Parents’ Conceptions of Kindergarten Readiness: Relationships With Race, Ethnicity, and Development

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ABSTRACT Data from the National Household Education Survey (1993) were used to examine parents’ conceptions of kindergarten readiness and home-learning activities. Parents reported reading to their children an average of several days each week; a majority of children watched educational television programs such as Sesame Street. African American and Hispanic parents, and other parents of color, were significantly more likely than Caucasian parents to express concerns about their child’s readiness for kindergarten. However, Caucasian parents were significantly more likely than other parents to comment that they would delay sending their child to kindergarten until he or she was older. Parent concerns about their child’s kindergarten readiness were unrelated to learning activities and educational television viewing at home.

Key words: home learning, kindergarten readiness, National Household Education Survey, parent concerns, race and ethnicity

Over the last decade, numerous national task forces, commissions, and initiatives have emphasized the importance of children’s early years to ensure that they are ready for kindergarten. Those efforts are exemplified in the first of the national education goals (National Education Goals Panel, 1995), which stresses the importance of children being ready to learn when they enter school. The objectives that accompany the goal statement emphasize the role of parents in preparing their child for school and the importance of access to early childhood programs and to health services for all young children.

The meaning of a child entering school ready to learn has been subjected to various interpretations by early childhood and elementary school teachers and administrators; national, state, and local policy makers; and families (Kagan, 1992). Some educators and clinicians embrace a nativist or maturational perspective on school readiness. From that perspective, individual children mature at different rates and children who are immature, particularly in behavioral development, are at risk for school failure (Ames, 1986). For those who embrace that view, the burden of proof that a child is ready for school rests with each child and is determined by that child’s performance on readiness tests and in the kindergarten classroom (National Association for Education of Young Children, 1990). Thus, the best way to prevent failure in school would be to provide more time for maturation by delaying the child’s entry into kindergarten.

In contrast, developmental theories (Piaget, 1950; Vygotsky, 1978) emphasize that all children are ready to learn when the content of what is to be learned, and the way the content is taught, is appropriate for the child’s developmental capabilities. From that perspective, learning comes from the interaction between a child’s individual abilities and the environment, including the child’s interactions and collaborations with adults and peers. For those who adopt that view, the role of kindergarten programs is to provide learning experiences that are developmentally appropriate for each child in the classroom (cf. Meisels, 1992, 1995).

Kagan (1992, 1994) argued that readiness includes two constructs: readiness to learn and readiness for school. Readiness for learning emphasizes the developmental processes that form the basis for learning a particular subject matter or content. Readiness for school, on the other hand, implies that each child must attain a specific set of skills before he or she is ready to enter kindergarten (Crnic & Lamberty, 1994). The recommendations of the 1992 School Readiness: Scientific Perspectives Conference that educators should progress from the concept of school readiness to that of continuing readiness to learn (Lamberty & Crnic, 1994) embrace the first definition described by Kagan (1992).

Despite competing definitions, the concept of readiness for school continues to hold a preeminent place in national discussions about the early school years. School readiness continues to be thought of as a characteristic of children that can

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be used to sort them into groups of those who are, or are not, ready to enter school (Graue, 1992). Many school districts continue to evaluate children’s readiness for kindergarten before they enter school (Cric & Lamberty, 1994; May & Kundert, 1997; Shepard & Smith, 1986). Parent magazines and books, as well as newspapers, offer advice for preparing children for kindergarten and checklists of skills for knowing whether a child is ready to start school (Anarino, 1998; Rimm & Couric, 1997; S. A. Walmsley & Walmsley, 1996).

There is a clear implication from materials prepared for the mass media, as well as from scholarly research (Stipek & Ryan, 1997), that having certain skills or abilities helps to ensure a child’s success in the early school years.

What are the skills that parents and teachers believe that children should have acquired to ensure their success in kindergarten? In a study of parent and teacher views about important developmental competencies for kindergarten, Knudsen-Lindauer and Harris (1989) reported that teachers and parents agreed that the three skills that were most important for children entering kindergarten were listening, feeling confident, and following directions. However, parents ranked counting, reading, and writing as being significantly more important than did teachers. Olimsted and Lockhart (1995) and Harradine and Clifford (1996) found that parents viewed preacademic skills as being more important for kindergarten than did kindergarten teachers. Teachers were more likely than parents to emphasize the importance of children’s enthusiasm, effective communication, and appropriate behaviors as critical kindergarten readiness skills. Although teachers tended to view academic skills as less important prerequisites for kindergarten than did parents, kindergarten teachers typically agreed that parents should engage in informal reading (literacy) and counting (numeration) activities at home to help prepare children for school (Heavside & Farris, 1993; Powell, 1995).

