

**Observational Research Within Contrasting Two-Generation Interventions:  
The JOBS and New Chance Embedded Observational Studies**

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**Goals of the JOBS and New Chance Observational Studies**

Two generation interventions seek to interrupt the intergenerational transmission of poverty by simultaneously addressing the needs of adults and children in poor families. The twin priorities of two-generation interventions are to provide young children with child development services and to provide parents with self-sufficiency services. However two generation interventions vary substantially in the specific programs they use to implement these twin priorities, the relative emphasis placed on the programming for children as opposed to parents, and the extent to which services beyond the core elements are provided. For example, two generation programs may seek to enhance the development of young children through preventive health care or

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<sup>1</sup> The JOBS and New Chance Observational Studies are a collaborative effort of researchers involved in the larger JOBS and New Chance evaluations (Robert Granger, Deborah Thompson, and Janet Quint at MDRC; Denise Polit at Humanalysis, Inc.; and Kristin Moore, Martha Zaslow, Mary Jo Coiro, and Suzanne Miller at Child Trends, Inc.), Carolyn Eldred, an independent survey researcher and psychologist who has worked closely with the Institute for Survey Research on adapting the observational research for a survey context and fielding the observational studies; Byron Egeland at the University of Minnesota and Catherine Snow, Patton Tabors and Jeanne De Temple at Harvard University, whose observational tasks were adapted for the present studies, and whose labs are coding the data. Deborah Coates, of the March of Dimes, Vonnie McLoyd of the University of Michigan, and Craig and Sharon Ramey of the Civitan International Research Center of the University of Alabama at Birmingham, have also had substantial input into the observational studies. The observational studies are fielded by the Institute for Survey Research at Temple University, with that team headed by Fred Licari, Peter Buffum, and Sonia Lawson.

through high quality child care. They may offer parents only programs to enhance their employability, or also opportunities for peer group support, life skills training or family planning. Programs may emphasize the needs of parents or the needs of children, or attempt to strike a balance in addressing the needs of the two generations.

The potential clearly exists for children's development to be affected through the core elements of two-generation interventions: child development services and self-sufficiency services. For example, there is good evidence that compensatory early childhood education programs can alter the developmental trajectory of low-income children for the better, although the degree to which effects fade or are sustained is open to question (Hayes, Palmer & Zaslow, 1990; Bryant & Ramey, 1987). Although little research has focused specifically on changes in poverty status or maternal education, there is ample evidence that level of family income and maternal education are strong predictors of child outcomes (Shaw, 1982; McLanahan, 1985; Hill & Duncan, 1987; Hauser & Mossel, 1985; Sewell & Hauser, 1976).

Two generation interventions also have the potential of influencing children's development through changing the quality and quantity of mother-child interactions. Although many two-generation interventions include a program component explicitly aimed at improving mother-child relations, even interventions without this component have the potential of altering interactions in the home. Thus, for example, children may be the starting point for such change if the interactions they experience in high quality child care affect the way in which they engage with their mothers at home. Mothers' psychological well-being may change as a result of program participation, and such changes may manifest themselves in interactions in the home. Mothers' literacy behavior with their children may change as a result of their own participation in educational programs. Finally, if participation in a two generation intervention leads to increases in family resources, there may be new toys or reading materials in the home that foster different patterns of parent-child interaction.

Little research to date has attempted to examine mother-child interaction as a pathway of influence directly. Indeed, at the Foundation for Child Development conference focusing on the JOBS program, the two generation intervention initiated in response to the Family Support Act of 1988, parent-child interactions were referred to as the "black box" that researchers needed to open up and look into (Smith, Blank & Bond, 1990). We need to ask directly whether and how two-generation interventions are altering what goes on between mothers and children.

