

Interaction Between Significant Adult and Toddler in Russia and Vietnam

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The article discusses the role of child interaction with a significant adult (parent, kindergarten teacher, caregiver) in child's neurocognitive development within socio-cultural contexts of Russia and Vietnam. The article presents the results of a pilot study that included focus group interviews with kindergarten specialists from Russia and Vietnam. The pilot study sample consisted of 74 participants (72 women, 2 men), aged 32 to 54 years ($M = 43.04$; $SD = 6.61$). Of these, Russian participants (10 cities) — 42 people (40 women and 2 men) aged 32 to 50 ($M = 40.19$; $SD = 6.28$) and Vietnamese participants (1 city) — 32 people (32 women) aged 38 to 54 years ($M = 46.67$; $SD = 5.12$). The interviews followed the questionnaire developed by the authors. It consisted of 21 open-ended questions grouped in 3 blocks: Block 1. What characteristics and skills should be developed during early childhood? Where and how should these be developed? Block 2. How are children under 3 years of age developed? Block 3. Who is involved in the development of a child under 3 years of age? A comparative analysis of the responses of the Russian and Vietnamese kindergarten specialists revealed no significant differences between the groups, which suggests similarities in educational and developmental strategies of young children in a kindergarten environment.

Keywords: early childhood, significant adult, adult-child interaction, joint activity.

Introduction

The development of parent-child interaction in the context of motherhood [1; 8; 12], fatherhood [9; 12; 15], and family as a system [11; 17; 19] has become an important area of research in modern psychology. Scientists have focused their attention on understanding modern trends in parenting given continuous transformation of family institution [7], particularities of parent behaviour, ethnicity, social status and gender differences [23]. Another important field of research looks at the interaction of a significant adult with a young child in state and private institutions [32; 41; 43]. Cross-cultural studies of parenting practices and

parent-child interaction have also gained importance as they attempt to incorporate the diversity of socio-cultural contexts in understanding parenting practices [11].

The desire to better understand adult-child interaction during early childhood has important grounds. Increasing number of findings over the past decade suggests the important role of adult in shaping child's neurocognitive development. Patterns of parent behaviour during interaction with a child have been suggested as a significant factor in child's neurocognitive and emotional development [28]. In particular, the development of prefrontal context and executive functions during early childhood have been linked to future academic, profession and personal outcomes, as

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well as physical and psychological health during adolescence and adulthood [30].

We identify culture as an important factor in a child's neurocognitive and socio-emotional development during early childhood [35.] According to the theory of constructed emotions, cultures differ in the way they define the concept of "emotion" and which emotions are cultivated through accepted social experience [37]. There are significant differences in emotional excitement and emotional valence between cultures. Some cultures promote more social interactions with children during early childhood, which in turn makes them familiar with a greater variety of emotional concepts. [37]. Thus, culture determines child's emotional experience, emotional valence in similar contexts, as well emotional granularity (the degree of accuracy of the verbal description of emotional experience) of child's language and the language of a significant adult [38]. Thus, for the purpose of the present pilot study it is important to introduce foundational cultural aspects of Russia and Vietnam that shape social environment and emotional context in early childhood period within which interactions between a significant adult and a child occur. In particular, we are interested in the role of country-specific socio-demographic characteristics, cultural particularities of a family system, cultural traditions, nursing environment and game activities in state and private institutions in shaping significant adult-child interaction.

Defining the problem

According to the 2010 All-Russian census, while Russians comprised 81% of Russia's total population, scientists point to the decline in the number of Russians and other Slavic people and increase in the proportion of migrants and their descendants. Among some of the notable trends observed over the past decade in Russia is continuous migration towards big cities (with nearly 80% of the country's population currently living in megacities) and replacement of patriarchal family traditions with small nuclear families. Moreover, economic and political turmoil following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in the 70s and 80s of the past century has resulted in unstable families with decreasing number of children and has led to

increased women's employment in social production [5].

