was determined by either the fast or slow eaters, in this centre, the pace was individually determined. Upon finishing lunch, children either stayed at the tables, began a new activity in the same room or moved to the front room to play. Those who ate slower could stay at the table and continue eating, even after the school children had arrived. There was no rush to move on to the next activity.

Centre D

At 11:00 a.m. the four children and day care provider come into the house from outside. The children watch television while the provider prepares their lunch. The television is on, but it is not the central focus as the children play with other things and talk to each other at this time. There is movement back and forth as the provider comes into the living room or a child goes into the kitchen. At 11:55 a.m. the provider comes in from

3. All of the 7 management statements recorded during this transition were guidance comments. They occurred at the park to encourage the termination of activities. No restrictive comments, no comments limiting movement and talking and no comments emphasizing the pace were recorded during the transition from outdoor play to lunch.

the kitchen, sits on the couch and says, "Pretty soon your hamburgers will be ready. Do you want cheese on them?" The children answer and at 12:00 noon, as the program ends, she stands and says, "O.K., let's go wash hands for lunch."

They all go into the bathroom together and the provider helps them wash up before going into the kitchen for lunch. "Let's go sit at the table," she says as they enter the kitchen. By 12:03 p.m. they are seated with their lunches in front of them and eating begins. Lunch time is very slow and relaxed and the first child does not leave the table until 12:25 p.m.

The provider talked about lunch, while the television program was still on, to prepare the children for the next activity. The menu was mentioned and they waited until the program was over before leaving the room. Lunch was served and they started anytime, without waiting for the group or a signal from the provider to begin.

The sequence of events was wash, sit and eat. Only two guidance statements were heard in directing the group at this time. The pace was relaxed and unhurried with the children all finishing at different times and either staying at the table to talk or going into the living room to play.

SUMMARY

This chapter has described the four day care settings by combining the information from the written transcripts with the tape recorded teacher interviews. The outline of the transition period from outdoor play to lunch was to provide additional data with which to examine the process of cultural learning. The management techniques used by the adults were quantified in order to compare the different ways authority was expressed in the settings.

The data revealed Centre A using by far the most restrictive statements (68%) during this transition time. Sixteen percent of the total statements hurried the children along and 64% limited movement and talking. This transition in Centre B yielded 25% restrictive statements. Statements limiting movement and talking were 33% of the total and no get moving statements were recorded.

In both Centres C and D there were no restrictive statements, get moving statements or statements limiting movement and talking recorded during the transition period outlined. Only guidance statements were used by the adults in these two centres. The authority of the teachers was much less apparent in these two settings than in both Centre A and Centre B.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERPRETATIONS

Introduction

The amount of control we have over the temporal order of our lives is highly variable (Moore, 1963) and this was supported in the observations of the four day care settings. Each centre yielded variations based on the interaction between the participants and the temporal environment. The structure of the temporal environment itself was revealed to be a hidden curriculum as it enculturated the children to the components of synchronization, sequence and rate of action. These are three time elements existing in our society.

The outline of the detailed lunch transitions in each setting, along with the six days of observations and the teacher interviews provides a basis for analyzing the process of cultural learning. Firstly, the components influencing the temporal environment will be looked at by taking a closer look at the teacher, the setting and the children. Secondly, the three time elements, synchronization, sequence and rate of action will be examined as they occurred in each day care setting. Thirdly, a number of other norms stemming from the observations of

the temporal environments will be discussed as they were presented in each of the four settings. These are: 1) the authority of the teacher, 2) keeping busy and 3) orientation to tasks.

It is important to note that these interpretations apply to the temporal environments of the four settings only. Even though they may be consistent with the rest of the day's activities, it is not the intention of this research to extend the interpretations to the entire program in each of these settings.

Influences on the Temporal Environment

After examining the day-to-day occurrences in these four day care settings, it became apparent that there were many similarities and many differences in relation to the temporal environment. The day in each centre was divided into numerous activity periods, either by the children themselves, by the teachers or by the institution. Free play and group activities for some, followed by a snack, outdoor play, bathroom routine, lunch, naptime and free play once again was the arrangement of the day in all four settings. But what the children were actually experiencing during these activities and inbetween times appeared quite different. By taking a closer look at the teacher, the setting and the children, some of the influences on the structuring of the temporal environment may become clearer.

In Centre A, the head teacher, who has completed numerous Early Childhood courses, has worked in this day care centre for two years. She herself, was raised on a farm, where time did not matter as much as in the city. Meals and activities in her home were unrelated to clock time - they centered around the work on the farm. Even though during her childhood, the element of time was not a concern, the head teacher feels that it is a concern of hers now. She is always "on time" when going places and considers others irresponsible for their tardiness. This concern was evidenced in the day care program as the children were encouraged to be "on time" to each activity.

The demands of the institution, the lack of space and the low teacher/child ratio influenced the head teacher in organizing a structured program for the twenty-five, three to four year olds in her room. She referred to herself as an employee who was obligated to meet certain standards set up by the administration. Even though she believed that children develop at their own rates and that they should be allowed to choose activities and continue as long as they wished, these beliefs were not evidenced in the structuring of the temporal environment in Centre A. With more staff in the room, a larger space to work in and more autonomy, the head teacher commented that she would set up a more

flexible schedule.

Learning to share, line up, adjust to group activities and listen to the teacher were lessons to be needed for later school years and should be taught in the day care. This belief was one that the head teacher agreed with and emphasized in the program. The temporal environment was influenced by this belief.

The head teacher felt constricted by time in the program and perhaps this influenced the hurried pace and rush to get things done that was noticed in observing this centre. There was a daily program to follow and she felt compelled to complete it each day and then start over again on the following day.

The head teacher worked for an institution that took the school as its model as it segregated the children by age, referred to the groups by their room numbers, provided time periods for activities to occur and put authority in the hands of the teacher. Just as she was ruled by the institution, the children were under its power also.

The director in Centre B has also completed courses in Early Childhood Education and has been the director of this centre for three years. She was raised in the city by parents who "wouldn't let things get too out of hand," and she seemed to have carried this over to her role as a day care worker.

A certain amount of leeway in time was given to the children before she felt it was necessary to step in and take control. She avoided a "drop in" snack where children could eat when hungry rather than at a set time, because it could get out of control. She encouraged all of the children to join the organized group activities also for the reason of control. She also commented that allowing the children to choose their own activities rather than join group times was "hard on the staff."

