

**REPORT ON
FOCUS GROUP FINDINGS**

CONDUCTED FOR THE

**CALIFORNIA CHILDREN & FAMILIES COMMISSION
AND TEAM GILD**

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I. OVERVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

Peter D. Hart Research Associates conducted 38 focus groups during February of 2001 for the California Commission on Children and Families and Team GILD. This qualitative research is the first phase of three in the formative research that will be conducted for the Children and Families Public Education Media Campaign. The next phases will consist of a quantitative survey and ad testing.

The purpose of the focus groups was to explore two broad topics. The first topic was how parents and caregivers understand and practice early childhood development (under age five). Participants were asked about 1) their reading, singing, and playing with their child, 2) the concept of “school readiness,” and 3) child care. The second component of the research was concerned with smoking and second-hand smoke exposure during pregnancy.

As is indicated in the following table, participants were drawn from California’s diverse population, including “general market” (which includes English-speaking Hispanics and Asians), Hispanics who speak Spanish at home, African Americans, and Asian Pacific Islanders who speak a language other than English at home—including Koreans, Mandarin-speaking Chinese, Cantonese-speaking Chinese, Vietnamese, Thai, Tagalog-speaking Filipinos, and Cambodians. In the case of Spanish-speaking Hispanics and the Asian Pacific Islanders, the focus groups were conducted in the first language of participants. Focus groups also were conducted with general market and African American fathers and mothers who smoke, informal caregivers, first-time expecting parents, and professional child care workers.

The findings detailed in this report reflect both the strengths and the weaknesses of focus groups as a qualitative research method. Because these sessions were held among small groups of participants over a relatively extended period of time (approximately two hours each), they yield rich and detailed insight into panelists’ attitudes, behaviors, and social environment with respect to early childhood development. These relatively private and intimate settings capture more than just a snapshot of participants’ current opinions and beliefs and allow us to gather experiential information, conduct role-playing exercises, and test new ideas and messages. As focus group sessions comprise relatively few people, however, those who participate in each of these sessions do not represent their entire subgroup and so their responses and the insights generated from these

groups are not generalizable to the larger populations. Instead, their responses give us more general insight into the particular needs and challenges that different populations face and the context in which they make decisions.

The groups proved extremely successful in identifying the key challenges and opportunities facing the Children and Families Public Education Media Campaign. Specifically, the findings should provide an important foundation for conducting the next two phases of the communications research and ultimately developing the message strategies and audience segmentation necessary for an effective campaign.

**FOCUS GROUPS CONDUCTED FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES
PUBLIC EDUCATION MEDIA CAMPAIGN (BY LOCATION)**

<u>GROUP COMPOSITION</u> *	<u>DATE AND TIME</u>
LOS ANGELES	
Hispanic family caregivers (Spanish)	2/13/01 6:00
Hispanic fathers who smoke (Spanish)	2/13/01 8:00
African American caregivers	2/15/01 6:00
African American mothers who smoke.....	2/15/01 8:00
Chinese mothers (Mandarin)	2/19/01 6:00
Chinese fathers (Mandarin)	2/19/01 8:00
Thai mothers/female relatives (Thai).....	2/20/01 6:00
Thai fathers/male relatives (Thai)	2/20/01 8:00
General market, mothers, smokers with children.....	2/21/01 6:00
Korean mothers/female relatives (Korean).....	2/21/01 6:00
Korean fathers/male relatives (Korean)	2/21/01 8:00
African American fathers who smoke	2/21/01 8:00
SAN FRANCISCO	
General market, fathers, smokers with children.....	2/13/01 6:00
General market, professional child care workers.....	2/13/01 8:00
General market, mothers who quit smoking.....	2/20/01 6:00
General market mothers	2/20/01 8:00
Chinese mothers (Cantonese).....	2/27/01 6:00
Chinese fathers (Cantonese)	2/27/01 8:00
Cambodian mothers (Cambodian).....	2/28/01 6:00
	(continued)

FOCUS GROUPS CONDUCTED FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

PUBLIC EDUCATION MEDIA CAMPAIGN (BY LOCATION)

SAN DIEGO

Hispanic mothers (Spanish)	2/12/01 6:00
Hispanic fathers (Spanish)	2/12/01 8:00
General market, fathers	2/22/01 6:00

OAKLAND

African American mothers	2/12/01 6:00
African American fathers	2/12/01 8:00

RIVERSIDE

African American mothers	2/13/01 6:00
African American fathers	2/13/01 8:00

ENCINO

General market, first-time expectant parents	2/21/01 6:00
General market fathers	2/21/01 8:00

BURBANK

Hispanic mothers who quit smoking (Spanish)	2/22/01 6:00
Hispanic mothers who smoke (Spanish)	2/22/01 8:00

ORANGE COUNTY

Vietnamese mothers/female relatives (Vietnamese)	2/22/01 6:00
Vietnamese fathers/male relatives (Vietnamese)	2/22/01 8:00

DALY CITY

Filipino mothers/female relatives (Tagalog)	2/26/01 6:00
Filipino fathers/male relatives (Tagalog)	2/26/01 8:00

FRESNO

Hispanic mothers (Spanish)	2/15/01 6:00
Hispanic fathers (Spanish)	2/15/01 8:00

SUNNYVALE

General market mothers	2/19/01 4:00
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RURAL—LODI

General market, parents of young children	2/14/01 5:30
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* All mothers and fathers in the groups have children age 5 and under.

II. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 38 focus group sessions that Hart Research conducted throughout California during February have proven extremely successful in identifying the key challenges and opportunities that the California Children and Families Commission faces in the coming months. The insights garnered from these diverse and far-reaching panel sessions provide an important foundation for informing the communications campaign. They also highlight several key areas for further testing and assessment in the upcoming quantitative phase of the research.

This executive summary highlights the key observations from the qualitative phase of the research. These findings will be discussed in greater detail in the forthcoming full report on the focus groups.

PARENTS' AND CAREGIVERS' VISION FOR YOUNG CHILDREN

- When focus group panelists describe their hopes and dreams for their children, education and success in school are not consistently their top priorities. Instead, parents and other panelists involved in the care of young children identify a broader, somewhat more holistic vision for their children, such as achieving personal happiness, having a strong moral character, being self-confident, avoiding guns and violence, and simply “making it” in an increasingly complex and dangerous world. Notably, immigrant parents and family members are more likely than average to mention school and academic preparation as vital to the goal that their children have a better life.
- For most parents and caregivers, particularly for immigrant caregivers, getting a good education and fulfilling one’s potential in school are important components of their overall vision for children, but phrases such as “success in school” and “academic achievement” often connote a bar set too high for target audiences, with pressure and expectations seen as detrimental to children’s overall happiness and well-being.

STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

- Parents and caregivers broadly recognize that young children have a variety of needs related to their overall development in the early years of life. Almost universally, however, emotional and moral/character development are seen as more critical than intellectual development in children from birth to age five.

- Participants understand that brain development begins early—many volunteer the belief that it starts in utero—but they do not feel particularly knowledgeable about how this development occurs or empowered about how their actions and behavior can contribute to it. In contrast, emotional development (which panelists see as involving holding, cuddling, and comforting babies and young children) and moral/character development (involving discipline and setting clear limits) are seen as far more intuitive, with mothers taking the lead in the former area and fathers taking a more active role in the latter.

READING, PLAYING, AND SINGING

- Overwhelmingly, panelists (particularly mothers and female caregivers) say that reading, playing and singing are natural, instinctual things that they do freely with young children. Fathers and male caregivers frequently volunteer that they feel self-conscious about singing and reading to children (reading is an even bigger challenge for immigrant panelists), but that they take great pleasure in playing—particularly physical play—with them. Participants also talk about the importance of physical contact and massaging young children, though many—particularly English-speaking male participants—avoid the word “touching” to describe what they do, and use terms with which they are more comfortable, such as “showing affection” and “hugging.”
- While participants generally enjoy reading, singing, and playing with their children and have a general sense that these activities are good for children, people do not necessarily understand the specific benefits. For example, participants are more likely to describe reading to their children as a bonding experience than as an activity that promotes cognitive development. Parents’ and caregivers’ natural inclination to read, sing, and play with their children could be fortified by a more specific understanding of the developmental importance and tangible benefits of these activities.

VIEWS ON SCHOOL READINESS

- For most panelists, particularly immigrant parents and caretakers, the phrase “school readiness” is not very meaningful and elicits blank stares in the context of a broader discussion of preparing children for learning. To the extent that participants recognize the concepts involved in school readiness (if not the term itself), their focus is much more on socialization and discipline than on cognitive milestones or mastery of specific tasks.
- When pressed to consider the topic, parents acknowledge that it is sensible and appropriate to expect children to have some concrete abilities (such as knowing the alphabet, recognizing colors, and counting) before they start school. However, interactive and social qualities, such as the ability to share, to follow instructions, and to exercise self-control are what most parents emphasize when they talk about ways to prepare their children to do their best in school.

PERCEPTIONS OF CHILD CARE

- The issue of child care is perhaps the most challenging topic that emerges from the qualitative phase of the research, and we expect to devote serious attention in the survey to sorting through the obstacles involved in this issue. Quite simply, the overwhelming majority of parents describe child care as a necessary evil that arises only when the optimal situation—mothers' staying at home with young children—is simply not available. Attitudes about every aspect of child care, from who should provide it to how it should be structured, flow from participants' explicit value judgment that child care is a regrettable reality, rather than a potentially positive, meaningful opportunity.
- To the extent that they can describe the basic standards of a “good” child-care arrangement, participants place a strong emphasis on safety and trust—in reaction to child-care “horror” stories of danger and abuse. Participants often regard physical safety as far more important than quality interaction and development, although they recognize the value of both. Non-Asian participants frequently say that relatives—regardless of these caregivers' experience or skills with children—are almost always preferable to outside child-care providers who may be more knowledgeable, but are regarded as less trustworthy and caring.

SMOKING

- Universally, panelists recognize the many dangers associated with smoking as well as the hazards posed by secondhand smoke. Their responses to these risks, however, are not nearly as uniform, and the motives that prompt behavior related to smoking are highly personal, diverse, and complex.
- Probably the most consistent and encouraging finding with regard to smoking is that female panelists frequently report making an effort to stop or significantly to reduce their cigarette smoking during pregnancy, though many say they resumed smoking soon after their child's birth.
- Panelists who have young children—both men and women—are aware that their smoking exposes their children to health risks, and these parents make an effort, even if inconsistently, to minimize this danger—for example, by insisting that fathers and others go outdoors to smoke. However, while a few participants say that they feel guilty for exposing their children to secondhand smoke or for setting a bad example, most talk about their smoking as a very personal, adult decision—for example, an activity that gives them a small pleasure amidst frequent challenges, long days, and hard work—and a decision in which children or the effects on children do not figure prominently.

MESSAGES AND COMMUNICATION

- In the full report, we will provide a more detailed summary of panelists' reactions to the materials we tested, although in terms of the tag lines, we observe that participants respond more favorably to the phrase "Your choices shape their chances" than to "It's all about the kids." Participants feel that the former statement sums up the challenge of good parenting in a provocative way that serves as a positive call to action; the latter statement, on the other hand, is frequently seen as focusing excessively on children in a way that ignores the parents' role. An important challenge for any successful message is its translation into other languages; "Your choices shape their chances" frequently translates in Asian languages into a much stronger phrase that connotes determining or dictating, rather than guiding or influencing children's opportunities.
- The focus groups provide strong confirmation that young, downscale parents are the primary target audience for this communication effort. These parents are interested and engaged in these issues, and their information needs are high.
- The panel sessions also provide useful insights into the basic components of a communication initiative that will resonate among this target audience: a) emotion frequently draws them in, and b) basic information is a critical need. However, the organizing premise of the materials needs to be simplicity and straightforwardness, so that the appeals do not go over the heads of their intended recipients.
- We note that some respondents, particularly non-immigrant men, react skeptically to the inclusion of the Commission's name in advertising messages because they associate it with governmental bureaucracy.

III. REPORT FINDINGS

The Children and Families Public Education Media Campaign has a key objective: foster better childhood development practices so that children in the State of California are better prepared when they enter school. It is an objective with multiple routes to the same end, but to be successful, this campaign will have to account for the current child development practices of a number of diverse populations among whom traditions and cultures contrast sharply in some areas and overlap in others.

The campaign also has to account for how efficacious parents will feel in fostering intellectual development or “school readiness.” The need is greatest among populations in which parents themselves may not have had the opportunity to achieve a higher level of education. Even if these parents place a premium on education, or see education as a stepping stone to their children’s later success, they may feel ill-equipped to contribute to their children’s educational preparedness. The research findings presented in this report will go a long way toward helping achieve the objectives of the campaign, although there will be a number of barriers to overcome.