It has been assumed that children will be better able to handle the academic demands of school if they are older when they enter kindergarten (Meisels, 1992). Thus, one approach that has been taken by some state legislatures to improve children’s readiness for kindergarten has been to require an earlier birth date for a child to be eligible to enter kindergarten. In addition, keeping a child out of kindergarten for an extra year is an approach that is used increasingly by parents who may be concerned that their child is not ready for school. In a recent study, Brent, May, and Kundert (1996) examined the incidence of children’s delayed school entry over 12 years in one school district. Kindergarten readiness screening was not a practice of the school district and teachers and administrators made no recommendations about delaying children’s entry into kindergarten. Despite the hands-off approach, Brent and her colleagues found that delaying school entry became increasingly common; more than 16% of their most recent kindergartners studied had started school later than prescribed, compared with 5.5% of the oldest cohort (9th–12th graders). The majority of children who were kept out of kindergarten were boys and children from the youngest group of kindergarten-eligible children.

Shepard and Smith (1986) also found that middle-class parents, many of whom sent their child to private preschool for an additional year, were more likely than other parents to delay their child’s entry into kindergarten. Decisions about school entry typically were made by parents and likely influenced by their understanding of what being ready for kindergarten means.

There is evidence from several sources that parents’ ideas about readiness are related to their ethnic, cultural, and educational background, as well as to the ways in which readiness is constructed within their community. Parents’ ideas about what being ready for kindergarten means are influenced by the philosophy of the local elementary teachers and administrators and by the ideas of other parents within the community (Graue, 1992, 1993). Okagaki and Sternberg (1993) reported that immigrant parents’ ideas about school and school readiness may be different from those of parents born and educated in the United States, although they may be similar within a single ethnic or cultural group. Finally, Harry (1992) provided evidence that parents’ ideas about education reflect their families’ ethnic and cultural values, which may be different from those of the school.

How are parents’ beliefs related to the activities that they engage in with their preschool children? In a recent study, Bates et al. (1994) found that parents who believed that kindergarten readiness skills were important provided a variety of early learning experiences for their child, including formal and informal education at home and in the community (Bates et al.). Similarly, Stipek and her colleagues found a significant relationship between parents’ beliefs about the importance of learning-related activities for young children and home activities. Parents whose beliefs emphasized the importance of the early introduction of basic skills using a didactic approach were more likely to report that they emphasized formal, rather than informal, learning activities at home. Less-educated mothers were more likely to endorse didactic, performance-oriented instruction and to engage in fewer informal learning activities at home than were mothers with more education (Stipek, Milburn, Clements, & Daniel, 1992). However, Holloway, Rambaud, Fuller, and Eggers-Piérola (1995) reported that although the low-income mothers they studied emphasized didactic school preparation, the authors also thought that learning “was facilitated through participation in a variety of hands-on activities as well as exposure to numbers, letters, and other decontextualized information” (p. 469).

We know little about what parents do to prepare their child for kindergarten. The National Goals Panel (1995) identified an important role of parents—that of being their child’s first teacher. That statement clearly implies that parents will be active in providing their children with learning opportunities during the preschool years. Recent reports reveal that families are enrolling record numbers of young children in preschool programs. More than 50% of 3- to 5-
year-old children in the United States are enrolled in preschool programs. That number includes almost 80% of children from affluent families and approximately 40% of children from the poorest families (National Education Goals Panel, 1997). Because most childcare and preschool programs remain privately funded, the increasing numbers of children who are enrolled in preschools provide an important indicator of the valuable service that parents believe the programs provide for their young children (Sawhill, 1999).