In our talk today, we are going to describe two studies currently being carried out in parallel that are attempting to look into the black box for two substantially different two-generation interventions. The JOBS program, being implemented in response to the Family Support Act on a national basis, and the New Chance intervention, a privately as well as publicly funded demonstration project being implemented in 16 sites, together provide an excellent illustration of the dimensions on which two generation interventions

may differ (see Table 1). New Chance is a comprehensive program for AFDC mothers between 16 and 22 years of age, who gave birth to their first child at 19 or younger, and who lack a high school diploma or GED certificate. This intervention, being implemented and evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, or MDRC, is comprehensive in its services, intensive, and longterm, providing up to 18 months of services with an additional 6 to 12 months of follow-up. It provides child care and pediatric care to children. Mothers are offered services to enhance their education, their employment skills, and their personal and social development, including life skills training, family planning, and health education and services. Participants are offered individual counseling as well as peer support groups. It is important to note in the present context that the New Chance intervention includes a specific component of parenting education. While the program emphasizes the self-sufficiency of the mother, the development of children is an important priority that draws significant resources.

By contrast, the JOBS program focuses far more on the parent than on the child generation, and is less comprehensive. The major goal of the JOBS program is for AFDC mothers to enhance their employability through basic education, job skills training and job search. Whereas most New Chance enrollees are volunteers, states may mandate participation in JOBS for single parents with children age 3 and older (or age 1 and older at the state's option), or for parents under age 20 who lack a high school diploma. Welfare benefits may be reduced for those who do not participate in the JOBS program without basis for exemption. The AFDC program provides certain benefits that address the needs of children, including a child care allowance, Medicaid benefits, and enhanced child support payments. The needs of children are specifically taken into account in the JOBS program only through its exemption policy: a mother may be exempt from program participation if she has a child who is ill, handicapped, or between birth and 12 months of age. JOBS does not include a parenting component, nor the range of other supportive services in New Chance. Whereas New Chance is highly prescriptive, with faithfulness of implementation being closely monitored across sites, the JOBS program as a national policy gives individual states latitude in program development and implementation.

Our predictions for mother-child interaction for those participating in New Chance are clear and unidirectional. We expect that through parenting classes and the supportive and comprehensive services of the program, mother-child relations will improve in both the cognitive and socioemotional dimensions. Our prediction rests both on the nature of the intervention, and on evidence from an earlier two generation program for teenage mothers, Project Redirection, also carried out and evaluated by the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation. This program, too, was comprehensive in its scope and encompassed activities intended to enhance the mothers' child rearing skills. At the five-year follow-up of this program (Polit, Quint & Riccio, 1988), the home environments of families that had been assigned to participate in Project Redirection were found to be more supportive according to the HOME Scale, a measure which involves observations and maternal report regarding the quality of the

home environment and mother-child relations. Differences favoring program participants were apparent both on the summary score from the HOME scale and also on most subscales, pointing to differences in both the emotional quality of mother-child interactions, and the cognitive stimulation available to the children.

By contrast, our predictions are far less clear regarding the JOBS program. In our original research proposal and at the Foundation for Child Development Forum on Children and the Family Support Act, divergent predictions were made regarding the possible implications of mothers' participation in the JOBS program for mother-child interactions. Julie Wilson and David Ellwood (1989) laid out the range of possibilities. They noted that mothers might be stressed by mandatory participation in a program like JOBS, when they could not choose the timing or content of their participation, and when loss of benefits due to sanctioning was possible. On the other hand, participation in the activities of the JOBS program, and eventually the possibility of employment and increased income, might enhance self-esteem and reduce depression. It is important to note that the implications of the JOBS program for family relations may differ substantially according to the characteristics of the families when they enter the program. For example, less depressed mothers with good social support might be better able to make use of the services offered by JOBS and to improve their families' situations through these services, whereas isolated and extremely depressed mothers with many stressors already present in their lives might be further stressed by the program without being able to benefit from it. These differences might be manifested in differing patterns of mother-child interaction for specified subgroups. Because JOBS, as a national policy, should at a minimum "do no harm" to children, participants at that earlier conference placed a high priority on clarifying whether the JOBS program has implications for family relations, for whom it has such implications, and in which direction family interactions might be affected.