Unlike Russia, Vietnam is one of East Asia's most ethnically homogeneous countries. Approximately 90% of Vietnamese people are ethnic Vietnamese. Vietnam has also undergone social changes over the past decade, including long war periods, collectivization, transition to a market economy and increasing integration with the global economy. This has had a profound effect on the family structure. Most of Vietnam's large families are located in rural areas and live together with relatives. Traditionally, rural norms in Vietnam forbid married women's migration, particularly mothers of small children, while giving more freedom to married men. Nowadays, not only married men but also women leave their large families in rural areas to find work and provide for their families. Migrating mothers justify their absence by the need to provide for their children and the need to meet their basic needs [38]. Such situation causes increasing family tensions. An increase in the number of single-parent families in megacities has been reported [39].

The risks of increasing dissolvment of close family ties and family nuclearization [18; 22] as a consequence of industrialization and urbanization also characterize the situation in Russia. Specialists identify the erosion of traditional behavioral norms regulating spouse choices, marital and parental roles, intergenerational relationships, and increasing role of individual choices over the normative ones. Young people are interested in professional and personal self-realization, which leads to decreasing marriages and childbirths [9].

Normative family pattern (or group of models) is of a conventional character that is affected by culture and includes family members, 'authorities-subordination' and emotional 'attachment-rejection' relationships, and their dynamics. The relationship structure determines the characteristics of positions and roles of family members. The normative model defines the structure of a real family in a given society [7]. Due to universalization of gender roles, traditional family roles assigned to father and mother in society undergo significant changes. The role of the woman-mother of today cannot be limited to providing comfort at home, childcare and emotional support for

family members [42]. Due to universalization of gender roles, traditional family roles assigned to father and mother in society undergo significant changes. The role of today's woman-mother cannot be limited to such activities as providing comfort at home, childcare and emotional support for family members [42].

In Russia, having family has become a significant obstacle to professional growth for many women. Giving birth and children upbringing have been largely replaced by women's desire to make career and earn money to ensure trouble-free life [18]. In Vietnam 'family' continues to play an important role in society. A typical Vietnamese family includes parents, children, grandparents, and grandchildren. Roles within Vietnamese family remain hierarchical and clearly defined [40].

Fathers in Vietnam are central figures responsible for providing for their families and for decision-making. Traditional father roles differ from those of mothers. The former tend to play a lesser role during infancy and childhood, however they become more involved in their children's school and adolescence years. Fathers are also traditionally associated with discipline and use physical punishment to maintain compliance with established rules. Vietnam is characterized by a patriarchal family, where the father's opinion is unquestioned, but it is the mother who plays a fundamental role when it comes to the child's upbringing process [33; 36].

In Vietnam, mothers being primary caregivers are usually engaged in household affairs and children upbringing. Their tasks include monitoring children's health, self-care, and nutrition. They teach children and help them with their homework [39]. Children return their parents' investments by showing efforts in learning and in building their future careers [33]. One of the reasons for the high academic performance of schoolchildren in Vietnam (PISA, 2015) is the high value of education [36].

Grandparents play an important role in helping children in Vietnam [39]. Older family members are highly valued and respected. Grandparents and other older relatives also play important decision-making roles. Besides taking care of the older family members, children are often respon-

sible for taking care and keeping the memory of ancestors [40].

It becomes clear that in both Russia and Vietnam young parents focus on career development. In Vietnam, when both parents work, usually relatives, more frequently grandparents, play an active role in children's upbringing [45]. In Russia both grandparents just like young parents, keep on working, in which case children are looked by caregivers or nurses [6].

We can point out several features that characterize early childhood interaction between children and parents in Vietnam. Although the mother tends to adopt a permissive approach during infancy, as the child grows older, a more authoritarian upbringing style compared to Western countries is introduced [25]. There is a belief that it is the family that lays the foundation for personality formation and that the authoritarian style of parenting corresponds to this goal [33; 36]. Mothers often use non-physical disciplinary techniques to cultivate a sense of responsibility and duty to the family: psychological manipulations such as evoking the feeling of guilt and shame are widely used, especially when a child does not meet parent's expectations. In situations of severe misconduct, a father enters the educational process [36].

