

Parenting philosophies: the East-West Dialogue<sup>1</sup>

Author	Abstract
<p>Karma Pedey, Assistant Professor and Head of Innovation and Linkages, Norbuling Rigter College, Royal University of Bhutan, Paro</p> <p><b>Key words:</b></p> <p>Parenting philosophies, ley judray, tha damtshig, developmental niche, Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD)</p>	<p>Adopting a qualitative methodology and an interpretive paradigm informed by Bronfenbrenner’s ecological theory and the fundamental Bhutanese values of <i>ley judray</i> and <i>tha damtshig</i>, this study compares the Western and Bhutanese parenting philosophies. The study uses data from ECCD policies and curriculum, data from my field work and literature on parenting.</p> <p>The study findings will inform on exploring opportunities to harmonise Western and Bhutanese parenting philosophies so that Bhutanese child will grow into global citizens who are rooted into Bhutanese culture.</p>

Context

The developmental niches of Bhutanese children who attend Early Childhood Care and Development (ECCD) are influenced by the Buddhist worldview of interconnectedness from which stems the core Bhutanese values of *ley judray*<sup>2</sup> and *tha damtshig*<sup>3</sup>. Similar to this, Bronfenbrenner’s ecological model (1979, 1999, 2005) and Super and Harkness’s developmental niche (Super & Harkness, 1986) inform us that culture structures the environment in which the development of a child occurs. With globalisation, the general observation is that the developmental niche, mainly of urban children, is influenced by their other microsystem, their ECCD centres.

\* I have used Wyle to transliterate all local terminologies in its first occurrence in the main section of the paper.

<sup>1</sup> This paper is a section of my thesis submitted for award of M. Ed (Hons) in Early Childhood Care and Development at the University of New England, Armidale, Australia. The field work for this study was conducted in 2013 in the ECCD centers of Phobjikha and Thimphu City. I extend by gratitude to Professor Margaret Sims, my Principal research supervisor and Professor Margaret Brooks, Co-Supervisor. I also thank Dr. Tandin Dorji who made enriching comments.

<sup>2</sup>/las rgyu ‘bras/

<sup>3</sup> /tha dam tshig/

With time, probability is high that there will be shift in the environment in which the development of children occurred. This is the chronosystem in the five-layered ecological model of Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1999, 2005).

We have observed that the developmental niche in which the 21<sup>st</sup> century Bhutanese children grow is highly influenced by the western values and parenting philosophies, particularly in the urban setting resulting from the change in the context of the environment in which they are growing up. Thus, this paper proposes the Bhutanese educationists to discuss and look for ways and means to harness the best of both the worlds, the western and the Bhutanese, and design ECCD policies and programmes accordingly since ECCD lays the foundation for the development of children.

Against this scenario, this paper will look at the nuances of the Bhutanese and Western values and beliefs using data from ECCD policies and programmes. The findings hope to suggest the need to design pathways to harmonise the parenting philosophies of the East and West in the Bhutanese ECCD policies and programmes.

*Shedtho*<sup>4</sup> (relaxed conversation) approach was applied in this study for data collection. Data was analysed using an interpretive model to uncover themes. The findings are presented in a narrative style that blends well with shedtho approach. The East-West dialogue revolves around structural nuance, parenting philosophies & developmental goals, outlook on beliefs, on discipline, stance on play, perspectives on domains of child development and happenings inside the ECCD centre.

## **The structural nuance**

What underpins my participants' stories is that the structural fabric of Bhutanese society is founded on *ley judray* and *tha damtshig*. These two concepts propagate the idea that we don't live all by ourselves but our lives are intertwined with others; we co-exist and live together with many others on this earth. The voices from the field echoed this line of thought and belief, which are widely and deeply held beliefs amongst Bhutanese (Barth & Wikan, 2011; Phuntsho, 2004; Powdyel, 2005, 2007; Wangyal, 2004; Whitecross, 2008).

