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**MOTHERS' MEMORIES OF CHILDHOOD PEER EXPERIENCES:
ASSOCIATIONS TO CHILD-REARING BEHAVIOURS AND CHILDREN'S
SOCIAL COMPETENCE**

Shelley Mohr

**Thesis presented to the School of Graduate Studies of Carleton University in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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submitted by

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**Mothers' Memories of Childhood Peer Experiences: Associations to Child-Rearing
Behaviours and Children's Social Competence**

ABSTRACT

The present study evaluated the utility of a proposed model which specified potential associations from mothers' memories of childhood peer experiences (specific and general) to mothers' child-rearing behaviours in the domains of involvement in children's peer relationships and parenting style, and to children's social competence. Gender of child was also considered to influence these associations. Questionnaire data was gathered from 203 mother-(preschool)child dyads. Memories were measured by mothers' narrative recall of a specific peer experience, as well as by responses to a number of questions pertaining to mothers' general recall of peer acceptance, loneliness, as well as aggressive peer experiences. Measures of maternal depression, education, and mothers' value of children's sociability, and parenting style were also obtained. A two-factor measure of mothers' involvement in children's peer relations was yielded from Cohen's (1989) "Parental Involvement Checklist". Children's social competence was multiply determined by both mothers' and teachers' ratings.

Results of multivariate analyses suggested that mothers who reported a specific peer memory were less likely to have children whom teachers rated as engaging in high levels of rough and tumble play. Additionally, children of mothers who reported specific anxious-lonely memories were the

most popular amongst their peers, according to teachers. Results of hierarchical regression analyses suggested that mothers' aggressive memories were associated with authoritarian parenting behaviours, which were, in turn, associated with children's rough play, aggressive, and anxious behaviour. A trend was also observed for mothers with general memories of lonely peer experiences to be more directly involved in children's peer relations, which was, in turn, associated with children's reticent play, aggressive and anxious behaviour. Mothers' general memories of peer acceptance were positively associated with children's peer acceptance (according to mothers) while mothers' general aggressive memories tended to be positively associated with children's aggressive behaviour (according to mothers).

Contrary to predictions, gender effects were not elucidated in these associations. Processes by which mothers' memories of childhood peer relationships may affect parental efficacy and child-rearing behaviours were discussed. Additionally, the importance of discriminating specific peer memories from more general recall of peer memories, was discussed within this context, as well as an important consideration for future research.

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MOTHERS' MEMORIES OF CHILDHOOD PEER EXPERIENCES: ASSOCIATIONS TO CHILD-REARING BEHAVIOURS AND CHILDREN'S SOCIAL COMPETENCE

Overview

It has long been thought that parents' child-rearing behaviours play a major part in influencing children's social development. More recently, attention has been directed to examining ways in which specific parenting processes are associated with the development of children's social success with peers. Ways in which parents influence children's development of social competence have been recently conceptualized by Parke and colleagues (Parke & Ladd, 1992; Parke, MacDonald, Beitel, & Bhavnagri, 1988) as either encompassing familial processes which impact on children but do not directly influence children's access to, or interactions with, peers (e.g. factors surrounding the parent-child attachment relationship, parenting style, the quality of the marital relationship, parental pathology), or strategies which parents employ to "manage" children's peer relationships by providing access to peers, and encouraging of children's development of social skills and peer relationships in this context (e.g. by arranging play opportunities for children, supervising or monitoring children's peer interactions, providing social "coaching,") (see Ladd & LeSieur, 1995).

While the bulk of literature investigating associations between parenting influences and children's social competence have focused on familial factors which potentially indirectly influence children's social competence, investigators are now beginning to examine associations among parents' management of children's peer relationships, and children's social competence. The beginning of this paper, therefore, reviews this body of literature.

An additional interest of researchers has focused on why parents may choose to be more or less involved in “managing” children’s peer relationships. One possible motivation which has received recent attention is that mothers’ memories of their own childhood peer experiences may play an important role in influencing how mothers choose to be involved in children’s peer relationships (Cohen, 1989; Putallaz, Costanzo, & Smith, 1991). Within this literature evidence is also gained for gender-mediated associations from memories to mothers’ perceptions of children’s social competence, social goals, and children’s social competence. The next part of this paper therefore examines evidence for these ideas, and concludes with the proposal of a model incorporating variables linking mothers’ memories of childhood peer experiences, child gender, mothers’ social goals and perceptions of children’s social competence, mothers’ parenting style, and mothers’ involvement in children’s peer relationships, to children’s social competence.

Specific interests of this project were to examine associations between recollections of specific and general peer experiences to dependent variables within the model. Hypotheses were put forward suggesting that the theme of mothers’ peer memories (lonely, sociable, aggressive) was differentially associated with mothers’ perception of children’s social competence, the value mothers placed on children’s attainment of social skills, mothers’ parenting style, mothers’ management of children’s peer relations, and children’s social competence (as measured by teacher ratings of peer acceptance and play behaviour).

A further interest of this project was to examine the ways in which mothers are involved in preschool children’s peer relationships from a broad perspective; i.e. from initiation of structured and unstructured peer activities, monitoring of children’s peer activities, provision of social advice

to children, as well as the possible identification of management behaviours which may be deemed “intrusive” or “controlling”.

Following the discussion of the model, a section on methodology is outlined. This section consists of a description of the measures employed, the participants, as well as the approach to data analysis. Briefly, multivariate analysis of variance was employed to examine specific associations between memory theme and dependent variables within the model, and hierarchical regression analysis was used to examine the relative predictive value of model variables to children’s social competence. The results of this research are then presented, and outlined in two main sections: (1) specific memory analysis, and (2) general memory analysis. Next, gender issues are addressed. Finally, the current research is discussed in relation to the literature on parenting and children’s social competence.

It should be noted that the current investigation focused on associations between mothers’ parenting style and involvement in children’s peer relationships, and children’s social competence. While initial research suggests that fathers potentially play a significant, and possibly different, role from mothers, in influencing children’s social development (e.g. MacDonald & Parke, 1984), evidence also suggests that mothers are significantly more likely to manage children’s peer-related activities (Ladd & Golter, 1988; Bhavnagri & Parke, 1991). Consequently, for the purposes of this investigation, it was thought expedient to initially focus on mothers’ parenting behaviours in these domains, and to examine fathers’ involvement in children’s peer relationships in later research.

Children's Development of Social Competence

The achievement of social competence, or the skill with which children initiate and maintain ties with peers (Ladd, 1992), is an important marker of social-emotional adjustment, as well as developmental adaptation (e.g., Parker & Asher, 1987; Rubin & Mills, 1988). Children who have difficulty in their relationships with peers have been identified as displaying two distinct forms of maladaptive behaviour - aggression and social withdrawal (Parker & Asher, 1987; Rubin, Stewart & Chen, 1995). These behaviours are predictive of difficulties in adjustment in later years. For example, childhood aggression predicts the expression of externalizing disorders, school drop-out, and juvenile delinquency (Farrington, 1991; Kupersmidt & Coie, 1990; Rubin, et al. 1995), while social withdrawal in childhood is predictive of internalizing difficulties in adolescence (see Rubin, et al. 1995, for a review). Conversely, children with successful peer relations are seen by their peers and teachers to be cooperative and as leaders, and are not considered to be at risk for difficulties in adjustment (Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt, 1990). Because children's peer competence has been found to be indicative of both concurrent as well as long-term difficulties in adjustment (Coie, Dodge & Kupersmidt, 1990; Parker & Asher, 1987), interest has been directed to identifying factors which may predispose a child to be accepted or rejected by his or her peers.

It is now generally believed that there are two major influences on children's development of social competence: children's experiences within the parent-child relationship, and children's experiences with peers (Grusec & Lytton, 1988). Both these influences are thought to play unique and necessary roles in children's social development. The parent-child relationship is thought to

involve authority-dependent patterns of interaction, while peer relationships are thought to be marked by equality and reciprocity (Youniss, 1980). Psychological theories originating from the early work of Piaget (1932) and Sullivan (1953) as well as social learning theorists (Hartup, 1983), contend that children's experience with peers plays a critical role in the development of social behaviours, cognitions, and personality (see Rubin, LeMare & Lollis, 1990, for a review). Although parents play the most important role in young children's lives, social interactions become increasingly directed to peers during the preschool years and gain in strength through adolescence where nearly 50 % of children's interactions involve peers (Barker & Wright, 1955; Hartup, 1983; Heathers, 1955). However, during the preschool years children's social success with peers may be markedly influenced not only through experience with peers, but also through parental guidance and structuring of children's peer interactions. The present study therefore focuses on parental influences which may impact on preschoolers' development of social competence.

How Parents Influence Children's Development of Social Competence

The influence of parents' behaviours on the development of children's relationships with peers has received marked attention (Cohn, Patterson & Christopoulos, 1991). It is now generally thought that parents' influences on children's social development travel through either indirect or direct pathways (Ladd, 1992). Factors associated with the quality of the parent-child relationship which impact on the child's peer competence, but have little or no immediate effect on the child's access to or interactions with peers, are included in the indirect pathway (Parke, MacDonald, Beitel,

& Bhavnagri, 1988). A wide body of work in the attachment tradition (see Stroufe & Fleeson, 1986) and the social interaction tradition (see Parke et al., 1988) provides valuable evidence suggesting that the quality of the parent-child relationship is important to children's social development, and peer relationships. For example, the parent-child attachment relationship predicts children's social success with peers; i.e. children who form secure attachments with their mothers in infancy are well-accepted by peers throughout middle childhood (e.g. Belsky, Rovine & Taylor, 1984). Likewise, children of parents who display a parenting style characterized as warm and involved, also experience positive relations with peers (e.g., Brody & Shaffer, 1982). A wide body of research over the past two decades, supports the general conclusion that three patterns of parenting, enhance or inhibit children's social development. For example, children whose parents display an authoritative parenting style (characterized by giving the child autonomy while supplying guidelines for behaviour and following through on these expectations) have been shown to exhibit more pro-social behaviours, and be more accepted by their peers, than children whose parents display an authoritarian pattern of parenting (characterized by restricting the child's autonomy, and demanding obedience without any give-and-take) or permissive pattern of parenting (characterized by low on enforcement of rules and expectations of child). Authoritarian and permissive child-rearing behaviours have been linked to children's aggressive behaviour as well as social anxiety. (see Baumrind, 1971; 1989; 1991). A fourth pattern of child-rearing behaviours has been termed "neglectful" (indifferent and undemanding) and has been associated with poor social-developmental outcomes (such as lower levels of peer acceptance) in early childhood (Maccoby & Martin, 1983).

Such findings suggest that children's relationships and interactions with parents provide them with a broad range of opportunities to develop social competencies, and that children with authoritative parents derive particular social competencies (Asher, Renshaw & Hymel, 1982; Cohn, et al., 1991; Putallaz & Heflin, 1990). But what of child factors? Although the quality of the parent-child relationship, as well as parents' child-rearing behaviours, have been traditionally emphasized as important markers to children's social adjustment, recent attention has been directed to the idea that parenting behaviours are also a function of child characteristics (Bell & Chapman, 1986; Kuczynski & Kochanska, 1990; Lytton, 1990; Rubin, Stewart & Chen, 1995). For example, children's temperament (i.e. an "easy" or "difficult" infant) has been posited to play a role in the formation of attachment relationships with parents (Sroufe, 1983). For example, infants that are difficult for parents to soothe or comfort (i.e. "fussy") may promote ineffective parenting behaviours such as hostility, lack of affection, or, neglect (Kagan, Reznick, Clarke, Snidman, & Garcia-Coll, 1984; Rubin, et al., 1995), and not be conducive to the establishment of a secure parent-child attachment relationship. In a recent review examining the associations between parent-child relationships, and childhood aggression and social withdrawal, Rubin and colleagues (1995) outline two possible pathways leading to the development of either of these social difficulties. The authors contend that these pathways originate with child temperament, but that how parents respond to, and guide children socially, may redirect children's difficult behaviours to a more positive (or negative) social outcome. In support of this argument, the authors note that not all described "difficult" infants, develop insecure attachment relationships, and are not abnormally aggressive preschoolers (e.g., Bates, Bayles, Bennett, Ridge, & Brown, 1991). Conversely, the authors argue that children's

“easy” temperament, may also be offset by insensitive child-rearing behaviours. A brief outline of these pathways follows.

The first pathway according to Rubin and colleagues (1995), suggests that babies with difficult or overactive temperaments and who are born into stressful familial circumstances (not necessary, but likely) (e.g., Crockenberg, 1981) are at risk for being the recipient of child-rearing behaviours which promote the development of an insecure attachment relationship. An insecure attachment relationship is related to children's distrust with their overall environment (Bowlby, 1973), and anger and aggression to their peers when preschoolers (Sroufe, 1983). Such behaviour is predictive of peer rejection (Coie, Dodge, & Kupersmidt, 1990), and as such, these children are excluded from opportunities to develop social competencies with peers. Also, mistrust of others, as well as the belief that others intentionally cause negative social experiences (Dodge & Frame, 1982), promotes the characterization of these children's peer relationships as “insecure”, and unsatisfying. The parents of aggressive children either attribute their behaviour to belief that “children are born that way”, feel helpless, and therefore are more permissive in their parenting behaviours, or attribute children's aggressive behaviour to the belief that such behaviour is the result of external causes and employ more authoritarian or power assertive behaviours to control children's aggression. Both behaviours (neglect and punishment) are likely to further promote children's deviant behaviour (Forgatch, 1991; Patterson, 1979).

The second pathway posited by Rubin and colleagues (1995) suggests that infants who tend to have a low threshold for arousal (i.e. temperamental inhibition) may be difficult for parents to soothe or to comfort (Kagan, Reznick, Clarke, Snidman, & Garcia-Coll, 1984). Consequently, ineffective

parenting behaviours may result (such as aggression, neglect), and succumb in the formation of an insecure attachment relationship. Such ineffective parenting behaviours may also be exacerbated by negative life circumstances, as in the first pathway. Unlike outwardly aggressive children, this group of children will withdraw from the peer group and at the same time, also be precluded from developing social competencies through peer interactions. Such behaviour is increasingly more salient to children's peers with age (Younger & Boyko, 1989), and such children are also likely to be the recipient of rejection (particularly in mid- to late- childhood where such behaviour is as strongly associated with peer rejection as is aggression (e.g., Rubin, Chen, & Hymel, 1993). The parents of such children may try to aid children by giving copious advice on how to act with peers, etc., and/or by directly involving themselves in children's peer interactions. Such over-involved socialization strategies are well known to be associated with social withdrawal in childhood (e.g., Brunk & Henggeler, 1984; Hetherington & Martin, 1986). As such, parents' over-involvement in children's social relationships, likely inhibits children's attempts to learn social competencies through experiences with peers, as well as children's development of self-confidence as it pertains to social interactions.

Rubin and colleagues (1995) suggest that "skilled parenting" may buffer, or deflect, behaviours arising from a "difficult," or "hyperarousable" temperament, to a more positive course towards social competence. These observations therefore suggest that while children's temperament is an important determinant of social development, how parents respond to children's temperament through their parenting behaviours is an important influence of children's social development. Particularly of interest to the current project is the association between parents' involvement (or lack thereof) in

children's peer relationships, and children's peer competence. In contrast to parents' indirect influences on children's peer competence, direct influences are therefore considered to be those where parents have a goal to explicitly structure children's social environment in order to promote their social skills and relationships in this context (Ladd, 1992; Parke et al., 1988).

The term "manager" describes the range of roles that parents play as proactive (i.e. planful or strategic) and reactive (i.e. responding to perceived behaviour or needs in the child) socializer (Ladd, Profilet & Hart, 1992). Work by Rubin & Sloman (1984) represents perhaps the first attempt of researchers to describe or include ways in which parents may directly impact on children's relationships with peers. Specifically, it was stipulated that parents directly influence children's friendships by: (1) choosing neighbourhoods, school settings, and social networks that "set the stage" (p. 248) for children's relations with peers; (2) arranging opportunities for play with other children, and (3) coaching children on their social skills. More recently, parents' management of children's peer relations has been articulated into four categories: parent as designer, as mediator, as supervisor, and as consultant (Ladd, 1991; Ladd, et al., 1992; Ladd, LeSieur & Profilet, 1993; Lollis, Ross & Tate, 1992). For example, parents who are involved in design aspects of parental management provide opportunities for children to meet and interact with peers through their choice of environment(s), while parents who act as mediators take an active role in initiating peer contacts and arranging play-dates for children. Parents who attempt to oversee and regulate children's activities and interactions with peers are viewed as supervisors, while parents' consulting behaviours include engaging children in conversations about their peer interactions and relationships or acting as sounding-boards for children's ideas or concerns (see Ladd, et al., 1993). How parents directly

impact on children's interactions and friendships with peers is the focus for the proposed study. Therefore, a review of the relevant literature will follow. Parents' involvement in children's peer relations will be considered within the framework proposed by Ladd, et al. (1993) with some amendments. The first section will include aspects of the domains of "parent as designer" and "parent as mediator" to complement the focus of the current investigation on parents' orchestration of structured and unstructured peer activities for children. The second section will focus on parents' monitoring of children's peer relations, and the third section will review the literature examining relations between parents' provision of social advice and support to children, and children's subsequent social competence. Potential gender effects examining associations between type of involvement and children's social competence will also be highlighted.

Parents' Management of Children's Peer Relations and Associations to Children's Social Competence

Parent as Designer/Mediator of Children's Peer Relations

When parents design children's social environments, they are considered to be actively choosing or attempting to influence, children's opportunities for peer contact (Ladd, et al., 1993). For example, the type of neighbourhood parents choose to live in, the type of daycare or preschool they choose for children, as well as their choice of community activities in which they involve their children, each determine children's social ecology; or more specifically, influence the opportunities

available for children to interact with peers. However, the frequency of opportunities for peer interaction, as well as the quality of the play environments where the social interactions take place, appear to influence children's development of social competence, as well as friendships.

Neighbourhoods which have a high population of children, short distances between houses, as well as an abundance of sidewalks and playgrounds, have not surprisingly been related to children's greater access to peers and size of their social network (Berg & Medrich, 1980; Medrich, Roizen, Rubin & Buckley, 1982). Advantages of attending preschool or daycare are also evident in several studies which indicate the importance of such environments for the acquisition of social skills (Finkelstein, Dent, Gallacher & Ramey, 1978; Mueller & Brenner, 1977; Howes, 1988); development of friendships (Howes, 1983; 1988), as well as adjustment to kindergarten (Howes, 1988; Ladd, 1990). However, there is comparatively little information concerning to what extent, as well as how or why parents involve children in informal activities outside of a preschool or childcare environment. This type of involvement is of interest to the present study, and will therefore be elaborated on more fully.

Parents may choose to provide their children with opportunities for peer interaction in community activities which may be structured under adult supervision (such as Brownies, or Little League Soccer, etc.) or unstructured where children construct their own play activities (such as going to the neighbourhood park, pool, etc.)(Ladd, et al., 1993). Other opportunities for unstructured play may be found in the home environment, or at a playmate's house. Early work suggests that children's play with peers in unstructured or non-adult-guided environments is important for the development of social competence (Bryant, 1985). When children construct their own activities through

unstructured play, characteristics of autonomy, control, mastery, as well as perspective-taking skills are believed to be developed (Bryant, 1985). Other evidence, although tangential, suggests that unstructured play experiences with peers may also provide unique opportunities for the development of friendships. Specifically, children's after school routines have been associated with their feelings of peer acceptance; i.e. children who had to wait at school before going home were reported to feel less accepted by their peers (Dunstan & Nieuwoudt, 1994), and children with a high degree of daycare experience have been reported to feel more lonely than children with less daycare experience (Henwood & Solano, 1993). Although these observations are spurious, they suggest the possibility that parents may influence children's social success with peers through facilitation of unstructured peer interactions, and by providing a home-base for their children to play in.

More direct evidence linking children's participation in unstructured peer activities to their social success with peers, is evident in research undertaken by Ladd and colleagues, examining parents' initiation of children's unstructured play experiences with peers to preschoolers' social competence (Ladd & Golter, 1988; Ladd & Hart, 1992). These studies will therefore be discussed in some detail.

Ladd and Golter (1988) examined associations between parents' initiation and monitoring of children's peer interactions and children's social competence. Telephone interviews were conducted with 58 parents (88% of parents interviewed were mothers) who were asked to report about the management activities of both parents over 6 days (four weekdays and Saturday and Sunday). To examine specific associations between parental initiation of children's peer interactions and children's peer competence, parents were asked to provide an hour by hour accounting of children's

nonschool peer contacts. Measures of children's peer relations at school were also obtained through observations of children's play behaviour, peer nominations, and teachers' ratings of behaviour. Children's peer contacts were examined for those in which parents were the "sole instigators" (p. 111) (i.e. no instigation by the child or peers), and summed for a "parental initiation" score. Results suggested marked variability in parents' initiation of children's peer contacts. Specifically, more than half of the parents in the sample (51%) reported not initiating any peer contacts for children, while the remaining 49% had initiated between 6% and 100% of children's peer contacts. Mothers also accounted for 82% of the reported initiations. When parents were classified into high and low initiators (30 parents who had initiated no peer contacts were classified "low," and 28 parents who had initiated one or more contacts were classified "high"), and compared for differences on measures of children's peer competence, results suggested that children of parents who were active in arranging peer contacts had a larger range of playmates and more frequent play partners. Also, boys of parents who were active in initiating peer activities were better liked and less rejected by peers in school. Given this observation, the authors hypothesized that parental initiation of children's peer contacts may be particularly beneficial to the development of boys' peer competence.

Parents may influence children's social success with peers by providing models of social relationships through their initiation of social interactions. In a subsequent investigation, Ladd & Hart (1992) tested the hypothesis that parents who initiate and arrange children's peer contacts similarly teach children how to initiate as well as maintain social relationships. The frequency with which parents arranged informal peer contacts for their preschoolers, as well as the extent to which children participated in the process of initiating and planning the contact was examined (83% of

those interviewed were mothers). A similar procedure to that of Ladd and Golter (1988) was employed. Specifically, a telephone interview procedure was used to provide information relating to parents' initiation of children's peer contacts over 8 days (5 weekdays, 3 weekend days). Measures of children's peer competence included observations of children's behaviour at preschool, and peer nominations. Measures of the importance mothers placed on children's informal peer-play activities, the degree to which mothers involved children in the process of initiating the contact, and the degree to which the child assisted the mother with planning or preparations for the contact, were also obtained. Results suggested that parents who placed greater value on children's informal peer-play activities tended to arrange more peer contacts for their children, also children who came from larger families tended to arrange more of their own peer-play activities. Frequent parent initiation of peer contacts, was positively associated with children's pro-social behaviour, and negatively associated with children's non-social behaviour. Some gender effects with respect to parental initiation, were also evident. Specifically, parents' initiations and boy's initiations were positively and significantly related. Also, boys of parents who were frequent initiators experienced greater peer acceptance in preschool. When children's initiation of peer contacts was examined, child initiation of peer-play activities was negatively associated with children's anxious behaviour in school. Also, children who were frequent initiators were also better liked by peers. When the degree to which mothers involved children in the planning of peer contacts was examined, a positive and significant association was determined between mothers' involvement of children in this capacity, and children's frequency of initiation.

These observations suggest that when parents initiate peer activities for their children they promote children's social development by expanding their social networks, and encouraging play between consistent playmates. Such parental structuring of peer interactions may subsequently influence the quality of children's interactions within their play experiences. For example, preschool children frequently engage in sociodramatic or pretend play. This type of play is thought to develop children's perspective-taking skills through role play, children's self-identity, and also provides opportunities to practice interactive rules (for a review see Rubin, Fein, & Vandenberg, 1983). Howes (1983) found that stable friendship pairs were more likely to be successful in play overtures as well as to engage in higher levels of coordinated play. Consequently, parents who provide frequent opportunities for play with specific peers may promote children's satisfaction with their play experiences, and subsequently, their friendships.

Boys may also be unique benefactors from parental initiation of peer contact; positive associations have been reported not only for the relation between parental initiation of peer activities and subsequent peer acceptance in kindergarten (Ladd & Golter, 1988), but also for the relation between parents' and boys' frequency of initiation of peer contact (Ladd & Hart, 1992). It is possible that boys in particular, benefit from parents' modelling of how to approach the task of arranging social contacts. For example, the authors suggest that by involving children in the process of initiating peer-play activities, parents encourage children to take responsibility for peer activities and relationships. Consequently, it follows that children who "learn" such skills from their parents, are more confident and better able to cope with issues surrounding relationships with peers at school.

The impact of select child as well as familial factors on parents' initiation of children's peer-play activities has also been examined. Potential associations between children's mental age (Ladd & Golter, 1988), children's age (Bhavnagri & Parke, 1991; Ladd & Hart, 1992), parental employment and family demographics (Ladd & Hart, 1992), mothers vs. fathers (Bhavnagri & Parke, 1991), and parental initiations of children's peer contacts, have also been examined. Results of this research suggest that parents do not alter their initiation of children's peer activities by children's mental age (Ladd & Golter, 1988), or their own employment status, income, age, and education (Ladd & Hart, 1992). Mothers also tend to be more involved in arranging children's peer activities than fathers (Bhavnagri & Parke, 1991; Ladd & Golter, 1988). Some differences with respect to the age of children, however, have been detected. Specifically, Bhavnagri & Parke (1991) found that younger preschoolers (2-3 year olds) had more parent-initiated and fewer child-initiated peer contacts than older preschoolers (3-5 year olds). However, Ladd and Hart (1992) did not find significant age differences when they compared 3-4 year olds with 4-5 year olds. These observations suggest that few differences are evident on the frequency with which parents, children, and peers initiate informal peer contacts during the mid- to late-preschool years (Ladd & Hart, 1992).

In contrast to parents' initiation of children's unstructured play opportunities, little is known as to what benefits participation in structured peer activities, affords children. However, tangential evidence suggests that frequency of play in structured environments positively impacts on boys' (but not girls') peer acceptance, as well as teachers' ratings of socially competent behaviour (Putallaz, Costanzo, & Smith, 1991). This observation suggests that structured peer activities, or group-experiences which are adult-guided, may be particularly beneficial to the development of

boys' social competence. There is evidence to suggest some gender-differentiation in children's play experiences. For example, boys are considered to be more likely to play in groups, while girls tend to interact with one or two playmates (Maccoby, 1990). Further, boys' friendships are commonly described as experienced within the context of a large group which provides a centre for games and sports, while girl's friendships are thought to focus more on dyadic interaction which provides opportunities for emotional intimacy (Waldrop & Halverson, 1975). It is not known if parents encourage these different play patterns of girls and boys by facilitating group-oriented play for boys, and dyadic play activities for girls. An interest of the current study is to therefore examine parents' facilitation of structured and unstructured peer activities for their preschoolers, and the subsequent impact of this involvement on children's social competence. Potential gender effects in this context will also be considered.

Parent as Monitor

When parents act as monitors of children's peer relations, they are considered to be knowledgeable of children's whereabouts, activities, and friends (Ladd, et al., 1993). The majority of research in this area of parental management has focused on preadolescent and adolescent youngsters. The consensus of these investigations is that higher levels of parental monitoring predict peer competence (Dishion, 1990), while a lack of parental monitoring predicts negative outcomes such as delinquency (Patterson & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1984) and low academic achievement (Crouter, MacDermid, McHale & Perry-Jenkins, 1990). Gender has also been identified as a

significant mediator in that a relation between parental monitoring and academic achievement has only been reported for boys (Crouter, et al., 1990). Other evidence suggests that parental monitoring positively influences boys' psychosocial adjustment, while less involvement tends to benefit girls (Crouter, McHale & Bartko, 1993). These observations suggest that monitoring of preschoolers' peer relations is of potential importance, and that the relation between monitoring practices and outcomes should be examined from a gender-mediating perspective.

Ladd and Golter (1988) also investigated relations between parental monitoring and preschooler's social competence. Two forms of monitoring were distinguished: (1) indirect monitoring, reflective of parental behaviour in which parents oversaw or were aware of children's peer activities, but were not directly involved, and (2) direct monitoring, defined as behaviour which included the parent as a presence or participant in children's peer activities. Results indicated that children of parents classified as indirect monitors, obtained higher levels of peer liking, while children whose parents tended to be more direct monitors were more likely to be rejected by their peers and were viewed by their teachers as hostile-aggressive. The authors hypothesized that the frequency with which parents use these forms of monitoring may represent differences in styles of supervision, which subsequently impact on children's social competence. It is possible that more direct styles of monitoring potentially limit children's opportunities to independently master and develop peer-related social skills, and may further relate to high levels of parental control (see Maccoby & Martin, 1983). In contrast, indirect monitoring potentially encourages children to adapt to situations where there is less adult guidance and attention.

An alternative explanation for the results reported by Ladd & Golter (1988) put forward by the authors is that parents may be reacting to children's behaviour, and monitor their peer interactions accordingly; i.e. parents may grant more independence to socially competent children. This observation will be discussed more fully when the question of why parents choose to be involved in children's peer relations is addressed.

Results of recent research examining the impact of parental facilitation on preschooler's play with an unfamiliar peer suggest that some degree of parental monitoring, in the form of interactive guidance, is beneficial to young preschooler's ability to "keep the play experience going" with their peer (Bhavnagri & Parke, 1991). Other evidence suggests that children's infrequent interaction with peers during free play activities is an important marker of shy or withdrawn behaviour (Kupersmidt, Coie, & Dodge, 1990; Parker, Rubin, Price & DeRosiers, 1995, for recent reviews). Coplan & Rubin (in press) also report that preschooler's engagement in rough-and-tumble play, as assessed by teachers, predicted children's externalizing difficulties. These observations suggest that parents may play an important role in children's development of play-skills through interactive teaching which also allows children the freedom to explore and learn on their own.

Parent as Consultant/Provider of Advice and Support

The idea that parents manage children's relations with peers outside of their interactions is gaining increased attention. Parents may engage children in conversations about various aspects of their relations with peers including how to initiate friendships, manage conflicts, etc. (Ladd, et al.,

1993). Parents may use these conversations to prepare children for social encounters, or, alternatively, as a means of reacting to children's specific peer difficulties (Ladd, et al., 1993). Such management behaviour has been termed "consulting" (Ladd, et al., 1993), as well as provision of "advice and support" (Cohen, 1989).

Work by Rubin, Mills & Rose-Krasnor (1989) provides perhaps the earliest indication that the quality of parents' advice to children regarding their relations with peers, impacts on children's social success. Mothers of preschoolers were asked about appropriate strategies for promoting children's social skills based on their viewing of hypothetical vignettes which portrayed various potential social difficulties children may encounter. Mothers who suggested planful strategies such as arranging opportunities for peer play, tended to have children who were more assertive and independent. In contrast, mothers who suggested high power strategies such as directive teaching of social skills or punishment, had children who were more dependent on adults, non-assertive, and more fearful and anxious.

Other research indicates that the frequency as well as content of parents' advice to children regarding their relations with peers, impacts on children's peer competence. For example, Russell and Finnie (1990) investigated the quality of advice mothers dispensed to preschoolers identified by teachers as high or low in popularity with peers prior to their entry in play with two unfamiliar peers. Mothers were also asked if they would give children feedback after the peer-play interaction. Results indicated that mothers of children described as neglected or rejected were less likely to give group-oriented play strategies (such as joining in the play activity), than mothers of children described as popular. Additionally, mothers of neglected children provided less active and more

passive strategies (such as asking children's names). Mothers of popular and neglected children were equally inclined to provide feedback to children, while no mothers of rejected children indicated that they would provide children with feedback.

More recently, Pettit & Mize (1993) investigated the degree to which the quality of mothers' relationships with preschool children (positive/synchronous), as well as mothers' skill in coaching children about social relationships predicted children's social competence. Mothers were asked to discuss with their children a series of videotaped vignettes in which child actors presented a number of common problems children may be confronted with in their interactions with peers (such as conflicts surrounding possession of toys, and finding a playmate). The parents were instructed to help children understand what happened in each story and to make suggestions regarding how they might react in similar situations. Parents' advice to children in this context was termed "coaching". The quality of the parent-child relationship was assessed through observations. Results suggested that parents who suggested more constructive strategies and who encouraged a more resilient attitude, had children who were more likely to receive higher ratings of peer acceptance (as obtained by teachers). Parents' perceptions of children's social competence played less of a role in their coaching behaviours, than their belief that children's social skills were teachable, as well as their knowledge of children's development. Additionally, results indicated that while maternal coaching skill and the quality of the parent-child relationship were correlated, these factors made unique and separate contributions to the prediction of children's peer competence (see also Pettit & Clawson, 1996). These results support Parke's (1992) contention that maternal management of children's peer

relationships (in this context, coaching skill) may be of particular importance in promoting children's peer competence within the context of a less-optimal parent-child relationship.

