Children's weekend activities in four countries: context for personal and social development

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CHILDREN’S WEEKEND ACTIVITIES IN FOUR COUNTRIES: CONTEXT FOR PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

by

Asil Ali Özdoğan

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To my dear mom

Maksude Özdoğan
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Abstract

Out-of-school time constitutes a major context of social and emotional development for children across cultures. Because it is not constrained by school attendance, weekend time allows cultural and gender differences in time usage to emerge. In this study, children’s weekend activities, choice, and some of the related emotional outcomes were examined for fourth-grade students in four countries. A total of 1,265 children of families from middle socioeconomic status in Bulgaria, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States completed an activity survey asking them to state their typical activity for each of 12 hours on Saturday, their enjoyment of the activity, and whether it was self- or adult-chosen. They also completed the Revised Children’s Manifest Anxiety Scale. Findings indicated that children across the four countries spent most of their weekend time in self-chosen unstructured activities. There was a great deal of variation across countries in the amount and choice of time spent in different activity types. Children’s enjoyment was negatively related to the amount of adult-chosen activities, and this relationship varied little across countries. The general anxiety level of children was slightly related to amount of adult-chosen activities without any country or gender differences. Results suggest that cultures differ in the available and socially acceptable types of weekend activities as demonstrated by the time spent by children in different activities and extent of parental involvement in children’s activity decisions. Culturally different socialization processes associated with activity choice and participation help shape children’s emotional experiences. Weekend time provides important developmental niches within which children in different countries experience activities that contribute to their personal and social developmental outcomes.
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Chapter I: Introduction

An ecological perspective emphasizes analysis of human development within different contexts (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). As one of the major developmental contexts, out-of-school time carries a functional role in children’s physical, cognitive, social, and emotional development. Children spend more than half their daily time in out-of-school contexts such as home, after-school programs, and playgrounds. Out-of-school context offers distinct and diverse developmental opportunities for children, different from those that are offered by the more standardized experiences within the classroom. A more complete study of developmental trends and patterns can be achieved through analysis of children’s out-of-school time activities and programs.

The activities and programs in which children engage in various out-of-school contexts have important consequences for their learning and development. As developmental niches, different activities foster development of different skills and capacities in children and provide diverse socialization experiences (Larson & Verma, 1999). For example, children who spend a great deal of time in studying academics might achieve higher levels of cognitive development. On the other hand, children who spend more time in team sports may attain higher levels of physical and social development.

The types of activities in which children participate out of school can vary considerably. A distinction between structured and unstructured activities proves useful. Structured activities can take place in after-school and weekend programs, community centers, and lessons, whereas unstructured activities can be play, reading, and watching television (TV). Structured activities are a group of organized activities that involve adult supervision and skill building (Mahoney, Larson, Eccles, & Lord, 2005). They are often
associated with positive youth development because of their favorable contributions to academic and cognitive outcomes, social competencies, and reduced problem behaviors (Vandell, Pierce, & Dadisman, 2005). On the other hand, some researchers have warned of negative social and emotional consequences of rigid structures and overscheduling in children’s free time. Demanding and exhaustive activity schedules based on competitive adult agendas are claimed to be responsible for dysfunctional developmental patterns such as disrupted emotional stability and increased stress and anxiety in children (Elkind, 1981/2001; Rosenfeld & Wise, 2000; Sigel, 1987; Warner, 2005).

Children’s participation and engagement in various out-of-school activities and programs are influenced by their social, economic, and cultural contexts (Göncü, 1999). International comparisons of children’s after-school activity participation patterns reveal considerable similarities and differences due to characteristics of respective countries and cultures. Activities of children in developing countries such as India and South Africa involve more paid labor and less free leisure than those of children in developed countries (Larson & Verma, 1999; Ritchie, Lloyd, & Grant, 2004). Children from East Asian and European countries were found to spend more discretionary time in academics than American children who spent more time in sports (Larson & Verma, 1999). There is still a big need for information on activity patterns of children from different cultures and parts of the world to answer questions about how children in different societies spend their time, what kind of factors influence time use, and what are the relations between specific activities and developmental outcomes (Larson & Verma, 1999).

As one of the individual characteristics influencing children’s activity selection and participation, gender plays an important role in the type and duration of activities in
which children participate and the different contexts of socialization for boys and girls. Girls participate in a wider range of activities and spend more time in reading, arts, and organized activities than boys (Jacobs, Vernon, & Eccles, 2005). Across cultures girls have been found to spend more time in household chores, reading, extracurricular activities, and adult-chosen activities whereas boys spend more time in free play, computer games, watching television, and sports (Larson & Verma, 1999).

Weekend activity data may be particularly useful in revealing activity differences that are related to culture or gender. Children can engage in a variety of activities unrestricted by the schooling schedule during weekends. Weekends are two-day leisure periods associated with many positive connotations (Zerubavel, 1989). Weekend days, making up almost one third of time available in a week, offer a large amount of time to be spent in various activities. Previous research has shown some differences in time usage during weekdays and weekends (Bhat & Misra, 1999). In weekends, children participate in a greater variety of discretionary activities for longer time periods with their peers and parents (Copperman & Bhat, 2007; Stefan & Hunt, 2006). Activities of children in weekends can also show a great diversity depending on gender, family practices, and cultural values associated with child rearing and the conception of time. Different cultural conceptualizations of space and time, in addition to many aspects of human life, affect the preferred locations and inherent values of weekend activities (Kellerman, 1989). Cultures can differ in whether they view weekend time as a time of leisure and vacation or as an additional period of time for work and enrichment. Many Eastern cultures are more collectivistic whereas most Western cultures are more likely to value individuality (Hofstede & Hofstede, 2005). Whether the culture is more
individualistic or more collectivistic may affect parenting styles and childrearing practices. Parents in individualistic Western cultures may give more freedom to their children in the selection of activities. On the other hand, children from collectivistic cultures may be prone to more adult supervision than children of individualistic cultures.

Duration and types of activities, and level of adult structuring that children experience during their weekend time, can influence many outcomes in children’s personal and social development. The independence children have in their decisions about their activities may contribute to children’s development of self-esteem and autonomy. The enjoyment children feel in their activities is also very important for children’s psychological development. If children enjoy the results of their decisions regarding activities, this will contribute to more positive developmental outcomes than when they feel they have to obey adult decisions for activities that they do not enjoy. Parental involvement can encourage children to persist in worthwhile activities and increase their expertise. On the other hand, high levels of adult involvement in the form of scheduling too many weekend activities could lead to increased stress and anxiety in children.

The purpose of this study is to look at weekend activities of children from four countries in terms of adult structure and its relation to children's enjoyment and general anxiety. Existing data on weekend time usage of fourth graders from Bulgaria, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States will be studied to explore patterns, similarities, and differences across cultures, and to answer research questions about country and gender differences in activity participation, level of enjoyment, and anxiety. Data from Bulgaria, Taiwan, and USA concerning weekday time usage have already been analyzed and
revealed some differences in time usage that were consistent with the individualistic-collectivist orientation of the particular countries (Bidjerano & Newman, 2010; Newman et al., 2007).

In the current study, data from Turkey are added, and the analysis concerns weekend, not weekday, time usage. Children’s self-reported Saturday activities were coded according to the following categories: academics, routines, extracurricular activities, outings, play, reading for fun, sports, and watching TV. Activities were also categorized based on choice as self-chosen or adult-chosen. The hours of participation in each activity, and the number of activities reported, were analyzed. Children’s self-reported decision making and levels of enjoyment were used to measure the level of adult-structure and enjoyment. The Revised Children’s Manifest Anxiety Scale (Reynolds & Richmond, 1978) provided a measure of children’s general anxiety levels.

An important goal of the proposed research was to identify the extent to which boys and girls from different cultures experience adult-structuring of their weekend time and its associated outcomes as enjoyment and anxiety. Specific research questions are as follows:

1. What are the weekend activity profiles (i.e., type, duration, and choice) of children from different countries?
2. Is there a relationship between the amount of time children spend in adult-chosen weekend activities and their level of enjoyment in those activities?
3. Do amounts of time spent in adult-chosen weekend activities and enjoyment of the activities relate to country and gender?
4. Is there a relationship between the amount of time children spend in adult-chosen weekend activities and their general level of anxiety?

5. Do country and gender moderate the relationship between amounts of time spent in adult-chosen weekend activities and anxiety?

Chapter II: Literature Review

Developing from the Vygotskian school of psychology, activity theory proposed by early Russian psychologists focuses on the activities of individuals in their interactions with their physical and social environment (Bedny & Meister, 1997). According to activity theory, individuals produce and use various physical and mental tools in their activities to help them meet their goals and communicate with other individuals and objects in their environment. Having a wide range of applications in different fields, such as cognitive science, ergonomics, and computer-human interaction, activity theory offered a new psychological perspective by integrating internal mental processes with external human behaviors in the development of individuals. Activity theory lays the groundwork in terms of the importance of person-environment interaction through activities in human development.

In his seminal book *The Ecology of Human Development*, Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979) introduced a new theory of human development that emphasizes interactive processes between the person and the environment. His ecological systems theory proposed that individual’s development in any given area is primarily shaped by the interactions and relations between the individual and different layers of surroundings. Activities, roles, and relationships of individuals in any setting constitute contexts of
development. A thorough study of human development can best be achieved by the analysis of different levels and contexts of person-environment relationship.

In ecological systems theory, the microsystem is the first layer of environment in the immediate context of a child including settings like home, school, and playground. Experiences of children are affected by their activities, roles, and relationships that occur in the microsystem. For example, children’s relations with their siblings and peers, which may show contextual differences, comprise part of the microsystem. Beyond the microsystem, there are the mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystems, and chronosystem with different elements of setting and appropriate analyses. The mesosystem involves interactions between microsystems or connections between different contexts such as school-home relations. The exosystem in ecological theory is the layer of social system on which an individual does not have a direct impact such as parents’ workplace and community organizations. The macrosystem is the cultural environment that colors individuals’ lives through beliefs, values, norms, traditions, and the laws that different cultures possess. The chronosystem is composed of patterns of events and transitions over time such as socio-historical circumstances on parenting styles. As a dynamic systems approach to human development, ecological theory brings along a variety of principles and practices for the development of children.

The most substantial application of ecological systems theory is the American National Head Start Program that Bronfenbrenner co-founded with psychologists Mamie Clark and Edward Zigler in 1965 (American Psychological Association [APA], 2004). Serving more than 900,000 preschool-age children with a budget over 6.8 billion dollars in 2007, Head Start Program aims to help disadvantaged children to attain optimal levels
of cognitive and social development through wide-ranging services in education, health, nutrition, and social services for children and families (Office of Head Start, 2007).

Bronfenbrenner (1969) was influential in the inclusion of members and elements from different layers of the environment to achieve effective intervention practices for motivational and social aspects of compensatory education programs. Ecological systems theory emphasizes the comprehensive nurturance of child development with the contribution of different individuals such as peers and adults in various environments such as home, school, and out-of-school.

*Out-of-School Time as a Context of Development*

In the achievement of positive youth development, activities and relationships of children in out-of-school contexts play a significant role as “developmental assets” and “ecological nutrients” (e.g., Lerner, 2005a). Instructional activities and educational programs of the structured school schedule contribute a great deal to the cognitive and social development of children through provision of basic knowledge and experience for content, literacy, as well as social skills. However, a study of child development exclusively in the school context leaves out many other major environments and experiences. As Bransford, Brown, and Cocking (2000) pointed out in their National Academy of Sciences report *How People Learn*, “a focus only on the hours that students currently spend in school overlooks the many opportunities for guided learning in other settings.” (p. 26).

Children spend more than half of their waking time outside the school setting. Students in large school districts in the United States spend 53 percent of their time at home and in the community during a calendar year (Bransford et al., 2000). Analyzing
children’s use of out-of-school time reveals a more complete picture of the contexts of their learning and development. Along these lines, a promising amount of research on out-of-school activities and programs started to emerge during 1990s (Halpern, 2002; Lerner, 2005b).

There has been a growing interest in organized activities with the introduction of legislation on after-school programs such as federal grants for 21st-Century Community Learning Centers in the United States. Historically increasing rates of maternal employment across the world, which brought the need for nonparental care arrangements, and positive youth development outcomes associated with organized activities, contributed to this interest in organized activities (Mahoney, Harris, & Eccles, 2006). Calls for organized after-school programs are also based on the need for increasing the standing of American children in international comparisons of achievement and eliminating the risks of unsupervised after-school hours (e.g., Lemke et al., 2004; Snyder & Sickmund, 1999). On the face of global competition for better quality education and jobs, public interest in the United States and around the world started to focus on how children and adolescents spend their free time (e.g., Compton, 2007). As highlighted in the August 2010 Time magazine cover story “The case against summer vacation,” there is a growing public interest in out-of-school time, such as summer time, as a way to help children from disadvantaged backgrounds improve their academics and close the racial/ethnic achievement gap through supplementary activities and programs. Some organizations raised concerns for the lack of “safe, supervised activities during the often-dangerous afternoon hours” for school-age children and advocated more structured and organized after-school programs (After School Alliance, 2008, ¶ 2). Activities of children
in out-of-school time can be categorized into unstructured leisure activities versus structured enrichment activities.

