CHILD FAMILY COMMUNITY: THE SOCIALIZATION OF DIVERSE CHILDREN



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College of the Canyons

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Child Family Community: The Socialization of Diverse Children

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Text/Chapter Organization

Welcome and Introduction

Welcome Child, Family and Community students and instructors. We hope this text is a guide and resource in building awareness, knowledge and skills as a current or future educators. We also want to thank the previous authors for their contribution and allowing us a starting point to enhance the original text. The chapters are organized with learning objectives, embedded terms and definitions, critical reflection and practical application of the content and topics. While we possibly couldn't cover every topic, we invite you to share your experiences and knowledge with your peers to enhance the content shared in this text. You will notice a common theory utilized throughout this text. Uri Bronfenbrenner's (1917-2005) Ecological Systems Theory explains how a child is influenced by their interactions and surroundings. We hope you are able to examine the interrelationships between childrens experiences and the roles families and communities play a part in their overall growth and development. We recommend you start with Chapter One as it is the foundational chapter and then proceed to the following chapters.

Meet the Authors

We want you to know that remixing a text was not easy and we had several bumps along the way. We lost some of our early contributors to prior commitments and life in general. We were also navigating like you in this COVID-19 Pandemic as well as a cultural awakening after the death of George Floyd in 2020. While we navigate this new normal we tried to create a text where all were included and represented. We hope this revision or remix is not the last and we look forward to what this text can be for all educators.



Liz Romero

Clovis Community College

I have the privilege of teaching and learning alongside my Early Childhood Education students at Clovis Community College. I am passionate about advancing equity through the lens of racial and cultural diversity in my field and seek to create spaces that foster reflection, growth, and belonging for all my students. As a life-long learner and newer social justice advocate, I seek to inspire my students in their own journey to becoming reflective, collaborative leaders in the field of education.

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Tyrone graduated from Pacific Oaks College with his Master's in Human Development, Social Change is dedicated to creating an equitable higher educational system where minority students and professionals are valued, and positively represented. Tyrone has a passion for engaging children and families in equitable practices, and creating bridges between macrosystem influences and microsystem influences. Tyrone has done intensive organizational work such as starting a 501c3 organization called Holistic Divine Innovations and building sustainable infrastructure such as community gardens and herbal gardens to help create economic impact for children and families living in poverty.

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Her research and teaching center the need to prepare critically conscious early childhood educators using anti-racist and anti-bias frameworks. Her research interests are critical theory, culturally responsible pedagogy, anti-bias and anti-racist education, and issues of equity in early childhood education, with a focus on preschool.



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Passion and commitment to serving children and families has been the driving force in her educational and professional journey. Dr. Porter has over 20-years' experience in developing and facilitating programs for young children, college students and families. Her dedication to her work has been supported and encouraged by her husband of over 25 years as well as her emerging adult children. Dr. Porter is a servant leader and strives to see her colleagues and students become "Producers of Education." Her recent study of early childhood teacher educators on race, ethnicity and culture has led her to further working in developing, "Critically Reflective Cultural Educators."


Cindy Stephens

College of the Canyons

Cindy has spent over half of her life dedicated to her passion creating an educational system that honors and supports children in their lifelong journey of learning. Her role as faculty in the Early Childhood Education department on her campus provides her with a balanced joy in working with adult and children learners. She has a deep passion in creating equitable spaces for all learners that was fueled at a very young age. She is grateful for all of the opportunities her work has afforded her over the past 44 years.

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Looking for resources? See what has been compiled in the Google Group.

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1: INTRODUCTION TO SOCIALIZATION AND THEORIES

Learning Objectives

- Identify developmental theories and their influences on how children develop.
- Define socialization
- Understand socialization theories and their influences on child development
- Identify agents of socialization
- Understand methods of socialization
- Discuss Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory

Theories

The evolving idea of how we become members of a society, develop behaviors, values and beliefs, and follow and create norms and expectations happens through a process called socialization. There is a growing and profound body of research that describes socialization, and the process in which humans are socialized through agents, which we call agents of socialization. Environments such as home, school, and community, are major contributors to the autonomy of who we are as individuals, and a collective group. The methods in how we experience socialization can determine how we experience the different environments we navigate through. This describes how two individuals who navigate through the same environment can have different outcomes.

In addition to socialization, theories on socialization explains the impacts socialization can have on our cognitive and moral development, social-emotional development, physical development, and language development. There are very strong links between socialization and behavioral outcomes. Once we understand socialization, and theories such as Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory, we will come to understand how individuals become who they are, and how to help children navigate through their environments.

1.1: Developmental Theory

1.2: Socialization Factors

1.3: Methods of Socialization

1.4: Bronfenbrenner

1.5: Vygotsky

1.6: Barbara Rogoff

1.7: Bandura

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1.13: Family Systems Theories

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1.1: Developmental Theory

Socialization

Socialization is a part of child development, children learn about about their social world within the context of their culture. The intent is for new generations of a society to learn societies way of life, in order to continue to exist. Whatever is distinctive about a cultural society must be transmitted- this process is socialization. For U.S. culture to continue, for example, children in the United States must learn cultural values related to living in a "democracy". One example of this is that children are taught to say the 'Pledge of Alliance" every day in school. Additionally to shape this value children learn about the norms of voting, and how to use material objects such as voting machines. This value impacts their schooling, their community participation and how their parent interact with them.

This text focuses on the myriad of ways society shape children and their behaviors, attitudes and values. Attempting to understanding children begins with a knowledge about development. In this text we will look at the theories, social institutions, cultural norms, interactions with others to understand human behavior.

Developmental Overview

This section will introduce human development for some and review human development foundations for others. Human development is divided into 3 main areas: Physical, Cognitive, and Affective. Together, these areas address the development of the whole child.

- Physical-motor development – this includes our gross motor, fine motor, and perceptual-motor development.
- Cognitive or intellectual development – this includes our thoughts and how our brain processes information, as well as how we utilize language so that we can communicate with one another.
- Affective development – this includes our emotions, social interactions, personality, creativity, spirituality, and the relationships we have with ourselves and others.

All three areas of development are of critical importance in how we support the whole child. For example, if we are more concerned about a child's cognitive functioning we may neglect to give attention to their affective development. We know that when a child feels good about themselves and their capabilities, they are often able to take the required risks to learn about something new. Likewise, if a child is able to use their body to learn, that experience helps to elevate it to their brain. Below is a image of a child who is learning to walk. All areas of development is being impacted during this task. Additionally, as a society we value independence and caregivers work to facilitate the acquisition of these skills.



Figure 1.1.1: Walking addresses cognitive, physical, and social emotional development. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; sean dreilinger via WordPress)

Quoteable

"If it isn't in the body, it can't be in the brain."

- Bev Bos

Developmental Theories

Theories help us to understand behaviors and recognize developmental milestones so that we can organize our thoughts and consider how to best support a child's individual needs. With this information, we can then plan and implement learning experiences that are appropriate for the development of that child (called, "developmentally appropriate practice or DAP", which is discussed more later on in this chapter), set up engaging environments, and most importantly, we can develop realistic expectations based on the child's age and stage of development.

A theory is defined as "a supposition, or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained, a set of principles on which the practice of an activity is based."

