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**Summary Version of a Research Study:**

**STRENGTHENING THE  
FAMILY TO PARTICIPATE IN  
DEVELOPMENT**

Prepared for the  
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**Summary Version of a Research Study:**

# **STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY TO PARTICIPATE IN DEVELOPMENT**

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July 1992

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## Summary Version

# Strengthening the Family for International Development

## 1. Introduction

The 1990s may well be remembered as the decade of the family. Popular magazines and newspapers as well as scholarly publications from a multitude of disciplines are focusing increased attention on many facets of the family. Politicians, pundits, and policy makers as well as the man on the street all want to better understand the once very familiar and now rapidly changing family. Professionals in international development are no exception.

In fact, early experience with seemingly simple programs in international development underscored the importance of the family. Food supplementation programs carefully targeted to the vulnerable groups (weaning aged children and pregnant and lactating women), for example, were evaluated as "failures" when families stubbornly insisted that donated rations were food to be shared with all family members. Despite these early lessons the major emphasis of development activities in health, education, population control and other areas remained focused on individuals and only rarely on family units.

This paper summarizes a research study undertaken for the Agency for International Development, to explore those factors within families that sustain and strengthen the family unit and promote the development of its individual members.

### 1.1 The Current Study

The impetus for the study which this paper summarizes grew out of the Positive Deviance in Nutrition Research Project, a five-year, three-country study for UNICEF New York and the WHO/UNICEF Joint Nutrition Support Programme that investigated a wide range of factors contributing to good child growth and cognitive development under conditions of underdevelopment. The main conclusion of the Positive Deviance Project research was that good overall development of the child in poverty is a product of high quality child care, taking place mainly at the level of the well-functioning family.

The goal of this study was to help policy makers to understand the dynamics or characteristics of family social health in order to design policies and programs that strengthen family functioning and improve the well-being and economic prospects of children through their families. To achieve this goal we reviewed the literature on the family from a broad range of disciplines to investigate the dimensions of family functioning that are most important for socioeconomic development. We used "family social health" and "family social wellness" to refer to functioning, in order to

emphasize wellness and indicate that the family is an entity, or being, with a life of its own extending from one generation to the next.

We used information from the literature to construct models of how family characteristics determined child growth and development (Figure 1). Finally, we explored these models using Positive Deviance Project data from Indonesia and Nigeria to illustrate ways in which well-functioning families produce positive child growth and development.

## **2. Findings from the literature review**

An enormous amount has been written about the family. We reviewed three major areas of theory: social change and the family; economic theories of the household and family; and psychological theories of the family. We also examined development assistance models. A summary of our findings in each area is presented below.

### **2.1 Social Change and the Family**

The structure of the family has varied markedly over time and by cultural context. The premodern family evolved from small bands of nomadic hunter gatherers to larger, more settled and hierarchical families organized around agricultural production. In these extended families, marriage was a functional partnership. Children were cherished and were valued for their labor and their ability to care for aging parents. Concurrent with industrialization, the self-contained modern family evolved, organized around the strong emotional, romantic bonds between husband and wife. This new family type was characterized by smaller numbers of children and improvements in mortality rates, nutritional status, educational attainment and other indicators. In the post-industrial era of the late 20th century, the post-modern family encompasses many different forms: traditional, nuclear, two-parent working, single parent, blended and co-parent.

In the industrialized countries, the dominant family configuration has changed from the large extended family to the smaller modern or post modern family. Government and the private sector now provide many of the services previously provided by extended family members. In response to urbanization and the creation of modern sector employment throughout the world, middle class families usually have emerged as stable, relatively self-contained, two parent units. Many low income families have fragmented and remained unstable. By the standards of the modern family, the irregular structures of families in poverty are failed families. Post-modern criteria may view them as normal variants.

Child rearing practices have changed with exposure to modernizing influences, decreasing the emphasis on discipline and allowing longer periods of child dependency. Modern and post-modern families tend to provide more intimacy, affection, and verbal instruction to children. These changes are associated with improved school performance and ability of children to compete in the modern world. Yet serious concerns have been raised about children in post-

modern families being "hurried" or pushed prematurely into adult roles, or being neglected in inadequate child care arrangements.

Although modernization has brought welcome improvements in child health, growth and development, critical concerns have focused on the commodification of family life, promotion of self-centered consumerism, reduction in altruism, negative outcomes for poor families, and reduced economic power for women.

In the future, profound advances in technology, and changes in the economic characteristics of world markets, will demand increased mathematical and technical skills, forcing a change in child training practices from emphasis on autonomy and creativity to discipline. New conditions of production in the post-industrial era may lead to closer involvement of families with their young children in ways that foster acquisition of technical skills. The Japanese and other Pacific rim countries have been very economically successful, while retaining traditional family values, and may be an important model for the integration of intact families in developing countries into the modern industrial system.