Summary

Evidence thus far suggests that parents' management of children's relations with peers influences children's social success. Although research is limited, and has thus far, not included a broad assessment of parental management of children's peer relations, results of preliminary investigations suggest that parental initiation of children's peer-play activities, and their monitoring and provision of advice and support to children regarding their peer relations, are associated with children's social success with peers. In this context it appears that the frequency as well as the quality of parental initiation of children's peer interactions is important (i.e. inclusion of the child in the planning process), and also that the quality of the parent-child relationship is an important marker of sensitive parental involvement in children's peer relations.

Parents' choice as well as frequency of initiation of peer activities for children potentially influences children's social success with peers. When parents initiate peer interactions they expand children's social networks, encourage play between consistent playmates, and provide models of social relationships. The quality of children's peer interactions is also to some extent determined by the kind of play experiences parents facilitate. In turn, the quality of children's peer interactions potentially impacts on children's development of social competence. For example, frequent home-based or unstructured peer activities with consistent playmates are potentially important to

preschoolers' development of the social skills required to achieve higher levels of coordinated play including sociodramatic play. Structured peer activities which are group-oriented and adult-guided may be particularly beneficial to boy's peer acceptance. Gender effects are also evident in that boys in particular appear to benefit from parental modelling of social initiations, as well as from participation in structured peer activities. However, little is known as to how participation in unstructured compared to structured peer activities influences children's social competence, as well as if parents design and initiate structured and unstructured peer activities differently for boys and girls. Additionally, the association between parental structuring of children's peer interactions (unstructured vs. structured) on children's quality of friendships is not known. Therefore, research examining these associations, as well as a broader assessment of children's social competence is therefore warranted.

Parents also influence children's development of social competence through their monitoring of children's peer interactions and their provision of advice and support. However, monitoring which is too intrusive may be detrimental to children's social success with peers. Similarly, while the quality of parents' social advice has been shown to uniquely predict children's peer competence, a warm and responsive maternal relationship appears most beneficial for the positive association from parental social advice to children's peer competence. These latter observations suggest that the quality of the parent-child relationship, in terms of the parents' child-rearing behaviours, should be considered when investigating relations between parental involvement in children's peer relations to children's development of social competence.

It would be additionally important to examine parents' management of preschoolers' peer relations from a more comprehensive perspective including all domains of involvement.

Because parental management of children's peer relations has been linked to children's social development, it is of interest to examine what factors potentially motivate parents to manage children's peer relationships, as well as the nature of their involvement. Also, because evidence suggests that mothers are the prime "managers" of children's peer relationships, it is also important to investigate what factors may cause differences in the way mothers choose to be involved in their children's peer relations. One area that has received recent attention in answer to these questions, is mothers' own childhood experiences. Specifically, mothers' recollections of their childhood peer experiences have been reported to influence their level of involvement in children's peer relationships. A review of these investigations follows.

How Mothers' Memories of Peer Relations Influence the Development of Children's Social Competence

Introduction

While a majority of parents are reported to arrange and oversee children's activities with peers, many parents are reported to be significantly less involved (Ladd & Golter, 1988; Ladd & Hart, 1992; Ladd, et al., 1992). The way in which parents construe their childhood experiences has long been thought to affect their child-rearing practices (Putallaz, et al. 1991). Recent research

investigating the association of remembered childhood peer experiences to parental behaviours, provides support for this belief (Cohen, 1989; Putallaz, et al. 1991), and will be further discussed.

However, before embarking on a review of these investigations, it is necessary to examine issues surrounding the measurement of mothers' memories of early experiences to parenting cognitions and behaviours. In this context, results of previous investigations examining the association of parents' memories of early familial relations on their parenting behaviours as well as on children's subsequent social competence, will be discussed. Additionally, how individuals' memories of early experiences potentially translate to parenting behaviours are considered. Finally, the validity of parental memories will be addressed; i.e. Are parents' recollections of childhood experiences reflective of actually occurring experiences, and is this an important consideration in investigations examining the relation of parental memories to parental cognitions and behaviours?

Memories of Childhood Experiences and Parenting Behaviours: History and Validity

Although investigations examining the relation between mothers' memories of childhood *peer* relations, their child-rearing practices, and their children's social competence are relatively new and small in number, how memories of childhood *familial* experiences impact on adult's parenting styles have received marked attention. Specifically, investigations examining parents' recollections of parental abuse, as well as the remembered quality of the relationships they experienced with their own parents, has been related to the quality of the relationships they experience with their children, as well as their children's subsequent relations with their peers (see Putallaz, Costanzo, & Klein,

1993 for a review). For example, parents with memories of abuse as a child are reported to be at significant risk for abusing their own children (Egeland, Jacobvitz, & Papatola), and children who experience parental abuse are likely to experience difficulty in their peer relationships (Haskett & Kistner, 1991). Memories of maternal acceptance have also correlated positively with sensitivity to infant's needs (Biringen, 1990), while results of studies examining the remembered quality of attachment with parents (using the Adult Attachment Interview, Main & Goldwyn, 1984) have similarly found a predictive relation to infant's attachment patterns (e.g., Main, Kuplan, & Cassidy, 1985). The general consensus of research examining these associations, is that recollections of childhood experiences do indeed impact on the quality of relationship parents experience with their own children, as well as on their children's subsequent social success with peers.

In order to understand the behavioural components underlying these associations, it has been proposed that memories of childhood experiences including those with peers, play an important role in the development of parents' social schemes (see Markus, 1980), and the subsequent development of their working models of social relationships (Putallaz, et al., 1993). According to these theories, parents' social schemes include generalisations and hypotheses about social interactions and relationships which have emerged through life experiences and events. Such schemes are thought to referentially guide individuals' cognitions and behaviours in similar social domains. For example, parents' who recall feeling anxious or lonely in their childhood relations with peers, may refer to a social schema characteristic of anxious/lonely peer experiences in childhood and interpret their children's relations with peers from this framework. Such parents may be extremely sensitive to, and concerned with issues surrounding similar peer experiences for their children (see Cohen, 1989).

Experiences high in emotional impact may also be the most salient. For example, Epstein (1980) has theorised that the self-concept consists of experiences hierarchically-organised by their emotional significance. It is possible, therefore, that, emotionally significant peer experiences may be extremely influential in parents' development of social schemes, and that these social schemes may significantly influence parents' subsequent involvement in their own children's social development; i.e., the manner in which parents organise their childhood experiences potentially affects the way in which they parent their children including their direct management of children's relationships with peers.

A potential difficulty inherent in examinations of memories of childhood experiences, however, is the question of validity; are memories reliable indices of actually occurring experiences in childhood? For example, it is possible that memories of early experiences may be altered or re-interpreted to coincide with how an individual views or perceives himself or herself in the present. Work by Ross (1989) on the nature of reconstructive memory, suggests that past experiences are often re-interpreted in the light of present circumstances. If this is true, it suggests that the quality of parents' memories of childhood peer relations may not necessarily be accurate or reflect parents' true experiences. However, Putallaz, et al. (1993) suggest that the important issue involved in such contexts, is not whether parents' memories of childhood experiences reflect reality, but whether parents' perceptions regarding their past experience with peers influence their child-rearing behaviours.

Previous descriptive accounts of parents' child-rearing ideas and practices suggest that mothers often rely on their own memories of childhood experiences with peers to support their parenting

ideas and behaviours (e.g. Rubin & Sloman, 1984). Other evidence indicates that negative memories from childhood are particularly salient, and that when asked to recall a memory with high emotional impact, women often refer to their childhood experiences with peers (Cowan & Davidson, 1984).

Together, these observations support the idea that mothers are likely to place high value on their childhood experiences with peers when they consider their own children's peer relations. Additionally, parents' negative memories of childhood peer relations may be particularly salient and play a large role in determining parents' perceptions and management of children's social lives.

In summary, evidence suggests that parental memories of the quality of relationship they experienced with their own parents, influences the quality of relationship parents have with their own children, as well as their children's subsequent social competence. Theories derived from the development of individual's social schemes, further suggest that social cognitions evolve from emotionally-significant life experiences and provide a framework for future cognitions and behaviours. Additional research provides evidence that negative memories are notably salient, and that mothers in particular, often refer to their early peer experiences in the context of parenting their own children. These observations suggest that negative peer experiences may be particularly significant in guiding mothers' reactions and behaviours to their own children's relations with peers, and indicates that the investigation of parental memories of early peer experiences to parental involvement in children's peer relations may be of particular value. Although information is sparse in this domain, the following describes two initial investigations examining this association.

The Association of Memories of Childhood Peer Relations to Mothers' Management of Children's Peer Relations

Putallaz, Costanzo & Smith (1991) were the first to publish valuable information in regards to how parents' memories of early peer experiences influence their involvement in children's peer relations and children's subsequent competence. Results of this preliminary work suggest that the quality of parents' memories of their own childhood peer relations is a significant predictor of parents' cognitions regarding children's social competence, how involved parents are in children's peer relations, as well as children's social competence. Unfortunately, this investigation is somewhat limited in scope due to a relatively small sample of mothers and preschoolers ($N=57$), as well as a limited assessment of mothers' involvement in children's peer relations (only information pertaining to parents' arrangement of structured peer activities was obtained). Nevertheless, the results of this investigation are intriguing and provide support not only for potential associations between mothers' memories, involvement, and children's social competence, but also suggest that gender of child "mediates" these associations. Consequently, this investigation will be reviewed in some detail.

Putallaz, et al. (1991) investigated associations between mothers' recollections of their childhood peer relationships ($n=57$) and their child-rearing intentions, parenting behaviours, and children's social competence (aged 3-5). Mothers' memories of early peer experiences were assessed through the use of questionnaires designed to tap dimensions of remembered social behaviour; mothers' recalled number of friends; and by having mothers relate stories from their childhood experiences in the neighbourhood, school-yard, and classroom at school which were then coded for

their affective quality; i.e., positive, negative, or anxious/lonely theme. These measures yielded three recollective themes: positive (socially competent); negative (aggressive, conflictual); and anxious. Mothers' social goals for their children were also examined by their responses to the following open-ended questions: "If your child were somehow able to live through your childhood, what would you be sure to keep the same about it for him/her? Why?" (p. 408). These intentions were then coded as "an intention to keep something good that the mother remembered experiencing the same for the child", "an intention that the child avoid something negative that the mother remembered experiencing", and "an intention to increase the occurrence of something positive for the child the mother remembered experiencing". Mothers also completed a modified version of the Block Child-Rearing Practices Report (Block, 1965; Rickel & Biasatti, 1982) yielding a nurturance and control score, and mothers' investment in children's peer relations was measured by the number of organized peer activities in which their child participated. Children's social competence was assessed by mothers' and teachers' completion of Harter's Rating Scale of Children's Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance (Harter & Pike, 1984), as well as peer sociometric ratings (Asher, 1979). These ratings were gathered from children's participation in an hour-long session with unfamiliar peers (5-6) which involved three different social sessions: a dyadic play session, an entry situation and a situation in which they were part of a dyad that another child attempted to join.

Results indicated that memories of peer relations predicted parenting style; i.e. mothers with positive or anxious/lonely memories reported themselves to be similarly nurturant, while mothers with negative memories reported significantly lower degrees of nurturance. No differences were reported on the dimension of parental control. Parental memories of peer relations also appeared to

influence parental involvement in children's social development. Specifically, mothers with predominantly anxious/lonely peer recollections further took the most active role in children's social development. This group of mothers reported the highest number of social intentions for their children, and their children participated in a significantly higher amount of structured peer activities. However, this pattern of effects was influenced by the gender of the child. Specifically, mothers with anxious recollections reported that they were particularly motivated to enhance boy's positive social experiences, while they were more likely to report intentions to avoid negative social experiences for girls. Also, upon further examination, anxious/lonely recollective mothers only reported arranging more peer activities for boys, not girls.

Nevertheless, an association between parental memories of peer relations and children's social competence was supported for both girls and boys. Specifically, children of anxious/lonely recollective mothers were considered to be significantly more socially competent by their teachers, and more popular by their peers, than children of mothers with positive or negative recollections. These observations suggest that for boys, at least, parenting style in conjunction with direct involvement predicts high levels of social competence. Additional research examining parental involvement from a broader standpoint may further illuminate the relation between parental memories, parental involvement and children's social competence for girls (as well as boys); i.e. What do mothers with strong emotional feelings regarding their early peer relations do to promote their children's peer relations?

It is noteworthy that mothers with anxious recollections reported more social goals for their children, and that these goals differed qualitatively by gender. Because the children of these mothers

were identified as highly socially competent, it would be important to determine what social goals mothers with anxious recollections have for their children concerning their peer experiences, as well as how these social goals impact on their management behaviour. Little is known regarding what social goals parents have for their children which are specific to children's relations with peers. However, the anxious recollective mothers described by Putallaz et al. (1991) were significantly more involved in providing opportunities for peer interaction for their boys, and also had significantly more social intentions for their children (although they differed qualitatively by children's gender). These observations suggest that the social goals of this group of mothers positively guided their management of their children's peer relations, and also positively impacted on their children's development of social competence. Again, further research is necessary to determine what social goals mothers have for children in the context of their children's peer relations (as opposed to memories of their own), as well as how these goals translate to mothers' overall involvement in children's relations with peers. Such an investigation will more clearly indicate what social-motivations guide parents when they involve themselves in their children's relations with peers, as well as the impact of this involvement. For example, it may be important to determine parents' motivations regarding their children's development of sociability or social skills, as well as their children's development of friendships and playmate networks. It would additionally be important to determine parents' cognitions regarding children's peer interactions; i.e. what kinds of peer experiences do they feel best promote these goals?

Putallaz et al. (1991) also reported a gender-mediated association between parental memories and perceptions of children's social competence. Specifically, mothers with positive peer

recollections viewed their children as significantly more socially competent and accepted by peers than mothers with memories of conflict and rejection. In contrast, mothers with anxious recollections perceived their children's competence with peers to be more mixed. However, when examined by gender, results indicated that the association between mothers' positive/negative memories and higher/lower perceived peer competence of children was only evident for mothers of girls. This observation suggests that mothers with positive or negative memories may be particularly prone to identify with their daughters. However, this does not hold true for anxious/lonely recollective mothers. Because the sample in this investigation was rather small ($n=57$), further research examining these associations in a larger sample is necessary.

Some support for the observation that anxious mothers may be less prone to similarly identify with their daughters, is evident in a subsequent investigation undertaken by Putallaz and her colleagues (Putallaz, et al. 1994). The association between parents' peer recollections (positive, negative, and anxious) to how mothers viewed and constructed meaning from their children's peer interactions was examined in a separate investigation in approximately the same sample of mothers and children ($n=50$, due to parental availability)(Putallaz, Klein, Costanzo & Hedges, 1994). Mothers viewed tapes of their children attempting to enter into the ongoing play of two unfamiliar peers, and were instructed to "describe what (they saw) happening on the tape"(p. 226). Narrations were coded for both where the mothers focused their attention while watching their interacting children, as well as the content the mothers described. Results indicated that mothers with positive recollections tended to focus more on their children, than mothers with less positive recollections. However, mothers with anxious recollections tended to focus on the general overall picture; i.e.,

their children as well as the other children interacting together. No effects were reported for mothers with negative recollections, as well as for gender; i.e. mothers tended to interpret and perceive boys' as well as girls' social skills similarly. These results suggest that anxious recollective mothers may be particularly socially sensitive, in that they perceive and consider a wide variety of social variables when interpreting their children's social skills. Additionally, these mothers may be less likely to identify with their daughters, and give less importance to their own experiences when they interpret their children's social abilities (that is, identify with their daughters). It is additionally possible that this perceptual style indicates a degree of social sensitivity which may be instrumental in positively guiding children's overall social development. Further research investigating the association between anxious peer memories to mothers' social sensitivity and how these variables impact on mothers' involvement in children's peer relations is therefore warranted.

In summary, Putallaz and her colleagues provide evidence that mothers' memories of anxious peer experiences positively impacts on their involvement in children's social development through their social intentions and management behaviour, and to children's subsequent social competence. Additionally, there is some evidence to suggest that anxious memories may be indicative of greater social sensitivity which positively influences parents' social guidance of children in the context of their peer relations (given that the children of these mothers were reported to be significantly socially competent by their peers and teachers). Such sensitivity may be positively associated to the quality of their interactions with their children, as well as to the sensitivity with which they respond to their children's social needs and manage their peer relations accordingly. Some support for this association is evident in the observation that mothers with anxious memories were reported to have

a warm and responsive parenting style. Results of studies investigating the correlates of parenting styles to children's peer competence indicate that parental warmth and responsiveness predicts children's social success with peers (Putallaz, 1987). However, because mothers with positive memories were similarly reported to have a warm and nurturant parenting style, it is further likely that children's optimal peer competence is not only a function of the quality of the parent-child relationship, but also significantly influenced by a high degree of parental involvement in children's peer relations as evidenced by the anxious recollective mothers identified by Putallaz, et al. (1991). It would therefore be important to determine the relation of memories to parents' involvement in children's peer relations by assessing these influences in the context of a broader range of management strategies.

A second investigation examining the association between mothers' social experiences both as children and currently, to the extent to which they are involved in children's relations with peers is provided by Cohen (1989). This investigation is notable for its broad consideration of parental management, and large sample size ($n=143$). However, these associations were examined in parents' of school-age children (as opposed to parents' of preschoolers), and it is therefore difficult to generalize Cohen's results to those of Putallaz, et al. (1991). Nevertheless, reported associations are intriguing in that a similar positive relation between mothers' memories of social withdrawal in childhood to involvement in children's peer relations was evident. However, unlike Putallaz, et al. (1991), Cohen's (1989) results indicated that mothers with memories of social withdrawal were more likely to view their children as socially withdrawn and were also more likely to be over-involved in their peer relationships. Cohen's (1989) work will therefore be discussed in some detail and a

subsequent discussion will attempt to reconcile these discrepant findings. In this context, suggestions will be made regarding measurement and design strategies to illuminate the relation of mothers' childhood recollections of peer relations, to their involvement in their children's peer relations, and to their children's social competence.

Cohen (1989) examined associations between maternal peer experiences to the goals, expectations, and concerns parents have for children's social development; to their involvement in children's peer relations; as well as to children's subsequent social competence. Peer recollections of 143 mothers of school-aged children (grades 3, 6 and 8) were assessed through the use of a questionnaire based on modified items from the Revised Class Play (Masten, Morison & Pellegrini, 1985) which tapped dimensions of mothers' childhood aggression and sociability. Further information was obtained by asking mothers to record how they viewed their childhood experiences from an affective stance based on identified correlates of children's experiences in peer groups (e.g. how lonely, satisfied, were they with childhood peer relations) (Hymel & Franke, 1985). Mothers also rated their perceived acceptance by peers on the Peer Acceptance Subscale (Mother-Father-Peer Scale; Epstein, 1983). Mothers' evaluation of their current peer experiences was similarly assessed through the use of parallel rating scales specific to their present relationships and peer experiences. Results of a common factors analysis identified four factors representative of mothers' integrated self-schemes about their childhood and current peer relations. The first factor was labelled "childhood peer sociability". This factor was described as bipolar (positive-negative) and contained items reflective of loneliness, social anxiety, satisfaction in childhood peer relations, as well as perceived long-term impact of childhood peer relations on current peer relations. The second factor,

labelled "current sociability" paralleled the first factor. These two factors were significantly correlated, that is, maternal levels of sociability were similar from childhood to adulthood ($r=.53$, $p<.001$). The third factor, labelled "childhood and current aggression" was combined to yield a general index of maternal aggression with peers. Upon examination, childhood aggression contributed a majority of the variance to this factor (e.g. .80 compared to .38 for current aggression). This factor was not correlated with the preceding two factors, although a small negative correlation to maternal current sociability was evident. The fourth factor was reflective of the importance mothers placed on their relations with peers, both as children as well as adults. This factor was positively correlated to both childhood and current sociability, although it should be noted that Cohen (1989) reported low reliability for this factor (given its reliance on two items).

Parental management was assessed by maternal responses to a questionnaire developed to reflect parental involvement in children's peer relations. Four identified factors of management were described. The first factor, labelled "Advice and Support", included parents' responses to items reflective of talking to and comforting the child in order to provide advice and emotional support when peer difficulties arose. The second factor, labelled "Orchestration", reflected mothers' attempts to encourage child to initiate peer contacts, as well as mothers' initiation of peer contacts for the child. The third factor, termed "High Concern-Involvement" was reflective of management activities considered to be reactive, that is, strategies mothers employed when they attempted to remediate children's social difficulties. Finally, the fourth factor, labelled "monitoring" consisted of items reflective of activities mothers engage in to keep track of and supervise their children's peer relationships. Monitoring activities were inclusive of indirect monitoring as well as direct

supervision of children's peer activities, and solicitation of information from children regarding their peer relations.

Cohen (1989) also assessed mothers' social values concerning the attainment of sociability-friendliness, and obedience-compliance for their children (Grusec & Dix, 1986) as well as mothers' perceptions of children's social competence. Specifically, mothers reported on children's sociability through items on the Revised Class Play (Masten, et al. 1985); on their overall satisfaction with children's peer relations; on their perceptions of children's popularity; on their perceptions of children's satisfaction with their peer relations; and their concerns about their children's sociability, as well as aggression. Mothers' normative beliefs, causal responsibility, and expectations regarding children's social development were also assessed.

Results indicated that how mothers perceived their peer relations (past and current) influenced their social values and cognitions surrounding children's social development, their perceptions of children's sociability, as well as their involvement in children's peer relations to varying degrees.

Three groups of mothers with differential perceptions of their peer experiences (on a combined index of past and current), were identified. The first group of mothers viewed their peer experiences to be sociable (positive). The second group of mothers viewed their peer experiences to be significantly low in sociability (socially withdrawn). The third group of mothers reported their peer experiences to be marked by aggression. A significant correlation was evident between mothers' reports of sociability, and the importance they placed on their peer experiences; the more mothers considered their peer experiences to be sociable, the more likely they were to consider them to be important; conversely, socially withdrawn mothers considered their peer experiences to be less

important. A correlation between "aggressive" characterization of peer relations and importance of peer relations was not evident.

Mothers who viewed their peer experiences to be sociable, and important, particularly valued the characteristics of sociability-friendliness in their daughters, and obedience-compliance in their sons. This group was also more likely to perceive their children to be highly sociable. Involvement in children's relations was significant in the domains of orchestration, and advice and support (although this association was mediated by mothers' positive value of sociability), and was independent of how mothers perceived children's sociability. Consequently, this group of mothers may be considered as taking a proactive approach to their children's socialization through their orchestration and advice and support. That is, they were involved in their children's peer relations regardless of how they perceived their children's sociability. It is possible that this group is similar to the group of mothers identified by Putallaz, et al. (1991) who reported having positive childhood peer experiences, and who viewed their daughters similarly. Although Cohen (1989) reported no gender differences in how positively mothers perceived boys' and girls' sociability, the observation that children's attainment of sociability-friendliness was mediated by the children's gender suggests that sociable mothers promote different qualities in sons and daughters. Cohen (1989) also reported a positive and significant correlation between mothers' sociability and children's sociability (as rated by peers). Together, these observations suggest that sociable mothers' have potentially different social goals for their girls than for their boys, but also that these differential goals impact positively on girls' as well as boys' socialization. In this context, these mothers appear to be socializing their boys and girls somewhat differently, similar to the anxious recollective mothers identified by

Putallaz, et al. (1991). It would be important to further determine these associations to mothers' involvement in children's relations with peers, particularly in the context of the kinds of peer experiences mothers provide for their children. For example, are there differences in the kinds of peer experiences mothers promote for girls than those they promote for boys? Do mothers promote more structured, adult-guided, and/ or group-oriented peer experiences for boys? Do mothers promote more dyadic peer interactions/activities for girls? These observations will be discussed further.

Mothers who characterized their peer experiences by social withdrawal in *childhood* were also similarly proactively involved in their children's relations with peers. Specifically, this group were concerned about their children's sociability, and orchestrated their children's peer relations to a significant degree. However, childhood memories of social withdrawal independently predicted orchestration, suggesting that mothers' orchestration was proactive; i.e. independent of perceptions of children's sociability. However, mothers who considered their past *as well as* their current peer experiences to be characterized by social withdrawal, were less likely to orchestrate peer activities for their children. While these mothers were similarly more likely to view their children as socially withdrawn, and were also more concerned about their children's sociability, they were also more likely to be involved in management strategies identified as reflective of "high concern-involvement" (for example, discussed children's social relationships with a professional, planned to spend time with another family because they have a child close in age to parents' child, given child advice about how to initiate a friendship, contacted another parent about how his/her child gets along with parents' child), as well as be more likely to provide advice and support, and monitor children's peer

relations. These observations suggest that childhood memories of social withdrawal may differentially influence parental cognitions as well as management of children's peer relations from more pervasive memories of social withdrawal.

Cohen's (1989) results suggest that mothers with childhood memories of withdrawal actively socialize their children through arranging peer activities, while the more pervasively socially withdrawn (i.e. childhood as well as adulthood withdrawn peer recollections) mothers do not. In this context, it is possible that a subgroup of mothers with childhood memories of social withdrawal, similar to the anxious recollective group identified by Putallaz, et al. (1991), are proactively involved in their children's social development through their direct management of children's peer relations, while more pervasive difficulties predict lower facilitation of peer activities and potentially more intrusive involvement in children's peer relations. However, because two subgroups of mothers with anxious/withdrawn peer recollections are potentially identified (specific childhood, or more pervasive), it would be important to determine further differences between these groups given each group's unique pattern of involvement in children's peer relations, and the possibility for potentially negative or positive outcomes for children's social development as a function of such involvement.

It would be important to determine if memories of social withdrawal mark an overall depressed affect, and if so, what factor is the more important predictor of parental involvement in children's peer relations: memories of difficult childhood peer relations, or depressive symptomatology? A substantial correlation has been observed between sociability and social status from toddlerhood to the age of ten (Bukowski & Newcomb, 1984; Rubin & Daniels-Beirness, 1983). This relation appears to be particularly salient for negative or rejected status children, and even over a 5-year period

from grade 5 onwards (Coie & Dodge, 1983). Indeed, Cohen (1989) reported high correlations between mothers' childhood and adulthood ratings of sociability; e.g. mothers who reported feelings of social withdrawal in childhood were significantly more likely to report feelings of social withdrawal in adulthood. Solitariness has been associated with increasing unhappiness in school-aged children (Asher, Hymel, & Renshaw, 1984), and although it is unknown if solitary children turn into friendless (and consequently, unhappy) adults, it would be important to determine if mothers' memories of social withdrawal are inherent to an overall depressed affect. For example, it is possible that mothers who report feelings of social withdrawal in childhood and adulthood may be dissatisfied or lonely with their relationships, and may also exhibit depressive symptomatology.

Evidence examining the socialization practices of well and depressed caregivers suggests that mothers with affective illness are less likely to interact with others, and hence, less likely to engage their children in activities that would facilitate early development of peer relations (Zahn-Waxler, Iannotti, Cummings, & Denhan, 1990). For example, mothers with depressive symptomatology are significantly less likely to involve their preschool children in playgroups (Zahn-Waxler, et al. 1990). However, evidence also suggests that depressed mothers can function well as caregivers (Zahn-Waxler, et al. 1990). For example, a subgroup of depressed mothers were reported to use direct or "proactive" (p. 329) approaches with their toddlers during peer interactions, such as anticipating child's point of view, and providing structure and organisation during children's interactions with each other. Such socialisation strategies were considered indicative of a dimension of anticipatory, respectful guidance, and children of such mothers were reported to be functioning well (comparable to children of well mothers). Conversely, however, an additional subgroup of depressed mothers

were reported to use negative childrearing practices such as inconsistency, protectiveness, regulation through constraint, affirmation of parental power, and anxiety and guilt arousal. Children of these mothers were reported to be significantly aggressive. It is therefore apparent that memories of social withdrawal in childhood or adulthood may be indicative of depressive symptomatology. Additionally, depressed mothers may display a positive style of interaction with their child as well as within their children's peer relations which facilitates children's social competence. Consequently, mothers with memories of withdrawal, may be depressed, but their depressive symptomatology does not necessarily negatively impact on children's social competence. Rather, some mothers with memories of social withdrawal, as observed by Putallaz, et al. (1991) and Cohen (1989) display a responsive parenting style and are proactively involved in their children's peer relations.

Cohen (1989) reported a significant correlation between mothers' sociability and children's sociability; i.e. children of withdrawn mothers were more likely to be seen as withdrawn by peers. However, internalizing as well as externalizing behaviour difficulties characterise children of mothers with depressive symptomatology. Significant interdependencies between internalizing and externalizing patterns of behaviour have been observed, and it has also been suggested that early aggression may be predictive of later affective disturbances (e.g. Patterson, DeBaryshe, & Ramsey, 1989; Pfeffer, 1986; Zahn-Waxler, et al., 1990). Therefore, it is possible that withdrawn mothers may have children who are aggressive or withdrawn as a result of negative socialization behaviours inherent in their style of parenting as well as in the manner in which they are involved in their children's relations with peers. However, evidence also suggests that genetic factors make a contribution to the prediction of social orientation (e.g. Buss & Plomin, 1975; Matheny & Dolan,

1980). Specifically, a genetic component is reported for the prediction of social maladjustment, in the domains of externalizing (Lytton, Watts & Dunn, 1988) as well as internalizing disorders (Shields, 1976), as well as social popularity (Roff, Sells & Golden, 1972). It is therefore possible that mothers' degree of sociability plays a further role in genetically determining children's sociability. Consequently, children of depressed caregivers may exhibit socially deviant behaviours and these behaviours may be genetically, as well as experientially determined. It should be noted however, that of these influences, sociability is considered to be primarily a result of experiences in the family and peers (Grusec & Lytton, 1988).

It is possible that for mothers whose depression is severe, their prevailing negative affect may negatively colour their perception of their child's social competence. Such mothers may be overly concerned about children's perceived low sociability, but also do little in terms of arranging peer activities for their children, to aid in the development of children's peer relations. Results of a recent investigation identified a group of mothers who perceived their preschool children to be low in sociability, and who had high levels of concern, but were similarly, significantly less involved in orchestrating children's peer relations (Proffitt & Ladd, 1994). (Recall that Cohen (1989) identified a group with pervasive recollections of social withdrawal who were also highly concerned about children's perceived low sociability, but did little to orchestrate their peer activities). These observations suggest that not only do childhood memories of social withdrawal independently predict proactive involvement, general memories of social withdrawal (perhaps more severe social withdrawal) predict high concern, yet little orchestration. Because parents' initiation of children's peer activities has been linked to children's social success (Ladd & Golter, 1988; Ladd & Hart, 1992;

Putallaz, et al. 1991), it is noteworthy that a unique group of mothers perceive their children to be low in sociability, are highly concerned, yet do not employ strategies which may optimally benefit children's social development. Additionally, such mothers may attempt to socialize their children through strategies which are less beneficial, or potentially insensitive, to children's social needs. Behaviours may include those identified as high concern-involvement (Cohen, 1989), and/or by intrusively monitoring or providing inappropriate advice and support. These potential associations will be further discussed.

Mothers with aggressive peer recollections, were significantly less likely to provide their children with advice and support, and were also more likely to monitor their children's peer relations. The relation between these mothers' perception of their own peer experiences, and their perception of their children's sociability was unfortunately not reported. However, Putallaz, et al. (1991) identified a similar group with negative recollections marked by conflictual and aggressive peer relations, who were less likely to report a warm or nurturant relationship with their children. Mothers of rejected children have been observed to provide less social feedback to children (Russell & Finnie, 1988), and to also engage in more power-assertive or authoritarian child-rearing behaviours (Rubin, et al. 1995). It is likely that this group of similarly aggressive mothers is similar to that identified by Cohen (1989) as childhood memories of aggression contributed significantly to the identification of this group. It would also be important to investigate the presence of depressive symptomatology in the aggressive mothers, given that their child-rearing behaviours are also indicative of those of a depressed parent.

The relation of management to outcomes of social competence was also reported. Social

competence of children was measured by peer ratings of social behaviour from the Revised Class Play (Masten, et al. 1985) and children's responses to the Social Anxiety and Social Avoidance Scale for Children (Hymel & Franke, 1985). Maternal involvement was not reported to have a direct impact on peer ratings of sociability, however differences in maternal involvement were reported to be associated with variations in children's peer competence when the mediating effects of the value mothers placed on their children's sociability-friendliness were considered. Specifically, results indicated high levels of orchestration and advice and support had a negative effect on children's peer competence, when mothers' reported low values of sociability. Additionally, too little advice and support similarly negatively influenced children's peer competence. Over-involved mothers were reported to highly value sociability, while under-involved mothers valued sociability to a significantly lower degree. A gender effect was also evident in that mothers were significantly more likely to provide their daughters with advice and support, than they were their sons.