The theories we chose to include in this text form the underlying "principles" that guide us in the decisions we make about the children in our care, as well as provide us with insight on how to best support children as they learn, grow, and develop. The theories that have been selected were proposed by scientists and theorists who studied human development extensively. Each, with their own unique hypothesis, set out to examine and explain development by collecting data through observations/ experiments. The theorists we selected, strived to answer pertinent questions about how we develop and become who we are. Some sought to explain why we do what we do, while others studied when we should achieve certain skills. Here are a few of the questions developmental theorists have considered:

- Is development due to maturation or due to experience? This is often described as the *nature versus nurture debate*. Theorists who side with nature propose that development stems from innate genetics or heredity. It is believed that as soon as we are conceived, we are wired with certain dispositions and characteristics that dictate our growth and development. Theorists who side with nurture claim that it is the physical and temporal experiences or environment that shape and influence our development. It is thought that our environment - our socio-economic status, the neighborhood we grow up in, and the schools we attend, along with our parents' values and religious upbringing - that impact our growth and development. Many experts feel it is no longer an "either nature OR nurture" debate but rather a matter of degree; which influences development more?
- Does one develop gradually or does one undergo specific changes during distinct time frames? This is considered the continuous or discontinuous debate. On one hand, some theorists propose that growth and development are continuous; it is a slow and gradual transition that occurs over time, much like an acorn growing into a giant oak tree. While on the

other hand, there are theorists that consider growth and development to be discontinuous; which suggests that we become different organisms altogether as we transition from one stage of development to another, similar to a caterpillar turning into a butterfly.
- Is behavior shaped by individual internal processes or by the role of society in shaping behavior?

Critical Reflection

Socialization is the means by which human infants begin to acquire the skills necessary to perform as functioning members of their society.

-What skills did you acquire to become a successful adult? Who and what was instrumental in shaping you to fit into society?

As suggested earlier, not only do theories help to explain key components of human development, theories also provide practitioners with valuable insight that can be utilized to support a child's learning, growth, and development. At this time, we would like to mention that although theories are based on notable scientific discoveries, it is necessary to emphasize the following:

- No one theory exclusively explains everything about a child's development.
- Theories are designed to help us make educated guesses about children's development
- Each theory focuses on a different aspect of human development
- Theories often build on previous theoretical concepts and may seek to expand ideals or explore new facets.
- Theories may not be generally applied to all diverse experiences

Developmental theories give us a framework for understanding the importance of socialization. The most common developmental theories are outlined here. Later, their application to socialization will be explained in specific chapters.

We will see that different theories cover different aspects of growth. Several developmental psychologists have laid the foundation to provide a framework to examine, explain and interpret human behavior. Some theories focus on socialization of children within their culture and community. For example, Rogoff suggested cultural communities expect and shape children differently. It is important to understand the role culture plays in socialization given the changing demographics and issues impacting children (later discussed in chapter 8). Theories and theorists which focus on the diverse cultural context of socialization include:

- Bronfenbrenner
- Vygotsky
- Rogoff
- Cultural Framework Theories

In addition, other theories and theorists will be highlighted. Such as:

- Piaget
- Erikson
- Bandura
- Behaviorism

Currently, the last theories identified are considered foundational to the field of child development. Yet, it is critical to note these theories have been generally researched on middle class western cultural norms and generalized to all children. Their validity is greatly debated. It is important to keep this research limitation in mind when applying to all children.

Attribution

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1.2: Socialization Factors

Introduction

The influences of family, society, culture, and community are all factors to take into consideration when understanding socialization. How are childhoods influenced by nature and nurture? In this section, we will consider how family, society and culture influence the lives of children. You will explore how the natural sciences (biology) and social sciences (anthropology, psychology, social work, and sociology) study these influences on children.

Defining Socialization

In the summer of 2005, police detective Mark Holste followed an investigator from the Department of Children and Families to a home in Plant City, Florida. They were there to look into a statement from the neighbor concerning a shabby house on Old Sydney Road. A small girl was reported peering from one of its broken windows. This seemed odd because no one in the neighborhood had seen a young child in or around the home, which had been inhabited for the past three years by a woman, her boyfriend, and two adult sons. Who was the mystery girl in the window? Entering the house, Detective Holste and his team were shocked. It was the worst mess they'd ever seen, infested with cockroaches, smeared with feces and urine from both people and pets, and filled with dilapidated furniture and ragged window coverings. Detective Holste headed down a hallway and entered a small room. That's where he found the little girl, with big, vacant eyes, staring into the darkness. A newspaper report later described the detective's first encounter with the child: "She lay on a torn, moldy mattress on the floor. She was curled on her side . . . her ribs and collarbone jutted out . . . her black hair was matted, crawling with lice. Insect bites, rashes and sores pocked her skin . . . She was naked—except for a swollen diaper. ... Her name, her mother said, was Danielle. She was almost seven years old" (DeGregory, 2008). Detective Holste immediately carried Danielle out of the home. She was taken to a hospital for medical treatment and evaluation.

Through extensive testing, doctors determined that, although she was severely malnourished, Danielle was able to see, hear, and vocalize normally. Still, she wouldn't look anyone in the eyes, didn't know how to chew or swallow solid food, didn't cry, didn't respond to stimuli that would typically cause pain, and didn't know how to communicate either with words or simple gestures such as nodding "yes" or "no." Likewise, although tests showed she had no chronic diseases or genetic abnormalities, the only way she could stand was with someone holding onto her hands, and she "walked sideways on her toes, like a crab" (DeGregory, 2008). What had happened to Danielle? Put simply: beyond the basic requirements for survival, she had been neglected. Based on their investigation, social workers concluded that she had been left almost entirely alone in rooms like the one where she was found. Without regular interaction—the holding, hugging, talking, the explanations, and demonstrations given to most young children—she had not learned to walk or to speak, to eat or to interact, to play or even to understand the world around her. From a sociological point of view, Danielle had not been socialized.

Socialization is the process through which people are taught to be proficient members of a society. It describes the ways that people come to understand societal norms and expectations, to accept society's beliefs, and to be aware of societal values. Socialization is not the same as socializing (interacting with others, like family, friends, and coworkers); to be precise, it is a sociological process that occurs through socializing. As Danielle's story illustrates, even the most basic of human activities are learned. You may be surprised to know that even physical tasks like sitting, standing, and walking had not automatically developed for Danielle as she grew. And without socialization, Danielle hadn't learned about the material culture of her society (the tangible objects a culture uses): for example, she couldn't hold a spoon, bounce a ball, or use a chair for sitting. She also hadn't learned its nonmaterial culture, such as its beliefs, values, and norms. She had no understanding of the concept of "family," didn't know cultural expectations for using a bathroom for elimination, and had no sense of modesty."

Socialization is the manner used to internalize the norms and ideas of a society, and helps maintain social and cultural continuity. It is the way children learn about and begin to understand the world they live in. This develops as children interact with various "agencies" in their lives. Some of the strongest agents of socialization Will be discussed in this chapter.

The COVID-19 pandemic truly altered the way we socialized as a nation. The United States as well as abroad went into lockdowns for periods of time which made us rely on technology more than we may have in the past. Daily routines which may have included going to school, participating in activities outside the home (ex. sports, clubs, community service) and interacting with one's peer group changed and led to more screen time and minimal interactions with people face to face for families, but especially children

of all ages. (Ranjbar, K., Hosseinpour, H., Shahriarirad, R.*et al.*,2021). No one could have imagined that a virus would impact the way we socialized and understood the importance of social-emotional development. This leads us to understanding how traits we may have inherited or learned assist in our overall development.