This concept of interdependence and reciprocity goes even deeper and is more complex with the Bhutanese belief in life after death. The complexity lies in the belief in cycle of rebirths: that all sentient beings have been our parents at one time or the other and so all beings on earth must be treated with love and respect. This is the construct of the Bhutanese social structure, the underlying social

---

<sup>4</sup> *Shedtho* (*bshed tho*) as a data collection approach to make study socio-culturally appropriate is discussed in my paper 'Shedtho: Weaving Bhutanese approach to data collection method' published by Norbuling Rigter College in Rigter Journal of Multidisciplinary Research (Autumn 2023) 1(1), 57-67.

belief, which rests on the premise that all actions are connected, all fortunes or misfortunes are but the outcome of merits or demerits accumulated by each person. It is from this law of karma that the concept of *ley judrey* is derived (Phuntsho, 2004; Wangyal, 2004; Whitecross, 2008). Some of my respondents used the words *ley judray tha damtshig* directly while talking about subjects such as filial piety, relationship between siblings, friendship, community relationship, gratitude, respect, trust and loyalty, obedience, love, moral duty and obligation, gratitude, responsibility that binds the person to another in reciprocal relationship and so forth. According to Phuntsho (2004, p.568), “To be a moral man is to abide by *ley judray* through engaging in virtuous actions... and ...to have no regard for *ley judray* is to be morally unconscientious, irresponsible and reckless”.

Beyond these pairing of relationships and embedded in the daily practices of Bhutanese is also the act of conducting rituals and making offerings to the deities and spirits which they believe reside in the mountains, trees, rocks, water and land (Barth & Wikan, 2011; Pedey, 2005; Powdyel, 2005). Such practices underscore the value and observance of *ley judray* and *tha damtshig*. Thus, exploitation of nature without limit is seen as a breach of *tha damtshig*, a trust founded on harmonious co-existence which when broken will result in natural disasters. My field data shows that the respondents, particularly rural parents’ lives are punctuated with “prayers”, “fumigation”, “rituals” and “ceremonies” which again underlines the principles of *ley judray* and *tha damtshig* that they share with other beings on earth.

Furthermore, the concepts of *ley judray* and *tha damtshig* have always played a key role even outside of our own personal lives, featuring in the political domains also and in the functioning of other institutions (Phuntsho, 2004; Wangyal, 2004). The Bhutanese populace underscore the importance of serving the *Tsawa sum*<sup>5</sup> with *tha damtshig* (pure loyalty in this context). Thus, Bhutanese believe that for the country to enjoy peace and prosperity they must honour and respect the reciprocal relationship they share with one another; they must observe *tha damtshig* by all means.

Of *ley judray* and *tha damtshig*, Powdyel (2007, p. 70) remarks that “It’s a simple equation: we receive what we give. As I am, so is my family. As I am, so is my nation. By the inexorable law of *ley judray*, I can only expect the result of my thoughts and actions to repeat their own quality.”

Since the 1980s the concept of Gross National Happiness has guided Bhutan in treading the path of balanced economic development. The discussions of Gross National Happiness (GNH) also revolve around *ley judray tha damtshig* in the sense that conservation of the environment is one of the ideas that it propagates (Powdyel, 2005). All these illustrate that the structure of the Bhutanese Society

---

<sup>5</sup> /*rtsa ba gsum*/ is a concept borrowed from the Buddhist concept of “Triple Gem”. It means the three roots which are “the country, people and the king”.

is founded on the two concepts of *ley judray* and *tha damtshig*: honouring the law of interdependence will eventually result in positive outcome and vice-versa. Thus, like in the societies guided by the concept of interdependence and collectivism where a relationship is bound by “obligation and duty” (Edwards, Knoche, Aukrust, Kumru, & Kim, 2005, p. 147), Bhutanese too observe this moral duty and obligation.

The societies whose structure is founded on the core belief of interdependence will lay emphasis on family and community and any success is connected to group dynamics (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Harkness, Super, & Keefer, 1992). As clearly expressed by my respondents, group dynamics and group coalitions are also important phenomena that plays a dominant role in the lives of Bhutanese. This comes out prominently in the structure of the family (extended family), the power structure and the role of each member, the interactive home environment, the communication process, the running of the household, the family rituals and ceremonies as well as the community rituals. Such events and activities are organised to cater to the mutual needs and benefits rather than just an individual alone and according to shared values. The social microcosm of the family as well as the community functions in order for all to strive for their common goal and each member’s behaviour becomes both the cause and effect in their reciprocal relationship of *tha damshig*. We can see that, rather than the individual working in isolation, each is interdependent with others for the success of the group such as a family and a community. Thus, with the Bhutanese society founded on the idea of interdependence, children are encouraged to view difficulties as a group issue and are made aware of their responsibilities to their family and community.