Outcomes of Unstructured Activities

Unstructured leisure activities of children can include a variety of activities ranging from watching television to reading for fun. The essential qualities of these activities are self-selection and lack of adult supervision. Depending on the type and duration of the activity, unstructured activities can have either positive or negative outcomes. In their study of structured and unstructured activities of adolescents, Bartko and Eccles (2003) found differences in academic performance, problem behavior, and mental health of adolescents with different profiles of activity participation. They suggested that a person-oriented approach in the study of activity profiles could provide a holistic view of adolescent development. Authors reported that the relation between activity structure and developmental outcomes was not straightforward and could take different forms depending on types and duration of activities in adolescents’ activity profiles.

As the one of biggest leisure activities, watching television is the leading unstructured activity across industrialized nations (Larson & Verma, 1999). There have been abundant studies about the influence of TV viewing on children’s development. Effects of TV to a great extent depend on the content and amount of TV programs children watch (Van Evra, 1998). For example, watching educational TV programs such as *Sesame Street* and *Mister Rogers' Neighborhood* for moderate amounts of time is associated with better literacy and numeracy skills for preschoolers, reading skills in elementary school (Zill, 2001) and increased social skills such as giving positive
reinforcement and improved contacts (Coates, Pusser, & Goodman, 1976). In their meta-analysis of 34 studies, Mares and Woodard (2005) found that children who watch prosocial programs have higher rates of positive attitudes and behaviors suggesting that “television is no more prone to fostering violence than it is to fostering prosocial behavior” (p. 296). Some researchers reject the “displacement hypothesis” that time spent watching TV replaces other developmentally appropriate activities by stating that outcomes of TV viewing depend on the content of TV programs children watch, other available activities, and environmental factors (Huston, Wright, Marquis, & Green, 1999). On the other hand, long inactive periods of television viewing are associated with negative health consequences such as excessive weight (Andersen, Crespo, Bartlett, Cheskin, & Pratt, 1998) and attention problems (Christakis, Zimmerman, DiGiuseppe, & McCarty, 2004) across all ages. Preschool children who watch violent TV programs tend to show higher levels of antisocial and aggressive behavior in elementary school years (Christakis & Zimmerman, 2007). Elementary school students’ TV viewing has been found to decrease their book reading over three years by decreasing their attitudes and concentration (Koolstra & van der Voort, 1996). Fourteen-year olds who watch TV for three or more hours a day were found to be at higher risk for having negative attitudes for school, attention difficulties, poor homework performance and school grades, and long-term academic failure with a decreased likelihood of attaining postsecondary education (Johnson, Cohen, Kasen, & Brook, 2007). Depending on the content and amount, TV viewing has been found to have both positive and negative developmental outcomes in different domains.
Free play is another unstructured activity that takes a great deal of time in children’s daily schedules. One common form of play of school aged children is imaginative play. Jerome Singer (1994) categorizes imaginative play into three chronological stages as imitation, practice, and mastery (0-2 years), symbolic play (2-5), and games with rules (7 and beyond). In his list of the benefits of play, Singer (1994) enumerates increases in motor skills, sensory system, expression of emotions (empathy), sharing, turn taking (harmony), ordering, sequencing, delay of gratification, vocabulary, concentration, flexibility, role taking, imagination, and creativity. The American Academy of Pediatrics (AAP, 2007) points out the importance of unstructured play in promoting positive developmental outcomes not only for children but also for parent-child relations by contributing to children’s emotional competency and resiliency. Free play and children’s reciprocal interactions with their peers are advocated by major developmental psychologists for their promotion of children’s cognitive (Piaget, 1962, Vygotsky, 1966) as well as social and moral development (Kohlberg, 1987). On the other hand, critics warn of negative effects of unsupervised free play with peers. Extensive amounts of unstructured socializing with peers have been found to be associated with deviant and problem behaviors in children and especially in adolescents (Osgood, Anderson, & Shaffer, 2005). Time with family is considered a protective factor for adolescents whereas unsupervised peer time is associated with various problem behaviors such as smoking, drinking, drug use, delinquency, and sexual activity (Barnes, Hoffman, Welte, Farrell, & Dintcheff, 2007; Luthar & Becker, 2002). Although free play is associated with positive outcomes at younger ages, unstructured time for adolescents has been found to be a risk factor for developing negative outcomes.
Reading for fun is one of the unstructured leisure activities that contributes a great deal to children’s and adolescents’ cognitive and linguistic development. Children who read a mixture of newspapers, magazines, and books are exposed to new words as a result of which they can gain advanced literacy skills helping their lexical development. Children who spend more time in reading for fun obtain higher scores in passage comprehension, letter-word tasks, and applied problems of cognitive achievement tests (Hofferth & Curtin, 2005). There is a positive association between fifth graders’ leisure reading frequency and their attitudes toward reading and likelihood of being a member of the public library (Greaney & Hegarty, 1987). Leisure reading is also closely related to parental encouragement for reading (Neuman, 1986). However, leisure reading declines as children grow older (Nippold, Duthie, & Larsen, 2005). Reading for fun is an unstructured activity with many positive developmental outcomes.

Outcomes of Structured Activities

Children’s structured activities are those that have adult involvement at various levels either in planning, organizing, or supervising. Mahoney and colleagues (2005) identify adult supervision and skill building as the two defining qualities of organized activities. In the face of increasing concerns about the negative outcomes associated with children’s and adolescents’ unsupervised free time (After School Alliance, 2008), there has been a surge in the programs and research on organized activities. There have been numerous research studies pointing out the developmentally enriching qualities of organized out-of-school activities. Structured out-of-school activities are associated with positive academic and cognitive outcomes, social competencies, and reduced problem behaviors for children and adolescents (Vandell, Pierce, & Dadisman, 2005). Larson
suggests that organized activities that children and youth attend can have positive influences on the development of initiative, identity, teamwork, emotional development, motivation, and autonomy. Children’s participation in structured activities such as sports, lessons, and clubs has been found to be related to positive psychosocial outcomes such as social competence, compliance, autonomy, peer relationships, and self-efficacy, and academic outcomes such as standardized achievement scores, ability self-concepts, educational expectations, and school performance (Ripke, Huston, & Casey, 2006). Nevertheless, some others (e.g. Elkind, 1981/2001; 2007) claim that extensive amounts of adult-structured activities can threaten children’s personal and social development, and they advocate for more free play and unstructured activities. In summary, structured activities of children can be important in the development of many positive outcomes as well as negative ones in relation to the extent and type of the activities.

Homework or studying for school is one of the activities that usually involves adult structure. A review of research points out a positive relation between homework and academic achievement especially in the middle and high school years and when time spent on homework is reported by children themselves rather than parents (Cooper, Robinson, & Patall, 2006). Cooper (1989) suggested that homework can have positive effects on students’ immediate achievement and learning, long-term academic and non-academic outcomes, and parental involvement. Cooper also points out that homework can have negative outcomes such as encouraging cheating by plagiarizing, satiation (i.e., disinterest and fatigue), restriction of leisure time and activities, and polarization of high and low achieving students. The consequences of homework depend on many factors
according to Cooper, for instance student characteristics, assignment requirements, classroom atmosphere, and home environments. In the face of the abundance of factors, there is not a linear relationship between amount of homework and student success as seen in national as well as international comparisons of educational practices and policies (Baker & LeTendre, 2005). Parental involvement is one of the important factors in the effectiveness of homework since it promotes a positive self concept in children through parental modeling, encouragement, and instruction which in turn promotes academic success (Hoover-Dempsey et al., 2001). Homework and additional study opportunities can take different forms and intensities in different cultures. Offering specialized content knowledge and test-taking skills, cram schools (common in Eastern cultures and some of the developing countries) provide skill-building academic activities but have been blamed for unnecessary fatigue and stress in youth (e.g., Nishino & Larson, 2003).

Organized sport is another frequent activity for children and adolescents around the world especially in weekends. Individual and team sports offer children not only contexts of physical development but also cognitive, social, and personal development. Participation in quality sports programs promotes many positive developmental outcomes for children and parents. Through parental involvement in sports games and tournaments, children are socialized into culturally valued behaviors and attitudes in addition to engaging in meaningful interaction with their parents (Kremer-Sadlik & Kim, 2007). Sports activities can offer socializing opportunities and promote skill building, achievement strategies, and task involvement depending on the motivational climate of parents and activity settings, which can be observed in practices of coaches and policies of organizations (Duda & Ntoumanis, 2005). On the other hand, increasing demands of
professionalized youth sports and unrealistic parental aspirations and expectations can threaten the positive outcomes of sports participation in children (Brower, 1979; Ogilvie, 1979). For example, eight to 17-year old female ice skaters reported experiencing aggravated life stress and sport-specific anxiety in connection with unsatisfactory performance (Felsten & Wilcox, 1993). As another potentially negative outcome, an increased risk for drinking behavior of American adolescents participating in school sports teams has been reported (Eccles, Barber, Stone, & Hunt, 2003). Organized sports as a structured activity can foster both developmentally appropriate and inappropriate skills and attitudes.

As another form of structured experience, extracurricular activities such as student clubs, art and music classes, foreign language training, and after-school program provide out-of-school contexts for enrichment and skill building. Research on the outcomes of extracurricular activity participation for American children and adolescents points out positive developmental outcomes such as higher levels of self-esteem, better racial relations, active involvement in political and social issues, increased academic grades and skills, educational goals and attainments, sense of autonomy, and lower delinquency rates (Fletcher, Nickerson, & Wright, 2003; Holland & Andre, 1987). Participation in extracurricular activities can help children to obtain peer support and overcome social isolation and rejection (Sandstrom & Coie, 1999). Parental structure and involvement are important in children’s experiences of their extracurricular activities. While parental support is a predictor of enjoyment, parental pressure predicts negative experiences of children in their extracurricular activities (Anderson, Funk, Elliott, & Smith, 2003). Peer pressure can also take place in extracurricular activities, which may
lead to smoking and drinking behaviors. Activities with lower levels of adult structure and guidance are associated with higher levels of adolescent antisocial and deviant behavior (Mahoney & Stattin, 2000). Large-scale evaluation studies of after-school programs at 21st Century Community Learning Centers in the US also report higher levels of negative behavior in students participating in those programs (James-Burdumy, Dynarski, & Deke, 2008). In his summary of meta-analytic studies, Granger (2008) states that “after-school programs can have positive academic effects, though many do not” (p. 1).

In summary, out-of-school time as a developmental context influences developmental patterns and outcomes in both positive and negative ways through children’s participation in structured and unstructured activities across the cultures. Activity type, duration, peer relations, and parental involvement are strong predictors of the nature and level of activity participation outcomes. Considerable evidence shows that adult structure in children’s time usage is beneficial for children and more structure is related to more positive developmental outcomes. On the other hand, some writers criticize disproportionate adult structure and determination in children’s activities and lives in general.

*Over-Scheduling Hypothesis*

Adult structure of children’s out-of-school time can be observed in decisions of parents about the type and extent of activities in which their children participate. Moderate amounts of parental involvement in children’s and adolescents’ activities are likely to foster healthy parent-child relations and provide a protective force against risky and deviant behaviors. A group of scholars, on the other hand, state concerns about the
negative outcomes of superfluous levels of parental involvement in the form of “hothousing” (Sigel, 1987) or “hurrying” (Elkind, 1981/2001). They assert that children are deprived of their childhoods by engaging in too many activities structured by adults, and face detrimental consequences for their emotional and social development.

David Elkind (1981/2001) claims that modern day children in many countries and especially in the United States are overwhelmed by the excessive demands of achievement and excellence in multiple areas by their parents, schools, and the media. As a result of the overscheduling experienced in activity participation, children are hurried to grow up fast to become fully equipped industrious adults. According to Elkind, in response to increasing achievement expectations of their parents, children are stressed and may experience many negative outcomes such as free-floating anxiety, Type A personality (e.g., competitive achievement, impatience, and aggression), school burnout, learned helplessness, pressures of overspecialization as child prodigies, and psychiatric symptoms. In an interview, Elkind stated that overscheduling in the form of weekend schooling can be detrimental for children’s emotional and motivational development (Goodnough, 2001). Hurrying is even listed by one author as a dysfunctional parenting practice along with compulsive caregiving, parentification, and spousification that brings about maltreatment of children and childhood (Jurkovic, 1997). Instead of highly structured educational activities, Elkind (2007) favors unstructured, spontaneous, imaginative play in providing implicit learning opportunities and socioemotional developmental experiences.

Other writers have also warned of unwanted consequences of overscheduling and various related practices. Hothousing of children is another term for demanding children
to master knowledge and skills in a much higher level and faster pace (Sigel, 1987). Parental beliefs about childrearing that originate from personal and sociocultural histories pressure children to succeed and win instead of engaging in relaxed and exploratory activities. Sigel (1987) claims that these unrealistic expectations and standards can lead to achievement anxiety and lower self-esteem in children. Parental achievement pressures and emotional isolation were found to be related to depressive symptoms and substance use among American adolescents from wealthy families (Luthar & Becker, 2002). Some writers remind parents that positive developmental outcomes are not necessarily restricted to structured special activities but can even blossom from routine everyday activities that children and parents can manage to create meaningful and quality experiences (Kremer-Sadlik & Paugh, 2007). The role of societal expectations and cultural trends are emphasized in the development of a generation of “impossibly perfect” adolescent girls in the United States (Hinshaw & Kranz, 2009). Cultural values may determine whether out-of-school time is viewed as an additional time to structure activities, or as more relaxed time.

