Roberta M. Berns

CHILD, FAMILY, SCHOOL, COMMUNITY

Socialization and Support

10th Edition

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CHILD, FAMILY, SCHOOL, COMMUNITY

Socialization and Support

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Preface

Purpose

Child, Family, School, Community was first published in 1985. The concept for the book emerged from a consortium of early childhood education professors in California, myself included, at an annual conference of the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC). The consortium met to share syllabi for the course in child, family, and community relations, required by the state of California for an early childhood teacher's license. At the time, there was no textbook.

Our group continued to meet for several years at the annual conference. We shared frustrations about training teachers, about being sensitive to diversity, about developmental appropriateness, about communication with parents, about the impact of societal and technological change, and so on. We concurred that a book was sorely needed to encapsulate all the pertinent information for students. I took on the challenge and have continued to be challenged through each of ten editions.

Most influential in my organization of the material for the book was Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner's approach to studying human development. He was my child development and family relationships professor at Cornell University, and I had followed his work after graduation and implemented it in my teaching at the community college and the university.

Audience

Child, Family, School, Community is for anyone who deals with children—parents, teachers, and professionals in human services, home economics, public health, psychology, and social work. It is an introductory text for the combination of disciplines that most affect a child's development. It can be used for both lower- and upper-division courses, such as child and community relationships and child socialization. I have used it at the community college level and at the university level by varying the type and depth of assignments.

Distinguishing Features

- **Features.** Every chapter begins with a socialization sketch exemplifying socialization outcomes related to the particular chapter. Each chapter contains pertinent standards (NAEYC for early childhood teachers and NASW for social workers). Each whole set of standards can be found on the inside front and back covers. New chapter features include Dimensions of Diversity, Brain Briefs (neuroscience), and new technologies.
- **Comprehensive and informative.** *Child, Family, School, Community* (CFSC) integrates the contexts in which a child develops, the relationships of the people in them, and the interactions that take place within and between contexts. Depth of coverage includes relevant classic and contemporary research.
- **Practical.** Because society is changing so rapidly, a major concern of parents, professionals, and politicians is how to socialize children for an unknown future. What skills can we impart? What knowledge should we teach? What traditions

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do we keep? The impact of historical events on society is discussed to help us deal with the future. In Practice boxes are provided, as well as activities, related readings, and Internet resources.

- **Well organized.** CFSC begins with the bioecological theory of human development (the framework for the book) and child socialization processes (aims, agents, methods, outcomes), then discusses each socialization context in which the child develops, and concludes with child socialization outcomes.
- **Engaging and meaningful.** CFSC provides critical thinking questions, socialization sketches, examples, boxes (In Context, In Practice, Dimensions of Diversity, Brain Briefs), figures, tables, photos, activities, and a clear, concise writing style.

Themes and Pedagogy

- **Basic premise.** Children need adults, adults need each other, and we all need a sense of community to optimally live in this world.
- **Relevancy.** I have revised *Child, Family, School, Community* to update the scientific research as well as to incorporate the changes that have taken place in social, political, and educational policies.
- **Socialization Sketches.** Every chapter is introduced with a socialization sketch, a short biography of a famous icon whose background and contributions relate to the chapter's concepts.
- **Organization based on the bioecological model.** I have organized classic research as well as contemporary studies on children, families, schools, and communities according to the bioecological approach, to enable students to understand the many settings and interactions influencing development. The bioecology of human development encompasses the disciplines of biology, psychology, sociology, anthropology, education, and social work as they affect the person in society.
- **Brain Briefs (new boxed feature)**. Each chapter features neuroscience research related to the chapter content.
- **Dimensions of Diversity (new boxed feature).** Each chapter features a different Dimensions of Diversity box to demonstrate everyone's uniqueness.
- **Analyses and syntheses.** I have analyzed the socialization influences of the family, nonparental child care, the school, the peer group, the mass media, and the community on children's development and synthesized the processes of dynamic and reciprocal interactions of these agents with the child and with each other, contributing to socialization outcomes—values, attitudes, motives and attributions, self-esteem, self-regulation/behavior, morals, and gender roles.
- **Relating theory to practice.** Whenever one analyzes something, one takes it apart and evaluates its components. Occasionally, in the process, one loses sight of the whole. I have tried to avoid this by including chapter outlines, learning objectives, socialization sketches, open-ended questions in the main sections of chapters to engage the reader, examples, boldface glossary terms, and summaries. I have also included In Context and In Practice boxes, videos, and activities in each chapter to enable students to experience the relationship between theory and practice. For further study, related readings and resources are listed.
- **Approach to diversity.** Child development/socialization research on *diverse cultural groups* is organized according to collectivistic and individualistic orientations. Research on *diverse socioeconomic groups* is organized according

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to the social selection perspective (biological traits influence parental achievement, thereby affecting children's opportunities) and the social causation perspective (contextual influences, family stress or family resources, affect parenting styles and consequent child outcomes). Research on *diverse families* (single, remarried, joint custody, same-sex, biracial, grandparent or kin custody) is discussed in terms of socialization effects on the child. New areas of diversity have been added via the Dimensions of Diversity feature in each chapter to demonstrate that everyone differs along the following dimensions:

a. significant personal life experience
b. race/ethnicity
c. family structure
d. religion
e. socioeconomic status (income)
f. education level
g. language
h. generational cohorts
i. ability/disability
j. geographic location
k. sexual orientation
l. gender

New and Improved for the 10th Edition

1- **Learning Objectives:** The learning objectives correlated to the main sections in each chapter show students what they need to know to process and understand the information in the chapter. After completing the chapter, students should be able to demonstrate how they can use and apply their new knowledge and skills.

2- **Standards:** New and improved coverage of NAEYC and NASW standards includes a chapter-opening list of standards to help students identify where key standards are addressed in the chapter. These callouts and the standards correlation charts help students make connections between what they are learning in the textbook and the standards.

3- **Digital Downloads:** Downloadable and often customizable, these practical and professional resources allow students to immediately implement and apply this textbook's content in the field. The student downloads these tools and keeps them forever, enabling preservice teachers to begin to build libraries of practical, professional resources. Look for the TeachSource Digital Downloads label that identifies these items.

4- The **TeachSource videos** feature footage from the classroom to help students relate key chapter content to real-life scenarios. Critical-thinking questions provide opportunities for in-class or online discussion and reflection.

5- **MindTap for Education** is a first-of-its kind digital solution that prepares teachers by providing them with the knowledge, skills, and competencies they must demonstrate to earn an education degree and state licensure, and to begin a successful career. Through activities based on real-life teaching situations, MindTap elevates students' thinking by giving them experiences in applying concepts, practicing skills, and evaluating decisions, guiding them to become reflective educators.

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Major Changes to Each Chapter

Chapter 1

- Brain Briefs—how the brain is studied (language and thought)
- Dimensions of Diversity: You—a questionnaire allowing students to evaluate how they have been socialized
- Chronosystem effects—past, present, future

Chapter 2

- New Socialization Sketch—Urie Bronfenbrenner (founder of the Bioecological Theory of Human Development) with new video clip included
- Dimensions of Diversity—Latina author who was stereotyped as a waitress at the event of her first poetry reading
- Brain Briefs—neuroscientific evidence for conformity

Chapter 3

- New Socialization Sketch—Prince William (example of traditional family with roles and obligations)
- More information on diverse families
- Brain Briefs—The scientific basis for love
- Dimensions of Diversity—"The Birdcage" (a family with gay parents)
- Chronosystem influences on families—both *political*: foreign policies (immigration, war) and domestic policies (economics, welfare reform); and *technological* (medicine, business, media); increased busyness, multitasking, stress

Chapter 4

- Brain Briefs—brain-based parenting
- Dimensions of Diversity—religion (a story of a mixed marriage)

Chapter 5

- New Socialization Sketch—Shakira (Latina pop singer who is an advocate of early childhood education)
- Brain Briefs—early childhood education and the developing brain
- Dimensions of Diversity—examples from *Unequal Childhoods* by Annette Lareau (2011)

Chapter 6

- New Socialization Sketch—Laura Bush (former first lady; education advocate, especially for literacy programs)
- The Common Core Initiative
- Dimensions of Diversity—educational level (story of a PhD married to a high school graduate)
- Brain Briefs—the implications of neuroscience for education

Chapter 7

- Dimensions of Diversity—influence of language on academic performance
- The Flipped Classroom
- Tablets in the classroom
- Brain Briefs – neuroscience and technology

Chapter 8

- New Socialization Sketch—Kareem Abdul Jabbar, a Muslim American who models teamwork

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- Dimensions of Diversity—generational cohorts (shared historical events affecting the socialization and values of the Silent Generation, Baby Boomers, Gen X, Millennials)
- More information on cliques and social isolates
- Brain Briefs—effects of bullying on victim's brains

Chapter 9

- Dimensions of Diversity—disability (Marlee Matlin's example of achievement)
- Brain Briefs—how video information is processed in the brain according to age
- More information on Internet overload
- More information on multimedia and multitasking (new TeachSource video included)
- Toys and technology

Chapter 10

- Dimensions of Diversity—geographic location (regions of the U.S. differ according to dialects, values, attitudes, behavior, customs, beliefs, food, fashion, and more)
- Brain Briefs—poverty is linked to small brain development

Chapter 11

- Dimensions of Diversity—sexual identity (transgender prejudice)
- Brain Briefs—biological mechanisms related to self-esteem
- Social media and self-esteem

Chapter 12

- Dimensions of Diversity—gender (why I feel uncomfortable with the sex-typed identity society has expected of me)
- Brain Briefs—gender and brains (male and female neurological differences)

Accompanying Teaching and Learning Resources

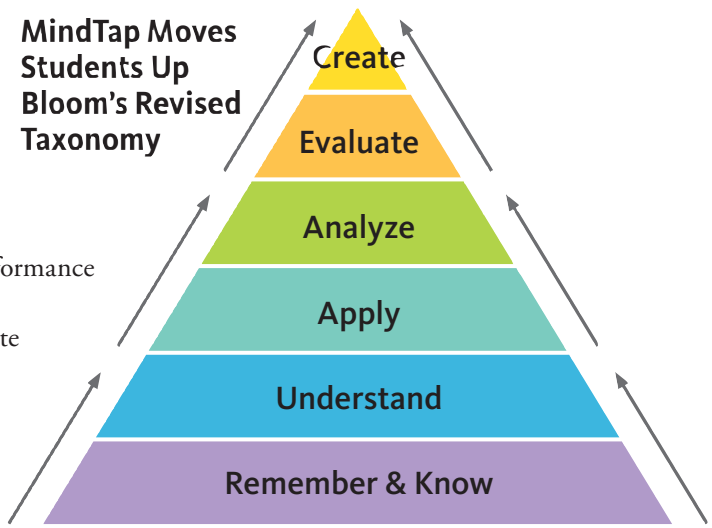
The 10th edition of *Child, Family, School, Community* is accompanied by an extensive package of instructor and student resources.

MindTap™: The Personal Learning Experience

MindTap for Berns *Child, Family, School, Community* 10th edition represents a new approach to teaching and learning. A highly personalized, fully customizable learning platform, MindTap helps students to elevate thinking by guiding them to:

- know, remember, and understand concepts critical to becoming a great teacher
- apply concepts, create tools, and demonstrate performance and competency in key areas in the course
- prepare artifacts for the portfolio and eventual state licensure, to launch a successful teaching career
- develop the habits to become a reflective practitioner.

As students move through each chapter's Learning Path, they engage in a scaffolded learning experience, designed to move them up Bloom's Revised Taxonomy



Anderson L W & Krathwoh D (Eds.). (2001) *A taxonomy for learning, teaching and assessing: A revision of Bloom's taxonomy of educational objectives* New York Longman

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from lower- to higher-order thinking skills. The Learning Path enables preservice students to develop these skills and gain confidence by:

- engaging them with chapter topics and activating their prior knowledge with TeachSource videos of teachers teaching and children learning in real classrooms
- checking their comprehension and understanding through *Did You Get It?* assessments, with varied question types that are autograded for instant feedback
- applying concepts through mini case scenarios—students analyze typical teaching and learning situations and create a reasoned response to the issue(s) presented in the scenario
- reflecting about and justifying the choices they made within the teaching scenario problem.

MindTap helps instructors facilitate better outcomes by evaluating how future teachers plan and teach lessons in ways that make content clear and help diverse students learn, assessing the effectiveness of their teaching practice and adjusting teaching as needed. The Student Progress App makes grades visible in real time so students and instructors always have access to current standings in the class.

MindTap for Berns *Child, Family, School, Community* 10th edition helps instructors easily set their course since it integrates into the existing Learning Management System and saves instructors time by allowing them to fully customize any aspect of the learning path. Instructors can change the order of the student learning activities, hide activities they don't want for the course, and—most importantly—add any content they do want (e.g., YouTube videos, Google docs, links to state education standards). Learn more at http://www.cengage.com/mindtap.

PowerPoint® Lecture Slides

These vibrant Microsoft® PowerPoint lecture slides for each chapter assist you with your lecture, providing concept coverage using images, figures, and tables directly from the textbook!

Online Instructor's Manual with Test Bank

An online Instructor's Manual accompanies this book. It contains information to assist the instructor in designing the course, including sample syllabi, discussion questions, teaching and learning activities, field experiences, learning objectives, and additional online resources. For assessment support, the updated test bank includes true/false, multiple-choice, matching, short-answer, and essay questions for each chapter.

Cognero

Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero is a flexible online system that allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions; create multiple test versions in an instant; and deliver tests from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want.