Children described as socially isolated and anxious by their peers, were also found to have mothers who engaged in significantly lower degrees of orchestration and advice and support. Significant levels of social avoidance were predicted by mothers' high valuation of obedience-compliance and low valuation of sociability. Maternal involvement reflective of "high concern-involvement" strategies and significantly low degrees of advice and support similarly predicted children's social anxiety.

In summary, the results obtained by Cohen (1989) together with those of Putallaz, et al. (1991) suggest that mothers' memories of childhood peer relations play an important role in determining potential routes to children's development of social competence. Additionally, these results indicate

that children's development of social competence is potentially predicted by mothers' involvement in their peer relations, as well as the quality of the mother-child relationship.

Sociable or positive peer recollections appear to predict a level of involvement predictive of children's social success with peers. However, the relation between anxious peer memories and the quality of involvement in children's peer relations is less clear. While Putallaz, et al. (1991) reported a positive association from mothers' anxious peer memories to children's social competence, Cohen (1989) reported a negative association from memories of social withdrawal to children's social competence. As discussed, it is possible that differences within the groups of mothers reporting similarly negative memories as identified by Cohen (1989) and Putallaz, et al. (1991), explain these discrepant associations. In this context it would be important to provide an assessment of depressive symptomatology, as well as to differentiate between a salient childhood negative experience and the overall quality of parents' peer relations in childhood.

Results of Cohen (1989), Putallaz, et al. (1991) as well as results of the literature extant examining associations between parental management of children's peer relations to children's social competence, suggest that parental structuring of children's peer interactions impacts on children's social competence. However, as Cohen (1989) observes, too much or too little involvement may be similarly detrimental. Results of a recent investigation provide further support to this association. Specifically, a lack of maternal involvement, as indexed by the amount of stimulation, interest, and attention that mothers directed towards their children (including the degree to which mothers took the time to structure social experiences outside the home), predicted children's social inhibition, which was, in turn, associated with peer neglect (Travillion & Snyder, 1993). The social inhibition

construct as operationalized in this investigation included variables depicting the child as failing to engage other children, as well as to participate in structured as well as unstructured peer interaction (as assessed by teacher). These observations suggest that maternal involvement with child, which is responsive and which also includes provision of social opportunities, is necessary for children's development of social skills. To generalize to the results obtained by Cohen (1989) and Putallaz, et al. (1991), mothers who are responsive to children, and who are also involved in providing peer opportunities for children, and who also act as a "sounding-board" or provider of advice and support to children regarding their peer relations, will optimally influence children's social development. Conversely, a lack of sensitive involvement in these domains will not develop children's social skills, and, as such, children may be at a greater risk for peer neglect.

Observations gained from the results of Putallaz, et al. (1991) and Cohen (1989) also indicate that gender effects should be considered in future investigations examining associations between parents' memories to their involvement in children's peer relations, and to children's subsequent social competence. For example, clearly defined and gender-differentiated socialisation strategies were observed for both sociable (Cohen, 1989) as well as anxious (Putallaz, et al. 1991) mothers. Additionally, as previously discussed, gender effects have been observed in the management literature extant. Consequently, a brief discussion follows with the goal of more clearly understanding observed gender effects reported in these investigations.

Gender Effects

Results of Putallaz, et al. (1991) and Cohen (1989) suggest that gender differences should be examined when exploring associations between parental memories of childhood peer relations to involvement in children's peer relations and to children's subsequent social competence. Mothers appear to be particularly motivated to provide daughters with advice and support (Cohen, 1989) and there is some evidence that mothers with positive or negative (aggressive) memories tend to see their daughters similarly (Putallaz, et al. 1991). There is also some evidence to suggest that mothers' memories of anxious-lonely childhood peer relations contribute to qualitatively different social goals (Cohen, 1989; Putallaz, et al. 1991), and involvement for girls as opposed to boys (Putallaz, et al. 1991). Interestingly, sociable mothers (Cohen, 1989), as well as mothers with anxious childhood peer memories (Putallaz, et al. 1991) appear to be positively influencing children's social competence. In this context, it is possible that maternal involvement which is sensitive to potential gender differences in the kinds of peer experiences optimal for both girls and boys social development, positively guides their involvement.

Boys' friendships are commonly considered to be experienced within the context of a large group which provides a centre for games and sports, while girl's friendships are considered to focus more on dyadic interaction which provides opportunities for emotional intimacy (Waldrop & Halverson, 1975). It is possible that mothers who are highly socially motivated for their children arrange their peer interactions accordingly; i.e. they are sensitive to potential play-style preferences of girls and boys. That is, they tend to arrange more informal, dyadic, same-sex play for their girls,

and more group-oriented and/or structured play activities for their boys.

There is evidence that parents, in conjunction with their children, shape their social networks to promote same-sex interaction when children are as young as three years old (Feiring & Lewis, 1978). Girls have also been reported to have more nonschool friends, as well as nonschool best friends in comparison to boys (Ray, Cohen & Secrist, 1995). The authors hypothesized that nonschool settings may place constraints on boy's developing nonschool friendships because these nonschool settings do not afford boys the opportunities (large groups of same-age and same-sex peers) that classrooms and school playgrounds do. However, mothers who are highly socially motivated for their children may provide boys with numerous structured opportunities to participate in such peer-play interactions, and may similarly orchestrate informal peer interactions for their daughters. Consequently, children's social competence will be promoted through participation in such culturally defined peer-play frameworks. It would be important to determine what peer-play experiences mothers feel are important for their sons and for their daughters, as well as how these "social goals" relate to mothers' memories of peer relations. Although Putallaz, et al. (1991) described a positive association linking anxious memories to mothers' significant involvement in arranging structured peer interactions for boys, investigation of these associations within a broader context of parental management will more clearly elucidate these relations; (i.e. What kinds of peer experiences do such mothers arrange for girls?).

There is also some evidence suggesting that girls may be subjected to stronger socialization pressures in the social domain than boys (Bacon & Ashmore, 1985; Mills & Rubin, 1990). Specifically, mothers' emotional responses to children's aggression or social withdrawal, and fathers'

likelihood of responding to these behaviours, was reported to be significantly stronger for daughters than for sons. Additionally, mothers who report more negative emotions (anger, disappointment, embarrassment) in response to aggressive or socially withdrawn behaviour in their preschooler's, were similarly reported to suggest more coercive or power assertive socialisation strategies in dealing with this behaviour (Mills & Rubin, 1990). These observations suggest that a high level of concern about deviant social behaviour, as reported by mothers who experience socially withdrawn peer relations (Cohen, 1989), may be particularly evident for daughters. This concern may translate to mothers' use of more high-power strategies to deal with such behavioural difficulties in their daughters. However, although Cohen (1989) reported that mothers who were significantly concerned about children's social withdrawal chose socialisation strategies indicative of intrusive involvement, she did not report specific gender effects. Observations gained from results of Mills and Rubin (1990), however, suggest that parents are more likely to respond to aggressive or socially withdrawn behaviour when exhibited by girls rather than boys. It would therefore be important to examine these associations in investigations examining the relations of parents' perceptions and behaviours to children's social competence.

Results of a recent investigation undertaken by Hart, DeWolf, Wozniak, & Burts (1992) further suggest that gender effects should also be considered when examining the effect of parent-child interaction on children's development of social competence through parental involvement in children's peer relations. Specifically, girls' prosocial behaviour, solitary play, and withdrawn behaviour were found to be more strongly linked to maternal discipline than were these same behaviours for boys. Similarly, withdrawn behaviour in boys was linked to paternal rather than

maternal power assertion. The authors suggested that gender of the child as well as the parent, mediated the relation from parenting behaviour to children's social competence; i.e., power assertive discipline relates to less competent playground behaviour for children of same sex parents. This relation was observed to be particularly true for children's exhibition of withdrawn behaviour. Recall that Cohen (1989) reported children who evidenced social anxiety to have mothers who stressed obedience-compliance, and who engaged in management strategies reflective of high concern-involvement. Although no gender differences were reported, it would be important to investigate these associations further to examine if a maternal coercive parent-child relationship predicts intrusive involvement in children's peer relations, and, if so, if these factors have a particularly negative impact on girls' social development.

Summary: Putting it all Together - Linking mothers' memories of early peer relations to involvement in children's peer relations and to children's social competence.

Evidence thus far indicates that parents' management of children's relations with peers influences children's social success. Although limited, results of investigations examining the relation between mothers' memories of childhood peer relations, management behaviour, and children's peer competence, further indicate that how mothers perceive their relations in childhood impacts on their use of various management strategies. Potential mechanisms linking the quality of mothers' memories to involvement in children's peer relations and to children's subsequent social competence have been described. As proposed, mothers' "schema" for children's social competence,

originates from sociable, anxious/lonely, or aggressive memories of their own peer relations. These memories impact on mothers' perception of children's social competence, as well as their social goals for children, and also predict the quality of the parent-child relationship. In turn, memories directly as well as indirectly impact on parents' involvement in children's peer relations, through these mediating influences. Subsequently, the frequency as well as the quality of parental involvement, as mediated by the quality of the parent-child relationship, influences children's social competence.

Gender has also emerged as a significant factor which influences the association between mothers' memories of childhood relations with peers to their involvement in children's peer relations. For example, mothers with anxious/socially withdrawn memories report gender-differentiated social goals for their children (Cohen, 1989; Putallaz, et al., 1991). Additional research suggests that mothers' emotional reaction to socially withdrawn behaviour in daughters may be particularly strong, and lead to utilisation of coercive socialization strategies (Mills & Rubin, 1990). Some support for this hypothesis was gained in Cohen's (1989) results.

Gender effects are also apparent in the association from memories to involvement. Specifically, mothers with anxious memories were reported to arrange significantly more structured peer activities for their boys than for their girls (Putallaz, et al. 1991). It was proposed that mothers who highly value children's peer relations, may be more likely to promote culturally-defined play-patterns for girls and boys; specifically, opportunities for large group, same-sex play opportunities for boys, and smaller, more intimate dyadic opportunities for girls. Gender differences mediating the association between involvement and children's social competence are also evident. Specifically, boys in

particular appear to benefit from maternal facilitation of peer-play opportunities. It was hypothesized that boys may need more help or guidance from parents to develop this facilitative social skill.

The current investigation addressed these considerations from the perspective of the following model (Figure 1). This model is offered as an illustration of potentially important ways in which mothers may influence children's development of social competence. Proposed pathways from linking memories of childhood peer relationships to mothers' social goals for children, to mothers' parenting style, to mothers' involvement in children's peer relationships, and to children's subsequent social competence are outlined. The variable of gender is also considered to be important in these associations.

Figure 1

Potential Associations from Mothers' Memories of Childhood Peer Experiences to Children's Social Competence

Potential Associations Between Mothers' Memories of Childhood Peer Relations, Involvement, and Children's Social Competence: A Model

The proposed model is offered to provide a heuristic framework with the purpose of aiding in the description and organisation of variables considered to be important in examining the impact of parents' memories of childhood relations with peers on their management of children's peer relations, and on children's subsequent peer competence. (see fig. 1). The theoretical base for this model is borrowed from earlier models (Ladd, et al. 1992; Mills & Rubin, 1990) which suggest that parents' beliefs or cognitions gained through parents' peer experiences, guide parents' proactive as well as reactive child-rearing behaviours. Further, Rubin and Mills (1992) suggest in their information-processing model that the goals parents set for their children's social development influence parents' proactive involvement (i.e. "the strategies they use to promote skilled or competent social behaviour in their children", p. 46), as well as their "reactive behaviour".

Likewise, the proposed model considers similar temporal relations.

As per Rubin & Mill's (1992) model, this model investigates the association from mothers' beliefs and social cognitions gained from childhood peer experiences, and provides a framework to test hypotheses that mothers' remembered childhood peer experiences play a significant role in guiding mothers' child-rearing behaviours and children's social success with peers, through mothers' valuation of children's peer sociability and her perception of children's social competence. In turn, the frequency and quality of mothers' involvement in children's peer relations is thought to impact on the quality of children's peer interactions and children's subsequent social competence. Mothers'

parenting style is also thought to be associated with the quality of involvement in children's peer relationships, and is also delineated as an independent link to children's social competence.

The proposed associations contained in this model are supported by the results of Cohen (1989) and Putallaz, et al. (1991) where memories of peer relations were found to directly as well as interactively impact on mothers' involvement in children's peer relations, and children's subsequent social competence. Additionally, results of the reviewed literature examining associations between parental management of children's peer relations suggest that parental initiation of peer activities predicts children's prosocial behaviours and extensivity of play networks (Ladd & Golter, 1988; Ladd & Hart, 1992). Additionally, unstructured peer activities have been related to children's perspective taking skills (Bryant, 1985), and there is some evidence to suggest that opportunities to interact with peers within children's homes or neighbourhoods is important to children's development of friendships (Dunstan & Nieuwoudt, 1994). An extensive body of literature supports the idea that parents' child-rearing behaviours significantly impact on children's development of social competence (see for example, Hart, Ladd & Burleson, 1990; Pettit, Dodge & Brown, 1988; Pettit & Harrist, 1993; Putallaz, 1987). Results of Cohen (1989) as well as Travillion et al. (1993) further suggest that parental over- as well as under-involvement in children's social lives predicts social difficulties. It is possible that over- as well as under-involvement in children's peer relations may reflect parenting patterns consistent with Baumrind's typologies (Baumrind, 1971; 1989; 1991), as well as "neglectful" parenting patterns described by Maccoby and Jackson (1983). For example, over-involvement may be a component of a controlling parenting style, while under-involvement may reflect a more permissive or neglectful style of parenting (i.e. parents may not be highly

invested in children's social success and adopt a non-caring approach to children's peer relationships, and/or parents may simply adopt a "let children be" approach, and make little or no effort to be involved in children's peer relationships). As such, the quality of parenting style may be reflective of the quality of parental involvement in children's peer relations and as such, also influence the association from involvement to children's social competence. This hypothesis is partially supported by work undertaken by Pettit and Mize (1993), who found that a positive, synchronous parent-child relationship enhanced the effectiveness of parents' social advice to children, but also that the quality of the parent-child relationship, as well as provision of social advice, made separate contributions to children's peer competence.

The model also considers potential gender effects. The gender of child has been reported to mediate associations between mothers' memories to social goals, perceptions of children's peer competence, as well as management behaviour. Consequently, the gender issues relevant to the proposed model (and investigation) are: (1) mothers' sociable as well as specific anxious memories predict gender-differentiated social goals and structuring of children's peer interactions (Cohen, 1989; Putallaz, et al. 1991) (2) mothers' initiation of peer activities for children predicts gender-differentiated outcomes regarding peer popularity (Ladd & Golter, 1988; Ladd & Hart, 1992); and (3) mothers' controlling parenting style predicts gender-mediated outcomes to children's social competence (Hart, et al. 1992). This association is considered within the context of mothers' involvement in children's peer relations.

The first part of the model is concerned with the relation between mothers' memories of peer relations to her perception of children's social competence, to her valuation of children's attainment

of social skills, to her parenting style, and to her involvement in children's peer relations. It is suggested that the quality of mothers' memories of early peer relations is linked to the importance mothers place on children's attainment of social skills, as well as to mothers' perception of children's social competence. This association is proposed to be particularly strong when mothers place high importance on their memory. In turn, linkages are proposed from mothers' memories, mothers' valuation of children's social skills, and mothers' perception of children's social competence, to mothers' parenting style and involvement in children's peer relationships. Finally, all of these factors directly and indirectly impact on children's social competence.

The second half of the model is concerned with the association between parental involvement and structuring of children's peer relations and children's social competence. It is suggested that the quality and quantity of mothers' involvement in children's peer relations, is associated with the style of parenting, and that these factors, while related, make unique contributions to children's social competence. For example, mothers' indirect involvement in children's peer relations through initiation as well as choice of peer activities for children is thought to be associated with children's social competence. Specifically, parental orchestration of structured and unstructured peer activities is thought to impact on children's peer competence by expanding children's social networks and by promoting play with consistent playmates. Parents are also thought to impact on children's friendships by providing a "home" or "neighbourhood" base for play activities which provides children with a "free-play" environment and also potentially provides children with consistent play experiences with familiar peers. It is suggested that such structuring of children's peer interactions provides children with opportunities to develop their social skills, and in turn enhance their

friendships (and social success with peers), through play. However, a level of monitoring, as well as advice and support of children's peer relationships, is also considered important for children's social success. Involvement in children's peer relationships which is too controlling or intrusive, is thought to be detrimental to children's social competence. For example, when children are not including in the planning process of peer-play activities, or when mothers are intrusive in providing extremely high levels of social advice, children do not learn valuable social skills, and at extreme levels may develop social anxieties. As such, children of over-involved mothers may be less effective in negotiating peer relationships at school.

Mothers' level of indirect involvement in children's peer relationships is therefore thought to be reflective of mothers' authoritative child-rearing behaviours, while mothers' level of direct or over-involvement in children's peer relationships is thought to be more reflective of mothers' authoritarian child-rearing behaviours.

Potential mechanisms within this model will be further elucidated.

Proposed Associations

The proposed associations suggest that the quality of mothers' memories of early peer experiences differentially impact on mothers' cognitions surrounding children's peer relations, as well as on her level of involvement in children's peer relations, and finally, to children's social competence. These associations are derived from observations contained in the reviewed literature extant.

The first association suggests that mothers with generally lonely memories are likely to place high value on children's peer sociability, and are also likely to be highly motivated to become involved in children's peer relations. Such mothers are also likely to view children similarly (i.e. withdrawn) and this link is particularly true for daughters. However, it is also suggested that these mothers display a less responsive and nurturing parenting style. Maternal depression may also be evident. As such, mothers with generally lonely memories may be less responsive to children's needs in the social realm, and become over-involved, or intrusive. As a result of these parenting practices, children are thought to experience social difficulties with their peers.

A second association suggests that mothers with a specific (but not general) lonely or anxious peer experience are less likely to view this experience as important in influencing their future relationships. However, such mothers view children's peer sociability as important, and are motivated to become involved in children's peer activities. This group tends to also have different social goals for girls and boys which may further impact on children's social competence. The parenting style of these mothers is responsive and nurturant, and as such, they exhibit a level of involvement in children's peer relationships which is sensitive to children's needs. Consequently, the parenting practices of these mothers result in children's social success regardless of the gender of the child.

The third association suggests that mothers with aggressive memories of their peer experiences (specific and general) view their children similarly, and this link is again particularly true for daughters. Such mothers also tend to be less nurturant and responsive, and place either high or low importance on children's peer relations. Either attribution leads to over- or under- involvement, and,

as such, indicates mothers' insensitivity to children's needs in the social realm. Consequently, children may experience social difficulties as a result of these parenting practices.

A fourth association suggests that mothers with sociable (specific and general) memories also view their children similarly (i.e. sociable) and again this link is much tighter for daughters. Such mothers consider their peer experiences to be highly important, and also have different social goals for girls and boys. This group tends to have a responsive and nurturant parenting style, and to be responsive to children's social needs in their management of children's peer relations. A positive outcome to children's social competence is therefore associated with these parenting behaviours.

Consideration of socio-ecological factors, and contribution of depressive symptomatology

On a final note, it is important to consider socio-ecological factors in the context of both these models. Although there are many conceivable influences which impact on parents' child-rearing behaviours, including their involvement in children's peer relations, it is impossible to include as many or all of such factors which are of potential importance, and still gain useful information to further our understanding of how parents' memories influence cognitions and behaviours, and children's subsequent social competence. However, parents' level of education has been reported to be a significant determinant of parents' emotional responses to children's deviant behaviour as well as use of power assertive strategies (Mills & Rubin, 1990). Additionally, level of education has been reported to be highly correlated with working status (i.e. type of "job") (Mills & Rubin, 1990).

Consequently, maternal education will be included in the model as a variable accounting for socioeconomic status.

Additionally, mothers' degree of depressive symptomatology will also be considered. In this context it is important to differentiate between mothers who are depressed from well-mothers, particularly in identifying mothers with peer recollections of social withdrawal. It is possible that mothers with a pervasive negative affect will view their peer experiences negatively as well as their children's social competence. Mothers with depressive symptomatology have also been reported to be significantly less involved in children's peer relations (Zahn-Waxler, et al. 1990). Consequently, it would be important to determine if memories of social withdrawal can be differentiated from depressive symptomatology, and if so, do memories uniquely predict parental involvement:

Purpose of the Current Study

The purpose of the current investigation was twofold: (1) to investigate the impact of mothers' memories of early peer relations on their management of their young children's relations with peers, and (2) to investigate the impact of mothers' parenting style and involvement in children's peer relations on children's social competence. This investigation therefore tested the soundness of the described mechanisms within the proposed model.

Rationale

The current research project offered a unique opportunity to examine how memories of mothers' childhood relationships with peers influence mothers' management of their own children's peer relations. Because a comprehensive assessment of mothers' management of young children's social lives was yet to be undertaken, it was thought that the current project would be valuable in providing information concerning not only why mothers involve themselves in their young children's peer relations, but also how.

The current project was designed to provide information to these questions, as well as to test possible outcomes for children's peer competence. For example, maternal involvement in managing children's relations with peers (behaviours reflective of orchestration of peer activities, monitoring of peer activities, provision of advice and support) was proposed to predict children's optimal social success, while involvement reflective of behaviours termed "high concern-involvement" (Cohen, 1989) was proposed to predict children's social difficulties. Finally, an interest of the current project concerned the value of children's participation in informal and structured peer activities for the development of children's social success with peers. As relatively little empirical information exists on this potential association, it was thought that data obtained by this investigation would be of importance in furthering our understanding of how children's participation in peer-play interactions is associated with children's overall social competence.

Hypotheses of Current Study

Hypothesis One: It was hypothesized that mothers with a specific lonely memory would not particularly value this memory, however such mothers would highly endorse the importance of children's social skills. Such mothers would display more authoritative child-rearing behaviours, and would also be actively involved in arranging and monitoring peer-play activities for children, monitoring children's peer interactions, and providing advice and support to children regarding their peer relationships (or, as conceptualized in the current investigation – higher levels of “indirect involvement”). Subsequently, children of mothers with a specific lonely memory would be particularly well accepted by their peers, and engage in higher levels of social play. Gender effects were also hypothesized, in that mothers with an anxious-lonely memory would have differing goals for children's sociability, and as such be differentially involved in managing their peer relationships. Specifically, such mothers would be more likely to endorse the importance of playmates for girls; and be more likely to arrange play-dates for daughters at home, or at a friend's home; in contrast, such mothers would be more motivated to have larger peer networks for boys, and therefore enrol boys in significantly more structured activities.

Hypothesis Two: It was hypothesized that a group of mothers with positive peer memories (specific and general), would highly value this memory (specific). Such mothers would also positively endorse the importance of children's social skills, report higher levels of authoritative parenting behaviours, and report higher levels of “indirect involvement”. In turn, these factors

would be positively associated with children's peer acceptance and social play. Gender effects for endorsement of sociability goals, and involvement were hypothesized to be similar to mothers with a specific-lonely memory.

Hypothesis Three: It was hypothesized that a group of mothers with generally lonely memories would be more effected by depression, and that such parents would be less effective in matching their social goals to child-rearing behaviours (authoritative parenting style, and involvement), and that children would be less popular, and exhibit higher levels of maladaptive play (rough and tumble, and reticent play).

Hypothesis Four: It was hypothesized that a group of mothers with aggressive memories (specific and general) would be less successful in their own relationships, and more effected by depression. It was therefore expected that such mothers would have significantly lower or higher goals for children's sociability, be significantly more authoritarian, and either report low levels of "indirect involvement", or high levels of "direct involvement". In turn, these factors were considered to be associated with children's social difficulties (higher levels of reticent and rough and tumble play). Gender effects were also hypothesized. Specifically, mothers' power-assertive parenting behaviours, as well as direct involvement in children's peer relationships, would have a particularly negative impact on girls' social competence.

METHOD

Participants

Directors of 55 preschool/day-care centres in the Ottawa-Carleton region were approached for willingness to participate in the current study (Appendix A). Of these, 35 agreed to participate. Letters were then distributed to mothers at participating centres requesting participation (Appendix B). Mothers only (not fathers) were targeted as previous research indicates mothers are significantly more likely to be involved in “managing” children’s peer relationships than fathers (Ladd & Golter, 1988; Bhavnagri & Parke, 1991). Of a possible 964 mothers, 27% (or 274) took part. Centres and mothers were offered an incentive for participation (centres: a new toy; mothers: a draw for a \$300.00 prize), and confidentiality of information provided was assured. Mothers picked up the questionnaire (Appendix C) from the preschool/day-care, and returned it by mail. Return rate was 74%. It is possible that the low return rate reflected the time commitment involved in completing the questionnaire (approximately one hour) (the majority of mothers worked outside the home), however, mothers were well-represented on each of the demographic variables. Participants numbered 203 mother-child pairs (117 boys, and 86 girls). Mothers were English-speaking Canadians, and ranged in age from 19 to 47. The sample comprised of primarily (but not exclusively) caucasian women. The majority of mothers

were married (70.9%), and 14.3% were single, 7.9% were divorced, 5.9% were separated, and 1.0% were widowed. The average age of mothers was 33.8 (the median as well as modal age was 34). Mothers had varied educational backgrounds ranging from incompleteness of high school (5.4%), to high school (22.2%), to college (33%), to university (24.6%), and to graduate school (14.8%). The majority of mothers worked full-time (66.5%), or part-time (20.2%), while 13.3% attended school or were at home. The majority of children had siblings (67%), most commonly one sibling (49.8%). The children ranged in age from 2.5 to 5 years: $\underline{n}=2$ (1.0%); 3 years: $\underline{n}=62$ (30.5%); 4 years: $\underline{n}=76$ (37.4%); 5 years: $\underline{n}=63$ (31%). (The two mother-children dyads of children aged 2 were included in the 3-year old group, as both children were less than a month away from their 3-year old birthday). Comparisons on model variables between two year olds and three year olds on a series of t-tests indicated no significant differences between groups.

Measures

A summary of the instruments employed in the proposed investigation is provided in table 1. For each instrument, the source of the information (i.e. mothers, teachers) and the variables derived from the measure are provided.

In the present study, the independent variables included mothers' memories of childhood peer relationships, maternal depression, maternal education, and child gender. Variables thought to

“mediate” associations from the independent variables to the outcome measures included: mothers’ valuation of children’s social skills, mothers’ perceptions of children’s social competence, mothers’ parenting style, and mothers’ level of involvement in children’s peer relationships. The dependent variables (or outcome measures of children’s social competence) included teacher-ratings of children’s peer acceptance, as well as teacher-ratings of children’s social, non-social, and rough and tough play behaviour. (Note. Mothers’ observations/perceptions of children’s social competence were also used as additional outcome measures in analyses examining pathways from mothers’ memories to children’s social competence, due to positive and significant correlations with teachers’ ratings of peer acceptance and rough and tumble play. See “Comparison of Mother and Teacher Ratings of Children’s Social Competence”).

Table 1

Overview of Measures used in the Investigation

INSTRUMENT	SOURCE OF DATA	VARIABLES
SPECIFIC MEMORY		
Story	Mother	1. Positive, Negative (Aggressive/Conflictual), Anxious-Lonely, Or No-Story, Theme 2. Importance of Story
General Memory Ratings		
(Modified) Revised Class Play (Masten, et al., 1985)	Mother	
Items 3,5,8		3. Sociableness
Items 1,4		4. Social-Withdrawal
Items 2,6,7		5. Aggressive
(Modified) Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire (Asher, et al., 1984)	Mother	6. Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction
Peer Acceptance Subscale (Epstein, 1983)	Mother	7. Peer Acceptance

Mothers' Social Goals for Children		
Social Goals Inventory (Mize, et al., 1995)	Mother	8. Value of Children's Social Skills
Importance of Playmates Inventory	Mother	9. Value of Playmates for Children

Mothers' Perception of Children's Social Competence		
Preschool Behaviour Questionnaire (Behar & Stringfield, 1974) Items 1,2,3,4,5,9,13,18,22,24,26,28,30 Items 7,8,10,15,25,31	Mother	10. Children's Aggressive/Hyperactive Behaviour 11. Children's Anxious/Withdrawn Behaviour
Harter's Rating Scale of Child's Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance (designed for preschool and kindergarten) (Harter & Pike, 1984)	Mother	12. Children's Peer Acceptance

Mothers' Child-Rearing Behaviours		
Parenting Practices Questionnaire (Robinson, et al., 1995)	Mother	13. Authoritative Parenting Practices 14. Authoritarian Parenting Practices 15. Permissive Parenting Practices
Parental Involvement Checklist (Cohen, 1989)	Mother	16. Indirect Involvement 17. Direct Involvement
Peer Activities Checklist	Mother	
Item 1		18. Number of Structured Peer Activities
Items 2-4		19. Frequency of Friend Play

Mothers' Depressive Symptoms		
Center for Epidemiological Studies – Depression Scale (Radloff, 1977)	Mother	20. Maternal Depression

Mothers' Education		
Maternal Education Checklist	Mother	21. Maternal Education Level.

Children's Social Competence		
Preschool Play Behaviour Scale (Coplan & Rubin, in press)	Teacher	
Items 1,5,6,10,15,16		22. Social Play Behaviour
Items 4,9,12,18		23. Reticent Play Behaviour
Items 3,13		24. Rough and Tumble Play Behaviour
Teacher Popularity Ranking (Connolly & Doyle, 1981)	Teacher	25. Children's Peer Acceptance
Preschool Behaviour Questionnaire (Behar & Stringfield, 1974)	Mother	
Items 1,2,3,4,5,9,13,18, 22,24,26, 28,30		26. Children's Aggressive/Hyperactive Behaviour
Items 7,8,10,15,25,31		27. Children's Anxious/Withdrawn Behaviour
Harter's Rating Scale of Child's Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance (designed for preschool and kindergarten) (Harter & Pike, 1984)	Mother	28. Children's Peer Acceptance

Memories

Specific Memory. To assess mothers' specific memories of their early peer relations, the "Story Narrative" (Appendix D) was completed by parents. The "story narrative" was based on Putallaz et al.'s (1991) approach of assessing mothers' emotionally salient memories, as well as Cohen's (1989) approach of assessing the importance of mothers' peer experiences in influencing their current relationships. The "story narrative" comprised of two major parts. The first part assessed the overall quality of a particularly significant time in a mothers' life which impacted on her childhood relations with peers. Specifically, mothers were asked to write a story about a particular experience from their childhood that "stood out" as characterizing their interactions with other children. Mothers were asked to include what this experience meant to them, why they think it stood out in their minds, as well as whether they viewed this experience to be important in positively or negatively influencing their future as well as current relationships. This memory was coded for overall theme (by two coders to establish inter-rater agreement): (1) positive, involving warm and happy memories of a close friendship or acceptance by a group of peers; (2) negative, involving rejecting or being rejected by another child, or being involved in some conflict with peers; or (3) anxious/lonely, in which feelings of loneliness, isolation, anxiety and/or discomfort in the presence of peers or a general sense of not belonging was expressed.

Inter-rater agreement for the theme of this “specific memory” was 97.5% (the first rater was myself, the second, a PhD graduate student in Psychology). Positive memories numbered 66 (32.5%); negative memories numbered 27 (13.3%)(of these 16, or 59.2% involved a memory of being rejected; 6, or 22.2% involved being involved in a conflict; 5, or 18.5% involved rejecting a peer); and, anxious/lonely memories numbered 18 (8.9%). Twelve recollections (5.9%) were deemed “not codeable” (five stories had elements of two or more characteristics; seven stories pertained to a teenage or young adulthood memory. Raters differed in their assessments of two stories (2.5%), and a relatively large number of mothers did not provide a story ($n=78$; 38.4%).

Using this methodology, Putallaz, et al. (1991) were similarly able to successfully code the majority of mothers’ stories (53 out of 57 stories; approximately 93%). However, “non-codeable” stories in the study undertaken by Putallaz, et al. included mothers who did not provide a story, indicating a large discrepancy in mothers’ provision of stories in the current study compared to that of Putallaz, et al. This discrepancy may relate to differences in methodology pertaining to the procedure of obtaining mothers’ specific stories. For example, mothers in the current study completed the questionnaire at home, while Putallaz, et al. (1991) had mothers complete their questionnaire while children were being assessed at their play-center. It is possible that the latter procedure was more successful in obtaining mothers’ stories, as mothers were specifically given a time in which to write down their story. Differences in sample size across studies may also partially account for discrepancies in mothers’ reports of specific peer memories (for example the larger pool of mothers in the current study may also yield higher numbers of mothers who do not have, or

choose not to report a memory). It is noteworthy, however, across both studies, a similar preponderance of positive memories (Putallaz, et al., 64.9%; current study, 59.4%), negative memories (Putallaz, et al., 21.0%; current study, 24.2%), and anxious/lonely memories (Putallaz, et al., 17.5%; current study, 16.2%).