Rinderman and colleagues (2013) noted that in their study none of 60 Vietnamese children participating in the study attended kindergarten before; almost all the children were brought up in full, stable families [45].

In Vietnam, constrained emotions are common: maintaining calmness in all situations is customary. Explicit wrath, sadness, extreme joy and even love are unacceptable behaviors. Thus, men should not cry or should not show their vulnerability, fear, etc., because such emotions are perceived as a sign of weakness. Meanwhile, Vietnamese women also tend to hide their sadness or anger replacing these and other negative emotions with a restrained smile [34].

Psychologists and specialists working in the area of parent-child interaction in Russia focus on promoting conscious parenting when both parents realize and accept family traditions, expectations, family roles, feelings, parental attitudes and responsibilities, understand the-self,

personal reactions, motives, behavioral patterns and values [16].

In understanding the importance of cross-cultural differences in parent-child interaction in different countries, it is also important to consider modern risks in the context of adult-child interaction during early childhood. Such risks are associated with social, technological and economic changes in modern society, which necessarily impact the quality and quantity of adult-child interaction. Mother's early return to work, and hence, child's early attendance of caregiving institution, increasing use of personal digital devices for personal reasons and in organization of child's free-time are among such risks that impact socio-emotional and cognitive development of modern children during early childhood.

Methods

The pilot study of cross-cultural invariance of interaction of a significant adult with a child during early childhood period in Russian and Vietnam analyzed particularities of interaction of a significant adult with a young child. The analysis included the following aspects: child's nursing environment created by a significant adult (parent, caregiver and etc.); modern games and toys that are used for joint play and for a child's independent play; parent participation in child's play.

For the purpose of identifying cross-cultural invariance of adult-child interaction during early childhood in Russia and Vietnam we conducted a series of focused interviews with kindergarten specialists. The pilot study sample consisted of 74 participants (72 women, 2 men), aged 32 to 54 years ($M = 43.04$; $SD = 6.61$). Of these, Russian participants (10 cities) — 42 people (40 women and 2 men) aged 32 to 50 ($M = 40.19$; $SD = 6.28$) and Vietnamese participants (1 city) — 32 people (32 women) aged 38 to 54 years ($M = 46.67$; $SD = 5.12$). The geographic representation of the sample included 10 cities of the Russian Federation (Ivanovo, Kaluga, Kotovsk, Kurgan, Moscow, Murmansk, Tolyatti, Tula, Chelyabinsk, Yakutsk) and one city of the Republic of Vietnam — Nha Trang.

The interviews were based on the questionnaire developed by the authors. It focused on understanding particularities of modern 1-to—

3-year-old children development and consisted of 21 open-ended questions, grouped in 3 blocks: Block 1. What characteristics and skills should be developed during early childhood? Where and how should these be developed? Block 2. How are children under 3 years of age developed? Block 3. Who is involved in the development of a child under 3 years of age? The questionnaire was translated into Russian, English and Vietnamese.

Results and discussion

Interviews were conducted in focus groups. Each focus group consisted of 7—10 kindergarten specialists. Each interview was video-recorded and transcribed. The average interview duration is 120 minutes.

The results of the questionnaire included 1387 responses based on the identified blocks. In a consequent content analysis, we grouped all the responses of the focus groups based on analytical categories (see Table).

The content analysis of the focus groups' responses revealed time deprivation in parent-child interaction during early childhood period in both countries, which is due to mothers' need for early return to the workplace (from 6 month of age in Vietnam and from 12 months in Russia).

According to the respondents, grandmother becomes a significant adult who takes care of a child. Usually a child joins kindergarten at the age of 18 months old, in which case a kindergarten teacher becomes 'a significant adult'.

In Russia before a child joins kindergarten, the role of significant adult is shared by grandparents, nurses, specialists of centers for early development and family clubs, specialists of day-care institutions. A child usually joins kindergarten institution at the age of 12 months old.