This maintenance of control and order as a function of the daily schedule was emphasized in both Centres A and B. This, combined with a low teacher/child ratio and inadequate space influenced the structuring of the temporal environment, according to these teachers.

The director in Centre B believed that the population served (a high Native population) in this centre needed direction in order for "productive" learning to occur. The responsibility of the day care was to give them basic skills and concepts that they may not get in their own homes. To do this, the director felt that structured group activities at specified times of the day would provide these teachable experiences for the children.

Unlike the head teacher in Centre A, who felt responsible to the institution, the director in Centre B felt responsible to the children and the staff and

organized the schedule to meet their needs.

The director in Centre C has worked in this day care for eight years and has been the director for the past three. Similar to the head teacher in Centre A and the director in Centre B, she has also taken numerous courses in Early Childhood Education.

With seven brothers and one sister, growing up in the city, the director commented that she had a very relaxed upbringing where the element of time was not a great concern. She added that "we didn't even have to go to school if we didn't want to." Her parents felt that their children could make their own decisions, and most often they did choose to go to school. This concern for children's rights to make choices was very apparent in the structuring of the temporal environment in Centre C. At most times the children initiated and terminated their activities without adult direction or control.

This director felt that children learned about time by getting into their own routines. They did not have to be scheduled or regulated by the clock. This was contrary to the beliefs of the head teacher and the director in Centres A and B. They both felt that a planned daily schedule was important in teaching the children about time. In Centre A, time actually became a subject of study as the teacher led a daily lesson on the days of the week and the calendar.

Unlike in the other two centres, this director did not feel constricted by time in the daily program. The children were not pressed to end an activity or rushed to move on to the next. She believed that children are learning all of the time and do not need to be directed into teacher led group activities during their years in day care. Preparation for later school years was not the responsibility of the day care, according to the director in Centre C. She emphasized her goal as providing the children with a home away from home. She felt that they usually had enough staff and more than enough space to provide the children with experiences similar to a family environment.

The family day care provider in Centre D did not see her responsibility as being a job when she stated, "I'm lucky, I don't have to work." She felt that she was raising these children as if they were her own and did not emulate the school in the structuring of their day.

She was brought up out of the city area, in trailer parks, where she felt she had more freedom than children being brought up in the city. She remembered being very unhappy in school about "having the time to do a certain thing in half an hour and given only that time to do it." This day care provider did not want to put the same pressures on the children in her care. This was reflected

in the temporal environment. She felt that the children were learning about time in their own homes and in her home with times for snack and lunch. She did not feel that it was necessary to schedule their activities in order to teach them about time.

The day care provider in Centre D did not feel constricted by time and by caring for only four children in her own home she was able to provide a relaxed, un-hurried child rearing environment.

All of these teachers agreed with the belief that children have individual rates of development, day care should cater to these, and that children learn best by choosing their own activities and continuing as long as they wish. But through the observations it was found that these beliefs were not congruent with the structuring of the temporal environment in all four of the settings. In both Centres A and B the temporal environment was not consistent with these child rearing beliefs.

In Centre A the demands of the institution, the teacher/child ratio and the amount of space in the setting influenced the temporal environment. The head teacher believed that it was beyond her control to make any changes. In Centre B, the director also felt that the teacher/child ratio and amount of space along with the population enrolled influenced the structuring of the temporal environment. These factors seemed to overpower

some of their professed child rearing beliefs.

In Centre C and D, however, the child rearing beliefs of the director and day care provider were more consistent with the structuring of the temporal environment. It is important to note that the director in Centre C was able to carry out her beliefs without being influenced by the teacher/child ratio and amount of space, which was not unlike both Centres A and B. But in these two centres the head teacher and director both believed that these factors prevented them from structuring a more flexible temporal environment.

Prescott (1978) has suggested that even though people's beliefs may be child oriented and flexible, once a large group of children are put together in a setting, there is a tendency to adopt the school as its model. According to other researchers (Dreeben, 1968; LeCompte, 1978) one of the functions of school is for the maintenance of control and order. Both the head teacher in Centre A and the director in Centre B commented on the need for control in their centres. Perhaps this belief overpowered their other more child oriented beliefs. The temporal environment in these two centres appeared to be influenced by the school more than the child rearing beliefs professed by these two teachers.

Synchronization, Sequence, Rate: School vs. Family

As in the school, office or factory the children in Centre A were being regulated by the clock. They were learning to conform to the schedule as group synchronization, an imposed sequencing pattern and a fast rate of action were emphasized. These time elements were evident in many of the activities observed throughout the day in Centre A. At story time, circle time, in the gym and at naptime there was very little latitude or flexibility in time given to individual children. They were all expected to terminate their activities, assemble with the group and wait quiet and still for the teacher to give the signal. The children were not given the choice of ending an activity or not, or of joining an activity or not.

Group synchronization was of the essence. Frymier (1965) extended Erikson's (1971) thesis on child development when he argued that "children have to learn to make choices and they must learn by doing it" (Frymier, 1965, p. 196). Todd and Heffernan (1977) added that the best programs in meeting the needs of early childhood allow the children to choose their own activities and to continue as long as they wish. The temporal environment in Centre A did not emphasize these early childhood needs.

Synchronization, sequence and rate of action were

also emphasized in the temporal environment in Centre B. Moore (1963) suggested that the differentiation between work and non-work begins in the school with the demands of the temporal environment. An activity became work for children when they had to give up their own desires. This workday routine was stressed as children had to give up their own desires at the teachers' requests and at the demands of the schedule in both Centre A and Centre B. Even though there was more flexibility in time given to individuals in Centre B's program, nevertheless the children had to terminate their activities, join the group and move on to the next scheduled event.

In both Centres A and B there was an imposed sequence of events during transition times that the children were expected to follow. Wash, sit, wait, listen, eat, wait was the pattern of events to be followed at lunch time in both of these centres. The pace of transitions also had prescribed time limits in these two settings. The faster children often set the pace in Centre A, while the slower children in Centre B often set the pace for the rest of the group.

Gurvitch (1964) discussed the divergency between the slow moving time of the family grouping and the erratic time of the school and bureaucratic organizations. Centre A and Centre B, with their segmented time periods, time limits on activities and prescribed rates of action seemed to be dominated by the time of these organizations

more so than family time.