Our first priority in carrying out observational research, then, is to examine the possibility that mother-child interactions differ for those who are and are not participating in the New Chance and JOBS two generation interventions. We are using nearly identical observational methodology in these strikingly different two generation interventions in order to explore the possibility that such programs can have differing implications for mother-child interaction in accord with such differences as those we have noted in program components, comprehensiveness and balance of focus on the two generations.

Our observational research has several goals beyond these two central priorities. There are multiple pathways through which two generation interventions may influence children's development. In both the JOBS and New Chance evaluations, we hope to use the fine-grained observational measures to help us understand the processes by which children come to be affected by maternal program participation. That is, we will look at mother-child interaction as a mediator of child outcomes. Further, there will be survey data within both the JOBS and New Chance evaluations, with the surveys encompassing

questions concerning the mother-child relationship. The availability of both survey and observational data concerning the mother-child relationship within the two evaluations will provide a unique opportunity for methodological work. We hope to ask to what extent measures of the relationship derived from maternal report and direct observation agree, and how each type of measure predicts to indices of the children's development. Finally, within the JOBS observational study, the possibility exists of a second wave of observations. Such a second wave would permit us to ask whether differences in mother-child interaction surface quickly, in the initial period of adaptation to the program, or only over time, as changes in maternal education or family income are realized. Alternatively, an initial reaction within the family to the JOBS program might be either sustained or eliminated over time.

It is our expectation that although both survey and observational data will provide valuable information on the mother-child relationship, the two sources of information will differ in several important respects. In particular, the observational measures will make fine distinctions between specific behaviors in ways that mothers are not likely to be able to reflect and report on. For example, whereas through interviewing we can ascertain from the mother how frequently she reads to her child, through direct observation we can document specific behaviors during reading that are important to the development of literacy in children. It is unlikely that mothers would be able to report on such precise but important behaviors as the use of "decontextualized language" during reading, that is, language that goes beyond the content of stimuli immediately present (Snow, Barnes, Chandler, Goodman, & Hemphill, 1991). In addition, direct observation permits documentation of behaviors free of the filter of maternal perception or response bias. For example, our survey data indicate that many mothers report themselves to show very high levels of warmth to their young children. Direct observation is likely to yield greater variability on measures of the affective quality of interactions, and at the same time to go beyond global categories like warmth to such specific aspects of the relationship as showing respect for the child's attempts at autonomy, or effectiveness of maternal limit-setting. As in the domain of cognitive stimulation, these fine-grained measures of the affective quality of mother-child interaction predict to measures of child functioning during the preschool and early school years (Denham, 1991; Sroufe, Egeland & Kreutzer, 1990).

The JOBS and New Chance observational studies are referred to as "embedded" studies because they are being carried out as substudies within larger program evaluations. The New Chance evaluation involves a sample of 2,320 mother-child pairs across 16 sites, with rigorous implementation of random assignment of participants to experimental and control groups. Children in the study vary from 0 to 5 years of age at random assignment, and families are first surveyed 18 months after random assignment and again 42 months after random assignment. School outcomes will also be obtained during the 42-month follow-up. The embedded observational study is being carried out with nearly 300 families from the full evaluation sample, drawn from 7 of the sites in the

full study. The sessions are carried out shortly after the first survey wave, with children of between 30 and 60 months of age.

The JOBS Child and Family Outcome Study, being carried out by Child Trends as a subcontractor to MDRC, and as part of MDRC's national evaluation of the JOBS program, involves 2,570 families at 3 sites. This too is an experimental study, with random assignment to experimental and control groups rigorously carried out. Families in the experimental group are subject to the requirements of the JOBS program, whereas those in the control group are free of its requirements. At the same time, families in the experimental group have access to such services as JOBS funded education, job training and case management, whereas control group families cannot receive JOBS funded services. Families in both the experimental and control groups are eligible for the AFDC child care allowance and Medicaid benefits. Families in one site, Fulton County in Atlanta, are surveyed shortly after random assignment. The full sample in all three sites is being interviewed and the children assessed 2 years after random assignment. A 4 year follow up to obtain school outcomes is being planned in the JOBS study as well. The JOBS observational study is being carried out in only one site, Fulton County Atlanta. This sample will involve 200 experimental group families, and between 100 and 150 control group families, with observations being carried out 4-6 months after random assignment, when the children are between 3 and 4 years of age. A second round of observational sessions is possible in the JOBS study.