In addition to those generated by parental practices, children are exposed to other stressors such as those provided by teachers, peers, and caregivers. Across cultures, perceived demands of busy course and activity schedules and lack of available resources such as emotional support can lead to negative mood, stress, anxiety, and depression (e.g., Lee & Larson, 2000; Matheny, Aycock, & McCarthy, 1993; Verma, Sharma, & Larson, 2002). Activities also offer a context for risky behavior through peer relations. Children and adolescents who struggle between parental and peer pressures experience heightened stress and anxiety (Caldwell & Darling, 1999; Elias, Gara, & Ubriaco, 1985).
Competitive activities and high expectations of activity organizers such as coaches in sports can be frustrating for children and they may experience stress and lower levels of activity enjoyment (Scanlan, Babkes, & Scanlan, 2005). Demanding activity schedules both on schooldays and during the weekend, parental aspirations, peer pressures, and caregiver expectations can all have negative influences on children’s personal and emotional development.

Critics of the overscheduling hypothesis suggest that although there is an historical increase in children’s after-school and weekend activities, there is not enough empirical evidence in support of hurried child claims (Hofferth, Kinney, & Dunn, 2006). Indeed for some critics, hurried child concerns are considered a myth resulting from a romantic view of childhood, overgeneralization from a restricted set of examples, and deterministic interpretations colored with personal opinions (Lynott & Logue, 1993). One study (Mahoney, Harris, & Eccles, 2006) found that American children and adolescents participate in organized activities, on average, for moderate amounts of hours primarily due to intrinsic reasons—not parental forces—and experience a wide variety of positive youth development outcomes. Children seem to have higher levels of biological stress indicators—cortisol hormone—only when participating in sports activities but not in other structured activities, and the difference between stress in structured and unstructured activities has been found to be small and not detrimental (Kertes & Gunnar, 2004).

Children’s emotional development and outcomes associated with activity participation can also be better understood with self-determination (Ryan & Deci, 2000). According to self-determination theory, children’s activity enjoyment is expected to be
higher for activities they autonomously choose themselves rather than for those that are chosen by their parents. Activities over which children have a sense of control are more prone to yield enjoyment and arousal. When children have no control over their activities, they are more likely to experience anxiety.

Debate between proponents of the over-scheduling hypothesis and of advocates for adult structure emphasizes the need for more scientific research and empirical evidence on the issue. Activity research provides an oblique picture of developmental processes and mechanisms since the research is correlational in nature and not viable for causal interpretations. Many micro-level and macro-level factors moderate and mediate the relationship between activity participation and outcomes. Individual-level variables like age, gender, and ethnicity, and group-level variables like socioeconomic status and cultural background, influence the type and degree of outcomes associated with activity participation. Culture is one of the major factors in growth and development of children to which activity researchers have begun to attend.

*Cross-Cultural Studies of Children’s Activities*

Operating at the macrosystem level, culture influences human development in many different ways (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). John Whiting, a prominent behavioral scientist in psychological anthropology and in the development of cross-cultural research, distinguishes culture as a significant force in human development interacting with biological features and leading to many cross-cultural differences in infant care, child rearing, learning of cultural values, socialization strategies, interpersonal relationships, and identity and moral development (Chasdi, 1994; Whiting & Whiting, 1975). Culture structures children’s developmental niches by means of organizing childrearing settings,
communicating socialization messages, and molding parental belief systems (Super & Harkness, 1997). Children’s engagement in the world is shaped by sociocultural influences that are evident through children’s activities, play, roles, and parental beliefs and values (Göncü, 1999). Type and duration of out-of-school activities in which children participate show both surprising similarities and contrasts across cultures.

One line of research in cross-cultural psychology identifies categories of cultures that share similar characteristics. Hofstede (2001) describes five basic dimensions of cultures as power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism versus collectivism, masculinity versus femininity, and long-term versus short-term orientation. The individualism dimension has drawn a great deal of interest for psychologists studying cross-cultural patterns of human development and family orientations. Whereas cultures with higher individualistic orientations promote autonomy in their members, collectivistic cultures encourage relatedness (Dennis, Cole, Zahn-Waxler, & Mizuta, 2002). In her summary of studies looking at parenting styles across cultures, Kağıtçıbaşı (2007) points out that collectivistic Asian cultures value authoritarian parenting that uses discipline and obedience as opposed to the more valued authoritative parenting styles of Western individualistic cultures. Although high parental control is perceived as affectionate by children and adolescents in Eastern cultures, it is associated with a lack of parental warmth in Western cultures. In comparison to Western parents, Asian mothers help more in their children’s academic studies and perceive their parenting responsibility as a lifelong process. Across cultures, though, mothers from higher socioeconomic status families are more likely to be involved in their children’s schoolwork (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007).
Cross-cultural variations in child development practices and parenting strategies associated with different cultural dimensions and orientations are exemplified in time use studies of children. It has been consistently reported that children’s time use in different countries varies depending on economic and social characteristics of the respective countries. There have been differences in activity types and durations of children from economically underdeveloped, developing, and developed countries as well as children from Eastern and Western cultures.

In their comprehensive review, Larson and Verma (1999) pointed out that children, especially girls, spend more time in household chores and paid work if they are from nonindustrial and unschooled parts of the world. Adolescents from developing countries also spend more time in noneconomic household and paid labor work, and schooling has been found to be a factor that decreases time spent in such work (Ritchie, Lloyd, & Grant, 2004). Children and adolescents from Western or developed countries spend less time in household chores and paid work, except in the United States where there is a high rate of adolescent employment (Larson & Verma, 1999).

Time spent viewing television is similar across cultures, especially for adolescents. Larson (2001) reports that adolescents spend on average 1.5 to 2.5 hours a day watching TV in US, Europe, and East Asia. International comparisons on younger children have shown that American fourth graders leave behind all of their counterparts from 44 countries in watching TV and videos for 2.1 hours on a normal school day in comparison to the international average of 1.7 hours (Martin, Mullis, Gonzalez, & Chrostowski, 2004). Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMMS) and Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) online databases (AIR
Lighthouse, 2009) indicate that while 79% of Bulgarian fourth graders watch TV or video outside school every day or almost every day, it is 68% for American and 55% for Turkish children. Similar standings are observed in the percentage of 8th graders watching TV or videos three to five hours a day; Bulgaria 25%, US 24%, Taiwan 18%, and Turkey 13%. Stevenson and Lee (1990) found that American fifth graders watched 2 hours of TV a day while Taiwanese children did so for 1.5 hours. Data on weekend watching specifically are not available, and may well show even bigger cultural differences.

Time spent in free play also differs among children of different cultures. Although it is similar in younger ages across cultures, the time spent for play becomes different as children grow older (Larson & Verma, 1999). After having demonstrated an equal amount of time spent in play at first grade, American, Japanese, and Taiwanese children spend respectively 2.9, 2.0, and 1.2 hours playing in fifth grade (Stevenson & Lee, 1990). Children from Western cultures surpassed their counterparts from Eastern cultures who were below international averages in time spent in play or talking with friends. In another study, fourth graders from Australia, England, and United States had an average of 1.97 hours play time versus 1.17 of Taiwan, Philippines, and Singapore, where the international average was 1.80 (Martin et al., 2004). Children from Eastern countries appear to spend less time in free play than their Western counterparts.

Reading for fun does not show great variability across cultures. Children from Western and Eastern cultures spend similar amounts of time in reading. In one study, while American fourth graders spent 1.4 hours a day in reading for enjoyment, Bulgarians spent 1.5, English children 1.2, Taiwanese 1.2, and children from Singapore
spent 1.4 hours, which was the average time in the international reading literacy study of 40 countries in 2006 (Mullis, Martin, Kennedy, & Foy, 2007).

When cross cultural comparison is made of time children spend in structured activities, defined as those that are devoted to skill building and are chosen or supervised by adults, many differences are reported. In terms of structured leisure activities, children from East Asian countries were found to spend more time in homework and schoolwork than their Western counterparts (Larson & Verma, 1999). While American children and adolescents spend daily 3 to 4.5 hours for homework, Europeans spend 4 to 5.5 hours and East Asian adolescents spend 5.5 to 7.5 hours (Larson, 2001). Although there has been an historical increase in the amount of time American 9- and 13-year-old children spend on homework, children from many other countries like Taiwan, Korea, Hungary, and Russia spend more time on homework and the gap increases as children grow older (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1996). Literature reveals the extreme importance attributed to homework and examination scores by both parents and teachers in Asian countries (Dimmock, 2003). Korean (Lee, 2003) and Japanese (Nishino & Larson, 2003) students even report negative experiences like debilitating distress and anxiety due to long hours of studying and cram schools because of demanding schoolwork and national competitive examination systems. Weekends in collectivistic Asian cultures might be seen as time periods that should be used for additional schooling in the form of cram schools.

Playing sports is another type of structured activity. Participation in sports shows great variability across cultures. Western countries, especially the United States, lead others in the amount of time spent in sports activities. In his summary of the literature,
Larson (2001) stated that while American children and adolescents spend 30 to 60 minutes a day in sports, European countries range 20 to 80 minutes, and East Asian children spend 0 to 20 minutes. American and British fourth graders spend 1.9 hours a day playing sports versus Taiwanese children 1.3 and Singaporean children spend 1.5 hours, which was also the international average of 25 countries (Martin, Mullis, Gonzalez, & Chrostowski, 2004). Although the amount of time reported in different studies is variable, which may be due to age range and activity definitions used in the respective studies, cross-cultural differences seem to show consistent patterns.

Extracurricular activities are a range of structured activities designed for specific skill-building such as music and art classes, clubs, and volunteer activities. International comparisons of time use in extracurricular activities also show a lead for Western countries over Eastern countries. In this case, American dominance in sports participation was replaced by Europeans in time spent in music (Larson & Verma, 1999). In his summary, Larson (2001) indicates that while American and European youth spend 10 to 20 minutes a day in structured activities such as arts, music, sports, hobbies, and organizations, Eastern Asian children and adolescents spend 0 to 10 minutes. American adolescents spend 15 minutes per day on average in nonsport structured leisure activities (Larson & Kleiber, 1993), whereas Korean adolescents spend 8 minutes (Won, 1989). Cultures are different in the extent to which they allow and value different activities that involves adult structure in children’s free time, particularly during weekends.

Cross-cultural patterns of children’s activity participation reveal important information in terms of cultural values and norms. Research to date has shown that while children from Eastern countries spend more time in schoolwork, children from Western
countries spend more time in watching TV and playing sports. Adult structure in children’s activities is evident in various levels across cultures. The individualism and collectivism dimension of cultures can have an impact on the way parents value and children experience different activities (Larson & Verma, 1999). Adult-structure in children’s activities across cultures can take place at different levels and can be perceived differently by members of an individualistic versus collectivistic culture. In their review, Pomerantz and Wang (2009) pointed out that even though in most studies parental control had negative impact on children’s psychological functioning in collectivistic East Asian and individualistic Western cultures, there were some studies with stronger impact in Western cultures. In a study with Chinese fourth graders, it has been found that children reported being motivated and autonomous even when their activities were decided by adults with whom they had close socioemotional relations (Bao & Lam, 2008). Culture as the context of development operates as a socialization agent at the macro level by influencing type and duration of structured and unstructured activities for boys and girls.

**Gender Differences in Children’s Activities**

Variation in activity participation is not only shaped by cross cultural differences but also by gender. Gender as a social construct is colored by practices and interactions within a culture. The way language is used, and customs of interpersonal relationships, help to sustain gender socialization during child development (Leaper, 2000). Children’s socialization into their specific gender role is observable in children’s activity participation as well as in parental preferences (Jacobs, Vernon, & Eccles, 2005).
Influenced by cultural expectations and values, each gender may participate in a distinct set of culturally approved activities.

Studies of children’s time use in watching television have shown a clear gender difference. Boys in general spend more time in watching television than girls do across all cultures studied (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004; Larson & Verma, 1999). Gender differences in play appear more often in nonindustrial and unschooled populations where girls spend more in household chores, thus decreasing their available time for free play (Larson & Verma, 1999). Boys and girls in industrial countries seem to have different types of play rather than different durations, thus helping their culture-specific gender socialization through play environments and rules (Edwards, 2000). In almost every culture girls have been found to spend more time in leisure reading than do boys (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004). Gender differences have been clearly found in the amount of time children spend doing homework or studying for school across cultures with girls in the lead (Larson & Verma, 1999). Girls’ dominance in academics is replaced by boys in sports participation in every country studied (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004). Gender patterns in extracurricular activity participation have shown that girls participate more in non-athletic extracurricular activities and as well as a wider variety of extracurricular activities (Gadbois & Bowker, 2007).

*Children’s Weekend Activities*

Most countries in the 21st century’s globalized world adopt a two-day weekend schedule with the exception of some nonindustrial primitive cultures. Organization of the modern week as a division between 5-day week and 2-day weekend is a result of historical and sociocultural consensus (Zerubavel, 1989). Day of the week determines to
a great extent people’s activities, attitudes, and experiences related to individual days. More positive experiences and mood states are associated with weekend days that call for leisure and relaxation than the work days that remind of school, work, and other obligations (Thrash, 2007).