A. EDUCATION AND PARENTS’ HOPES FOR THEIR YOUNG CHILDREN

Parents have hopes and dreams for their children, but education and success in school often are not at the top of the list. Panelists express several themes on this topic, including a broader, more holistic vision for their children that can be characterized as fulfillment—personal happiness, a strong moral character, and self-confidence. This is not to say that education isn’t important to parents, but rather that their vision for their child is based on more fundamental values about what is important in life. To them, education, in and of itself, is not a fundamental value.

Participants also mention other themes in addition to fulfillment. Many parents, particularly those residing in urban areas and from lower-income households, also hope that their children grow up to be safe. This hope is influenced by what they see, hear, and read about what is occurring in their neighborhoods. Panelists talk about gangs, guns, and drugs as future concerns for their young

children, and fathers, in particular, make a special effort to teach their children street smarts, common sense, respect, and compassion.

Independence is another theme evident in numerous sessions. Many of the panelists, particularly the African Americans, hope that their children will be able to stand on their own and make their own choices. These panelists focus on taking responsibility for one's actions and being strong.

The discussions that followed this section of the groups make it clear that these visions for their children are not ideals; they stem from values that the parents possess and they are ultimately the standards by which parents will judge their children's success. Fulfillment, safety, and independence guide their parenting and influence the everyday decisions that they make with respect to their children. The themes also reflect how parents see themselves. Parents and caregivers see their role first as nurturers, and then as teachers.

The confidence that parents and caregivers have in themselves and their parenting skills is of central importance. Phrases such as "success in school" and "academic achievement," as well as admittance into a top-quality university, set a bar that many parents believe is too high. Although in the sessions parents and caregivers express their self-doubts, more often they turn this around and talk about putting too much pressure on children and having unreasonably high expectations that may be detrimental to children's overall happiness and well-being.

Any messages aimed at affecting childhood development practices must make a link between current behaviors and the effect on the child's future, and they must account for the self-efficacy of the intended audience. To be maximally effective, the link between the practice and the long-term effect on the child should be based on one or more of these themes and built on practices with which parents are familiar and comfortable.

"All the women in my family are strong and confident, all of us are well-educated, and I think it came from all of us being strong and independent and having confidence that we can achieve whatever goal we want to do."

— African American Mother, Riverside

Two additional findings from this component of the research should be noted. First, immigrant parents and family members, particularly Asian Pacific Islanders and Hispanics, appear to differ from the broader population in how education relates to their hopes for their children. They are far more likely to say that school and academic preparation are vital ingredients in their dreams for their children. Many immigrant parents indicate that they came to the United States precisely because it is a place where their children can do better, go farther, and be more successful than they have been. Success in their new country, a “country of opportunity” is a priority, and education is seen as a stepping stone toward success. These parents and caregivers say with much more frequency that they are willing to judge their own success as a parent by their child’s grades or the level of education their children achieve.

The second finding is that informal caregivers, usually a grandmother in these sessions, feel more constrained in what they hope for their young granddaughters or grandsons. They are mindful about not infringing on what the parents believe is best for the child—disputes with sons and daughters were mentioned in several of the groups—and so they see their role primarily as watching over, caring for, and, in particular, making sure the child is fed properly. It is also clear that the grandparents in the immigrant populations hope that the newest generation in their family respects tradition and is familiar with their culture. This teaching, as will be described later in greater depth, is an important but complex instance of a caregiver activity that has a direct impact on intellectual development, but that may not contribute to “school readiness.”

NOTABLE ETHNIC DIFFERENCES	
Hispanic mothers and fathers	They want their kids to go further in school than they did, so their expectations include a good education. One of the major reasons why many Hispanic fathers came to the U.S. was so that their children would have a better life than they do, and they see education as an important step toward a better life.
African American mothers	African American mothers are particularly concerned with the whole person, and although education is included in this, it is only a small piece of it.
African American fathers	Lower-income participants have lower expectations for their children—graduating from high school would be enough. Discipline and teaching their children to distinguish right from wrong is a significant concern.
General market mothers	Happiness, confidence, and contributing to society are the hopes and dreams of many of these parents, whereas education is mentioned further along in the discussions.
Korean, Chinese, and Cambodian mothers and fathers	Their children being successful is a central hope for these parents, and they see education as a critical component of success. This is especially true among the Chinese and Cambodian parents who say that education is the most important thing. Chinese participants affirm that making education a top priority is part of traditional Chinese culture.
Thai, Filipino, and Vietnamese mothers and fathers	These parents hopes for their children include self-control, discipline, and respecting their elders.

B. STAGES OF DEVELOPMENT IN EARLY CHILDHOOD

Parents and caregivers were asked about different areas of child development, including physical, emotional, moral, and intellectual development. Participants easily distinguish between these different types of development and readily assigned their current practices to the different developmental areas. However, where activities are placed varies widely within and across groups, and participants often characterize a single practice as having an effect in more than one of the developmental areas. For instance, touching, holding, or cuddling children is believed by many, if not most, parents as having emotional, moral, and intellectual benefits for children.

In general, parents are much more comfortable discussing their parenting in terms of the child's physical, emotional, and moral development. Participants understand that brain development or "intellectual development" begins early—many volunteer the belief that it starts in

utero—but they do not feel particularly knowledgeable about how the brain develops, what the stages of brain development are in terms of the age of the child, nor do they entirely understand their role in this aspect of their child’s development.

Beyond the obvious contributions that parents make to the physical development of their child, it is in the areas of emotion and the development of moral character that parents feel as though they are on solid ground when discussing the effects of what they do. This is because loving, caring, and telling a child right from wrong comes naturally, but also because parents have an easier time linking their emotional support and moral guidance to the kind of adult their child will become. If they bond with their child and provide him or her with love and a sense of security, participants believe that the child will be better-adjusted and have higher self-esteem. If they fail to tell the child not to do certain things, they believe that the child will end up spoiled and in trouble. It is far more difficult for parents to link their practices to the child’s intellectual development.

“People think children don’t feel, but from the time they’re born, they can feel different emotions. If they feel like they’re not getting love from their father, they won’t be motivated to be moving or doing things.” (Translated from Spanish)

— Hispanic Father, Fresno

Panelists also indicate that when they have a parenting question, they turn to different sources of information depending on which development area is concerned. Each of the development areas is discussed below along with the most credible and most frequently sought after source of information for that area.