In contrast, Western society is constructed on the concept of individualism (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Edwards et al., 2005; Keller, 2003; Keller & Otto, 2009; Suizzo, 2004; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007; Wise & da Silva, 2007; Yunus, 2005). Individualistic societies “place greater emphasis on the fostering of individual achievement in their children” (Edwards et al., 2005, p. 147). They value personal independence and autonomy and are willing “to leave relationships that are not beneficial to the person” (Oyserman, Coon, & Kemmelmeier, 2002, p. 36; Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2007). Further, unlike the societies that value interdependence, the Western individualist encourages expression of emotions and “children are taught to communicate their personal feelings” (Wise & da Silva, 2007, p. 3).

Individualism and independence of the western society on one hand, and the collectivism and interdependence of the Bhutanese society are defining elements of two different societies with differing mindsets. However, living in a globalized society and with exposure to constant Western beliefs, urban Bhutanese are beginning to bring up their children following the western individualist model which may act as a barrier to imbibe the Bhutanese values of interdependence and relatedness. The question is how can these two polar end beliefs of two different societies harmonise so that the best of both is drawn to benefit Bhutanese children and eventually the Bhutanese society. It is in this

sphere that the role of ECCD policies and programmes will come into play so that there is a dynamic co-existence of both autonomy and relatedness.

## Parenting philosophies & developmental goals

In the East Asian societies, children are expected to fulfil the needs of their parents and make efforts to make their parents happy (Chao & Tseng, 2002; Liu & Kendig, 2000; Yunus, 2005). Similarly, Bhutanese society embrace traditional and cultural values such as filial piety and caring for aged parents as a virtue. As has been expressed by both rural and urban parents, one of the hopes and expectation of the parents is that their children will, in future, take responsibility to fulfil the needs of their ageing parents. This is reflected in Bhutanese society where caring for elderly members of the family is a collective responsibility of the younger members and not just that of one individual. The concept of *ley judray* and *tha damtshig* which the respondents spoke aloud manifests itself in the parenting philosophy where different layers of interdependence are displayed such as relationships between ageing parents and their children on one hand and between the children themselves to provide care for their parents. For this reason, as articulated by one of the parents, the children are constantly reminded of the need to observe filial piety and the moral duty that “even if you carry your mother on the left shoulder and your father on the right and tour the world you will not be able to repay the depth of their love and kindness that they brought you up with.”

Further the adage that “Parents grow old, children embody our hope” echoes the hope of parents to be cared for in their old age. The hope of Bhutanese parents reflects their parenting philosophy which is rooted in the values of *ley judray* and *tha damtshig* upon which the Bhutanese social structure is founded. In contrast, founded on the concept of individualism, Western societies have adopted a welfare society where there are policies that ensure that the state provides care and protection for senior citizens (Estes & Phillipson, 2002; Liu & Kendig, 2000; Quada, 1988).

What can be concluded is that in the west the social value of individualism provides the legal grounding for aged welfare policy while in the east, in contrast, is the social value of filial piety which ensures that the old members of the family are taken care of. Unfortunately, it must be stated that both East and West are failing to continue with the provision of support for their ageing members. The economic crisis in the West is making it difficult to continue the welfare policy for ageing while the emergence of nuclear families and changing lifestyle has led to erosion of filial piety (Liu & Kendig, 2000).

The social value of “*pha gee ba ta bu so*”<sup>6</sup> is on the threshold of change. The emergence of nuclear families and more so, exposure to western lifestyle, ideas and philosophies is likely to take the Bhutanese across the threshold into that of

---

<sup>6</sup> /Pha rgas ba blta bu gso/

others if the same trend continues. This would mean that the Bhutanese would also experience the same transition as those of the other East Asian societies. Probably the establishment of the National Provident and Pension Fund some decade ago by the government for their employees is a preparation towards such a change. Elders at least will have some regular financial support in case their children breach the social value expressed through “pha gee ba ta bu so”. It is now for the Bhutanese society and relevant organisations to ensure the sustainability of this parenting philosophy.