Cultures show differences in their perceptions of weekdays versus weekend days in relation to work versus leisure time. Individuals from high-context Eastern cultures, where more contextual cues and less words are used to explain common experiences and expectations, are found to report more perceived time spent at work and polychronic in their time usage, carrying out multiple activities simultaneously. On the other hand, individuals from low-context Western cultures, where more words and less contextual cues used for common experiences and expectations, tend to report more perceived time in social/leisure activities and are monochronic in their time use, doing one thing at a time. Time-priority (work or leisure) is shaped not only by culture but also by gender and level of acculturation. While it has been found that males had a higher work time perception than females in Eastern cultures, females had a higher work time perception than males in Western cultures. Leisure time perceptions were found to have the opposite pattern (Manrai & Manrai, 1995).

Much of the research on children’s time use does not differentiate between week days and weekend days either by averaging across seven days or by excluding weekend days. Larson and Verma (1999) identify the inconsistency in using weekend time among activity studies as a source of measurement error leading to imprecise and unreliable results. A clear approach that distinguishes between weekdays and weekend days is needed for a more accurate understanding of children’s activity patterns across cultures.
In terms of children’s time use at weekends, it is evident that children’s activity schedules are free from weekday school demands and can be filled with activities that they can enjoy with their peers and parents. For example, Turkish elementary school students were found to spend 2.5 or 3 times more hours watching TV during weekends in comparison to week days (Radio and Television Supreme Council [RTÜK], 2006). American children have been found to spend 7.5 hours at home in unstructured non-physical activities like watching TV, playing video games, and playing with siblings during both weekend days (Sener, Copperman, Pendyala, & Bhat, 2007). In comparison with weekdays, American children also report that they spend more time in physical and structured activities outside the home during their weekends.

Parental preferences and cultural norms can shape the kind and length of activities in which children participate. Parents may choose to devote their children’s long weekend days in unstructured free leisure activities or structured skill-building activities. The overscheduling hypothesis criticizes some parents who choose not to “waste” their children’s free time in unstructured activities but instead choose to enroll their children in activities or programs specifically designed for academic, social, and physical enrichment. This difference in parenting strategies can be easier to observe during children’s weekends. As a result of these parenting strategies, children may be more prone to experience outcomes associated with structured and unstructured activities during extended hours of weekend time.

*The Present Study*

The present study examined children’s weekend activities across cultures. The activity data from pre-adolescent children in four countries with different value
orientations were analyzed in terms of their relation to children’s enjoyment and stress. The self-reported activities on Saturdays of fourth-grade children from Bulgaria, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States were investigated in relation to their adult structure and their relation to children’s self-reported level of activity enjoyment and anxiety.

Countries compared in this study are American, Bulgaria, Taiwan, and Turkey. Children of the respective countries were surveyed to identify and predict relations between variables of interest in and across the four cultures. Data from these four countries, which are spread around the world as seen in Figure 1 and are culturally as well as geographically different, enable us to look at differing patterns of child development and parenting practices. Taiwan and United States are ranked at the two ends of the Hofstede’s individualism index (IDV), in which United States is the most individualistic culture and Taiwan is one of the most collectivistic countries (Hofstede, 2001). Bulgaria and Turkey, on the other hand, are two neighboring countries with close historical ties, both of which are ranked closely in the IDV as having more collectivistic cultures.
Chapter III: Methodology

Overview

This study will use a set of the data gathered in years 1998 to 2008 looking at fourth-grade students’ after-school activities in Bulgaria, Taiwan, and USA (Bidjerano, 2007; Johnson, 2004; Kao, 2001; Newman et al., 2007). Previous analyses of the data have looked at activities across the week without differentiating between week and weekend days, whereas the current study concerns only the data regarding weekend activities, and adds Turkish data that have not previously been examined. The data are children’s self-reported activities, and responses to a standardized questionnaire measure of anxiety.

The research design for this study is descriptive and correlational in nature. Descriptive research explains the phenomena under investigation as it occurs, whereas correlation research designs are helpful in the investigation of patterns and relationships.
between naturally occurring variables often measured through surveys. When manipulation of research participants and treatment is not feasible as it is in experimental designs, correlational designs offer a descriptive and exploratory look into the data. The main disadvantage of correlational studies is that they do not allow causal interpretations.

Participants

All participants were fourth-grade students. Although the sample was one of convenience, an attempt was made to select children from middle class families by targeting schools serving predominantly middle socioeconomic status (SES) families. This choice was validated by student-reported parental occupations. Due to the open-ended nature of response options, children’s lack of understanding of their parents’ occupations, considerable rate of missing data (13%), and unavailability of independent measures of parental education levels, a standardized SES index was not calculated.

The Bulgarian sample was selected from five public elementary schools in Sofia, the capital city of Bulgaria. The sample of 312 Bulgarian fourth graders was balanced in gender with 167 males (53.5%) and 145 females (46.5%). Students came mainly from families with middle SES and few from upper middle SES based on the school demographics and student-reported parental occupations. The average age of Bulgarian children was 10 years 4 months.

Fourth graders from Taiwan came from six public elementary schools in three different cities. There were 292 students in the Taiwanese sample (152 males, 139 females, and one of unknown gender). Most of the students were from high and middle SES families based on available information on parental education and occupations. The average age of Taiwanese children in the study was 10 years 3 months.
The sample for Turkish fourth graders was composed of students from three public and six private schools in İstanbul, the most populous city of Turkey. There were 465 Turkish students, of which 223 were male and 242 were female. The majority of the children came from middle or upper SES families as indicated by the presence of dual-income earners and white-collar jobs. The children in the Turkish sample had an average age of 10 years 4 months.

American students were recruited from two public and two private Catholic suburban schools in the Capital Region of upstate New York. Of the 196 fourth-grade students, 83 were male (42%) and 113 were female (58%). Families of children represented middle to upper socioeconomic status, most of whom had dual-income parents. The children in the United States sample had an average age of 9 years 8 months. Gender and country distribution of the overall sample is presented in Table 1.

Table 1. Country and Gender Distribution of the Study Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>46.5</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>47.6</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>242</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>57.7</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>50.6</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* One participant from Taiwan had missing gender.
**Instruments**

Data used in this study were collected through two main instruments: (1) An activity survey and (2) an anxiety scale.

1. The activity survey provided data for activity duration, structure, and enjoyment (Appendix A). The format was a questionnaire called “What I usually do?” that was developed by previous investigators associated with the project and used identically in each of the different countries (Newman et al., 2007). As a modified form of experience sampling method, the questionnaire takes samples of children’s usual out-of-school activities by requesting information about two week days (Thursday and Friday) and a weekend day (Saturday). The weekend survey consisted of 36 items about 12 hours of activity type, choice, and enjoyment.

For the weekend activity sampling, children were asked to enter the name of their typical activity on Saturdays for each of the 12 hour slots from 10:00 to 22:00 o’clock. Activity duration was indicated by the number of time slots in which the activity was named. There were an equal number of possible hours for each country, as there were no constraints imposed by school attendance and variations in the time children attended school. Example activities of “play violin, soccer practice, watch TV, eat, do homework, read, play with friends” were provided to facilitate children’s response generation. Children also indicated who chose the activity and to what extent they enjoyed each activity. Using a multiple-choice item with alternatives of “Me,” “My Parent(s),” and “Other Adult,” children reported on who decided each hourly activity. This yielded a measure of adult structure. For enjoyment, children responded to a 5-point Likert-scale
item with response options ranging from 1 (Not at all) to 5 (Very Much) indicating their level of enjoyment for the particular activity in each hour slot.

The activity survey was translated into local languages by the researchers and then translated back to English by an English-speaking local person in each country. After discussions and resolutions of translation issues, final versions of the surveys were used to ensure the most accurate adaptation of the instrument. Children’s responses to open-ended activity questions were then coded into eight activity categories by two coders (Appendix B). Specific activity categories used across countries were academics, routines, extracurricular activities, outings, play, reading for fun, sports, and watching TV. Interrater reliability, as measured by the level of agreement between the two coders and based on 10 percent of the questionnaires, was .96 in Bulgaria, .83 in Taiwan, .86 in Turkey, and .90 in the United States (where it was based on 20 percent of the questionnaires). As a modified experience sampling method, the activity questionnaire provides valid information based on comparable findings between studies using other methods of activity time use.

2. The anxiety scale was administered to children in each country at the same time as the activity questionnaire. What I Think and Feel: Revised Children’s Manifest Anxiety Scale (RCMAS) developed by Reynolds and Richmond (1985) was used to measure children’s general anxiety. RCMAS is a 37-item self-report measure for 6- to 19-year-old children yielding a total anxiety score as well as four subscale scores of physiological anxiety, worry or oversensitivity, social concerns or concentration, and lie subscale scores. Reviews of RCMAS comment on its sound psychometric qualities and wide cross-cultural applications (Gerard & Reynolds, 2004). Reliability estimates of RCMAS
across different samples are found to be in the .80 range for internal consistency and .70 for test-retest measures. Alpha internal reliability coefficient in the overall sample in this study was .81. Validity evidence for RCMAS comes from internal and external validation studies of RCMAS and its use by other anxiety scales as a validation measure. Cross-cultural studies with RCMAS show little or no bias for the majority of items in many different countries in which people from different backgrounds with similar levels of anxiety responded similarly to the scale. Local adaptations of the RCMAS in Bulgaria (Bidjerano, 2007), Taiwan (Kao, 2001), and Turkey were done using back translation techniques by native speakers, with the current author doing this for the Turkish measure. Coefficient alpha reliability estimates for internal consistency were .79 in Bulgaria, .75 in Taiwan, .78 in Turkey, and .85 in the United States samples.

Validation of the Turkish RCMAS. The Turkish version of RCMAS was specially translated and adapted for this study. The factor structure of the Turkish translation of RCMAS did replicate the original four-structure model. The original 9 items formed one factor, the lie scale, as in other countries. The Lie factor explained 8.64% of total scale variance. Since the RCMAS total score is the sum of all items except the lie scale items and only in the general anxiety score was relevant to the current study, no further factor analyses of Turkish data were carried out.

Procedures

Human research participant protection for the study was warranted by the approval of the Institutional Review Board of the University at Albany in the United States sample. For other countries, there were no corresponding established procedures and local teachers acted in loco parentis allowing children to participate in the study.
Children in each country were informed about the nature and purpose of the study and guaranteed that their participation was voluntary, could be ended any time, and would not affect their grades.

All the surveys were consistently administered in the last week of the academic year in each country. Data collection occurred in 1998 and 1999 for the Taiwanese sample, 2001 and 2003 for the US sample, 2003 and 2004 for the Bulgarian sample, and 2004 and 2008 for the Turkish sample. Children completed the survey in their regular classrooms in the absence of their teachers and were provided oral clarifications and explanations if needed.

Data Analysis

Descriptive analyses were employed in response to the first research question about activity profiles of children from different countries. Types of activities, time spent in each activity, and choices of activities were summarized for each country. A Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) using time spent in each activity as dependent variables, followed by two-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) models were used to identify differences across countries and genders. For the second and fourth research questions regarding the relationships between adult-chosen activities, enjoyment, and anxiety, mean differences and correlational approaches were used. The correlation coefficient between average level of activity enjoyment and number of adult-chosen activity hours as well as mean levels of enjoyment in self- and adult-chosen activities were calculated. The amount of time children spent in adult-chosen activities and level of their general anxiety were analyzed with correlational techniques.
Three-way ANOVA models were used to identify potential patterns of relationships in response to the third and fifth research questions about the possible moderating role of country and gender in these relationships. Amount of time spent in adult-chosen activities, and country and gender as moderator variables (which were entered as the interaction terms between adult-choice and country and gender), were used to predict levels of activity enjoyment and anxiety as the two outcome variables. Following ANOVAs, correlation coefficients between adult-choice and enjoyment/anxiety in each country and gender groups were compared using Fisher’s r-to-z transformations.

Even though there are more advanced options for testing moderation effects such as Structural Equation Modeling, ANOVA was chosen for its effectiveness with designs where there is a theoretical rationale, large sample size, similar number of participants in the categorical variables, homogeneity of error variances, and reliable, sensitive, and normally distributed continuous predictor and outcome variables (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Frazier, Tix, & Barron, 2004). The absence of multicollinearity between predictor and outcome variables, as well as use of single measures of observable variables such as enjoyment and anxiety, instead of multiple measures for latent variables, made ANOVA an appropriate choice of analysis. Testing of interaction terms with multiple categorical predictor variables in ANOVA models also have advantages over multiple regression method such as robust F statistics and handling of non-additive effects (Allen, 1997).

The theoretical and methodological characteristics of the study were very feasible for the use of the proposed ANOVA analyses. Theory concerning the effect of culture on emotional experiences and socialization is well documented in the literature. The large
sample size, over 80 in any given subgroup, and low discrepancy between sample sizes of the groups, provided strong statistical power. In addition the RCMAS scores had high reliability estimates, and the other outcome measure, enjoyment score, had a .80 alpha reliability estimate. Both measures had a range of scores giving them increased measurement sensitivity. Normality and homogeneity were discussed in the proceeding sections.

Chapter IV: Results

Preliminary Analyses

Variables in the dataset were tested for missing data and normality. The percentage of missing data was below 7% in each of the 74 item-level variables. Based on the handling of missing data in previous studies (Nakamura, Ebesutani, Bernstein, & Chorpita, 2009; Smith, Perrin, Yule, Hacam, & Stuvland, 2002) and the distribution of missing items in this sample, cases with more than 14% missing data (5 items) in their activity survey or anxiety scale were dropped from further analyses. Of the 110 cases that were dropped, 33 were from Bulgaria, 38 from Taiwan, 34 from Turkey, and 5 from USA.