Nature vs Nurture

Nature vs nurture is all about genes and heredity, how your genes interact with your environment, and how your environment interacts with your genes. What is nature vs nurture? Nature refers to our genes, and nurture refers to our environment. They are the sources that create individual differences in development. We tend to know more about genes than we do about how we are impacted by environment because environment has countless factors that play a part in impacting our development.

Two of the most important terms to understand when looking in to nature vs nurture is genotype and phenotype. Genotype is simply the genetic constitution (or the unchangeable makeup) of an individual organism. Phenotype is the set of observable characteristics of an individual resulting from the interaction of its genotype with the environment. Now that we defined genotype and phenotype, let's look at the different ways our genetics interacts with our environment.

Passive genotype-environment correlation occurs when children passively inherit the genes and the environments their family provides. Certain behavioral characteristics, such as being athletically inclined, may run in families. The children have inherited both the genes that would enable success at these activities and given the environmental encouragement to engage in these actions.

Evocative genotype-environment correlation refers to how the social environment reacts to individuals based on their inherited characteristics. For example, whether one has a more outgoing or shy temperament will affect how he or she is treated by others.

Active genotype-environment correlation occurs when individuals seek out environments that support their genetic tendencies. This is also referred to as niche picking. For example, children who are musically inclined seek out music instruction and opportunities that facilitate their natural musical ability.

Genetic research has consistently shown heritable influence in many traditional areas of psychological research such as mental illness, personality, cognitive disabilities and abilities, and drug use and abuse. Some areas showing strong genetic influence may be more surprising, such as self-esteem, interests, attitudes, and school achievement (Plomin & Asbury, 2005).

There are many studies done on siblings to show what influence is stronger, genes or environment. Siblings are often similar, but their similarity is rooted in their genes rather than in the environment they share. Environment is hugely important to human development, but genetic research has shown beyond doubt that the most effective environmental influences are those that operate to make children in the same family different, not similar. These environmental influences are called non-shared because they are not shared by children growing up in the same family (Plomin & Asbury, 2005). In non-shared environments, children can experience differences in parents, peers, teachers, health and wellness practices, attitudes, beliefs, and religious practices. These differences in non-shared environmental influences can lead to differences in behaviors.

Throughout the lifespan of a child's development, children may experience genetic change. Genetic change simply means that genetic effects at one age differ from genetic effects at another age; that is, the same genes could have different effects in the brains of eight-year-olds and eighteen (Plomin & Asbury, 2005). For example, developmental change in genetic effects is likely to be responsible for the fact that it is difficult to find behavioral markers in childhood for individuals who later become schizophrenic. Although it is possible that "schizophrenia genes" are not turned on until after adolescence, it is more likely that these genes operate the same way before and after adolescence but that they only express their hallucinatory and paranoid effects after adolescent brain development (Plomin & Asbury, 2005).



Figure 1.2.1: The genetics of these twins are identical to one another, just like their appearance. (CC BT-ND 2.0; ethermoon via Flickr)

Temperament

What are the origins of human personality? Are they chiefly the result of the child's reinforcement history? The child's learned attributions about the social world? The child's genes? Or is there more to understand than would result from a simple choice between nature and nurture (Rothbart, 2007)? Through genetics, we develop temperament.

Temperament is made up of the innate characteristics that determine an individual's sensitivity to various experiences and responsiveness to patterns of social interaction. Are there links between a child's temperament and personality development? Understanding temperament is central to our understanding of development, and temperament constructs are linked to individual differences in both personality and underlying neural function (Rothbart, 2007). Temperament and experience combine to "grow" a personality, which will include the child's developing cognitions about self, others, and the physical and social world, as well as his or her values, attitudes, and coping strategies (Rothbart, 2007).

From early infancy, children show considerable variability in their reactions to the environment. One child is fearful, has only a brief attention span, and cries even at moderately stimulating play; another child enjoys vigorous play, is not easily distracted, and seeks out exciting events. These reactions, together with the mechanisms that regulate them, constitute the child's temperament (Rothbart, 2007). Early temperament development can lead to behavioral problems in adolescence. Starting at birth, children are developing temperament, and through temperament, children are developing other social behaviors such as conscience and empathy. For an example, in a study, more fearful children developed greater conscience during the preschool years than less fearful children did. Fear provides internal cues of discomfort that can be attributed to conscience rather than to external reward or coercion (Rothbart, 2007). In that same study, it was noted that the relation between temperament and conscience was also affected by parenting. Fearful children who received gentle and non-punitive socialization developed greater conscience than did fearful children whose parents were punitive.

Family

Family is the first and most important agent of socialization. Mothers and fathers, siblings and grandparents, plus members of an extended family, all teach a child what he or she needs to know. For example, they show the child how to use objects (such as clothes, computers, eating utensils, books, bikes); how to relate to others (some as “family,” others as “friends,” still others as “strangers” or “teachers” or “neighbors”); and how the world works (what is “real” and what is “imagined”). As you are aware, either from your own experience as a child or from your role in helping to raise one, socialization includes teaching and learning about an unending array of objects and ideas.

Part of the reason we turn out much like our parents, for better or worse, is that our families are such an important part of our socialization process. When we are born, our primary caregivers are almost always one or both of our parents. For several years, we have more contact with them than with any other adults. Because this contact occurs in our most formative years, our parents’

interaction with us and the messages they teach us can have a profound impact throughout our lives.

Keep in mind, however, that families do not socialize children in a vacuum. Many social factors affect the way a family raises its children. For example, we can use our imagination to recognize that individual behaviors are affected by the historical period in which they take place. Sixty years ago, it would not have been considered especially strict for a father to hit his son with a wooden spoon or a belt if he misbehaved, but today that same action in some places might be considered child abuse.

Sociologists recognize that race, social class, religion, and other societal factors play an important role in family socialization. Families may socialize for obedience and conformity, judgment, creativity, and problem-solving, depending on the values they hold. Children may also be socialized to abide by gender norms, perceptions of race, and class-related behaviors. For example, poor families usually emphasize obedience and conformity when raising their children, while wealthy families emphasize judgment and creativity (National Opinion Research Center, 2008). This may occur because working-class parents have less education and more repetitive-task jobs for which it is helpful to be able to follow rules and conform. Wealthy parents tend to have better educations and often work in managerial positions or careers that require creative problem solving, so they teach their children behaviors that are beneficial in these positions. This means children are effectively socialized and raised to take the types of jobs their parents already have, thus reproducing the class system (Kohn, 1977). Likewise, children are socialized to abide by gender norms, perceptions of race, and class-related behaviors. In Sweden, for instance, stay-at-home fathers are an accepted part of the social landscape. A government policy provides subsidized time off work—480 days for families with newborns—with the option of the paid leave being shared between mothers and fathers. As one stay-at-home dad says, being home to take care of his baby son "is a real fatherly thing to do. I think that's very masculine" (Associated Press, 2011). Close to 90 percent of Swedish fathers use their paternity leave (about 340,000 dads); on average they take seven weeks per birth (The Economist, 2014). How do U.S. policies—and our society's expected gender roles—compare? How will Swedish children raised this way be socialized to parental gender norms? How might that be different from parental gender norms in the United States?



Figure 1.2.2: Black father playing with infant. (Public Domain; NappyStock via Nappy)

Check-in Time!