Physical Development

Physical development generally is equated with providing for a child’s basic needs—food, health, and sleep, for example—particularly in the early years. Meeting these basic needs is a constant concern for parents and caregivers and the panels make it clear that this area of parenting is the most time-consuming. Fathers, however, tend to be less involved in activities that contribute to physical development while the child is still an infant. This is true across all the various populations, except for fathers who have a higher level of education. These fathers tend to be more involved in all aspects of their children’s development from very early on. Fathers generally take

on a larger role in the parenting for physical development in the second and third years when they begin to play with their children.

When participants have a question about some aspect of the physical development of their child, which most parents do not distinguish from their child's health, they generally will turn to a pediatrician. A few parents, primarily in the Asian Pacific Islander groups but also in the Hispanic groups, say that they would consult with someone about home remedies prior to seeing a doctor.

Emotional Development

Emotional development is a constant concern for parents. It is difficult to gauge, however, whether parents believe that these activities are time-consuming, as are those in the area of physical development, because parents receive enormous satisfaction from the emotional bond with their child. Parents, particularly mothers, are careful to hug, hold, and comfort their child during the first few years of life. Mothers say that they want to bond with the child, believing that the emotional security and comfort they provide will have longer-term and very positive effects on the child. Fathers echo these sentiments, but many admit to spending very little time with their children. Fathers believe that it is very important, when the children are older, to tell them that they love them and to give positive reinforcement by giving praise when the child accomplishes something.

Parents turn to their own mothers and fathers or to siblings and friends who have children for guidance on raising an emotionally secure child. Nevertheless, the general sense from the groups is that parents very much prefer their own judgment. If their child has emotional problems that are characterized as medical or even behavioral, lower-income panelists are likely to turn to a doctor. More highly educated panelists say that if they had questions they would turn to a child psychologist, and they also are more likely to read and pay attention to the media for information about early-childhood development and parenting.

Moral or Character Development

Moral development only becomes relevant when a child begins to speak. When a child is old enough to speak and interact and to acknowledge what parents are saying, both mothers and fathers begin instructing the child on distinguishing right from wrong. Whereas emotional development is seen by panelists as holding, cuddling, and comforting, moral development involves disciplining the child and setting clear limits.

Discipline is a significant theme in many of the sessions with fathers, but the reasons for disciplining one's child vary widely. Among many of the Asian Pacific Islander fathers, particularly the Chinese and Koreans, discipline is seen as a way of establishing respect for the parent, promoting the child's self-control, and shaping the unruliness of a child's mind. Fathers in the African American, Hispanic, to some extent, the Thai (who were more acculturated), and general market groups, are more concerned with a child's "running wild" and getting into trouble.

Parents may look to their own parents for assistance in the moral development of their child, but many say that they turn to religious figures or texts for guidance.

Intellectual Development

Most panelists say that they talk to their child as early as pregnancy and most begin reading to their children once the children begin to talk, if not earlier. A few of the panelists in both mothers and fathers groups (e.g., Chinese and general market) refer directly to the development of the brain and something that they had read or heard on the topic. For the most part, however, participants are quick to list activities that they do as parents to promote physical, emotional, and moral development, but they are much slower in listing things that contribute to their child's mental, intellectual, or brain development. Panelists mention reading and talking, watching TV, and providing the child with good nutrition as ways of promoting intellectual development, but they cite these activities only after being pressed on the topic.

Participants do not dismiss the importance of intellectual development, and the more highly educated parents discuss it in depth (e.g., how the brain develops), but in general most parents find it difficult to draw a connection between their parenting practices and their child's intellectual development.

As far as the intellectual development of their child is concerned, parents would turn to a teacher or a doctor if it is described in terms of the brain. More highly educated parents may pay particular attention to the media and other sources of information to glean what they can about fostering a bright and achieving child. It is unlikely that most parents would turn to their own parents for advice in this area.

Time Spent with the Child

The time that parents spend with their child and parental roles in child-rearing both have significant implications. Fathers say that they spend about two or three hours a day with their children; mothers who work say that they spend a little more time than that with their children. This is important because in this limited amount of time, parents first have to attend to the basic needs or physical development of their child and then to playing. Because of their priorities, parents will turn next to their child's emotional well-being and to character-building activities or moral guidance. In the end, there is very little time remaining for activities that promote intellectual development.

Parents usually spend time with their child in the morning before they go to work, or later in evening when they come home. During this time, the roles of both the mother and the father in the household are important considerations. A number of panelists say that in the early evening, for example, when the father gets home, the mother, in many cases, does the cooking and the father is expected to watch the kids. Many fathers say, or rather admit, however, to coming home and simply turning on the TV and watching it with the child. This time could be used for a different activity.

C. READING, PLAYING, AND SINGING

Overwhelmingly, panelists (particularly mothers and female caregivers) say that playing and singing are natural, instinctual things that they do freely with young children. Reading is also a common practice among most parents and they feel as natural reading to their children as playing with them. Fathers and male caregivers frequently volunteer that they feel self-conscious about singing, and a number say that they feel that way about reading as well, but that they take great pleasure in playing with their children, particularly in physical play.

Yet, while participants have a general sense that these activities are good for children, they do not necessarily understand the specific benefits.

“My husband doesn’t like to read, and he’ll sing once in a while, but he likes more to roughhouse with them, and get on the floor and wrestle with them. Sort of what their dads did with them.”

— General Market Mother, San Francisco

Reading

Parents believe that while they are reading or talking to a child, the child is “absorbing” the meaning of words, use of language, and the moral of the story. “Absorbing” is used to describe the child’s response to reading by a number of the participants across the different ethnic populations. Many of the parents and caregivers describe how their child or the child they care for will listen with rapt attention and enduring interest while being read a story.

“I think [reading] from the time when they’re in the womb, because they’re already growing, and their brains are starting to form inside. They can hear also, they can feel their mother’s feelings and sentiments. For me that’s a good time because their brain is like a sponge. It wants to get a lot of information.”

— Hispanic Father, Fresno

Despite the recognition that children learn or absorb while having something read to them, participants are more likely to characterize this as a bonding experience or as something the child enjoys rather than as an activity that promotes cognitive development. Parents value the emotional aspects of their relationship with their children above all else, and they are attuned to any emotional response from the child.