The remaining missing data in the activity survey were imputed with mode substitution for activity type and the choice for particular country and gender groups. Missing activity enjoyment items were replaced with the middle value of three in the 5-point Likert scale. For any of the three activity survey item groups (i.e., type, choice, and enjoyment), the percentage of imputed missing data was less than 2%. RCMAS total scale scores were adjusted for missing items by multiplying the sum of non-missing items
by the number of total scale items (28) divided by the number of total scale items minus the missing number of items. Across all 37 RCMAS items, the percentage of cases with missing data was less than 1%.

Normality of the main continuous outcome variables was tested by skewness and kurtosis scores. As presented in Table 2, distributions of some of the activity scores were positively skewed. Linear logarithmic transformations of those variables with skewness scores greater than two and kurtosis scores greater than five (reading, outings, sports, extracurricular) were used in significance tests (Wuensch, 2007). Most of the main activity outcomes, enjoyment, and anxiety scores were essentially normally distributed to some extent across the sample.

Table 2. Normality of Outcome Variables in the Dataset

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
<th>Skew</th>
<th>Kurtosis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total time spent in</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>watching TV</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1.26</td>
<td>3.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reading</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.15</td>
<td>6.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>play</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>academics</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>2.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>outing</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>7.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sports</td>
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<td>22.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>25.93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>routines</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0.32</td>
<td>0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adult-chosen activities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Variable</td>
<td>Min</td>
<td>Max</td>
<td>Skew</td>
<td>Kurtosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child-chosen activities</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-0.92</td>
<td>0.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCMAS adjusted total scale score</td>
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<td>0.27</td>
<td>-0.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average enjoyment in all activities</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>-1.06</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average enjoyment in child-chosen activities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-1.75</td>
<td>4.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average enjoyment in adult-chosen activities</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-0.93</td>
<td>0.37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Time spent is reported in hours. Enjoyment is measured on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 is “Not at all” and 5 is “Very much” enjoyment.*

**Activity Profiles: Type**

Research Question 1 concerns the weekend activity profiles of the children in the different countries. Children’s reported activities for the 12-hour weekend period were aggregated to identify hours they spent in each of the eight activity categories. Table 3 provides the mean ($M$) and standard deviation ($SD$) for the number of hours children from the four countries spent in different activities by gender. On average across the four countries, routines, play, watching TV, and academics were the four most common weekend activities, with 3.59, 3.52, 2.21, and 1.06 hours respectively. Four other activities (outings, reading, extracurricular activities, and sport), were the least reported activities, with each reported for less than an hour, 0.69 (41 min), 0.42 (25 min), 0.31 (19 min), and 0.20 (12 min) hours respectively.

There were similarities and differences in the activity profiles reported by the children in the different countries in the order of amount of time spent in the various activities. In all four countries, play, routines, and watching TV were the three most frequent activities. For Bulgarian, Taiwanese, and Turkish children, academics was the next most frequent activity, whereas for American children sport occupied that rank, and
academics was the least frequent activity. Bulgarian children reported spending most of their time in play, followed by routines, watching TV, academics, outings, reading, extracurricular activities, and sports in that order. For Taiwanese children’s activity profile, the order was routines, watching TV, play, academics, extracurricular activities, outings, reading, and sports. Turkish children spent most time in routines then play, watching TV, academics, outings, reading, extracurricular activities, and sports. American children spent most of their time in play, followed by routines, watching TV, sports, outings, reading, extracurricular activities, and academics.

Boys and girls across all countries shared similar weekend activity type profiles. For females, most of their time was spent in routines, followed by play, watching TV, academics, outings, reading, extracurricular activities, and sports. The order for boys was similar except that their most frequent activity was play, followed by routines, watching TV, academics, outings, reading, extracurricular activities, and sports.
<table>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Taiwan</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Turkey</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</thead>
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<td>M</td>
<td>T</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
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<td>0.32</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>M</td>
<td>0.20</td>
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<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.09</td>
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<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.17</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.61</td>
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<td>0.19</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.20</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.92</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.64</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. F = Female, M = Male, T = Total.
**Activity Profiles: Duration**

In order to analyze if activity durations in country and gender groups showed significant differences across all weekend activities, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) model was used. In the model, numbers of hours spent in each of the eight activity categories were used as the dependent variables. Linear logarithmic transformations were carried out for four variables (reading, outings, sports, and extracurricular activities). Country with four levels (i.e., Bulgaria, Taiwan, Turkey, and USA) and gender with two levels (i.e., male and female) were used as the two independent variables. Results of the model showed that the two factors and their interaction were statistically significant overall. The Wilk’s Lambda multivariate test revealed a significant effect of country \((F(24, 3,306) = 27.66, p < .001)\); gender \((F(8, 1,140) = 15.72, p < .001)\); and interaction of country and gender \((F(24, 3,306) = 2.41, p < .001)\).

Even though country, gender, and their interaction were significantly important in weekend activities, a closer look at individual activities provides more specific information. Tests of between-subjects effects tested the significance \((p < .05)\) of the two factors (i.e., country and gender) and their interaction in explaining the distribution of each of the eight dependent variables. Tests showed a significant effect of country in all of the eight activity categories. Gender was a significant factor for four of the eight activities, which were routines, play, reading, and extracurricular activities. The interaction term between country and gender was significant in three activities, routines, academics, and reading.
Eight univariate two-way analyses of variance (ANOVA) tests were used to further test the main effects of country and gender and their interaction on each of the eight activity categories. Country with four levels and gender with two levels were the two independent variables. Hours spent in each of the eight individual activity categories were the dependent variables. Scheffe post hoc multiple comparison tests were computed to test differences between country pairs. Table 4 lists the ANOVA test results for the eight activity outcomes.

Table 4. Two-Way ANOVA Test Results for Country and Gender Differences in Activity Duration

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Activity</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Country x Gender</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>(df = 3)</td>
<td>(df = 1)</td>
<td>(df = 3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MS</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>MS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Routines</td>
<td>11.09</td>
<td>3.76*</td>
<td>81.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>295.41</td>
<td>62.88***</td>
<td>369.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>28.76</td>
<td>11.53***</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academics</td>
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<td>70.85***</td>
<td>0.01</td>
</tr>
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<td>Outings</td>
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<td>18.09***</td>
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<td>Reading</td>
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<td>48.94***</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extracurricular</td>
<td>3.69</td>
<td>24.76***</td>
<td>2.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>20.76***</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
Time spent in routine activities was significantly affected by country, gender, and their interaction. Posthoc tests indicated that Turkish children spent significantly more time in routines than Bulgarian and Taiwanese children. The remaining three countries were not significantly different from each other. Females overall spent significantly more time in routines than males. The difference between males and females in time spent in routines was smaller in Turkey in comparison to other countries.

The ANOVA test showed that time spent in play was also significantly different among the four countries and two genders but not their interactions. As reported in Table 3, American children spent significantly more time in play than children in any of the other three countries. Bulgarian children spent significantly more time in play than Taiwanese and Turkish children, and Turkish children spent significantly more time in play than their Taiwanese counterparts. Boys in all countries spent more time in play than girls.

The ANOVA test for time spent watching TV revealed a significant effect of country. Posthoc tests showed that Taiwanese children spent significantly more time watching TV than the children in other three countries. Turkish children spent significantly less time watching TV than children in Bulgaria and Taiwan. There was not a significant difference between American and Bulgarian children in time spent watching TV. Neither gender nor the interaction term was significant.

In terms of time spent in academics, country and county-gender interaction were significant factors but not gender. Taiwanese children spent significantly more time in academics than the children of the other three countries. Bulgarian and Turkish children also spent significantly more time in academics than American children. Turkish children
also spent significantly more time in academics than their Bulgarian counterparts. Females reported spending more time in academics than did males in Bulgaria and Turkey but not in Taiwan.

Time spent in outings showed significant differences for country, but not for gender. Turkish children reported significantly more time in outings than the children of the other three countries, which were not significantly different from each other. The interaction term was also not significant.

The ANOVA test on reading for fun showed that all three factors, country, gender, and the interaction term were significantly important. As shown in Table 4, Turkish children reported spending significantly more time in reading than children of the other three countries. Even though they were not significantly different than each other, American and Bulgarian children spent significantly more time in reading than Taiwanese children. Girls spent significantly more time in reading than boys in all countries. The gender difference in reading was stronger in Turkey.

Country and gender factors but not their interactions were significantly important for time spent in extracurricular activities. Taiwanese children spent more time in extracurricular activities than children in the other three countries, which were not significantly different from each other. Girls reported spending more time in extracurricular activities than boys in all countries.

For time spent in sports, country, but not gender nor their interaction, was a significant factor. American children reported spending significantly more time in sports than children of the other three countries. Turkish children also spent more time in sports than their Taiwanese counterparts.
In summary, the factors of country, gender and their interaction were significantly important in the amount of time children spent in different weekend activities. MANOVA results showed that country, gender, and their interaction significantly impacted the amount of time children spent in weekend activities, whereas individual ANOVAs pointed out that country was a significant factor for time spent in all of the eight weekend activity categories, gender in four of the activities, and the interaction term in three of the activities. There was not a significant gender difference for time spent in watching TV, academics, sports, and outings. The country and gender interaction was not significantly important for time spent in play, TV, outings, extracurricular activities, and sports, which meant that the direction of difference between genders was the same across the four countries.

Activity Profiles: Choice

In addition to time spent in different activities, the extent to which the children chose their own activities was also investigated as part of the activity profiles. Across the four countries and out of the twelve-hour weekend time period, children reported that an average of 8.82 hours ($SD = 2.81$) of their available time was decided by themselves, 3.02 hours ($SD = 2.74$) by their parents, and 0.16 hours ($SD = 0.67$) or 9.6 minutes by other adults. For analysis purposes, parents and other adults in activity choice were combined into one group as “adults.” As the same 12 hours were sampled in each country, hours chosen by adults and by children were complementary and always totaled 12.
As shown in Figure 2, across all four countries children reported spending significantly more weekend hours in self-chosen activities ($M = 8.82, SD = 2.81$) than in adult-chosen activities ($M = 3.18, SD = 2.81$), $t(1,154) = 34.07, p < .001$.

Figure 2. Average time in hours spent in child- and adult-chosen activities by country and gender

One two-way univariate ANOVA tested the effects of country and gender on time spent in adult-chosen weekend activities. This was a four-by-two design, in which country with four levels and gender with two levels were the two independent variables and the hours children spent in adult-chosen activities was the dependent variable. A separate ANOVA of the complementary child-chosen hours was not necessary as it would yield the same findings.
Results of the ANOVA showed that the effects of country ($F(3, 1,147) = 27.78, p < .001$) and gender ($F(1, 1,147) = 4.08, p < .05$) were significantly important in time spent in adult-chosen activities. Country-gender interaction ($F(3, 1,147) = 2.41, p > .05$) was not a significant factor in time spent in adult-chosen activities. Posthoc multiple comparison tests showed that Taiwanese children spent significantly more hours in adult-chosen activities than children of the other three countries. On the other hand, Bulgarian children had significantly fewer hours spent in adult-chosen activities than children of other three countries. There was no significant difference between American and Turkish children in their adult-chosen activity time. Females overall had more time spent in adult-chosen activities.

Activity choices were investigated for each of the eight activities. As Figure 3 shows below, children reported predominant self-choice in almost all of the activity categories except outings (72.9%) and extracurricular activities (54.8%). Routines (40.4%), sports (36.8%), and academics (34.9%) were also activities with high levels of adult-choice, whereas reading, TV and play were largely undertaken by self choice.
Time spent in self- and adult-chosen activities in each of the eight activity categories was further explored for country and gender effects. Country and gender differences in time spent in self- and adult-chosen eight activity categories were tested with two MANOVA models, one for self-chosen and one for adult-chosen activities. In the two models, overall tests showed that the two factors and their interaction were statistically significant overall. The Wilk’s Lambda multivariate test revealed a significant effect of country ($F(24, 3,306) = 22.23$, $p < .001$), gender ($F(8, 1,140) = 13.27$, $p < .001$), and the interaction of country and gender ($F(24, 3,306) = 1.92$, $p < .001$) for self-chosen activities. For adult-chosen activities, country ($F(24, 3,306) = 15.01$, $p < .001$), gender ($F(8, 1,140) = 3.76$, $p < .001$), and the interaction of country and gender ($F(24, 3,306) = 2.54$, $p < .001$) were all significant.
As presented in Table 5, individual two-way ANOVAs for time spent in self- and adult-chosen activities for each of the eight activity categories, showed that country was a significant factor for almost all the activities except in adult-chosen play and sports. Gender was a significant factor for self-chosen reading, play, routines, and extracurricular activities, as well as adult-chosen routines and extracurricular activities. The interaction term between country and gender was statistically significant for self-chosen reading and sports as well as adult-chosen academics, outings, sports, extracurricular activities, and routines.