Supportive Socialization Influences

The seeds for this book were sown more than 50 years ago. I was a freshman in the College of Human Ecology at Cornell University, taking a child development course taught by Dr. Urie Bronfenbrenner. Dr. Bronfenbrenner, who died in 2005, was a distinguished professor of psychology, human development, and family studies. His bioecological theory of human development has stimulated much new research on children and families in various settings, as well as advocacy of government, business, and educational policies to support families.

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Dr. Bronfenbrenner's enthusiasm for children and families, his dynamic lecture style, and his probing questions regarding the current state of human development research, as well as public policy, provided me with an analytic perspective to examine whatever else I read or heard thereafter.

The seeds for this book could not have flowered had it not been for the care their host (the author) received in her growth and development. My family, my teachers, my friends, the neighborhood in which I grew, and my experiences growing up, all contributed to this book. Even after I reached adulthood, the seeds for this book are still being nurtured along by others—my husband (Michael), my children (Gregory, my son, and his wife, Kathleen, and Tamara, my daughter), my grandchildren (Helen and Madeline), my friends, my neighbors, my students, and my colleagues.

As flowers grow, to maintain their shape and stimulate new growth they must be pruned and fertilized. I would like to thank my reviewers of all editions and my editors for their valuable input in this process. Specific thanks to the reviewers of this edition:

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Janey Mellinger, California University of Pennsylvania
Lisa Melson, Delgado Community College–City Park
Donna Miller, Aaniiih Nakoda College
Patti Reed, Lanier Technical College
Susan Smith, St. Johns River State College

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For the fruit of the harvest, this 10th edition, I would like to thank my Developmental Editor, Kate Scheinman, for plowing this version with me. Also many thanks to the rest of the book team: Mark Kerr, Executive Editor, Julia Catalano, Product Assistant, Renee Schaaf, Media Developer, and Jennifer Levanduski, Marketing Manager.

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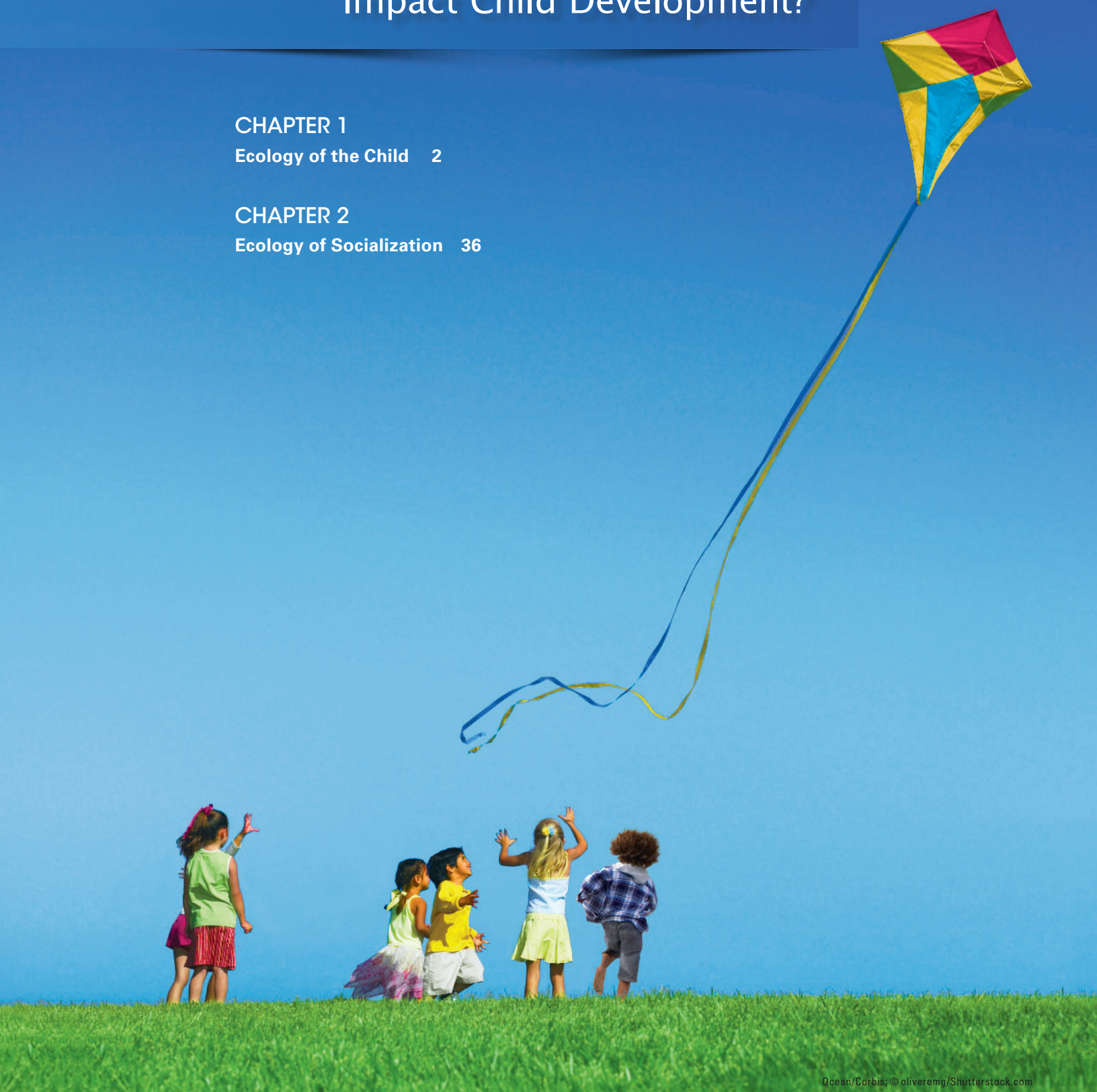
PART 1

How Do Ecology and Socialization Impact Child Development?

CHAPTER 1
Ecology of the Child 2

CHAPTER 2
Ecology of Socialization 36



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1

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Learning Objectives

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

- **1-1** Define ecology and discuss how it relates to child development.
- **1-2** Define socialization and explain how it relates to child development.
- **1-3** Name two characteristics of the brain that make socialization unique to humans.
- **1-4** List the reciprocal factors (biological and socialization) related to developmental outcomes.
- **1-5** Define intentional and unintentional socialization.
- **1-6** Name a socialization effect of societal change on child rearing and another on education.
- **1-7** Define a theory and apply it to the bioecological theory of human development.
- **1-8** Name and define the four ecological systems involved in socialization.
- **1-9** Define the chronosystem and give examples of chronosystem effects relating to the past, present, and future.
- **1-10** List the seven indicators of well-being for children.

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The more things change, the more they remain the same.

ALPHONSE KARR

Ecology of the Child

STANDARDS

NAEYC Standards addressed:

1, 4 (initial)

1, 2, 3 (advanced)

NASW Standards addressed:

1, 2, 8, 10

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SOCIALIZATION SKETCHES — Oprah Winfrey *(b. 1954)*

"It doesn't matter who you are, where you come from. The ability to triumph begins with you always."

— OPRAH WINFREY

Oprah's philosophy of socialization is encapsulated in this quote. The Socialization Sketch that follows describes some significant influences on her life.

FAMILY

Oprah Gail Winfrey was born in 1954 on the family farm in Kosciusko, Mississippi. Her father, Vernon Winfrey, who was stationed as a soldier at a local army base, and her mother, Vernita Lee, were both young at the time of Oprah's birth. Her parents never married. Shortly after she was born, her mother moved to Milwaukee, Wisconsin, where she found a job as a housemaid and Oprah was left in the care of her grandmother, Hattie Mae Lee.

As a child, Oprah relied on her imagination to play. On the farm, her only friends were the animals, so she gave them parts in the plays she made and included them in games. On Sundays she and her grandmother would go to church. It was in church that Oprah gave her first recital—she was 3 years old and already knew how to read. She read verses and poems aloud to the congregation. By age 4, she was known around town as "the little speaker." Such early experiences gave her an advantage when she entered school.

When Oprah entered kindergarten, she knew how to write, as well as read. On the first day of school, she wrote, "Dear Miss New, I do not think I belong her [*sic*]." She was moved to the first grade and by the end of the year, she was skipped to the third grade.

At age 6, Oprah was sent to live with her mother and half sister in Milwaukee. They lived in one room of another woman's house. Her mother worked long hours, leaving Oprah with her cousins and neighbors. It was her job to entertain her little sister.

When Oprah was 9, a 19-year-old cousin, who was baby-sitting, raped her. He swore her to secrecy. During the time she lived in Milwaukee, Oprah was sexually abused by her mother's live-in boyfriend and a once-favorite uncle. She never told anyone, but became rebellious. At age 14, she gave birth to a son, who died in infancy. Unable to handle her, Oprah's mother sent her to live with her father and his wife in Nashville. This proved to be a significant influence on her motivation to achieve.

Vernon Winfrey was a strict disciplinarian. Oprah was given new clothes, a set of rules, a midnight curfew, and some tasks. She also had to read and do a book report each week for her father, as well as memorize five new words each day. If she hadn't done her tasks, she would not be given any food. Oprah said, "As strict as he was, he had some concerns about me making the best of my life, and would not accept anything less than what he thought was my best" (http://www.achievement.org/autodoc/printmember/win0bio-1).

SCHOOL

Also influential on Oprah's study habits, as well as self-esteem, was her fourth-grade teacher and mentor, Mrs. Duncan. Mrs. Duncan helped her to not be afraid of being smart. She encouraged Oprah to read and often let her stay after school to help grade papers while discussing book choices. Oprah said, "A mentor is someone who allows you to see the higher part of yourself when sometimes it becomes hidden from your own view" (WCVB-TV interview, January 13, 2002).

Oprah attended Nashville East High School where she was well liked by the students and teachers. She took public speaking and drama classes, landing

AP Images/Dima Gavrysh, file

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a job in radio while still in high school. This prepared her for a career path in communications.

Oprah's last year in high school was most influential. She had been elected president of the student body and, as such, got to attend The White House Conference of Youth, meeting President Richard Nixon and school representatives from all over the country. That same year, Oprah entered a public speaking contest with a scholarship to Tennessee State University as the grand prize. She won the scholarship and began taking courses toward a degree in Speech Communications and Performing Arts. She continued her work at the radio station, studying at night.

MEDIA

Oprah was chosen to co-anchor the local evening news at the age of 19. Her emotional ad-lib delivery eventually got her transferred to the daytime television talk show venue. After she boosted a third-rated local Chicago talk show to first place, the format was expanded and in 1985 was renamed *The Oprah Winfrey Show*. Broadcast nationally, *The Oprah Winfrey Show* became the number one talk show until its end in 2011. The show emphasized spiritual values, healthy living, and self-help. She also interviewed top names in the entertainment industry. The show received numerous awards, and she received the Broadcaster of the Year Award, becoming the youngest person and only the fifth woman ever to receive the honor, bestowed by the International Radio and Television Society.

COMMUNITY

Motivated by her own memories of being abused as a child, Oprah initiated a campaign to establish a national database of convicted child abusers. She testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee on behalf of the National Child Protection Act. President Clinton signed the "Oprah Bill" into law in 1993, establishing a national database available to law enforcement agencies and concerned parties.

Oprah Winfrey was named one of the 100 most influential people of the 20th century by *Time* magazine. Her influence extends from television to the publishing industry through her book club. She is also a benefactor. Her Angel Network gave $100,000 Use Your Life Awards to people who are using their lives to improve the lives of others. And finally, she has founded a school for girls in South Africa to build leadership skills, giving back to the community what she gained from the schools and teachers in her life.

- What events or people in your past and present have influenced your ability to thrive?
- What are some things you might do to contribute to the community based on your own experiences and interests?

1-1 Ecology and Child Development

How does growing up in a changing world affect how children are socialized?

Children grow up in an ever-changing world. To analyze the impact of such change, we look to science for what is known and for what is yet to be discovered. **Ecology** is the science of interrelationships between organisms and their environments. Traditionally the term *ecology* describes plant or animal environments, but today it also applies to humans. **Human ecology** involves the biological, psychological, social, and cultural contexts in which a developing person interacts and the consequent processes (for example, perception, learning, behavior) that develop over time (Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). **Adaptation** is the modification of an organism or its behavior to make it more fit for existence under the conditions of the environment. As humans develop, they must continually adapt to change on a personal, social, and societal level. Examples of societal forces impacting human adaptation are **demographics** (statistical characteristics of

ecology the science of interrelationships between organisms and their environments

human ecology the biological, psychological, social, and cultural contexts in which a developing person interacts and the consequent processes that develop over time

adaptation the modification of an organism or its behavior to make it more fit for existence under the conditions of its environment

demographics statistical characteristics of human populations, such as age, income, and race

IN CONTEXT

Kids Today: Are They . . .

media junkies?	bombarded by commercialism?
computer savvy?	virtual-world visitors?
social networkers?	overscheduled?
coupled to their cell phones?	reward-reliant?
frightened by disaster and violence?	self-absorbed?
confused by choices?	inundated with information?
driven to distraction?	distressed?
seduced by celebrities?	competition-driven?

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economics the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services

human populations, such as age, income, and race), **economics** (the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services), politics, and technology.

The purpose of this book is to examine how growing up in a changing world affects the development of children through socialization. Children are socialized and supported by their families, schools, and communities, in that these significant agents accept responsibility for ensuring children's well-being. These socializing agents nurture children's development, enabling them to become contributing adults.

What is socialization?