### **Outlook on beliefs on discipline**

Yuen found out that Chinese parents assign children’s misbehaviour to the failure of the parents in their “socialisation attempts” (2011, p. 23). Similarly, the Bhutanese proverb “Children of worthless parents and students of unlearned teacher” is a premise on which the beliefs about the source of discipline among Bhutanese parents are founded as it demands the parents to prepare their children to grow into caring and responsible individuals. Generally, Bhutanese view lack of discipline and ill mannerism of a child to be the result of ineffective parenting and lack of proper upbringing. Thus, like Asian parents (Chao, 1996; Chao & Tseng, 2002; Liu, 1986) Bhutanese parents also demand obedience and compliance as well as respect from their children. Yuen (2011) says that Americans also considered immature development of the child as the cause of misbehaviour.

In traditional scenario, Bhutanese children are generally brought up in an environment where they are made to understand the importance of respecting and obeying parents in the context of *drin len*, which means showing gratitude to the parents for what they have sacrificed for their children.

Bhutanese share similar ways as Chinese in disciplining their children. As drawn from the words of respondents in the Chapter three (p. 62), “A child who is shown love and affection through an excess of joy and peace will not be able to learn much”, “permitting one’s child to display irresponsible habits is not affection; the growth of hump on the bull’s back does not signify strength; let fondness be felt in heart; and let the head receive a smack or two often” and “align the sapling and the child when tender” are some popular sayings that the respondents freely quoted which centred around Bhutanese disciplining beliefs. These proverbs tell us how a Bhutanese child is brought up in a traditional society and even now among many literate families, particularly in rural communities. The outcome of disciplining children based on these sayings are expressed further by a proverb “A child of good parentage is known by the quality of mind; the sheath of a superior knife is known by the shape”. The idea of *ley judray* as an outlook on disciplining is apparent in this proverb.

Zhao (2002) state that parents in the East tend to use a lot of physical punishment to discipline their child as the Asian culture believes that it is

demonstration of affection. This is also case also a case in Bhutan as the popular adage proclaims that “Sweet words will not come out of the mouth of one who cares.”

Studies by Chau (2011) and Zhaou (2002) show that in Asia, parents use verbal disciplining strategies which are often derogatory such as calling their children ‘useless’ and ‘stupid’

Further, they mention that parents are of the perception that children will feel ashamed after being physical or verbal disciplining and avoid doing the same mistakes. The outcome is not positive for development of children as these children rarely speak their minds out.

In contrast, study by Chua (2011) show that Western parents use inductive strategies to discipline their children by investing efforts to explain with reasons. Further, they put in efforts to ensure positive development of their children's emotional state and mental well-being by constantly encouraging their children to do their best and refraining from using-abusive verbal disciplining. Children are encouraged to regulate their activities as much as possible. Children are treated as individuals whose rights should be respected. They also praise their children from time to time and positive discipline is normally reinforced through rewards.

Therefore, it is appropriate to conclude that Bhutanese parents should learn from Western practices of disciplining children.

### **Stance on play**

In their study of Euro-American and Asian parents, Parmar, Harkness, and Super (2004), found two different perspectives in their children's play. Euro-American parents believed play to be an “important vehicle” for the early development and growth of preschool children. They considered “play helpful in enhancing physical, social, emotional, and cognitive development of preschool children” (Parmar et al., 2004, p. 102). On the other hand, “Asian parents did not value play for the development of preschool children. They did not believe that play helps children get ready for school. The Asian parents stressed the idea that getting a head start in early academics is important for the cognitive development of children in preschool years” (Parmar et al., 2004, p. 102).

Further, the Euro-American parents bought many toys and play items which were for fun and enjoyment. These parents also made time to play with their children as it is considered as the basis for developing children's academic and social development. More importantly it is valued as a means of bonding; and also to stimulate interests and imagination. In contrast, the “Asian parents facilitated cognitive development by serving as teachers and academic coaches at home” (Parmar et al., 2004, p. 103). Interestingly, most of the toys that they bought were also educational and not for fun and enjoyment (Parmar et al., 2004).