What are your thoughts.... Should parents get the credit when their children turn out to be "good" kids and even go on to accomplish great things in life? Should they get the blame if their children turn out to be "bad"?

Understanding Racial Socialization

In a society that is still racially prejudiced, African American parents continue to find it necessary to teach their children about African American culture and to prepare them for the bias and discrimination they can expect to encounter. Scholars in sociology and other disciplines have studied this process of racial socialization. One of their most interesting findings

is that African American parents differ in the degree of racial socialization they practice: some parents emphasize African American identity and racial prejudice to a considerable degree, while other parents mention these topics to their children only minimally. The reasons for these differences have remained unclear.

Sociologist Jason E. Shelton (2008) analyzed data from a national random sample of African Americans to determine these reasons, in what he called "one of the most comprehensive analyses to date of racial socialization strategies among African Americans" (p. 237). Among other questions, respondents were asked whether "in raising your children, have you done or told them things to help them know what it means to be Black." They were also asked whether "there are any other things you've done or told your children to help them know how to get along with White people."

In his major results, Shelton found that respondents were more likely to practice racial socialization if they were older, female, and living outside the South; if they perceived that racial discrimination was a growing problem and were members of civil rights or other organizations aimed at helping African Americans; and if they had higher incomes.

These results led Shelton to conclude that "African Americans are not a culturally monolithic group," as they differ in "the parental lessons they impart to their children about race relations" (2008, p. 253). Further, the parents who do practice racial socialization "do so in order to demystify and empower their offspring to seize opportunities in the larger society" (p. 253).

Shelton's study helps us to understand the factors accounting for differences in racial socialization by African American parents, and it also helps us understand that the parents who do attempt to make their children aware of U.S. race relations are merely trying, as most parents do, to help their children get ahead in life. By increasing our understanding of these matters, Shelton's research has helped make a difference.

The ways in which our parents socialize us depend on many factors, two of the most important of which are our parents' social class and our own biological sex. Melvin Kohn (1965, 1977) found that working-class and middle-class parents tend to socialize their children very differently. Kohn reasoned that working-class parents tend to hold factory and other jobs in which they have little autonomy and instead are told what to do and how to do it. In such jobs, obedience is an important value, lest the workers be punished for not doing their jobs correctly. Working-class parents, Kohn thought, should thus emphasize obedience and respect for authority as they raise their children, and they should favor spanking as a primary way of disciplining their kids when they disobey. In contrast, middle-class parents tend to hold white-collar jobs where autonomy and independent judgment are valued and workers get ahead by being creative. These parents should emphasize independence as they raise their children and should be less likely than working-class parents to spank their kids when they disobey.

If parents' social class influences how they raise their children, it is also true that the sex of their children affects how they are socialized by their parents. Many studies find that parents raise their daughters and sons quite differently as they interact with them from birth. Parents help their girls learn how to act and think "like girls," and they help their boys learn how to act and think "like boys." That is, they help their daughters and sons learn their gender (Wood, 2009). For example, they are gentler with their daughters and rougher with their sons. They give their girls dolls to play with, and their boys guns. Girls may be made of "sugar and spice and everything nice" and boys something quite different, but their parents help them greatly, for better or worse, turn out that way. To the extent this is true, our gender stems much more from socialization than from biological differences between the sexes, or so many sociologists assume. If theorist Carol Gilligan is right that boys and girls reach moral judgments differently, perhaps socialization matters more than biology for how they reach these judgments.

Peers

When you were a 16-year-old, how many times did you complain to your parent(s), "All of my friends are [doing so and so]. Why can't I? It isn't fair!" As this all-too-common example indicates, our friends play a very important role in our lives. This is especially true during adolescence, when peers influence our tastes in music, clothes, and so many other aspects of our lives, as the now-common image of the teenager always on a cell phone reminds us. But friends are important during other parts of the life course as well. We rely on them for fun, for emotional comfort and support, and for companionship. That is the upside of friendships.

The downside of friendships is called *peer pressure*, with which you are undoubtedly familiar. Suppose it is Friday night, and you are studying for a big exam on Monday. Your friends come by and ask you to go with them to get a pizza and a drink. You would probably agree to go with them, partly because you really dislike studying on a Friday night, but also because there is at least some subtle pressure on you to do so. As this example indicates, our friends can influence us in many ways. During adolescence, their interests can affect our own interests in film, music, and other aspects of popular culture. More ominously, adolescent peer influences have been implicated in underage drinking, drug use, delinquency, and hate crimes (Agnew, 2007).

After we reach our 20s and 30s, our peers become less important in our lives, especially if we get married. Yet even then our peers do not lose all their importance, as parents with young children still manage to get out with friends now and then. Scholars have also begun to emphasize the importance of friendships with coworkers for emotional and practical support and for our continuing socialization (Elsesser & Peplau, 2006; Marks, 1994).



Figure 1.2.3: Peers playing cards. (CC BY 2.0; Zackary Drucker via Genderphotos.Vice)

Check-in Time!

How did peers play an important role in your life? How did "peer pressure" impact decisions that you made as a teenager?

School

Most U.S. children spend about seven hours a day, 180 days a year, in school, which makes it hard to deny the importance school has on their socialization (Livingston and Wirt, 2004). Students are not in school only to study math, reading, science, and other subjects—the manifest function of this system. Schools also serve a latent function in society by socializing children into behaviors like practicing teamwork, following a schedule, and using textbooks.

School and classroom rituals, led by teachers serving as role models and leaders, regularly reinforce what society expects from children. Sociologists describe this aspect of schools as the hidden curriculum, the informal teaching done by schools.

For example, in the United States, schools have built a sense of competition into the way grades are awarded and the way teachers evaluate students (Bowles and Gintis 1976). When children participate in a relay race or a math contest, they learn there are winners and losers in society. When children are required to work together on a project, they practice teamwork with other people in cooperative situations. The hidden curriculum prepares children for the adult world. Children learn how to deal with bureaucracy, rules, expectations, waiting their turn, and sitting still for hours during the day. The latent functions of teamwork and dealing with bureaucracy are features of U.S. culture. Schools in different cultures socialize children differently in order to prepare them to function well in those cultures.



Figure 1.2.4: What hidden curriculum might be at play in this elementary classroom? (CC BY 2.0; USAG- Humphreys via Flickr)

Schools also socialize children by teaching them about citizenship and national pride. In the United States, children are taught to say the Pledge of Allegiance. Most school districts require classes about U.S. history and geography. As academic understanding of history evolves, textbooks in the United States have been scrutinized and revised to update attitudes toward other cultures as well as perspectives on historical events; thus, children are socialized to a different national or world history than earlier textbooks may have done. For example, information about the mistreatment of African Americans and Native American Indians more accurately reflects those events than in textbooks of the past.

Check-in Time!

What are some examples of "hidden curriculum" that you experienced? How did it impact you then and now? Share any books that you read (either assigned or personal choice) that might have influenced any thoughts or ideas that you had as a child or teenager. How did they impact you now and then?

Controversial Textbooks

On August 13, 2001, twenty South Korean men gathered in Seoul. Each chopped off one of his own fingers because of textbooks. These men took drastic measures to protest eight middle school textbooks approved by Tokyo for use in Japanese middle schools. According to the Korean government (and other East Asian nations), the textbooks glossed over negative events in Japan's history at the expense of other Asian countries.