Unlike the temporal environment of the bureaucratic work world, where group synchronization, sequence and rate of action are emphasized, the individual child's time dominated in Centre C. The structure of the temporal environment centered around the natural rhythms of each child for most of the program observed throughout the day.

The needs of school and the work world were not as evident in this centre as in Centres A and B. As in the family environment, the children's time was of "long duration" (Gurvitch, 1964), less erratic and less segmented than time in the global society. Task orientation rather than time scheduling was the temporal ordering of this centre.

Moore (1963) writes that there are less clock driven occupations than bureaucratic employees. Artists, writers, executives, salespeople, physicians, small farmers and other self employed persons may be less time disciplined. They have some control over the temporal order of their lives (Moore, 1963; Thompson, 1967). The temporal environment in Centre C emphasized this less time disciplined world.

Time was not apparent during the transitions in Centre D. Activities were accomplished and the day passed with very little emphasis on synchronization, sequence or rate of action. The day revolved around the children's

play, the television and the provider's household chores rather than a scheduled timetable of activities. Unlike in Centres A and B, the children in Centre D were not learning about time in the bureaucratic society. Hart (1974) suggested that schools function to make children better members of the global society and not better members of their families. The temporal environment in Centre D did not appear to function in this way. Contrary to the temporal environment in the school, the children in this family day care home were not being regulated by the clock or schedules; their time reflected a family grouping.

Moore (1963) differentiated between time in the work world and time in the social world in North American society. Meetings of social groups and parties allow for variations in punctuality and usually people are not penalized for not attending. This is not the case in the school or work world where time is of the essence. In Centre D and Centre C the temporal environments seemed to reflect the time generally associated with social groups or family groupings whereas in Centres A and B it reflected the time of the school and work world.

The children in all four settings were being enculturated to different concepts of time and different aspects of North American society. In Centres A and B the temporal environments emphasized group synchronization,

an imposed sequence of events and a prescribed rate of action. Here, the culture of the school and work world as outlined in the literature was being transmitted. In Centres C and D, where the child's sense of time dominated and group synchronization, sequence and rate of action were less emphasized, the culture of the family and social groupings was being transmitted. These two worlds, the family and the school, differ in their orientations to time.

The Authority of the Teacher

In all four settings the children were learning about authority through the structuring of the temporal environment. In Centre A the authority of the teacher dominated during the transition times observed. As they spelled out rules and expectations, restrictions and reprimands, the teachers' authority was emphasized. Order and control was maintained through the schedule as the children were told when to end, when to begin and what activity to engage in next. The use of synchronization, sequence and rate of action, as they were strictly enforced by the teachers disregarded the individual child in this program. Minuchin (1977) suggested that children learn about their own self worth in any kind of classroom. If they are ridiculed, ignored or frequently scolded the children may be learning to withhold trust. According to this author, this will

also lower a child's self esteem. These management techniques were used frequently during the transitions recorded in Centre A.

The authority of the teachers was not as dominant in the structuring of the temporal environment in Centre B. It was in the hands of the teachers as they told children when to change activities, what occurred next and how much time they had to get involved. But they were more often guided to the next activity, without the firm enforcement of limits that was observed in Centre A.

Both the head teacher in Centre A and the director in Centre B commented that the temporal environment needed to be structured into segmented time periods, with no choices given to the children, so that order and control could be maintained in their centres. The children in these two centres were learning about the authority of the teacher through the structuring of the temporal environment.

In Centre C the authority of the teachers was much more subtle than was observed in either Centre A or Centre B. The children were guided to activities, if they were required, but most often they were left to make their own choices. The structure of the temporal environment in Centre C emphasized the needs of early childhood rather than the authority of the teacher.

The literature on early childhood stresses that children have certain needs to be met before they can begin the more formal training presented in schools. These have been defined as trust, a positive self concept and autonomy (Biber, 1969; 1977; Caldwell, 1971; 1973; Elkind, 1981; Erikson, 1971; Gesell & Ilg, 1943; Hymes, 1981; Robison, 1977; Todd & Heffernan, 1977). The children in Centre C, at most times, chose their own activities and followed their individual rates of action with few restrictions from the teachers. They were not made to wait for long periods of time for groups to assemble or signals to be given; nor were they hurried on to new activities for which they were not ready for or interested in at the time. Trust, the development of a positive self concept and autonomy were emphasized through the temporal environment.

Similar to Centre C, the temporal environment in Centre D emphasized the needs of early childhood as outlined in the literature. Even though the day care provider had the final say, there were no statements of firm restrictions recorded during the observation period. There was very little waiting and very few limits on movement and talking observed in this setting. In Centres C and D the children were learning that their own choices were important as the authority of the teacher did not prevail.

Braga and Braga (1973) in reviewing the literature on early childhood education programs, outlined several characteristics important to the development of young children. A flexible, child oriented program, where the schedule of activities respected each child's own biological rhythms should be universal to all programs. This was evident in the structure of the temporal environments in Centres C and D more so than in the other two settings.

Frymier (1965) described the different characteristics associated with democratic and authoritarian persons. The former, value differences among people, have positive concepts of themselves and others and have a sense of independence. On the other hand, authoritarian persons, according to Frymier (1965) do not value differences, may be unsure of themselves and often blame others for mistakes. In Centre A, more so than in the other three centres, the transition times were dominated by the authority of the teachers. Perhaps these characteristics of the authoritarian personality were being transmitted to the children in this centre.

Other writers (Lightfoot, 1973; Mugge, 1976; Osborne, 1982) have written about the political lessons children learn in the classroom. In Centre A, where the authority of the teacher dominated during much of the day, the children were not receiving the messages conducive to a democratic culture where "active, critical, participant

citizenship is the goal" (Osborne, 1982, p. 11). In Centre B, where the children were given some say in determining the transitions, the teachers used guidance statements more than restrictive statements. In Centres C and D, where the children determined most of their own transitions, very few restrictive statements were recorded. The goals of a democracy were being transmitted to the children in these centres more so than in Centre A.

Through the authority of the teachers, some children in day care, in particular Centre A and often in Centre B, were being enculturated to group conformity, control and orderliness. According to Margolin (1974) these are values of an urban industrialized society and represent the working classes. In Centres C and D, where the authority of the teachers was less emphasized through the temporal environment, these values of our urban industrial society were not as apparent.