Ability to adapt is a major characteristic of well-functioning families during rapid social change. In the industrialized countries, eminent local scholars and public authority figures have provided ongoing assistance for family change. Through the press and the other media these opinion leaders continuously reinterpret traditional values to meet the needs of emerging family lifestyles. Smooth transition may require such local sanctions for new family forms, values and practices.

## **2.2. Economic theories of the household and the family**

The branch of economics that deals with family dynamics is called the New Household Economics (NHE). We queried ways in which different NHE models might be used to measure family social health, and reviewed their use in policy formation to allocate resources for socioeconomic development. Economists define the household as a residential unit whose members pool their resources (at least to some degree) to provide for the welfare of all. Households are 'little factories' which combine procured goods and their own time and capacities to produce intangible "commodities" such as health, successful children, or relaxation. Economists work to understand how the rules of the market govern the consumption, production, and welfare of family members and the structure of the family itself.

Several models have been developed to explain intra-household dynamics:

- (1) **The Unified Preference Approach.** The original approach to household economics assumed that families were in harmonious agreement or consensus regarding the use of household resources to benefit all members. This assumption of altruism within the family, as opposed to the self-interest characteristic of the market, was found to be an oversimplification. In this framework, outcomes (e.g., child nutritional status, earning) are treated as if they are influenced only by resources coming from outside the household,

not by decisions or preferences inside the household. This model is adequate at the macro-level for setting tariffs and price supports, and allocating other resources for the poor. It is inadequate for fine-tuning their distribution systems, because it gives no information on how changes in prices or resources affect individual family members.

(2) **Bargaining Model.** The bargaining model assumes that individual members of the household pursue their own interests. Bargaining power increases with individual earning power or other resources. Increase in bargaining power increases the individual's "threat points" -- increasing the likelihood that the person will decide he or she would be better off outside the household unit than in it, or the likelihood that he or she will succeed in demanding more control or preferential treatment inside the household.

(3) **Implicit Contracts Model.** The implicit contracts model extends the bargaining model by incorporating culturally determined entitlements and obligations to explain why people who lack bargaining power still retain access to some household resources. Individuals pursuing their own self-interest also are bound by ties of affection. Traditional norms are cultural "fallback" positions for men and women who are unwilling to invest time and energy in bargaining and they define the upper and lower bounds within which bargaining can be applied. These norms are often held in place by legal and institutional factors such as family laws regarding property rights. Changes in these institutional factors may have greater effects on intra-household bargaining than changes in individual market earnings or assets.

Bargaining and implicit contracts models permit economists to predict the different effects that occur when development opportunities and resources are provided to different members of the household, to men versus women, for example, and with different restrictions on how and where the resources may be obtained. The more complicated models also study not only the different welfare outcomes (for example, growth of children), but also the changes in behavior inside the family (for example, how food is redistributed to children).

Major findings of economic research on the family include:

(1) Assistance programs that differentially benefit a single individual can shift the household's sharing rules and do not necessarily benefit the family as a whole. In fact, technological interventions that allow men to earn more without legislating child support may raise their threat point, disrupting the family.

(2) Social and cultural factors which allow men to keep more income for themselves if they discontinue support to wives and children will lead to progressive detachment of men from women and children. As marital disruption rates increase, women (even when living with a spouse) are more likely to enter the work force.

(3) Income controlled by women is associated with larger expenditures devoted to human capital (e.g., nutrition, health, education, leisure) than income controlled by men.

(4) Women's work for pay is associated with favorable child nutrition outcomes, if child care and pay scales are adequate, but may not be linked to good cognitive performance.

(5) Low-income women who are head of household will make great personal sacrifice to achieve favorable child outcomes.

The most important findings for the concept of social health of the family are:

(1) Equity or altruism in intrahousehold allocation of resources increases as total household resources become more adequate.

(2) The *conditions* influencing the degree of altruism or conflict within the family depend on individual situations, institutional structures, and cultural values.

(3) An approach that views the family as a governance structure that seeks to minimize its "transaction costs" through altruistic incentives, loyalty and monitoring should be explored.

## **2.3 Psychological Approaches to the Family**

Psychological approaches to the family fall into three broad categories: (1) the family itself; (2) the family from the child development perspective; and (3) the family as a producer of developmental and welfare outcomes of all members.

### ***The Family Itself***

This research has focused on how families react to stress, examining family coping, the management of stressful events by the family unit and by each individual member. The A-B-C-X model, for example, explains how families mobilize their resources either positively in a coping strategy or negatively into crisis (see Chapter 4 of the main report). Family stress theory is applicable to critical work events such as job loss or job instability.

Other investigators have examined the family life cycle, most commonly dividing the life cycle into seven stages. Life cycle research may be useful for targeting development inputs (e.g., families are most likely to have insufficient resources in the early childbearing stage).