Parents themselves say that they enjoy reading to their child. Although they joke about reading the same story over and over, their child's enjoyment is a reward for an activity that is relatively easy and convenient. There is very little variation between the different ethnic populations in this respect, although again, the more highly educated participants say that they start reading to their children earlier and add the numbers and the alphabet into that time.

There are several additional wrinkles to consider in promoting reading.

- ◆ Many of the lower-income participants, particularly fathers who are recent immigrants and many of the informal caregivers, are largely silent when the sessions turn to the topic of reading. It is quite likely that many of these parents and caregivers have difficulty reading or cannot read.
- ◆ Parents read to their children for reasons often tied to ethnicity and culture. English speakers tend to read for the child's enjoyment and so they let the child choose the story. Many Hispanic and Korean mothers say, for example, that they read the Bible to their children for the spiritual and moral content. Chinese participants read Chinese fables, stories, or poems to impart their language and tradition to their children.
- ◆ Nearly all the Asian participants make a special effort to teach their native language to their children at home, believing that the child can learn English in school. While this almost certainly fosters brain development, it is not clear whether this contributes to "school readiness."
- ◆ Those who speak a language other than English at home generally have a more difficult time reading to their children. Many low-income Hispanics and Asians are not comfortable reading in English and they have a difficult time finding (or being able to afford) children's stories in Spanish or another language.
- ◆ Parents with more than one child often have difficulty reading to the child under five if only one parent is spending time with and watching over the children. Several panelists, including both mothers and fathers, report that the older child becomes bored, distracted, and ultimately troublesome if they are reading an age-appropriate story to the younger child and the other parent isn't available.

Singing

By all appearances, singing to young children has a place in nearly every culture. Although more mothers than fathers say that they sing to their child, many fathers do sing as well. And when fathers do not sing to their children, it isn't because they don't like to sing, but rather because they are not confident in their singing voice.

Most parents believe that singing has a number of emotional and physical benefits, ranging from making the children happy to putting them to sleep, but they do not immediately associate

singing with a set of intellectual benefits. When pressed, they believe that the same process of absorption occurs whether words, language, and stories are spoken or sung.

Playing

Playing with children also is a universal activity. Panelists report that their playing with their children becomes more frequent and more important as the child gets older. For children under age five, playing consists of coloring books, building blocks (frequently mentioned by fathers), and board games. Playing also includes unstructured activities, usually with the father, such as throwing a ball and roughhousing.

Touching

Participants also talk about the importance of physical contact. In fact, many of the Hispanic and Asian mothers talk about specific massaging techniques or stretching as having a set of health effects. Fathers, particularly African American fathers, believe that it is critical to hold their children, but it is also clear that they do so with much less frequency than the mothers.

Many—particularly English-speaking male participants—avoid the word “touching,” however, to describe what they do. Instead, they use terms with which they are more comfortable, such as “showing affection” and “hugging.” Touching does not have the same negative connotation among less acculturated panelists, including many of the recent Asian or Hispanic immigrants.

NOTABLE ETHNIC DIFFERENCES	
Hispanic fathers	Talking to a child from birth is the main thing for development.
African American mothers	These participants, even the very young mothers, have a good grasp of the benefits of reading, singing, and playing.
African American fathers	These fathers think that all these activities are important, but defer to the mothers to do them.
Vietnamese, Thai, Cambodian	The fathers leave it to mother to do these activities, but the mothers begin reading and talking to their children at an early age.
Koreans	On the whole, these participants are highly knowledgeable, but asking them to devote time to these activities is a significant hurdle given a strong work ethic. Fathers, in particular, are much less likely to spend time with their children.

D. "SCHOOL READINESS"

For most panelists, particularly immigrant parents and caregivers, the phrase "school readiness" is not very meaningful and elicits blank stares even in the context of a broader discussion of preparing children for learning. To the extent that participants recognize the concepts involved in school readiness (if not the term itself), their focus is much more on basic skills, socialization, and discipline than on cognitive milestones or mastery of specific tasks.

"School readiness means being able to button your clothes."

— Mandarin-speaking Chinese Father, San Francisco

When pressed to consider the topic, parents acknowledge that it is sensible and appropriate to expect children to have some concrete abilities (such as knowing the alphabet, recognizing colors, and counting) before they start school. Interactive and social qualities, however, such as the ability to share, follow instructions, and exercise self-control are what most parents emphasize when they talk about ways to prepare their children for school.

NOTABLE ETHNIC DIFFERENCES	
Hispanic fathers and mothers	There is an emphasis on the child being ready to be at school and emotionally secure away from home. It is also important for Hispanic parents that the children remain fluent in their native language.
African American fathers and mothers	Knowing the basics, such as the ABCs and numbers, but the main concern is for the child to be emotionally ready and well-behaved.
General market mothers	Socialization skills are most important.
Asian Pacific Islander mothers and fathers	Because Asian parents feel that it is very important to teach their children their language, they leave it to the schools to teach their children English. Some lower-income Asian families use TV as a tool to teach English.

E. PERCEPTIONS OF CHILD CARE

The issue of child care is perhaps the most challenging topic that emerges from the qualitative phase of the research. Quite simply, the overwhelming majority of parents describe child care as an undesirable alternative or a necessary evil that arises only when the optimal situation—mothers' staying at home with young children—is not available. If they can't afford to have one parent stay at home, the preference of the vast majority of parents, regardless of their ethnicity, is to have a relative watch their children.

If a relative is not an option, parents would prefer to leave their children with a friend or a neighbor whom they know and trust. A day-care center is a last resort. To the extent that they can describe the basic standards of a “good” child-care arrangement, participants place a strong emphasis on safety, cleanliness, and trust, in reaction to child-care “horror” stories of danger, neglect, and abuse.

“She's respectful. It's someone you can trust. You know we've seen cases where there's child abuse, and this lady, we know her really well. So we feel confidence and trust in her.”

— Hispanic Father, Fresno

Participants certainly regard trust as the most important factor, but most also regard physical safety and cleanliness as far more important than quality interaction or a curriculum that focuses on development (although they recognize the value of both). Many parents, particularly general market mothers, also would select the convenience of the facility over a good curriculum.

As far as which parent makes the decisions regarding child care, both are involved, and in fact, fathers may be even more opposed to outside child care than most of the mothers, particularly in general market families. Mothers are more pragmatic in their opinions and sentiments about child care than are fathers and several explicitly say that the responsibility of child care is something that falls on their shoulders and that the fathers have a good but unrealistic view from the cheap seats.