These findings by Parmar et al. (2004) regarding the contrasts between Euro-American and Asian parenting connect well with the Bhutanese setting. The narratives of the ECCD facilitators and parents of both rural and urban areas that I visited showed they placed very little importance on play. This is also further reinforced in the report on the situational analysis in Bhutan conducted by Save the Children (2008, p. 15) that “play and learning materials in some day care programs appear limited.” Further, all the rural respondents and some of the urban parents shared the view that they hardly ever buy toys for their children. The non-valuing of play is validated by the closure of sand pits meant for play as parents complained about their children playing in the sand pit and getting untidy. Parents also voiced out that playtime in the ECCD centre is a waste of time as they saw no learning and did not contribute to the child’s development. This was validated by almost all the ECCD facilitators that I interviewed underscored that “Parents are disheartened and do not approve of their children spending time on play.”

Thus, what can be concluded is that play is not a priority of the Bhutanese parents and they also want more of academic activities such as reading, writing and singing than play in the ECCD centres. Play is, therefore, another area on which the Western and the Bhutanese societies take a different stance. However, in this scenario, Bhutanese parents must adapt and learn to value play as important for the development of their children.

### **Perspectives on domains of child development**

Western research tells us that child development is multidimensional and varies according to “nutritional and biomedical status, genetic inheritance, and social and cultural context” (Spratt et al., 2012, p. 4). The early period of a child’s life experiences lays the foundation for later life, impacting on overall development and growth. Thus under-nutrition, poor health, and non-optimal caregiving can have an adverse effect on the cognitive, motor, psychosocial, and affective development of the child (Engle & Lhotska, 2012; Grantham-McGregor, Fernald, & Sethuraman, 2012; Meisels & Atkins-Burnett, 2012; Pollitt, Huang, & Jahari, 2012; Pollitt & Triana, 2012; Spratt et al., 2012; Wachs, 2012).

In contrast, findings by Barth and Wikan (2011) and Save the Children (2008) show that in rural Bhutan in the semi-nomadic communities, 53.5 percent of the parents do not make their children wash hands after play and 68.4 percent of the children report that they do not wash hands after going to toilet. These conditions pose high risk for children living in these communities and attending ECCD centres. Further, the same study by Barth and Wikan (2011) and Save the Children (2008) report that rural homes in Bhutan have poor hygiene as floors are never washed and just swept and even clothes and bodies are not washed on a regular basis. Many Bhutanese, particularly, in rural Bhutan, still resort to conducting rites and rituals to attend to sicknesses and ailments (Barth & Wikan, 2011; Pedey, 2005) before seeking medical treatment. My research data from



childhood narratives of the rural parents again validates this further as they say that illnesses of children are associated with spirits and other supernatural forces and the way to cure these was to perform rituals and appease the spirits, while there are over 31 hospitals, 184 Basic Health Units, 46 Indigenous staffed with 184 doctors and 723 nurses catering to a small Bhutanese population of about seven hundred thousand (National Statistical Bureau, 2011, p. 1). All my rural respondents and a few of my urban parents explained that they preferred to resort to a mix of rituals rather than going to hospitals, popularly known as *menchhoe rimdroe*<sup>7</sup> clearly indicating that perspectives on important development domains, viz. health and hygiene, does not receive the required attention, particularly in rural Bhutan.

### **Inside the ECCD centre**

What is drawn from Western literature (Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000; Super & Harkness, 2002) on childcare and education is that the early years of childhood are a very important phase in the life of a child and that culture should be one of the bedrocks to be considered in ECCD programmes. However, discussions with the staff working in the two ECCD centres I visited revealed that there is more western content than Bhutanese in their programmes and activities. Domains of child development such as motor development; physical health & well being; language, literacy and communication; approaches towards learning and cognition and general knowledge are given importance. However, the socio-cultural domain received very little attention. In the centres I visited, only one day in a week is allotted to Bhutanese culture, which leaves very little room for local knowledge, the source of cultural enrichment, to be used as classroom materials. On this day children learn about Bhutanese culture and tradition while the rest of the days the children spent time learning English. The children are taught rhymes and songs in English, stories are read in English, materials used are mostly in English and children are taught to communicate in English and with it Western culture, beliefs and values.