Counseling models are used in the work of marital and family therapists and social workers. Olson's multidimensional model of family systems uses measures of cohesion, adaptability and communication to discriminate between healthy and problematic family function. Beavers models cohesion as centripetal (relationship satisfaction is found within the family) versus centrifugal (relationship satisfaction comes from outside the family) to examine the variation in cohesion over the life cycle of the family. Models for counseling for family management include the

McMaster model which groups family issues into basic tasks (providing food, shelter), developmental tasks, and hazardous tasks (e.g., crises of accidents, illness, or job loss).

### *The Child Development Perspective*

A number of models approach the family from the child development perspective. These models often focus on the mother-child dyad, rather than family dynamics per se. The Bronfenbrenner model, however, places child development in an ecological setting including the family, work place and economy. He described four interlocking systems that shape development: the microsystem (interpersonal interactions with the child); the meso-system (inter-relationships between settings e.g., home and school); the exo-system (settings in which the child does not participate e.g., parents' work place, school boards); and the macro-system (macro level forces e.g., war, technology changes).

The Belsky model, developed to explain causes of child abuse and neglect, focuses on the influence of parents' behavior on child development. This model identified parent personality as more influential than child characteristics or social setting (marital relations, social network, jobs) in supporting parental functioning and exonerates the child of blame for poor outcomes. The importance of the psychological resources of the parents is supported by positive deviance research which also finds that children growing up in poverty have the best outcomes when they live in cohesive, supportive families without major pathologies.

The Caldwell HOME inventory lists home, environmental, parental and family characteristics required to foster child development. This has proven a very useful research tool in the U.S., and as a starting point for adaptation for use in other cultures.

### *The Family as the Producer of Welfare Outcomes of its Members*

A model by Schneewind deals with the family system, measurable child outcomes, and the causal relationships between family and child. The model includes both the external context of socioeconomic and demographic variables as well as "inner-family socialization," the processes of socialization within the family. Because of its completeness, we used this model as a starting point for our own data analysis.

### *Starting Points for Adaptation for Other Cultures*

All of these models should be considered as potentially useful sources for construction of culturally appropriate models for developing countries. In particular, there are over a dozen instruments designed to measure family functioning which provide an inventory of concepts and items for investigating the concept of family social health in the context of developing country cultures and assistance programs.

## 2.4 Development Assistance Models

Data on naturally occurring protective factors in families that are at high risk for reasons of poverty and family disruption, deliver the clear message that the most indispensable protective factor for infants and young children is the consistent, warm caring of at least one person, be it parent, grandparent, or sibling. The same data also identify parental behaviors, in both developed and developing countries, which protect children.

The purpose of this section was to describe both the naturally occurring circumstances and the formally designed programs which protect high risk children. The lessons that naturally resilient children teach us, as we design programs for high risk children, follow.

- (1) Our intervention services should focus first on the most vulnerable children in any high risk category: those who lack the essential social support, love, and affection which serve to protect children from negative influences. Among the families and children who are likely to be isolated are: the children whose mothers work full time; children who are separated from their families for extended periods of time; the children of parents who abuse drugs or alcohol; the children of refugees or migrants to cities who have no helping network in the community.
- (2) When assessing the situation of children we need to consider not only the risk factors but also the strengths, the supportive factors that already exist within the community or that can be brought to bear on the situation.
- (3) Often when the parents cannot adequately care for a child, other significant people can be found in the child's life--grandparents, siblings, caring teachers--who can play a role in helping the child.
- (4) For any intervention to be effective the child must be able to trust that help, affection, and support will be there consistently. Children need to be able to trust that they will continue to be accepted despite their flaws or shortcomings.
- (5) Children are better able to cope with stress and adversity if at least parts of their lives are organized and predictable, with rules and limits that are consistently enforced.
- (6) Although it is clear that some children are biologically more resistant to stress than others, the resilience of most children can be improved if they are helped to learn independence, flexible problem solving, self-confidence, and trust in the people around them.

Looking at the data on intervention programs for high risk children in developed and developing countries we may conclude that:

(1) Short-term programs, focused solely on the child, are unable to achieve long-term changes in child development. Gains tend to wash out once the children are exposed to unresponsive or unstimulating primary schools.

(2) Longer lasting effects seem to be possible if interventions are made to change the child's enduring environment. This may be accomplished through changing parental behavior, through making school more responsive to children, or through a combination of these two approaches.

(3) If we are concerned about children whose development is threatened by a deprived social and economic environment, logic dictates that interventions must include services to improve the environmental conditions. Program after program has demonstrated that overwhelmed parents do not have the time or emotional energy to learn new ways to optimize their children's development. While helping the family to obtain things necessary for survival will not directly impact on the child's development, it will ease the stress enough for all family members to learn new skills and behaviors.