In the early 1900s, Japan was one of Asia's more aggressive nations. For instance, it held Korea as a colony between 1910 and 1945. Today, Koreans argue that the Japanese are whitewashing that colonial history through these textbooks. One major criticism is that they do not mention that, during World War II, the Japanese forced Korean women into sexual slavery. The textbooks describe the women as having been "drafted" to work, a euphemism that downplays the brutality of what actually occurred. Some Japanese textbooks dismiss an important Korean independence demonstration in 1919 as a "riot." In reality, Japanese soldiers attacked peaceful demonstrators, leaving roughly 6,000 dead and 15,000 wounded (Crampton 2002).

Although it may seem extreme that people are so enraged about how events are described in a textbook that they would resort to dismemberment, the protest affirms that textbooks are a significant tool of socialization in state-run education systems.

The Community

The community a child resides in can provide the child with real experiences that will impact their views and perspective on

the world. Aspects of the community such as whether it's a diverse community, access to resources, exposure to violence, extracurricular activities and programs, and the day to day behaviors of community members can impact the child. Other components of the community to take in to consideration is whether it's an individualistic (those that stress the needs of the individual over the needs of the group as a whole) or collectivistic community (emphasize the needs and goals of the group as a whole over the needs and desires of each individual), and if the community is child centered.



Figure 1.2.5: Girl Scouts help to build a rain garden. (CC BY 2.0; USAG-Humphreys via Wordpress)

Religion

While some religions are informal institutions, here we focus on *practices followed* by formal institutions. Religion is an important avenue of socialization for many people. The United States is full of synagogues, temples, churches, mosques, and similar religious communities where people gather to worship and learn. Like other institutions, these places teach participants how to interact with the religion's material culture (like a mezuzah, a prayer rug, or a communion wafer). For some people, important ceremonies related to family structure—like marriage and birth—are connected to religious celebrations. Many religious institutions also uphold gender norms and contribute to their enforcement through socialization. From ceremonial rites of passage that reinforce the family unit to power dynamics that reinforce gender roles, organized religion fosters a shared set of socialized values that are passed on through society.



Figure 1.2.6: Two men from the Hasidic Jewish Community. (CC BY-ND 2.0; leibtropper via Openverse.)

The Workplace

Just as children spend much of their day at school, many U.S. adults at some point invest a significant amount of time at a place of employment. Although socialized into their culture since birth, workers require new socialization into a workplace, in terms of both material culture (such as how to operate the copy machine) and nonmaterial culture (such as whether it's okay to speak directly to the boss or how to share the refrigerator).



Figure 1.2.7: A woman speaks on discrimination in the workplace. (CC BY-ND 2.0; DG EMPL via Flickr)

Different jobs require different types of socialization. In the past, many people worked a single job until retirement. Today, the trend is to switch jobs at least once a decade. This means that people must become socialized to, and socialized by, a variety of work environments.

Government

Although we do not think about it, many of the rites of passage people go through today are based on age norms established by the government. In mainstream America, to be defined as an "adult" usually means being eighteen years old, the age at which a person becomes legally responsible for him- or herself. And sixty-five years old is the start of "old age" since most people become eligible for senior benefits at that point.

Each time we embark on one of these new categories—senior, adult, taxpayer—we must be socialized into our new role. Seniors must learn the ropes of Medicare, Social Security benefits, and senior shopping discounts. When U.S. males turn eighteen, they must register with the Selective Service System within thirty days to be entered into a database for possible military service. These government dictates mark the points at which we require socialization into a new category.

Mass Media

Mass media distribute impersonal information to a wide audience, via television, newspapers, radio, and the Internet. With the average person spending over four hours a day in front of the television (and children averaging even more screen time), media greatly influences social norms (Roberts, Foehr, and Rideout 2005). People learn about objects of material culture (like new technology and transportation options), as well as nonmaterial culture—what is true (beliefs), what is important (values), and what is expected (norms).[5]

The Effect of "Princess Culture"

Pixar is one of the largest producers of children's movies in the world and has released large box office draws, such as Toy Story, Cars, The Incredibles, and Up. What Pixar has never before produced is a movie with a female lead role. This changed with Pixar's movie Brave, which was released in 2012. Before Brave, women in Pixar served as supporting characters and love interests. In Up, for example, the only human female character dies within the first ten minutes of the film. For the millions of girls watching Pixar films, there are few strong characters or roles for them to relate to. If they do not see possible versions of themselves, they may come to view women as secondary to the lives of men.

The animated films of Pixar's parent company, Disney, have many female lead roles. Disney is well known for films with female leads, such as Snow White, Cinderella, The Little Mermaid, and Mulan. Many of Disney's movies star a female, and she is nearly always a princess figure. If she is not a princess to begin with, she typically ends the movie by marrying a prince or, in the case of Mulan, a military general. Although not all "princesses" in Disney movies play a passive role in their lives, they typically find themselves needing to be rescued by a man, and the happy ending they all search for includes marriage.

Alongside this prevalence of princesses, many parents are expressing concern about the culture of princesses that Disney has created. Peggy Orenstein addresses this problem in her popular book, Cinderella Ate My Daughter. Orenstein wonders why every little girl is expected to be a "princess" and why pink has become an all-consuming obsession for many young girls. Another mother wondered what she did wrong when her three-year-old daughter refused to do "non-princessy" things, including running and jumping. The effects of this princess culture can have negative consequences for girls throughout life. An early emphasis on beauty and sexiness can lead to eating disorders, low self-esteem, and risky sexual behavior among older girls.

Check-in Time!

What movies or tv shows impacted you as a child? How did they influence your social norms and values?

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1.3: Methods of Socialization

Methods of Socialization

Methods of socialization includes affective methods, operant methods, observational methods, cognitive methods, sociocultural methods, and apprenticeship methods. Each method of socialization are important tools to help children grow in many areas of their development.

Affective Method of Socialization

Affective refers to feelings or emotions, such as love, anger, fear or disgust (Berns, 2016). How children feel about others, how children feel about themselves, and how they express their emotions are all included in the affective method. Attachments will be formed in the affective method. Attachments are affectional ties a person form to another specific person, binding them together in spacing and enduring time (Ainsworth, 1973, pg 1). Children will have many attachments throughout their life. Their first attachment is very important to future behavioral outcomes. Children usually experience their first attachment with their caregiver(s). To be more specific, infants will experience an emotional attachment with their caregiver(s) which will have a lasting effect on the growing child. Attachments can determine how children learn, and respond to the world around them. Children also start developing temperament from the attachment they have with their caregiver(s).

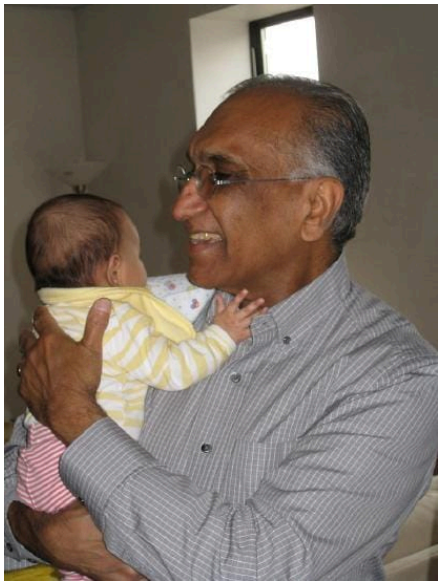


Figure 1.3.1: Grandfather holding their grandchild. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Salim Virji via WordPress.)