### **Implementation of Large-Scale Observational Research**

Because of the possibility that evaluations of other two generation interventions, including Head Start programs, may include embedded observational studies and face similar challenges, we turn now to a discussion of the fielding of the JOBS and New Chance Observational Studies. Procedures for observing and coding mother-child interaction have most often been used in small-scale, intensive studies of families and children. However, the JOBS and New Chance observational studies have been fielded as a part of larger evaluation studies, with the observational sessions carried out by a survey research organization, The Institute for Survey Research at Temple University (ISR). In order to adapt observational procedures for use in the New Chance and JOBS evaluations, a number of challenging design and implementation issues had to be confronted.

The decision to employ the survey model in these studies was based on a number of considerations, including the fact that the observational research was embedded in two ongoing survey efforts. In addition, experienced survey interviewers are especially skilled at obtaining cooperation and locating respondents who move. Finally, the opportunity to collaborate with Temple University's Department of Radio, Television,

and Film meant that technically trained professionals and students were available to videotape the sessions, perform quality control functions, and reproduce tapes.

Successful conduct of observational research in a survey setting seems to require three sets of expertise: (1) the field experience and savvy of the survey interviewer, (2) the developmentalist's conceptual appreciation of the task, and (3) the videographer's technical expertise. In small-scale observational studies conducted by developmental psychologists, the principal investigator is usually directly involved not only in developing the protocol for the observational session, but also in the implementation of the sessions and collection of data. Frequently, trained graduate students collect the data and are given immediate feedback on the quality of their work. The survey method, by contrast, involves a strict division of labor between the researcher and data collection personnel. It is essential, therefore, that the protocol be precisely scripted. The integrity of the protocol then has to be maintained, combining a standardized approach with a warm but neutral presentation intended to make both mother and child feel comfortable and elicit a representative sample of their behavior.

The same format was employed in both observational studies. Each session started with an interview with the mother lasting about five minutes, followed by the observational tasks lasting about 30 minutes, and concluding with another five or ten minutes of interviewing and completion of a paper-and-pencil questionnaire by the mother. The observational tasks were designed to be moderately challenging for a preschool child so that the mother's help would be needed. (See Attachment A for a description of the tasks.)

Using a script embedded in the questionnaire, the interviewer first explained all of the tasks to the mother while the child was distracted by the videographer if at all possible. The child then joined the mother and interviewer. In administering the tasks, the interviewer continued to follow the script, reminding the mother what each task required while presenting the props for the task. Throughout the session, the interviewer interacted primarily with the mother rather than the child. She remained unobtrusive so that the focus of the session was the mother-child interaction. Mothers' requests for clarification on the tasks were to be answered without giving specific advice or direction.

The observational studies required the melding of seemingly incompatible attributes: naturalness combined with a standardized approach, warmth combined with a neutral, non-directive stance. In the laboratory, graduate students with a clear sense of the purpose of the work and the eventual use of the data can work from loose protocols and react appropriately to situations that arise. Survey interviewers, on the other hand, are accustomed to working from standardized questionnaires: they would need scripts and explicit guidance on how to react to the myriad scenarios they would encounter. We hoped that with enough training and practice they could deliver the script in a

reasonably natural way and react appropriately to the situations that could not be scripted.

Attachment B is an example of how a part of the session was scripted. It indicates how specific language and explicit instructions were provided to the interviewer, who was to practice her delivery until she could read the script and present the props naturally. (Interviewers were not asked to memorize the script; this is not something interviewers are normally expected or permitted to do, particularly since most work on multiple studies at a time, and it would undoubtedly have led to highly idiosyncratic delivery).

Attachment C is an excerpt from the detailed instructions provided to interviewers for handling some of the situations that could arise during the session. As suggested by the attachment, interviewers had to learn both when to intervene and when to let the mother-child interaction evolve on its own. This meant being able to distinguish the guidance and direction needed to keep the overall situation under control from intervention that could influence the mother-child interaction itself.