A second variable was also coded, that of how important mothers rated this experience in influencing (positively or negatively) her future and current relationships. A 5-point Likert-type scale was used to assess this latter variable (1= not at all important; 5= extremely important).

General Memories. In contrast to mothers' recall of a specific peer memory, the second part of the questionnaire assessed mothers' general memories of childhood peer relations. Memories were coded for sociability; aggression or conflict; and loneliness and social dissatisfaction by combining scores on these dimensions from slightly modified versions to reflect mothers' perceptions of her peer experiences, on three instruments: (1) The Revised Class Play (Masten, et al., 1985) (Appendix E), which was developed as a measure of peer assessment of children's peer reputation along the dimensions of sociability, aggressive behaviour, and sensitivity-isolation; (2) the Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire (Asher & Wheeler, 1985) (Appendix F), which was developed as a self-report measure to assess children's distress regarding their peer relationships, and (3) the Mother-Father-Peer Scale (Peer Acceptance Subscale) (Epstein, 1983) (Appendix G), which was developed as a self-report questionnaire to measure adult's recollections of acceptance by their own mothers, fathers, and peers during childhood, the Peer Acceptance

Subscale only was employed in the current study.

Cohen (1989) similarly employed items from the Revised Class Play (Masten, et al. 1985) to determine mothers' remembered and current sociability, social withdrawal, and aggression with respect to peer relationships. However, three items which were employed by Cohen (1989), "Often left out," "Is very shy," and "Is usually sad" were omitted, as they were thought to be addressed from similar items on the "Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire" (Asher, et al. 1984).

To assess mothers' loneliness and social dissatisfaction, 15 items from the 24-item Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire (Asher, et al. 1984; Asher & Wheeler, 1985; Cassidy & Asher, 1992) (Appendix F) were used in a slightly modified version to assess mothers' feelings along this dimension in relation to their childhood peer experiences. This questionnaire was developed to assess children's feelings of distress regarding their peer relationships. These items focus on feelings of loneliness and social dissatisfaction in school (the other items on the questionnaire are filler-items), and include four different kinds of items; (1) children's feelings of loneliness (e.g. "I'm lonely at school"); (2) children's appraisal of their current relationships (e.g. "I don't have any friends in class"), (3) children's perceptions of the degree to which important relationship needs are being met (e.g. "there's no other kids I can go to when I need help at school", and (4) children's perceptions of their social competence (e.g., "I'm good at working with other children in my class"). Mothers' responses to items were coded on a 5-point rating scale, indicating the degree to which each statement was true of themselves with greater

scores indicating greater loneliness and social dissatisfaction. This questionnaire has been used in several studies with elementary school-age children and has proved to have excellent internal consistency ($\alpha = .90$; see Asher, et al., 1990); all items are reported to load on one principal factor reflective of loneliness and social dissatisfaction.

The Peer Acceptance subscale from the Mother-Father-Peer Scale (Epstein, 1983) (Appendix G) is comprised of ten items. This instrument as well as its subscales are reported to have acceptable test-retest reliability (between .88 and .93) and reasonable external validity (for example, significant correlations were found between this scale and instruments assessing temperament, ego strength, and self-esteem (Epstein, 1983). Cohen (1989) also used this scale to determine mothers' remembered and present sociability.

Cohen (1989) combined scores from the Revised Class Play (Masten, et al. 1985) and the Peer Acceptance Scale (Epstein, 1983) to derive mothers' ratings of sociable, aggressive, and socially withdrawn peer memories. This investigation similarly combined scores from these measures, but also included mothers' responses to the Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire (Cassidy & Asher, 1992) to further determine lonely memories of peer relations. Specifically, the "general memory" variables were entered into a correlation analysis in an effort to reduce the number of variables measuring reflective constructs and the consequent redundancy. Results indicated that scores derived from items of the "Peer Acceptance Subscale," (Epstein, 1983), and scores derived from items reflective of "sociability" on the "Revised Class Play," (Masten, et al., 1985), were positively and significantly correlated ($r = .664$; $p < .01$), and that

scores derived from items of the "Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire," (Asher & Wheeler, 1985), and scores derived from items reflective of "social-sensitivity-isolation," on the "Revised Class Play," (Masten, et al., 1985), were also positively and significantly correlated ($r = .618$; $p < .01$). Consequently, these scores were summed to provide one overall measure of mothers' memories of "peer acceptance/sociability," and one overall measure of mothers' memories of "loneliness/social withdrawal." Mothers' "aggressive" memory scores, derived from the "Revised Class Play," were not correlated with "sociability," or "social-sensitivity-isolation" on the same measure, nor were they correlated with mothers' "peer acceptance" score (Peer Acceptance Subscale; Epstein, 1983), or loneliness and social dissatisfaction score (Asher & Wheeler, 1985). Consequently, mothers' tendency to remember "aggressive" or conflictual peer relationships was solely derived from indicated items on the "Revised Class Play," (Masten, et al., 1985).

Social Goals

Mothers' beliefs regarding the importance of preschool children's relations was assessed from responses to the "Social Goals Inventory" (Appendix H) which is comprised of questions devised to tap mothers' ratings of the importance of children's social skills from Rubin, et al. (1989) and developed by Mize, Pettit & Brown (1995) (items 1-6); scores were summed to derive a measure of then importance mothers placed on children's attainment of social skills. Two questions

pertaining to how important mothers feel it is for their child to have playmates, were also included (items 7-9) and summed to obtain a score of “mothers’ importance of children’s playmates”. These questions were made up by the researcher to specifically address this question.

Mothers’ Perception of Children’s Social Competence

Mothers’ perception of children’s behaviour along the dimensions of anxious-withdrawn behaviour, and aggressive-hyperactive behaviour were determined from their responses to The Preschool Behaviour Questionnaire (Behar & Stringfield, 1974) (Appendix I). This measure has often been used as an assessment of behaviour, but it is an assessment of behaviour that reflects parents’ observations as well as their perceptions of children’s behaviour. In the current study this measure was used as a measure of parents’ perceptions of children’s behaviour. This questionnaire is relatively short (31 items) and has demonstrated criterion validity and high interrater (.79) and test-retest reliabilities (mean = .87). Although Behar and Stringfield (1974), in their original study, proposed a three-component solution for their data (i.e. hostile-aggressive, anxious-fearful, hyperactive-distractible), support for a two-component solution (i.e. aggressive-hyperactive, anxious-withdraw) has been gained (Fowler & Park, 1979; Tremblay, Desmarais-Gervais, Gagnon, & Charlebois, 1987). These researchers contend that a two-component solution is a better approximation to the structure of the questionnaire, and more easily interpretable. Stability across gender (Fowler & Park, 1979; Tremblay, et al. 1987) has been reported, as well

as for socioeconomic status, age, and culture (Tremblay, et al. 1987). While the normative data available are for teacher reports, the scale has also been employed to assess parental ratings of child behaviour (Campbell & Breaux, 1983).

Mothers' perception of children's peer acceptance were assessed from their responses to the parent version of Harter's Rating Scale of Child's Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance designed for preschool and kindergarten (Harter & Pike, 1984) (Appendix J). This instrument contains four separate subscales - cognitive competence, physical competence, peer acceptance, and maternal acceptance. Each subscale contains 6 items, and is reported to have high internal consistency (.85 - .89). The peer acceptance subscale is comprised of maternal as well as the child's perceptions of peer acceptance. The maternal peer acceptance subscale was used in this investigation. The maternal peer acceptance subscale reports internal consistency to be .83, and is reported to be significantly correlated with children's self-reported mood as well as energy and interest for age-appropriate activities (Harter & Pike, 1984). A general peer acceptance score was determined from mothers' responses to the six items comprising the peer acceptance scale and scored from 1 (=really true) to 4 (= not very true), with lower scores indicating greater peer acceptance. This scale has been recently used by Putallaz, et al. (1991) to similarly assess parents' perception of children's social competence.

Parenting Style

Mothers' child-rearing behaviours were assessed from mother responses to the "Parenting Practices Questionnaire" developed by Robinson, Mandleco, Frost-Olsen & Hart (1995) (Appendix K), from Block's Child-Rearing Practices Report (Block, 1965) and 43 new items based on conceptualisations of authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting typologies drawn from the current literature. This instrument is comprised of 62 items and distinguishes between a number of parenting behaviours in the three identified domains of authoritarian (20 items), authoritative (27 items), and permissive (15 items) (see Baumrind, 1971; 1989; 1991). This measure reports adequate internal consistency (α = authoritarian, .86; authoritative, .91; permissive, .75) and reliability (Robinson, et al. 1995). A score for each of the parenting dimensions was obtained from mothers; a score for authoritative parenting behaviours; for authoritarian parenting behaviours, and for permissive parenting behaviours. Mothers rated their responses to each item on a 5-point base rating (1-Never, to 5= Always).

Parental Involvement in Children's Peer Relations

To assess mothers' involvement in children's peer relations, mothers were asked to complete the "Parental Involvement Checklist," (Appendix L) developed by Cohen (1989) which is comprised of 27 items reflecting mothers' level of involvement in the child's peer relations over

the period of one month. The theoretical base of this scale is derived from results of Rubin & Sloman (1984) where interviews with mothers of preschoolers delineated specific domains of involvement, and the ecological validity of the domains of involvement, and items inherent, was supported by Cohen (1989) through interviews with a pilot group of mothers. Cohen (1989) suggests that a month represents an appropriate time frame, as interview data suggested some items to be low frequency events which mothers only engage in once or twice a month. Response options include 1 "never", 2 "less than once a month", 3 "about once a month", 4 "about once every two weeks", 5 "about once a week", and 6 "several times a week".

Scores were obtained for mothers' involvement in the domains of orchestrating (4 items), providing advice and support (5 items), monitoring (8 items), as well as that of high concern or involvement (10 items). These identified domains are reported to have respectable internal consistency, in that they identify unique aspects of parents' involvement activities. (orchestrating, $\alpha = .71$; advice and support, $\alpha = .87$; monitoring, $\alpha = .61$; high-concern, involvement, $\alpha = .80$). However, the subscales are also reported to be moderately correlated (ranging from .32 to .55) indicating that the involvement activities included in these subscales reflect a general underlying involvement dimension.

When items were subjected to a factor analysis procedure in the current investigation, results yielded two identifiable factors for mothers of preschooler's. Items loading on factor one appeared to incorporate parenting behaviours reflective of indirect orchestration or monitoring; i.e. management behaviours which reflected mothers' inclusion of children in the planning of peer

activities (e.g. “encouraged child to invite a child over to play”), behaviours which reflected mothers’ monitoring of children’s peer interactions from a distance (e.g. “kept an eye on how things were going when your child had a friend over to play,”), behaviours which reflected a degree of control, as well as the importance mothers’ placed, on providing peer-play opportunities for children (e.g. “drove your child to his/her friend’s house”; “encouraged child to invite a friend over for lunch or dinner;” “discouraged child from playing or spending time with a friend you don’t like”), as well as mothers’ tendency to keep informed of children’s social interactions with peers (e.g. “talked to another parent about how child gets along with other children at school”). Thus, these items were deemed termed “indirect orchestration/monitoring”.

Items loading on factor two, appeared to incorporate behaviours reflective of a more controlling or directive approach to children’s peer relationships, and may also be reflective of behaviours mothers choose when they perceive children as having social difficulties. For example, instead of “encouraging” children to invite a friend over to play, items in this second management factor reflected mothers’ initiation of peer activities for children and did not appear to include the child in the planning process (e.g. “invited children in the neighbourhood to play with child”, “made arrangements with another parent for children to play”). The remaining items were reflective of mothers’ provision of social advice to children (e.g. “talked to child about a problem with another child/children”, “given child advice about how to initiate a friendship”). Thus, items loading on this factor were termed “direct orchestration/advice-giving.” (see Appendix M: Descriptive Information: Parental Involvement Checklist; Appendix N:

Frequency Table: Parental Involvement Checklist; and Appendix O: 2 Factor Solution: Parental Involvement Checklist, for further information on this analysis). This two-factor solution was used in subsequent analyses for the study.

The “Peer Activities Checklist” (Appendix P) assessed children’s participation in structured peer activities such as team or individual sports (e.g. soccer, ballet, etc.), or clubs or activities (e.g. Sunday School, Beavers, etc.), as well as children’s participation in unstructured peer activities (frequency of play with friends). Responses were recorded and scored from 1 (= Never) to 6 (= several times), to yield summed scores reflective of (1) children’s participation in structured peer activities, and (2) children’s participation in unstructured peer activities.

Maternal Depression

The next part of “The Parent Questionnaire” assessed mothers’ symptoms of depression. The CES-D (Centre for Epidemiological Studies – Depression Scale; Radloff, 1977) (Appendix Q) was chosen over other inventories because it includes items less suggestive of severe depression, and therefore allows assessment of mild to moderate levels of depression. The scale is comprised of 20 items, and is designed as a self-report inventory to assess depressive symptomatology within a normal population. Split-half and Spearman-Brown reliability coefficients range from .77 to .92, indicating good internal consistency; test-retest correlations up to 8 weeks are moderate (.57; Radloff, 1977). The CES-D also correlates significantly with

other depression and mood scales (Craig & Van Natta, 1976) and displays high discriminant validity (Radloff, 1977). Possible scores range from 0 to 60, and a score of 16 indicates clinical depression.

Maternal Education Level

The last part of the “Parent Questionnaire” determined mothers’ level of education. Maternal education level was scored 1-5 along the following classification (see Education Checklist – Appendix R): “partial high-school” (1); “high school” (2); “college” (3); “university” (4); “advanced degree” (5). This scoring methodology has been commonly used in similar research, and is reported to be highly correlated with occupational status (Mills & Rubin, 1990), and consequently socioeconomic status.

Children’s Social Competence

Children’s social competence was multi-determined (see Teacher Questionnaire; Appendix S).

The first part of the Teacher Questionnaire comprised of the Preschool Play Behaviour Scale (Coplan & Rubin, in press), which is a measure of children’s play behaviour obtained through teachers’ ratings of social (6 items), reticent (4 items), and rough-and-tumble (2 items) play

behaviours. This measure reports acceptable construct validity (teacher ratings of children's free-play behaviours were significantly associated with observed indices of the respective behaviours (social play, solitary-passive play, solitary-active play, reticent play, rough and tumble play) at $p < .05$ (one-tailed), adequate interrater reliability (social play, reticent play, rough and tumble play were reported to have relatively high reliability correlations, ranging from $r = .54$ ($p < .05$) to $r = .89$ ($p < .001$), solitary-passive play was reported to have moderate to high reliability correlations, ranging from $r = .33$ ($p < .05$) to $r = .79$ ($p < .01$), and solitary-active was reported to have somewhat less reliability correlations, with a wide range of reliability correlations from $r = .10$ (n.s.) to $r = .83$ ($p < .01$). Moderate to high short-term (six month) stability was also reported for two teachers (reticent play, $r = .65$, $r = .39$; social play, $r = .65$, $r = .66$; rough and tumble play, $r = .43$, $r = .59$; solitary-passive play, $r = .49$, $r = .56$; and solitary-active play, $r = .50$ (all p 's $< .05$), $r = .17$ (n.s.). Internal consistency for the five factors was also reported (social play, $\alpha = .96$; reticent play, $\alpha = .85$; solitary-passive play, $\alpha = .79$; rough and tumble play, $\alpha = .92$; and solitary-active play, $\alpha = .76$). Gender differences were also reported for the rough and tumble play subscale, with males ($n = 173$, $M = 3.37$) rated as engaging in these behaviours more frequently than females ($n = 164$, $M = 1.82$), $t(335) = 13.03$, ($p < .001$).

The second part of the Teacher Questionnaire (item 19) assessed children's peer popularity through teachers' ratings of the frequency with which each child tended to be selected as a playmate by peers. This rating was provided by the teacher who best knew the child, and was scored from (1) seldom to 5 (very often) for a peer acceptance rating score; (the higher the score,

the higher children's peer acceptance). With young children such teacher assessments have been shown to be a more reliable predictor of socially skilful interactions than child reports of peer acceptance (Connolly & Doyle, 1981). Teacher assessments of social competence in the preschool years have also been linked concurrently and prospectively to other indices of social adjustment (Dodge & Feldman, 1990). Teacher ratings of children's peer acceptance have been used by Connolly and Doyle (1981) and more recently by Melson, Ladd & Hsu (1993), as an indicator of children's peer popularity.

Mothers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, aggressive behaviour, and anxious behaviour were (employed as measures of mothers' perceptions of children's social competence), were also used as additional measures of children's social competence (see Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Behaviour, and table 1).

Data Analyses

Descriptive information regarding mothers' ratings of peer experiences, is first provided. Following, is the "Specific Memory" analysis section, which examines potential differences between mothers who reported and who did not report, a specific memory, as well as differences between mothers for type of memory, and importance of memory (multivariate analysis) on mothers' age, education, depressive symptoms, child age and gender, mothers' importance ratings of children's social skills/importance of playmates, mothers' perceptions of children's social competence,

parenting style, involvement in children's peer relationships, and teacher ratings of children's social competence.

A section examining comparisons between mothers' and teachers' ratings of children's social competence is then included to resolve placement of variables reflecting mothers' observations/perceptions of children's social competence within the model for the testing of the pathways. Briefly, this section proposes that mothers' ratings of children's social competence should be included as additional outcome variables, and that mothers' "schema" for children's social competence may be indirectly accounted for by mothers' parenting style. Correlational analyses are then presented for variables in the model. Next, proposed associations within the model are tested (through hierarchical regression analyses), and results are displayed in tables and figures outlining significant pathways.

An alpha level of .05 was used for all statistical tests, although trends were also cautiously reported (at alpha level of .10), as research examining associations from mothers' memories to involvement in children's peer relationships, as well as to children's social competence, is relatively sparse, and it was thought cautious observations of trends may be beneficial in formulating hypotheses for future research.

Following a summary of these analyses, hypotheses concerning potential gender effects in associations from mothers' memories to select variables in the model, as well as from mothers' child-rearing behaviours to children's social competence, are then examined.

RESULTS

Descriptive Analyses

Mothers with positive memories had the highest frequency of rating their memory as very or extremely important in influencing their future relationships (51/66, or 85%); mothers with negative memories somewhat less frequently rated their memory as very or extremely important (19/27, or 74%), and mothers with anxious-lonely memories were the least frequent to rate their memory highly important (11/18, or 61%). All mothers completed ratings of general peer experiences. The mean of the summed peer acceptance/sociability score was 46.4, and the standard deviation was 8.17 (the range was 21 to 64). The mean of the summed loneliness/social withdrawal score was 38.69, and the standard deviation was 11.50 (the range was 19 to 72). The mean of the aggressive score was 4.68, and the standard deviation was 1.96 (the range was 3 to 14).

Specific Memory Analyses

Because only approximately half of mothers provided a specific peer memory it was necessary to compare mothers who provided a memory with mothers who did not on the other independent variables within the model, as well as the dependent variables. Additionally, it was important to examine differences between groups for type of memory, as well as importance of memory. Consequently, the first part of the “specific memory analyses” examines differences between: (1)

mothers with and without a memory, (2) mothers according to type of memory, and (3) mothers according to importance ratings of memory, on the maternal variables, the child variables, as well as mothers' ratings of general memories, mothers' ratings of the importance of children's social skills/playmates, mothers' perception of children's social competence, mothers' parenting style, mothers' involvement in children's peer relationships, and teachers' ratings of children's social competence.

Comparison of mothers who provided/who did not provide a specific peer memory

Multivariate (MANOVAS) and univariate analyses of variance (ANOVAS) were used to determine whether mothers who provided a story ($n=111$) differed from mothers who did not ($n=92$), on (1) maternal age, education, depression; (2) child age and gender; (3) aggressive memories, lonely/socially withdrawn memories, and peer acceptance/sociable memories; (4) the importance mothers placed on children's social skills/playmates; (5) mothers' perceptions of children's aggressive behaviour; anxious behaviour; peer acceptance; (6) authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting style, (7) indirect involvement, direct involvement, frequency of friend play, and number of structured activities; and (8) teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, and rough and tumble play.

The only significant difference which emerged in these analyses was detected on teachers' ratings of children's social competence. Specifically, the results of a MANOVA with teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, rough and tumble play as dependent variables was significant, with $F(4,198)=2.883$, $p=.024$. Tests of between-subjects effects indicated

that children of mothers with no memory were more likely to be perceived by teachers as engaging in higher levels of rough and tumble play, $F(1,201)=3.952$, $p=.048$. There was also a potential trend indicating that children of mothers with a memory were somewhat more likely to be perceived as teachers as more highly peer accepted, $F(1,201)=2.782$, $p=.097$ (see table 2 for mean values and standard deviations). No other significant effects were detected between groups on any of the other variables within the model.

Table 2

Reports of Specific Memory (Yes/No) and Teachers' Ratings of Children's Social Competence

	<u>Children's Peer Acceptance</u>			<u>Children's Social Play</u>			<u>Children's Reticent Play</u>			<u>Children's Rough & Tumble Play</u>		
<u>Yes/No</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Yes	3.90	.93	111	23.50	4.33	111	9.36	2.31	111	5.49	2.31	111
No	3.68	.90	92	23.68	4.69	92	9.73	2.68	92	*6.11	2.11	92

* $p < .05$ $p = .10$

Comparison of mothers by type of memory

MANOVAS and ANOVAS were again employed to determine whether mothers who provided a positive story ($n=66$), a negative story ($n=27$), an anxious-lonely story ($n=18$), and no story ($n=91$) differed on, (1) maternal age, education, depression, (2) child age and gender, (3) aggressive memories, lonely/socially withdrawn memories, and peer acceptance/sociable memories; (4) the importance mothers placed on children's social skills/playmates, (5) mothers' perceptions of children's aggressive behaviour, anxious behaviour, and peer acceptance, (6) authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting style, (7) indirect and direct involvement in children's peer relationships, number of structured peer activities, frequency of friend play, and (7) teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, and rough and tumble play.

A trend towards significance between mothers by type of memory was noted for maternal age. Results of a MANOVA, with maternal age, education, and depression as the dependent variables, were marginally significant, $F(9,594)=1.786$, $p=.068$. Results of tests of between-subjects effects indicated a significant difference for type of story on maternal age, $F(3,198)=3.455$, $p=.018$. Post hoc comparisons indicated that, mothers who reported anxious-lonely memories tended to be younger than mothers who reported positive memories ($p=.054$) (see table 3 for mean values and standard deviations).

Table 3

Type of Memory and Maternal Age, Education, and Depression

<u>Type of Story</u>	<u>Maternal Age</u>			<u>Education</u>			<u>Depression</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Positive	35.11	5.53	66	3.39	1.18	66	6.79	8.14	66
Negative	32.07	4.78	27	3.11	.97	27	11.78	13.20	27
Anxious/Lonely	*31.22	4.82	18	3.17	1.29	18	8.94	7.18	18
No Story	34.07	5.86	91	3.11	1.07	91	9.46	9.49	91

* $p < .05$

Note: Mothers with anxious-lonely memories were younger than mothers with positive memories.

Because a trend was noted towards significance for type of memory and maternal age, age of mother became a covariate for subsequent analyses to remove extraneous variance in type of memory associated with maternal age.

Other significant differences emerged between groups for mothers' perception of children's social competence. Results of a MANCOVA, with mothers' perception of children's aggressive behaviour, anxious behaviour, and peer acceptance as dependent variables, and maternal age as a covariate, was significant for age of mother, $F(2,197)=3.231$, $p=.042$. Specifically, older mothers were more likely to have older children.

Significant differences again emerged for type of memory on mothers' ratings of their general peer experiences. Recall that all mothers provided "general" ratings of how aggressive, how lonely/socially withdrawn, and how much they felt they were accepted by peers, in contrast to only

half of mothers who provided a specific peer memory. Results of a MANCOVA with aggressive memories, lonely/socially withdrawn memories, and peer acceptance/sociable memories as dependent variables, and maternal age as a covariate, was significant for type of memory, $F(9,597)=2.715, p=.004$. Tests of between subjects effects indicated that mothers' type of memory was associated with mothers' lonely/social withdrawal memories, $F(3,199)=5.858, p=.001$, and peer acceptance/sociable memories, $F(3,199)=7.482, p=.0001$. Post hoc tests indicated that mothers with an anxious-lonely story were more likely to report generally lonely peer memories than mothers with a specific positive story ($p=.003$) or mothers with no story ($p=.023$). Also, mothers with a positive story were more likely to report higher levels of peer acceptance/sociability than mothers with an anxious-lonely story ($p=.002$), while mothers with an anxious-lonely story were more likely to report lower levels of peer acceptance/sociability than mothers with no story. See table 4 for mean values and standard deviations.

Table 4

Type of Memory and Mothers' General Ratings of Peer Experiences

<u>Type of Story</u>	<u>Aggressive</u>			<u>Lonely</u>			<u>Sociable</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Positive	4.38	1.61	66	*35.80	10.15	66	**48.76	6.21	66
Negative	4.67	2.02	27	41.63	14.30	27	43.70	10.48	27
Anxious/Lonely	4.56	2.15	18	*47.39	11.19	18	39.78	8.24	18
No Story	4.92	2.13	92	38.20	10.70	92	46.83	7.86	92

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Note: Mothers with a positive story were more likely to consider their general peer experiences as sociable than mothers with an anxious-lonely story. Mothers with an anxious-lonely story were more likely to view their general peer experiences as lonely than mothers with a positive or no story.

Significant differences also emerged for mothers' involvement in children's peer relationships. Results of a MANCOVA with mothers' indirect involvement, direct involvement, structured activities, and frequency of friend play, as dependent variables, was significant for age of mother, $F(4,194)=3.743$, $p=.006$, but not for type of story, $F(12,588)=1.018$, $p=.431$. Tests of between-subjects effects were significant for mothers' age on direct involvement, $F(1,197)=4.319$, $p=.039$, and structured activities, $F(1,197)=6.810$, $p=.010$. Correlational analyses indicated that, younger mothers were more likely to be directly involved in children's peer relationships ($r=-.143$, $p<.05$, two-tailed), and older mothers were more likely to have children participating in structured peer activities ($r=.185$, $p<.01$, two-tailed). Tests of between-subjects effects approached significance for

type of memory on mothers' indirect involvement in children's peer relationships, $F(3,197)=2.348$, $p=.074$. Results of pairwise comparisons indicated that mothers with positive memories were more likely to be indirectly involved in children's peer relationships than mothers with negative memories ($p=.020$). (See table 5 for mean values, and standard deviations.) Mothers with positive memories were the most indirectly involved, followed by mothers with no memory, mothers with an anxious memory, and mothers with a negative memory.

Table 5

Type of Memory and Mothers' Involvement in Children's Peer Relationships

<u>Type of Story</u>	<u>Indirect</u>			<u>Direct</u>			<u>Frequency of Friend Play</u>			<u>Structured Activities</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>N</u>
Positive	*.1392	.99	66	-.1019	.97	66	4.83	2.02	66	1.41	1.41	66
Negative	-.4105	.73	27	-.1542	.99	27	4.07	1.71	27	1.52	1.34	27
Anxious /Lonely	-.2536	1.11	18	5.848E-02	.88	18	4.28	1.96	18	1.06	1.55	18
No Story	7.098E-02	.92	91	.1081	.91	91	4.81	2.06	91	1.40	1.37	91

* $p < .05$

Note: Mothers with positive memories were more indirectly involved than mothers with negative memories.

Potential differences between mothers for type of memory also emerged on teachers' ratings of children's social competence. Results of a MANCOVA with teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, and rough and tumble play, indicated a near-significant multivariate effect for type of memory, $F(12,591)=1.688$, $p=.065$. Results of tests of between subjects effects indicated a trend for type of memory to be associated with teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, $F(3,198)=2.550$, $p=.057$. Examination of pairwise comparisons indicated that mothers with a specific memory of an anxious-lonely peer experience were the most likely to have children who received higher ratings of peer acceptance by their teachers (see table 6 for means and standard deviations). Specifically, these mothers were more likely to have popular children than mothers with no specific memory ($p=.014$), and mothers with positive memories ($p=.043$). Also, mothers with negative memories were more likely to have popular children than mothers with no specific memory ($p=.034$).

Table 6

Type of Memory and Children's Social Competence

<u>Type of Story</u>	<u>Children's Peer Acceptance</u>			<u>Children's Social Play</u>			<u>Children's Reticent Play</u>			<u>Children's Rough & Tumble Play</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Positive	3.77	.99	66	23.24	4.23	66	9.38	2.40	66	5.44	2.43	66
Aggressive	*4.04	.81	27	23.22	4.83	27	9.81	2.18	27	5.41	2.06	27
Anxious/Lonely	**4.17	.86	18	24.89	3.85	18	8.61	2.09	18	5.78	2.29	18
No Story	3.68	.90	92	23.68	4.69	92	9.74	2.68	92	6.11	2.11	92

** $p < .02$ * $p < .05$

Note: Mothers with anxious-lonely memories had more popular children than mothers with no specific memory, or mothers with positive memories.

Importance of Memory

A one-way ANOVA, with importance of memory as the dependent variable, was employed to explore for differences between groups according to type of memory. Results were not significant, $F(2,108) = .057$, $p < .945$. Correlational analyses examined whether mothers' ratings of the importance of their memory could be associated with (1) maternal age, education, depression; (2) child age; (3) aggressive memories, lonely/socially withdrawn memories, and peer

acceptance/sociable memories; (4) the importance mothers placed on children's social skills/playmates; (5) mothers' perceptions of children's aggressive behaviour, anxious behaviour, peer acceptance; (6) mothers' authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting style; (7) mothers' indirect involvement in children's peer relationships, mothers' direct involvement in children's peer relationships, number of structured peer activities, and frequency of friend play; and, (8) teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, and rough and tumble play. No significant associations were detected.

To test whether mothers rated their memory with differing importance according to whether their child was a girl or a boy, the mean difference for importance ratings for child gender was calculated, and subjected to a t-test. Results were again not significant (girls, importance mean = 3.72; boys, importance mean = 3.83).

Summary of Results: Specific Memory Analyses

Results of the multivariate and univariate analyses of variance comparing report of mothers' peer memory, type of mothers' memory, and importance of mothers' memory, indicated that having a memory was associated with children's social competence. Particularly, children of mothers who reported a specific peer memory were less likely to engage in rough and tumble play, according to their teachers. A trend was also noted, with children of mothers with a specific peer memory, to receive higher ratings of peer acceptance by their teachers. When groups of mothers were examined for differences according to type of memory (positive, negative, anxious-lonely, and no memory), a marginally significant difference was found for maternal age (younger mothers were more likely

to report anxious-lonely memories), and as such, maternal age was used as a covariate in further analyses examining differences for type of memory. Results indicated that maternal age was associated with age of child (older mothers tended to have older children), as well as involvement in children's peer relationships (older mothers tended to be more directly involved in children's peer relationships, and also tended to have children who participated in a higher number of structured activities). Positive associations between type of memory and mothers' general ratings of peer experiences were also noted for anxious-lonely memories and positive memories. Specifically, mothers who provided an anxious-lonely peer memory from their childhood, were also more likely to rate their overall peer experiences as less sociable, and more lonely. Conversely, mothers who provided a positive peer memory, were similarly more likely to rate their overall peer experiences as more sociable (i.e. well accepted by peers) and less lonely. A trend was noted for type of memory and mothers' involvement in children's peer relationships. Specifically, mothers with positive memories were more likely to be indirectly involved in children's peer relationships than mothers with negative memories. A trend was also noted for children of mothers with anxious memories, followed by mothers with negative (aggressive) memories to be more popular according to their teachers than children of mothers with positive or no specific memory.

The next step in the data analyses was to test proposed hypotheses relating to mothers' general memories of peer acceptance. However, before embarking on this procedure, correlational analyses were used to determine whether mothers' general memories of peer experiences were related to (1) maternal age, education, depression, (2) child age and gender, (3) mothers' ratings of the importance of children's social skills/playmates, (4) mothers' perception of children's aggressive behaviour, anxious behaviour, and peer acceptance, (5) mothers' authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive

parenting style, (6) mothers' indirect involvement in children's peer relationships, mothers' direct involvement in children's peer relationships, number of structured peer activities, and frequency of friend play, and (7) teacher ratings of children's peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, and rough and tumble play.

Correlations Among Model Variables

A series of correlational analyses (bivariate, Pearson, two-tailed, $\alpha = .05$) were undertaken to examine the magnitude of correlations amongst the independent variables, and thus detect possible multicollinearity (in which some or all of the independent variables are very highly intercorrelated) among the predictors, as well as to indicate the degree to which variation in select model variables could be related to variation in other select model variables (see table 7).