Operant Methods of Socialization

Operant refers to producing an effect. This usually includes reinforcement. Reinforcement is an object or event that is following a behavior and that serves to increase the likelihood that the behavior will occur again (Berns, 2016). There are two types of reinforcement. Positive reinforcement is a reward, or pleasant consequence given for a desirable behavior (Berns, 2016). Examples of positive reinforcement includes clapping and cheering when a baby walks for the first time, giving a high five when a child tries a new food, and giving a hug or a pat on the back when a child does a good deed. Negative Reinforcement is the termination of an unpleasant condition following a desired response (Berns, 2016). Examples of negative reinforcement are removing a child's extra chores if they complete their homework on time, and letting a child leave their room if they stop pouting.

Operant methods of socialization cannot be effective using just positive and negative reinforcement. The goal is to encourage self-regulation, but since reinforcement happens externally, this may impact a child's self-regulation skills in a negative way. Many of a child's behaviors are learned behaviors, and some behaviors many be learned directly from reinforcement techniques. In this case, we want the learned behavior to disappear. The process of working towards the gradual disappearance of learned

behaviors following the removal of the reinforcement is called extinction (Berns, 2016). A common misconception we have is that punishments are bad. Of course, there are effective and ineffective ways to implement punishment, but nonetheless, punishment is essential to correcting undesirable behaviors. Punishment is a physically or psychologically aversive stimuli or the temporary withdrawal of pleasant stimuli when undesirable behaviors occurs (Berns, 2016). Examples of punishments are removing a privilege, and scolding or harshly lecturing a child. Punishments can be effective socializing techniques if done correctly. Three effective techniques include timing (punishing the child closer to the time of the undesirable behavior), reasoning (accompanying the punishment with an explanation and solution), and consistency (creating expected results from repeated behaviors) (Berns, 2016). Lastly reinforcement and punishment should include feedback. Feedback is giving the child evaluative information on one's behaviors, which can be both positive or negative.



Figure 1.3.2: An elementary school teacher gives feedback to a student on their writing assignment. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley via EDUimages)

Observational Methods of Socialization

Observational methods include a very important, essential piece of socialization, which is modeling. Modeling is a form of imitative learning that occurs through observation. It allows us to learn appropriate social behavior, attitudes, and emotions by watching others. (Berns, 2016). Children may also learn inappropriate behavior, attitudes, and emotions through modeling as well. Children learn modeling from their parents and other family members in their microsystem, teachers, peers, and through media such as social media, YouTube, tv shows, and music videos. Children learn consequences of behaviors through modeling. If the person they are observing is punished or reinforced, the child may learn of the consequence of that behavior.



Figure 1.3.3: High schooler follows his instructor's modeling in their drama class. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley via EDUimages)

Cognitive Method of Socialization

Cognitive methods of socialization focuses on how individuals process information, and create meaning from experiences. How children cognitively perceive and experience the world will affect future outcomes. Cognitive methods of socialization include three major themes. The first major theme is instruction. Instruction provides knowledge and information and is a useful socializing mechanism. (Berns, 2016) There are several notable ways to assure that your instruction is effective. The child must understand the language used, which means the language must be appropriate for the child to process. Instruction must also me specific to the child's age. If you tell a two year-old to grab the shoe to their left foot by the right shoe lace, they will not be able to follow that instruction.

The second theme is setting a standard. A standard is a level of attainment or a grade of excellence regarded to a goal or a measure of adequacy (Berns, 2016). When setting standards, it is important to make sure the standard is obtainable, and appropriate for the child. Setting unrealistic standards can be harmful to the child as it can lower their self-esteem. Children will experience standards in every agent of socialization they experience. They will experience standards by teachers and administrators, in their peer groups, by other family members, when they walk into a library, and so on.

The third theme is reasoning. Reasoning is giving explanations or causes for an act. Reasoning helps children draw conclusions and encounter self-regulatory mechanisms (Berns, 2016). It is important that the child can understand the language of the explanation given. If a 2-year old child spits on another child, and the teacher responds by saying, "your spit stays in your mouth. When you spit on others you are spreading germs and it is rude", will the 2 year-old understand what germs are and what it is to be rude? Chances are the answer is no. Children under the age of 3 are generally egocentric (Piaget, 1974). We must consider where the child is cognitively, and learn how to communicate effectively with children to implement this method effectively.



Figure 1.3.4: A kindergartner writes down his observations in a science center. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley via EDUimages)

Sociocultural Methods of Socialization

Sociocultural methods of socialization involve learned behavior, including knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and traditions, that is characteristic of the social environment in which an individual grows up (Berns, 2016).The sociocultural expectations of those around an individual continually influence that individual's behavior (Rogoff, 2003). Children are highly influenced by the expectations people around them set, and children are experiencing conformity of many sorts. It's important to note social norms. Children will experience group pressure, and can find themselves trying to fit in and conform to social norms to gather a sense of self. Group pressure is not limited to peers. Social groups are any groups that influences one's behaviors such as family, religious groups, peers, clubs, and school (Berns, 2016). How much a child is impacted by a group depends on three psychological factors which includes their attraction to the group, acceptance by the group, and the type of group. An example of a community group would be a gang. How attracted a person is to the gang, their status in the gang, and the type of relationships they have with the gang members will determine much of how they are impacted by that group. The type of activities the group engages in will impact future outcomes.

Sociocultural methods of socialization also include traditions and symbols. Traditions are customs, and beliefs that are handed down from generation to generation (Berns, 2016). In other word, heritage is cultivated in children as they grow up (Pleck, 2000). Traditions can determine much of how a child interact and respond to the world around them. How a person problem solves, in many ways stem from their cultural traditions. Symbols are acts or objects that have come to be generally accepted as standing for or representing something else, especially something abstract (Vander Zanden, 1995). Symbolism is what birthed the idea of culture. Examples of symbolism includes the raising of the flag, wearing a crown, wearing a badge, etc.

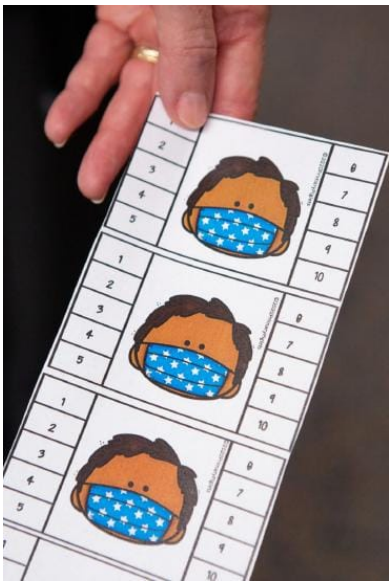


Figure 1.3.5: A card used by a teacher where children can earn mask breaks for good behavior. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley via EDUimages)

Apprenticeship Methods of Socialization

Apprenticeship is a process in which a novice is guided by an expert to participate in and master tasks (Berns, 2016). Children are guided through apprenticeship in all settings, it could be by their parent, peer, teacher, coach, or member of the community. Apprenticeship is an effective socialization tool to help build self-esteem as children are learning more about their abilities as they grow.