Similarly, the team had to provide gentle direction in positioning the dyad properly for the various tasks. Upon their arrival in the respondent's home, the team members had to determine the best working and taping location (preferably at a table) and then work with the respondent to set it up. The protocol specified one preferred seating arrangement for the book reading (side by side) and another for the teaching tasks (at adjacent sides of a table), creating still another dilemma for the team--how to reposition the dyad while maintaining a nondirective stance and hoping that the presence of the video equipment would be forgotten.

Interviewers were trained for this work through one day of home study, including work with a training tape depicting an observational session, followed by two days of in-person training with other interviewers and videographers. However, the primary mechanism for ensuring well-conducted sessions was review of the videotapes as they were completed. This review demonstrated how difficult it was to combine the seemingly contradictory qualities required for the session. For many interviewers, critiques of their work led to real improvement, and those who eventually got enough practice did very well. In other instances, some tendencies (e.g., to prompt the mother how to teach her child) proved resistant to change.

The challenges faced by interviewers in administering the sessions in respondents' homes contrasted with those of the laboratory. Respondents were low-income and frequently lived in crowded circumstances: it was the rule rather than the exception for other people--both adults and children--to be present. The videographer could be of some help with "crowd control," particularly by distracting the other children with a hand puppet provided for that purpose, but performance of that role had to be balanced with



the competing need to monitor sound and video quality and help the interviewer present and remove the props.

Despite considerable interviewer retraining, few tapes were completely free of any deviation from the protocol. Nonetheless, only a few turned out to be unusable; the mothers look fairly comfortable during the sessions, they seem to be taking the tasks seriously, and the sessions are eliciting good variability. Thus, the behaviors of interest seem to be well-established and fairly impervious to minor deviations from the protocol. In addition, the technical quality of the tapes has been excellent, no doubt because of the skill of the videographers and the quality of the equipment being used, which included an auxiliary microphone and light.

The interviewers' behavior, of course, was important not in its own right but by virtue of the effect it was assumed to have on the respondent. That is, we wanted to elicit a natural, representative sample of each mother's interaction with her child under a particular set of circumstances, unaffected by nervousness about being videotaped or a desire to meet the interviewer's expectations about how she should work with her child. For this reason, and also because of concern about the potential intrusiveness of this kind of study, we included a series of items in a short paper-and-pencil questionnaire to determine how the respondent felt about the session. Respondents' reactions confirmed that the tasks were moderately challenging, as they were intended to be, that respondents felt that the interviewer had helped them feel comfortable during the session, and that they had enjoyed working with their children on the tasks. At the same time, few forgot that they were being videotaped once the session was underway and some felt nervous about their own or their child's performance.

Another challenge of this research involved managing the logistics of the fieldwork. Whenever survey interviewers have to work in teams, they tend to become disgruntled because of a perceived loss of autonomy and efficiency. In these low-income sample, which could be hard to locate and frequently lacked telephones, the need to do "on-the-ground" tracing without knowing whether any given encounter would culminate in an opportunity to conduct a session made it even harder to coordinate with a second team member. The fact that many of the videographers were students--and all were strangers to the survey field--contributed to the difficulty of establishing viable working partnerships and fueled a perception on the part of some interviewers that the videographers lacked sufficient commitment to the work. Maintaining a balance between having enough videographers at each site and providing each with enough work to lead to a commitment to the study was another challenge, given the relatively small number of cases in each site to be completed each month (at least by survey research standards).

### Conclusions

Perhaps the most important lesson of the efforts described here is that it is possible to conduct observational research in respondents' homes using survey interviewers. Such work necessarily involves compromise, however, because by definition responsibility for data collection is delegated to a field staff beyond the direct control of

the researchers. Thus, successful implementation of observational research in a survey context requires both a carefully scripted protocol, training of field staff, and ongoing quality control procedures that help to bridge the gap between researcher and data collection personnel.