Keeping Busy

With the division of the day into short activity segments, twelve in Centre A and seven in Centre B, a keep busy norm was being reinforced. In Centre C, the activities were not scheduled into time periods as in Centres A and B, but the abundance of equipment and materials available for the children's use also appeared to present a busy day of activities. In Centre D, however,

there was much less of an emphasis on keeping busy. The children spent their day in a family home which was not set up into activity centres as were the other day care centre settings. More time was spent eating lunch and snacks, watching television and just sitting than was observed in Centres A, B and C.

The children in the day care settings were learning to relate to time from the sequencing of events throughout the day. This was emphasized in the interviews, when the teachers commented that the children were learning about time through either the schedule or their own routines. Hall (1959) suggested that we, in North American society, use time as a chain that links events together. The past and future are combined with the present. When the children were told "we do this and then this and then our moms come" as was outlined by the director in Centre B, they were learning about this chain of events. According to the analysis of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) this presentation of time in our society represents the dominant middle class "doing activity" with a future time emphasis. This orientation to time is not held by all groups in North American society.

The literature suggests that different cultural groups and different socioeconomic groups may represent variant temporal orientations to this dominant value

(Gouldner & Gouldner, 1963; Hall, 1959; Kluckhohn & Strodtbeck, 1961). Centre B, which strongly emphasized this keep busy, future emphasis time orientation served a predominantly Native population. These children were being presented with a temporal orientation that may have been contrary to their own culture and to what they were experiencing in their homes.

The efforts to provide activities during transition times also reinforced the keep busy norm. According to the literature it also emphasized the needs of early childhood. The psychological research suggests that long periods of waiting may cause frustration in preschool age children (Miller & Karniol, 1976; Mischel & Baker, 1975; Mischel & Patterson, 1976). This may result in either nonaggressive or aggressive responses ranging from withdrawal to increased striving for the blocked goal object (Feshbach, 1970). Masters and Santrock (1976) found that the degree of effort four year old children would devote to a boring activity, e.g. waiting, was enhanced by distracting them. The young child needs to be distracted to turn a waiting situation from one of possible anxiety and frustration to a more copeable one.

In Centre A the children were forced to wait quiet and still, doing nothing, for long periods of time (often five to ten minutes) between activities. The transition times in Centre B also took up a large part of the day

but they were often filled by teacher led activities. In Centre C, during their limited number of transitions, the children could fill the time with their own activities. In Centre D, also with minimal transition times, the children were not expected to stand still, quiet and do nothing. Only in Centre A did transition times disregard the psychological needs of preschool age children.

In the three centre settings, with their emphasis on constant activity, more so than in the family day care home, the children were being enculturated to the dominant middle class keep busy norm. Thompson (1967) aptly described this as our "desire to consume time purposively."

Orientation to Tasks

Through the structure of the temporal environment in each day care setting, the children were learning about task orientation. As in a school, where activities may be cut short by a bell, the children in Centre A and Centre B were often learning that the activity was secondary to the schedule. Rist (1973) emphasized that providing short activity periods for children only ensures that short attention spans remain that way and longer ones decrease. It is not the time tabling, but the task orientation of the program that helps develop a child's attention span.

Research in early childhood suggests that child oriented programs, where children choose the majority of their activities and work at their own rate, encourage more task persistence and independent behaviour than programs which are mainly teacher directed (Fagot, 1973; Huston-Stein, et al, 1977; Vliestra, 1980). In Centres C and D with their emphasis on the children initiating and terminating their own activities, the development of task persistence and independence was being promoted more so than in the other two centres. The temporal environment in each setting was contributing to the children's task orientation.

In Centres A and B the programs were timetabled to ensure that all of the children would be exposed to a full range of activities every day. The head teacher in Centre A and the director in Centre B both felt that it was not "good" for children to engage in only one or two activities during a day. The director in Centre B commented that if the children were not scheduled for activities they would want to spend all of their time either in the gym or outside. She felt that it was the responsibility of the day care to ensure that the children participated in more "academic activities." The movement of children from one activity to the next in these two centres not only emphasized the keep busy norm but also our society's preoccupation with change. Hall (1959) contended

that we attend to tasks in order to complete them and move on to something new. The anticipation of a change to a future event, rather than the task at hand often becomes the focus. As the children were often interrupted in their activities to move on to something new, they were being enculturated to this preoccupation with change as described by Hall (1959). This was not the case in Centres C and D where the children stayed at activities for any length of time without being interrupted.

In all four settings the children were learning about task orientation through the structure of the temporal environment. In Centres A and B they were learning about society's management core as the schedule told them when to begin and when to terminate activities. Nonattention to tasks and a preoccupation with change were also evident in these two programs. In Centres C and D, where the children most often initiated and terminated their own activities, they were learning more about task persistence and independent behaviour than in the other two centres.

Summary

There may be many different influencing factors on the structuring of the temporal environment in a day care setting and this discussion has examined some of these. The demands of the institution, the population

enrolled, the amount of space in a setting and the teacher/child ratio had some effect on the temporal environment in a setting. The teachers' beliefs also played a part in structuring the temporal environments for the children in their care.

Through the observations of the temporal environments in four day care settings, a hidden curriculum was found to exist. Synchronization, sequence and rate of action, as they were observed in Centre A and Centre B were preparing the children for participation in the school and work worlds. In Centres C and D, where these time elements were not as restrictive, the children had more control over the temporal order of their lives. They were being enculturated to a less time disciplined world generally associated with the family, social groupings and the world of artists, writers and the self employed.

In all of the settings the children were learning something about authority, keeping busy and task orientation through the structuring of the temporal environment. These norms were presented differently in each setting. Some emphasized the needs of early childhood and democracy, as outlined in the literature and some the needs of school, the work world and society's management core.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate temporal environments in day care and the process of cultural learning. Four settings were selected which differed on several dimensions. They differed in program format (teacher initiated, child initiated), numbers of children (large centre, family setting) and population served (subsidized, nonsubsidized, Native, Immigrant).