1-2 Socialization and Child Development

Socialization is the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and character traits that enable them to participate as effective members of groups and society (Brim, 1966; Maccoby, 2007).

socialization the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills, and character traits that enable them to participate as effective members of groups and society

- Socialization is what every parent does: "Help your brother button his jacket." "We use tissues, not our sleeves, to wipe our noses."
- Socialization is what every teacher does: "Study your spelling words tonight." "In our country we have the freedom to worship as we choose."
- Socialization is what every religion does: "Honor your father and mother." "Do not steal."
- Socialization is what every culture does via its language, customs, and beliefs.
- Socialization is what every employer does: "Part of your job is to open the store at eight o'clock and put the merchandise on the tables." "Your request must be in writing."
- Socialization is what every government does through its laws and system of punishment for violations.
- Socialization is what friends do when they accept or reject you on the basis of whether or not you conform to their values.
- Socialization is what the media do by providing role models of behavior and solutions to common problems.

The concept of socialization, including parenting or child rearing, social development, and education, really goes back in time to the earliest humans: "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old, he will not depart from it" (Proverbs 22:6). As we shall see, many forces in society contribute to children's development—as do the children themselves. Socialization takes place in the family, school, peer group, and community, as well as via the media. While socialization enables a person to participate in social groups and society, it also enables the very existence of a society and its consequent social order. According to Handel, Cahill, and Elkin (2007, p. 84), socialization occurs:

- over time
- through interaction with significant others
- by means of communication
- in emotionally significant contexts

and leads to certain outcomes that are shaped by various social groups.

What makes socialization unique to humans?

1-3 Socialization as a Unique Human Process

Most social scientists agree that socialization is unique to human beings because humans can think. More than 75 years ago, George Herbert Mead (1934), a social interaction theorist, wrote that it is language that sharply separates humans from other animals. Language

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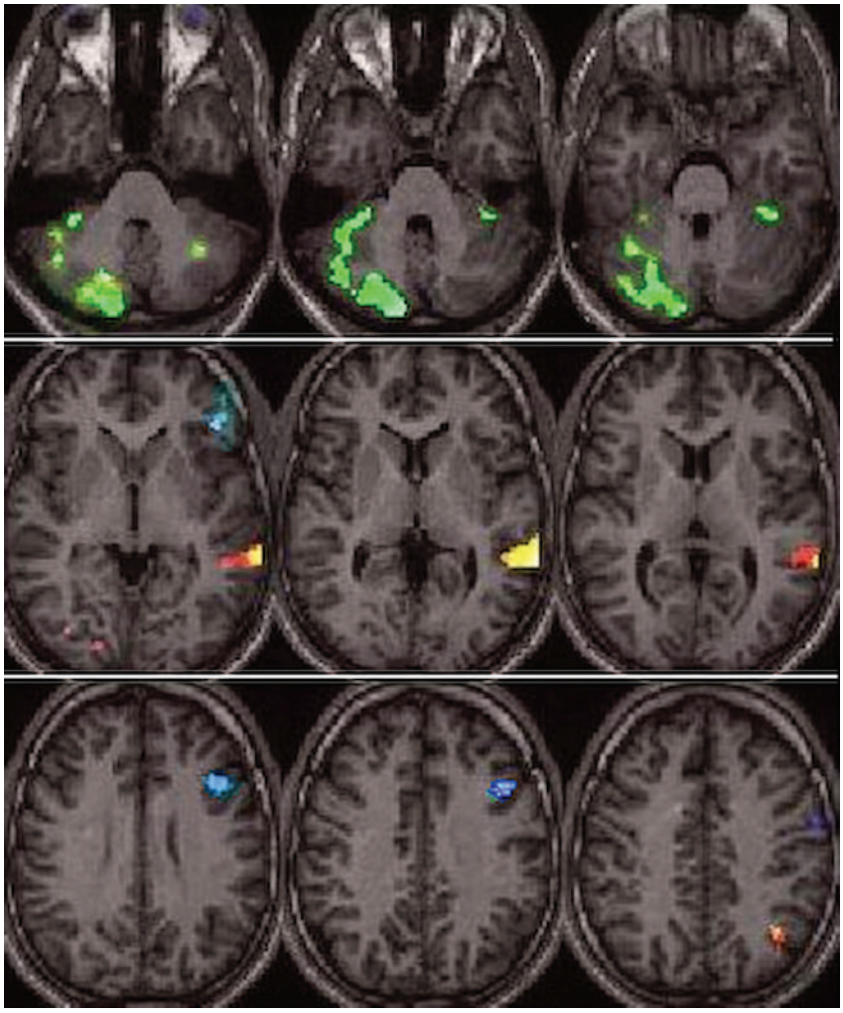
Brain briefs

Observing Brain Activity

Brain research (neuroscience) today has led to a greater understanding of the human brain structures involved in language and thought. A technique for measuring brain activity is functional magnetic resonance imaging (fMRI). It works by detecting changes in blood flow that occur during neural activity. A subject lies down in a scanner (a cylindrical tube containing a powerful electromagnet). The subject is asked to do certain tasks, such as picture an object, remember certain words, or speak certain words. An image of the areas of the brain that are activated by doing the particular task appears on the screen in red; those areas with little neural activity appear in blue. Thus, researchers can study how the parts of the brain responsible for language and speech function and interact with the parts of the brain responsible for cognition and behavior (Fedorenko, Behr, & Kanwisher, 2011).



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makes ideas and communication of these ideas possible, and language also makes it possible to replace action with thoughts and then use thoughts to transform behavior. A little boy who breaks his mother's favorite vase and encounters her anger understands her threat the next day when she says, "If you don't hold your glass with both hands, it might fall

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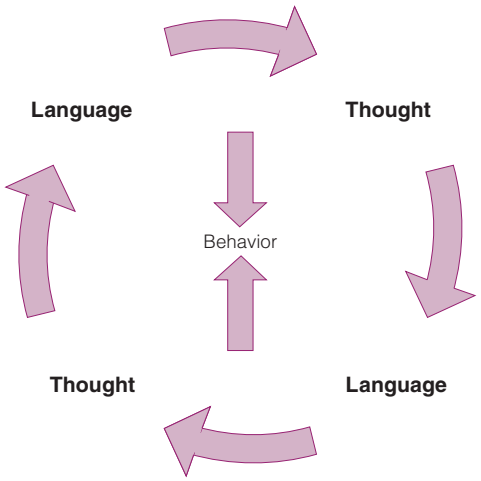

FIGURE 1.1 Language Enables Thoughts, Which Lead to Behavior, and Thoughts Enable Language, Which also Leads to Behavior

and break, and then I will be very angry." The child now well understands what *break* and *angry* mean. Figure 1.1 shows the relationship between language, thought, and behavior.

Language enables humans to develop the abilities to reason and a characteristic pattern of behavior. It is reason and behavior that enable us to internalize the attitudes of others. (*Internalization* is the process by which externally controlled behavior shifts to internally, or self-regulated, behavior.) Children internalize the attitudes of their parents in the form of role taking. They incorporate parental and significant adult expectations into their behavior, thereby becoming socialized as a "generalized other." They, in turn, have similar expectations of others with whom they interact. These expectations for people to behave appropriately form the foundation for a society.

Abby's thoughts led to behavior that caused her mother to vehemently express her feelings regarding taking other people's things without permission. Her mother's communication of values such as this to Abby will lead to Abby's internalization of self-control. If other children, too, learn to internalize behavioral control (for example, respect each other's property), then a human society is possible.

How does the child influence his or her developmental outcomes?

1-4 Socialization as a Reciprocal Dynamic Process

Socialization begins at birth and continues throughout life. It is a *reciprocal* process in that when one individual interacts with another, a response in one usually elicits a response in the other. It is also a *dynamic* process in that interactions change over time,

IN CONTEXT

Four-year-old Abby's thought one day was to try out Mom's makeup. In the process, the eye shadow got on her fingers, and she wiped it on her shorts. She then sat down on Mom's bed to look in the mirror, leaving a smudge of blue shadow where her bottom touched. She soon got bored with this activity, wiped her moist, red mouth on Mom's yellow towel, and went outside to play. Fifteen minutes later, tears were streaming down Abby's cheeks, indicating her feeling of remorse for her behavior. Mom pointed to the trail of evidence while scolding her for taking other people's things without permission (not to mention the mess that had to be cleaned).

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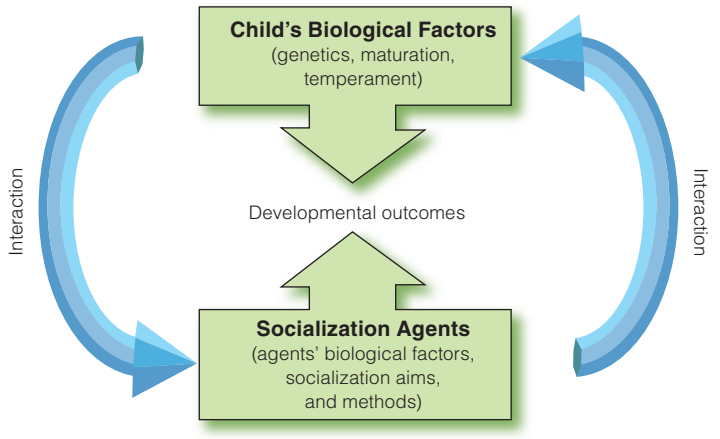

FIGURE 1.2 How Children Affect Their Own Developmental Outcomes

with individuals becoming producers of responses as well as products of them (Maccoby, 2007). These reciprocal dynamic processes become more complex throughout development (see Figure 1.2) due to changes in the child and in the socialization agents.

Throughout development, children play a role in their own socialization. As most parents will tell you, children sometimes motivate how others treat them. You know that if you smile, you are more likely to get a smile back than if you frown. The way you socialize children is often influenced by their reaction to you. For example, I needed only to look sternly at my son or speak in an assertive tone, and he would comply with what was asked of him. My daughter, however, would need to experience consequences (usually several times)—being sent to her room, withdrawal of privileges, having to do extra chores—before she would comply with family rules. Even in college, she had to get numerous parking tickets before she realized paying for them was more painful than getting up earlier to find a legal parking space far from her class and walk. Thus, not only do children actively contribute to interactions, but in so doing, they affect their own developmental outcomes, transforming themselves in the process (my daughter had to work to pay off her tickets) and influencing how others reciprocate (I nagged) (Bugental & Grusec, 2006).

1-4a Genetics

What role do genes play in a child's socialization?

Biology, specifically, genetics, plays a role in the child's contribution to his or her developmental outcomes, beginning with the child's **genotype**, the total composite of hereditary instructions coded in the genes at the moment of conception. According to Plomin and Asbury (2002) as well as Scarr and McCartney (1983), parents not only pass on genes to children but also provide environments, or contexts for development (see Figure 1.3). In other words, there is a correlation between the influence of one's genotype and one's environment on developmental outcomes (Rutter, 2006). Because children inherit genes from their parents, children are "prewired" or predisposed to be affected by the environments their parents provide. This type of genotype-environment interaction is referred to as *passive*. For example, a child born to intelligent parents will most likely possess the genes involved in intelligence. The parents, because of their genotypes and their developmental experience, will likely provide intellectually stimulating things and activities in the home. The child's "prewiring" will enable him or her to benefit from such stimulation. As an example, my sister-in-law was raised by her father, an accomplished musician. She tinkered at the piano as soon as she could reach the keys. As a child, she learned to play several musical instruments. Today, she is a music teacher and directs a community band.

genotype the total composite of hereditary instructions coded in the genes at the moment of conception

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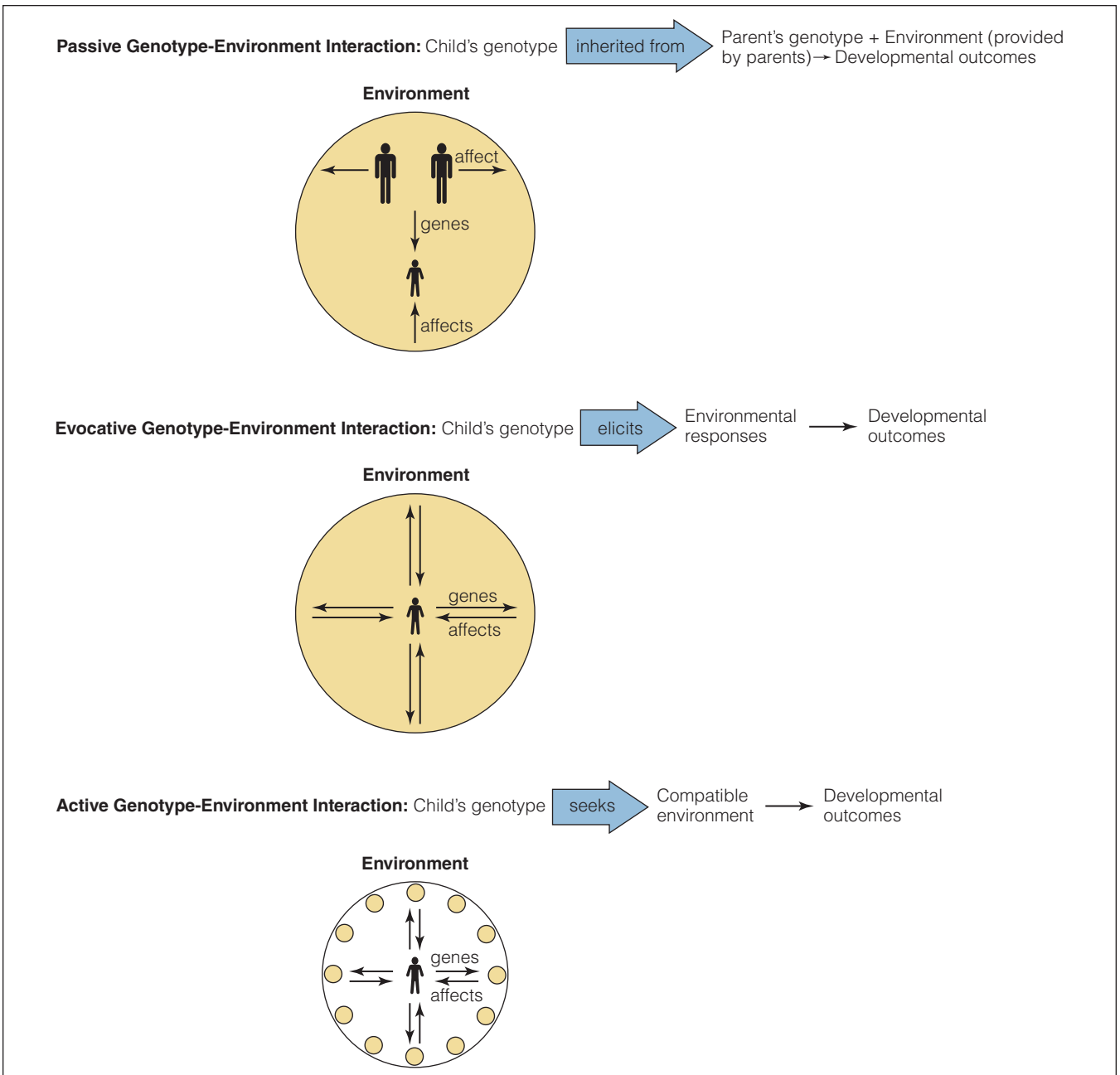

FIGURE 1.3 Genotype-Environment Interactions

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Another type of genotype-environment interaction is *evocative*, meaning an individual's genotype will tend to evoke, or elicit, certain responses from the environments in which he or she interacts. For example, a happy, sociable child is more likely to engage others in social activities than is a moody, shy child. Consequently, the happy child tends to experience more warm, responsive environments growing up.