(4) To have the most direct and long lasting impact on the child, intervention programs must continue to emphasize the importance of the parent's behavior. Programs which are most effective are highly focused, provide concrete models of new behaviors, and reinforce individual learning through community meetings.

### **3. Developing and Testing the Models**

To create our models, we used the information reported above as well as reviewing literature about the family in both Nigeria and Indonesia.

#### **3.1 Javanese Families**

In East Asia modernizing countries such as Japan have been able to side step some of the family disruption and crime associated with economic development in the west. The Javanese value harmonious unity, smoothing over differences, and cooperation. Overt expression of conflict is avoided. Values that reflect group orientation, acceptance of authority, dependence, conflict avoidance and an interest in harmony may have helped to maintain this social stability, although concerns have been raised about lack of personal choice, independence, and creativity. Although development has not progressed as rapidly, family values, child-rearing practices and social conformity in Java, Indonesia, are similar in many ways to other countries of East Asia.

Ideally, marriage establishes a new, nuclear family but economic constraints may cause young couples to live with the wife's parents. Women have a favorable position in Javanese society, their authority bolstered by their economic independence and a matrifocal kinship system. While permitted, polygamy is rare.

Rates of marital dissolution are quite high among the rural poor, mainly due to the high divorce rate in arranged first marriages. Little stigma is attached to divorce in the lower social classes, although middle class women may experience some shame. In case of conflict, couples do not openly quarrel but refuse to speak to each other.

Large families were traditionally desirable and children highly valued, providing parents with additional labor and security in old age. With rigorous family planning programs smaller families are becoming the norm. Children remain a source of high status as well as joy and happiness. Up to about age five children are given unconditional emotional support and love. During this period the mother is the most important person in the child's life, holding and soothing it; babies are rarely allowed to cry. Although fathers are also indulgent during the early years, after age five the relationship with the father becomes more distant and respectful, especially in lower class families.

Our sample included 235 Javanese children aged 24 to 79 months from eight villages in Central Java. We collected information on food intake, anthropometry, social and demographic information, and used the Caldwell HOME inventory with additional attitudinal and behavioral measures. Children's stature was associated with more adequate diets and with measures of middle class status (e.g., living in a more modern/well constructed home, better cleanliness and sanitation in the home, more educated parents and television ownership). Parental investment in the child's future (e.g., provision of toys and books, encouragement to learn the alphabet) also was associated with greater child stature. Permissiveness of the child's expression of disrespect was associated with decreased nutrient intake and shorter stature.

After the child is five, the mother teaches him or her social manners and etiquette which focus on social conformity, self-control and obedience. Key values include the obedience to superiors, generosity, avoidance of conflict, understanding others and empathy. Children who do not behave may be punished by withdrawal of attention, not being spoken to, or being frightened or shamed.

The Western model of family life and child rearing has allowed for independence and isolation which has resulted in high social and individual costs. In Java, independence cannot and should not override the values of mutual help and mutual understanding in social relationships. Nevertheless, it may be necessary to adopt new practices that enhance individual creativity and sharing of information from the lower to higher levels of the family hierarchy.

### **3.2 Yoruba Families**

Among the Yoruba of southwestern Nigeria, traditional social organization was urban, patrilineal, patrilocal, and patriarchal with a system of seniority based on the lineage structure. Children were the *summum bonum*, as they were the pathway to immortality for individuals and for the family, through a belief system of revolving reincarnation of the same family or lineage members from each generation to the next. On a practical basis, they contributed economically to their parents and cared for them in old age or during crisis. Young children were on the lowest rung; and

revered, departed but still present ancestors on the highest rung of the traditional seniority system. Earlier family life was characterized by polygamous norms and by large walled compounds housing as many as 2,000 lineage members. Women traditionally worked in trading and crafts, making them economically independent but still subordinate to men.

Rapid modernization has caused sweeping on-going changes in many aspects of life in Yoruba land. The extended family structure is giving way to small self-contained family units. Traditional patriarchal structures are losing authority. Polygamy is less successful in a wage based economy. Education and wide-spread conversion to Christianity drive a trend toward monogamy.

We examined, through the literature and our field study, cultural pathways through which changing family dynamics influence the growth and cognitive development of young children. Our sample was 211 two-year-olds and their mothers in low income households in urban, semi-urban and rural areas of Lagos state. Information gathered included food intake, sociodemographic information, child development (Bayley Scales) and anthropometry. Using logistic regression, we contrasted children in the top third and bottom third of the distributions for growth and cognitive development simultaneously (child outcomes). Traditionally, restriction of high status foods was practiced as a teaching method for training the child to understand and adjust to his place in the hierarchical, seniority structure. Although almost all parents still practiced traditional food restrictions for young children, parents who believed in and practiced less food restriction had children who grew better and scored higher on the Bayley Scales.