For many children, a day care setting is their first encounter with numerous other children and adults in an environment outside of their family home. They may attend a large centre setting or a smaller family day care home up to ten hours a day, five days a week. The director, head teacher or provider, by acting as an administrator of the children's environment, influences their development and learning. Much of this influence may be unknown to the teacher and this is referred to as the hidden curriculum. Through this environment, including the hidden dimension, many aspects of our culture are being transmitted to the children in day care. This investigation has examined some of these. The method of ethnography, utilizing questionnaires, interviews and

hand written observations was used to investigate the cultural learning that was occurring through the temporal environment.

It has been suggested that a teacher's beliefs, which may be reflected in the environment, affect the learning which occurs in a setting. All four of the teachers who were responsible for the children in the day cares investigated agreed with the following statements:

- 1) Children learn and develop at their own rate in their own way and in their own time. Day care should cater to these differences.
- 2) Children have their own sense of time and will learn best by choosing their own activities and continuing only so long as they wish.

But the structuring of the temporal environments in the four settings did not always reflect these child rearing beliefs. There appeared to be other influences and other beliefs of the teachers which overpowered these professed beliefs.

In Centre A, the head teacher structured the temporal environment with much more authority and inflexibility than one would expect from the child rearing beliefs reflected in the questionnaire. Some of the reasons for these incongruencies, though, were revealed in the interview. The head teacher felt that the demands of the institution, the inadequate amount of space and the low teacher/child ratio influenced the organizing of a scheduled

timetable of activities. With more autonomy, teachers and space, the children would not have to be grouped together in the same place at the same time for much of the day. This head teacher also believed that there were lessons to be taught in day care that would be needed for later school years. Her belief in the importance of learning to line up and to participate in group activities was reflected in the temporal environment more so than her belief in the individual development of each child. The maintenance of control was also revealed to be an influencing factor for the rigid scheduling of activities in Centre A. Even though the head teacher's child rearing beliefs emphasizing individual rates of development were not reflected in the temporal environment, these other beliefs did appear to influence it. These, then, were transmitted to the children in her care.

Some of the child rearing beliefs of the director in Centre B were also inconsistent with the observations of the temporal environment. She also agreed that day care should cater to individual rates and styles of development but found this hard to maintain in her centre. The teacher/child ratio, amount of space and maintenance of control were other factors preventing this director from organizing a more flexible schedule. The director believed that the population enrolled in Centre B needed a schedule

of activities with adult direction in order for "productive" learning to occur. She wanted them to learn basic skills and concepts that they may not get in their own homes. The scheduling of activities was to ensure that the children were exposed to all of the preplanned activities offered daily by the centre. These beliefs seemed to overpower her other professed child rearing beliefs and were reflected in the structuring of the temporal environment.

In both Centres C and D the child rearing beliefs emphasized individual rates of development and individual initiation and termination of activities. Unlike in the other two centres observed, these beliefs were consistent with the observed interactions between the children and the temporal environment. There were no set time limits on activities and very little emphasis on the teaching of lessons to be needed for later school years. Neither of these teachers felt that there were external factors preventing them from following their own child rearing beliefs. The child's sense of time was an important aspect of both of these settings. As Cass emphasized:

Children must live in the "now" of their childhood - not hurried on to a new stage before they are ready. Time should be the child's time for all too soon life's clock catches up with him.
(Cass, 1975, p. 63)

The temporal environments observed in Centres C and D are aptly described by these words.

By examining the beliefs of these four adults through questionnaires and interviews it was found that some of their beliefs were reflected in the observations of the temporal environment more so than others. This was especially evident in Centres A and B where the individual child developmental beliefs were overpowered by the teachers' beliefs in the importance of teaching lessons, the maintenance of control and the believed influences from external forces.

Once the child rearing beliefs of the teachers and the observations of the temporal environment were examined, the process of cultural learning that was occurring in each day care setting was analyzed.

The time elements of synchronization, sequence and rate of action are more restrictive boundaries in bureaucratic organizations such as offices and factories than in daily family life. The results of the ethnography showed that these time elements were also restrictive in Centres A and B. Centre A being the large, corporate centre with a predominant middle income population and Centre B, a non-profit centre with a high Native and subsidized population. These time elements were not as restrictive in Centre C, a non-profit high immigrant and partially subsidized population or Centre D, the family day care home, also enrolling a partially subsidized population.

A hidden curriculum was revealed through the observations of the temporal environment in each of the four settings. The children in Centres A and B were being prepared for secular functions in an urban industrialized society (Seeley, et al, 1956) where synchronization, sequence and rate of action are of the essence. According to these authors, and others, this is the goal of education in North American society. By examining the temporal environments in these two centres, this also appeared to be its function. Neither the head teacher in Centre A nor the director in Centre B seemed to be fully aware of this cultural learning that was occurring in their centres.

In Centres C and D, the children, through the temporal environment, were being prepared for a less time disciplined world generally associated with the family, social groupings, artists, writers and other self employed persons. The director and provider in these two settings were able to fulfill their child rearing beliefs in emulating a family environment in their centres. Through the process of cultural learning the children in care were also being affected by the teachers' beliefs. The recognition of individual differences, making choices and independent behaviour were being transmitted to the children in Centres C and D.

Other messages were transmitted to the children in

day care through the temporal environment. They were learning about the authority of the teacher, about keeping busy and about task orientation. In Centre A and often in Centre B these norms also emphasized those existing in the school and work world. Listen to the teacher, keep busy, follow the schedule and often non-attendance to tasks were the messages being transmitted to the children in these two centres. Make choices, follow natural rhythms, independent behaviour and attend to tasks were the messages most often transmitted to the children in Centres C and D. The needs of early childhood, as outlined in the literature, were emphasized through the temporal environments in these two centres.

The results of this ethnography have shown the similarities and differences in day care settings operated by four adults who subscribed to similar child rearing beliefs. Through detailed observations of the temporal environments in each of the settings, inconsistencies between beliefs and actual practices were made apparent. The method of observing within the natural setting of the day care offers much to the researcher who wants to examine the process of cultural learning. In Centres A and B this process was preparing the children in care for participation in the school and work world. However, in Centres C and D the needs of early childhood and preparation for a less time disciplined world, generally associ-

ated with the family, social groupings, artists, writers and other self employed persons was emphasized.

It is important for researchers in child care to observe the day-to-day occurrences within a setting to examine the processes of influence. This should contribute toward a better understanding of the professed child rearing beliefs and the actual experiences that are being provided for the children. Discrepancies that are revealed can be used to help caregivers redesign their programs and provide experiences that will match their beliefs and also positively affect children.