Still another type of genotype-environment interaction is *active*, meaning an individual's genotype will tend to motivate that person to seek out environments most compatible with his or her genetic "prewiring." For example, a shy child might prefer solitary activities to group ones, consequently influencing the path of that child's development. My yoga teacher describes herself as an introspective person. As a child she grew up in a beach community in Southern California. Rather than join the extroverted beach culture,

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she preferred to daydream, making castles in the sand. Her high school activities were dance and gymnastics. Having those skills, she tried the cheerleading squad, but did not feel comfortable in the rah-rah role, so years later chose yoga.

1-4b Temperament

Another aspect of one's biological makeup, in addition to genes, is **temperament**—the innate characteristics that determine an individual's sensitivity to various experiences and responsiveness to social interaction. Research supports what parents have known for centuries: Babies are born with different temperaments (Chess & Thomas, 1996; Kagan, 1994; Thomas, Chess, & Birch, 1970; Wachs & Bates, 2001). That is, they respond differently physiologically to various experiences. This is evident soon after birth in the individual differences in activity level, distractibility, adaptability to new situations, mood, and so on (see Figure 1.4). Children's physiological responses fall into three broad temperamental categories: "easy," "slow-to-warm-up," and "difficult."

How caregivers respond to their children's temperaments influences the socialization process. If there is a "goodness of fit" between the child's temperament and his or her caregivers, then socialization is likely to proceed smoothly (Chess & Thomas, 1996). For example, if the child does not adapt easily to new situations (is a "slow-to-warm-up" child), and the caregivers understand this and are patient (not pushing the child, yet encouraging him or her to get used to new things slowly), then socialization is likely to be smooth. In a longitudinal (long-term) study on the socialization of conscience, or internal monitor, Kochanska (1995, 1997; Kochanska & Askan, 2006) found that the use of gentle parenting techniques such as persuasion ("Why don't you ___ because ___"), rather than harsh power assertion ("Do ___ or else ___"), was more effective in getting timid children to comply, whereas assertive children responded better to harsh power assertion.

If, on the other hand, the fit between the child's temperament and the caregivers' is poor, socialization is likely to be rough. For example, if the child is very active, responds intensely to

TeachSource Video Activity

Watch the video entitled *0–2 Years: Temperament in Infants and Toddlers.*

1. What are the three types of temperament?
2. How might each type of temperament be exhibited in the behavior of preschoolers, school-age children, and adolescents?

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How does temperament influence socialization?

temperament the innate characteristics that determine an individual's sensitivity to various experiences and responsiveness to patterns of social interaction

Temperamental Quality	Easy Child	Slow-to-Warm-Up Child	Difficult Child
Rhythmicity	Very regular	Varies	Irregular
Approach/withdrawal	Positive approach	Initial withdrawal	Withdrawal
Adaptability	Very adaptable	Slowly adaptable	Slowly adaptable
Intensity of reaction	Low or mild	Mild	Intense
Quality of mood	Positive	Slightly negative	Negative

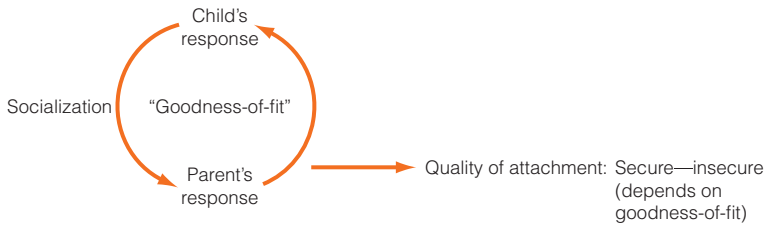

FIGURE 1.4 Temperament and Socialization

Source: Based on Chess & Thomas, 1996.

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people and things, and is moody (a "difficult" child), and the caregivers force him or her to sit still, punish him or her for crying or being frightened, and demand a smile much of the time, then socialization may become a battleground of wills. A longitudinal study of more than 1,000 twins and their families showed that genetically influenced antisocial behavior (difficult temperament) was a significant provoker of parental use of harsh discipline (Jaffee et al., 2004). The impact of temperament on parenting styles is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

How does the socialization process change due to the child's maturation?

1-4c Maturation

Maturation refers to developmental changes associated with the biological process of aging. Newborn humans come into the world with inherited characteristics and with certain needs and abilities that change as they mature. They are given names, indicating that they are members of society. They are clothed in the manner appropriate to the society into which they are born. In the United States they are diapered, dressed in stretch suits, and kept in cribs. In certain African societies they are swaddled and put on their mothers' backs. The way their parents respond to their cries and their needs, the way their parents communicate expectations, the people with whom their parents allow them to spend time (babysitters, relatives, and so on) all contribute to infants' socialization and consequent development.

maturation developmental changes associated with the biological process of aging

As children mature, their needs and abilities elicit changes in parental expectations for behavior. Toddlers may need adult assistance when eating; preschoolers can eat independently using some utensils; school-agers are capable of taking some responsibility in meal preparation (such as making sandwiches, using a microwave, or cleaning utensils).

As infants become children, adolescents, and then adults, they interact with more people and have more experiences. In so doing, they acquire skills, knowledge, attitudes, values, motives, habits, beliefs, interests, morals, and ideals. You may learn to read from your first-grade teacher. You may learn to appreciate music from an uncle who takes you to concerts. You may learn about sportsmanship from your coach and about love from the girl or boy down the street.

How does the parent, teacher, or significant person influence the child's developmental outcomes?

1-5 Intentional and Unintentional Socialization

Much socialization is intentional, done on purpose. When an adult tells a 6-year-old to share a toy with a 4-year-old sibling, that is intentional socialization. Or when an adult reminds a 10-year-old to write a thank-you note to Grandma, that too is intentional socialization. Thus, when adults have certain values that they consistently convey explicitly to the child, and when they back these up with approval for compliance and negative consequences for noncompliance, it is referred to as *intentional socialization*.

Based on earlier studies of socialization processes (Bugental & Grusec, 2006; A. P. Fiske, 1992), Grusec and Davidov (2010) have proposed an integrative framework to examine how parents socialize children. They view socialization as a domain-specific process, in that different child situations elicit different parental interactions and require different socialization methods. Developmental outcomes vary according to the domain: Does the child need *protection*? Does the child desire *reciprocity* (play or communication) from the parent? Does the child's behavior warrant adult *control* (guidance or discipline)? Do the child's actions require *guided learning* by an adult? Does the child need to identify with a social group and engage in *group participation*? (See Table 1.1.)

Much of socialization, however, takes place spontaneously during human interaction, without the deliberate intent to impart knowledge or values. *Unintentional socialization* may be the product of involvement in human interaction or observation of interaction. For example, a 4-year-old approaches two teachers conversing and excitedly says, "Miss Jones, Miss Jones, look!" One teacher says, "Sally, don't interrupt; we're talking." Later that morning Sally and her friend Tanya are busily playing with Legos. Sally is explaining and demonstrating to Tanya how to fit the pieces together. Miss Jones comes over to the block corner and

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Table 1.1 Domains of Socialization Between Parent and Child

Domain	Nature of Parent–Child Relationship	Required Parental Behavior	Mechanism of Socialization
Protection	Provider and recipient	Alleviate child's distress	Confidence in protection
Reciprocity	Exchange/equality tendency	Comply with child's reasonable requests and influence attempts	Innate to reciprocate
Control	Hierarchal	Use discipline method best suited for achieving parental goal	Acquired self-control
Guided learning	Teacher and student	Match teaching to child's changing level of understanding	Internalization of language and approach used by teacher
Group participation	Joint members of same social group	Enable child to observe and take part in appropriate cultural practices	Firm sense of social identity

Source: Grusec, J. E., & Davidov, M. (2010). Integrating different perspectives on socialization theory and research: A domain-specific approach. *Child Development, 81*(3), 694.

interrupts with, "Girls, please stop what you're doing and come see what Rene has brought to school." It is very likely that the message Sally received from the morning's interactions was that it is *not* OK for children to interrupt adults, but it *is* OK for adults to interrupt children.

Sometimes, a socialization goal can be intentional on the part of the parents or teachers, but have both intentional and unintentional outcomes on the child. For example, toilet training is usually purposeful and deliberate in Western cultures. Behavior-learning techniques for using the potty involve conditioning children to associate the urge to urinate or defecate with using the potty; reinforcement (praise and rewards) is used for effort and success. The problem is that not all children respond as intended, and sometimes the outcome of being "toilet-trained" is short term because of other events in the child's life. For example, if a new baby enters the family, the toilet-trained child, who has gotten much attention for his or her achievement, may perceive the new baby as getting attention for wetting its diaper. The toilet-trained child may then regress to wetting his or her pants in order to regain attention.

In sum, children take cues, emote, and learn from others' behavior as well as from their verbal statements. This information is all processed (constructed, interpreted, transformed, and recorded) in the brain to influence future behavior and feelings.

1-6 Change, Challenge, and Socialization

How do you socialize children to be prepared for the future?

Children are socialized by many people in society—parents, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, friends, teachers, coaches, religious leaders, and role models in the media. These agents of socialization use many techniques, which will be discussed, to influence children to behave, think, and feel according to what is considered worthy.

Socialization is a very complex process indeed. The more technological and diverse the society, the more children have to learn in order to adapt effectively, the more socializing agents and experiences contribute to the process, and the more time the socialization process takes. As society changes, more and more challenges are posed to the socializing agents because there are more choices to be made. How should the period of childhood be adjusted to accommodate all the opportunities that exist?

When societal change occurs as, for example, rapid technological and scientific advances that result in economic fluctuations, socializing agents are affected. Adults are affected *directly* by the uncertainty that change produces, as well as by the new opportunities and challenges it may present. Economic fluctuations can affect job security and can have a major negative impact on family finances. Family members may have to work longer hours; purchasing power may decrease; the family may have to move. However, sometimes such stresses uncover positive strengths in the family members; for example, spousal emotional support and children's cooperation in assuming more responsibilities for household chores. How adults

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A parent motivating a child's interest in a sport.

Chrisjo/BigStockPhoto

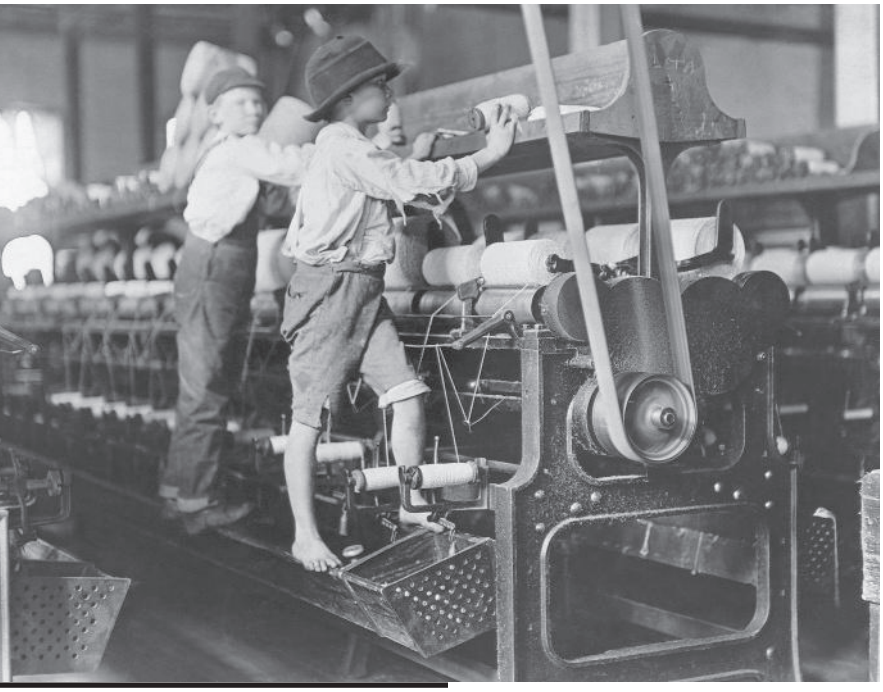
adapt to societal change *indirectly* affects children. For example, two parents in the workforce usually require child care, so family time becomes the "second shift" (Hochschild & Machung, 2012). Parents learn to adapt to the "time bind" (Hochschild, 2001) by performing several tasks simultaneously. New technology helps (talking on a speakerphone while folding clothes), but the efficiency gained in multitasking may contribute to diminished attentiveness to family members.