The only exception to these sentiments about child care come from the Chinese and Korean panelists. They say that professional day care, where the teachers are trained and licensed, would be the best thing for their child. There are two possible reasons for this: 1) again, these populations put a much higher value on education, and 2) being a teacher and teaching are seen as respected activities best left to trained professionals. (We would discourage the use of the terms teachers and teaching when referring to parental activities with these audiences.)

A number of panelists also express concern about their children being stimulated and engaged while they are with a caregiver. Parents see the benefits from their children's being stimulated and active at home, and they know, if not in terms of specific developmental effects, that stimulation is important. While many may not rank a curriculum as highly as trust or cleanliness in what they believe to be important in child care, fear of neglect and abuse also shape their feelings toward child care. Neglect is understood in broad terms, ranging from the deprivation of physical needs to the amount of stimulation that the child receives. It is in the latter sense that parents have difficulty with professional day-care centers, because they believe that in large centers with a lot of children, their child will be neglected.

NOTABLE ETHNIC DIFFERENCES	
Chinese and Korean mothers and fathers	Having a day-care facility that employs trained teachers is the ideal situation, and while they are confident that they could find good child care, fitting this into their budget is a significant concern.

Child-Care Workers

The session among child-care workers provides the other side to this story. Most of the child-care workers in the session do not have any formal training in child development, but nearly all say that they are explicitly concerned with early-childhood development issues. The trained professionals, however, who are usually working for a larger day-care center, exhibit far more sophistication with respect to early-childhood development than those running day-care centers out of their homes.

Those in home day care go into business when they have a child of their own and, in fact, several people in this situation say that running a home day-care center was a way for them financially to stay home with their child. Their initial customers are often friends or neighbors, and then later they receive most of their new children from referrals. They often take care of the same children over an extended period of time, so even with the referrals, they form relationships with the parents. Once they have earned the parents' trust, they feel comfortable recommending toys or books that the child enjoys or letting the parents know of any problems they observe.

When a parent is referred and visits their facility or their home, child-care workers believe that the chief criterion by which parents make a decision is the personal impression they give and the cleanliness of the facility or the home.

F. SMOKING

Universally, panelists recognize the many dangers associated with smoking as well as the hazards posed by secondhand smoke. A number of participants, particularly the general market fathers and mothers, say that in California, it would be hard not to know the risks.

In fact, many of the smokers, the fathers in particular but also many of the mothers who smoke, feel bombarded by anti-smoking messages. Most believe what they hear about the risks of smoking, but they have adopted a bunker mentality which may be very important in modulating how they will respond to a new set of messages about the risks of smoking during pregnancy.

The combination of knowing the risks to the child, the addiction involved, and the bunker mentality that results from constant sanctions against smoking drives many of the behaviors of these participants with respect to smoking. Despite their similar knowledge of the risks of smoking,

parents' responses to these pressures are much more unpredictable. Participants react to smoking during pregnancy in highly personal, diverse, and complex ways.

"I just felt guilty. And I wouldn't do it out in public because I felt like people would look at me and say, 'Oh, look at her, she's smoking and she's pregnant.' But I was concerned about his health, so I think I cut down a lot, but still, I did have a little bit and that bothered me."

— Mother who quit smoking, San Francisco

"You're either going to put your body through stress for quitting and probably be sick and go through all these other withdrawal symptoms or you're just going to have a cigarette and get through it, and hope to God nothing happens."

— Mother who quit smoking, San Francisco

"I think they're in their own little world . . . they're protected. You're smoking, it's going into your lungs, yeah, there's some that's getting in the bloodstream, but it's not like a direct intake into their body."

— Mother who quit smoking, San Francisco

Many react to the stress of quitting or to the strong social sanction by rejecting the publicized risks to the child as being overblown; others feel guilty because they continue to smoke. Probably the most consistent and encouraging finding with regard to smoking, however, is that female panelists frequently report making an effort to stop or significantly reduce their cigarette smoking during pregnancy.

Women smokers cite a number of motives for quitting beyond the risks to the child. A couple of the mothers who tried smoking during pregnancy say that it made them feel ill. This is echoed by fathers whose wives or girlfriends smoked.

The risks of secondhand smoke exposure during pregnancy are also of concern. All the fathers who smoke, whether they are general market, African American, or Spanish-speaking Hispanics, say that they know the risks associated with secondhand smoke exposure. Participants debate how the risks are passed to the baby, whether through the blood of the mother or some other channel. A few know that it can lead to premature birth or learning disabilities, others believe things they have heard about the effects of secondhand smoke exposure on a fetus that are far worse than what the evidence indicates (e.g., being born without limbs).

While many of the fathers who smoke say that they would like to quit, few say that their wife's pregnancy is a motivating factor. Nearly all these fathers say that while their wife or girlfriend was pregnant, it was easy for them to smoke outdoors, in their tool shed, or in the garage,

so quitting was never a necessity. In fact, the place where they go to smoke becomes a retreat, and the time spent smoking becomes a break, so for many expecting fathers smoking takes on a whole new value.

In most cases, fathers who smoke say that they decided on their own to retreat outdoors or elsewhere to smoke. Others made it clear that they were asked to smoke outside by their wives or girlfriends. Most say that there was a rule during pregnancy that they could not smoke in the house, but there also is plenty of scattered evidence in their comments that many occasionally broke the rule and “caught hell for it.”

Most fathers indicate that they have no problem asking others not to smoke around their wives or girlfriends when they are pregnant. They say that if they were out with friends, it was rarely a problem, however, because the friends generally were sensitive to the presence of a pregnant woman. If they felt that it would be a problem, they say that they escorted their wife or girlfriend out of the smokers’ presence.

The Korean participants were a relatively unique session, however, and an exception to this rule. While indicating the same basic level of knowledge about the risks of secondhand smoke, including the risks to pregnant women, they confirm that it is also tradition for fathers to offer cigarettes to guests in their home. Although this tradition is not as closely adhered to here as in Korea, several say that it is still common practice. The Korean fathers say that they went outside to smoke while their wives were pregnant, but they also vociferously defend smoking, saying that it has health benefits by reducing stress, and they are especially resistant to the idea of quitting.