Although the cost, difficulty, and burden on both respondents and interviewers makes it unlikely that large-scale observational studies will become the wave of the future, their small-scale use in selected situations can leverage important benefits. First, the measures derived from the observation of mother-child interaction can be used as outcome variables, perhaps themselves affected by two-generation interactions. As such, they may help us understand what kinds of two-generation interventions have positive implications for mother-child relations. Second, the fine-grained observational measures can contribute to an understanding of the factors that shape development in these at-risk samples. That is, to what extent does the quality of mother-child interaction contribute to the development of children in families participating in two generation interventions? Third, through the availability of both observational and survey measures on the same families, we can look closely at the quality of our measures and ask which approach is best for which kind of information. Finally, because the videotapes can be archived (with the informed consent of the study participants), the tapes can serve as a resource for future scholars who will be able to contribute to the body of knowledge about families and children's development in ways that may not even be foreseen at this time.

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TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF SELECTED FEATURES OF JOBS AND NEW CHANCE PROGRAMS

JOBS*	NEW CHANCE
<u>Services:</u> Education, skills training, work experience, job search assistance	<u>Services:</u> Education, skills training, work experience, employment preparation, career exploration/counseling, life skills instruction, family planning and health education, parenting education, personal and group counseling, pediatric and maternal health care
<u>Child Care:</u> Financial support, referrals to providers; variability in quality anticipated	<u>Child Care:</u> Mostly on-site or arrangements in developmentally-oriented programs
<u>Case Management:</u> Limited (varied caseload sizes)	<u>Case Management:</u> Extensive (low caseload sizes)
<u>Mode of Service Delivery:</u> Primarily off-site through referrals to existing community services	<u>Mode of Service Delivery:</u> Primarily on-site, specially designed with target population in mind
<u>Uniformity of Treatment Across Sites:</u> Low, considerable local discretion	<u>Uniformity of Treatment Across Sites:</u> High, prescriptive model
<u>Coverage:</u> Broad, affecting large segment of the welfare caseload (but with specially targeted subgroups)	<u>Coverage:</u> Limited, focused on a highly targeted segment of the welfare caseload
<u>Participation Mandate:</u> May be mandatory	<u>Participation Mandate:</u> Voluntary in most locations
<u>Structure:</u> Program coordinated through welfare agencies	<u>Structure:</u> Program offered through community-based organizations and schools
<u>Level of Disadvantage of Participants:</u> Mixed--some would be short-term recipients; others are highly disadvantaged	<u>Level of Disadvantage of Participants:</u> High--nearly all young mothers without diploma
<u>Participation:</u> Modest levels of participation anticipated due to normal welfare dynamics and limited state resources for services	<u>Participation:</u> High levels of participation due to rich services and voluntary nature of program in most sites
<u>Age of Participants' Children:</u> 3 to 17 (but ages 3-5 in proposed study)	<u>Age of Participants' Children:</u> 0 to 5

\* Characteristics are expected to vary from state to state; table reflects projections of the characteristics of a "typical" JOBS program.

## ATTACHMENT A

### Observational Study Tasks

- o Book-reading. The mother is asked to read a children's book, The Very Hungry Caterpillar, to her child "the way you would usually read or look at a book together." (Adapted from Snow)
- o Teaching tasks (Adapted from Egeland):
  - Blocks. The mother is asked to try to get her child to replicate a model by putting together smaller blocks.
  - Wheels. The mother is to try to get her child to name as many things that have wheels as he or she can.
  - Sorting task. Depending on the age of the child, the mother presents one or two sorting tasks that require the child to place chips of different colors, shapes, and--in the more complex sort--size on a board by lining up those sharing a common attribute.
  - Etch-a-Sketch. On this task, the mother tries to get her child to draw a line through a maze from Point A to Point B without crossing any of the lines in the maze.
- o Free interaction. The mother is presented with a wrapped gift--a kaleidoscope--to give to the child, and the dyad then spends a few minutes interacting around the gift. (Developed by observational studies team)

OBSERVATIONAL SESSION SCRIPT

(MAKE SURE RECORDING EQUIPMENT IS TURNED ON BEFORE BEGINNING. IN THIS FIRST PART OF THE SCRIPT, SHOW THE TASKS TO R ALONE, IF POSSIBLE, AND TRY TO PUT HER AT EASE. (CHILD) SHOULD BE DISTRACTED BY ANOTHER PERSON OR ACTIVITY.)