Since vast numbers of children are spending their days in day care centres, many lives will be influenced by the settings that are provided for them. Investigations within settings must be carried out to provide information on what children are actually experiencing and what experiences are most desirable in the rearing of children in our society. This investigation has shown that the teacher plays a significant role in determining the cultural learning that occurs in a setting. Therefore, along with clarifying the goals for day care and the experiences wanted for children, it is important to include the teachers in decisions which directly affect their programs and the children. The teacher should be actively involved in planning and assisting in research that would help design appropriate day care programs. In this study, the teacher who had the least involvement in the admini-

stration of the program also seemed to have the most inconsistencies between beliefs and actual practices. Many of these conflicts were being transmitted to the children in her care.

This investigation has also brought out the discrepancies that may exist between cultural values being perpetuated in the child's home and in the day care setting. Research is needed to examine the match between children's home and day care environments and the impact on their development. In Centre B, values which may be inconsistent with the Native temporal orientation were being transmitted to the Native population enrolled. It is important for further research to examine the effect this may have on the families involved and the importance of consistency between the home and day care settings in terms of cultural learning.

Some writers (Thompson, 1967; Toffler, 1974) have suggested that as we enter the post industrial era, the demands of our society are changing. Schools may need to change their existing goals of preparing children for participation in an urban industrial society - a society that may be past. Toffler (1974) writes that "most schools base their teaching on the tacit notion that tomorrow's world will be basically familiar" (p. 5). This may be a false notion and Toffler believes it more important to teach children to be innovators rather than

teaching them products of past innovations.

In the findings of this ethnography, two of the day care settings were also perpetuating the goals of the school through the temporal environment. By transmitting the work norms of follow the schedule, keep busy and conform to authority, the values of the industrial society were being transmitted. The other two centres, however, were transmitting more future oriented values through the temporal environment. Decision making, creativity and independent behaviour were the values being transmitted here. Both Thompson (1967) and Toffler (1974) have suggested that these will be more useful behaviours in our changing world.

One of the most important implications stemming from this study is the need for longitudinal research in the area of child rearing environments. Further research is necessary to investigate the long term effects of enculturating very young children in day care to the regulative norms of the school and work world. What consequences will this have on their development?

If group day care is to continue as a viable option for the rearing of young children in our society, it will be necessary to define its purpose. Investigations such as this one can be a starting point for further comparisons of the day-to-day experiences being offered to children in day care settings. It is hoped that this will help

in the development of day care programs that will maximize the development, care and education of all the young children involved.

REFERENCES

- Barker, R. (Ed.). The stream of behavior. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1963.
- Belsky, J. Future directions for day care research: an ecological analysis. Child Care Quarterly, 1980, 9(2), 82-99.
- Belsky, J., & Steinberg, L. The effects of day care: a critical review. Child Development, 1978, 49, 929-949.
- Benedict, R. Patterns of culture. New York: New American Library, 1934.
- Berk, L. How well do classroom practices reflect teacher goals? Young Children, 1976, 32(1), 64-81.
- Biber, B. Challenges ahead to early childhood education. Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1969.
- Biber, B. A view of preschool education. In B. Boegehold, H. Cuffaro & G. Klopff (Eds.), Education before five. New York: Bank Street College, 1977.
- Borg, W., Langer, P., & Wilson, J. Teacher classroom management skills and pupil behavior. Journal of Experimental Education, 1975, 44(2), 52-58.
- Borman, K. Social control and schooling: power and process in two kindergarten settings. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1978, 9(1), 38-53.
- Braga, J., & Braga, L. Day care and child care services: issues, priorities and implications. Child Care Quarterly, 1973, 2, 167-177.
- Breitbart, V. The day care book. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.
- Bremme, D., & Erickson, F. Relationships among verbal and nonverbal classroom behaviors. Theories Into Practice, June, 1977, 153-161.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. Two worlds of childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R. New York: Russell Stage Foundation, 1970.

- Bronfenbrenner, U. The ecology of human development.
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Caldwell, B. Designing supplementary environments. In
R. Anderson & H. Shane (Eds.), As the twig is bent.
Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1971.
- Caldwell, B. Can young children have a quality life
in day care? Young Children, April, 1973, 28,
197-208.
- Carbonara, N. Techniques for observing normal child
behavior. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh
Press, 1961.
- Carew, J. Observing intelligence in young children.
Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1976.
- Carew, J., & Lightfoot, S. Beyond bias. Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Cass, J.E. The role of the teacher in nursery school.
Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1975.
- Child care data and materials (Committee on Finance, U.S.
Senate). Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office,
1978.
- Clift, P., Cleave, S., & Griffin, M. The aims, role and
development of staff in the nursery. Windsor: NFER
Publishing, 1979.
- Cochran, M. A comparison of group day care and family
child rearing patterns in Sweden. Child Development,
1977, 48, 702-707.
- Cottle, T.J., & Klineberg, S.L. The present of things
future. New York: Free Press, 1974.
- Davidson, J. Wasted time, the ignored dilemma. Young
Children, May, 1980, 35(4), 13-21.
- Day, D., & Phyfe-Perkins, E. Naturalistic evaluation for
program improvement. Young Children, May, 1979, 12-24.
- Day, D., & Sheehan, R. Elements of a better preschool.
Young Children, 1974, 30, 15-23.
- Delone, R. Small futures. New York: Harcourt, Brace,
Jovanovich, 1979.

- Denzin, N. Children and their caretakers. In D. Gottlieb (Ed.), Children's liberation. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1973.
- Denzin, N. Childhood socialization. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977.
- Doob, L. Patterning of time. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971.
- Dreeben, R. The school as a workplace. In R.M. Travers (Ed.), Second handbook of research on teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973.
- Elkind, D. The hurried child. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1981.
- Elkind, D. Child development and early child education. Where we stand today. Young Children, 1981, 36(5), 2-9.
- Erikson, E. A healthy personality for every child. In R. Anderson & H. Shane (Eds.), As the twig is bent. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1971.
- Fagot, B. Influences of teacher behavior in the preschool. Developmental Psychology, 1973, 9, 198-206.
- Fein, G. & Clarke-Stewart, A. Day care in context. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1973.
- Fein, G. & Moorin, E. Group care can have good effects. Day Care & Early Education, Spring, 1980, 7(3), 14-17.
- Feshbach, S. Aggression. In P.H. Mussen (Ed.), Carmichael's manual of child psychology (3rd ed.). New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1970.
- Fowler, W. Infant and child care: a guide to education in group settings. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1980.
- Frymier, J. The nature of educational method. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1965.
- Gesell, A. & Ilg, F. Infant and child in the culture of today. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1943.
- Gesell, A., Ilg, F. & Ames, L. The child from five to ten. New York: Harper & Row, 1977.