Research on family–child reading suggests that parents or other family members read to slightly more than half of the 3- to 5-year-olds in the United States on a daily basis (National Education Goals Panel, 1997), whereas a significant majority of young children regularly watch television (Clarke & Kurtz-Costes, 1997). There is consistent evidence that home literacy activities are associated with the development of language and prereading skills in preschool children (Boschee & Knudson, 1997; Neuman, 1996). The consequences of regular television viewing for young children are less clear. In a recent study of low-income African American families, Clarke and Kurtz-Costes (1997) found that television viewing was related negatively to preschool children’s performance on school readiness measures and to the educational quality of children’s home environments. There is evidence, however, that viewing educational television shows, such as Sesame Street, may have a positive impact on the prereading and school readiness skills of young children (Murphy, 1991). Despite those studies, we know little about how parents’ ideas about preparing their child for kindergarten may be related to early literacy experiences and television viewing at home. One might hypothesize that parents who are more concerned about their children’s readiness for kindergarten will engage them in more early educational experiences over which they have some control, specifically reading and watching educational television, than will other parents. Thus, the relationships between parents’ readiness ideas and home learning activities are a focus of this article.

The goals of the present study were to examine parents’ beliefs about kindergarten readiness and the relationships between parents’ readiness beliefs and home activities, using data from a nationally representative sample of families of 3- to 5-year-old children. We designated parents’ beliefs about kindergarten readiness into three areas: (a) beliefs about important readiness skills for children in general, (b) parents’ concerns about their own children’s readiness for kindergarten, and (c) parents’ decisions to delay their children’s entry into kindergarten.

Method

National Survey Data

National data that have recently become available allow researchers to examine, in combination, a variety of factors that are related to young children’s early education experiences. The second National Household Education Survey (NHES), conducted in 1993 by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES; 1994), provides the data for our research. The 1993 survey includes a focus on school readiness in families with at least one child, 3-to-8 years of age. Parents (including nonparental guardians) were asked about their preschool-aged child’s early education program experience, home and community activities, ideas about kindergarten readiness, and information about their child’s development. Basic demographic and economic information for those families are available in the data set. Clusters of households nationwide were selected; households within each cluster were chosen using random-digit-dialing methods. Data were collected with computer-assisted telephone interviewing procedures. Deliberate oversampling of African American and Hispanic families was done to ensure sufficient numbers of non-Caucasian families to estimate important characteristics of the non-Caucasian population (National Center for Education Statistics, 1994). The data were weighted to permit estimates for the entire noninstitutionalized civilian population in the United States. In our analyses, we retained all families with 4- to 6-year-old children who had not entered kindergarten. That procedure yielded a nationally representative subsample of 2,509 households (technical data on sampling methods and the interview questions appear in National Center for Education Statistics).1

School Readiness Interview

The School Readiness interview consists of 168 items that include questions about parents’ school readiness beliefs, their child’s experience in early childhood programs, and participation in home and community activities. We also collected basic demographic information. The questions and other items used in this study included those related to the following areas:

Parents’ school readiness beliefs. There were seven readiness beliefs questions that focused on behavioral and preacademic tasks (e.g., How important do you think it is that a child . . . take turns and shares, knows the letters of the alphabet . . . before going to kindergarten?). Parents were asked to rate each belief on a 5-point Likert-type scale from 1 (not important) to 5 (extremely important).

The Developmental Profile. The Developmental Profile included 18 items that asked parents about their child’s specific developmental abilities (e.g., counting; attention span); responses indicated whether their child performed each skill.

Home activities. Respondents were asked to indicate the frequency with which their child engaged in each of nine specific activities at home during the previous week. Responses were coded into three categories, with scores in parentheses: none (0), 1–2 times (1), and 3 or more times (2); higher scores reflected higher levels of participation.
Early childhood program participation. Early childhood participation was a single item that designated preschool children who were enrolled in a center-based program (Head Start, preschool, childcare) at the time of the interview.

Kindergarten concern. Kindergarten concern was a single item that asked parents to indicate if they had any concerns about their child’s readiness for kindergarten.

Highest level of parent education. Parent education was a variable that designated the highest level of education attained by one of the child’s parents or nonparent guardians.

Planned age of entry into kindergarten. Parents were asked whether they planned to send their child to kindergarten when the child was old enough or whether they would delay his or her entry.

Race–ethnicity. Race–ethnicity was a composite variable that denoted both the race and ethnicity of the child as either White, non-Hispanic; Black, non-Hispanic; Hispanic; or all other races, non-Hispanic.