16. There are several things I'd like you to do together with your child. First I'll spend a few minutes explaining the games to you. Then we'll bring (CHILD) over and you can explain the games to (him/her). After the two of you have worked for awhile on each game, we'll go on to the next one, and I'll just remind you how it's played.

(HOLD UP THE BOOK)

The first thing I'd like you to do is to read or look at this children's book with (CHILD) the way you'd normally look at a book together. After the two of you have gone through the book, I'd also like you to take a few minutes to talk with (CHILD) about the book.

(PUT BOOK ASIDE)

When the two of you have finished with the book, I have some games I'd like you to explain to (CHILD). These are games that children enjoy, but they're probably new to (CHILD). We chose them because we want to see how mothers and children work together on games that are new and unfamiliar. You may work with your child any way you'd like, and you can give whatever help you think (he/she) needs to understand the games. Just relax and be yourself.

(MAKE SURE R UNDERSTANDS HOW TO PERFORM EACH TASK BEFORE PRESENTING THE NEXT. TEACH HER, IF NECESSARY.)

17. (PRESENT THE BLOCKS)

In this first game I'd like you to get (CHILD) to build a block just like this big one by putting together the smaller blocks. You can see that by putting different pieces together there are many different ways to come out with a block just like this one. Try to get (CHILD) to make as many different blocks like this as (he/she) can. Go ahead and try one yourself so you'll be familiar with the game.

(HAVE R MAKE ONE OR TWO REPLICATES OF THE MODEL, THEN):

Okay!

(PUT BLOCKS ASIDE BEFORE CONTINUING)

18. The second game involves naming things with wheels. Get (CHILD) to name as many different things that have wheels as (he/she) can. You can say or do anything you think might help (him/her) do that, except for actually naming things for (him/her). Do you have any questions about this game?

(ANSWER R'S QUESTIONS, THEN):

Okay!

## ATTACHMENT C

### Responses to Selected Hypothetical Situations

SITUATION: Child is present when the interviewer is ready to explain the tasks to mother.

RESPONSE: Ask mother "Would you mind if (CHILD) goes into another room for a few minutes or talks to (CAMERA PERSON) while I explain a few things to you? Then we'll bring (CHILD) back in to play with you." Then wait until the child leaves. In order to respect the mother's authority, the interviewer should avoid asking the child to leave herself.

SITUATION: The mother and/or child need encouragement or motivation to continue as they move from one task to the next.

RESPONSE: Reinforce effort and motivation rather than performance. Say things like "That was a hard one" or "You both worked hard on that one" NOT "You did a great job" or "She did it!".

We do not wish to convey an impression that we are evaluating performance.

SITUATION: The child is no longer working at the task and the mother is unsuccessfully trying to re-capture the child's attention.

SITUATION: The child wants to see a page in the book other than what the mother is showing him or her.

SITUATION: The child is not following the "rules" of a task (e.g., he is building a house instead of replicating the model on the block-building task), and the mother is not reminding the child or explaining the task.

SITUATION: The child is fussing or crying during the book reading and/or trying to climb into the mother's lap, but the mother is intent on the book and ignores the child.

SITUATION: The child needs help with a task (e.g., cannot reach the blocks she wants) and is becoming frustrated, but the mother does nothing.

SITUATION: The mother keeps prompting and pushing the child to work on the task, although the child has given up, is unable to comply, or is frustrated.

SITUATION: The mother does the task for the child completely (e.g., completes the sorting board without the child's help).

RESPONSE TO THE PRECEDING SITUATIONS: The interviewer's correct response to the seven preceding situations is to do nothing. None of these situations constitutes a problem to be solved. None warrants any intervention. An important objective of the session is to see how each mother-child dyad handles the tasks, and the interviewer must not react to or influence their behavior.