The specialists of kindergartens in both countries note the importance of early childhood development through free play and/or free activity. They underscore the importance of the role of kindergarten teacher who demonstrates how to play and who often remains an observer of children's play.

The content analysis has helped to identify the verbal image of a child in parent's perception and their vision of key competencies to be devel-

Table

Grouped responses of the focus groups of kindergarten specialists of Russia and of Vietnam¹

Russian Specialists (N=42)	Vietnamese Specialists (N=32)
Block 1. What characteristics and skills should be developed during early childhood? Where and how should these be developed?	
<p>What?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideal child from the <i>kindergarten teacher's point of view</i>: 1) moderately active; 2) manageable; 3) independent; 4) curious; 5) healthy; 6) organized; 7) creative. • Parents consider that the following skills and characteristics should be developed in a child: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) social skills; 2) independence; 3) speech, attention, fine motor skills. 	<p>What?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideal child from the <i>kindergarten teacher's point of view</i>: 1) physically developed; 2) intellectually developed; 3) fluent in foreign languages; 4) aesthetically developed; 5) social and emotional development is important. • Parents consider that the following skills and characteristics should be developed in a child: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) active participation; 2) self-confidence; 3) care for others.
<p>Where?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • at centers for early development and family clubs 	<p>Where?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • At centers for early development. However, there are few of them and they are insufficiently developed. Some of the more popular ones available in cities usually focus on one area of development such as the English language training, swimming, musical development and etc.
<p>How?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents believe that a child needs to be developed through: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — by creating educational environment through play; — games; — teaching through didactic activities • Within kindergarten's schedule there is time (approximately 1 hour) that is intended for child's independent games of personal choice. • Every kindergarten in Russia houses a psychologist. • There is no single tool for the assessment of psychological development of children. • Kindergarten psychologists provide psychological counseling to parents and psychological diagnostics of children. 	<p>How?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents consider that a child should develop in a preschool institution, where preschool teachers carry responsibility for child's development. • In a kindergarten daily schedule there is little time for free activity for children as kindergartens follow strict schedule. However, during such period's children are allowed to independently choose an activity of interest (take a book, play football, swing). • Kindergartens do not usually have psychologists that work with children. • There are no special diagnostic tools to assess children's psychological development. • Psychological counseling for parents and psychological diagnostics for children are conducted by school psychologists.
Block 2. How are children under 3 years of age developed?	
<p>In the kindergarten</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The main activity of children is play. • Time period for free play averages to 2.5—3 hours. • Teachers encourage child's independent play with teachers observing children's play regardless of child's age. 	<p>In the kindergarten</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educational games are given a priority. • Time period for free play ranges from 90 minutes for 12—18-month-old children to 120 minutes for 26—36-months-old children.

¹ Focus group responses were grouped by the authors based on identified analytical categories.