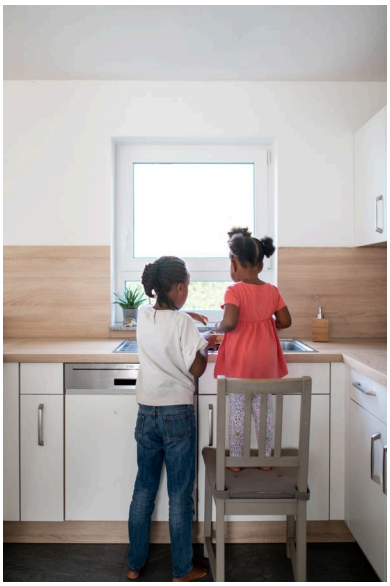


Figure 1.3.6: An older sister shows her younger sibling how to wash dishes. (Public Domain; alyssasieb via Nappy)

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1.4: Bronfenbrenner

Bioecological Systems Theory

Urie Bronfenbrenner was one of the first psychologists to adopt a holistic perspective on human development via his Bioecological Systems Theory, which had a widespread influence on the way psychologists and other social scientists approach the study of human beings and their environments (New World Encyclopedia, 2020).

Bronfenbrenner emphasized the importance of the social environments in which children are raised, and saw the breakdown of the family as the leading cause of the ever-growing rates of alienation, apathy, rebellion, delinquency, and violence among American youth. His work led to new directions in research and the design of programs and policies affecting the well-being of children and families.

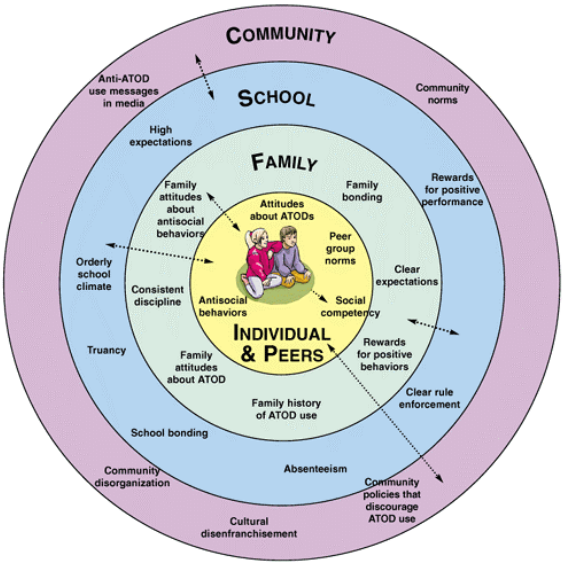


Figure 1.4.1: Brofenbrenner's Ecological Theory diagram. (CC BY SA; Alyla.K via Wikimedia)

Bronfenbrenner's primary theoretical contribution was his Bioecological Systems Theory, in which he identified four types of nested systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1989). Bronfenbrenner recognized that is it necessary to understand how not only the family or school influences human development, but how broader influences do as well.

The four systems are:

- Microsystem: Immediate environments such as family, school, peer group, neighborhood, and childcare environments.
- Mesosystem: A system comprised of connections between immediate environments (i.e., a child's home and school).
- Exosystem: External environmental settings which only indirectly affect development, such as parent's workplace.
- Macrosystem: The larger cultural context (Eastern vs. Western culture, national economy, political culture, subculture).

Later a fifth system was added:

- Chronosystem: The patterning of environmental events and transitions over the course of life.

Each system contains roles, norms, and rules that can powerfully shape development (See Table 1.). For example, in order to understand the issues a learner is having with math, we can't simply look at that individual and what challenges they face directly with the subject. We have to look at the interactions that occur between the teacher and the child. Perhaps the teacher needs to make modifications as well. The teacher may be responding to regulations made by the school, such as new expectations for students in math or constraints on time that interferes with the teacher's ability to instruct. These new demands may be a response to national efforts to promote math and science deemed important by political leaders in response to relations with

other countries at a particular time in history.

Table 1. Urie Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Model

Name of System	Description of System
Microsystems	Microsystems impact a child directly. These are the people with whom the child interacts such as parents, peers, and teachers. The relationship between individuals and those around them need to be considered. For example, to appreciate what is going on with a student in math, the relationship between the student and teacher should be known.
Mesosystems	Mesosystems are interactions between environments closely surrounding the individual. The relationship between parents and schools, for example, will indirectly affect the child.
Exosystem	Larger institutions such as the mass media or the healthcare system are referred to as the ecosystem. These have an impact on families, peers, and schools that operate under policies and regulations found in these institutions.
Macrosystems	We find cultural values and beliefs at the level of macrosystems. These larger ideals and expectations inform institutions that will ultimately impact the individual.
Chronosystem	All of this happens in a historical context referred to as the chronosystem. Cultural values change over time, as do the policies of educational institutions or governments in certain political climates. Development occurs at a point in time.

According to the Bioecological theory, if the relationships in the immediate microsystem break down, the child will not have the tools to explore other parts of his environment. Children looking for the affirmations that should be present in the child/parent (or child/other important adult) relationship look for attention in inappropriate places. These deficiencies tend to show themselves in adolescence as anti-social behavior, lack of self-discipline, and inability to provide self-direction (Addison, 1992).

The major assumptions of *The (Bio)Ecology of Human Development*, have had widespread influence on the way psychologists and other social scientists approach the study of human beings and their environments (Bronfenbrenner, 1981). It has been said that before Bronfenbrenner, child psychologists studied the child, sociologists examined the family, anthropologists the society, economists the economic framework of the times, and political scientists the political structure.

As a result of Bronfenbrenner's groundbreaking work in human ecology, these environments, from the family to economic and political structures, have come to be viewed as part of the life course from childhood through adulthood. The "bioecological" approach to human development broke down barriers among the social sciences and built bridges between the disciplines that have allowed findings to emerge about which key elements in the larger social structure, and across societies, are vital for optimal human development.

The Human Ecology Framework



Figure 1.4.2: Protests for gun reform in the United States. (CC by SA 2.0; Lorie Shaull via Flickr)

The human ecology framework assumes that families interact within multiple environments that mutually influence each other. These environments include the biophysical (personal variables), the microsystem (the systems in immediate surroundings, such as family, neighborhood, church, work, or school), the mesosystem (the ways in which these immediate systems connect, such as the relationships between family and work), the exosystem (the larger social system, such as the stress of another family member's job), and the macrosystem (the cultural values and the larger social system, such as immigration policy that influences admission and social system access) (Ballard et al., 2019).

In the context of a refugee family, the family might be influenced by their biophysical (e.g., whether or not members were injured as they fled persecution), their microsystem (e.g., parental conflict while fleeing), their mesosystem (e.g., teachers and school personnel who are struggling with their own trauma from fleeing conflict and thus their ability to provide robust services is impaired), their exosystem (e.g., local leaders who do not consult with women living in shelters regarding their resources needs and don't provide feminine hygiene products or children's toys), and countless other environments (Hoffman, M. A., & Kruczek, T., 2011). The family may have access to and be able to directly influence their mesosystem and at the same time feel powerless to make changes in the exosystem. Each of these environments will contribute to their coping.



Figure

: Child protesting for immigrants. (
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With its focus on interaction within multiple environments, the human ecology framework is an incredibly useful lens to employ cross-cultural contexts such as when considering immigrant families. For example, a researcher could ask, “How do Hmong immigrant families manage financial resources in their new environment in the United States?” and “How did Hmong families manage their financial resources while still living in Laos?” The assumptions and central concepts of human ecology theory would apply equally in either culture. The needs, values, and environment would be sensitively identified within each culture (Solheim, C. A., & Yang, P. N. D., 2010).