Results

We began our analyses by examining the a priori scales used in the telephone interviews. Separately, we subjected the sets of items grouped under (a) parents’ readiness beliefs, (b) the Developmental Profile, and (c) home activities to principal components factor analysis to better understand the relationships among the items on each of the three scales. The results of our analyses suggested that items relating to parent beliefs about readiness measured a unitary construct that was reliable and internally consistent. The principal components factor analysis of the seven parent beliefs items yielded a one-factor solution accounting for 59% of the variance. Factor loadings ranged from .64 to .75 for all seven items, with very good internal consistency reliability (Cronbach’s $\alpha = .87$). Scores ranged from 1–5; higher scores indicated that parents rated the items as more important.

The results of a principal components factor analysis for the 18 items on the Developmental Profile yielded a 5-factor solution, accounting for 45% of the total variance. Factor 1 included 5 items that focused on preacademic skills (i.e., identifying colors, recognizing letters, writing child’s name, counting, drawing). Factor 2 included 3 items related to child behavior (i.e., fidgeting, tantrums, short attention span). Factor 3 consisted of 3 items that focused on speech (i.e., understandable, stammering, speaking late); Factor 4 included 2 fine motor items (i.e., holding a pencil, buttoning). The 3 items loading on Factor 5 addressed potential developmental risks (i.e., bending to look at a picture, turning the TV to high volume, fussing when left with a babysitter). Two items (i.e., child trips or stumbles easily, effortless to leave child with a babysitter) did not load on any factor. Internal consistency reliability was good to adequate for Factor 1 ($\alpha = .70$) and Factor 2 ($\alpha = .54$), but poor for Factor 3 ($\alpha = .45$), Factor 4 ($\alpha = .26$), and Factor 5 ($\alpha = .29$). Mean scores on each subscale ranged from 1 to 2; higher scores indicated higher levels of accomplishment and less risk.

The third factor analysis of the nine home activities items yielded a three-factor solution (factor loadings > .50) that accounted for 46% of the variance. Four items loaded on a learning opportunities factor (i.e., teaching child letters, words, numbers; telling a story, teaching songs and music, engaging in arts activities); three items loaded on a factor related to watching educational television shows (specifically Sesame Street, Mr. Rogers, Reading Rainbow), and two items loaded on a factor relating to chores and errands. Internal consistency reliability was adequate to good for the first two factors: Factor 1 ($\alpha = .51$), Factor 2 ($\alpha = .60$), and poor for Factor 3 ($\alpha = .31$).

Table 1 reports descriptive statistics for parent responses to the readiness beliefs items, the first two subscales on the Developmental Profile, home learning opportunities, and educational television viewing, subdivided by the race–ethnicity of the child. Inspection of the means reveals that parents had relatively high expectations for the skills that children needed to acquire prior to entering kindergarten. The mean scores on the items relating to parent beliefs about kindergarten readiness indicate that parents agreed that all of the skills that they reported were important for children to acquire before they entered kindergarten. Parents reported providing a variety of home-learning opportunities for their preschool children. In addition, the mean for watching educational television was more than 1–2 times per week.

Parent responses on the academic and behavior subscales of the Developmental Profile suggested that children were, on average, capable of performing a variety of skills that have been suggested as important for children entering kindergarten. Despite the results, substantial minorities of parents across all four racial groups indicated that they were concerned about their children’s readiness for kindergarten. More than 10% of Caucasian/non-Hispanic parents and almost 25% of parents from other racial/ethnic groups indicated that they were concerned about kindergarten readiness for their children. We analyzed the differences in parents’ reported concerns about kindergarten readiness and found that Caucasian/non-Hispanic parents were significantly less likely than other parents to report that they were concerned about their children’s readiness for kindergarten ($\chi^2 = 25.5, df = 2, p < .001$), even when parents’ level of education was controlled statistically. A similar analysis, again controlling for parents’ level of education, revealed that Caucasian/non-Hispanic parents were more likely than were African American, Hispanic, or parents of other races to suggest that they would delay their child’s entry into kindergarten ($\chi^2 = 25.5, df = 2, p < .001$). There were no racial or ethnic differences on either the home-learning activities or educational TV viewing scales.

We used logistic regression analysis to examine the contributions of family background and home activities to par-
ent concerns about their children’s readiness for kindergarten. For that analysis, parent concerns about their children’s kindergarten readiness was the dependent variable. Family background (i.e., parents’ education, race–ethnicity); child characteristics (i.e., age, gender, academic and behavior scores from the Developmental Profile); and home activities (i.e., home learning, watching educational television) were the independent variables. Results of the analysis were significant—both family background (race–ethnicity) and child characteristics (age, academic, and behavior skills from the Developmental Profile), but not home activities, contributed significantly to the model (see Table 2).