Table 7
Correlations Among Model Variables

		Memories of Peer Accept.	Memories of Loneliness	Aggressive Memories	Importance of Social Skills	Importance of Playmates
Pearson Correlation	Memories of Peer Acceptance	1.000	**-.904	-.023	.034	.000
	Memories of Loneliness	**-.904	1.000	.007	1.000	**-.405
	Aggressive Memories	-.023	.007	1.000	.007	-.027
	Importance of Social Skills	.034	.025	.007	1.000	**-.405
	Importance of Playmates	.000	.029	-.027	**-.405	1.000
	Perception of Peer Acceptance	*.161	-.128	-.072	.011	.072
	Anxious-Fearful	**-.198	**-.196	.034	-.051	-.075
	Aggressive-Hyperactive	-.088	.082	**-.232	-.057	-.005
	Parent Style Authoritative	.077	-.084	*.152	**-.188	.015
	Parent Style Authoritarian	-.046	.035	**-.231	.038	.055
	Parental Style Permissive	-.074	.102	**-.227	.068	**-.185
	Indirect Involvement	-.002	.002	-.051	-.060	.093
	Direct Involvement	-.132	**-.181	-.076	*.147	.065
	# of Structured Activities	.041	-.028	-.087	.047	.049
	Frequency of Friend Play	.051	-.025	-.022	-.107	.014
	Maternal Age	*.147	-.106	**-.326	-.012	-.017
	Maternal Education Level	*.163	**-.202	**-.184	-.122	.044
	Maternal Depression	**-.279	**-.299	.110	-.047	.051
	Age of Child	-.058	.097	*.166	.064	-.039

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

		Perception of Peer Acceptance	Anxious-Fearful	Aggressive-Hyperactive	Parenting Style Authoritative
Pearson Co- relation	Memories of Peer Acceptance	*.161	**-.198	-.088	.077
	Memories of Loneliness	-.128	**-.196	.082	-.084
	Aggressive Memories	-.072	.034	**-.232	*-.152
	Importance of Social Skills	.011	-.051	-.057	**-.188
	Importance of Playmates	.072	-.075	-.005	.015
	Mothers' Perception of Peer Acceptance	1.000	**-.187	-.130	.092
	Anxious-Fearful	**-.187	1.000	**-.287	*-.147
	Aggressive-Hyperactive	-.130	**-.287	1.000	**-.190
	Parental Style Authoritative	.092	*-.147	**-.190	1.000
	Parental Style Authoritarian	-.120	**-.195	**-.331	**-.355
	Parental Style Permissive	-.032	*.146	**-.272	**-.245
	Indirect Involvement	**-.319	.085	.025	-.018
	Direct Involvement	-.010	**-.218	**-.247	.011
	Number of Structured Activities	*.155	-.022	.012	-.054
	Frequency of Friend Play	**-.388	.047	.028	-.106
	Maternal Age	.061	**-.186	**-.271	.069
	Maternal Education Level	.051	*-.150	-.130	.027
	Maternal Depression	-.015	.119	*.139	**-.322
	Age of Child	*.173	.089	-.099	-.001

		Parent Style Authoritarian	Parent Style Permissive	Indirect Involvement	Direct Involvement	# of Structured Activities	Freq. of Friend Play
Pearson Co- relation	Memories of Peer Acceptance	-.046	-.074	-.002	-.132	.041	.051
	Memories of Loneliness	.035	.102	.002	** .181	-.028	-.025
	Aggressive Memories	** .231	** .227	-.051	-.076	-.087	-.022
	Importance of Social Skills	.038	.068	-.060	* .147	.047	-.107
	Importance of Playmates	.055	** .185	.093	.065	.049	.014
	Perception of Peer Acceptance	-.120	-.032	** .319	-.010	* .155	** .388
	Anxious-Fearful	** .195	* .146	.085	** .218	-.022	.047
	Aggressive- Hyperactive	** .331	** .272	.025	** .247	.012	.028
	Parental Style Authoritative	** .355	** -.245	-.018	.011	-.054	-.106
	Parental Style Authoritarian	1.000	** .240	.048	* .142	.028	.095
	Parental Style Permissive	** .240	1.000	-.022	.077	-.049	-.006
	Indirect Involvement	.048	-.022	1.000	** .444	** .268	** .696
	Direct Involvement	* .142	.077	** .444	1.000	.094	** .266
	# if Structured Activities	.028	-.049	** .268	.094	1.000	** .205
	Freq. of Friend Play	.095	-.006	** .696	** .266	** .205	1.000
	Maternal Age	-.100	-.121	.104	* -.143	** .185	.062
	Maternal Education Level	-.084	-.076	.062	* -.145	.122	-.032
	Maternal Depression	** .190	** .246	* .145	** .255	-.001	.105
	Age of Child	.062	-.004	.117	* .142	** .300	.061

		Maternal Age	Maternal Education Level	Maternal Depression	Age of Child
Pearson Correlation	Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance	*.147	*.163	**-.279	-.058
	Mothers' Memories of Loneliness	-.106	**-.202	**-.299	.097
	Mothers' Aggressive Memories	**-.326	**-.184	.110	*-.166
	Importance of Social Skills	-.012	-.122	-.047	.064
	Importance of Playmates	-.017	.044	.051	-.039
	Mothers' Perception of Peer Acceptance	.061	.051	-.015	*.173
	Anxious-Fearful	**-.186	*-.150	.119	.089
	Aggressive-Hyperactive	**-.271	-.130	*.139	-.099
	Parental Style Authoritative	.069	.027	**-.322	-.001
	Parental Style Authoritarian	-.100	-.084	**-.190	.062
	Parental Style Permissive	-.121	-.076	**-.246	-.004
	Indirect Involvement	.104	.062	*.145	.117
	Direct Involvement	*.143	*-.145	**-.255	*.142
	Number of Structured Activities	**-.185	.122	-.001	**-.300
	Frequency of Friend Play	.062	-.032	.105	.061
	Maternal Age	1.000	**-.334	**-.238	**-.181
	Maternal Education Level	**-.334	1.000	-.133	-.095
	Maternal Depression	**-.238	-.133	1.000	.075
	Age of Child	**-.181	-.095	.075	1.000

Summary

In summary, a number of correlations within sets of variables as well as between sets of variables were evident. In order to reduce redundancy among sets of variables, it was decided to remove select variables from blocks. For example, frequency of friend-play was positively and significantly associated with both indirect and direct involvement, and structured activities were associated with indirect involvement. Consequently, both variables were removed. Likewise, mothers' permissive parenting was positively and significantly associated with mothers' authoritarian parenting, and was therefore also removed. To address the question of whether multicollinearity would be a problem for the regression analyses, correlations among the variables were examined. It was determined that all correlations were relatively small in magnitude (.002 to -.322), and well below the critical range specified for extremely collinearity (.8 to 1.0 range).

Of particular importance to the regression analyses was the question of whether mothers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, anxious, and aggressive behaviour, were appropriately placed as mediator variables within the model, due to the positive and significant correlations with teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, social play, and rough play (which served as outcome variables). To determine whether a systematic relationship existed between mothers' and teachers' perceptions of children's peer acceptance, and mothers' and teachers' perceptions of aggressive behaviour/rough and tumble play, chi-square analyses were undertaken. Of particular importance in this analysis, was whether mothers' perceptions of children's social competence in these domains differed from teachers' with respect to mothers' memories of general peer experiences. The next section therefore examines these associations.

Comparison of Mothers' and Teachers' Ratings of Children's Social Competence

Mothers' ratings of children's aggressive-hyperactive behaviour were positively and significantly correlated with teachers' ratings of children's rough and tumble play ($p < .01$). Mothers' ratings of children's anxious-fearful behaviour were not correlated with any of the teacher ratings of children's social competence. Mothers' perception of children's peer acceptance was, however, positively and significantly related to children's sociometric status ($p < .01$), children's social play ($p < .01$), and negatively and significantly related to children's non-social play ($p < .01$). Because children's temperament and "real" behaviour, was likely independently influencing both mothers' as well as teachers' ratings of children's social competence along these dimensions, it was decided to compare mothers who agreed with their children's teachers regarding children's peer acceptance and behaviour (i.e. "correct" perceivers) with those mothers who disagreed with their children's teachers along these dimensions (i.e. "incorrect" perceivers). Three separate chi-square analyses were run to (1) compare mothers' perceptions of children's aggressive-hyperactive behaviour with teachers' ratings of children's rough and tumble play; (2) to compare mothers' perceptions of children's anxious-fearful behaviour with teachers' ratings of reticent play (reticent play was chosen over the more general measure of non-social play, as a more salient measure of play resembling shy and anxious behaviour); and (3) to compare mothers' perceptions of children's peer acceptance with teachers' ratings of children's sociometric status. Mothers' and teachers' ratings for each of the variables were grouped into high (one standard deviation above the mean), average, and low (one standard deviation below the mean). These will be considered separately.

Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Aggressive-Hyperactive Behaviour and Teachers' Ratings of Children's Rough and Tumble Play

Because the mean for mothers' perceptions of children's aggressive-hyperactive behaviour was 6.75, and the standard deviation 3.80, mothers who rated their child at or higher than 11 were included in the "high" group ($n=28$). Likewise, mothers who rated their child at or lower than 3, were included in the "low" group ($n=47$) and mothers who rated their child at and between 4 – 10 were included in the average group ($n=128$). Likewise, the mean for teachers' ratings of rough and tumble play was 5.77, and the standard deviation was 2.24. Therefore, teachers who rated children at or above 8 were considered "high" ($n=43$), teachers who rated children at or below 3 were considered low ($n=30$), and teachers who rated children at and between 4 to 7 were considered "average" ($n=130$).

A chi-square analysis was then run to examine whether mothers and teachers differed on their perceptions of children's aggressive-hyperactive/rough and tumble play behaviour. The chi-square analysis was significant: $\chi^2(4)=13.148, p<.011$, indicating that mothers and teachers differed on their ratings of children's behaviour in this domain. It was therefore decided to compare mothers who "agreed" with teachers ($n=104$), or alternatively, "correct" perceivers of children's behaviour, with mothers who gave higher ("incorrect"-high perceivers) ($n=36$) or lower ("incorrect-low") ($n=63$) ratings than teachers on select variables within the model. This variable was coded (1=same; 2=mother higher than teacher; and 3=mother lower than teacher) and termed mothers/teachers comparison of aggressive-rough behaviour.

Differences between these groups were first examined on the demographic variables of maternal age, maternal depression and maternal education in a MANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of aggressive-rough behaviour (3 levels) as the independent variable, and maternal age, education and maternal depression as dependent variables. Results indicated no significant multivariate effect for groups $F(6,396)=1.516$, $p=.171$.

Differences between these groups on age of child and gender of child was then examined. Results of a MANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of aggressive-rough behaviour as the independent variable (3 levels), and age of child and gender of child as the dependent variables was significant, $F(4,400)=2.724$, $p=.029$. Examination of between subject effects indicated a significant univariate effect for gender of child, $F(2,200)=3.746$, $p=.025$. Post hoc comparisons (Bonferonni) revealed a significant difference between mothers who viewed their children more aggressive/rough than teachers and mothers who viewed their children less aggressive/rough than teachers ($p<.021$). Specifically, mothers who view children as *more* aggressive-rough than teachers were more likely to do so for girls (25.6%) than boys (12.0%), and mothers who viewed children as *less* aggressive than teachers were more likely to do so for boys (35.9%) than girls (24.4%). Gender of child therefore served as a covariate in subsequent analyses. See Table 8 for mean values and standard deviations.

Table 8

Comparison of Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Aggressive Behaviour (in Accordance with Teachers' Ratings of Rough Play) and Children's Age and Gender

Perceptions	<u>Child Age</u>			<u>Child Gender</u>			
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>Boys</u>		<u>Girls</u>	
Mother-teacher agree	3.97	.78	104	61	(52.14%)	43	(50.0%)
Mother more than teacher	3.80	.82	36	14	(12.0%)	22	*(25.6%)
Mother less than teacher	4.14	.80	63	42	(35.9%)	21	(24.4%)

* $p < .05$

Note: Mothers who perceived children as more aggressive/rough than teachers were more likely to do so for girls, than mothers who perceived children as less aggressive/rough.

Next, differences between these groups in mothers' memories of childhood peer experiences was examined in a MANCOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of aggressive-rough behaviour as the independent variable (3 levels), and mothers' memories of aggressive peer relations, lonely/socially withdrawn peer relations, and peer acceptance/sociability peer relations as the dependent variables. Results were not significant, $F(6,396)=.280$, $p=.946$.

Mothers' ratings of the importance of peer sociability was next examined for mothers who perceived children's aggressive/rough behaviour the same as teachers; mothers who perceived this behaviour to be higher than teachers; and mothers who perceived this behaviour to be lower than teachers, in a one-way ANCOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of aggressive-rough behaviour as the independent variable (3 levels), gender of child as a covariate, and mothers' importance of

children's social skills as the dependent variable. Results indicated a trend for mothers' perception of child's aggressive-rough behaviour, $F(2,199)= 2.638$, $p=.074$). Post hoc tests (Bonferonni) indicated that mothers who perceived their child as more aggressive/rough than teachers tended to be less likely to view children's social skills as important than mothers who viewed children as less aggressive/rough than teachers ($p<.060$) (see table 9).

Table 9

Comparison of Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Aggressive Behaviour (in Accordance with Teachers' Ratings of Rough Play) and Mothers' Importance Ratings of Children's Social Skills

<u>Perceptions</u>	<u>Importance of Social Skills</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Mother-teacher agree	22.20	3.03	104
Mother more than teacher	21.31	3.46	36
Mother less than teacher	22.76	2.54	63

$p<.06$

Note: Mothers who perceived children as more aggressive/rough were less likely to value children's social skills than mothers who perceived children as less aggressive/rough.

Differences between groups of mothers were further examined for differences in parenting style. Results of a MANCOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of aggressive-rough behaviour as the independent variable (3 levels), and mothers' authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting

style as the dependent variables were significant, $F(6,396)=4.101$, $p=.001$. Examination of between subject effects indicated a significant univariate effect for mothers' authoritative parenting style, $F(2,199)=8.594$, $p<.0001$, and permissive parenting style, $F(2,199)=5.729$, $p=.004$. Post hoc comparisons (Bonferonni) indicated that mothers who perceived children as more aggressive-hyperactive/rough than teachers were significantly less authoritative than mothers who agreed with teachers ($p<.001$) as well as mothers who perceived children to be less aggressive-rough than teachers ($p<.0001$). Also, mothers who perceived their child as more aggressive-rough than teachers were also more likely to report permissive parenting behaviours than mothers who agreed with teachers ($p<.005$). See Table 10 for mean values and standard deviations.

Table 10

Comparison of Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Aggressive Behaviour (in Accordance with Teachers' Ratings of Rough Play) and Mothers' Parenting Style

<u>Perceptions</u>	<u>Authoritative</u>			<u>Authoritarian</u>			<u>Permissive</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Mother-teacher agree	97.72	6.07	104	34.26	5.42	104	27.99	4.06	104
Mother more than teacher	***93.14	8.30	36	35.22	7.06	36	**30.92	5.41	36
Mother less than teacher	98.54	6.01	63	33.52	7.10	63	28.87	5.27	63

*** $p<.001$

** $p<.01$

Note: Mothers who perceived children as more aggressive/rough were less likely to practice authoritative parenting than mothers who perceived children similarly to teachers or mothers who perceived children as less aggressive.

Differences between mothers for their involvement in children's peer relations were then examined. Results of a MANCOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of aggressive-rough behaviour as the independent variable (3 levels), and mothers' indirect orchestration/monitoring; mothers' direct orchestration/advice, frequency of friend play, and number of structured activities as the dependent variables, indicated no differences between groups of mothers, $F(8,392)=1.291$, $p=.246$.

Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Anxious-Fearful Behaviour and Teachers' Ratings of Reticent Play

The mean for mothers' perceptions of children's anxious-fearful behaviour was 3.29, and the standard deviation was 1.91. Mothers who rated their child 6 or higher for anxious-fearful behaviour were considered "high" ($n=28$), mothers who rated their child 1 or lower on anxious-fearful behaviour were considered "low" ($n=39$) and mothers who rated their child at and between 2 and 5 were considered "average" ($n=136$). Likewise, the mean for teachers' ratings of reticent play was 9.52 and the standard deviation was 2.49. Therefore, teachers who rated children at or above 12, were considered "high" ($n=35$), teachers who rated children 7 or below were considered "low" ($n=38$), and teachers who rated children at and between 8 – 11 were considered "average" ($n=130$).

To examine whether mothers and teachers differed on their perceptions of children's anxious-fearful/reticent play behaviour, a chi-square analysis was employed. The results were not significant ($\chi^2(4,199) = 3.962$, $p<.411$), indicating that mothers and teachers were fairly similar in their assessments. Consequently, no further analyses were undertaken.

Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Peer Acceptance and Teachers' Ratings of Peer Popularity

Because the mean for mothers' perception of children's peer acceptance was 15.57, and the standard deviation was 3.45, mothers who rated their child at 19 or higher were considered "high" ($n=35$), mothers who rated their child 12 or lower were considered "low" ($n=24$), and mothers who rated their children at and between 3 to 11 were considered "average" ($n=144$). Likewise, the mean for teachers' ratings of children's sociometric status was 3.8, and the standard deviation was .92. Therefore, children rated 5 by teachers were considered "high" ($n=49$), children rated 3 or below by teachers were considered "low" ($n=24$), and children rated at 4 were considered average ($n=144$).

A chi-square analysis was then employed to test for differences between mothers' and teachers' ratings of children's social competence. Results indicated that significant differences did exist between the groups ($\chi^2(4,199) = 16.034, p < .003$). Therefore, it was decided to compare mothers who agreed with teachers regarding children's peer acceptance (or, "correct-perceivers" ($n=88$)) with mothers who regarded their children as more accepted by peers than did the teachers ("high-incorrect perceivers") ($n=72$), and with mothers who regarded their children as less accepted by peers than did the teachers ("low-incorrect perceivers") ($n=43$). These mothers were similarly coded (as in the procedure for mothers' perceptions of children's aggressive-rough behaviour and teachers' ratings of children's rough and tumble play).

Differences between mothers were first examined for maternal age, education and depression in a MANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of children's peer popularity as the independent variable (3 levels) and maternal age, education and maternal depression as the dependent variables. Results were not significant, $F(6,396)=1.405, p=.211$.

Differences between groups of mothers were then examined for age of child and gender of child.

Results of a MANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of children's peer popularity as the independent variable (3 levels), and age of child and gender of child as the dependent variables were not significant, $F(4,400)=.359$, $p=.838$.

Differences between groups of mothers were then examined for memories of childhood peer relationships in a MANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of children's peer popularity as the independent variable (3 levels), and memories of aggressive peer relations, lonely peer relations, and peer acceptance as the dependent variables. Results indicated no significant differences between groups, $F(6,398)=.894$, $p=.499$.

Differences between mothers were then examined for the importance mothers placed on children's social skills. Results of a one-way ANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of children's peer popularity as the independent variable (3 levels), and mothers' importance of children's social skills as the independent variable indicated a near-significant difference ($F(2,200)=2.908$, $p<.057$). Post hoc tests (Bonferonni) indicated that mothers who perceived children to be more accepted by peers than teachers were less likely to view children's attainment of social skills as important than mothers who agreed with teachers on children's peer acceptance ($p<.03$). See table 11 for mean values and standard deviations.

Table 11

Comparison of Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Peer Acceptance (in Accordance with Teachers' Ratings) and Mothers' Importance Ratings of Children's Social Skills

<u>Perceptions</u>	<u>Importance of Social Skills</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Mother-teacher agree	22.63	2.91	88
Mother more than teacher	*21.54	3.23	72
Mother less than teacher	22.51	2.59	43

* $p < .05$

Note: Mothers who perceived children as more accepted were less likely to rate children's social skills as important than mothers who agreed with teachers.

Differences between groups of mothers were then examined for parenting style. Results of a MANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of children's peer popularity as the independent variable (3 levels), and mothers' authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive parenting styles as the dependent variables were not significant, $F(6,398)=.930$, $p=.473$.

Differences between mothers were then examined for mothers' involvement in children's peer relationships. Results of a MANOVA with mothers/teachers comparison of children's peer popularity as the independent variable, and mothers' indirect orchestration/monitoring, mothers' direct orchestration/advice, frequency of friend-play, and number of structured activities as the

dependent variables indicated a significant multivariate effect, $F(8,394)=2.799$, $p=.005$ and a significant between subjects effect for mothers' direct involvement, $F(2,199)=3.736$, $p<.026$, and a near-significant between subjects effect for frequency of friend-play, $F(2,199)=10.685$, $p<.069$.

Post hoc tests (Bonferonni) indicated that mothers who perceived children to be more accepted by peers than teachers were significantly less likely to engage in direct involvement than mothers who agreed with teachers regarding children's peer popularity ($p<.035$). A trend was also noted for mothers who perceived children as more accepted than teachers, to report higher levels of children's frequency of friend-play ($p<.071$) than mothers who perceived children as less accepted than teachers. See table 12 for mean values and standard deviations.

Table 12

Comparison of Mothers' Perceptions of Children's Peer Acceptance (in Accordance with Teachers' Ratings) and Mothers' Direct Involvement in Children's Peer Relations

Perceptions	<u>Direct</u>			<u>Frequency of Friend-Play</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>n</u>
Mother-teacher agree	.1336	.8984	88	4.75	1.88	88
Mother more than teacher	*-.2421	.8856	71	¹ 4.94	2.05	71
Mother less than teacher	.1265	1.0451	43	4.07	2.07	43

* $p<.05$ ¹ $p<.07$

Note: Mothers who perceived children as more accepted were less likely to be directly involved than mothers who agreed with teachers.

Summary

Mothers' and Teachers' Ratings of Children's Social Competence

In summary, these observations suggest that mothers who perceive children as more aggressive rough than teachers are more likely to do so for girls, and are also more likely to report authoritarian parenting behaviours. Mothers who perceive children as more accepted by peers than teachers are less likely to be directly involved in children's peer relations. Some trends were also noted. Specifically, mothers who perceive children as less aggressive, and mothers who perceive children as more accepted, were less likely to value children's peer sociability.

A main goal of this study was, in part, to examine mothers' memories of childhood peer relationships and the effect of these memories on mothers' perceptions of children's social competence within the proposed model. Because no significant effects were noted for mothers' memories on the variables representing standardized scores of children's aggressive-rough behaviour, and children's peer popularity, a decision was made to remove mothers' perceptions of children's aggressive-hyperactive behaviour, and mothers' perceptions of children's peer acceptance from mediational paths within the proposed model. This decision was furthered by the additional observations that mothers' perception of children's aggressive-hyperactive behaviour was positively and significantly correlated with teachers' perceptions of children's rough play ($r=.291$, $p<.01$), and mothers' perception of children's peer acceptance was positively and significantly correlated with teachers' sociometric ratings ($r=.309$, $p<.01$).

Because authoritative parenting style discriminated between mothers who perceived their

children as highly aggressive-rough, and mothers who agreed with, or perceived their children as lower in aggressive-rough behaviour than teachers, it was decided to account for mothers' "mis-perceptions" of children's aggressive-rough behaviour indirectly in the model-testing through mothers' authoritarian parenting style. To a lesser extent, mothers' valuation of children's social skills was also considered to account for differences in mothers' perceptions due to the observation that mothers who perceived their children as less aggressive, or more accepted, were similarly likely to place lower value on children's peer sociability. Likewise this variable was also included to account for variance pertaining to mothers' "misperceptions," and was therefore included in the block of variables including mothers' parenting style, and mothers' involvement in children's peer relations.

The next set of analyses examines the predictive value of mothers' general ratings of peer experiences as (1) highly accepted by peers/sociable, (2) lonely, and (3) aggressive to outcome measures of children's social competence (including teacher and mother ratings of peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, rough and tumble play, and aggressive and anxious behaviour). The method chosen for testing pathways was hierarchical regression. This method was employed to determine if mothers' memories significantly add to the prediction of measures of mothers' parenting behaviour and level of involvement in children's peer relations, after accounting for demographic variables; to determine if mothers' parenting behaviour and level of involvement in children's peer relations, significantly add to the prediction of measures of children's social competence, after accounting for demographic variables; and to determine if mothers' memories make a direct contribution to the prediction of children's social competence after accounting for demographic and parenting variables. Biddle and Marlin (1987) suggest that regression problem analyses should not

exceed $(n/10)-2$ variables, where n is the number of respondents, to avoid multiplying the effects of random variation. Consequently, the following regressions are well within the acceptable range for the ratio of subjects to variables.

Testing the Proposed Pathways Within the Model

Linkages Between Mothers' General Memories of Peer Experiences, and Children's Social Competence

A series of hierarchical regression analyses were conducted to examine the relative importance of mothers' sociable, lonely and aggressive memories, as predictors of children's social competence as perceived by teachers (i.e., peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, rough and tumble play) and mothers (i.e. peer acceptance, anxious behaviour, aggressive behaviour), as per hypotheses two, three and four. Correlations between predictor variables and criteria variables are presented in table 13.

Hypotheses Two (Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociable Peer Experiences)

Mothers' sociable memories were hypothesized to be indirectly and positively associated with children's peer acceptance and social play, through mothers' valuation of children's peer sociability, authoritative parenting style, and indirect involvement in children's peer relations. Mothers' sociable memories were also hypothesized to be directly and positively associated with children's peer acceptance and social play.

Table 13

Correlations Between Predictors and Criteria

Measure	Mothers' Peer Acceptance Memories	Mothers' Lonely Memories	Mothers' Aggressive Memories	Importance of Social Skills	Authoritative Parenting Style	Authoritarian Parenting Style
Peer Acceptance						
Teacher	.01	.03	-.05	.13	*.14	-.03
Mother	.16*	-.13	-.07	.01	.09	-.12
Social Play	.00	.01	-.05	.11	*.16	-.01
Reticent Play	-.04	.05	.02	-.08	-.07	-.05
Rough & Tumble Play	-.01	.00	.08	.09	.08	** .20
Anxious Behaviour	** -.20	** .20	.03	-.05	* -.15	** .20
Aggressive Behaviour	-.09	.08	** .23	-.06	** -.19	** .33
Measure (con't)	Indirect Involvement	Direct Involvement	Mothers' Age	Mothers' Education	Mothers' Depression	Child Age
Peer Acceptance						
Teacher	.03	.09	.08	-.13	-.01	** .23
Mother	** .32	-.01	.06	.05	-.02	* .17
Social Play	.01	.06	.08	-.08	-.05	** .19
Reticent Play	-.09	.09	-.11	.10	.06	** -.18
Rough & Tumble Play	-.04	.12	-.11	-.06	-.01	.13
Anxious Behaviour	.08	** .22	-.19	* -.15	.12	.09
Aggressive Behaviour	.03	** .25	-.27	-.13	* .14	-.09

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

The order of entry of predictors was as follows. Three regressions were run for each memory-theme with specific measures of children's social competence as dependent variables. The first examined the association between mothers' memory theme and the "mediator" variables. The second examined the association between the mediator variables and the dependent variable, and the third examined the association between these variables as well as the predictive value of mothers' memory theme to the dependent variable above and beyond demographic (first block) and the "mediator" (second block) variables.

Results of the hierarchical regression analysis, examining associations from Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness to Children's Peer Acceptance (Teacher Ratings) is first presented, followed by results of the analyses examining associations from Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness to Children's Peer Acceptance (Mothers' Ratings), then results of the analysis examining associations from Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness to Children Social Play. For each analyses (as per the theme of mothers' general memories), a table of the summary of the third regression (three blocks) for each memory theme to the targeted dependent variable is provided. A figure is also provided for ease of interpretation of associations from memory theme to dependent variables. The values in this figure include significant associations for the third regression (i.e. from the demographic, "mediator", and memory theme variable(s) to the dependent variables).

Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness to Children's Peer Acceptance (Teachers'

Ratings)

In the first step of the analysis, maternal depression was positively and significantly related to mothers' memories of peer acceptance/sociability ($b = .262, p < .001$). After accounting for variance contained within this association, and that of the remaining covariates (maternal age, education, both not significant), mothers' memories of peer acceptance were not associated with mothers' involvement in children's peer relationships, or authoritative parenting style. However, a trend was noted for mothers' authoritative parenting style to be associated with children's peer acceptance, while mothers' education made a direct (and negative) contribution to children's peer acceptance (i.e. the lower mothers' education, the less accepted children were, according to their teachers). See table 14 for summary of hierarchical regression analysis, and figure 2 for pictorial description of links.

Table 14

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Peer Acceptance Memories) Predicting Children's Peer Acceptance (Teacher Ratings)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	-.133	.062	*-.160
Mothers' Depression	5.258E-03	.008	.054
Mothers' Age	2.136E-02	.013	.130
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	2.820E-02	.022	.092
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	2.598E-02	.069	.027
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	1.856E-02	.010	.136
Block 3			
Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness	2.395E-03	.008	.021

Note: R^2 = .032 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .033 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .029 for Step 3

* $p < .05$

Figure 2

Links (Including Mothers' Peer Acceptance/Sociable Memories) to Children's Peer Acceptance
(Teacher Ratings)

* $p < .05$

1= $p < .07$

2= $p < .07$

Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness to Children's Peer Acceptance (Mothers'

Ratings)

After accounting for the covariates, mothers' memories of peer acceptance/sociability were not associated with mothers' level of involvement in children's peer relationships, or mothers' authoritative parenting. However, mothers' memories of peer acceptance/sociability were directly (and positively) associated with mothers' perceptions of children's peer acceptance. Mothers' level of indirect involvement in children's peer relationships also made a significant contribution to children's peer acceptance (according to mothers). See table 15 for summary of hierarchical regression analysis and figure 3 for pictorial description of links.

Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness to Children's Social Play

Mothers' memories of peer acceptance/sociability did not make a significant contribution to children's social play in this analysis. However, mothers' reports of authoritative parenting behaviours were positively associated with children's social play. See table 16 for summary of hierarchical regression, and figure 4 for pictorial description of links.

Table 15

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Peer Acceptance Memories) Predicting Children's Peer Acceptance (Mother Ratings)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	1.594E-02	.225	.005
Mothers' Depression	4.630E-03	.027	.013
Mothers' Age	9.580E-04	.045	.002
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	1.151E-02	.079	.010
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	1.161	.248	** .320
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	4.503E-02	.037	.088
Block 3			
Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness	6.609E-02	.030	* .157

Note: R^2 = .005 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .086 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .104 for Step 3

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Figure 3

Links (Including Mothers' Peer Acceptance/Sociable Memories) to Children's Peer Acceptance(Mother Ratings) $* p < .05$ $** p < .01$

Table 16

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Peer Acceptance Memories) Predicting Children's Social Play

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	-.413	.307	-.102
Mothers' Depression	-6.560E-03	.038	-.014
Mothers' Age	8.160E-02	.062	.102
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	.101	.108	.067
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	5.059E-02	.338	.011
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	9.603E-02	.050	*.144
Block 3			
Mothers' Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociableness	2.641E-04	.041	.000

Note: R^2 = .018 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .015 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .101 for Step 3

* $p < .05$

Figure 4

Links (Including Mothers' Peer Acceptance/Sociable Memories) to Children's Social Play

* $p < .05$

Hypotheses Three (Mothers' Memories of Lonely Peer Experiences)

Mothers' lonely memories were hypothesized to be indirectly and negatively associated with children's peer acceptance and social play, and indirectly and positively related to children's reticent play, rough and tumble play, anxious behaviour and aggressive behaviour, through mothers' valuation of children's social skills, lower levels of authoritative parenting style, higher levels of direct involvement in children's peer relations, and lower levels of indirect involvement in children's peer relations. Mothers' lonely memories were also hypothesized to be directly (and negatively) associated with children's peer acceptance and social play, and directly (and positively) associated with children's reticent play, rough play, anxious behaviour and aggressive behaviour.

The order of entry of predictors was as follows. To examine associations from mothers' lonely memories to "mediator" variables in the model (mothers' value of children's social skills, indirect involvement, direct involvement, authoritative parenting), scores for maternal education and maternal depression were entered first to examine the contribution of these factors and to control for their effects on mothers' memories of lonely peer experiences. Mothers' importance of children's social skills, authoritative parenting style, indirect involvement and direct involvement were entered next.

To examine associations from "mediator" variables in the model to children's peer acceptance, social play, reticent play, rough and tumble play, anxious behaviour, and aggressive behaviour, scores for maternal depression and education were entered first, followed by the "mediator" variables. To examine the direct association of mothers' memories of lonely peer experiences to the outcome variables of children's social competence, scores for mothers' depression and education

were entered first, followed by the “mediator” variables, then mothers’ memories of lonely peer experiences.