Many of our findings were similar to other studies of the effects of modernization on child rearing practices. Superior child outcomes were found when parents avoided harsh discipline and did not require unquestioning obedience. Better growth and development occurred when parents allowed longer periods of child dependency, showed more affection and intimacy, were more verbally responsive, and used explanations to teach the child. The superior child outcomes characteristic of this style of care-giving prepares children to succeed at school. And school success has life time implications for the young child in modern Nigeria where, currently, requirements for profitable employment are tied to educational achievement.

### **3.3 The Design and Testing of Models**

We developed and tested a structural equation model (Figure 1) that identified family characteristics and attempted to explain how these family characteristics determined child welfare and development. To select the variables included in the model, we reviewed the literature and examined data collected in Indonesia (Javanese children aged 2 to 5 years and their parents) and in Nigeria (two year old Yoruba children and their parents). The family characteristics used in the models included material resources (socio-economic variables); social, family and community support; and parents' care-giving behaviors (maternal affection and attention, academic stimulation, feeding practices, and health and hygiene practices). The outcome, child

development, included growth as well as mental and social development<sup>1</sup>. We determined the percent of variance in child development explained by family characteristics using structural equation modelling.

Using the Indonesian data (Figure 2) we found that after controlling for socioeconomic variables (SES), maternal affection and feeding practices had positive effects on growth, and, through growth, positive effects on mental development. Academic stimulation showed a direct positive effect on IQ in this older group of preschool children. Health practices showed no effect on child development, possibly because of inadequate control for the fact that sickly children use more services. A stable family environment helped generate positive maternal attitudes toward children, which in turn promoted positive child development.

Analysis of the Yoruba data (Figure 3) indicated that maternal affection, feeding practices and academic stimulation had positive effects on child development, measured by growth, mental and physical development, after controlling for SES. Although academic stimulation showed a relatively strong effect on all outcome indicators in simple correlations, its effect in the systems model is weaker than the effects of maternal affection and feeding practices. As in the Javanese model, no association was found between hygiene practices and outcome, perhaps for similar reasons. This signals the need for improved data collection methods in future studies. In both countries, social resources measured by mother's schooling and literacy, showed positive and strong impact on academic stimulation, which, in turn, positively affects child development.

### **3.4 Findings**

Findings from our study can be interpreted as refuting the commonly held notion that vertical programs targeted at children or improvement in family resources alone are the most effective means of improving the development and economic prospects of children. They suggest that family social health may be the most important single determinant of children's overall preparation for living. We believe this finding must be followed up by multidisciplinary research to improve understanding of the family social health approach to program design and evaluation. The development of the research agenda should include plans for statistical analysis that takes advantage of recent vastly increased computing capacity.

## **4. The Definition of Family Social Health**

With evidence from the models regarding the social health concept, we returned to the literature to define the components of family social health. Viewed together, the family literatures provide criteria for defining family social health, wellness or well-functioning along a number of possible dimensions that fall under different policy domains:

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<sup>1</sup> The full report also presents separate models for the different child outcomes.

- (1) **Family management**, including: skills in accessing and managing resources needed to sustain the family under normal conditions and during crisis (food, money, shelter, transportation, health care, education, etc.); and skills in governance of the family as a cooperative unit (decision-making, bargaining, problem solving, conflict resolution).
- (2) **Family caring capacity**, characterized by sensitive and loving transactions between family members and by adequate technical knowledge and caring skills.
- (3) **Family goals and values**, including explicit and implicit goals for family members, resource sharing rules, cultural values and codes for family behavior, perceptual frameworks, and cognitive interpretations.
- (4) **Family boundary maintenance**, or structural integrity, covering the formation and dissolution of reproductive partnerships (terms of marriage and divorce), birth control, child custody and fostering, the launching of adult children, care arrangements for the elderly, death and separation through migration, natural disasters, and civil unrest.

## **5. Policy Implications**

Based on our review of the literature and model testing, we recommend the following actions to improve family social health:

- (1) **Policy recommendations:** We recommend that efforts to strengthen the family be built into poverty and social welfare policies (education, health, agricultural policy, food subsidies and other social entitlements), and into legal and fiscal policies (inheritance law, pension regulations, industrial regulatory laws, income tax, other taxes and pricing policies).
- (2) **Program recommendations:** In the design of services and interventions, we urge the continuing process of integrating vertical services into innovative programs that strengthen families and benefit children at the primary care or grass-roots level. This study indicates that early childhood development activities are the program component that is the most effective entry point for strengthening the social health and economic viability of the family, both in the current and next generation.

Although policy makers can learn from the experience of other countries, there is no single formula for family policies applicable to all social, cultural and political systems. Rather policy must be developed specifically to suit each country. Family policy is an extremely private matter and must be determined by local scholars, and cultural and legal authorities. Over the long term, it will be cost-effective for the international donor community to support academics and other professionals, universities and governments, in their efforts to assess the local situation and set family policy, whether or not the government is able to match donor contributions in this area.