We repeated the logistic regression analysis with parents’ decision to delay their children’s entry into kindergarten as the dependent variable. The results of that analysis also were significant. Again, family background (both parents’ education and race–ethnicity) and child characteristics (specifically, child age and performance on the academic skills on the Developmental Profile), but not home activities, contributed significantly to the model (see Table 3).

Discussion

From the national survey data, it is apparent that most parents think that a variety of academic and behavioral skills are important for children’s success in kindergarten. Parents’ mean readiness ratings were close to 4 (very important) across all of the racial–ethnic groups sampled in this study. The finding that parents emphasize the importance of a variety of academic and behavioral skills for children entering kindergarten is consistent with previous research (Knudsen-Lindauer & Harris, 1988; Olmsted & Lockhart, 1995). Although preacademic readiness (e.g., knowing the letters of the alphabet) is often discussed as a construct separate from behavior readiness (e.g., being able to sit still and pay attention; Kagan, 1992), the results of the factor analysis of parents’ readiness beliefs revealed that parent responses were related significantly across these two sets of items and that they represented a unitary construct of kindergarten readiness. That finding might be due, in part, to the limited number of items tapping each readiness dimension (four academic and three behavior items), as well as to a strong social desirability component inherent in the interview questions.

It is hard to imagine, for example, that parents would state that sitting still, sharing, and using a pencil are all not important skills for children entering kindergarten. On the other hand, the finding that parents viewed readiness (as used in this interview) as a single, unitary construct is consistent with the work of Knudsen-Lindauer and Harris (1988). Those authors found that parents emphasize the importance of social, emotional, and cognitive-academic skills as equally important for kindergarten readiness. That conclusion was in contrast to the finding that teachers place more emphasis on children’s behavior readiness skills than parents do (cf. Harradine & Clifford, 1996).

On average, parents reported that they provide their child with home-based learning opportunities several times each week. The activities included those related to both reading and watching educational television. Teachers often recommend those types of home-learning activities to parents as important for kindergarten readiness (Powell, 1995). In addition, the activities that were included in the construct of home-based learning opportunities were ones that were relatively inexpensive and available to families in many communities (e.g., reading, helping a child learn the alphabet). However, we did not find a significant relationship between the frequency with which parents reported that they read to their child or that their child watched educational television and parents’ concerns about their child’s readiness for kindergarten.

Parents’ beliefs about the overall importance of academic and behavior skills for kindergarten readiness were highly interrelated on the Kindergarten Readiness interview questions, and parents’ reports of their child’s preacademic skills and behavior were each related to their concerns about kindergarten readiness. In contrast, parents’ reports of their child’s preacademic skills, but not reports of behavior,

| Table 1.—Descriptive Statistics for Kindergarten Readiness Variables, by Race and Ethnicity |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variable | Caucasian/ non-Hispanic | African American/ non-Hispanic | Hispanic | Other |
| | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD | M | SD |
| Developmental profile: Academic | 1.89 | .19 | 1.81 | .25 | 1.75 | .29 | 1.88 | .19 |
| Developmental profile: Behavior | 1.79 | .29 | 1.74 | .31 | 1.64 | .35 | 1.75 | .28 |
| Kindergarten readiness beliefs | 3.91 | .53 | 4.07 | .44 | 3.99 | .45 | 3.94 | .51 |
| Home-learning opportunities | 1.54 | .34 | 1.59 | .33 | 1.55 | .35 | 1.54 | .34 |
| Educational television | 1.55 | .33 | 1.63 | .44 | 1.55 | .31 | 1.60 | .31 |
| Proportion of parents with concerns about child’s kindergarten readiness | 13.5% | (n = 173) | 18.8% | (n = 234) | 21.8% | (n = 81) | 28% | (n = 23) |
| Proportion of parents who delay child’s kindergarten entry | 10.3% | (n = 300) | 3.1% | (n = 17) | 5.4% | (n = 39) | 4.9% | (n = 9) |
were related to decisions to delay their child’s entry into kindergarten. Our finding suggests that parents have a global view of kindergarten readiness when applied to children in general, but they place the most emphasis on their child’s academic abilities when making that decision. Given the emphasis on academic performance and achievement in the media, as well as in the increasing number of high stakes statewide testing programs in the elementary grades, one might expect to find that parents are increasingly concerned about their child’s academic abilities (Meisels, 1995). That concern appears to be an issue even for parents whose children have not yet entered school.