- Golden, M., & Birns, B. Social class and infant intelligence. In M. Lewis (Ed.), Origins of Intelligence. New York: Plenum Press, 1976.
- Gordon, I., & Jester, E. Techniques of observing children in early childhood. In R. Travers (Ed.), Second handbook of research on teaching. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1973.
- Gouldner, A., & Gouldner, H. Modern sociology. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963.
- Green, J., & Wallat, C. (Eds.). Ethnography and language in educational settings. New Jersey: Ablex, 1981.
- Gump, P. School environments. In I. Altman & J. Wohlwill (Eds.), Children and the environment. New York: Plenum Press, 1978.
- Gurvitch, G. The spectrum of social time. Dordrecht-Holland: D. Reidel, 1964.
- Hall, E.T. The silent language. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1959.
- Harner, L. Children's understanding of time. Child Development, 1981, 51-65.
- Hart, B. So that teachers can teach: assigning roles and responsibilities. Topics in Early Childhood Special Education, April, 1982, 1-8.
- Hart, C.W. Contrasts between prepubertal and postpubertal education. In G. Spindler (Ed.), Education and the cultural process: toward an anthropology of education. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1974.
- Hawley, A. Human ecology. New York: Ronald Press, 1950.
- Hendrick, J. Total learning for the whole child, holistic curriculum for children ages two to five. St. Louis: C.V. Mosby, 1980.
- Holt, J. How children learn. New York: Dell Publishing, 1967.
- Honig, A., Caldwell, B., & Tannenbaum, J. Patterns of information processing used by and with young children in a nursery school setting. Child Development, 1970, 41, 1045-1065.

- Huston-Stein, A., Friedrich-Cofer, L., & Susman, E. The relation of classroom structure to social behavior, imaginative play and self-regulation of economically disadvantaged children. Child Development, 1977, 48, 908-916.
- Hymes, J. Teaching the child under six (3rd ed.). Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1981.
- Jackson, P. Life in classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.
- Jahoda, G. Children's concepts of time and history. Education Review, 1962/1963, 15, 87-104.
- Johnson, N.B. The material culture of public school classrooms: the symbolic integration of local schools and national culture. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1980, 11, 172-189.
- Johnson, N.B. Education as environmental socialization: classroom spatial patterns and the transmission of sociocultural norms. Anthropological Quarterly, January, 1982, 31-43.
- Kagan, J. Understanding children's behavior, motives and thoughts. New York: Harcourt, 1971.
- Kimball, S. Culture and the educative process. New York: Teachers College Press, 1974.
- Kimball, S. The transmission of culture. In J.I. Roberts & S.K. Akinsanya (Eds.), Schooling in the cultural context. New York: David McKay, 1976.
- Kluckhohn, F., & Strodtbeck, F. Variations in value orientations. Illinois: Row, Peterson & Company, 1961.
- Kohl, H. The open classroom. New York: New York Review, 1969.
- Kounin, J. Discipline and group management in classrooms. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.
- Kounin, J., & Sherman, L. School environments as behavior settings. Theories into Practice, 1979, 18, 145-151.
- Krown, S. Threes and fours go to school. New Jersey: Englewood, Cliffs, 1974.
- Leacock, E. Teaching and learning in city schools. New York: Basic Books, 1969.

- LeCompte, M. Learning to work: the hidden curriculum of the classroom. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, Spring, 1978, 9(1), 23-37.
- Lee, D. Lineal and non-lineal codifications of reality. In J.I. Roberts & S.K. Akinsanya (Eds.), Schooling in the cultural context. New York: David McKay, 1976.
- LeLaurin, K., & Risley, T. The organization of day care environments: "zone" versus "man-to-man" staff assignments. Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, 1972, 5, 225-232.
- Lewin, K. Field theory in social science. New York: Harper & Row, 1951.
- Lightfoot, S. Politics and reasoning: through the eyes of teachers and children. Harvard Education Review, May, 1973, 43(2), 197-244.
- Margolin, E. Sociocultural elements in early childhood education. New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1974.
- Masters, J.C., & Santrock, J. Studies in the self regulation of behavior: effects of contingent cognitive and affective events. Developmental Psychology, 1976, 12, 334-348.
- Mehan, H. Learning lessons. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979.
- Mehan, H. Structuring school structure. Harvard Education Review, 1978, 18(1), 32-64.
- Miller, D., & Karniol, R. The role of rewards in externally and self-imposed delay of gratification. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 33(5), 594-600.
- Minuchin, P. Affective and social learning in early school environments. In B. Spodek & H. Walberg (Eds.), Early childhood education. Berkely: McCutchan, 1977.
- Mischel, W., & Baker, N. Cognitive appraisals and transformations in delay behavior. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 31, 254-261.
- Mischel, W., & Patterson, C. Substantive and structural elements of effective plans for self-control. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1976, 34, 942-50.

- Moore, W. Man, time and society. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1963.
- Mugge, D.J. Taking the routine out of routines. Young Children, 1976, 31(3), 209-217.
- Nash, C. The learning environment, a practical approach to the education of three, four and five year olds. Agincourt, Ontario: Methuen, 1976.
- Nisbet, R. The social bond. In A.J. King & W.W. Coulthard (Eds.), A social view of man - Canadian perspectives. Toronto: John Wiley & Sons, 1972.
- Ornstein, R. On the experience of time. Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1969.
- Osborne, K. Discipline as a form of political education. Education Manitoba, November, 1982, 9(3), 9-11.
- Phyfe-Perkins, E. An ecological assessment of two pre-school environments. Paper presented at the 11th annual meeting of Environmental Design Research Association, Charleston, South Carolina, March, 1980.
- Piaget, J. Child's conception of time. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968.
- Prescott, E. A comparison of three types of day care and nursery school home care. Paper presented at the biennial meeting of the Society for Research in Child Development, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March, 1973.
- Prescott, E. Is day care as good as a good home? Young Children, January, 1978, 13-19.
- Prescott, E., & Jones, E. Day care for children, assets and liabilities, Children, 1971, 18, 54-58
- Prescott, E., & Jones, E. Day care as a child rearing environment (vol. 2). Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1972.
- Prescott, E., Jones, E., & Milich, C. The politics of day care (vol. 1). Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1972.
- Richardson, S., Dohrenwend, B., & Klein, D. Interviewing, its form and functions. New York: Basic Books, 1965.