While offering numerous technologies for connectedness, the digital age paradoxically contributes to human disconnectedness, according to Professor Sherry Turkle (2011), The convenience and speed of e-mailing, texting, and social networking steer people away from face-to-face contact. Young "digital natives" (Prensky, 2010), do not learn how to have a reciprocal conversation where statements are interrupted, clarified, and accompanied by facial expressions to convey meaning. My cousin tells me that his two teenage daughters text each other while sitting in the back of his car because they don't want him to hear what they are "talking" about.

Societal change, especially technologic and scientific, can influence the goals of child rearing and education. Many psychologists (Elkind, 1994, 2001) see today's parents as being very concerned with developing their children's intellectual abilities. This concern is evidenced by the growth of preschools and kindergartens with academic programs; the development of infant stimulation programs such as "Mommy and Me" classes; the availability of how-to books on teaching your baby to read, do math, and be brighter; the proliferation of computer software for children; and the array of after-school activities. The concern is also evidenced by the pressure on elementary, middle, and high schools to produce competent learners. The No Child Left Behind Act (NCLBA) of 2004 mandates performance standards (achievement levels for each grade), accountability (assessments to measure achievement), and flexibility (tailoring assessments for students with disabilities and children with limited English-speaking proficiency). Opposing the NCLBA are educators who believe curricula should be individualized according to the child's developmental level rather than to government-mandated performance standards. A **developmentally appropriate** curriculum involves understanding children's normal growth patterns and individual differences. It also involves exposing children to active, hands-on, age-appropriate, meaningful experiences. Developmental appropriateness is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

TECHNOLOGY

developmentally appropriate
a curriculum that involves understanding children's normal growth patterns and individual differences



Children working in factories were a common sight prior to child labor laws prohibiting such practices.

Lewis Wickes Hine/Bettmann/Corbis

That children are pressured to know more than their parents is really not a new phenomenon; it is part of evolution or societal change (Schoon, 2012). As new knowledge is discovered, it is the children who learn it in school. For example, children in many schools use computers for learning tasks. There is likely to be tension in the parent-child relationship when children can figure things out more efficiently

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Table 1.2 A Brief View of Childhood through History

Time Period	Significant Event	Child Treatment
14th–16th centuries	Renaissance	Children treated as miniature adults, harsh treatment, expected to work, included in all adult activities (partying, same punishment for crimes)
16th–18th centuries	Printing press invented	Children treated as uninformed adults, therefore schools were created to teach them
18th–20th centuries	Industrial Revolution	Children need to be prepared for adulthood in a complex society, compulsory education laws, recognition of children's rights, passage of labor laws
20th–21st centuries	Information Age	Children viewed as consumers, pressured to compete, to achieve, to be independent and self-reliant

Source: Based on Aries, 1962; Heywood, 2001; Mintz, 2006.

with computers than their parents can with traditional paper-and-pencil methods. As another example, children of immigrants learn to be Americanized in school, whereas their parents may cling to the traditional attitudes and behavior patterns learned in their countries of origin. Thus, societal change can produce family tensions; it can also produce challenges.

1-6a Change and the Concept of Childhood

What is childhood? Is it static or dynamic? How is it different from adulthood?

One of the challenges brought on by change is the society's concept of childhood. We assume childhood to be a special period of time when we are cared for, taught, and protected because we are not mature enough to do these things for ourselves. Does the period of childhood change—lengthen or shorten—when society changes? After studying the artwork of various periods, historian Philippe Aries (1962) concluded that the concept of childhood did change throughout the centuries in that the treatment of children by parents and society improved considerably. In contrast, based on studying 400 diaries and journals from 1500 to 1900, psychologist Linda Pollock (1984) concluded that the concept of childhood, particularly parent-child relations, had not changed very much in that parents had emotional ties with their children and socialized them to adapt to the ways of society during each century. History professor Steven Mintz (2006) agrees that throughout American history, adults have defined how children experienced childhood. However, in the last part of the 20th century, adolescence became a protracted concept and youth began to define its own culture (language, dress, music, and so on). (See Table 1.2.)

There is a general concern among child development specialists and educators about the loss of childhood (freedom from responsibility). Children today must cope with a world in which both parents work, drugs are readily available, sex is as close as the TV or Internet, guns are readily available, and violence is just around the corner (Children's Defense Fund, 2012). In sum, the age of protection for children has been undermined by societal pressures on parents. It is not surprising that some parents react by becoming overprotective, hampering the child's independence (Bronson & Merryman, 2011).

1-6b Change, Adaptation, and Socialization

How can socialization help children adapt to change?

As has been discussed, socialization is elaborate. It involves many variable and reciprocal experiences, interactions, and environments that affect children's development. Analyzing some of the variables involved in the socialization process can help people adapt to change. For instance on a simplistic level, understanding how the input—socialization interactions in various settings and situations—affects the output of socialization—values, attitudes, motives and attributions, self-esteem, self-regulation of behavior, morals, and gender roles—may enable us to manipulate that input to induce the desired output (see Table 1.3), as in the following examples.

- An example of this kind of manipulation is described in a classic book, *Walden Two*, by behavioral psychologist B. F. Skinner (1948). *Walden Two* is a utopian community founded on behavioral principles. To learn self-control, young children (ages 3 to 4)

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Table 1.3 Socialization Variables

Examples of Input	Examples of Output
Instruction	Values
Setting standards	Attitudes
Learn by doing	Motives and attributions
Feedback	Self-esteem
Reinforcement	Self-regulation of behavior
Punishment	Morals
Group pressure	Gender roles

are given lollipops dipped in sugar at the beginning of the day, to be eaten later, provided that they have not been licked (reinforcement). There are practice sessions in which the children are urged (instruction) to examine their own behavior in the following situations: when the lollipops are concealed, when the children are distracted from thinking about the candy by playing a game, and when the lollipops are in sight. Thus, when the children are given the lollipops again for a real exercise in self-control (learn by doing), they have at their disposal some adaptive behaviors to use (put them out of sight or keep busy) to help them avoid the temptation.

- Another example of how input can be used to affect output is Sherif's (1956) classic experiment, called "Robber's Cave." Manipulating the environment was the technique used to first bring about antisocial behavior (hostility) via competitive strategies between two groups of young boys, and then, second, to reverse that pattern via cooperative strategies. How was this done? To produce friction, competitive tournaments were held—baseball, tug-of-war, touch football, and so on. Frustration led to name-calling, raids, and aggressive behavior. To eliminate this friction, the counselors rigged a series of crises that forced all the boys to work together in order to solve the problem. Once, the water line was deliberately broken; another time, the camp truck broke down just as it was going to town for food. Thus antisocial behavior gave way to prosocial behavior when a compelling goal for all concerned had to be achieved. (Does this make you think of the television show *Survivor*?) Anti- and prosocial behavior will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 12.

The previous examples are illustrations of *intentional socialization*, in which input affected desired output. In reality, as discussed, all of us have unique biological characteristics; we come into the world with different wiring. As a result, we perceive and interact with the world differently, resulting in a range of outputs. A muscular, coordinated child will tend to be attracted to sports, while a frail, timid child will tend to avoid competitive activities. Thus, children play a role in their own socialization (Scarr, 1992), which sometimes makes intentional socialization difficult. In contrast to the scientifically shaped utopian society described in *Walden Two* or the manipulated situation in the Robber's Cave experiment, in reality each human being is exposed to many different environments in which many different interactions and experiences, both intentional and unintentional, take place.

Since individuals reflect both their biological characteristics and their socialization experiences (Bugental & Grusec, 2006; Collins, Maccoby, Steinberg, Hetherington, & Bornstein, 2000), they are not static. Socialization is dynamic, transactional, and bidirectional, or reciprocal (Sameroff, 2009). Ideally, as children develop, control over their behavior gradually shifts from the adult to the child. More specifically, infants and toddlers require much adult direction. Preschoolers are developmentally capable of directing some of their activities and exhibiting some self-control of their behavior. School-agers can direct most of their activities with adult support and some direction. Adolescents who have been socialized by nurturant adults exhibit much self-control and self-directed

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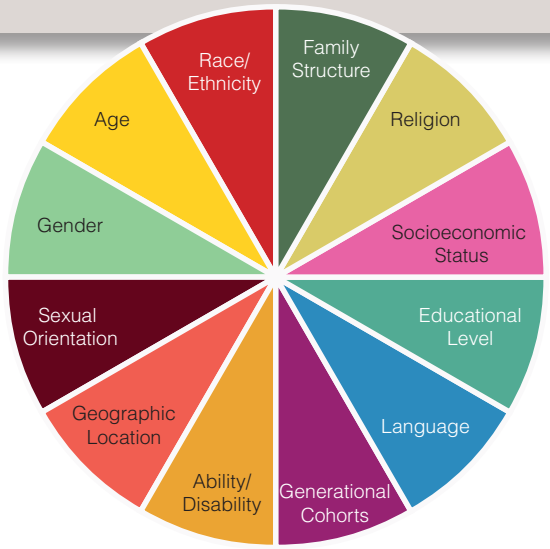
behavior, even though they still need some adult guidance. From a societal perspective, as politics, economics, and technologies change, so do the goals of parenting and education, resulting in changes in children's cognitive development (Schoon, 2012; Silbereisen & Chen, 2010). For example, as rural societies became more dependent on industry rather than agriculture, children's thinking was found to be more flexible, logical, and abstract, rather than fixed, concrete, and traditional (Vygotsky, 1978; Chen, 2012). For another example, the political transformation from Communism to a free market economy in

Dimensions of Diversity

You

You, the reader, are a socialized human being. As you explore the chapters in this book, you will better understand the role played in who you are by direct (*proximal*) and indirect (*distal*) socialization processes, influenced by your personal dimensions of diversity. Each chapter in the book will discuss one of these dimensions.



Please complete the following exercise now:

Who am I and how am I different from others around me?

1. **Age** and significant personal life experience
   I am _____ years old. The most significant experience in my life was _____.
2. **Race/ethnicity**
   My racial or ethnic heritage is _____.
3. **Family structure**
   The family in which I grew up consisted of _____.
4. **Religion**
   I follow the beliefs of the _____ religion.
5. **Socioeconomic status** (income)
   The family in which I grew up could be classified as _____ class.
6. **Education level**
   The highest level of education attained by my parents was _____.
7. **Language**
   I grew up speaking _____ and was exposed to _____.
8. **Generational cohorts**
   My friends and I spent our child and adolescent years in the _____ [*give decades*] and _____.
9. **Ability/disability**
   I would exemplify my abilities as _____ and my disabilities as _____.
10. **Geographic location**
    The country and area in which I grew up was _____.
11. **Sexual orientation**
    I would describe my sexual orientation as _____.
12. **Gender**
    My gender is _____.

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Dimensions of Diversity

DIVERSITY

Age and significant personal life experience

I was 13 years old when my parents divorced. This was traumatic for me, not only because I felt I was being abandoned by my father, but because in the 1950s divorce was very rare. The only grounds for divorce in court were adultery or extreme cruelty. I felt stigmatized because now I was different from my friends. At age 13, both being like and being liked by your peers are of primary importance. Even though I knew my family's situation was the gossip of the neighborhood, I pretended the divorce never happened by not talking about it. I didn't realize it at the time, but the absence of my father from my daily life affected my relations with men. I "fell in love" with my seventh-grade teacher, a handsome, athletic, and charming man. I became an excellent student to gain his attention. When I was old enough to date, I didn't know how to interpret boys' behavior: I might have thought a boy was interested in me when he wasn't, and I might have ignored a boy who was. Fortunately when I was 15 ½, I met a boy who was also a child of divorce. He spoke freely about his experience, so for the very first time I opened up. Our relationship gradually went from friendship to dating and finally marriage. We are still together.

- What significant personal life experience have you had growing up?
- How was its impact affected by your age at the time?

many countries in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the Soviet Union, has had an effect on the values and future goals of young people (Tomasik & Silbereisen, 2012).

From here on every chapter will contain a different Dimensions of Diversity box. The first dimension illustrates how a significant personal life experience, which happened at a particular age, influenced that person's feelings, attitudes, and behavior . . . even years after the event.

How do socialization theories, especially the bioecological theory, explain children's developmental outcomes?

1-7 Scientific Theory and the Bioecological Model of Human Development: A Major Socialization Theory

A scientific **theory** is an organized set of statements that explains observations, integrates different facts or events, and predicts future outcomes. Theories:

- provide a framework for interpreting research findings and give direction for future study
- explain a particular aspect of development, such as genetics
- describe settings that influence many aspects of the child's development, such as culture, or
- examine the interaction between the child and his or her environment, such as ecology.

theory an organized set of statements that explains observations, integrates different facts or events, and predicts future outcomes

bioecological refers to the role organisms play in shaping their environment over time

Recall that ecology is the science of interrelationships between organisms and their environments. The term **bioecological** refers to the role organisms play in shaping their environments over time. Here we focus on human organisms—their biological, social, and psychological characteristics.

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> Human beings create environments that shape the course of human development. Their actions influence the multiple physical and cultural tiers of the ecology that shapes them, and this agency makes humans—for better or worse—active producers of their own development. (Bronfenbrenner, 2005, p. xxvii)

The general framework for this whole book is based on developmental psychologist Urie Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of human development (1979, 1989, 1995, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). The model provides the whole picture of the developing child, encompassing relevant theories within it. Such theories, including biological, behavior-learning, sociocultural, psychoanalytical, cognitive developmental, information processing, and systems theories, are discussed throughout the book as they apply to particular topics.