Table 5. Two-Way ANOVA Test Results for Country and Gender Differences in Self- and Adult-Chosen Activity Duration

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Country (df = 3)</th>
<th>Gender (df = 1)</th>
<th>Country x Gender (df = 3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MS F</td>
<td>MS F</td>
<td>MS F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-chosen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV</td>
<td>23.08 9.06***</td>
<td>1.623 0.637</td>
<td>2.522 0.990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>15.83 37.30***</td>
<td>13.425 31.636***</td>
<td>2.155 5.079***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>275.46 59.17***</td>
<td>334.207 71.791***</td>
<td>7.221 1.551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Academics</td>
<td>42.27 41.66***</td>
<td>2.072 2.042</td>
<td>0.779 0.768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outings</td>
<td>3.19 8.96***</td>
<td>0.604 1.695</td>
<td>0.317 0.890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>4.53 20.20***</td>
<td>0.676 3.012</td>
<td>0.693 3.090*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extracurricular</td>
<td>1.72 4.77**</td>
<td>1.844 5.111*</td>
<td>0.611 1.694</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Activity Choice and Enjoyment

The second and third research questions concerned children's enjoyment of their weekend activities. Children’s self-reported activity enjoyment of each of their weekend activities ranged from one to five, “not at all” to “very much” enjoyable, respectively. Across the four countries the average level of enjoyment for all activities was very high with low variation ($M = 4.42$ out of 5.00, $SD = 0.54$).

In response to the second research question, weekend activity enjoyment was explored to understand the role of activity choice in children’s different levels of enjoyment. There was a significant positive correlation between children’s average level...
of enjoyment across 12 available weekend hours and their number of hours doing self-chosen activities ($r = .233, p < .001$). It should be recalled that the twelve available weekend hours were categorized as either child chosen or adult chosen.

Children’s self-reported enjoyment levels were further differentiated between self- and adult-chosen activities. Average levels of enjoyment for child- and adult-chosen activities per child were calculated separately. A paired-samples t-test showed that average level of enjoyment for activities chosen by children ($M = 4.50, SD = 0.55$) was significantly higher than for the adult-chosen activities ($M = 3.91, SD = 1.03, t(906) = 17.02, p < .001$).

As a result of these analyses, it was seen that children’s activity enjoyment was closely related to their activity choice. In general, more hours of self-chosen weekend activity were associated with higher levels of activity enjoyment. Specifically, children’s average enjoyment of self-chosen activities was higher than their average enjoyment of adult-chosen activities. There was more variance in the average activity enjoyment for adult-chosen activities, suggesting the importance of other factors like country and gender.

The third research question addresses country and gender differences in the relationship between activity choice and enjoyment. Figure 4 offers a visual examination of the different degrees of relationships between average activity enjoyment and adult-choice in different country and gender groups. Even though in all country and gender groups, enjoyment and adult-choice are positively related, the slope of the best-fitting lines is steeper in certain groups than in others.
In order to test the moderation effect of country and gender on the relationship between adult-choice and activity enjoyment, a three-way ANOVA model was used. The continuous variable of time spent in adult-chosen activities was transformed into a categorical variable by dividing the distribution into three percentile ranges as low (lower than the 34th percentile), medium (between the 34th and the 66th percentile) or high (the 66th percentile or higher) amounts of adult choice. In the 3x4x2 ANOVA model, independent variables were adult-choice with three levels, country with four, and gender with two levels. The average activity enjoyment was the dependent variable. Possible moderating roles of country and gender were examined by their interaction with the adult-choice variable on children's enjoyment. A descriptive look at the variables included in the model is presented in Table 6. As seen in the table, the average level of

Figure 4. Scatterplot distributions of activity enjoyment and adult-choice by country and gender
activity enjoyment, ranging from 4.15 to 4.80, does not vary to a great extent between genders and among the four countries.

Table 6. Sample Size, Mean, and Standard Deviations for Average Activity Enjoyment by Three Levels of Adult-Choice, Country, and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Level of Adult-Choice in Activities</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BU-F</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BU-M</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>4.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BU-T</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW-F</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW-M</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>4.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW-T</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>4.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR-F</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>4.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR-M</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>4.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR-T</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>4.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-T</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-F</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-M</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>4.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-T</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>4.62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. BU = Bulgaria, TW = Taiwan, TR = Turkey, US = United States, F = Female, M = Male, T = Total.
Results from the ANOVA model showed that there was not a moderator effect of country or gender. As shown in Table 7, even though adult-choice and country, but not gender, had significant main effect on enjoyment, none of the two-way or three-way interactions was statistically significant. Levene’s test of equality of error variances indicated a significant difference across the groups ($F(7, 1,147) = 7.59, p < .001$). Alternative tests of moderation (Aguinis, Petersen, & Pierce, 1999) also indicated that there was no evidence of differential slopes ($U = 7.8075, A = 7.7054, p > .05$).

Table 7. Three-Way ANOVA Test Results for Adult-Choice, Country, and Gender on Average Activity Enjoyment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice</td>
<td>7.37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>28.34***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.69***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice x country</td>
<td>0.53</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice x gender</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country x gender</td>
<td>0.37</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice x country x gender</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Pearson product moment correlations between average enjoyment scores and time spent in adult-chosen activities were calculated for each country and gender group to measure the relationship’s direction and strength. As Table 8 shows, the correlation coefficients and significance levels, in most groups, were small to moderate and
statistically significant. All country and gender groups had negative relationships, and all except Turkish boys had a statistically significant correlation between their number of hours of adult-chosen weekend activity and average activity enjoyment.

Table 8. Correlation Coefficients Between Average Activity Enjoyment and Time Spent in Adult-Chosen Activities by Country and Gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>-.248**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>-.309***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>-.290***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>-.191*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>-.222**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>-.207***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>-.201**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>-.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>-.131**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>-.242**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>-.326**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>-.278***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>-.227***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>-.239***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1155</td>
<td>-.233***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05. **p < .01. ***p < .001.
The coefficients for the correlations between enjoyment and adult-choice in each country and gender group were compared to each other with Fisher’s r-to-z transformations based on the formula presented in Equation 1.

\[
Z = \frac{\ln(1 + r_1) - \ln(1 - r_1) - \ln(1 + r_2) - \ln(1 - r_2)}{\sqrt{\frac{1}{n_1 - 3} + \frac{1}{n_2 - 3}}} \tag{1}
\]

Out of 105 possible comparisons of the 15 coefficients in Table 8, eight of the coefficients compared were significantly different at the .05 level, and all involved Turkish children. Table 9 lists the comparison z-values between compared correlation coefficients. The low correlation coefficients in Turkish male and total groups were found to be significantly different from some of the other groups indicated in Table 9. There was no relationship between enjoyment and adult-choice for Turkish children, especially boys, a situation which was significantly different from that of some of the other groups.
### Table 9. Comparison z-Values for the Correlation Coefficients Between Compared Country and Gender Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>14</th>
<th>15</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. BU-F</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. BU-M</td>
<td>-0.55</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. BU-T</td>
<td>-0.43</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. TW-F</td>
<td>0.47</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td>0.95</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. TW-M</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. TW-T</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>-0.15</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. TR-F</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>1.07</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>0.20</td>
<td>0.07</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. TR-M</td>
<td>1.83</td>
<td>2.44*</td>
<td>2.68**</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.57</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>1.59</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. TR-T</td>
<td>1.23</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.16*</td>
<td>0.59</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.88</td>
<td>-0.96</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. US-F</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>0.56</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>-0.37</td>
<td>-1.66</td>
<td>-1.07</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. US-M</td>
<td>-0.60</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
<td>-0.99</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
<td>-0.98</td>
<td>-1.02</td>
<td>-2.16*</td>
<td>-1.67</td>
<td>-0.61</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. US-T</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
<td>-0.53</td>
<td>-0.78</td>
<td>-0.83</td>
<td>-2.33*</td>
<td>-1.76</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. All-F</td>
<td>0.23</td>
<td>0.94</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>-0.37</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>-0.35</td>
<td>-2.22*</td>
<td>-1.57</td>
<td>0.15</td>
<td>0.89</td>
<td>0.65</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. All-M</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>0.80</td>
<td>0.74</td>
<td>-0.49</td>
<td>-0.18</td>
<td>-0.44</td>
<td>-0.51</td>
<td>-2.36*</td>
<td>-1.74</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>0.50</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>0.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>15. All-T</td>
<td>0.18</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>0.91</td>
<td>-0.45</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
<td>-0.46</td>
<td>-2.45*</td>
<td>-1.87</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.86</td>
<td>0.61</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. BU = Bulgaria, TW = Taiwan, TR = Turkey, US = United States, F = Female, M = Male, T = Total.*

* p < .05. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.
In summary, adult-choice and country had significant direct effects on weekend activity enjoyment levels. Higher amounts of adult-chosen weekend activities were related to lower levels of activity enjoyment in all countries. The relationship was stronger in Bulgaria, Taiwan, and the USA than in Turkey. Country and gender did not have a statistically significant moderating effect on the relationship between activity-choice and enjoyment.

Activity Choice and Anxiety

The fourth and fifth research questions addressed the relationship between choice concerning weekend activity and anxiety. The average anxiety score in RCMAS adjusted total scales of the children across all countries was at a medium level with high variation ($M = 11.13$ out of maximum 28.00, $SD = 6.03$).

In response to the fourth research question, a correlation was computed between the number of hours spent in adult-chosen activities and RCMAS adjusted total anxiety score. The Pearson product moment correlation coefficient between the two variables showed that there was a small but significant positive relationship ($r = .148$, $p < .001$). Higher number of hours in adult-chosen weekend activities was associated with higher general anxiety scores.

The fifth research question looks at the role of country and gender factors in the relationship between activity choice and anxiety. Visual description of the different degrees of relationship between anxiety and adult-choice in different country and gender groups is presented in Figure 5. As seen in the figure, even though in all country and gender groups anxiety and adult-choice were positively related, the slope of the best-fitting lines was steeper in certain groups than others.
Figure 5. Scatterplot distributions of anxiety and adult-choice by country and gender

In order to test the moderation effect raised in the fifth research question, a three-way ANOVA model was used. RCMAS adjusted total anxiety score was the dependent variable in the model. The continuous variable of time spent in adult-chosen activities was transformed into a categorical variable by dividing the distribution into three percentile ranges as low (lower than the 34th percentile), medium (between the 34th and the 66th percentile) or high (the 66th percentile or higher) amounts of adult choice. The independent predictor variables were the grouped adult-choice with three levels, country with four, and gender with two levels. Moderator effects were tested in the model with interaction terms between the three independent variables. Descriptive statistics of the variables in the model are presented in Table 10.
Table 10. *Sample Size, Mean, and Standard Deviations for RCMAS Anxiety Scores by Three Levels of Adult-Choice, Country, and Gender*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Level of Adult-Choice in Activities</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BU-F</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>10.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BU-M</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>8.48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BU-T</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>9.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW-F</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>11.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW-M</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TW-T</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>11.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR-F</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>12.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR-M</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>9.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR-T</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>11.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-F</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>7.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-M</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US-T</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>6.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-F</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>11.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-M</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>9.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All-T</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>10.14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note.* BU = Bulgaria, TW = Taiwan, TR = Turkey, US = United States, F = Female, M = Male, T = Total.

The results from the ANOVA model showed that none of the two-way or three-way interactions were statistically significant in predicting the anxiety score. As shown in Table 11, main effects of adult-choice, country, and gender were statistically significant.
on RCMAS. Levene’s test of equality of error variances indicated no significant
difference across the groups ($F(7, 1,147) = 0.55, p > .05$).

Table 11. *Three-Way ANOVA Test Results for Adult-Choice, Country, and Gender on General Anxiety*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice</td>
<td>315.85</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.42***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>581.29</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17.34***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>387.37</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11.56***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice x country</td>
<td>48.18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice x gender</td>
<td>13.12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country x gender</td>
<td>86.07</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult-choice x country x gender</td>
<td>22.86</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Pearson product moment correlations between RCMAS total anxiety scores and
time spent in adult-chosen activities were calculated over all participants and for each
country and gender to measure the relationship’s direction and strength. As Table 12
shows, overall there was a small but significant correlation. For most groups considered
separately, the correlation coefficients were small and not statistically significant.
Bulgarian males and Bulgarians overall, and Turkish males and Turkish respondents
overall, had significant positive correlation coefficients between anxiety scores and time
spent in adult-chosen activities.
**Table 12. Correlation Coefficients Between RCMAS Adjusted Total Anxiety Scores and Time Spent in Adult-Chosen Activities by Country and Gender**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bulgaria</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>.092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>.169*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>.151*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiwan</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>.108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>202</td>
<td>.168*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>.127**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>.185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>.135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>598</td>
<td>.102*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>.190***</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1155</td>
<td>.148***</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001.

The coefficients showing correlation between RCMAS scores and adult-choice in each country and gender group were compared to each other with Fisher’s r-to-z transformations. Out of 105 possible comparisons of the 15 coefficients in Table 12, none
of the coefficients compared was significantly different. The relationship between anxiety and adult-choice was similar across all the country and gender groups in the study.

In summary, there were considerable differences among country and gender groups in anxiety scores. There was a slight positive relationship between children’s general anxiety levels and the amount of time they spent in adult-chosen activities. A greater time spent in adult-chosen activities in children’s weekend time was associated with higher anxiety scores, and this relationship did not vary according to country. Country membership was a direct predictor of children's anxiety scores and did not interact with adult choice.