It is worth noting that the anti-smoking campaigns, at least in California, have been successful at reaching and educating immigrant Asian populations about the risks of smoking. Throughout the Asian groups, the degree to which both fathers and mothers are knowledgeable about the risks of smoking appear to be closely and positively associated with the time they have spent in this country.

Perhaps of particular concern are those households in which both the mother and the father smoked together for an extended part of their relationship prior to the pregnancy. While the expecting mother may quit, temporarily or otherwise, as a result of pregnancy, fathers in this circumstance indicate that their wives or girlfriends are far more forgiving of their smoking in their presence. As few Asian and Hispanic women smoke, however, this concern applies mainly to general market and African American households.

In general, panelists who have young children—both men and women—are aware that their smoking exposes their children to health risks, and these parents make an effort, even if inconsistently, to minimize this danger. However, while a few participants say that they feel guilty for exposing their children to secondhand smoke or for setting a bad example, most talk about their smoking as a very personal, adult decision and as an activity that gives them a small pleasure amidst frequent challenges, long days, and hard work. The decision to smoke is not one in which children or the effects on children figure prominently.

NOTABLE ETHNIC DIFFERENCES	
African American fathers	Some of the participants indicated that they don't smoke outside because it is too much trouble. This indicates a strong and active resistance to ads aimed at reinforcing social norms against smoking.
Asian mothers and fathers	Most Asian women, except younger women who have spent most of their lives in this country, are unlikely to smoke. Among many fathers, smoking is a major stress-reliever and some believe that it has health benefits as a result.

G. THE SLOGANS AND THE ADS

Panelists in the focus groups were presented with two slogans and shown a number of advertisements. In reviewing the findings, it is important to remember, however, that many of the population-specific advertisements were only shown to one group of panelists. Responses also may have been influenced by the stage of preparation of many of the advertisements (such as storyboards) and the natural inclination to compare ads despite fundamental differences in the medium (radio, video, and print), the format, production value, and even the content. The general findings are summarized as follows:

- ◆ Reactions to “Your choices shape their chances” is positive, but the translation of the phrase care must be done carefully.
- ◆ Most of the ads do not have a clear call to action. Participants welcome the ads as reminders of their responsibilities as parents, but they do not add anything to their level of knowledge or suggest a specific change in behavior.
- ◆ Participants do not notice the 1-800 contact information or the sponsors.

- ◆ Some participants react skeptically to the inclusion of the Commission's name in advertising messages because they associate it with government bureaucracy.

Slogans

Participants respond more favorably to the phrase “Your choices shape their chances” than to “It’s all about the kids.” They feel that the former statement sums up the challenge of good parenting in a provocative way that serves as a positive call to action; the latter statement is frequently seen as focusing excessively on children in a way that ignores the parents’ role and needs. Many in the Asian and Hispanic groups, particularly the fathers, also feel that “It’s all about the kids” is too indulgent of children.

An important challenge for any successful message is its translation into other languages. “Your choices shape their chances” translates in most of the Asian languages into a much stronger phrase than in the English original. In Chinese, for example, but also in Korean and other Asian languages, the word “shapes” does not translate easily and “chances” has a different set of meanings than in English. In the initial translation presented to Mandarin-speaking Chinese groups, the phrase was difficult for participants to interpret, with “shapes” being translated as determining rather than guiding or influencing children’s opportunities. Nor does the phrase retain the poetry that it has in English, so care must be taken to ensure that the appeal and the ease of recall of the slogan are not compromised in the translation.

Advertisements

EARLY CHILD DEVELOPMENT. The advertisement “Cradle Me,” which was the only finished video ad shown to the focus groups (general market, African American, and Hispanic), elicits praise for its emotional impact. Yet, panelists were either left wondering about the intent of the ad or believing that it is simply a reminder to “be good parents.” In short, although “Cradle Me” is considered poetic and attention-getting, participants cannot identify a call to action. The ad has components that are effective at arousing emotion, but the content is not effective at changing behaviors.

“I liked the photography, I just didn't know what they were talking about.”

— General Market Mother, Sunnysvale

The advertisement “This Isn’t” is well-received by most of the general market participants (who were the only group to see the ad), but because so many parents already read, sing, and talk to their child, many feel that the message is not intended for them. Instead, they say that the message is aimed at "ethnic" parents, people with lower incomes, or young mothers who do not have their level of experience.

The doctor in the ad is considered by many of the participants to be an odd addition to the advertisement and they are not sure why such a figure was included. Again, parents would first turn to a doctor if they had questions or concerns about their child’s physical development, which is not the central concern of the advertisement. The professional child-care workers, in particular, immediately note the inclusion of the doctor and say that he is out of place.

Panelists in the Asian groups are relatively uninterested in the outdoor ads they were given as handouts, and most feel that they are not very informative. The vast majority say that they would not call the number, in many cases because they are not entirely comfortable in English. The exceptions are nearly all the younger mothers who have resided in the United States for a longer period of time.

The ad in which the father is holding the child has some appeal, but when the Korean panelists are asked about the characters, they think they are probably Chinese; it is likely that many of the other populations would respond similarly. This ad yields some discussion about how different ethnic groups hold their babies, so how the figures are posed—mother and child, father and child—may be an important consideration. When asked about the Commission, several of the Asian participants appreciate the government’s attempts to educate its citizens.

Many panelists are unclear about the intent of the ad “Right Now.” The ad, in which the child is shown in a wheelchair, is interpreted by many in the general market sessions as an ad directed at parents of handicapped children. These participants notice the image first and then interpret the written content in light of the image, and so in most cases they misinterpret the intent of the ad altogether. We are not certain how the content would be received if the image were different.

CHILD CARE AND CAREGIVERS. “Tomorrow” (general market), “Grandma” (Spanish-speaking Hispanics), and “Caregivers” (African Americans) are thought to be nice reminders, and for many panelists, this type of ad offers a different perspective on the important role that these people play in their child's life. Participants in several of the groups are quick to link the slogan “Your choices shape their chances” to child care.

Yet, many believe that these ads are also aimed at others. General market mothers who stay at home or rely on family for their child care feel that it is aimed at parents with less time or less income, or young mothers who are still in need of guidance. The “Grandma” and “Caregiver” ads receive the same positive but dismissive reaction from Hispanics and African Americans. The ads, while superficially appealing to the panelists, do not explicitly acknowledge or account for the trust that parents have in their family/child-care providers, and so in viewing the ad they do not draw a connection between the featured caregiver and the particular family member who cares for their children.