Russian Specialists (N=42)	Vietnamese Specialists (N=32)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While some kindergarten teachers encourage independent play of children, the majority of teacher initiate playing with children as they consider children to be too young. • The older is a child, the less kindergarten teachers engage in joint play, while remaining as an observant.
<p>In the family</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families usually provide a place for play (separate room or space in an apartment/house), which is usually equipped with toys. 	<p>In the family</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Families usually provide a place for child's play, if the place of living is not too small (depends on socio-economic status of a family). Children may choose to play as they wish. Adults usually act as observants to ensure child's safety.
<p>In children community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Russia's kindergartens there is play between children of different ages, however it is not systematic and is of episodic nature (during outside time, in summer time). It is limited to active group games, and includes activities where older children explain rules to younger children. • The collection of play activities include role-playing games such as 'family', 'store', 'hospital' and etc. Children mostly play such traditional active games such as hide-and-seek, catching up and cossack-robbers 	<p>In children community</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint play with children of other ages is not widespread as groups are formed based on age. However, in villages and family kindergartens playtime with children of different ages is widespread. • The most popular group games are Zhmurki, Hide and Seek, as well as folk (national) games (for example: children's song Thadi — Baba). Role-playing games are popular among girls and include such activities as feeding dolls, sale, hospital, etc.
Block 3. Who is involved in the development of a child under 3 years of age?	
<p>Kindergarten's teacher</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers engage with children in role-playing, educational, active and subject-manipulative games. • Teachers show children how to play through demonstration, explain the rules, support, maintain interest and encourage. 	<p>Kindergarten's teacher</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teachers play with children mainly in soft toys; imitation toys (toys imitating real objects of the adult world); constructors. • Carers teach children how to play: through joint play with young children and by explaining the games and rules with older children.
<p>Parents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parents usually play with a child under 3 years old. At child's initiative, they give a child an opportunity to play independently. • Parents most often play the following games with their children: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — board games (constructors, cubes, pyramids); — computer games ("computer alphabet", "compare figures"); — role-playing games ("mother-daughter", "store", "doctor", etc.). • Among outside games the most popular are traditional ones («Hide and Seek», «Catching Up», «Cossack Robbers»), i.e. those games that parents know and traditionally broadcast to children. 	<p>Parents</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The majority of parents work and have time to play with a child only in the evening and/or on weekends. Parents allowed a child to play independently in a safe place. Parents mostly play the following games with their children: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — role-playing games (boys with dads in the "war"; girls with mothers in the "sale", "mother-daughter", cooking); — board games (cards, chess); — different versions of constructors. • Traditionally, children in cities can only play in the courtyard of their home (house territory), they can go out with adults only. In the countryside, they play more outside than at home. Popular games and/or outdoor ball games are among the most popular ones.

oped. The modeling of the ideal child's image performed by the Vietnamese respondents reflects a comprehensive approach aimed at the development of a well-rounded child that incorporates

physical, intellectual, aesthetical, socio-emotional development. The respondents from Russia, on the other hand, approach the image of ideal child through the prism of convenient interaction. They

note that a child should be moderately active and manageable, while at the same time being independent, curious, healthy, organized and creative.

We have also noted cross-cultural differences in toys available to children in two countries. Toys and games available to Vietnamese children are related to household activities and are intended to develop social and domestic skills. Toys and games of the Russian children target cognitive development.

Conclusion

The analysis of literature has allowed us to isolate common trends and cultural differences related to socio-demographic characteristics, particularities of family system and specificities of parent-child interaction in Russia and in Vietnam that shape social environment in child's development and emotional component of parent-child interaction.

In both countries, traditional family system is facing increasing socio-economic uncertainties that negatively translate onto psychological well-being of a child [36]. At the same time, researchers point that the more positive parents' expectations are about the change in their socio-economic status in the near future, the more emotionally positive are interactions between a child and family members [18].

Both countries share young parents' desire to develop professional and make a career. This

development results in the transfer of parent's upbringing responsibility during early childhood onto another adult, who becomes a significant one. Yet, the difference between the countries lies in that in Russia child's nurse becomes such a significant adult in the majority of families, whereas in Vietnam a grandmother takes such a role. Modern risks associated with social developments in both of the countries include excessive use of digital devices in organizing child's free time.

The comparative analysis of responses of the focus-groups of kindergarten specialists in Russia and in Vietnam has not identified significant differences in kindergarten teacher-child interaction, which suggests unity in educational and developmental strategies of children under 3 years of age in the environment of a kindergarten. Most of the differences are found in family interactions.

In the framework of cross-cultural research on significant adult-child interaction during early childhood in Russia and Vietnam, further studies should address the following questions: Who becomes a significant adult for a child during the period of early childhood in Russia and in Vietnam? What kind of environment surrounds child's development? What is the role of parents and close adults in a child's development? What is the role of a kindergarten teacher being a significant adult in a child's development? The second stage of the present research will compare parent's approaches in early development of a child in Russian and in Vietnam.