While the Western theories recommend contextualization of ECCD centres with culturally appropriate programmes (da Silva & Wise, 2006; Denham & Weissberg, 2004; Guilfoyle et al., 2010; Larner et al., 2001; Rosenthal, 2007; Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000; Sims, 2004; Super & Harkness, 1986, 2002) the environment and the setting of the ECCD centres I visited are more conducive for enhancing western values and beliefs rather than that of Bhutanese. The classroom observations I carried out and interaction with the staff there indicated how little the Bhutanese culture is given attention. Furthermore, the staff mentioned that it is more convenient and easier to teach English rhymes and songs. There are only limited children's poems and songs in Dzongkha (National Language of Bhutan) and are not easily available in print or in recorded forms. Interestingly, it is also the wish of some parents that their children learn English at the centres. For instance, one urban ECCD facilitator said that "The parents

---

<sup>7</sup> /sman bcos rim gro/

here evaluate their child's progression by how many English words have been learnt, how many nursery rhymes can be sung and what the child can write in English".

Furthermore, one proprietor of the centre mentioned that:

"If we do not cater to the demands and needs of the parents, we do not get children and lose our market to other centres. So, as far as possible we try to keep on with their demands and keep them with us. That's why, we had to lift the sand pit as parents did not like their children playing in the sand pit and found it to be useless. We also have to conduct activities that promotes English Language and western culture. If children attending our centre speak English and demonstrate western mannerism, parents rate us high and we get many children".

These demands reviewing of ECCD curriculum and capacity development of the facilitators so that they are trained to contextualise activities to Bhutanese context.

## **Conclusions and recommendations**

Founded on the field findings and literature review, several key differences can be noticed between Bhutanese and Western parenting philosophies. The main difference is the social value of western individualism and Bhutanese interdependence grounded on the concepts of ley judray and tha damtshig. I see these two values as the basis of the social structure of these two different communities as other social values appear to be connected to these two.

Bhutanese parenting philosophies arise out of this key element of ley judray and tha damtshig. The study indicates that Bhutanese parents believe that it is the responsibility of children to take care of their parents as they age, while the west has built a welfare system whereby the state takes a major role for the care of their senior citizens in their society. Beliefs about discipline also vary between western and Bhutanese societies. The Bhutanese belief in obedience and compliance of their children make them authoritarian. On the other hand, Western parents express warmth and are more democratic.

The stance on play of the two societies also stands apart as the Western parents appreciate play as fundamental to the development of their children and therefore spend time on play. The Bhutanese, as do parents in other Asian societies, do not regard play as important and necessary and therefore the parents, as shared in the shedtho session by the ECCD facilitators, give more importance to literacy and numeracy skills.

On the different domains of child development, particularly in physical development, health, hygiene and safety, Bhutanese families demonstrate poor attention and awareness to these areas. Bhutanese parents let their children play

in unsafe environments, and do not follow safety, hygiene and health practices. In contrast, these domains of child development receive attention from the Western parents.

Western theories identify the importance of designing culturally sensitive and appropriate ECCD programmes to ensure positive outcomes for children. However, in Bhutan, ECCD programmes are strongly influenced by western values and very little Bhutanese local funds of knowledge are used to contextualise culturally appropriate learning. On the other hand, childcare centres in the West offer culturally sensitive and appropriate content so that children benefit.

The East-West dialogue on parenting philosophies using data from Bhutanese ECCD policies and curriculum show that there is contrast between the two worlds, particularly in the social values. Bhutan could benefit from Western beliefs on areas such as stance on play, outlook on disciplining and attention to key development domains. However, the major concern is that with globalisation, if timely intervention to build the capacity of the ECCD facilitators and review the ECCD policies and curriculum are not implemented, Bhutanese children will grow speaking English with Western mannerism and values. Thus, opportunities to draw on the best of both societies must be explored so that Bhutanese children can benefit from a harmonised ECCD programme to grow into global citizens who are rooted into Bhutanese culture.

## References

- Barth, F., & Wikan, U. (2011). Situation of children in Bhutan: An anthropological perspective. Thimphu, Bhutan: Centre for Bhutan Studies.
- Bronfenbrenner, U. 1979. The ecology of human development. Experiments by nature and design. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
1999. Environments in developmental perspective: Theoretical and operational models. In Friedman S. L., Wachs T. D. (Eds.), Measuring environment across the lifespan: Emerging methods and concepts (pp. 3–28). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Press.
2005. Making human beings Human. Bioecological perspectives on human development. Thousand Oaks, California, USA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Chao, R. K. (1996). Chinese and European American mothers' beliefs about the role of parenting in children's school success. *Cross-cultural Psychology*, 27(3), 403-423. doi: 10.1177/0022022196274002
- Chao, R. K., & Tseng, V. (2002). Parenting of Asians. In M. Bornstein (Ed.), *Handbook of parenting : Social conditions and applied parenting* (2 ed., pp. 59-93). Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Chua, A. 2011. Why Chinese Mothers Are Superior. <http://www.wsj.com/articles/SB10001424052748704111504576059713528698754> (Accessed July 25, 2015).
- da Silva, L., & Wise, S. (2006). Parent perspectives on childcare quality among a culturally diverse sample. *Australian Journal of Early Childhood*, 31(3), 6-14.