The bioecological model of human development represents the evolving character of science, because it can accommodate other theories and old research while providing a conceptual scheme to assimilate new research. It is possible to do such integrative and complex studies due to computer technology, which enables multifaceted analyses, and communication technology, which enables collaboration among researchers. While some theories focus on patterns or similarities among individuals to explain human development, Bronfrenbrenner (1979, 1989, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006) has provided a way to explain individual human variation and adaptation within general patterns.

An example of a theory that describes a pattern is that of Piaget (1952). His theory of cognitive development delineates the stages in which children, in general, develop a conceptual understanding of the world based on their maturation and active experiences. Piaget's stages are as follows:

- Infants and toddlers (ages 0–2) understand things in terms of their senses and motor activity. They recognize a rattle by its feel, its taste, and its sound.
- Preschoolers (ages 3–5) are beginning to understand relationships between people, objects, and events, but in an intuitive or imaginative, rather than logical, way. "My grandma has gray hair; that lady is a grandma because her hair is gray."
- School-agers (ages 6–11) can use logic to understand relationships, but only on concrete, or real, people, objects or events. "That animal is a dog because it has four legs, pointy ears, furry hair, and it barks."
- Adolescents (age 12 and beyond) can understand abstract and hypothetical relationships and therefore can solve problems regarding things they haven't experienced directly. "The moon rotates in an orbit around the Earth."

Bronfenbrenner (1993) looks beyond general developmental patterns; he proposes that researchers examine various ecological settings in which the child participates, such as family and child care, to explain individual differences in children's development (in this case, cognitive development). For example, an ecological longitudinal study on the effects of nonparental care ("child care") on children's cognitive development from birth through age 15 has found that toddlers and preschool children, especially those from low-income families, who attend a quality child-care center are more advanced cognitively, demonstrating Piaget's stages of development earlier and scoring higher on school achievement tests than those children who do not (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development Early Child Care Research Network, 2010).

The bioecological model represents a composite of bits and pieces of information about human development designed to foster further understanding. It is like a mosaic or a graphic design, as in a website comprised of words, colors, figures, or pictures, and so on to convey meaning. The bioecological model of human development comprises information relating to persons, processes, contexts, and outcomes. This book follows such a pattern, discussing (1) the child as a biological organism, (2) socialization processes in Part I, (3) significant contexts of development in Part II, and (4) socialization outcomes in Part III.

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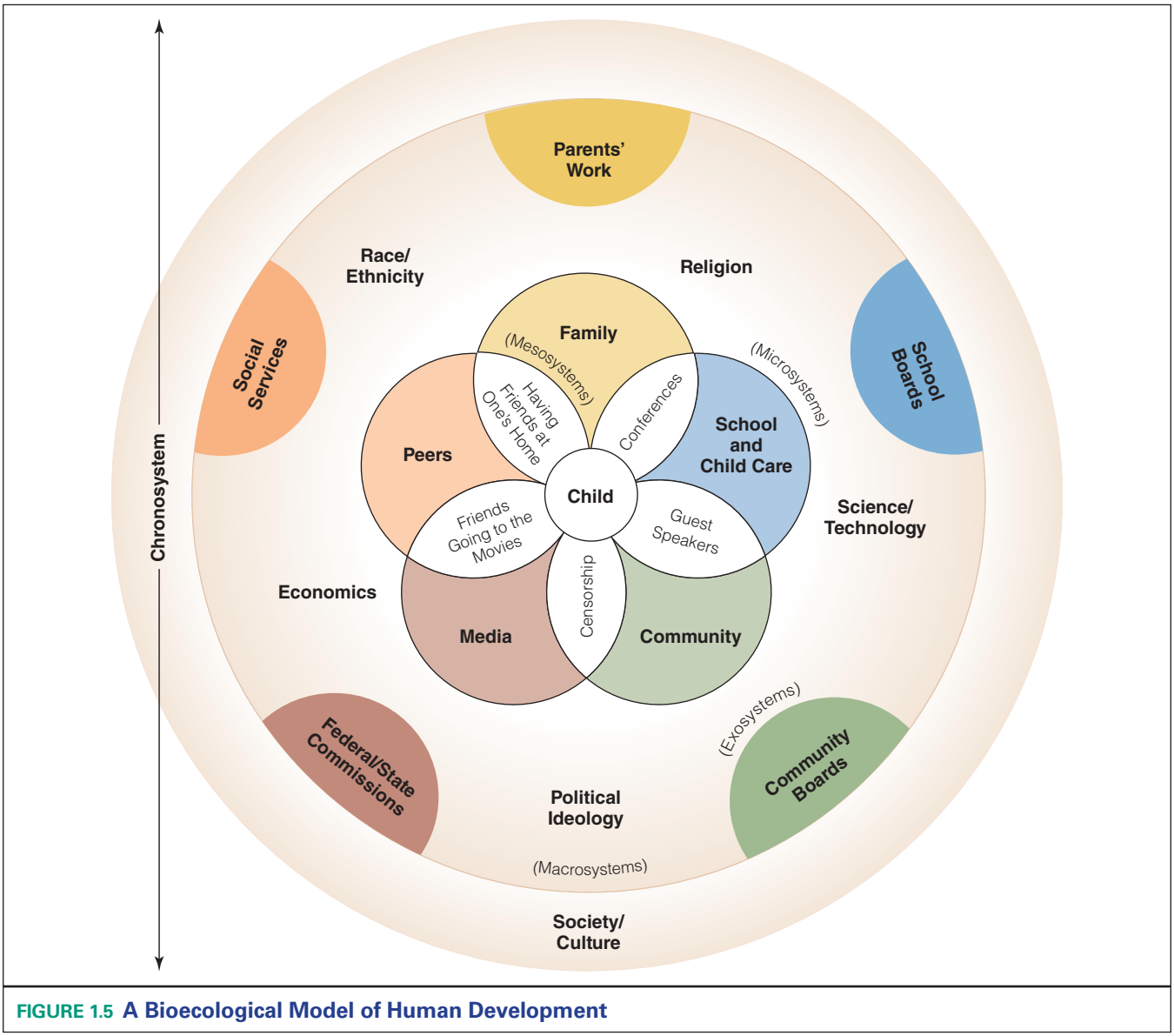

FIGURE 1.5 A Bioecological Model of Human Development

Source: Based on concepts from Bronfenbrenner (1989).

What ecological contexts and interactions influence the process of socialization?

1-8 Ecological Systems and Socialization

The social context of individual interactions and experiences determines the degree to which individuals can develop their abilities and realize their potentials, according to Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1989, 1995, 2005; Bronfenbrenner & Morris, 2006). His conceptual model (see Figure 1.5) for studying humans in their various social environments—the bioecology of human development—allows for a systematic study of interactions and serves as a guide for future research on the very complicated process of socialization.

According to Bronfenbrenner's bioecological theory, there are four basic structures—(1) the *microsystem*, (2) the *mesosystem*, (3) the *exosystem*, and (4) the *macrosystem*—in which relationships and interactions take place to form patterns that affect human development. Such a conceptual framework enables us to study the child and his or her family, school, and community as dynamic, evolving systems that are influenced by broader social change (the *chronosystem*), as in economics, politics, and technology.

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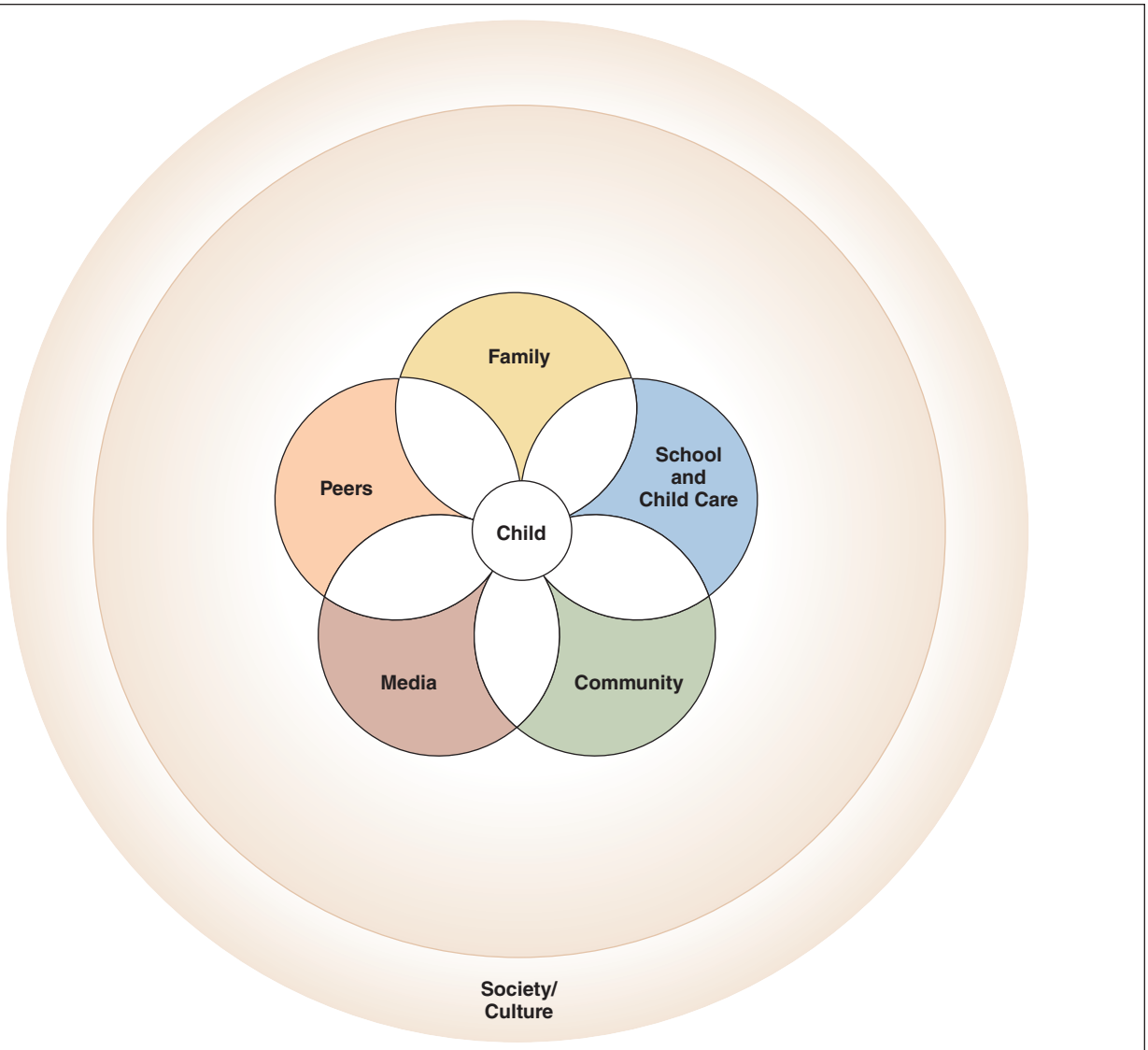

FIGURE 1.6 The Microsystem

1-8a Microsystems

What are the most significant contexts in which a child interacts?

The first basic structure, the **microsystem** (*micro* meaning small) refers to the activities and relationships with significant others experienced by a developing person in a particular small setting such as family, school, peer group, or community (see Figure 1.6).

microsystem activities and relationships with significant others experienced by a developing person in a particular small setting such as family, school, peer group, or community

Family

The *family* is the setting that provides nurturance, affection, and a variety of opportunities. It is the primary socializer of the child in that it has the most significant impact on the child's development (Grusec & Davidov, 2007). According to James Garbarino (1992), the child who is not adequately nurtured or loved, such as one who grows up in an abusive or dysfunctional family, may have developmental problems. Also, children who do not have sufficient opportunities to manipulate objects, to model desirable behaviors, to initiate activity, or to be exposed to a language-rich environment will be at a disadvantage when they reach school. This early disadvantage will persist and even worsen as the child progresses through school unless intervention, such as that provided by some quality child-care programs, can modify the opportunities at home and in school.

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These children are participating in a community event, learning about competition.

TAO Images/Getty Images

School

The *school* is the setting in which children formally learn about their society. The school teaches reading, writing, arithmetic, history, science, and so on. Teachers encourage the development of various skills and behaviors by being role models and by providing motivation for children to succeed in learning.

Peer Group

The *peer group* is the setting in which children are generally unsupervised by adults, thereby gaining experience in independence. In the peer group, children get a sense of who they are and what they can do by comparison with others. Peers provide companionship and support as well as learning experiences in cooperation and role taking.

Community

The *community*, or neighborhood on a smaller scale, is the main setting in which children learn by doing. The facilities available to children determine what real experiences they will have. Is there a library? Are stores and workplaces nearby where children can observe people at work? Are the people with whom children interact in the community similar or diverse? Are the people in the community advocates for children? These questions relate to the significance of the community as a socializer.

Media

The *media*—television, movies, videos, DVDs, books, magazines, music, computers, consoles, and cellular phones—are not regarded as a microsystem by Bronfenbrenner because they are not a small, interactive setting for reciprocal interaction. However, I consider the media as significant a socializer as those just described because the media present a setting in which a child can view the whole world—past, present, future, as well as places, things, roles, relationships, attitudes, values, and behaviors. Other social/behavioral scientists, such as Dubow, Huessman, and Greenwood (2007) would agree. Much of today's media technology is interactive, providing opportunities to relate socially in that they are multifaceted, such as cell phones, social networking sites, and computer games.