**Questionnaire: Developmental Particularities of modern 1-to—3-year-old children:
environment, play, parents**

Instructions for a focus group moderator: *Dear Colleagues, we cordially invite you to participate in the research that studies developmental environment of 1-to—3-year-old children. This research focuses on the following aspects: environment created by a significant adult (parent, kindergarten teacher and etc.) for child's development; modern games and toys that children use to play together with adults and which are used for an independent play; significant adult's participation in a child's play. We ask you to respond to the questions with as many details as possible, express your honest opinion and after the discussion with your colleagues, note the answer with which you agree most.*

**Block 1. What skills and characteristics should be developed during early childhood?
Where and how should these areas be developed?**

1. What do parents focus on in the development of a one-to-three-year-old child?
2. From the perspective of a kindergarten teacher, what is an ideal child?
3. Besides kindergarten, are there institutions specializing in the development of children under 3 years of age in your city?
4. Based on parent's opinion, how should a child under 3 years of age be developed?
5. Is a child free to independently choose an activity of interest? If so, what is the usual time of such activity?
6. Do kindergartens conduct psychological assessments of children's development? If so, what diagnostic tools are used?
7. Do kindergartens house a psychologist? Do kindergartens assess psychological development of children?

Block 2. How are children under 3 years of age developed?

1. Is play considered a major activity of children in kindergartens?
2. How much time in a daily schedule of a kindergarten is allotted for free play?
3. Is independent play of children under 3 years of age encouraged?
4. Is it customary in families to provide a place for a child under 3 years old to play?
5. Is there a play between children of different ages in kindergarten (for example, children under 3 years of age play with 4-to—6-year-old children)?
6. Do older children teach younger children how to play?
7. What games (toys) can children under 3 years old play with other children (with peers and older children)? List.

Block 3. Who is involved in the development of children under 3 years of age?

1. What games do teachers/caregivers play with children under 3 years old?
2. Based on your experience, who starts a game more frequently: a child or an adult?
3. Does a teacher/caregiver teach how to play? If so, please briefly describe, how does a teacher/caregiver do it?
4. Is there time for free activity in the mode of the child's day?
5. What games do parents most often play with their children under 3 years of age?

6. Do parents play together with a child under 3 years of age at home, outside or do parents give a child freedom to play while monitoring child's safety?

7. Do you think there are traditions of children of different ages to play together?

Date: _____ Place: _____

Focus group members:

1. Last, First, Middle name _____ Gender _____ Age _____
Education _____ Place of work _____ Position _____ City _____

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Взаимодействие значимого взрослого с ребенком раннего возраста в России и Вьетнаме

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В статье рассматриваются особенности взаимодействия ребенка со значимым взрослым (родителем, воспитателем) в социокультурном контексте психического развития ребенка с учетом социо-демографических особенностей России и Вьетнама. Обсуждаются результаты современных исследований нейрочувствительного развития детей во взаимосвязи с детско-родительским взаимодействием детей раннего возраста. Представлены результаты пилотного исследования кросс-культурной инвариантности взаимодействия со значимым взрослым детей раннего возраста в России и Вьетнаме. Показаны результаты серии интервью со специалистами дошкольных учреждений в России и Вьетнаме. Выборка пилотного исследования составила 74 человека (72 женщины, 2 мужчин), возраст от 32 до 54 лет ($M=43,04$; $SD=6,61$). Из них российские участники (10 городов) — 42 человека (40 женщин и 2 мужчин) в возрасте от 32 до 50 лет ($M=40,19$; $SD=6,28$) и вьетнамские участники (1 город) — 32 человека (32 женщины) в возрасте от 38 до 54 лет ($M=46,67$; $SD=5,12$). Интервью проводились на основе разработанного авторами опросника, состоящего из 21 открытого вопроса, сгруппированных по 3 блокам: «Что, где и как развивать у ребенка?»; «С помощью чего развиваем?»; «Кто развивает?». Сравнительный анализ результатов интервью специалистов дошкольных учреждений в России и Вьетнаме не выявил значимых различий между группами, что свидетельствует о том, что превалирует единство в подходах к развитию и обучению детей раннего возраста в условиях дошкольного учреждения.

Ключевые слова: ранний возраст, значимый взрослый, взаимодействие ребенка со взрослым, совместная деятельность.

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