- Rist, R. The urban school: a factory for failure. Cambridge: MIT press, 1973.
- Robison, H. Exploring teaching in early childhood education. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1977.
- Roedell, W.C., Slaby, R.G., & Robison, H. Social development in young children. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, National Institute of Education, 1976.
- Rohe, W., & Nuffer, E. The effect of density and partitioning on child behavior. Presented at the 85th meeting of A.P.A. San Francisco, 1977.
- Rosenfeld, G. Shut those thick lips! Can't you behave like a human being? In J.I. Roberts & S.K. Akinsanya (Eds.), Schooling in the cultural context. New York: David McKay, 1976.
- Ross, K. (Ed.). Good day care; fighting for it, getting it, keeping it. Toronto: Women's Education Press, 1978.
- Rust, V. Teacher control in pre-schools of Los Angeles, London and Frankfurt. Comparative Education Review, 1973, 17, 11-25.
- Rutter, M. Social-emotional consequences of day care for preschool children. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 1981, 51(1), 4-28.
- Seeley, J., Sim, A., & Loosley, E. Crestwood Heights. Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1956.
- Sharp, R., & Green, A. Education and social control. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Sheehan, R., & Day, D. Is open space just empty space? Day Care and Early Education, November/December, 1975, 11-13.
- Shultz, J., & Florio, S. Stop and freeze: the negotiation of social and physical space in a kindergarten/grade one classroom. Anthropology and Education Quarterly, 1979, 10(3), 166-181.
- Shure, M. Psychological ecology of a nursery school. Child Development, 1963, 34, 979-992.

- Silberman, C. Crisis in the classroom: the remaking of American education. New York: Random House, 1970.
- Sitton, T. The child as informant: the teacher as ethnographer. Language Arts, 1980, 57(5), 540-545.
- Smith, P. Aspects of the playgroup environment. In D. Canter & T. Lee (Eds.), Proceedings of the conference: Psychology and the Built Environment. London: Architectural Press, 1974.
- Sorokin, P. Sociocultural causality, space, time. New York: Russell & Russell, 1964.
- Stenhouse, L. Culture and education. New York: Weybright & Talley, 1967.
- Thompson, E.P. Time, work-discipline and industrial-capitalism. Past and Present, 1967, 38, 56-97.
- Tindall, A. The hidden curriculum in sport. Behavioral and Social Science Teacher, 1975, 2, 5-21.
- Todd, V.E., & Heffernan, H. The years before school (3rd ed.). New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1977.
- Toffler, A. The psychology of the future. In A. Tofler (Ed.), Learning for tomorrow, the role of the future in education. New York: Vintage Books, 1974.
- Vander Ven, K., & Mattingly, M. Action agenda for child care education in the 80's: from settings to systems. Child Care Quarterly, 1981, 10(3), 279-288.
- Vlietstra, A. Effects of adult directed activity, number of toys and sex of child on social and exploratory behavior in young children. Merril Palmer Quarterly, 1980, 26(3), 231-238.
- Wallat, C., & Green, J. Social rules and communicative contexts in kindergarten. Theory Into Practice, 1980, 18(4), 275-284.
- Werner, H. Comparative psychology of mental development. New York: International University Press, 1948.
- Wilson, S. The use of ethnographic techniques in educational research. Review of Education Research, 1977, 4(1), 245-265.

APPENDIX A

Please indicate your feelings about each statement by placing a check mark under the desired column.

- A - Strongly Agree
- B - Agree
- C - No Strong Feeling
- D - Disagree
- E - Strongly Disagree

	A	B	C	D	E
1. Children learn best by active manipulation and exploration of their environment without adult intervention.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. One of the functions of Day Care is to train children for future school experiences.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Children learn and develop at their own rate, in their own way and in their own time. Day Care should cater to these differences.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. The adult's role in Day Care is to guide and support play rather than direct learning content and social behaviour.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. A child will not learn to participate in group experiences unless directed by an adult to join.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. One role of Day Care is to help children develop skills in order that they may get along in the world as it is today.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

	A	B	C	D	E
7. Children have their own sense of time and will learn best by choosing their own activities and continuing only so long as they wish.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
8. Lining up, using indoor voices and participating in group activities are social skills to be needed in later school years and should be taught in Day Care.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
9. Children will be un-productive and exhibit asocial behaviours unless under the direction and watchful eye of an adult.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
10. Children pass through similar stages of development and this development progresses at the same rate for all children.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
11. It is best to rear children so that they will grow up to question our world and discover new ways to replace the old.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
12. Adults in Day Care should consider "mothering" (hugging, holding, showing affection) one of their most important roles.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
13. Children may have their own needs and wants but it is important that they learn to obey all rules in the Day Care as what they learn now will stick for the rest of their lives.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

APPENDIX B

TEACHER INTERVIEW

Organization of Program

1. Do you feel a schedule is important?
2. How have you worked out the schedule?
3. What is the rationale behind the timetable, themes and preplanning?
4. How does "time" influence the schedule?
5. Do you feel influenced by other institutions eg. school, family, work place, in developing the schedule?
6. How does the organization of staff shifts and breaks affect the schedule?
7. Do you see the use of time and scheduling in your centre similar to that in the family?
8. Sometimes children do not want to join the group. They want to be alone or continue playing at an activity. How flexible do you think a program should be to meet these differences?

Transition Times

1. How do you decide to move from one activity to the next in your centre?
2. Do you feel children are learning about time through the schedule and transition times?
3. How do you feel about transition times in your centre?
4. Are they an important part of your program? Do you plan for them as you would other activities?

Background Information

1. Can you tell me something about your own child rearing?
2. Was time an important element?
3. Do you feel constricted by time in the day care setting or in your own life?
4. What do you hope children will get out of their experience in day care?
5. What do you see as your most important job in working with children in a day care setting?