Very few governments have family policies and programs based on clear and up-to-date understanding of local cultural and historic issues. In many countries, for example, traditional family systems that enforced paternal support and care for children have broken down leaving children unsupported. Industrialized countries have found that it does not work to leave the care and support of children strictly in the private realm. Developing countries will also have to articulate norms, procedures and laws that entitle children to both parents' human and economic resources. Local scholars can help governments better understand the interaction between families and the process of development, and supply the frameworks that provide the basis for policy formation.

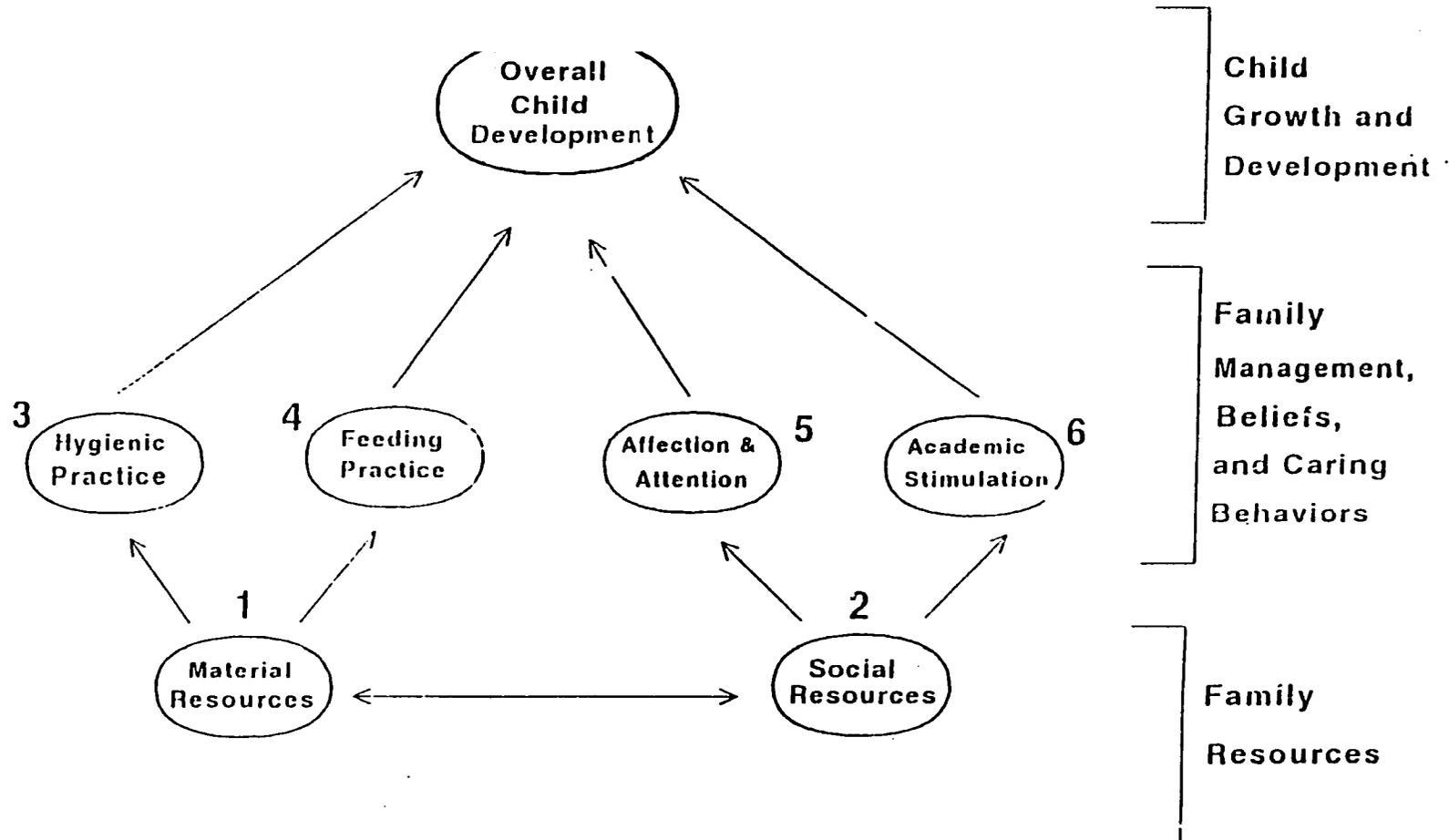
Assessment must identify existing and unanticipated negative outcomes of social change and development activities on families. Such negative outcomes include: no-longer functional inheritance and child custody laws, technologies that interfere with traditional child care practices, food supplementation programs aimed at children under five years that inadvertently provide incentives to poor families to increase family size, and government programs that substitute for traditional family functions rather than serving families as backups. Assessment must also consider the policy implications of world wide social and technical changes, and help families adjust to the effects of modernization.