Results of the hierarchical regression analyses examining associations from mothers’ lonely memories to children’s peer acceptance (teacher ratings) is first presented, followed by results pertaining to: mothers’ lonely memories to children’s peer acceptance (mothers’ ratings); mothers’ lonely memories to children’s social play; mothers’ lonely memories to reticent play; mothers’ lonely memories to rough and tumble play; mothers’ lonely memories to anxious behaviour; and finally, mothers’ lonely memories to aggressive behaviour.

Mothers’ Lonely Memories to Children’s Reticent Play

In the first step of the analysis, maternal depression and education were significantly associated with mothers’ lonely memories, (maternal depression: $b=.277$, $p<.0001$; maternal education: $b=-.165$, $p<.05$). After accounting for variance contained within these associations, a trend was noted for mothers’ lonely memories to be positively associated with mothers’ direct involvement in children’s peer relationships ($b=.138$, $p<.08$). In the second step of the analysis, a trend was noted for maternal education was significantly associated with reticent play ($b=.141$, $p<.05$). Mothers’ indirect involvement was also negatively associated with children’s reticent play ($b=-.200$, $p<.01$), while mothers’ direct involvement was positively associated with children’s reticent play ($b=.201$, $p<.01$). Mothers’ lonely memories were not associated with children’s reticent play. See table 17 for summary of hierarchical regression, and figure 5 for pictorial description of links.

Table 17

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories)Predicting Children's Reticent Play

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	.316	.162	*.141
Mothers' Depression	6.935E-03	.021	.027
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	-8.09E-02	.060	-.098
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	-.522	.207	**-.200
Mothers' Direct Involvement	.534	.220	** .201
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	-1.68E-02	.028	-.046
Block 3			
Mothers' Lonely Memories	5.974E-03	.016	.028

Note: R^2 = .015 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .035 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .030 for Step 3

* $p < .05$

** $p < .01$

Figure 5

Links (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories) to Children's Reticent Play * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ ¹ $p < .08$

Mothers' Lonely Memories to Children's Rough Play

After accounting for the effects of maternal education and depression, a trend was noted for mothers' direct involvement to be positively associated with children's rough and tumble play. Mothers' lonely memories were not associated with children's rough and tumble play. (See table 18 and figure 6).

Table 18

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories)Predicting Children's Rough Play

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	6.80E-02	.147	-.034
Mothers' Depression	-4.18E-03	.019	-.018
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	3.707E-02	.055	.050
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	-.250	.188	-.107
Mothers' Direct Involvement	.382	.199	*.161
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	1.721E-02	.025	.052
Block 3			
Mothers' Lonely Memories	-3.31E-03	.015	-.017

Note: R^2 = .004 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .005 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .000 for Step 3

* $p < .05$

Figure 6

Links (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories) to Children's Rough Play * $p < .05$ ¹ $p < .08$

Mothers' Lonely Memories to Children's Anxious Behaviour

After accounting for the effects of maternal education and depression, mothers' direct involvement was positively associated with children's anxious behaviour. A trend was also noted for mothers' authoritative parenting to be negatively associated with children's anxious behaviour (i.e. the less mothers reported authoritative parenting behaviours, the more likely children were observed to be anxious by mothers). Mothers' lonely memories (a trend) were also positively associated with children's anxious behaviour. (See table 19 and figure 7.)

Mothers' Lonely Memories to Children's Aggressive Behaviour

After accounting for the effects of maternal education and depression, mothers' higher levels of direct involvement in children's peer relationships, and mothers' authoritative parenting were associated with children's aggressive behaviour (according to mothers). Mothers' lonely memories were not associated with children's aggressive behaviour. (See table 20 and figure 8.)

Table 19

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories)
Predicting Children's Anxious Behaviour

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	-.171	.122	-.099
Mothers' Depression	6.46E-03	.015	-.132
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	-4.66E-.02	.045	-.073
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	1.059E-03	.156	.001
Mothers' Direct Involvement	.404	.165	** .198
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	-3.67E-02	.021	-.130
Block 3			
Mothers' Lonely Memories	2.319E-02	.012	.140

Note: R^2 = .031 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .059 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .072 for Step 3

** $p < .01$

Figure 7

Links (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories) to Children's Anxious Behaviour ** $p < .01$ ¹ $p < .03$ ² $p < .06$ ³ $p < .07$

Table 20

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories)
Predicting Children's Aggressive Behaviour

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	-.308	.239	-.090
Mothers' Depression	2.628E-03	.030	.007
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	-.106	.089	-.084
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	-.439	.306	-.110
Mothers' Direct Involvement	1.194	.321	***.296
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	-.100	.041	**-.178
Block 3			
Mothers' Lonely Memories	-9.42E-04	.024	-.003

Note: R^2 = .033 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .095 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .091 for Step 3

** $p < .01$ *** $p < .0001$

Figure 8

Links (Including Mothers' Lonely Memories) to Children's Aggressive Behaviour

Hypotheses Four (Mothers' Aggressive Memories)

Mothers' aggressive memories were hypothesized to be indirectly and positively associated with children's rough and tumble play, reticent play, aggressive behaviour, and anxious behaviour, through mothers' valuation of children's social skills, higher levels of authoritarian parenting style, higher levels of direct involvement in children's peer relations, and lower levels in indirect involvement in children's peer relations. Mothers' aggressive memories were also hypothesized to be directly (and negatively) associated with children's peer acceptance and social play, and directly (and positively) associated with children's reticent play, rough play, anxious behaviour and aggressive behaviour.

The order of entry of predictors was as follows. To examine associations from mothers' aggressive memories to "mediator" variables in the model (mothers' value of children's social skills, indirect involvement in children's peer relations, direct involvement, and authoritarian parenting), scores for maternal age, children's age, and maternal education were entered first to examine the contribution of these factors and to control for their effects on mothers' memories of aggressive peer experiences. Mothers' valuation of children's social skills, authoritarian parenting style, indirect involvement, and direct involvement were entered next. To examine associations from "mediator" variables in the model to children's rough and tumble play, reticent play, aggressive behaviour, and anxious behaviour, scores for maternal age, children's age, and maternal education were entered first, followed by the "mediator" variables. To examine the direct association of mothers' aggressive memories to the outcome variables of children's social competence, mothers' age, children's age, and mothers' education were entered first, followed by the "mediator" variables, then mothers'

memories of aggressive peer experiences.

Results of the hierarchical regression analyses examining associations from mothers' aggressive memories to children's rough and tumble play; children's reticent play; children's aggressive behaviour; and to children's anxious behaviour follow.

Rough Play

In the first step of the analysis, maternal age ($b = -.282$, $p < .0001$) and age of child ($b = -.130$, $p < .06$) were negatively and significantly related to mothers' aggressive memories. After accounting for variance contained within these associations, mothers' aggressive memories were negatively associated with mothers' direct involvement in children's peer relations ($b = -.183$, $p < .01$), and positively associated with mothers' authoritarian parenting style ($b = .228$, $p < .001$). In the second and third step of the analysis, mothers' reports of authoritarian parenting were also directly associated with children's rough and tumble play. A trend was also noted for older children to be more likely to engage in rough and tumble play. (See table 21 and figure 9.)

Table 21

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories) Predicting Children's Rough Play

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	5.531E-02	.151	*.028
Mothers' Age	-2.57E-02	.035	.065
Children's Age	.406	.204	.145
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	4.284E-04	.053	.058
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	-.253	.186	-.108
Mothers' Direct Involvement	.277	.196	.117
Mothers' Authoritarian Parenting Behaviour	5.127E-02	.026	*.145
Block 3			
Mothers' Aggressive Memories	6.909E-02	.087	.061

Note: R^2 = .034 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .045 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .043 for Step 3

* $p < .05$

Figure 9

Links (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories) to Children's Rough Play

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

Mothers' Aggressive Memories to Children's Reticent Play

Maternal education ($b=.144$, $p<.06$), and child age ($b=-.162$, $p<.02$), were associated with children's reticent play. Mothers' indirect involvement in children's peer relationships ($b=-.171$, $p<.03$) was negatively associated with children's reticent play, while mothers' direct involvement ($b=.217$, $p<.009$) was positively associated with children's reticent play. Mothers' aggressive memories were not associated with childrens' reticent play. (See table 22 and figure 10.)

Table 22

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories) Predicting Children's Reticent Play

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	.323	.168	*.144
Mothers' Age	-4.06E-02	.035	-.092
Children's Age	-.508	.227	*-.162
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	-7.91E-02	.058	-.095
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	-.446	.206	*-.171
Mothers' Direct Involvement	.576	.218	** .217
Mothers' Authoritative Parenting Behaviour	-2.06E-02	.028	-.052
Block 3			
Mothers' Aggressive Memories	7.272E-03	.097	.006

Note: R^2 = .059 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .069 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .064 for Step 3

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$

Figure 10

Links (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories) to Children's Reticent Play

*** $p < .001$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .05$

Mothers' Aggressive Memories to Children's Aggressive Behaviour

In the first step of the analysis, after accounting for the covariates, mothers' direct involvement was negatively associated with aggressive memories, and mothers' authoritarian parenting behaviours were positively associated with aggressive memories. In the second step of the analysis, a trend was observed indicating that mothers' lower valuation of children's social skills was associated with higher levels of children's aggressive behaviour. In the third step of the analysis, a trend also noted for mothers with aggressive memories to also report more aggressive behaviours for their children. See table 23 for summary of hierarchical regression analysis, and figure 11 for a pictorial description of links.

Mothers' Aggressive Memories to Children's Anxious Behaviour

In the first step of the analysis, maternal age was negatively associated with children's anxious behaviour ($b = -.155$, $p < .04$). After accounting for this association and further variance contained within the covariates, mothers' direct involvement in children's peer relations, and authoritarian parenting behaviours were associated with children's anxious behaviour in the second step of the analysis. In the third step of the analysis, mothers' aggressive memories were not associated with children's anxious behaviour. See table 24 for summary of hierarchical regression analysis, and figure 12 for a pictorial description of links.

Table 23

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories) Predicting Children's Aggressive Behaviour

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	-7.73E-02	.237	-.023
Mothers' Age	-8.63E-02	.050	-.128
Children's Age	-.399	.320	-.083
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of Social Skills	-.138	.082	-.109
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	-.315	.291	-.079
Mothers' Direct Involvement	1.056	.307	** .261
Mothers' Authoritarian Parenting Behaviour	.158	.040	** .261
Block 3			
Mothers' Aggressive Memories	.254	.137	.131

Note: R^2 = .074 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .188 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .198 for Step 3

** $p < .01$

Figure 11

Links to Children's Aggressive Behaviour (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories)

Table 24

Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis for Variables (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories) Predicting Children's Anxious Behaviour

<u>Variable</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>SE B</u>	<u>Beta</u>
Block 1			
Mothers' Education	-.114	.127	-.067
Mothers' Age	-5.82E-02	.027	**-.171
Children's Age	.161	.172	.067
Block 2			
Mothers' Importance of social skills	-5.99E-02	.044	-.094
Mothers' Indirect Involvement	2.859E-02	.157	.014
Mothers' Direct Involvement	.314	.165	*.154
Mothers' Authoritarian Parenting Behaviour	5.064E-02	.022	*.167
Block 3			
Mothers' Aggressive Memories	5.40E-02	.074	-.055

Note: R^2 = .058 for Step 1; Adjusted R Square = .086 for Step 2; Adjusted R Square = .084 for Step 3

* $p < .05$

Figure 12

Links to Children's Anxious Behaviour (Including Mothers' Aggressive Memories)

The next section examines gender-related questions contained within the hypotheses outlining proposed associations from mothers' memories to children's social competence. Of specific interest was: (1) whether mothers' perception of children's social competence (as indicated by mothers' perception of children's peer acceptance, aggressive behaviour, and anxious behaviour), (2) whether mothers' valuation of children's social skills and importance of playmates, and (3) whether mothers' involvement in children's peer relations, differed by gender of child, according to (1) the theme of mothers' specific memory of a peer experience and gender of child, and (2) to mothers' general peer recollections and gender of child. These questions are addressed first for mothers' specific (type) of memory and gender of child through multivariate analyses, and are then examined through correlational analyses for mothers' general peer recollections and gender of child. A fourth question pertaining to the examination of gender-differentiated outcomes for children's social competence, associated with mothers' authoritarian parenting style, and direct involvement in children's peer relations, is then examined through correlational analyses.

Mothers' Memories, Parenting Behaviours, and Gender Effects

The first analyses examined whether there were differences in mothers' perceptions of children's peer acceptance, anxious behaviour, or aggressive behaviour, according to type of mothers' specific memory and gender of child. Results of MANCOVA analyses with mothers' type of memory (positive, anxious-lonely, aggressive, or no memory) and gender of child as independent variables, maternal age as a covariate, and mothers' perception of children's peer acceptance, aggressive behaviour, and anxious behaviour, as the dependent variables, were not significant for

type of memory, $F(9,582)=1.588$, $p=.115$, gender of child, $F(3,192)=.806$, $p=.492$, or type of memory X gender of child, $F(9,582)=.788$, $p=.628$, suggesting that mothers' recall of a specific peer experience was not associated with her perception of children's social competence according to gender of child, as indicated by these measures.

Next addressed, was the question of whether mothers differed in their valuation of children's social skills and importance of playmates according to type of memory and gender of child. Results of MANCOVA analyses, with type of memory (4 levels), and gender of child as independent variables, maternal age as a covariate, and mothers' valuation of children's social skills and importance of playmates, as dependent variables, were not significant for type of memory, $F(6,388)=.706$, $p=.645$; gender of child, $F(2,193)=.235$, $p=.791$; or, the interaction of type of memory X gender of child, $F(6,388)=1.320$, $p=.247$. Results therefore suggested that mothers did not differ by type of memory and gender of child, for how they valued children's social skills and playmates for children.

The next analyses examined whether there were differences in mothers' management of children's peer relations by the type of their memory (positive, anxious, aggressive, or no memory), and gender of child. The dependent variables were mothers' indirect involvement, direct involvement, frequency of friend-play, and number of structured activities. Results of MANCOVA analyses, with type of memory (4 levels), and gender of child as independent variables, maternal age as a covariate, were not significant for type of memory, $F(12,576)=1.108$, $p=.350$, gender of child, $F(4,190)=.205$, $p=.936$, or the type of memory X gender interaction, $F(12,576)=1.267$, $p=.234$. Results therefore suggested that mothers did not differ by the type of their memory on how they were involved in children's peer relations by gender of their child.

Correlational analyses was then used to examine whether mothers' ratings of general aggressive, lonely, or sociable peer experiences, were associated with how mothers perceived children's peer acceptance, anxious behaviour, or aggressive behaviour, for girls ($n = 86$) and for boys ($n = 117$). Results of the first analyses including only girls, indicated that mothers' general memories were not associated with how mothers perceived girls' social competence. Results of the second analyses including only boys, however, indicated that mothers' general recollections of peer experiences were associated with how mothers perceived children's peer acceptance, anxious behaviour, as well as aggressive behaviour. Specifically, the more mothers recalled generally aggressive peer experiences, the more likely mothers were to perceive boys as aggressive ($r = .275$, $p < .01$; girls, $r = .206$, NS); the more likely mothers were to recall positive or sociable peer experiences, the more likely mothers were to perceive boys as popular amongst their peers ($r = .208$, $p < .05$; girls, $r = .102$, NS) and less anxious ($r = -.271$, $p < .01$; girls, $r = -.107$, NS); and the more likely mothers were to recall lonely peer experiences, the more likely they were to perceive boys as anxious ($r = .287$, $p < .01$; girls, $r = .078$, NS). However, when the magnitude of these correlations were tested for significant differences according to the procedure outlined by Fisher (1921), there were no differences detected between girls and boys. Consequently, these results suggest that mothers do not perceive boys' or girls' behaviour or peer acceptance differently according to their own memories of childhood peer experiences.

Results of correlational analyses examining associations between mothers' recollections of peer experiences and mothers' valuation of children's attainment of social skills and playmates for girls, as well as for boys, were not significant. These results suggested that mothers did not differ by how they recalled their peer experiences and by gender of child, for how important they rated children's

development of social skills and playmates.

The next analyses, examined relations between mothers' management of children's peer relations (indirect involvement, direct involvement, frequency of friend play, number of structured activities), were similar for girls and boys, for mothers' memories. When the data was examined separately for girls and boys, no significant correlations were evident between mothers' ratings of general aggressive, general sociable, or general lonely peer experiences, and mothers' management of children's peer relations, indicating that mothers do not differ in their management of boys' vs. girls' peer relations by their general recollections of peer experiences.

Finally, relations from management of children's peer relations (direct involvement) and from mothers' reports of authoritarian behaviours, to children's social competence (teacher ratings of peer acceptance, reticent play, rough and tumble play, and mothers' ratings of peer acceptance, anxious behaviour, and aggressive behaviour), were examined in correlational analyses. Results indicated that girls as well as boys displayed more aggressive behaviour (according to mothers) when mothers reported higher levels of authoritarian parenting behaviours (girls, $r = .310$, $p < .01$; boys, $r = .334$, $p < .01$). For boys, authoritarian parenting was also associated with lower levels of peer acceptance (according to mothers) ($r = -.256$, $p < .01$; girls, $r = .031$, NS). For girls, authoritarian parenting was also associated with anxious behaviour (according to mothers) ($r = .223$, $p < .05$; boys, $r = .178$, NS), and rough and tumble play ($r = .282$, $p < .01$; boys, $r = .107$, NS). When relations between mothers' level of direct involvement in girls' vs. boy's peer relations were examined, results indicated that mothers' direct involvement was again positively associated with both girls' ($r = .240$, $p < .05$), as well as boys' ($r = .234$, $p < .05$) aggressive behaviour (according to mothers). For boys, mothers' direct involvement was additionally associated with boys' anxious behaviour ($r = .324$, $p < .05$; girls, $r = .103$,

NS), and boys' peer acceptance (according to teachers) ($r = -.200$, $p < .05$; girls, $r = -.041$, NS). When the magnitude of these correlations were tested for significant differences according to the method outlined by Fisher (1921), the only significant difference between girls and boys which could be detected was in the association between mothers' authoritarian parenting style, and mothers' ratings of children's peer acceptance. Mothers were indeed more likely to report more frequent use of authoritarian parenting behaviours in accordance with lower ratings of boys' (but not girls') peer acceptance.

In summary, results suggest that mothers do not differ in how they perceive children's social competence (as indicated by the current measures) by type of memory, or by how they recall general peer experiences.

Results provide little support for the idea that gender of child influences how mothers' memories relate to mothers' involvement in children's peer relations. Additionally, mothers do not appear to differ in their valuation of social skills for children, or management of girls' and boys' peer relationships by recall of a specific memory, or by the theme of their more general peer recollections. There is some evidence to suggest that both boys and girls are likely to display more aggressive behaviours (according to mothers) when mothers report higher levels of authoritarian parenting behaviours and direct involvement in children's peer relations. Additionally, boys are more likely than girls to be perceived by mothers as less well accepted by peers when mothers report more frequent engagement in authoritarian parenting behaviours.

DISCUSSION

The current investigation was designed to examine associations from mothers' recall of a specific peer memory, as well as from mothers' more general recollections of peer experiences, to mothers' valuation of children's peer sociability, mothers' management of children's peer relations, mothers' parenting style, and to children's social competence. Potential associations were outlined in a model which also provided a framework to test proposed hypotheses.

Results of this project are discussed in five sections. First, results of hypotheses concerning associations from mothers' specific memories of childhood peer experiences (positive, lonely, and aggressive) to mothers' valuation of children's social skills/playmates, mothers' parenting style, mothers' management of children's peer relations, and children's social competence are presented. Secondly, results of hypotheses concerning indirect and direct pathways from mothers' general recollections of peer experiences to mothers' valuation of children's social skills, mothers' parenting style, mothers' management of children's peer relations, and children's social competence are discussed. A third section examines the contribution of child gender to select associations from mothers' memories to parenting behaviours, and to children's social competence. Fourthly, limitations of the current study, as well as considerations for future research are discussed. Finally, concluding comments are presented.

The Relation of Mothers' Specific Positive, Anxious, Aggressive, or Absence of, Specific Childhood Peer Memories to Children's Social Competence

Multivariate analyses were employed to examine differences between mothers who reported and who did not report a specific memory, and differences between mothers who reported positive, anxious/lonely, aggressive, or no specific memory, for: (1) importance of children's social skills, importance of playmates; (2) how they perceived children's social competence; (3) how they managed children's peer relations; (4) how frequently they reported authoritarian, authoritative, and permissive parenting behaviours; and (4) children's peer acceptance (according to teachers) and play behaviour. Results suggested that whether mothers reported a specific peer memory or not, were associated with children's rough and tumble play and peer acceptance. Specifically, children of mothers who reported a specific memory were observed by teachers to engage in lower levels of rough and tumble play, while a trend was also noted for these children to be more well-liked amongst their peers (according to teachers). Type of memory was associated with maternal age (younger mothers were more likely to have anxious-lonely memories), as well as mothers' general memories of peer experiences (mothers who recalled a specific anxious-lonely peer experience were more likely to rate their general peer experiences as such, and mothers who recalled a specific positive peer experience were more likely to rate their general peer experiences similarly).

When mothers were compared for type of memory for differences in children's social competence (controlling for maternal age), results indicated two trends. The first suggested that mothers with positive memories were more likely to be indirectly involved in children's peer

relations. The second suggested that mothers with anxious-lonely memories had the most popular children.

Together, these findings indicate that whether or not mothers remember a specific peer experience is a potentially important associate of children's social competence. Additionally, children of mothers with positive memories may benefit from mothers' extra effort to encourage and monitor children's peer relations. However, results suggested that children of mothers with anxious/lonely memories, although the most popular amongst their peers, did not have mothers who were particularly involved in their peer relations. This observation suggests that factors other than management of children's peer relations (as conceptualized in the current investigation) are potentially associated with the social success of this group of mothers' children.

The results of the current study support the observation of Putallaz, et al. (1991) that children of mothers with anxious/lonely memories were the most popular amongst their peers. However, contrary to observations reported by Putallaz and her colleagues, mothers who reported anxious/lonely memories in this investigation, were not any more likely to value children's attainment of social skills, or to be involved in managing children's peer relations. The current results also support Cohen's (1989) observation that mothers with more sociable memories are more likely to be involved in orchestrating children's peer activities. However, other observations reported by Putallaz and colleagues, as well as Cohen, were not supported in the current investigation, and were also contrary to predictions. Specifically, the theme of mothers' specific memory was not associated with the value mothers placed on this memory, mothers' perception of children's social competence, valuation of children's social skills/importance of playmates, or mothers' parenting style.

It is important to note, however, that a number of differences in methodology may explain some of the discrepancies. For example, differences in sample size (i.e. this investigation included 202 mothers in total, with 111 of these mothers reporting a memory, and that of Putallaz, et al., 57), may have yielded more powerful effects. Also, the current investigation examined mothers' specific memories, whereas Cohen (1989) reported on mothers' general peer memories (combined index of past and current), and did not ask mothers to provide a "specific" peer memory. Also, while Putallaz, et al. (1991) asked mothers to provide a specific peer memory (or story), mothers' stories were collapsed with mothers' general ratings of peer experiences to yield a single score of "general recollective theme". Thus, neither of these investigations examined the unique association of mothers' specific memories to mothers' social goals, parenting behaviours, and children's social competence.

The current study also measured mothers' social goals for children somewhat differently by employing a measure of mothers' importance ratings of children's social skills, and this difference may have accounted for discrepant results related to mothers' "social goals," "social intentions" or "valuation of children's peer sociability". Specifically, Putallaz, et al. (1991) asked mothers open-ended questions about their social intentions for children, and Cohen (1989) had mothers respond to items reflective of sociability-friendliness, and obedience-compliance (Dix & Grusec, 1985). If mothers' social intentions are interpreted through their actions (such as being indirectly involved in children's peer relationships), support is gained for the finding of Cohen (1989), that mothers with sociable memories are more likely to endorse the value of sociability-friendliness for their children.

Results of the current investigation also illustrate the importance of including a broader assessment of maternal management of children's peer relations, in examining associations from

memories to management to children's social competence. For example, although Putallaz and colleagues found a positive relation from mothers' anxious/lonely memories to management of children's peer relations, only one measure of involvement (structured peer activities) was utilized. The current results suggest that when a broader assessment of management is employed, mothers with positive memories are more likely to be indirectly involved in children's peer relations, an observation supported in part by Cohen (1989).

It remains unclear, however, why mothers with specific lonely memories in the current study were more likely to have popular children. Because Putallaz, et al. (1991) observed mothers with anxious/lonely memories to have more social intentions and to also be more involved in children's peer relations, the authors interpreted these results to suggest that these behaviours were positively associated with children's social competence. However, results of the current study do not support these associations. A further interpretation offered by Putallaz and colleagues (1993) is that mothers with anxious/lonely memories may be particularly socially sensitive (compared to mothers with positive or aggressive memories), and not only model positive social behaviours for their children, but also provide interpretive frameworks of behaviour to their children to help them better understand and respond to the behaviour of their peers. Further research is therefore necessary to examine whether mothers with specific anxious/lonely memories differ from mothers with aggressive or positive specific peer memories in terms of their social cognitions, and consequent social "coaching" or guidance of children. Additionally, because mothers with specific memories as a group, were also more likely to have socially competent children, it would be important to determine if having a specific memory or not was associated with mothers' attempts to socialize children beyond the management behaviours conceptualized in the current study.

Pettit and Mize (1993) examined how differences in mothers' social cognitions were associated with children's peer competence. Mothers were presented with a set of hypothetical vignettes involving peer rejection. Results indicated that mothers who emphasized a positive interpretation of outcomes, encouraged constructive strategies for responding to the event, and stressed the fun of peer interaction, were more likely to have socially skilled children. It is possible that mothers with specific peer memories, particularly anxious/lonely memories, are more adept at providing such social information to children. Research examining associations from mothers' memories to mothers' socialization of children in this regard, would be particularly helpful in furthering our understanding of how mothers' specific memories are associated with children's social competence.

An additional explanation addressing the question of why mothers with anxious/lonely memories were more likely to have socially skilled children, is gained by results and interpretations reported in the attachment literature. Specifically, two different representations of remembered parent-child relationships have been reported by Main and Goldwyn (1984) and Grossmann, Fremmer-Bombik, Rudolph, et al., (1988). The first representation was found to include more coherent or integrated memories of parental relationships, while the second attachment representation characterized mothers who presented an incoherent, idealized, detached, or defensive picture of their relationships with their parents. Grossman et al. (1988) speculated that having easy access to attachment-related memories and feelings in the mothers, whether positive or negative, seemed to promote mothers' sensitivity and responsiveness to their infants. It is therefore possible that mothers who clearly remember a specific difficult childhood peer experience, are more sensitive or responsive to issues regarding their own children's peer relationships. Although somewhat

speculative, this observation suggests that recall of specific memories is of potential importance to mothers' responsiveness and sensitivity to children.

Although the results of this investigation are intriguing, it is important to note that these associations were not particularly strong. Further, differences in children's social competence attributed to mothers' memories, may of course, be related to other factors not addressed in this investigation. For example, factors associated with the child (e.g. temperament, sociability) or the family (e.g. fathers' parenting) may also contribute quite substantially to children's social competence. (These considerations are more fully addressed in the following sections). A further consideration, is that differences in children's social competence for mothers with and without specific memories may simply reflect mothers' time, skill, and/or motivation to complete the relevant section of the questionnaire. More specifically, mothers who provided a memory may have been more motivated to complete the questionnaire, and this motivation may have reflected an overall investment in their children, and/or a particular interest in children's peer relationships. However, this caution would not explain the observation that mothers with anxious-lonely memories were more likely to have socially competent children compared to other mothers with specific memories.

Anecdotal evidence provides some support for the idea that some mothers do not have access to a particularly salient childhood peer memory. For example, in response to the question asking mothers to report about a particular childhood peer experience, many mothers left this item blank. Many other mothers wrote responses characteristic of the following: "can't think of one", "sorry, I have no particular memory", or, "I had many happy times, but can't remember a single one". Because the current study was not specifically designed to distinguish mothers with specific

memories from mothers without specific memories, it is not possible to make strong conclusions regarding associations between mothers' memories and children's social competence. However, the results of the current study do indicate the potential importance of identifying mothers with and without specific memories of their childhood peer experiences in future research examining associations from mothers' memories to children's social competence.

The next section examines the question of whether mothers' general memories of peer experiences are associated with mothers' value of children's social skills, parenting style, management of children's peer relations, and children's social competence.

The Relation of Mothers' Memories of Sociable, Lonely, and Aggressive Peer Experiences to Mothers' Management of Children's Peer Relations, Parenting Style, and Children's Social Competence

Hierarchical regression analysis was employed to examine the predictive value of mothers' general memories of childhood peer acceptance/sociability, lonely, and aggressive peer experiences, after accounting for variance associated with mothers' memories due to depression, education, age, and child age. Results indicated that how mothers remembered their peer experiences was associated with mothers' level of involvement in children's peer relations, mothers' reports of authoritative and authoritarian parenting behaviours, and children's social competence. However, associations to children's social competence differed depending on whether mothers or teachers provided the information. Relations from mothers' memories of peer experiences, to mothers' level of involvement in children's peer relations, parenting style, and importance ratings of children's social

skills, are first discussed. Next, associations from the “mediator” variables (indirect involvement, direct involvement, authoritative and authoritarian parenting, and importance of children’s social skills) are examined within the context of three models pertaining to associations from mothers’ memories of peer acceptance/sociability, mothers’ memories of loneliness, and mothers’ memories of aggressive peer experiences. Finally, the evidence for direct associations from mothers’ memories of peer experiences to children’s social competence, and indirect associations to children’s social competence through mothers’ level of involvement in children’s peer relations, parenting style, and importance ratings of children’s social skills, is examined.

Associations from Mothers’ Memories of Peer Acceptance/Sociability

Mothers’ memories of peer acceptance/sociability were correlated with maternal depression, education, and age. Specifically, mothers who remembered sociable peer experiences were more likely to be older, to have achieved higher levels of education, and to be less depressed. After accounting for variance contained within these associations, relations to the “mediator variables” were examined. Mothers’ sociable memories did not make a significant contribution to parenting style, involvement in children’s peer relations, or to mothers’ valuation of children’s peer sociability. Therefore, hypotheses that mothers’ memories of sociable peer experiences would positively influence mothers’ importance ratings of children’s social skills, management of children’s peer relations, and parenting style, were not supported.

When relations from the “mediator variables” to children’s social competence were examined, a positive association from mothers’ indirect involvement to children’s peer acceptance (mothers’

ratings), and from mothers' authoritative parenting to children's peer acceptance (teachers' ratings), and social play were evident. Results also suggested a counter-intuitive association from mothers' education to children's social competence. Specifically, mothers with more education, were observed to have children who were less accepted by peers (teachers' ratings).

Contrary to predictions, there was no evidence for an indirect relationship from mothers' memories of peer acceptance/sociability to children's social success with peers. However, some support for a direct relationship was evident. Specifically, mothers who remembered more sociable peer experiences were more likely to perceive their children as highly accepted by peers (mothers' ratings). This observation is concurrent with the results of Cohen (1989) who reported that mothers who remembered more sociable peer experiences, were more likely to perceive children as sociable (well-liked by peers). Putallaz, et al. (1991) also found a positive relationship between mothers' sociable peer experiences and mothers' perception of children's sociability (at least for girls).

Whether or not children of mothers with more sociable memories were indeed, more popular amongst their peers, is not clear. The observation that mothers' sociable memories were not associated with teachers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, or social play, suggests that this relationship did not hold when teachers provided ratings of children's social competence. Rather, mothers' level of education was a more salient associate of teachers' perceptions of children's peer acceptance. This observation may be better understood by referring to results obtained in this investigation comparing mothers' and teachers' perceptions of children's social competence (although it should be noted that this association accounted for a relatively small percentage of the variance to children's peer acceptance).

Although correlational analyses indicated that mothers' and teachers' ratings of children's peer

acceptance were positively associated, when groups of mothers were compared for differences according to whether their perceptions of children's social competence was similar or different from teachers, mothers with higher levels of education were more likely to perceive children as highly accepted than teachers. These observations suggest that it may be particularly important for more well-educated mothers, to believe their children are highly socially competent. Some mothers within this group may place high socialization demands on children, which may lead to children's social anxiety, and consequent social adjustment difficulties. Thus, such a scenario would help explain the negative association from maternal education to children's peer acceptance. Putallaz, et al. (1993) have also suggested that children of mothers with more positive or happy childhood memories may be less socially successful, because "having remembered a blissful childhood, these mothers may not realize the activity required on their parts in helping to create such bliss for their children" (p. 85). The observation in the current study that mothers' generally sociable memories were not related with mothers' management of children's peer relations, lends some support to this suggestion. More specifically, it is possible that although mothers with memories of generally sociable childhood peer experiences perceive children to be similarly well accepted by peers, it is also possible that some children are less popular than mothers believe. Consequently, this observation aids in the explanation as to why mothers' sociable memories were positively associated with mothers' ratings of children's peer acceptance, but not those of teachers.