Chapter V: Discussion

This descriptive and correlational study was designed to investigate children’s time use in weekends across cultures, autonomy in activity choices, and emotional outcomes associated with activity choice. Weekend time was especially informative in the study of cross-cultural patterns because of its discretionary nature in that children are less restricted by school work. Fourth-grade students from Bulgaria, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States participated in the study.

Overall, children in this study were found to spend most of their weekend time in unstructured self-chosen activities such as watching TV, play, and routines like eating and sleeping. Children’s self-reported enjoyment levels were higher regarding self-chosen activities than the adult-chosen activities across four countries with some notable group differences. There was a slight positive relationship between the time children spent in adult-chosen activities and their general manifest anxiety.
The findings of the study suggest that the weekend is an important context of development for children in different cultures. The four cultures studied revealed differences in socially available and acceptable types of weekend activities as demonstrated by variations in the time spent in different activities as well as the extent of parental involvement in children’s activity decisions. Even though children in all four countries enjoyed activities they chose more than the activities their parents chose, this relationship was more apparent in some cultures than others. A higher level of parental involvement in activity decisions was associated with higher levels of anxiety.

Results of this study demonstrate that the weekend period is an important out-of-school context that children in different cultures utilize in different activities that contribute to their personal and social developmental outcomes. Bronfenbrenner’s (1979) ecological systems theory provides valuable conceptual tools for the understanding of cultural patterns in children’s use of their weekend time, parental involvement, and associated emotional experiences. Children’s roles in their families and relationships with their parents in the microsystem determine the type and duration of weekend activities that are available and valued by their respective cultures in the macrosystem. A set of shared experiences and expectations of children and their parents within the same cultural environment encourages similar activity outcomes (i.e., type, duration, and choice) and emotional correlates (i.e., enjoyment and anxiety) for the members of a particular country.
**Activity Type, Duration, and Choice**

Activity profiles of the children in the four countries in the study showed that there were important differences between country and gender groups in the type, duration, and choice of weekend activities. There were some noteworthy similarities also.

Types of activities as demonstrated in the rankings of most reported activities in a country showed similarities and differences across cultures. Routines, play, and watching TV were the types of activities most frequently reported in all four countries, although in different orders. These three activities on average constituted 9.32 hours of the 12-hour surveyed time period (77.7%). Thus, more than three quarters of the children’s typical weekend time across four countries was spent in unstructured leisure activities of routines, play, and watching TV. The uniformity of the top three activities suggests that the four cultures perceive weekends in a somewhat parallel fashion as providing time for children to spend time in more restful activities. Finding the same set of three activities in different orders in the four countries points to the degree to which all cultures make certain activities available and acceptable for developing children.

In addition to the types of activities, differences in activity profiles were also evident in activity durations reported by boys and girls from the four countries. Analyses showed that children’s time spent in weekend activities was influenced by their particular country and gender memberships. Country membership was a significant factor in all of the eight activity categories. Gender was a significant factor for half of the activities except for watching TV, academics, outings, and sports. Country membership, and its associated culture, appears to be a more important source of variation between children in their weekend time use than their gender group. The elemental role of culture in
children’s personal and social development was reflected in weekend time usage. The consideration of children’s weekend time use in all of the eight activity categories provides valuable insight on the mechanisms of influence of culture and gender.

Routines were the most frequently reported activity in all countries, yet the amount of time spent in routines varied between countries and genders. Literature on children’s activities points to cultural variation in time spent in eating (Larson & Verma, 1999). Turkish children spent more time in routines (which include meals) than Bulgarian and Taiwanese children, which were not different from each other. This may reflect the function of family meals in the Turkish culture as a means for the transition of cultural values and opportunity for quality parent-child interaction. For example, a comparative study on fourth graders has found that Turkish children had more time for breakfast than their German counterparts (Unusan, Sanlier, & Danisik, 2006).

The two gender groups across four countries showed similarity in the order of the reported activity types except that the top two activities were reversed in order. For females, the two top ranked activities were routines and play, whereas for males they were play before routines. The finding that girls spent more weekend time in routine personal maintenance activities than boys is consistent with gender differences reported in most other studies (see Larson & Verma, 1999, for a review). Females were found to spend more time in routines than boys in all countries.

As the second most popular weekend activity, children’s time spent in play showed great variation between countries and genders. American children spent the most time in play compared to children from Bulgaria, Turkey, and Taiwan. This is consistent with literature that shows that children in Western postindustrial countries spend more
time in play than their Eastern counterparts, reflecting the belief that play is children's work (Larson & Verma, 1999; Ritchie, Lloyd, & Grant, 2004). The comparative emphasis on academics and extracurricular activities in Taiwanese and Turkish cultures may very well leave less time for children to play. Boys in all countries spent more time in play than girls. Other studies also show that girls may spend less time in play due to their involvement in traditional household chores (Larson & Verma, 1999).

Watching TV was the third most prevalent activity overall and showed differences only between countries but not gender groups. Taiwanese children led other children in the amount of time they spent watching TV whereas Turkish children spent the least. This is an interesting finding given that most other studies (e.g., Larson, 2001) report that American and Bulgarian children spend more time in watching TV than children in other countries, but also corroborating evidence for Turkish children’s lesser time in TV viewing (AIR Lighthouse, 2009). Findings for Turkish children’s less time with TV may indicate a preference towards other activities over TV by children or greater parental control.

Time spent in academics was the fourth most frequently reported weekend activity overall, and for all countries but the United States. Country and country-gender interaction were important factors in the variation of children’s time in academics. Children from the United States provided discrepant findings in that academics was the least frequently reported of the eight weekend activities for them. Taiwanese children led children from other countries in academics followed by children from Turkey, Bulgaria, and the US. Other studies (e.g., Larson, 2001) have found that children from Eastern countries spent more time in academics even during weekends. In the present study of
weekend time, boys spent more weekend time academics than girls in Taiwan. This finding is different from those many other studies on postindustrial societies where girls have been found to spend more time in academics than boys (Larson & Verma, 1999). It may be that time usage for academics is different in weekends for Taiwanese boys.

Outings, as the fifth most prevalent weekend activity, presented an interesting pattern related to country. Turkish children led children from the other three countries in time spent in outings. Socialization of Turkish children by outings with adults might be a more common practice due to the hierarchical and interdependent nature of child-rearing Turkish culture, where there is a stronger control by parents and older siblings (Kağıtçibaş & Sunar, 1992).

The sixth most common weekend activity of children was reading for fun. Country, gender, and their interaction were significant factors in children’s time spent in reading. Turkish children reported spending most time in reading in comparison to children from the other three countries, and Taiwan the least. Consistent with the literature (Mullis, Martin, Kennedy, & Foy, 2007), Taiwanese children may be spending less time in leisure reading because of their allocation of more time to academics. Girls in all countries spent more weekend time in reading than the boys. Previous studies also reported female dominance in reading (Gibbons & Stiles, 2004).

Extracurricular activities as the seventh most reported weekend activity by all children showed variation by country and gender. Extracurricular activities were ranked more highly by Taiwanese children than by children in the other countries, being ranked after academics. This is in contrast with findings in the literature (Larson, 2001), and may be due to focus in the present study on weekend time usage, the definition of
extracurricular activities in different studies, or the recent changes in cultural trends due to economic and social development in Taiwan. Girls in all countries spent more weekend time in extracurricular activities than did boys.

Country, but not gender nor their interaction, was an important factor on the variation of time spent in sports. For Bulgarian, Turkish, and Taiwanese children, sports was the least reported activity. In contrast, for the American children, sports was the fourth most reported activity, taking the rank occupied by academics in the other three countries. This is consistent with the literature (Larson, 2001) in which American children have been found to spend significantly more time in sports than children in other countries. Taiwanese children spent the least amount of time in sports. The gender pattern was the similar across all four countries, in that boys spent more time in sports than the girls as reported frequently in the literature (Larson & Verma, 1999).

The varied pattern of weekend activities in the different countries makes it difficult to fit the findings into simple categories or dichotomies such as Eastern versus Western or collectivist versus individualistic. The ecological system of human development provides a complex set of variables, such as the processes and procedures of respective educational systems, parental aspirations for child development, and socially desired outcomes that, over time, contributes to specific activity involvement in individual cultures.

Differences between countries in time spent in various activities point to the importance of culture on child-rearing practices and socialization patterns. For example, American children reported spending more time than children of the other three countries in play and sports. On the other hand, children in Taiwan spent more time in academics,
extracurricular activities, and TV viewing than other countries. Turkish children were found to spend more time than others in outings, reading, and routines. Children from Bulgaria, Taiwan, and Turkey were found to spend more weekend time in schoolwork and academics than children in the United States. Differences in children’s weekend activity schedules offer insights about the way cultures conceptualize and structure the weekend time for their developing children. Weekends in some cultures may be perceived as not just a leisure time of relaxation but also an extended time period for studying and skill-building. Parents and culture in general may value and encourage children’s participation in certain activities that are deemed appropriate for their children over other activities that are not perceived as useful or necessary.

Gender differences within and between countries also reveal the importance of studying culture-specific patterns of gender socialization processes. The direction of gender differences did not always coincide among the four countries suggesting that the cultures may offer distinct gender socialization opportunities in children’s weekend activity schedules. The interesting patterns of activity durations among cultures and genders across eight activity categories in this study call for more comparative time use studies.

In addition to activity type and duration, activity choice was part of the activity profiles of children in this study. The choice component was comprised of children’s responses to who chose their particular activity for each of the twelve available weekend hours—self or adult. Cultural differences in children’s self-reported activity choices were investigated in order to understand better different socialization and parenting practices espoused by the four countries under examination. Children’s responses revealed that
across all countries children predominantly chose their own weekend activities. On average, 75 percent of the time children engaged in activities that they chose.

In terms of group differences in children’s activity choices, country and gender emerged to be important factors. Bulgarian children had the lowest amount of time spent in adult-chosen weekend activities whereas Taiwanese children had the highest amount. It is not surprising that Taiwan, like other Asian cultures, would have higher levels of parental control and authority than other cultures (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). The finding that Bulgarian children had the lowest level of adult-chosen weekend activities might be due in part to changing parenting models in the post-socialist era providing greater autonomy to children (Dimova, 2010).

Gender had a main effect on the amount of adult-choice, but its interaction with country did not have a significant effect. Girls overall had a higher amount of time spent in adult-chosen activities. Boys from Turkey reported higher levels of adult-chosen activities in their weekend schedules, different to boys in Bulgaria, Taiwan, and the USA, where girls reported higher levels of adult-chosen weekend activities. The different gender pattern in Turkey provides insight into gender socialization values in Turkish parenting and child-rearing practices.

The individualism-collectivism cultural dimension proved of limited use in the explanation of country differences in weekend activity choices. Collectivistic cultures would be expected to have higher levels of adult-chosen activities than in the individualistic cultures, because of the major role of group values and the importance of transmitting societal values and customs. As predicted by the dimension (Hofstede, 2001), the United States (the country identified as the most individualistic country) had
less time spent in adult-chosen activities than Taiwan (the country identified as one of the most collectivistic countries). Nevertheless, Bulgaria and Turkey are two closely ranked collectivistic countries, yet they did not show similarities with each other or with Taiwan. These findings reiterate the need for more research on less studied cultures and provide a critical look at the widely used cultural dimension in the explanation of parental control mechanisms across cultures. There appear to be other factors involved in the relationship between parental control and the individualism-collectivism cultural dimension.

Extracurricular activities and outings were the only two categories chosen by adults more often than the children in this study. Consistent with research on leisure and organized activities (e.g., Mahoney, Harris, & Eccles, 2006), unstructured activities such as play, TV viewing, and reading were the activities with the highest levels of self-choice by children. Even though the remaining activity categories of academics, sports, and routines were predominantly self-chosen, the quite high proportion of adult choice for these activities indicates that parents might be influential in these skill-building and personal care activities. Country was more influential than gender in who chose the children's weekend activities. In summary, findings suggest that activity choice and adult’s control of children’s different activities show great variations across cultures.

*Adult-Choice, Enjoyment, and Anxiety*

The degree of adult involvement in children’s weekend activity choices is not only an indicator of cross-cultural child rearing patterns but also provides evidence concerning the claims of the negative effects of overscheduling in the context of four different cultures. These claims by writers such as Elkind (1981/2001) and Seigel (1987) warn that there are risks to children's emotional wellbeing when they are subject to too
much scheduling and structure by adults. The current study provides data about the relationship between adult-choice of children's activities and the children's enjoyment and general anxiety.

As an important emotional outcome, activity enjoyment influences the extent to which children benefit from positive outcomes associated with activity participation and self-determination (Ryan & Deci, 2000). The responses of the children in all four countries showed that they experienced enjoyable weekend activities. The level of enjoyment was associated with activity-choice, in that when more time was spent in self-chosen activities there was a higher reported enjoyment level. Children’s enjoyment of self-chosen activities was higher than their enjoyment of adult-chosen activities. Thus to a certain extent, the findings support the claims of adherents of the overscheduling hypothesis that free play and less adult control foster optimal emotional outcomes. Also, as predicted by self-determination theory, children’s perceived autonomy in their weekend activity decisions was found to be correlated with higher levels of activity enjoyment. Personal control over activity is an important component of the psychological experience of self-determination, in which children feel joy and reward for activities they choose.