Government programs need to expand "public familism." This concept is defined as the aggregate of policies that help people sustain their private lives. This does not mean that government replaces family responsibility but that government can protect an environment in which the family is able to carry out its functions and develops the potential of families as a force for promoting development.

Above all, the most effective ways to strengthen the family must come from within. Some positive traditional values such as love, mutual aid and respect which bind family members together, and connect them to the local community and to larger society, need to be preserved. Government policy can create an atmosphere that enables families to preserve and transfer these values to their children through the collaboration of schools, local religious institutions, and non-government agencies and the private sectors. It may be possible to combine many of the positive aspects of traditional family life with the advantages of modern, technological society.

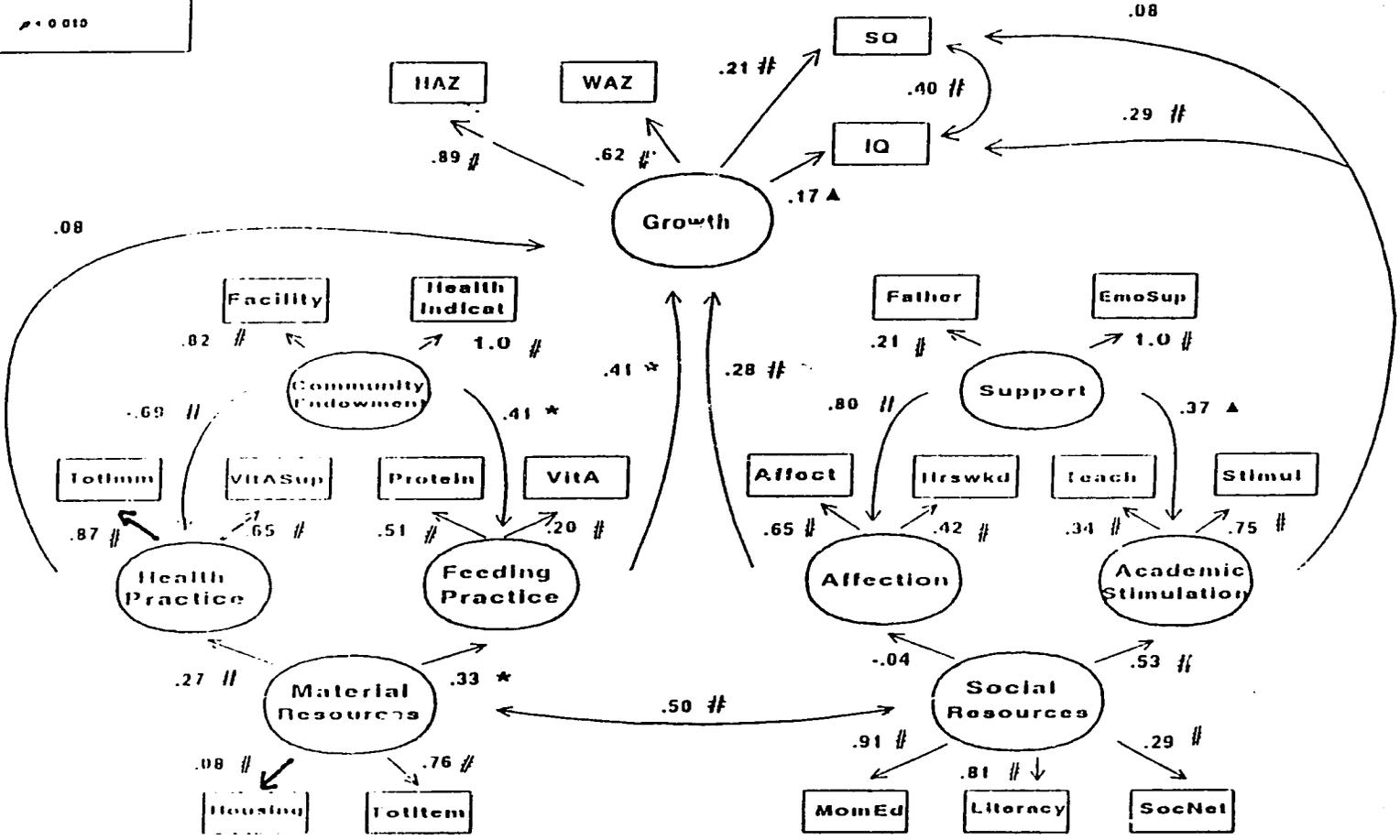
Public services and programs can be designed to enhance family goals and values and support boundary maintenance. Programs with the greatest direct impact on families include early childhood development education, family life education, and family preservation (e.g., counseling to prevent marital disruption). Multipurpose community-based programs can support social networks and improve family morale.