It is also possible that some mothers who perceive children as more accepted by peers than teachers, view children's peer popularity differently from teachers because they are focusing on the home environment, rather than that of the school. For example, results of the current study suggest that mothers who perceive children as more accepted by peers than teachers were also less likely to

be directly involved in managing children's peer relations, and more likely to report children as having more frequent friend-play experiences. It is therefore possible that some mothers who perceive children as more accepted by peers than teachers, have children who are more popular with children in the neighbourhood, etc., than they are at school, and such mothers may be more inclined to refer to the home environment when they consider their children's peer acceptance.

Conversely, there may be differences in what teachers and mothers perceive to be socially skilled behaviour. For example, Elliot, Barnard, and Gresham (1989) found that although mothers and teachers agreed in their assessments of children's overall social behaviour, mothers and teachers differed on the frequency and importance with which they endorsed children's specific social skills. Specifically, mothers were more likely to endorse the importance of children's tendency to "show concern for friends and siblings", whereas teachers were least likely to endorse the importance of children's tendency to "make positive statements to other children," "smile or nod with other students," or "initiate conversations with peers." Discrepancy between mothers' and teachers' assessments of children's peer competence in this context, may also be associated with the differing environments in which teachers (school) and mothers (home and neighbourhood) based their perceptions of children's social success with peers. This idea has been previously introduced by Achenbach, McConaughy, and Howell (1987).

Together these observations suggest that mothers with general memories of peer acceptance/sociability are likely to have children who are also well accepted by peers when mothers provide the ratings. However, when teachers provide ratings of children's peer acceptance, mothers with higher levels of education are less likely to have popular children. These findings suggest the importance of including information from mothers and teachers regarding associations to children's

social competence.

Associations from Mothers' Lonely Memories

Mothers' lonely memories were correlated with maternal depression and education. Specifically, mothers with lonely memories were more likely to be depressed, and to also be less educated. After accounting for variance contained within these associations, relations from mothers' lonely memories to the "mediator" variables within the model were examined. Some support for the hypothesis that mothers' lonely memories would negatively impact on mothers' management of children's peer relations was evident. Specifically, a trend was noted where mothers with more lonely memories were more likely to be directly involved (provide higher levels of social advice and be somewhat more controlling in initiating children's peer activities) in children's peer relationships. However, contrary to predictions, mothers' lonely memories were not related to a less authoritative parenting style, or to extremely high or low valuation of children's attainment of social skills.

When relations from the "mediator" variables to children's reticent or rough and tumble play, as well as to children's anxious or aggressive behaviour, were examined, a number of associations consistent with the current literature were evident. Results suggested that the less mothers were indirectly involved in children's peer relations (i.e. encouragement and inclusion of children in the planning of peer activities, and monitoring of peer activities), the more likely children were to engage in reticent play. Also, the more mothers were directly involved in children's peer relations (i.e. provision of social advice, control over initiation of peer activities), the more likely children were to engage in reticent play, rough and tumble play, and the more likely children were to be

perceived as aggressive or anxious by mothers.

A further association from authoritative parenting to children's aggressive, as well as anxious behaviour was evident. Specifically, mothers who less frequently reported authoritative parenting behaviours, were more likely to perceive children as aggressive, and to a lesser extent anxious.

These observations support results obtained by Cohen (1989) as well as Rubin and colleagues (summarized in Rubin, et al., 1995). Specifically, Cohen found that mothers' over- as well as under-involvement in children's peer relations was associated with children's social and behavioural difficulties. Rubin and colleagues has also reported parents of aggressive preschoolers to engage in more punitive or power-assertive parenting behaviours. Additionally, these researchers have reported parents of anxious preschoolers to be more likely to tell children directly how to behave.

A trend was also noted indicating that mothers who were less likely to value children's attainment of social skills, were more likely to perceive children as aggressive. Again, this observation is concurrent with those of Rubin, et al. (1989), who reported mothers of socially incompetent preschoolers to be less likely to endorse strong beliefs in the development or malleability of social skills.

Support for the proposed indirect association from mothers' lonely memories to children's social difficulties in the model was also evident. Specifically, mothers' lonely memories were associated with mothers' direct involvement in children's peer relations, and mothers' direct involvement was associated with children's social difficulties. Although the link from mothers' lonely memories to direct involvement is relatively weak, this result supports that of Cohen (1989) who similarly found mothers with lonely peer experiences to be "over-involved" in children's peer relationships, and children of mothers with lonely peer experiences to be less socially successful

amongst their peers.

Associations from Mothers' Aggressive Memories

Mothers' aggressive memories were correlated with maternal age, education, and age of child. Specifically, mothers who reported higher levels of aggressive peer experiences, were more likely to be younger, have younger children, and to be less educated. After accounting for variance contained within these associations, mothers' aggressive memories were negatively associated with mothers' direct involvement in children's peer relations, and positively associated with mothers' reports of authoritarian parenting. Consequently, the hypothesis that mothers with aggressive peer experiences would have a more authoritarian parenting style, was supported. However, hypotheses that mothers with aggressive memories would be less "indirectly" involved in children's peer relationships (i.e. active in encouraging children's initiation of peer activities, and monitoring these peer activities), and more "directly" involved (or controlling of) children's peer relationships was not supported. Instead a counter-intuitive association was observed, indicating that mothers with aggressive memories were less likely to be directly involved in children's peer relationships.

Upon closer examination of the conceptualization of "direct involvement" (as it pertains to the current investigation), this association becomes more clear. Specifically, "direct involvement" includes a number of parenting behaviours reflective of the provision of social advice. Cohen (1989) similarly found that mothers' aggressive memories were negatively associated with mothers' provision of advice to children regarding their peer relationships. It is possible that mothers who remember aggressive peer experiences are less comfortable talking with children about relationships.

Because the conceptualization of “direct involvement” also included a degree of initiation of peer activities for children (e.g. inviting children from the neighbourhood over to play), it is also possible that mothers with aggressive memories are less likely to promote children’s relationships with peers.

Examination of relations from the “mediator” variables to children’s social competence were similar to those outlined in the model examining associations from mothers’ lonely memories to children’s social competence. Specifically, mothers’ authoritarian parenting style was associated with children’s more frequent engagement in rough and tumble play, as well as aggressive and anxious behaviour. Mothers’ direct involvement in children’s peer relationships, was also positively associated with children’s reticent play, as well as children’s aggressive and anxious behaviour. Although mothers’ direct involvement was not associated with children’s rough and tumble play in the current model (as compared to the model examining associations from lonely memories to children’s rough and tumble play), it is likely that the inclusion of child age (associated with mothers’ levels of direct involvement in correlational analyses) accounted for additional variance to rough play (a trend was noted) and therefore the association from direct involvement to rough play was less pronounced.

Support for the proposed indirect pathway from mothers’ aggressive memories to children’s social competence was evident. Specifically, results suggested that mothers who remembered more aggressive childhood peer experiences were more likely to practice authoritarian parenting behaviours, and these behaviours, in turn, were associated with higher levels of children’s rough and tumble play as well as aggressive and/or anxious behaviours.

It is possible that mothers who recall more aggressive childhood peer experiences, have concurrent social difficulties. For example, aggressive behaviour is reported to be longitudinally

stable (e.g. Olweus, 1979), and evidence also suggests that children with externalizing disorders have difficulties understanding the motivations, perspectives, and feelings, of others (Dodge, 1986; Rubin, Bream, & Rose-Krasnor, 1991). Given these observations, it is possible that some mothers with memories of aggressive childhood peer experiences, continue to experience social difficulties. It is also possible that social difficulties experienced by this group, may be connected with a lack of social sensitivity. More specifically, some mothers with aggressive peer experiences may therefore have poor social skills, and this lack of social sensitivity, may be reflected in mothers' more frequent use of power-assertive parenting behaviours. According to Rubin and colleagues (1995) many parents of aggressive children either withdraw from their children (and child-rearing behaviours which may influence their social development), or employ more authoritarian or power-assertive child-rearing behaviours. Current results suggest that mothers who recall aggressive peer experiences are particularly likely to employ more power-assertive parenting behaviours. If this association is true, it would be important to include mothers as well as children in attempts to "teach" children social skills related to the development of social sensitivity.

Indirect associations from memories to children's social competence through mothers' valuation of children's social skills, and management of children's peer relations, were not supported for this model. However, there was some evidence (a trend) for a direct pathway from mothers' aggressive memories to children's aggressive behaviour. Specifically, mothers who remembered aggressive peer experiences were more likely to perceive children as aggressive.

Together, these results suggest that mothers' general memories of sociable peer experiences are directly associated with children's sociability (according to mothers). There is also evidence for a trend, suggesting that mothers with more lonely memories tend to be more directly involved in

children's peer relations. Conversely, mothers with general aggressive memories tend to report lower levels of direct involvement, but higher levels of authoritarian parenting behaviours. In turn, higher levels of authoritarian parenting, as well as direct involvement in children's peer relations, were associated with children's social and behavioural difficulties. These results therefore, lend support to the hypothesized pathways describing associations from mothers' general lonely and aggressive memories to management of children's peer relations, and to children's social and behavioural difficulties. More specifically, mothers with lonely childhood peer experiences tended to be more directly involved in children's peer relations, and such involvement was linked to children's reticent play, rough play, as well as anxious and aggressive behaviour. Also, mothers with aggressive childhood peer experiences tended to report more frequent use of authoritarian parenting behaviours. In turn, authoritarian parenting was positively associated with children's rough play, as well as anxious and aggressive behaviour. Support for a direct link from mothers' sociable memories and from mothers' aggressive memories to similar social and behavioural orientations for children was also observed.

Gender Differences

Select gender differences were examined in accordance with observations reported by Cohen (1989) and Putallaz, et al. (1991) and hypotheses formulated from the literature review. Specifically, it was thought that mothers with positive/sociable and aggressive memories would perceive children similarly. Additionally, it was thought that mothers with positive/sociable memories (Cohen, 1989), and anxious-lonely memories (Putallaz, et al. 1991) would value children's attainment of social

skills more for girls. Finally, it was thought that mothers with anxious-lonely and positive/sociable memories, would be more active in arranging structured peer activities for boys, and arranging unstructured play activities for girls. Multivariate analyses examined these questions for mothers by type of memory and found no significant differences. That is, results suggested that mothers did not differ by the theme of their specific memory (positive, negative, anxious-lonely, or no memory) for how they perceived children's social competence, how they valued children's social skills and importance of playmates, or how they were involved in children's peer relationships.

Correlational analyses examined these questions for mothers according to their frequency ratings of peer acceptance/sociability, aggressive peer experiences, and lonely peer experiences. Results suggested that contrary to predictions, there were no differences in how mothers perceived children's social competence according to their memories of their own childhood peer experiences and gender of their child. Also, no differences were detected for mothers' valuation of children's social skills, or for how mothers were involved in children's peer relationships.

The finding that mothers were not more likely to perceive girls similarly to how they remembered themselves as children, was counter-intuitive to hypotheses proposed in the current study, as well as to observations by Putallaz, et al. (1991) and Cohen (1989) who reported mothers to identify more similarly with their daughters. It is possible that different measures of social competence for mothers and children across investigations, explain in part some of the discrepancy. For example, while Putallaz, et al. (1991) and Cohen (1989) had mothers concurrently rate their perceptions of children's sociability along the same dimensions as their own peer experiences, the current study employed different measures for mothers' memories and mothers' perception of children's social competence. It is possible that mothers are more likely to rate their daughters

similarly to themselves when they complete similar assessments of sociability, but are less likely to do so when different measures of children's peer sociability are employed.

Conversely, there is evidence to suggest that mothers respond more emotionally to, and have less tolerance for, girls' social difficulties (social withdrawal or aggression) (Mills & Rubin, 1990). It is therefore possible that mothers may refer less to their own experiences when they observe girls' behaviour, and more to perceived societal norms or demands. Some evidence was gained for this observation in the results of the current study. Specifically, when mothers differed from teachers on their perceptions of children's aggressive behaviour, they were more likely to view girls as more aggressive, and boys as less aggressive. Clearly, further research is needed to address this discrepancy.

A final issue addressed the question of whether mothers' power-assertive (authoritarian parenting behaviours), or direct involvement in children's peer relations, would be associated with girl's more frequent behavioural and social difficulties. It was thought that girls would be perceived by mothers and teachers as having more social and behavioural difficulties in the presence of mothers' more frequent reports of authoritarian parenting practices, as well as higher levels of direct involvement in peer relations. Results did not support this hypothesis. Specifically, higher levels of authoritarian parenting and direct involvement were associated with higher levels of aggressive behaviour for both girls and boys. However, further social difficulties for boys were associated with mothers' more frequent reports of authoritarian parenting behaviours. Specifically, mothers' authoritarian child-rearing behaviours were associated with mothers' less frequent endorsement of boys' peer acceptance (but not girls).

Limitations and Directions for Future Research

Conceptualization of Maternal Management of Children's Peer Relations

Mothers' management of children's peer relations was conceptualized as "indirect" and "direct" for the current investigation. Indirect involvement was thought to be reflective of behaviours which encouraged children's peer activities, included children in the planning of peer activities, and were also reflective of mothers' monitoring of children's peer activities. Conversely, direct involvement was thought to be reflective of behaviours which included the provision of social advice and a more controlling approach to the arrangement of children's peer activities. Results of the current investigation provided some support for the construct validity of these two dimensions of management. Specifically, indirect and direct involvement were differentially associated with children's peer competence. For example, indirect involvement was associated with children's popularity, and lower levels of reticent play, indicating that the more mothers were indirectly involved in children's peer relationships, the more socially successful children were with peers. Particularly high levels of direct involvement in children's peer relations, however, was associated with higher levels of reticent play, indicating that mothers who were particularly active in providing social advice and arranging peer activities, were more likely to have children who engaged in higher levels of reticent play. Mothers' direct involvement in children's peer relations was also positively associated with children's aggressive and anxious behaviour, and was also positively associated with

mothers' power-assertive parenting style.

Results of the current study suggested that mothers' tendency to become directly involved in managing children's peer relations was differentially associated with mothers' memories of peer relations. More specifically, mothers with lonely memories were more likely to engage in this type of management, while mothers with aggressive memories were less likely to engage in this type of management. In turn, more direct involvement was associated with higher levels of reticent play. Although these observations were concurrent with the literature, the association from mothers' lonely memories to direct involvement was relatively weak, and further research would be important to determine if this association could be replicated.

In consideration of these findings, it is important to note that "indirect involvement" only accounted for 35%, and "direct involvement" only 14 %, of mothers' management of children's peer relations. Also, although "indirect involvement" was conceptualized as behaviours reflective of more inclusion of children in the initiating of peer activities, encouragement and monitoring of peer activities, it is also likely that this construct reflects to some degree mothers' social support network. For example, items such as "talked to one of your friends about your child's relationships, suggests that mothers have friends with whom they feel comfortable discussing issues around parenting. Social support has been associated with greater parental efficacy (Cutrona & Troutman, 1986). Also, Melson, et al. (1993) reported that mothers with larger networks of social support, reported higher levels of confidence in helping children develop social skills, and this in turn, was associated with children's peer acceptance. As a possible interpretation to this observation, the authors offered that "mothers who perceive more supportive individuals as available for future need may feel more self-confident or positive about parenting than other mothers" (p. 140).

Together these observations suggest that the management constructs of “indirect” and “direct” involvement as identified in this investigation warrant further attention as two possible conceptualizations of how mothers may be involved in children’s peer relationships. However, these constructs require further validation through additional research. It would also be important for future research to examine the relative merits of individual management behaviours within each of these proposed constructs, to determine if particular behaviours are more important for children’s development of social competence.

Direction of effect

It is possible that pathways inferred from the results of this investigation to children’s social competence do not arise from parents’ memories, or from parents’ management of children’s peer relations, but rather from characteristics associated with children. For example, mothers may remember more aggressive childhood peer experiences when they have older children (as correlational analyses in the current study indicate). Also, mothers may “manage” children’s peer relations, in response to children’s temperament and behaviour. For example, mothers who observe their children to be more anxious or fearful, may be more likely to assume a greater degree of control over children’s peer activities, and may also be more prone to give children social advice regarding their peer relationships. Conversely, socially precocious children may elicit lower levels of parental involvement in their social activities with peers by demanding greater independence in organizing their own social relationships (Proffitt & Ladd, 1994), and parents of such children may therefore be less indirectly involved in children’s peer relationships. Additionally, instead of mothers’

authoritarian parenting practices leading to children's social and behavioural difficulties, it is possible that mothers may respond to children's difficult temperament or behaviour, with more power-assertive child-rearing behaviours.

The design of this study included the testing of a sequential model. Because data was gained from a specific point in time, making any inferences about pathways is somewhat speculative. Indeed, it is only possible to conclude that some variables within the model are "linked", and it is not possible to say that one leads to another (for example, that memories lead to management, etc.). Additionally, the type of analyses employed in the current investigation does not permit the determination of "mediator" variables within the model. More specifically, it is possible that a third variable may be accounting for relationships outlined in the proposed pathways. Nevertheless, the effects of select demographic variables were considered, and current results are supported in the literature. Some support is also indicated for a "parent effects" interpretation for mothers' management of children's peer relations to children's social competence, as well as from mothers' reports of authoritarian parenting behaviours to children's social difficulties.

Management to Social Competence

Evidence suggests that parents of socially competent children are likely to believe they should play an active role in the socialization of children's social skills through teaching, and through provision of peer interaction opportunities (Dix & Grusec, 1985; Goodnow, Knight, & Cashmore, 1985). Consequently, parents in the current study who were active in behaviours reflective of "indirect" management of children's peer relations, had more socially competent children (according

to mothers), as well as children who also engaged in lower levels of reticent play. These observations therefore provide some support to the suggestion that parents' beliefs or cognitions regarding children's development of social competence (as reflected in their management of children's peer relations) influence children's social competence.

The theory that mothers' ideas about children's social development influences their socialization behaviours has been the focus of work undertaken by Rubin and colleagues (Rubin, Rose-Krasnor, Bigras, Mills, & Booth, *in press*). Specifically, these researchers have postulated that parents' external or internal attributions for children's social competence influence their child-rearing practices. For example, parents of socially incompetent children are likely to endorse more internal attributions for children's social development. That is, they believe there is little they can do to promote children's social competence, and endorse beliefs that children's sociability is innate, and problem-behaviours are best resolved through direct instructional means, or neglect (Rubin, *et al.* 1989). In contrast, parents of socially competent children are likely to endorse more external attributions for children's social development. More specifically, such parents are more likely to believe they should be actively involved in children's socialization (Dix & Grusec, 1985; Goodnow, *et al.* 1985). According to Rubin and colleagues (*in press*), external attributions for the development of children's social competence may therefore predict parents' use of constructive means to teach social skills, whereas internal attributions for the development of children's social competence may predict parents' authoritarian or neglectful socialization strategies.

The results of the current study suggest that mothers' indirect involvement in children's peer relations is positively associated with children's peer acceptance, and lower levels of reticent play. It would now be important to determine if mothers' beliefs regarding the innateness of children's

sociability were associated with mothers' management of children's peer relations (i.e. indirect and direct involvement). Of further interest would be to determine whether mothers' beliefs regarding children's sociability were associated with mothers' memories. For example, results of this investigation provide some evidence to indicate that mothers with specific positive memories were the most likely to be indirectly involved in children's peer relationships. This observation provides at least some support to suggest that a group of mothers with specific positive memories believe children's sociability to be experientially influenced, through their management of children's peer relationships.

Parenting Style to Social Competence

The observation that mothers' reports of authoritarian parenting were associated with children's social and behavioural difficulties, while mothers' authoritative parenting was associated with children's peer competence, is well-supported within the literature. For example, results of research examining associations from parents' child-rearing behaviours to children's social competence, have consistently demonstrated that excessive directive, or controlling and negative behaviour with children, is associated with children's coercive interactions with peers as well as lower levels of peer acceptance (see Hart, et al. 1993). In contrast, warm and responsive parenting behaviours have been consistently linked with children's prosocial behaviour (see Hart, et al. 1993).

Nevertheless, since most research on parenting and child competence has been correlational in nature, it remains unclear whether child characteristics influence parents' choice of child-rearing behaviours. However, it has been argued that because parents have more power to place constraints

on children's behaviour, it is unlikely that children's behaviour could substantially influence parental personality or behavioural characteristics, or that children's characteristics could negate the positive or negative influence of disciplinary strategies (Hart, et al 1993). Results of the current investigation provided some support for the idea that mothers' parenting behaviours influence children's social competence. Specifically, when groups of mothers were compared according to whether their perceptions of children's aggressive behaviour "matched" teachers' perceptions of children's rough play, mothers who observed children to be more aggressive, were also more likely to report authoritarian parenting behaviours. This observation suggests that a group of mothers perceive children as more aggressive than they really are and engage in more power-assertive parenting behaviours. Further research is needed to determine the reciprocity or unidirectionality of influence, as well as the long-term outcome of such child-rearing behaviours.

Heterogeneity of Memories

Specific and General Memories

The results of this study suggest that mothers' memories of peer experiences are differentially related to mothers' management of children's peer relations, as well as children's social competence, depending upon whether they are specific or general. For example, two potential pathways from mothers' general memories of peer experiences to children's less socially competent behaviour were indicated for mothers' general memories. Specifically, the first pathway suggested that mothers' general memories of aggressive peer experiences were associated with mothers' authoritarian

parenting style, which was, in turn, associated with children's social and behavioural difficulties.

The second pathway, suggested that mothers' general lonely memories were associated with more direct involvement in children's peer relations (a trend), which was also associated with children's social and behavioural difficulties.

Conversely, mothers with specific memories of lonely peer experiences were observed to have more popular children, and mothers with specific memories in general were observed to have children who engaged in lower levels of rough and tumble play. Additionally, mothers with specific positive memories were more likely to be indirectly involved in children's peer relations.

These observations suggest although mothers with specific memories were also more likely to report general memories of a similar theme (i.e. mothers with specific lonely memories were more likely to report general lonely memories, and mothers with specific positive memories, were more likely to report general positive or sociable memories, and while not significant, mothers' ratings of general aggressive peer experiences were in the same direction), mothers with specific memories engage in child-rearing behaviours which are positively associated with children's social competence. The importance of including both specific and general memories in future work examining these associations is therefore warranted.

Notably, mothers' specific aggressive memories were not associated with mothers' general aggressive memories. It would be important for future research to more closely examine mothers' specific aggressive memories. For example, the current study categorized mothers' specific aggressive memories according to the procedure outlined by Putallaz et al. (1991). Specifically, an aggressive experience was characterized as either rejecting or being rejected by (a) peer(s). Upon further examination, the specific aggressive memories reported in the current study were primarily

those of being rejected. It would be important to separate these two types of aggression, as it is likely (indeed probable) that unique issues are associated with each type of experience.

It is also important to note that mothers' general memories were differentially associated with mothers' level of education, age, depression, as well as child age. Consequently, consideration of these variables in future work merits attention. Of these, maternal depression will be discussed for its potential impact on mothers' memories of lonely peer experiences. Additionally, although negative associations from maternal depression to children's social competence are well-supported in the literature, negative associations were not supported in the current study. For example, previous work suggests that maternal depression is associated with uninvolvement and withdrawal from parenting responsibilities (e.g. Downey & Coyne, 1990), as well as more power-assertive, or authoritarian, child-rearing behaviours (e.g. Gelfand & Teti, 1990). The next section therefore also offers possible interpretations as to why associations from maternal depression to child-rearing behaviours, and children's social competence, may be less salient in the current investigation.

Relation of Memories to Depression

Maternal depression was positively associated with mothers' general memories of loneliness, and negatively associated with mothers' general memories of peer acceptance/sociability. Mothers with specific lonely memories were also more likely to report general lonely memories. These observations suggest that mothers who recall lonely memories, are also more likely to report higher levels of depressive symptoms.

Research on recall suggests that depressed people have a negative bias in encoding and recall

(McDowall, 1984; Williams, 1992). Also, depressed individuals are reported to have a shorter latency in the retrieval of negative memories relative to positive memories (Blaney, 1986; Williams, 1992) suggesting that unpleasant memories are more salient (McDowall, 1984; Teasdale, 1988). Recent work similarly indicates that mildly depressed individuals are more likely to perceive the future and the past as involving similar proportions of positive and negative events, while non-depressed individuals are more likely to perceive positive life-experiences (Dowse & McClure, 1996). However, although it is possible that depressed persons negatively misinterpret the past, other researchers have argued that these interpretations represent a more “realistic” view of the past. According to the “depressive realism” hypothesis, it is non-depressed individuals who distort reality by making “overly optimistic and self-flattering inferences” (Dowse & McClure, p. 93). Together these observations suggest that mothers who are prone to depression tend to view their general peer experiences. However, because at least some mothers with lonely memories recalled *specific* lonely peer experiences, and this recollection was associated with children’s social competence, it is possible that mothers who remember a more balanced view of peer experiences (the negative as well as the positive) are better able to “relate” to their children’s own peer issues.

Contrary to information contained within the bulk of the literature, current results did not suggest that maternal depression was associated with less effective parenting behaviours, or children’s social or behavioural difficulties. It is possible that mothers who reported higher levels of depression in this study had greater social support. For example, it has been found that social support networks, as well as good marital relationships, are associated with more competent parenting practices among depressed mothers (Cohen & Wills, 1985; Rutter, 1990). Differences in chronicity and severity of maternal depression, may also account for the lack of associations from

depression to parenting, and to children's social competence. For example, even within a group of moderately depressed mothers, research suggests that differences in chronicity and severity related to individual differences in infants' and preschoolers' attachment status to their mothers (Teti, Gelfand, Messinger, & Isabella, 1995). It is also possible that lonely memories of childhood peer experiences motivate mothers to ensure such social difficulties do not befall their children. In support of this observation is evidence suggesting that some children of depressed mothers do well socially. Specifically, Zahn-Waxler, et al. (1990) reported that a subgroup of depressed mothers were observed to use positive socialization strategies with their toddlers in interactions with peers, and their children were also reported to be doing well socially. It would be important, in this context, to examine mothers' beliefs regarding children's socialization. For example, mothers with specific lonely memories may feel experiential factors are particularly important for children's social development.

It is also possible that some mothers who are depressed, who also recall lonely peer experiences, are motivated to ensure that such social difficulties do not befall their children. As such, this group of mothers may believe that children's social success with peers may be influenced through their socialization attempts or child-rearing practices. It is important to note that although lonely or depressed mothers in the current investigation were not any more likely to be indirectly involved in children's peer relations, results also suggested that they were also not any *less* likely to manage children's peer relations. Perhaps future work, which examines the frequency with which this depressed/lonely group endorses unique management behaviours, would provide more compelling information regarding the relation between mothers' depression, lonely memories, and mothers' beliefs regarding the socialization of their children. For example, this group of mothers may have

less supportive social networks and therefore be less likely to confer with friends regarding children's peer relationships, but may be quite active in encouraging children's initiation of peer activities.

Consideration of Fathers

A further important issue is that fathers (or partners) were not included in this investigation. Although the present investigation provides an overview of mothers' involvement in preschool children's peer relationships, it is important to now examine fathers' (or partners') child-rearing behaviours in this context.

Fathers' management of children's relations with peers has received scant attention in the literature to date, and with more mothers working, and more fathers staying home to raise children and/or being more actively involved in children's issues, an important "piece of the puzzle" is missing if fathers are excluded from such investigations. Previous research has indicated the importance of examining relations from fathers' parenting behaviours to children's social competence. Specifically, the quality of the father-child relationship has been related to children's social competence in numerous investigations. For example, children whose fathers engage in more joint activities with them (Atili, 1989) and who are more physically playful with children and involved in play activities (MacDonald & Parke, 1984), have been found to be more socially skilled with peers.

Other evidence suggests that the affective quality of fathers' involvement in play activities with their child may further promote social skills which are unique to the development of intimate

friendships (Kand, Katz & Gottman, 1994). Specifically, children of fathers who were positive and engaged in the course of teaching their child a particular task, displayed higher levels of self-disclosure with a best friend. The authors hypothesized that children who were able to achieve the most intimate level of play may be more likely to have fathers who show high levels of positive affect. In this sense, fathers may be particularly important to children's capacity to establish intimate dyadic friendships. Such friendships have been described as being particularly important to girls (Buhrmester & Furman, 1987), and, if this is true, a positive and supportive father-daughter relationship may be significant in predicting girls' social success.

Consideration of Siblings

Another potentially important contributor to children's peer success is whether children have siblings, as well as factors surrounding the sibling relationship. Research examining these associations (reviewed by Dunn, 1996), suggests that siblings have an effect on children's well-being and adjustment, and also provide opportunities to develop social competencies (such as social and moral understanding), through play and conflict management.

It has also long been suggested that the quality of the parent-child relationship is predictive of the quality of sibling relationships within the family (Teti & Abelard, 1989). For example, recent work suggests that children who are included, or include siblings, in their peer-play interactions, are more popular amongst peers (Mohr & Daniels, 1996). It would therefore be important to examine the influence of siblings in the context of the current study. For example, it is possible that mothers' memories of childhood peer experiences have more bearing for their management of "only"

children's peer relationships, as compared to mothers with more than one child. Specifically, mothers with recollections of specific lonely peer experiences may be especially motivated to be involved in children's peer relationships in the absence of siblings.

Absence of Peer Nominations/Self Report

A further difficulty is that this study was limited to teacher and mother reports of children's social competence. Future studies should also assess these concepts from the perspective of peers, as well as from the children themselves. For example, a broader assessment of children's peer competence which includes a measure of children's friendships (such as that recently developed by Ladd, Kockenderfer, & Coleman, (1996) may indicate further benefits from parental involvement in children's peer relationships. The constructs of sociometric status and friendship quality are considered to be separate and unique dimensions of peer competence; sociometric status refers to the extent to which a child is liked or accepted by members of a peer group while friendship quality refers to the experience of intimate dyadic relationships (Bukowski & Hoza, 1989; Buhrmester, 1990). Consequently, investigations examining the impact of parental structuring of children's peer interactions on children's social success with peers would benefit from the inclusion of both constructs.

Sample Characteristics

On a final note it is important to consider that the sample of mothers in the current study represented a relatively small group of mothers who were approached for participation (27%). Although these mothers reported substantial variability in their memories of childhood peer experiences, how they managed children's peer relations, and their child-rearing behaviours, it is important to note that they represent a select group who may be particularly motivated to be involved in issues related to their children, and/or have a particular interest in their own childhood peer experiences. Additionally, mothers' responses were exclusively self-report, and external validation of measures employed in the current study is not available. It is therefore possible that mothers' responses may all be influenced by mothers' current emotional state. However, maternal depression was considered in the elucidation of these associations, indicating that above and beyond possible depressive symptoms, mothers' memories could be uniquely associated with mothers' child-rearing behaviours and observations of children's peer acceptance, and aggressive behaviour.

Concluding Comments

Despite these caveats, the results of this investigation demonstrate the potential value of research examining relations between mothers' memories of their own peer experiences to mothers' involvement in children's peer relations, as well as to children's social competence. Results of this investigation suggest potential negative as well as positive pathways to children's social competence. More positive outcomes to children's social competence were suggested when mothers' specific

memories were considered, while more negative outcomes to children's social competence were associated with mothers' general memories. The value of including both mothers' and teachers' assessments of children's social competence was also discussed. Results also supported direct links from mothers' management of children's peer relations (direct involvement) to children's aggressive and anxious behaviour, as well as reticent and rough play, and provided further support to the contention that management of children's peer relations uniquely contributes to children's social competence, independent of mothers' parenting style.

Together, the results of this investigation indicate that how mothers remember their own childhood peer experiences is an important indicator of mothers' child-rearing behaviours, and children's social competence. Future work examining these associations with a focus on specific as well as general peer recollections, as well as on relations to mothers' beliefs regarding children's social development, is warranted.

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APPENDIX A

Announcement for Recruiting

Director's Letter

February, 1997

Dear Director

During the past number of years, staff and graduate students from the Psychology Department at Carleton University have been engaged in research examining children's relationships with their peers. We are currently interested in finding out about parents' views about children's peer relationships, and the ways parents become involved in their children's peer relationships. Currently, very little is known about the way that parents' influence their children's friendships. We are writing to you now to ask if you would be willing to help us out by volunteering your centre to participate in this study.

This study will not involve children's direct participation. We are primarily concerned with parent's ideas and behaviours, and will therefore be asking mothers of 3-5 year old children to participate in the study. Mothers who volunteer will be asked to fill out a questionnaire in which we ask about several aspects of their own childhood peer relationships, their children's peer relationships, as well as their child-rearing practices. The questionnaire should take approximately 90 minutes to complete.