Interactions within Microsystems

The child's development is affected in each of the aforementioned settings not only by the child's relationships with others in the family, school, peer group, or community, but also by interactions among members of the particular microsystem. For example, the father's relationship with the mother affects her treatment of the child. If the father is emotionally supportive of the mother, she is likely to be more involved and to have more positive interactions with the child (Cox, Owen, Henderson, & Margand, 1992). For another example, a child's classroom performance varies as a function of whether or not the teacher has taught the child's older sibling and how well that sibling performed (Jussim & Eccles, 1995; Seaver, 1973). A teacher who has taught a high-achieving older sibling tends to have high expectations for the younger sibling. The younger sibling, in turn, is more likely to perform as expected.

mesosystem linkages and interrelationships between two or more of a person's microsystems (for example, home and school, school and community)

How are the child's significant contexts of development linked to one another?

1-8b Mesosystems

The second basic structure, the **mesosystem** (*meso-* meaning intermediate), consists of linkages and interrelationships between two or more of a developing person's microsystems, such as the family and the school, or the family and the peer group (see Figure 1.7). The concept of linkages is exemplified in the social networking website LinkedIn. The site was launched in 2003 and is available in many languages worldwide. The purpose of

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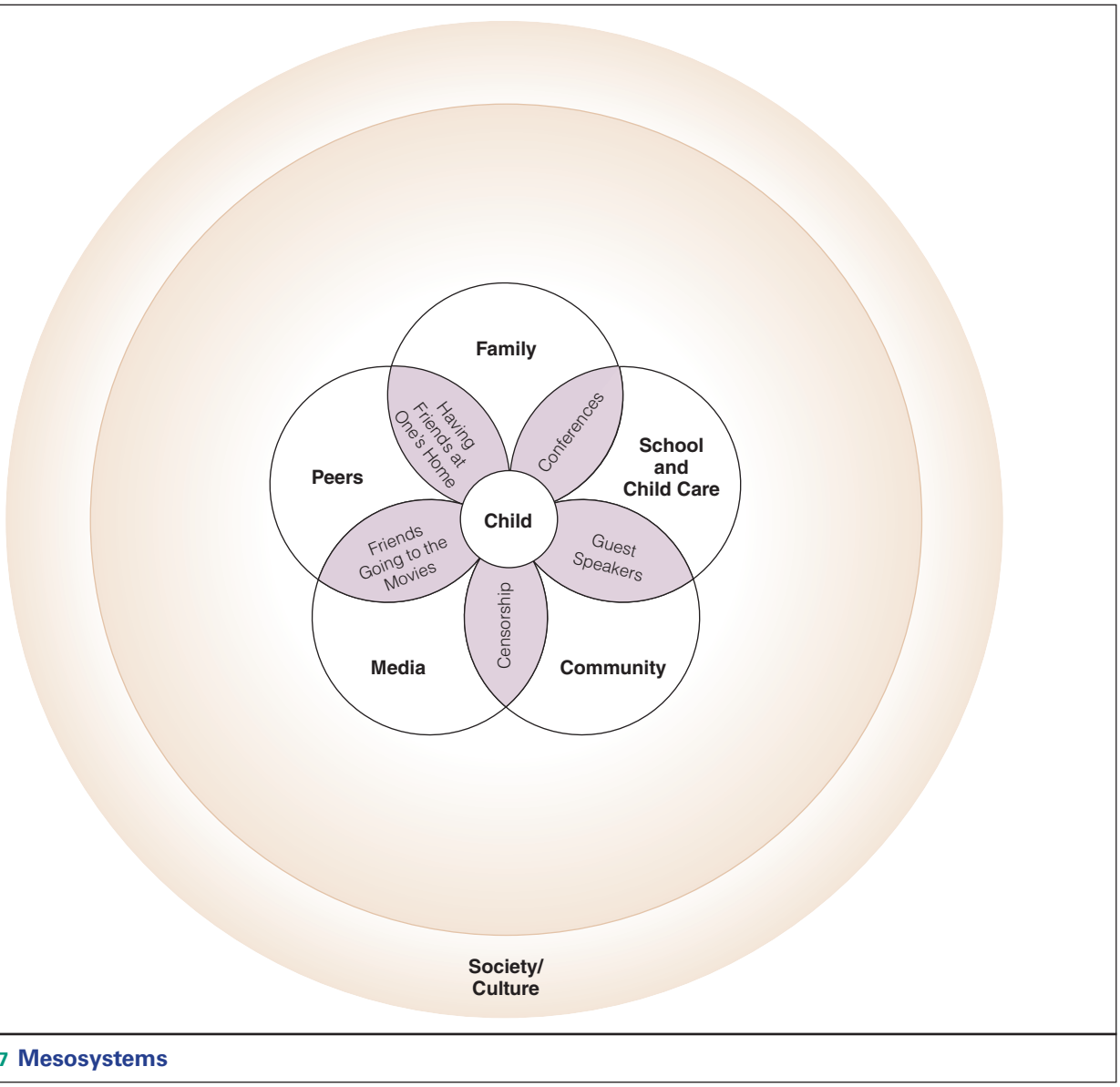

FIGURE 1.7 **Mesosystems**

the site is to connect people with whom a relationship already exists, as well as to those people's connections with whom an introduction is desired.

The impact of mesosystems on the child depends on the number and quality of interrelationships. Bronfenbrenner (1979) uses the example of the child who goes to school alone on the first day. This means that there is only a single link between home and school—the child. Where there is little linkage between home and school "in terms of values, experiences, objects, and behavioral style," there also tends to be little academic achievement for the child. In contrast, where all these links are strong, there is likely to be academic competence. To illustrate, many studies have found a consistent relationship between the joint effects of family and school over time and academic performance (Epstein & Sanders, 2002). When the style of family interaction was similar to the school's, in that both settings encouraged child participation, academic performance was enhanced (Hill & Tyson, 2009). Thus, the more numerous the qualitative links or interrelationships between the child's microsystems, the more impact they have on socialization. Mesosystems, then, provide support for activities going on in microsystems. For example, when parents invite a child's friends to their home, or when parents encourage their child to join a certain club, team, or youth group, the socialization impact of the peers is enhanced through parental approval.

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Another example of mesosystem impact occurs when businesses in the community form partnerships to support schools (Target stores do this), sponsor local events, or give rewards.

How do settings in which the child does not participate influence his or her development?

1-8c Exosystems

The third basic structure, the **exosystem** (*exo* meaning outside), refers to settings in which children are not active participants, but that affect them in one of their microsystems—for example, parents' jobs, the city council, or parental social support networks (see Figure 1.8). The effects of exosystems on the child are indirect via the microsystems. To illustrate, when parents work in settings that demand conformity rather than self-direction, they reflect this orientation in their parenting styles, tending to be more controlling than democratic. This orientation, in turn, affects the child's socialization. When the city planning commission approves a freeway through a neighborhood or an air traffic pattern over a school, children's socialization is affected because the noise interferes with learning. Studies show that parental employment, income, and setting affect child development outcomes. For example, low-income parents involved in work-based antipoverty programs (ones that provide sufficient family income, child care, health insurance, and support services) have been shown to enhance the school performance and social behavior of their children (Huston et al., 2001).

exosystem settings in which children do not actually participate, but which affect them in one of their microsystems (for example, parents' jobs, the school board, the city council)

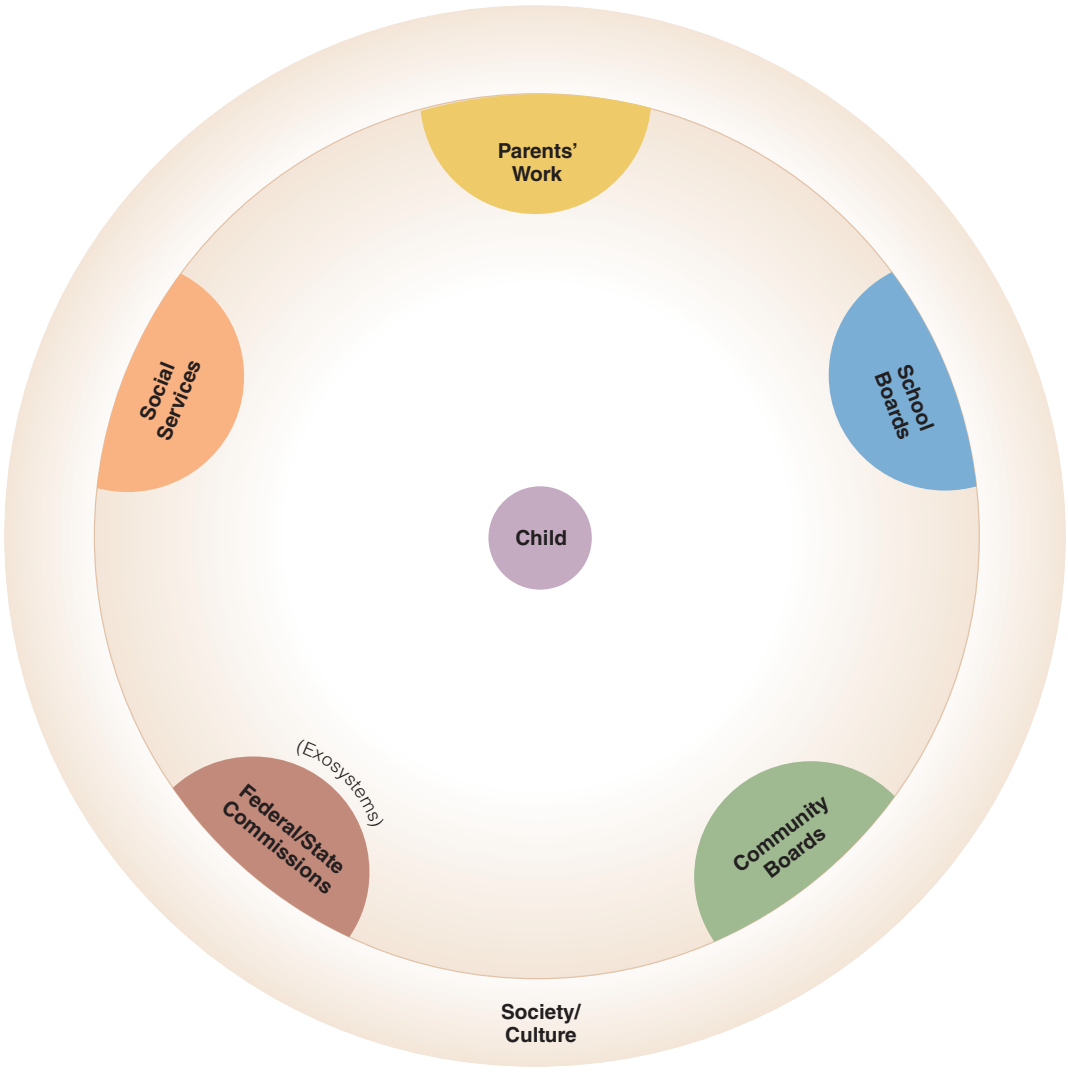

FIGURE 1.8 Exosystems

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On the other hand, high-income parents living in upwardly mobile suburban communities have been shown to have children who exhibit a relatively high rate of lower-than-expected school performance and negative social behavior (anxiety, depression, and substance abuse) as a reaction to achievement pressure (Luthar & Becker, 2002; Luthar & Latendresse, 2005).

1-8d Macrosystems

How do characteristics of the larger society influence the child's development?

The fourth basic structure, the **macrosystem** (*macro* meaning large), consists of the **society** (a community, nation, or broad grouping of people having common traditions, institutions, and collective activities and interests) and subculture to which the developing person belongs, with particular reference to the belief systems, lifestyles, patterns of social interaction, and life changes (see Figure 1.9). Examples of macrosystems include the United States, the middle or lower class, Latino or Asian ancestry, Catholicism or Judaism, and urban or rural areas. Macrosystems are viewed as patterns, or sets of instructions, for exosystems, mesosystems, and microsystems. Democracy is the basic belief system of the United States and so is considered a macrosystem. Democratic ideology affects the world of work, an exosystem—for example, employers cannot discriminate in hiring. Democratic ideology also affects school-family interaction, a mesosystem—for example, schools must inform parents of policies, and parents have the right to question those policies. Finally, democratic

macrosystem the society and subculture to which the developing person belongs, with particular reference to the belief systems, lifestyles, patterns of social interaction, and life changes

society a community, nation,or broad grouping of people having common traditions, institutions, and collective activities and interests