**Fig. 1 Simplified Conceptual Model  
Based on Nigerian Data**



Legend	
*	0.025 <math>p</math> <math>< 0.050</math>
Δ	0.010 <math>p</math> <math>< 0.025</math>
#	<math>p</math> <math>< 0.010</math>

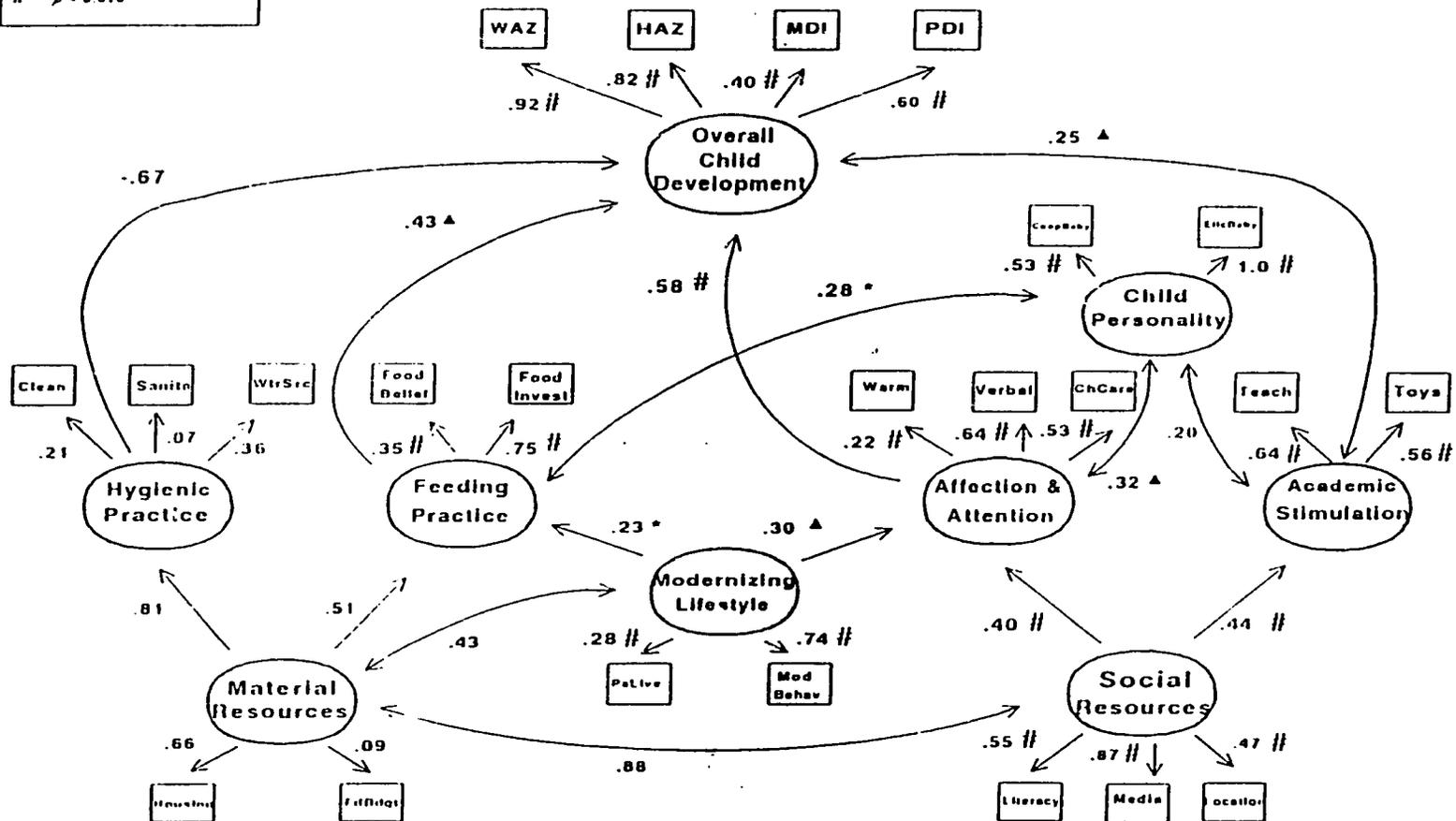
**Fig. 2 Overall Development, Java**  
 N=185 2- to 5-year old children and their families



GFI (adjusted) = 0.740  
 BB Index = 0.650

Legend	
*	0.025 <math>p < 0.050</math>
Δ	0.010 <math>p < 0.025</math>
#	<math>p < 0.010</math>

**Fig. 3 Overall Development, Nigeria**  
N=170 2-year-olds and their families



GFI (adjusted) = 0.754

BB Index = 0.641