Although self-choice of activity was related to activity enjoyment overall, there were country and gender differences evident in this relationship. The relationship was strongest for Bulgarian children, followed by American, Taiwanese, and Turkish children. Even though there was not a statistically significant moderation effect of country, comparisons of correlations in individual country and gender groups shown some differences. Thus it can be seen that culture played a role not only in parent’s
control of their children’s weekend activities but also in the extent that this control influenced children’s activity enjoyment.

It was found that Turkish children’s weekend activity enjoyment was not related to the amount of time they spent in self-chosen activities as much as was the case in other countries. The relatively less negative reaction of Turkish children, especially boys, to adult-chosen activities may point to unique qualities of parenting and socialization practices of Turkish parents. Turkish parenting strategies are described as authoritarian as well as caring, a combination which is not easily categorized within major parenting styles. As Gülerce (2008) puts it, “parental control and discipline are so intertwined with parental love and acceptance that Western resolution of the dependency vs. autonomy conflict is not easily mastered by a typical Turk.” (p. 246).

Anxiety scores of the children in this study showed a large cross-cultural variation around a medium average. Overall, higher levels of adult-choice in children’s weekend activities were associated with higher general anxiety scores. To this extent, the overscheduling hypothesis about children’s negative experiences with excessive parental involvement in their activity schedules found partial support. However, this relationship did not appear to a significant extent in all country groups, perhaps because of reduced sample size and reduced variance.

There was a large variation in anxiety scores, attributable for the most part to the direct effects of country and gender. However, adult-choice did not interact with country or gender factors. In other words, in all of the country and gender groups, there was a small positive relationship between anxiety and adult-choice. The overscheduling hypothesis seems to predict the direction of the relationship between anxiety and adult-
choice across cultures but the strength of the relationship does not have much power to explain the variation in individual country and gender groups.

Bulgarian and Turkish children’s anxiety was related to adult-choice more than was the case for the American and Taiwanese children. The relationship was particularly strong for Bulgarian and Turkish boys. These different gender patterns are interesting and draw attention to the need for a greater understanding of cultural values around gender socialization and parenting practices in these less studied countries. The weaker relationship between adult-choice and anxiety in American children offers support for opponents of the overscheduling hypothesis, which originated in the American literature (Elkind, 1981/2001). The Taiwanese children reported the least relationship between adult-choice and anxiety, yet one would have expected to find that children from this Asian country would be more anxious when their activities were more controlled by adults, given that research has shown (Kağıtçıbaşçı, 2007) that parenting styles in Asia are more authoritarian and demanding. Apparently such adult involvement has not made the Taiwanese children in the present study feel anxious. One possibility is that in collectivist cultures children are experienced and comfortable with conformity to adult values and demands, because adult-choice is normative and accepted. This finding calls for more culturally sensitive assessment of psychological and social constructs (Arnett, 2009), including the overscheduling hypothesis.

The intertwining of adult-choice, enjoyment, and anxiety seems to have a complex relationship with culture, given the importance of country membership as a significant source of variation in most of the analyses. Even though Turkish children, in this study, reported higher levels of enjoyment in adult-chosen activities than children in
the other countries, they also reported more anxiety when they experienced greater adult choice. By contrast, in the American sample, children reported lower levels of enjoyment in adult-chosen activities but their anxiety was not significantly related to adult-choice. Thus the relationship between activity choice, enjoyment, and anxiety appears to be interacting with culturally modified emotional experiences and socialization practices.

Cross-cultural studies show that the ways children from most Eastern cultures experience autonomy and choice are quite different from the experience of children from Western cultures. For example, in one study (Bao & Lam, 2008), Chinese children were reported to be highly motivated for adult-chosen activities when they were socio-emotionally connected to those adults. In another study (Iyengar & Lepper, 1999), Asian American children tended to perform better when working on anagram puzzles chosen by their parents, in contrast to Anglo American children who performed better when they chose their own problems. In light of these findings, Kağıtçıbaşi (2005) offers an autonomy-related model of self and the family in order to provide a more cross-culturally responsive conceptualization of the autonomy-dependence continuum. According to this model, an individual can be both autonomous and related within a family as expressed in Asian parents granting a sense of autonomy to children within their authoritarian parenting style.

In summary, even though children around the world engage in similar activities and experience parallel emotions, the extent to which they participate in these activities and experience these emotions shows differences across the cultures. Cultures scaffold the developmental opportunities of their children by providing different sets of weekend activities and molding their emotional experiences connected to activity participation and
choice. The types of activities that cultures value and allow, and patterns of emotional experiences that result, offer important clues about the psychological and social mechanisms that influence child development patterns and parenting practices in different cultural contexts.

Limitations

The descriptive and correlational research design employed in the study does not allow any causal claims. Relationships between the variables are not controlled for external factors that might have an impact on the variables under study. For example, an individual’s intrinsic motivation, skill level and competence, and challenge created by the activity have been found to influence activity participation and experience (e.g., Csikszentmihályi, 1990). A great number of individual and group level factors such as child temperament and residential neighborhood can make a difference in children’s activity choices, participation, and enjoyment.

Even though consistent procedures in terms of the timing of the survey and the selection of schools were employed, there was not random sampling of nationally representative groups of children in each country. In addition to convenience sampling of children from the four countries, comparison countries were chosen based on the availability of the data. In order to make stronger generalizations about children of a particular country or culture, a more systematic sampling of the study population would be needed.

A researcher-developed activity survey has limitations due to its inherent qualities as an experience sampling technique. The modified experience sampling method used in the current activity survey is a form of “stylized” recall questionnaires (Juster & Stafford,
which makes use of questions about the time devoted to various activities in a typical week, and the task of remembering and reporting a typical Saturday might have introduced a chance of systematic and random bias in children’s answers. The self-report nature of the data collection might have introduced social desirability bias in children’s responses. Over and underrepresentation of genuine activities and selective memories of individual experiences can generate some discrepancy between the actual and ideal.

The cross-cultural survey methodology employed in the study is essentially a nomothetic approach, in which a group of individuals is accepted to represent their culture in the search for common explanatory factors. Nomothetic explanations do not leave room for idiographic descriptions, which focus more on an individual rather than the group and try to explain a whole set of factors of influence. Cross-cultural psychology also makes use of emic and etic perspectives. This study relies on an etic framework, which contributes empirical analyses of constructs across cultures. Lack of emic knowledge in this study, which emphasizes intuitive and ethnographic understanding of a culture, presents certain restrictions.

**Future Directions**

Prospective studies on the topics examined in this study can be designed to account for a wider set of factors involved in the development of emotional outcomes under investigation. Systematic control of extenuating variables in randomly selected nationally representative samples may be able to provide causal conclusions. Adoption of more qualitative and mixed method approaches also can yield contextually richer data on some psychological processes operating in a narrow range.
As embodied in the wheel of research analogy (Van Etten & McInerney, 2002), where a continuous cycle of induction and deduction is employed in the study of scientific phenomena, future studies with explanatory and inductive methods should validate the confirmatory and deductive findings of this study. Use of in-depth case studies, single-subject designs, and other more qualitative and mixed method approaches would enrich the understanding of psychological and sociocultural processes within and between different cultures.

Reduction of measurement error is reported with the use of weeklong activity sampling data from both stylized and diary estimates in a population (Kan & Pudney, 2008). Study participants can not only report on their typical activities with stylized questionnaires but also provide information in diary logs and real-time experience sampling methods (Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1983). As well as having multiple estimates from a group of children, data can be triangulated by the use of multiple data sources such as parents, teachers, and peers. Longitudinal studies and trend data are essential to track developmental pathways, societal changes, and historical trends.

There is still need for more time use studies and research on children’s development and parenting in less researched cultures. Children’s use of their time in different countries and its relation to various cognitive, affective, and social outcomes should be studied in greater depth and breadth. Developmental concepts and processes of main stream psychology literature need to be applied and tested in different cultures in pursuit of a more global psychological theory that does not neglect the “95 percent” of the world population (Arnett, 2009). The necessity to make psychology more inclusive and international would require theorizing general laws of human behavior and
development that are applicable in different cultural contexts (Stevens & Gielen, 2007).
Commonly accepted psychological and social constructs should be constantly re-examined in order to develop theories to meet the challenges of local and global complexities (Gülerce, 2009).

Conclusion

This study examined a context of child development and set of cultures that has not drawn a great deal of attention in past research studies. Constituting a considerable portion of children’s weekly lives, weekend time offers important developmental niches for children's personal and social development. In addition to often-studied American and Taiwanese cultures, this study focused on children in the less researched Bulgarian and Turkish cultures. Offering a cross-cultural comparison of aspects of child development and socialization practices in the out-of-school context, the study produced some findings that challenge strictly categorical and polarized views of cultural processes. It calls attention to the dynamic and complex nature of social and emotional development of children in different cultures around the world.

In conclusion, it was found that weekend time is an important out-of-school context that children in different cultures utilize in different activities contributing to their personal and social developmental outcomes. Children in Bulgaria, Taiwan, Turkey, and the United States spend most of their weekend time in self-chosen unstructured activities, but there is a great deal of cultural variation in the amount of time spent in different activity types and the degree of choice children experience about their activities. Countries differ in socially available and acceptable types of weekend activities as demonstrated by the variations in the extent of parental involvement in children’s activity
decisions in different cultures. Differences among the countries are also evident in the emotional experiences associated with autonomy in children’s activity decisions and gender socialization processes. The findings suggest that child development and socialization theories need to describe and predict psychological and social processes in different developmental contexts and be based on more culturally sensitive conceptualization of the variables under study.
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Appendix A: Activity Survey

Number of Packet:

Age of child: _______  Date of Birth: _______
Grade: _______
Sex: _______
School: _______
City: _______
Father's Occupation: _______
Mother's Occupation: _______

On the following pages you will be asked to write down the activity you usually do in particular time slots.

Examples of activities are: Play violin, soccer practice, watch TV, eat, do homework, read, play with friends etc.

Do not leave out any time slots!

After each activity you will be asked to answer two more questions by drawing a circle around your answer.

Thank you for your cooperation!
"What I Usually Do" Questionnaire

- First, write down what activity/activities you are usually involved with during different parts of the day.

- Then, circle your answers to the 2 questions which follow each time slot.

**SATURDAY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who chooses this activity?</th>
<th>How much do you enjoy it?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10-11 am</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My parent(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who chooses this activity?</th>
<th>How much do you enjoy it?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11-12 am</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My parent(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who chooses this activity?</th>
<th>How much do you enjoy it?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12-1 pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My parent(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who chooses this activity?</th>
<th>How much do you enjoy it?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-2 pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My parent(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who chooses this activity?</th>
<th>How much do you enjoy it?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-3 pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My parent(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who chooses this activity?</th>
<th>How much do you enjoy it?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-4 pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My parent(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Other Adult</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Who chooses this activity?</th>
<th>How much do you enjoy it?</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4-5 pm</td>
<td></td>
<td>Me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>My parent(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
How much do you enjoy it?  1  2  3  4  5  
Not at all  Very Much

5-6 pm  Activity ________________
Who chooses this activity?  Me  My parent(s)  Other Adult
How much do you enjoy it?  1  2  3  4  5  
Not at all  Very Much

6-7 pm  Activity ________________
Who chooses this activity?  Me  My parent(s)  Other Adult
How much do you enjoy it?  1  2  3  4  5  
Not at all  Very Much

7-8 pm  Activity ________________
Who chooses this activity?  Me  My parent(s)  Other Adult
How much do you enjoy it?  1  2  3  4  5  
Not at all  Very Much

8-9 pm  Activity ________________
Who chooses this activity?  Me  My parent(s)  Other Adult
How much do you enjoy it?  1  2  3  4  5  
Not at all  Very Much

9- pm  Activity
Who chooses this activity?  Me  My parent(s)  Other Adult
How much do you enjoy it?  1  2  3  4  5  
Not at all  Very Much
### Appendix B: Activity Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>TV</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>TV</td>
<td>Watch TV or a movie at home</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Play</td>
<td>Free play; indoors or out, play w/ siblings or dog, draw, socialize with peers (e.g., talk on phone, e-mail, sleepover, go to mall w/ friends, party, play w/ friends, etc), playing sports, ride a bicycle, play on computer, Internet, Game Boy, Nintendo, videogame, go outside, play outside, have a fire, swim for fun, listen to music, dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Reading</td>
<td>Read for fun, write for fun, writing diaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Academics</td>
<td>Homework for school, academic instruction, cram school, tutor, homework or practice from tutor or cram school, study for school courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>(Organized game, class or training) Baseball, softball, basketball, soccer, football, tennis, lacrosse, table tennis, mountain climbing, ice skating, Kung Fu, taekwondo, judo, swimming, diving, cycling, horse riding, hockey, golf, gymnastics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Extracurrucular Activity</td>
<td>After-school care center, clubs, computer class or activity, dance, English class or activity, Japanese class or activity, Spanish class or activity, fine art class or activity, music, piano, violin, flute, trumpet, choir, talent classes (public speech, calligraphy, mental arithmetic or with abacus), Chinese chess, Chinese composition, writing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Outings</td>
<td>Watch sibling’s sport, attend church/religion, go out to a movie, socialize with adults, family get together, go out with parent, talk to parent, family games, visit relatives, restaurant, family prayer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Routines</td>
<td>Eat, sleep, travel, walk dog, chores, go to bed, purposeful shopping, take a shower, relay, help family make money, prayer</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>