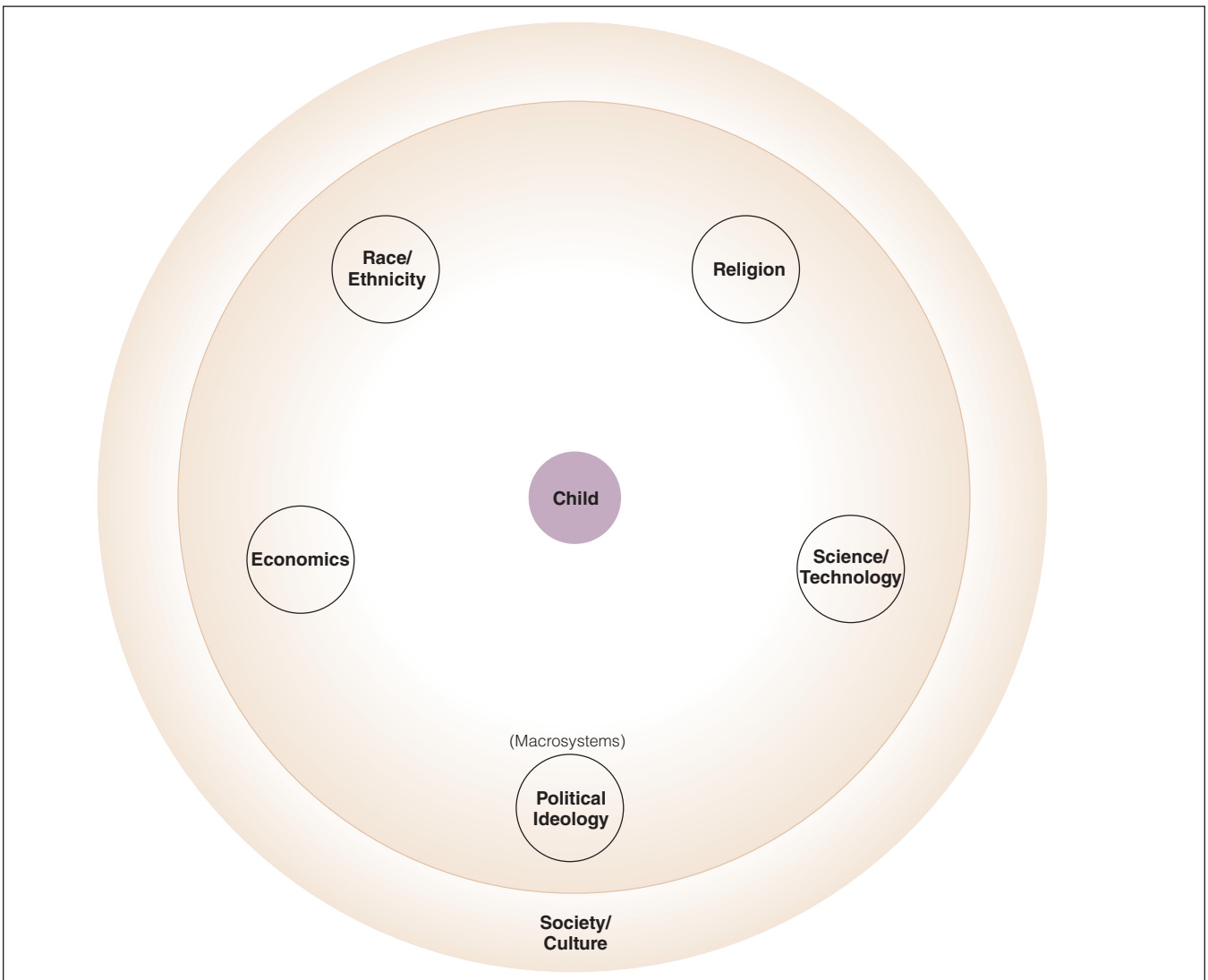

FIGURE 1.9 Macrosystems

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Low- versus high-context cultural methods of cultivating the land.

Jupiterimages

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ideology affects what is taught in schools, a microsystem—for example, children must learn the principles upon which the United States was founded.

A person who lives in the United States, subscribes to its basic belief system of democracy, and consequently is influenced by that macrosystem, may also be part of other macrosystems, such as his or her ethnic group and culture. **Ethnicity** refers to an *ascribed* attribute of membership in a group in which members identify themselves by national origin, culture, race, or religion. Members of an ethnic group share biologically and/or socially inherited characteristics. **Culture** refers to the *acquired*, or learned behavior, including knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and traditions, that is characteristic of the social environment in which an individual grows up. While ethnicity and culture often overlap because an ethnic group usually has a common culture, Bugental and Grusec (2006) clarify the distinction: "Ethnicity" refers to *ascribed* attributes passed on by one's family (for example, biology and/or social status) and "culture" refers to *acquired* attributes cultivated through learning (for example, language and/or celebrations). Since the United States is becoming increasingly diverse, we need to understand some basic effects of various macrosystems. Examples of how children, families, schools, and communities adapt to cultural contrasts will be discussed throughout the book.

ethnicity an ascribed attribute of membership in a group in which members identify themselves by national origin, culture, race, or religion

culture the learned, or acquired, behavior, including knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and traditions, that is characteristic of the social environment in which an individual grows up

low-context macrosystem culture generally characterized by rationality, practicality, competition, individuality, and progress

high-context macrosystem culture generally characterized by intuitiveness, emotionality, cooperation, group identity, and tradition

Diverse Macrosystems: Low- and High-Context

According to cultural anthropologist Edward T. Hall (1964, 1966, 1976, 1983), people from different macrosystems, or cultures, view the world differently, unaware that there are alternative ways of perceiving, believing, behaving, and judging. Particularly significant are the unconscious assumptions people make about personal space, time, interpersonal relations, and ways of knowing.

DIVERSITY

Hall classifies macrosystems as being low or high context. Generally, **low-context macrosystems** (individualistic-oriented) are characterized by rationality, practicality, competition, individuality, and progress; **high-context macrosystems** (collectivistic - oriented) are characterized by intuitiveness, emotionality, cooperation, group identity, and tradition (see Table 1.4). These diverse characteristics translate into differences in communication, relationships to the natural and social environment, and adaptive behavior to survive.

Diverse Patterns of Behavior

The following low- and high-context behavior patterns, presented here as extremes (either/or), occur more often in reality by degrees. Examples of low- and high-context cultures are represented as a continuum in Figure 1.10. Some parameters of these behavior patterns follow.

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Table 1.4 Worldviews and Type of Macrosystem

	Low-Context Macrosystems	High-Context Macrosystems
General Characteristics	Rationality	Intuitiveness
	Practicality	Emotionality
	Competition	Cooperation
	Individuality	Group identity
	Progress	Tradition
Significant Values	Emphasis on concrete evidence and facts	Emphasis on feelings
	Efficient use of time	Build solid relationships through human interaction
	Achievement	Character
	Personal freedom	Group welfare
	Humans can control nature and influence the future	Nature and the future are governed by a power higher than human
	Change is good	Stability is good

- What if these views represented two individuals wanting to marry?
- What if one view represented a teacher's and the other a student's?
- What if one view represented an employer's and the other an employee's?

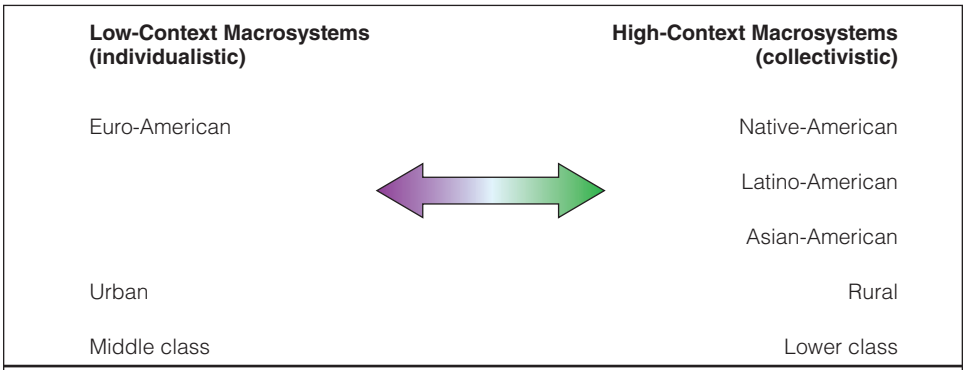

FIGURE 1.10 Examples of Cultural Diversity

- **Communication.** In a *low-context* macrosystem, meaning from a communication is gleaned from the verbal message—a spoken explanation, a written letter, or a computer printout. *What* is said is generally more important than *who* said it. Many employees in government, business, or education routinely communicate by phone or memorandum without ever meeting the other individuals involved. On the other hand, in a *high-context* macrosystem, meaning from a communication is gleaned from the setting in which the communication takes place. In some languages, one can communicate familiarity by whether one uses the formal or informal word for "you." Body language, such as eye-lowering or bowing, can be used to communicate degree of respect.
- **Relationship to Natural and Social Environment.** In a *low-context* macrosystem, people tend to try to control nature (such as irrigating desert areas) and to have more fragmented social relations—that is, they may behave one way toward friends, another way toward business colleagues, and yet another way toward neighbors. In

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a *high-context* macrosystem, people tend to live in harmony with nature and with other humans who are part of their social network. Whereas individuals in *low-context* macrosystems usually develop an identity based on their personal efforts and achievements, people in *high-context* macrosystems tend to gain their identity through group associations (lineage, place of work, organizations). Members of *low-context* cultures expect personal freedom, openness, and individual choice. Members of *high-context* cultures are less open to strangers, make distinctions between insiders and outsiders, and are more likely to follow traditional role expectations.

- **Adaptive Behavior to Survive.** Both low- and high-context macrosystems illustrate adaptive behavior to survive, which includes parenting styles. *Low-context* cultures, valuing progress, provide members with ways of changing and using new knowledge that can benefit society. Parenting style influences child's independence and creativity. On the other hand, *high-context* cultures, valuing tradition, provide a strong human support network that helps guard against the alienation of a technological society. Parenting style influences child's interdependence and conformity.

IN CONTEXT

On a daylong cruise to see some glaciers in Alaska, I had the opportunity to observe the contrast in parenting styles in a high- and low-context family. The high-context family consisted of a mother and father, a baby (about 10 months old), and a grandmother and grandfather. The baby was continually held and played with by one of the adults. She was kissed and jiggled and spoken to. There were no toys to amuse her. When it was lunchtime, the mother, after distributing to the adults the food she had brought, took some food from her plate, mashed it between her fingers, and put it in the baby's mouth. After lunch the grandmother and grandfather took turns rocking the baby to sleep. The baby never cried the whole day. The care she received fostered a sense of interdependence.

In contrast, the low-context family, consisting of a mother, a father, and a baby (about 15 months old), had brought a sack of toys for the baby to play with while the parents enjoyed the sights through a nearby window. After a while, the baby began to fuss; the father picked him up and brought him to the boat's window, pointing out seals and birds and glaciers. Later, when the baby tired of his toys, the mother held his hands and walked him around the deck. The baby was given crackers and a bottle to soothe him when he cried. The care he received fostered a sense of independence.

What role does time play in how environmental conditions and events affect the child and how the child affects his or her environments?

1-9 The Chronosystem: Interaction of Ecological Systems over Time

The **chronosystem** involves temporal changes in ecological systems or within individuals, producing new conditions that affect development. For example, significant societal events can produce a variety of effects on children. The commonality of violent events in recent years, such as the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, the Sandy Hook Elementary School shootings in Newtown, Connecticut, in 2012, and the accessibility to knives and guns has affected many on-campus security procedures. Schools installed metal detectors, hired guards, and initiated "zero-tolerance" policies whereby aggressive students are expelled for just one offense. For another temporal example, the physical changes a child experiences during puberty can affect his or her self-esteem, depending

chronosystem temporal changes in ecological systems or within individuals, producing new conditions that affect development

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on how the child's developing body compares to his or her friends' as well as to the cultural ideal body type.

1-9a Chronosystem Effects: The Past

What impacts do significant past events have on ecological systems and developmental outcomes over time?

A classic, very thorough longitudinal study was conducted by sociologist Glen Elder (1974, 1979) and his colleagues of 167 California children born from 1920 to 1929 (Elder & Hareven, 1993; Elder, Van Nguyen, & Casper, 1985; Elder & Shanahan, 2006). It illustrated that changes in a macrosystem can result in changes in exosystems, mesosystems, and microsystems. Elder and colleagues compared the life-course development of children whose families had experienced a change in their socioeconomic status during the Great Depression (a period of widespread economic insecurity in the United States) and those who had not. The immediate exosystem effect was loss of a job. This in turn caused emotional distress, which was experienced in the home and affected the children (effect on a microsystem). There were also secondary exosystem effects: In families hit by the Depression, the father lost status in the eyes of the children and the mother gained in importance. The affected father's parenting behavior became more rejecting, especially toward adolescent girls. Children, especially boys, from affected families expressed a stronger identification with the peer group. Children from affected families also participated more in domestic roles and outside jobs, with girls being more likely to do the former and boys the latter.

The fact that longitudinal data were available over a period of more than 60 years gave Elder and colleagues the opportunity to assess the impact of childhood experience, within and outside the family, on behavior in later life (effects of the chronosystem). He found that the long-term consequences of the Depression varied according to the age of the child at the time. Children who were preadolescents when their families suffered economic loss did less well in school, showed less stable and less successful work histories, and exhibited more emotional and social difficulties, even in adulthood, than did those of the same socioeconomic status from families who did not suffer economically. Such adverse effects have been explained (Conger et al., 1994) as due to the impact of economic hardship on the quality of parenting and hence on the psychological well-being of children.

In contrast, those who were teenagers when the Depression hit their families did better in school, were more likely to go to college, had happier marriages, exhibited more successful work careers, and in general were more satisfied with life than youngsters of the same socioeconomic status who were not affected by the Depression. These favorable outcomes were more pronounced for teenagers from middle-socioeconomic-status backgrounds but were also evident among their lower-status counterparts.

Interestingly, adults whose families escaped economic ruin turned out to be less successful, both educationally and vocationally, than those whose families were deprived. Why was this so? According to Elder (1974):

> It seems that a childhood which shelters the young from the hardships of life consequently fails to develop or test adaptive capacities which are called upon in life crises. To engage and manage real-life (though not excessive) problems in childhood and adolescence is to participate in a sort of apprenticeship for adult life. Preparedness has been identified repeatedly as a key factor in the adaptive potential and psychological health of persons in novel situations. (pp. 249–250)

Thus, a major consequence of the Depression was that economic loss changed the relation of children to the family and the adult world by involving them in work that was necessary for the welfare of others. This early involvement contributed to deprived children's socialization for adulthood. Elder hypothesized that the loss of economic security forced the family to mobilize its human resources. Everyone had to take on new responsibilities.

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