- Denham, S. A., & Weissberg, R. P. (2004). Social-emotional learning in early childhood: What we know and where to go from here. In C. Elda, K. Patricia, G. Thomas & B. Martin (Eds.), *A blue print for the promotion of prosocial behavior in early childhood* (pp. 13-50). New York, USA: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers.
- Edwards, C. P., Knoche, L., Aukrust, V., Kumru, A., & Kim, M. (2005). Parental ethnotheories of child development: Looking beyond independence and individualism in American belief system. In U. Kim, K. Yang & K. Hwang (Eds.), *Indigenous and Cultural Psychology Understanding People in Context* (Vol. 10, pp. 141-162). Lincoln, Nebraska, USA: Faculty Publications, Department of Child, Youth, and Family Studies.
- Engle, P. L., & Lhotska, L. (2012). The role of care in programmatic actions for nutrition: Designing programmes involving care. *Psychology*, 3(2), 121-135.
- Estes, C. L., & Phillipson, C. (2002). The globalization of capital, the welfare state, and old age policy. *Internal Journal of Health Services*, 32(2), 279-297. doi: 10.2190/5TY7-PD68-QLD1-V4TY
- Grantham-McGregor, S. M., Fernald, L. C., & Sethuraman, K. (2012). Effects of health and nutrition on cognitive and behavioural development in children in the first three years of life - Part 1: Low birthweight, breastfeeding, and protein-energy malnutrition. *Psychology*, 3(2), 53-75.
- Guilfoyle, A., Hutchins, T., Saggars, S., & Sims, M. (2010). Culturally strong childcare programs for indigenous children, families and communities. *Australasian Journal of Early Childhood*, 35(3), 68.
- Harkness, S., Super, C., & Keefer, C. (1992). Learning to be an American parent: How cultural models gain directive force. In R. D'Andrade & C. Strauss (Eds.), *Human motives and cultural models* (pp. 163-178). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press
- Karma Pedey (2005). *Ta she gha chha: The broken saddle and other popular Bhutanese beliefs*. Thimphu, Bhutan: DSB Publications
- Karma Phuntsho (2004). Echoes of ancient ethos: Reflections on some popular Bhutanese social themes. In K. Ura & S. Kinga (Eds.), *The Spider and the Piglet: Proceedings of the First Seminar on Bhutan Studies* (pp. 564-580). Thimphu, Bhutan: Centre for Bhutan Studies.
- Keller, H. (2003). Socialization for competence: Cultural models of infancy. *Human Development*, 46(5), 288-311.
- Keller, H., & Otto, H. (2009). The cultural socialization of emotion regulation during infancy. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40(6), 996-1011. doi: 10.1177/0022022109348576
- Larner, M., Behrman, R. E., Young, M., & Reich, K. (2001). Caring for infants and toddlers: Analysis and recommendations. *The Future of Children*, 11(1), 6-19. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.une.edu.au/docview/220159803?accountid=17227> website
- Liu, W. (1986). Culture and social support. *Research on Aging*, 8(1), 57-83. doi: 10.1177/0164027586008001004
- Liu, W., & Kendig, H. (2000). *Critical issues of caregiving: East-west dialogue*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Meisels, S. J., & Atkins-Burnett, S. (2012). Assessing intellectual and affective development. *Psychology*. Retrieved from <http://archive.unu.edu/unupress/food/V201e/ch04.htm>