General market mothers who depend on day care are more impressed with “Tomorrow” and much more inclined to make use of the 1-800 number. They expect the hotline to provide them with information about local day care, either a database of local providers or a checklist of things to look for in searching for day care. While a number are suspicious of the ad, believing that it may have been produced by a commercial organization, the ad strikes home with a significant number.

“But for people like me, it's making me think that the right place to put my child is going to affect her for the rest of her life.”

— General Market Mother, Sunnyvale

ANTI-SMOKING. “Almost” was tested in the smokers and quitters groups and is a clear winner among both. It portrays a woman who takes vitamins, regularly visits her doctor, does everything right, but is unable to kick the smoking habit. The key feature of this ad that makes it effective is that it makes these mothers feel understood rather than guilty. Of any of the ads tested in any of the groups, this ad receives the most enthusiastic response. It provoked enough attention that many of these panelist notice and express interest in calling the 1-800 number. When asked about what they would receive after calling the number, panelists expect (or prefer) to hear a woman's voice with guidance on how to quit smoking during pregnancy.

"I like the tone of voice. It wasn't negative or condemning. It was reasonable."

— Mother who quit smoking, San Francisco

"This commercial fits most women. I went to the doctor every month like I was supposed to. I took my prenatal vitamins, I tried to eat right, I didn't drink, but I still smoked. I could really relate to it."

— Mother who quit smoking, San Francisco

In contrast, the ad "Women Who Smoke" is intensely disliked because of the image. The message is clear to the panelists, but they reject any identification with the figure rubbing her stomach as she smokes. They dismiss the woman as "strung out" and "hung over." Many think the ad is intended for teenage mothers. Although the ad "When Carla Quit Smoking" receives an unenthusiastic response from the African American mothers who smoke, participants note the fact that the father is pictured with the mother, something they strongly approve of, and a few correctly infer from the text that the risk of a miscarriage increases dramatically from smoking while pregnant.

The anti-smoking ads presented to the fathers who smoke are universally dismissed as not applying to them, "When You" in particular. Again, most fathers who smoke say that they went elsewhere to smoke while their wives or girlfriends were pregnant, so they could not identify with the relevant figures. The fathers who smoke also may be the least likely among any of the groups to call the 1-800 number, believing that quitting smoking is a matter of willpower. When they are asked to take note of the Commission's sponsorship, many also are wary about seeking help from a government agency.

The anti-smoking outdoor ad presented to the Asian panelists is well-received by some, primarily the women, but summarily dismissed by the men. Again, most of the men who smoke have no intention of quitting and they say they made an effort to smoke outside when their wives were pregnant. These panelists also have some difficulty understanding the image—the child's hand holding the father's finger—and so there are a number of varied, often creative interpretations.

H. SUMMARY

Parents and caregivers respond to and work proactively with their children in a hierarchy of perceived needs. Parents and caregivers want to ensure that they have a healthy child, so above all, health and basic physical needs are what parents respond to first. The emotional and moral dimensions of child-rearing are central to the hopes and dreams that most parents hope for their children, that they should be happy and secure, so after meeting their child's physical needs, parents focus on providing emotional support and moral guidance. Last on their list is the child's intellectual development.

Further complicating the objectives of the campaign, panelists see "school readiness" as consisting of a number of physical, emotional, and moral (which is an inherently social dimension) benchmarks: the child must be potty trained, able to button his or her own clothes, be emotionally secure away from home, and be respectful of the teacher and the other students.

It will be difficult for the campaign to have intellectual development move up as a priority in people's minds. First, parents' fundamental belief is that if they do not provide their children with emotional support and moral guidance, no one else will. Second, although parents understand that intellectual development begins early, they don't fully appreciate their own role in this process, so they abdicate much of this responsibility to the schools. Third, and perhaps the biggest barrier at all, is the amount of time that parents realistically can devote to these activities.

The majority of panelists are in households in which both parents are required to work. Fathers, in particular, say that they work long days and that when they get home, they are often stressed and tired. Mothers who work face the same long days. Work, by necessity, is at the center of their day, and everything else, beginning with the physical needs of their child, their emotional needs, and any moral guidance, has to occur in the margins. While it is an oft-repeated and rather obvious statement that Americans lack time, this fact of modern life is particularly relevant to this topic because any additional parenting requires more time. We mention this here to emphasize the importance of setting realistic goals for parents and acknowledging their constraints and other priorities.

Having said this, we believe that there is still a great deal of potential for achieving the objectives of the campaign. Parents' and caregivers' natural inclination to read, sing, and play with their children could be fortified by a more specific understanding of the developmental importance

and tangible benefits of these activities. As panelists' reactions to the advertising indicate, the message needs to be made in clear and culturally appropriate terms, with specific activities tied to specific benefits in a cause-and-effect relationship; panelists are receptive to and first-time parents are hungry for this kind of information.

The key will be to make any recommended change in practices easy. Present parents with specific recommendations for finding opportunities in the "margins" of their day. Cast recommendations for activities to promote the intellectual development of the child, whether it is reading or singing, in emotional or moral terms. Parents believe that what they do with their child has multiple effects, so they will understand and better relate to reading both for the growth of the child and the moral of the story. The benefit of reading more to one's child, for example, also can be couched in the broader thematic hopes that parents have for their children, whether it is fulfillment, safety, responsibility, or material success.

The focus groups provide strong confirmation that the primary target audience for this communication effort should be mothers who are young, downscale, and expecting their first child. A consistent finding is that younger, less well-educated parents are less informed about early-childhood development, so this audience would benefit most from the campaign's message. First-time expecting parents are also highly active consumers of information about parenting and they are the most likely to take advantage of a 1-800 number or other information channels.

Our recommendation to focus on mothers is based on the broad finding that women are the primary caregivers during the first five years of life. This does not mean that men are not an audience, but they are better approached as a secondary audience. The results of these focus groups indicate that mothers are more knowledgeable and empowered in decisions regarding the child than are fathers. Let the mothers guide the fathers by targeting the message at women but making the content relevant to both parents. The panel sessions also provide useful insights into the basic components of a communication initiative that will resonate with this target audience: 1) given the topic, emotion will be particularly effective at gaining their attention, 2) ensure that the characters in the ads are easily identified with, and 3) provide information. The organizing premise needs to be simplicity and straightforwardness, so that the appeals do not go over the heads of the intended audience.

**APPENDIX:
DISCUSSION GUIDES**