Teachers (one teacher familiar with the child) will be asked to complete a short questionnaire concerning the play behaviour of children of participating mothers. This questionnaire should take approximately ten minutes per child for the teacher to complete.

All information will be kept strictly confidential. This information will be seen only by the researchers involved in this study, and will be used solely for research purposes. No individual record of the research results will be published, as we are studying groups of parents (and children) rather than individuals.

Should your school decide to participate, you will receive a research report once the study is completed. We regret that we cannot offer individual financial reimbursement to participating parents, however, those mothers who choose to participate will be entered in a draw for a cash "prize" of \$300.00. A research summary will also be made available directly to the interested parents.

This study has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Carleton University. We expect to begin our study towards the end of this month. We are optimistic that your participation in this project will enable us to make an important contribution to our understanding of children's peer relationships.

The research coordinator for this project, Shelley Mohr, will contact you next week, to provide further information should you be interested. If you have any questions or comments about this research, please contact Shelley Mohr (523-5325) or myself (788-2600, ext 2686). Should you have any ethical concerns about this study, please contact Dr. Lise Paquet (Chair, Department of Psychology Ethics Committee) or Dr. W. Jones (Chair, Department of Psychology, 788-2600, ext. 2648).

Thank you for your consideration of this project. We look forward to talking with you soon.

Sincerely,

Tina Daniels, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Psychology

Shelley Mohr, M.Ed.
Research Coordinator

APPENDIX B
Parent's Letter

February 1997

Dear Parent(s):

During the past number of years, staff and graduate students from the Psychology Department at Carleton University have been engaged in research examining children's relationships with their peers. We are currently interested in finding out about parents' views about children's peer relationships, and the ways parents become involved in their children's peer relationships. Currently, very little is known about the way that parents influence their children's friendships. We are writing to you now to ask if you would be willing to help us out by volunteering to participate in this study.

Mothers who volunteer to participate in the study will be mailed a questionnaire in which we ask about several aspects of their own childhood peer relationships, their children's peer relationships and their child-rearing practices. This questionnaire should take about 90 minutes to complete. Participating mothers will be provided with a stamped, addressed envelope in which to return the questionnaire to the research coordinator. Please note that although we are interested in father's views and child-rearing practices regarding children's peer relationships, our present project is focusing on mother's. We hope to include fathers in this aspect of our research at a later date.

The information collected in this study is for research purposes only, and will be kept strictly confidential. No individuals other than the immediate research associates will have access to the information you provide. Also, no individual record of the research results will be published or seen by any school personnel. We are studying groups of parents rather than individuals.

We regret that we cannot provide any individual financial reimbursement to participating mothers, however, if you choose to participate you will be entered in a draw for a "prize" of \$300.00, upon completion of the data collection. (We hope to have completed this aspect of the study by the end of April.) Additionally, we will be providing the day-care centre with a summation of the research findings, and will be happy to make such a report available to interested, participating mothers.

We are optimistic that your participation in this project will enable us to make an important contribution to our understanding of children's peer relationships. The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Carleton University has approved this research. Should you have any questions or comments about this research project, please contact Shelley Mohr (523-5325) or myself (788-2600, ext. 2686). Should you have any ethical concerns about this study, please contact Dr. Lise Paquet (Chair, Department of Psychology Ethics Committee) or Dr. W. Jones (Chair, Department of Psychology, 788-2600, ext. 2648).

If you are interested in participating, please fill out the attached consent form and return it to the day-care centre as soon as possible. We will then directly mail you the “Parenting Questionnaire”. We would appreciate receiving an answer even if you do not wish to participate, since we would like to be certain that all parents have in fact received this request.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. We recognize that time is a precious commodity for parents of young children in particular, and we greatly appreciate your consideration of this research project.

Sincerely yours,

Tina Daniels, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor, Psychology

Shelley Mohr, M.Ed.
Research Coordinator

CARLETON UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

I agree to participate in the research on parents' ideas about children's peer relationships which is being conducted by Shelley Mohr and Dr. Tina Daniels at Carleton University.

YES _____ NO _____

NAME OF PARENT/GUARDIAN: _____

SIGNATURE: _____

NAME OF CHILD: _____

DATE OF BIRTH OF CHILD: DAY _____ MONTH _____ YEAR _____

TELEPHONE NUMBER WHERE YOU CAN BE CONTACTED: _____

ADDRESS: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX C

PARENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Story Narrative

All of us have had a variety of different experiences growing up as children. These childhood experiences influence the way in which we respond to the world as an adult and as a parent. One area in which people's experiences differ greatly is their childhood friendships and relationships with other children. For example, some of you may recall having been quite outgoing as a child whereas others may recall being somewhat shy or somewhat aggressive. The goal of the first part of this questionnaire is to find out more about your social relationships as a child. We realize that it may be difficult for you to recall information about some things that happened so long ago. Just try to do the best you can to remember what you were like and how you felt as a child.

2. Do you think this experience was important in positively or negatively influencing your future relationships?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important	Not very Important	Sort of Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

If so, how?

APPENDIX E **(Modified) Revised Class Play**

In contrast to your recollection of a specific peer experience, the second part of this section is concerned with your general feelings regarding your peer experiences in elementary school.

Please indicate how much each of the following statements characterized your behaviour with other children during your elementary school years. Please indicate your answer by placing an X beside one statement for each question.

1. I usually played alone rather than with other children.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
2. I got into a lot of fights and arguments.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
3. I had many friends.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
4. I was someone whose feelings were easily hurt by other children.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
5. I made friends easily.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
6. I teased other children too much.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
7. I picked on other children.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me

8. I was someone other children liked to be with.		Not at all true of me
		Not very true of me
		Sort of true of me
		Very true of me
		Completely true of me

APPENDIX F
(Modified) Loneliness and Social Dissatisfaction Questionnaire
(Cassidy & Asher, 1992)

1. It was easy for me to make new friends at school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
2. I had other kids to talk with at school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
3. I was good at working with other kids in school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Extremely true
4. It was hard for me to make friends at school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Extremely true
5. I had lots of friends at school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
6. I felt alone at school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
7. I could always find a friend when I needed one.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
8. It was hard for me to get kids at school to like me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true

9. I had kids to play with at school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
10. I got along with other kids at school.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
11. I often felt left out of things at school.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
12. There were kids I could go to if I needed help at school.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
13. I was lonely at school.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
14. The kids at school liked me.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me
15. I had friends at school.	Not at all true of me
	Not very true of me
	Sort of true of me
	Very true of me
	Completely true of me

APPENDIX G
Peer Acceptance Subscale
(From Mother-Father-Peer Scale)
(Epstein, 1983)

Please indicate the extent to which the following statements describe your childhood relationships with peers by placing an X beside one statement for each question. Some of the statements may be somewhat similar to questions you have already responded to earlier in this questionnaire. We'd appreciate it if you would complete them anyway.

When I was a child:

1. Other children liked to play with me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
2. Other children were always criticizing me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
3. Other children often shared things with me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Extremely true
4. Other children often picked on me and teased me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Extremely true
5. Other children were usually friendly to me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
6. Other children would usually stick up for me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true

7. Other children liked to ask me to go along with them.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
8. Other children wouldn't listen when I tried to say something.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
9. Other children were often unfair to me.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true
10. Other children would often hurt my feelings.	Not at all true
	Not very true
	Sort of true
	Very true
	Completely true

APPENDIX H

Social Goals Inventory

Children differ greatly in how sociable they are with other children. Some children may be quite sociable, and outgoing, and have many friends. Others may be shy, quiet, and have few friends. How sociable your child is with other children may be affected by a variety of factors: Heredity; parental influence (i.e. child-rearing practices, parental example or instruction); other influences such as friends and teachers; and unpredictable influences.

We are interested in how important you feel your child's sociability with peers is. Please indicate how much each of the following statements reflect your feelings regarding young children's experience with peers. Please indicate your answer by placing an X beside one statement for each question.

1. It is very important for preschool children to make friends with children their own age.

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

2. It is important for preschool children to be sensitive to other's feelings.

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely Unimportant	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

3. It is important for preschool children to be able to solve disagreements without fighting.

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely Unimportant	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

4. It is important for preschool children to be assertive.

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely Unimportant	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

5. It is important for preschool children to get other children to like them.

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely Unimportant	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

6. It is important for preschool children to be able to lead their peers.

1	2	3	4	5
Extremely Unimportant	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

7. How important is it to you, that your child has playmates?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important	Not very Important	Somewhat Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

8. How important is it to you, that your child has many, or a wide variety of playmates?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important	Not very Important	Sort of Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

9. How important is it to you, that your child develops close friendships with one or two more familiar (or consistent) playmates?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Important	Not very Important	Sort of Important	Very Important	Extremely Important

APPENDIX I
Preschool Behaviour Questionnaire
(Behar & Stringfield, 1974)

Thank-you for sharing with us your feelings regarding your childhood peer experiences and thoughts concerning your child's sociability. This next part of the questionnaire is concerned with how you perceive your child's behaviour.

The following is a series of descriptions of behaviour often shown by children. After each statement are three columns? "Doesn't Apply", "Applies Sometimes", and "Certainly Applies". If your child shows the behaviour described by the statement frequently or to a great degree, place an "X" in the space under "Certainly Applies". If your child shows behaviour described by the statement to a lesser degree or less often, place an "X" in the space under "Applies Sometimes". If, as far as you are aware, your child does not show the behaviour, place an "X" in the space under "Doesn't Apply".

Please put **ONE** "X" for **EACH** statement.

	Doesn't Apply	Applies Sometimes	Certainly Applies
1. Restless. Runs about or jumps up and down. Doesn't keep still.			
2. Squirmy, fidgety child.			
3. Destroys own or other's belongings.			
4. Fights with other children.			
5. Not much liked by other children.			
6. Inhibited with classmates.			
7. Is worried. Worries about many things.			
8. Tends to do things on her/his own rather solitary.			
9. Irritable, quick to "fly off the handle".			
10. Appears miserable, unhappy, tearful, or distressed.			
11. Has twitches, mannerisms, or tics of the face and body.			
12. Bites nails or fingers.			
13. Is disobedient.			
14. Has poor concentration or short attention span.			
15. Tends to be fearful or afraid of new things or new situations.			
16. Does not express feelings.			
17. Fussy or over-particular child.			
18. Tells lies.			
19. Has wet or soiled self this year.			
20. Has stutter or stammer.			
21. Has other speech difficulty.			
22. Bullies other children.			

23. Inattentive.			
24. Doesn't share toys.			
25. Cries easily.			
26. Blames others.			
27. Gives up easily.			
28. Inconsiderate of others.			
29. Inhibited with teachers.			
30. Kicks, bites, or hits other children.			
31. Stares into space.			

APPENDIX J
Harter's Rating Scale of Child's Perceived Competence and Social Acceptance
(Harter Pike, 1984)

Some children have many friends, and some children have fewer friends. Still, some children often play alone. We are interested in how you feel your child "gets along" with his or her peers. Please indicate how true you feel these statements are for your child.

1. My child has lots of friends.	Really true
	Very true
	Not very true
	Not at all true
2. My child stays overnight at friends'	Really true
	Very true
	Not very true
	Not at all true
3. My child has friends to play games with.	Really true
	Very true
	Not very true
	Not at all true
4. My child has friends on the playground.	Really true
	Very true
	Not very true
	Not at all true
5. My child gets asked to play with others.	Really true
	Very true
	Not very true
	Not at all true
6. My child eats dinner at friends' house.	Really true
	Very true
	Not very true
	Not at all true

APPENDIX K
Parenting Practices Questionnaire
(Robinson, et al. 1995)

We are interested in mother's child rearing behaviours. Please rate for each item; (1) *how often you* exhibit this behaviour with your child.

I Exhibit This Behaviour:

- 1 = Never
- 2 = Once in Awhile
- 3 = About Half of the Time
- 4 = Very Often

- ___ 1. I encourage our child to talk about the child's troubles.
- ___ 2. I guide our child by punishment more than by reason.
- ___ 3. I know the names of our child's friends.
- ___ 4. I find it difficult to discipline our child.
- ___ 5. I give praise when our child is good.
- ___ 6. I spank when our child is disobedient.
- ___ 7. I joke and play with our child.
- ___ 8. I withhold scolding and /or criticism even when our child acts contrary to our wishes.
- ___ 9. I show sympathy when our child is hurt or frustrated.
- ___ 10. I punish by taking privileges away from our child with little if any explanation.
- ___ 11. I spoil our child.
- ___ 12. I give comfort and understanding when our child is upset.
- ___ 13. I yell or shout when our child misbehaves.
- ___ 14. I am easy going and relaxed with our child.
- ___ 15. I allow our child to annoy someone else.
- ___ 16. I tell our child our expectations regarding behaviour before the child engages in an activity.
- ___ 17. I scold and criticize to make our child improve.

-
- ___ 18. I show patience with our child.
 - ___ 19. I grab our child when being disobedient.
 - ___ 20. I state punishments to our child and do not actually do them.
 - ___ 21. I am responsive to our child's feelings or needs.
 - ___ 22. I allow our child to give input into family rules.
 - ___ 23. I argue with our child.
 - ___ 24. I give our child reasons why rules should be obeyed.
 - ___ 25. I appear confident about parenting abilities.
 - ___ 26. I appear to be more concerned with own feelings than with our child's feelings.
 - ___ 27. I tell our child that we appreciate what the child tries or accomplishes.
 - ___ 28. I punish by putting our child off somewhere alone with little if any explanation.
 - ___ 29. I help our child to understand the impact of behaviour by encouraging our child to talk about the consequences of own actions.
 - ___ 30. I am afraid that disciplining our child for misbehaviour will cause the child not to like his/her parents.
 - ___ 31. I take our child's desires into account before asking the child to do something.
 - ___ 32. I explode in anger towards our child.
 - ___ 33. I am aware of problems or concerns about our child in school.
 - ___ 34. I threaten our child with punishment more often than actually giving it.
 - ___ 35. I express affection by hugging, kissing, and holding our child.
 - ___ 36. I ignore our child's misbehaviour.
 - ___ 37. I use physical punishment as a way of disciplining our child.
 - ___ 38. I carry out discipline after our child misbehaves.
 - ___ 39. I apologize to our child when making a mistake in parenting.
 - ___ 40. I tell our child what to do.

-
- ___ 41. I give into our child when the child causes a commotion about something.
 - ___ 42. I talk it over and reason with our child when the child misbehaves.
 - ___ 43. I slap our child when the child misbehaves.
 - ___ 44. I disagree with our child.
 - ___ 45. I allow our child to interrupt others.
 - ___ 46. I have warm and intimate times together with our child.
 - ___ 47. When two children are fighting, I discipline the children first and ask questions later.
 - ___ 48. I encourage our child to freely express (himself) (herself) even when disagreeing with parents.
 - ___ 49. I bribe our child with rewards to bring about compliance.
 - ___ 50. I scold or criticize when our child's behaviour doesn't meet our expectations.
 - ___ 51. I show respect for our child's opinions by encouraging our child to express them.
 - ___ 52. I set strict well-established rules for our child.
 - ___ 53. I explain to our child how we feel about the child's good and bad behaviour.
 - ___ 54. I use threats as punishment with little or no justification.
 - ___ 55. I take into account our child's preferences in making plans for the family.
 - ___ 56. When our child asks why (he) (she) has to conform, I state: "Because I said so", or "I am your parent and I want you to".
 - ___ 57. I appear unsure on how to solve our child's misbehaviour.
 - ___ 58. I explain the consequences of the child's behaviour.
 - ___ 59. I demand that our child does/do things.
 - ___ 60. I channel our child's misbehaviour into a more acceptable activity.
 - ___ 61. I shove our child when the child is disobedient.
 - ___ 62. I emphasize the reasons for rules.

APPENDIX L
Parental Involvement Checklist
(Cohen, 1989)

Parents participate in the social lives of their children in various ways. The nature of a parent's involvement in their child's social relationships with other children of a similar age may depend on a variety of things, for example their child's age and gender. Clearly, there is no one "best" way for a parent to participate and be involved in their children's relationships with other children.

In this section of the questionnaire we would like to find out about some of the ways you are involved in your child's relationships with other children. Below we have listed a number of possible activities (or behaviours) that you may or may not do with respect to your child's social relationships. Some of the things on the list you may do on a daily basis and others not quite as often. Don't be surprised if some of the items don't apply to your situation or are things you have never done. Please remember, we are only asking you about your involvement with your child who is participating in the present study.

We would like to know how often you have engaged in a particular activity (behaviour) during the past month. Please make one rating for each item: Indicate how often you have engaged in each activity (behaviour) by circling one number for each item for how it applies to you.

If you circle 6 you have indicated that you have engaged in the activity several times a week.

If you circle 5 you have indicated that you have engaged in this activity about once a week.

If you circle 4 you have indicated that you have engaged in this activity about once every two weeks.

If you circle 3 you have indicated that you have engaged in this activity about once a month.

If you circle 2 you have indicated that you have engaged in this activity less than once a month.

If you circle 1 you have indicated that you have never engaged in this activity.

How often during the past month have you:

1. Encouraged you child to invite another child over to play.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
2. Kept an eye on how things were going when your child had a friend over to play.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
3. Drove your child to his/her friend's house.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
4. Discussed your child's social relationships with your spouse or a relative.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
5. Talked to your child about a problem he/she is having with another child or children.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
6. Made arrangements with another parent for your children to play.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
7. Given your child advice about how to get along with other children.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week

8. Invited other children in the neighbourhood over to play with your child.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
9. Contacted another parent to talk about how his/her child gets along with your child.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
10. Encouraged your child to invite a friend over for lunch or dinner.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
11. Contacted your child's teacher about how he/she gets along with other children at school.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
12. Talked to your child about making new friends.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
13. Planned to spend time with another family because they have a child who is close in age to your child.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
14. Encouraged your child to go outside and play with others.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week

15. Worried about your child's relationships with other children.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
16. Asked your child about how things are going with other children at school	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
17. Rearranged your family's plans so that your child could spend time with a friend.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
18. Talked to one of your friends about your child's social relationships.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
19. Comforted your child when he or she was upset about getting along with other children.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
20. Given your child advice about how to initiate a friendship.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
21. Tried to help in some way when you child was involved in a conflict with a friend.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week

22. Kept track of your child's whereabouts and playmates.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
23. Given your child advice about how to solve a problem with a friend.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
24. Discouraged your child from playing or spending time with a friend you don't like.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
25. Kept track of who phones your child.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
26. Talked to your child when he/she initiates a conversation about other children.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week
27. Discussed your child's social relationships with a professional.	Never
	Less than once a month
	About once a month
	About once every 2 weeks
	About once a week
	Several times a week

APPENDIX M

Descriptive Information: Mother's Involvement in Children's Peer Relations

Descriptive information concerning the frequency distribution of mother's responses to each of the 27 items on the "Parental Involvement Checklist" is presented in Appendix O. Considerable variability across items as well as within items was noted. Similarities as well as differences to Cohen's (1989) results in her sample of school-age children were also evident.

Mothers engaged in the different types of involvement activities across items with marked frequency. Some discrepancies were also found for frequencies of involvement behaviours for the current sample of mothers of preschoolers, and Cohen's (1989) sample of mother's of school-age children. For example, a majority of the mothers indicated that they "planned to spend time with another family because they have a child who is close in age to (their) child" (54%), and "encouraged their child to go outside and play with others" (68.8%) several times a week. Cohen (1989) found these behaviours to be seldom practiced, and reflective of mother's "high concern-involvement" in her sample of mother's of school-age children. Conversely, results from the current sample, indicates that these type of child-rearing practices are common among mother's of preschoolers.

In contrast, there were several types of involvement activities which a majority of mothers reported never to have engaged in. For the most part, these items concurred with Cohen's reported frequencies. They are: "Worried about (their) child's relationships with other children" (61.9%); "Asked (their) child about how things (are) going with other children at school" (70.8%); "Talked to one of (their) friends about (their) child's social relationships" (58.9%); and "Discussed (their) child's social relationships with a professional" (71.3%). With the exception of "Asked your child about how things are going with other children at school", Cohen (1989) similarly identified these items as infrequent, and theorized that they were reflective of "high concern-involvement".

Variability within items was also noted. For most activities, mothers reported that they were involved in the activity at least one or more times a week, while an equally or greater percentage reported that they never or infrequently (less than once a month) engaged in the same activities.

Due to the noted discrepancies in the frequencies of involvement behaviours between Cohen's (1989) sample and the current sample, it was decided to see if Cohen's (1989) four-factor solution could be replicated. An exploratory factors analysis (unweighted least squares, kaiser normalization with oblimin rotation) was conducted. This type of analysis was similarly employed by Cohen (1989) and was chosen due to the assumption that the involvement questions were correlated (i.e. reflective of an underlying "involvement" construct). Results yielded seven factors, however, only the first factor accounted for a substantial portion of the variance (29.2%), and examination of items within factors indicated that they lacked specificity (i.e. little theoretical sense). A further examination of the scree plot indicated a two-factor solution. It was therefore decided to re-run the factor analysis, and force a two-factor solution. In this solution, the first factor accounted for 27 % of the variance, and the second factor accounted for 9.2% of the variance. Variables which loaded

<.400 were identified and excluded (items 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 27), and the factor analyses was re-run. The next solution resulted in the first factor accounting for 31.6% of the variance, and the second factor accounting for 11.8% of the variance. Again, variables which loaded <.400 were identified and excluded (items 13, 12, 22, and 25) and the factor-analysis was re-run. The final solution resulted in the identification of two factors comprising of (1) items 1, 2, 3, 4, 10, 11, 18, and 24, accounting for 34.37% of the variance; and (2) items 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 20, 23, and 26, accounting for 14 % of the variance. Upon examination, it appeared that items loading on factor one reflected parenting behaviours reflective of indirect orchestration and monitoring, whereas items loading on factor two appeared to be reflective of involvement behaviours which were more directive or intrusive in terms of orchestration as well as in advice giving. These two factors were thus termed "indirect orchestration/monitoring" and "direct orchestration/advice-giving". It is likely that age differences in children between the current study and Cohen's (1989) study resulted in different patterns of maternal involvement. An outline of items on factor one (indirect orchestration/monitoring) and items on factor two (direct orchestration/advice-giving) follows.

The variable, "frequency of friend play" was significantly and positively correlated with indirect orchestration/monitoring ($r = .696$; $p < .01$) and direct orchestration/advice-giving ($r = .266$; $p < .01$). Therefore, it was not included in further analyses examining parent's involvement in children's peer relationships.

APPENDIX N
Frequency Table: Parental Involvement Checklist

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
1. Encouraged your child to invite another child over to play.	21 (10.4)	35 (17.3)	39 (19.3)	41 (20.3)	41 (20.3)	25 (12.3)
2. Kept an eye on how things were going when your child had a friend over to play.	27 (13.4)	29 (14.4)	35 (17.3)	42 (20.8)	45 (22.2)	24 (11.8)
3. Drove your child to his/her friend's house.	55 (27.2)	28 (13.9)	24 (11.9)	28 (13.9)	39 (19.3)	28 (13.8)
4. Discussed your child's social relationships with your spouse or a relative.	77 (38.1)	55 (27.2)	28 (13.9)	22 (10.9)	18 (8.9)	2 (1.0)
5. Talked to your child about a problem he/she is having with another child or children.	20 (9.9)	36 (17.8)	35 (17.3)	22 (10.9)	51 (25.2)	38 (18.7)
6. Made arrangements with another parent for your children to play.	18 (8.9)	34 (16.8)	33 (16.3)	27 (13.4)	48 (23.8)	42 (20.7)
7. Given your child advice about how to get along with other children.	21 (10.4)	68 (33.7)	30 (14.9)	35 (17.3)	30 (14.9)	18 (8.9)
8. Invited other children in the neighbourhood over to play with your child.	28 (13.9)	57 (28.2)	41 (20.3)	36 (17.8)	26 (12.9)	14 (6.9)
9. Contacted another parent to talk about how his/her child gets along with your child.	28 (13.9)	43 (21.3)	35 (17.3)	34 (16.8)	39 (19.3)	23 (11.3)
10. Encouraged your child to invite a friend over for lunch or dinner.	22 (10.9)	23 (11.4)	29 (14.4)	34 (16.8)	38 (18.8)	56 (27.6)
11. Contacted your child's teacher about how he/she gets along with other children at school.	67 (33.2)	30 (14.9)	35 (17.3)	33 (16.3)	27 (13.4)	10 (4.9)
12. Talked to your child about making new friends.	13 (6.4)	16 (7.9)	28 (13.9)	29 (14.4)	51 (25.2)	65 (32.0)
13. Planned to spend time with another family because they have a child who is close in age to your child.	6 (3.0)	14 (6.9)	9 (4.5)	17 (8.4)	47 (23.3)	109 (53.7)
14. Encouraged your child to go outside and play with others.	20 (9.9)	11 (5.4)	5 (2.5)	10 (5.0)	17 (8.4)	139 (68.5)
15. Worried about your child's relationships with other children.	125 (61.9)	49 (24.3)	11 (5.4)	7 (3.5)	5 (2.5)	5 (2.5)
16. Asked your child about how things are going with other children at school.	143 (70.8)	11 (5.4)	5 (2.5)	6 (3.0)	9 (4.5)	28 (13.8)
17. Rearranged your family's plans so that your child could spend time with a friend.	37 (18.3)	25 (12.4)	14 (6.9)	15 (7.4)	36 (17.8)	75 (36.9)
18. Talked to one of your friends about your child's social relationships.	119 (58.9)	34 (16.8)	18 (8.9)	11 (5.4)	16 (7.9)	4 (2.0)
19. Comforted your child when he or she was upset about getting along with other children.	37 (18.3)	65 (32.2)	27 (13.4)	23 (11.4)	28 (13.9)	22 (10.8)
20. Given your child advice about how to initiate a friendship.	55 (27.2)	61 (30.2)	40 (19.8)	16 (7.9)	23 (11.4)	7 (3.4)
21. Tried to help in some way when your child was involved in a conflict with a friend.	16 (7.9)	43 (21.3)	54 (26.7)	43 (21.3)	40 (19.8)	6 (3.0)

22. Kept track of your child's whereabouts and playmates.	32 (15.8)	26 (12.9)	11 (5.4)	25 (12.4)	39 (19.3)	69 (34.0)
23. Given your child advice about how to solve a problem with a friend.	78 (38.6)	54 (26.7)	16 (7.9)	22 (10.9)	16 (7.9)	16 (7.9)
24. Discouraged your child from playing or spending time with a friend you don't like.	58 (28.7)	44 (21.8)	38 (18.8)	26 (12.9)	29 (14.4)	7 (3.4)
25. Kept track of who phones your child.	36 (17.8)	45 (22.3)	35 (17.3)	38 (18.8)	35 (17.3)	13 (6.4)
26. Talked to your child when he/she initiates a conversation about other children.	59 (29.2)	59 (29.2)	31 (15.3)	24 (11.9)	18 (8.9)	11 (5.4)
27. Discussed your child's social relationships with a professional.	144 (71.3)	31 (15.3)	10 (5.0)	3 (1.5)	7 (3.5)	6 (3.0)

APPENDIX O
2 Factor Solution: Parental Involvement Checklist

Factor 1 (indirect orchestration, monitoring)

% of variance = 34.37

1. Encouraged your child to invite another child over to play. (.850)
2. Kept an eye on how things were going when your child had a friend over to play. (.864)
3. Drove your child to his/her friend's house. (.700)
4. Discussed your child's social relationships with your spouse or relative. (.729)
10. Encouraged your child to invite a friend over for lunch or dinner. (.694)
11. Contacted another parent to talk about how he/she gets along with other children at school. (.648)
18. Talked to one of your friends about your child's social relationships. (.444)
24. Discouraged your child from playing or spending time with a friend you don't like. (.575)

Factor 2 (direct orchestration, advice-giving)

% of variance = 14.0%

5. Talked to your child about a problem he/she is having with another child or children. (.683)
6. Made arrangements with another parent for your children to play. (.688)
7. Given your child advice about how to get along with other children. (.637)
8. Invited other children in the neighbourhood over to play with your child. (.727)
9. Contacted another parent to talk about how his/her child gets along with your child. (.741)
20. Given your child advice about how to initiate a friendship. (.646)
23. Given your child advice about how to solve a problem with a friend. (.467)
25. Talked to your child when he/she initiates a conversation about other children. (.761)

APPENDIX P

Peer Activities Checklist

Other things you have done in the past month with respect to your children's social relationships that are not listed above?

1. Please list all organized activities your child was involved in during the past year, and/or is currently involved in (e.g. Beavers, Sparks, Soccer, Gymnastics, Dance, Karate, etc.).

2. In the course of a typical week how often does your child play with his/her friend(s) at your home?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Often	Not Very Often	Sort of Often	Very often	Extremely Often

3. In the course of a typical week how often does your child play with his/her friend(s) at a friend's house?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Often	Not Very Often	Sort of Often	Very often	Extremely Often

4. In the course of a typical week how often does your child play with his/her friend(s) within the neighbourhood (at the park, Pool, etc.)?

1	2	3	4	5
Not at all Often	Not Very Often	Sort of Often	Very often	Extremely Often

APPENDIX Q
Centre for Epidemiological Studies – Depression Scale
(Radloff, 1977)

This final section of the questionnaire concerns feelings parents may or may not experience in the course of their daily lives.

Below is a list of the ways you might have felt or behaved. Please indicate how often you have felt this way **during the past week**. For example, for the first item, if you were bothered by things that don't usually bother you during the past week, "rarely", or "none of the time", you would put a "0" in the space provided beside this question. If you were bothered by things that don't usually bother you during the past week, "some or a little of the time", you would put a "1" in the space provided. If you were bothered "occasionally or a moderate amount of time" during the past week, by things that don't usually bother you, you would put a "2" in the space provide. If you were bothered by things that don't usually bother you during the past week, "most or all of the time", you would mark a "3" in the space provided.

0 = Rarely or None of the Time (Less than 1 day, in the past week)

1 = Some or a Little of the Time (1-2 days, in the past week)

2 = Occasionally or a Moderate Amount of Time (3-4 days, in the past week)

3 = Most or All of the Time (5-7 days, in the past week)

During the past week:

- ___ 1. I was bothered by things that usually don't bother me.
- ___ 2. I did not feel like eating; my appetite was poor.
- ___ 3. I felt that I could not shake off the blues even with help from my family or friends.
- ___ 4. I felt that I was just as good as other people.
- ___ 5. I had trouble keeping my mind on what I was doing.
- ___ 6. I felt depressed.
- ___ 7. I felt that everything I did was an effort.
- ___ 8. I felt hopeful about the future.
- ___ 9. I thought my life had been a failure.
- ___ 10. I felt fearful.
- ___ 11. My sleep was restless.

- ___ 12. I was happy.
- ___ 13. I talked less than usual.
- ___ 14. I felt lonely.
- ___ 15. People were unfriendly.
- ___ 16. I enjoyed life.
- ___ 17. I had crying spells.
- ___ 18. I felt sad.
- ___ 19. I felt that people dislike me.
- ___ 20. I could not get "going".

APPENDIX R

Education Checklist

Please indicate what level of education you completed.

1. _____ partial high school
2. _____ high school
3. _____ college
4. _____ university
5. _____ advanced degree

APPENDIX S

TEACHER QUESTIONNAIRE

The Preschool Play Behaviour Scale (Coplan & Rubin, in press)

The following scale examines various behaviours that children may engage in during *indoor free play*. Please rate the child on each item and **COMPARE HIM/HER TO OTHER CHILDREN OF THE SAME AGE IN THE CLASS**. Although it is true that children's behaviours may be quite variable, please try to make a general evaluation of the child's "everyday" behaviours.

1. Talks to other children during play.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

2. Plays by himself/herself, examining an object or toy.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

3. Plays 'rough and tumble' with other children.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

4. Takes on the role of onlooker or spectator.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

5. Plays 'make-believe' with other children.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

6. Engages in group play.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

7. Engages in pretend play by himself/herself.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

8. Plays alone, building things with blocks and/or other toys.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

9. Wanders around aimlessly.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

10. Plays in groups *with* (not just beside) other children.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

11. Plays 'make believe', but not with other children.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

12. Watches, or listens to other children without trying to join in.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

13. Engages in playful/mock fighting with other children.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

14. Plays by himself/herself, drawing, painting pictures or doing puzzles.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

15. Engages in active conversations with other children during play.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

16. Engages in pretend play with other children.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

17. Plays alone, exploring toys or objects, trying to figure out how they work.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

18. Remains alone and unoccupied, perhaps staring off into space.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often

19. How frequently is this child selected as a playmate by his or her peers.

1	2	3	4	5
Never	Hardly Ever	Sometimes	Often	Very Often