- National Statistical Bureau. (2011). Bhutan multiple indicator survey 2010: Monitoring the situation of children and women. Thimphu, Bhutan.
- Oyserman, D., Coon, H. M., & Kemmelmeier, M. (2002). Rethinking individualism and collectivism: Evaluation of theoretical assumptions and meta-analysis. *American Psychological Association*, 128(1), 3-72. doi: 10.1037//0033-2909.128.1.3
- Parmar, P., Harkness, S., & Super, C. (2004). Asian and Euro-American parents' ethnotheories of play and learning: Effects on preschool children's home routines and school behaviour. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 28(2), 97-104. doi: 10.1080/01650250344000307
- Pollitt, E., Huang, J., & Jahari, A. (2012). A developmental function of motor activity among nutritionally at-risk children. *Psychology*, 3(2), 100-107.
- Powdyel, T.S. 2005. Foundations and scope of gross national happiness: A layman's perspectives. Paper presented at the International Seminar on Gross National Happiness, Thimphu, Bhutan.
2007. As I am, so is my nation. Thimphu, Bhutan: Bhutan Times Ltd.
- Quada, J. (1988). The transformation of old age security: Class and politics in the American welfare state. Chicago, USA: The University of Chicago Press.
- Rosenthal, M. K. (2007). Quality in early childhood education and care: A cultural context. *European Early Childhood Education Research Journal*, 11(2), 101-116.
- Save the Children Bhutan. (2008). Early childhood care and education (ECCE) in education in Bhutan situational analysis (pp. 1- 27). Thimphu, Bhutan: Bhutan Office.
- Shonkoff, J., & Phillips, D. A. (2000). From neurons to neighborhood: The science of early childhood development. In J. Shonkoff & D. A. Phillips (Eds.), *The challenge of studying culture* (pp. 588). Washington DC, USA: The National Academics Press.
- Sims, M. (2004). Making values matter: Training in difference and diversity. *Journal of Australian Research in Early Childhood Education*, 11(1), 75-90.
- Spratt, E. G., Friedenberg, S., LaRosa, A., Bellis, M. D. D., Macias, M. M., Summer, A. P., Hulse, T. C., Runyan, D. K., & Brady, K. T. (2012). The effects of early neglect on cognitive, language, and behavioral functioning in childhood. *Psychology*, 3(2), 175-182.
- Suizzo, M. (2004). French and American mothers' childrearing beliefs: Stimulating, responding, and long-term goals. *Journal of Cross-cultural Psychology*, 35(5), 606-626. doi: 10.1177/0022022104268391
- Super, C., & Harkness, S. (1986). The developmental niche: A conceptualization at the interface of child and culture. *International Journal of Behavioral Development*, 9(4), 545-569. doi: 10.1177/016502548600900409
- Super, C., & Harkness, S. (2002). Culture structures the environment for development. *Human Development*, 45(4), 270-274.
- Tamis-LeMonda, C. S., Way, N., Hughes, D., Yoshikawa, H., Kalman, R. K., & Niwa, E. Y. (2007). Parents' goals for children: The dynamic coexistence of individualism and collectivism in cultures and individuals. *Social Development*, 17(1), 183-209. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9507.2007.00419.x
- Tashi Wangyal. (2004). Ensuring social sustainability: Can Bhutan's education system ensure intergenerational transmission of values? *Journal of Bhutan Studies*, 3(1), 106-131.
- Wachs, T. D. (2012). The nature and nurture of child development. *Psychology*, 3(2), 7-22.

- Whitecross, R. W. (2008). "Virtuous beings": The concept of Tha Damtshig and being a moral person in contemporary society. *Himalaya*, 28(1), 71-82.
- Wise, S., & da Silva, L. (2007). Differential parenting of children from diverse cultural backgrounds attending child care. Australian Institute of Family Studies. Retrieved from <http://www.aifs.gov.au/institute/pubs/rp39/rp39.html> - references
- Yuen, C. X. (2011). A cross-cultural analysis of Chinese and American parental attributions of child misbehavior, discipline strategies, and children's behavioral adjustment. Retrieved from <http://deepblue.lib.umich.edu/bitstream/handle/2027.42/85243/xinyuen.pdf?sequence=1>
- Yunus, S. (2005). Childcare practices in three Asian countries. *International Journal of Early Childhood*, 37(1), 39-56. doi: 10.1177/0022022196274002
- Zhao, Y. 2002. Cultural Divide Over Parental Discipline. <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/29/nyregion/cultural-divide-over-parental-discipline.html> (Accessed July 25, 2015).