Questions on the Kindergarten Readiness interview focused on parents’ decisions about their own child, rather than on their ideas about kindergarten in general. Shepard and Smith (1986) and Brent et al. (1996) reported that parents who are more highly educated, and presumably have access to more educational experiences for their child, are more likely to delay sending their child to kindergarten (particularly if that child is a boy). Similarly, we found that parents who are more highly educated are more likely to state that they would delay sending their child to kindergarten. We found that parents’ racial and ethnic background also influenced their decision to delay their child’s entry into kindergarten. Inspection of the means in Table 1 suggests that a substantial minority of parents in each of the racial and ethnic groups in this data set expressed concerns about their child’s readiness for kindergarten. Also, non-Caucasian parents were significantly more likely to report concerns about their child’s readiness for kindergarten than were Caucasian parents. However, the Caucasian parents were much more likely than the other parents to act on their concerns by holding their child out of kindergarten for an additional year.

<table>
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<th>Variable</th>
<th>Wald statistic</th>
<th>Cox &amp; Snell $R^2$</th>
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<th>$\chi^2$ block</th>
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*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.

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*p < .01. **p < .001. ***p < .0001.
From the data in the preceding paragraph, one cannot determine what strategies parents might have used to maximize their child’s success once he or she entered kindergarten. One might speculate that the differences that we found in parents’ decisions to delay kindergarten entry may reflect racial and cultural differences in conceptions of schooling, similar to those described by Graue (1993), Harry (1992), and Okagaki and Sternberg (1993). It is also possible that Caucasian parents’ perceptions of their choices of times for their child to begin kindergarten (e.g., enrolling their child in a private kindergarten or preschool program) were different, and perhaps more extensive, than those of other parents. Questions about parents’ alternative choices for the kindergarten year were not asked in this survey. However, the extent to which parents believe that they have good, readily accessible alternatives to sending their child to kindergarten may influence their decision to delay school entry. That determination deserves further examination. In addition, the different pattern of responses across racial and ethnic groups to two similar questions (i.e., concerns about a child’s readiness for kindergarten and decisions about delaying kindergarten entry) suggests that parents’ ideas about education may vary as a function of the questions that are asked.

Families appeared to emphasize academic skills more than child behaviors when making decisions about kindergarten readiness. Researchers and policy makers have suggested that when academic skills are emphasized in readiness decisions, the consequence is that the expectations for performance during the kindergarten year are increased for children and for their teachers. To the extent that the expectations for academic performance are communicated to parents of preschool children, one can reasonably expect that parents also will be increasingly concerned about whether their child is academically ready to meet the demands of the kindergarten classroom. As others have noted, when parents delay sending their child to kindergarten because of readiness concerns, the average age of children in kindergarten increases. That result leads to the tendency to view younger children as less ready for kindergarten and to expect more demanding work from those children who are enrolled in kindergarten classes (May & Kundert, 1997). To the extent that highly educated parents and Caucasian parents are more inclined than other parents to delay their child’s entry to school, one can expect to see increased discrepancies between the performance (and expectations) of children who attend schools that draw from different racial and ethnic groups.

NOTES

Portions of this study are based on an undergraduate honors project by the second author and a master’s thesis by the third author, both of whom are in the Department of Child Development and Family Studies at Purdue University.

1. Because the NHES sampling procedure was not completely random, standard errors of estimation may be underestimated (design effects in variances for this survey averaged 1.3 in magnitude). Although distortions in standard errors and significance levels are typically slight given the large sample sizes and low standard errors (Fuller, Holloway, & Liang, 1996), we used WESVAR PC, which accounts for nonrandom error for all analyses (see National Center for Education Statistics, 1996 for technical information). In addition, we reported significance levels conservatively: Analyses having a significance level at p < .001 were reported as being significant at p < .01; analyses that were significant at p < .01 were reported as being significant at p < .05; and analyses that were significant at p < .05 were reported as not being significant.

REFERENCES

Connell, D. (1987). The first 30 years were the fairest: Notes from the kindergarten and ungraded primary (K–1–2). Young Children, 42(5), 30–39.