Additionally, human ecology theory assumes that families are intentional in their decision-making and that they work toward biological sustenance, economic maintenance, and psychosocial function. As patterns in the social environment are more and more threatening to the family’s quality of life in these three areas, the system will be more and more likely to seek change, possibly by a move to a new country.

The family system has certain needs, including physical needs for resources and interpersonal needs for relationships. If their current situation is not meeting these needs, the family system will engage in management to meet these needs within their value system.

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1.5: Vygotsky

Vygotsky: Sociocultural Theory

Lev Vygotsky believed that a person has both a set of abilities and a set of potential abilities that can be reached if given the proper guidance from others (Paris et al., 2019).

Vygotsky's Sociocultural Theory emphasizes the importance of culture and interaction in the development of cognitive abilities. He concentrated more on children's immediate social and cultural environment and their interactions with adults and peers. He saw a child as an apprentice, learning through a social environment with others who had more experience and were sensitive to the child's needs and abilities.

Vygotsky theorized that through guided participation with a teacher or a more capable person, also known as scaffolding, a child can learn cognitive skills within a certain range known as the zone of proximal development. According to Vygotsky, development occurs first through children's immediate social interactions and then moves to the individual level as they began to internalize their learning.



Figure 1.5.1: One child showing another child how to tie their shoes. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley via EDUimages)

Lev Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development

Have you ever taught children how to perform a task? Maybe it was brushing their teeth or tying their shoestrings. Chances are you spoke to them and described what you were doing while you demonstrated the skill and let them work along with you throughout the process. You provided them assistance when they seemed to need it, but once they knew what to do, you stood back and let them perform the task alone. This is an example of scaffolding (Leon, n.d.)

Examples of scaffolding, the temporary support that parents, peers or teachers give a child to perform a task, can be seen throughout the world in an unlimited number of situations. Vygotsky's theory contends that instead of assessing what people are doing, people should be understood in terms of what they are capable of doing with the proper guidance. This approach to teaching has also been adopted by educators as seen here.

The zone of proximal development (ZPD) is the distance between a child's *potential to learn* and the *actual learning* that takes place. Vygotsky hypothesized that a "quality teacher" first identifies a child's ZPD and then helps the child learn beyond their ZPD (Vygotsky, 1978). After this, the teacher (or any person with more advanced skills) gradually withdraws support until the child can perform the task without assistance. It is all about providing the right level of challenge and support to gradually support new skills without making the new skills seem undoable for the learner. A practical example is a child engaging in a puzzle. A child

will have a current level of competence of completing a 50 piece puzzle without support. A 25 piece puzzle is to easy and a 200 piece puzzle maybe too challenge even with support from a teacher. The ZPD for this child's next growth may be 100 piece puzzle with support.

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Cultural Consideration

Vygotsky's theory promotes a learning model in which children play an active role in learning. Roles of teachers and students are therefore transformed into a reciprocal collaborative process in which teachers help facilitate meaning construction in students. Thus learning becomes a reciprocal experience for students and educator (Rogoff, 2003). In this framework educators must sometimes accept differences of behavior in children and accommodate these differences in the classroom. Speech and language development played an influential role in Vygotsky's theories of language acquisition and learning in general. Children develop language skills individually, but they do so within a cooperative learning context as peers, family members, teachers, and others engage, support, and teach them.Supporting multi-language learners in their home language is an example of using (ZPD) of learning through a reciprocal and dialogic interaction. The ZPD is a level of development obtained when children engage in social interactions with others; it is the distance between a child's *potential* to learn and the *actual learning* that takes place.This practice demonstrates respect for a family's primary language and communicates that the educator values the family and child's culture. NAEYC recommends for educators to encourage and assistant all parents in becoming knowledge about the cognitive value for children of knowing more than one language and provide them with strategies , support, maintain and preserve home language learning (NAEYC, 1996).

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1.6: Barbara Rogoff

The Relationship of Collaboration

Building on Vygotsky's Sociocultural theories is Barbara Rogoff. Rogoff's theory focuses on the relationship between the child and society. Rogoff's ideas did not focus on the child and their individual processes but on the child's cognitive skills which derive from engagement in sociocultural activities. The theory does not focus on a child's own innate ability, but rather indicates that skills are developed in specific contexts and learned through specific cultural activities. Her research findings are based on children and families in Mexican and Indigenous cultures. Additionally, Rogoff's theory highlights the interaction of nature vs nurture as discussed earlier in this chapter. She suggests biology and culture work in concert with each other. For example, breastfeeding is biologically based but there are different ways breast feeding is practiced based within cultural societal norms and standards.

Reflection

Learning to speak or learning to read...

Consider which on is biologically based and culturally influenced?



Figure 1.6.1: A first-grade boy reads a book to his kindergarten friend while sitting outside. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley via EDUimages)

Guided Participation

Rogoff developed the theory of guided participation, adding to Vygotsky's theory of the Zone of Proximal Development. Consider a time when you learned something new in a relationship between yourself and an adult or caregiver, such as making tortillas with your grandfather or learning how to change a tire of a car. This is the collaborative transfer of knowledge between a guide and apprentice. The idea that children on their developmental path use cultural tools with skilled mentors shape their development (Rogoff, 2003). As highlighted in the video below, the theory involves people bridging meaning and interactions with learners in a synchronous way. Children and mentors (e.g. caregivers and more skilled peers) structure learning opportunities through choice, observation, and listening while participating in the activities and share understanding both verbally and non- verbally.

Learning opportunities can occur through choice, observation, and listening while participating in these activities and everyday routines. For example, caregivers who engage in game playing and singing during diapering are actually helping children learn to cooperate with the routine. These skills and interactions become more complex as children learn other self-help adaptive skills such as eating with a fork and spoon and learning how to help with clean up.

Dr. Barbara Rogoff highlights the following ideas:

- Collaboration- Notice how the children are collaborating with each other. Children should be encouraged to collaborate with each other, adults, caregivers and communities.
- Learning through Observation- Notice how the children are observing each other and making meaning to guide their own engagement.
- Prioritize Children's Interest- Notice how knowledge is accrued while engaging in a task in which that child has genuine interest. The activity is engaging and fueled by curiosity and enjoyment.
- Role of Adults- The caregivers and adults are needed in many tasks. Caregivers and adults should be available for collaborative support based on the needs of the child.

The process of bridging sharply differentiates guided participation from giving information as the approach to teaching and learning. The intention of bridging is to support a learner in making connections between what is known or unknown or misconstrued and in need of revision or reconstruction (Rogoff, 1990). Bridging is a function of experience, recalled, simulated, or relived, similar to watching a video playback of the interaction with the child. Bridging supports learners in reflecting on how things were, are now, or could be with new ways of thinking and behaving. Wondering with the learner is a strategy teachers may use to facilitate reflection and make connections; for example, wondering with a parent what her child was saying when he behaved, the way he was observed behaving, or what she might have been feeling when her child behaved that way (Slade, 2005).

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Cultural Considerations

Rogoff's theories have particular considerations for children with special needs. This theory can be particularly impactful considering the growing number of children with special needs in the U.S. who may be experiencing a phenomena called learned helplessness, which is discussed later in the book. Learned helplessness may occur when a child impacted by a diverse ability is either personally or socially not able to join in typical guided participation experiences which may cause them to begin to withdraw or lose motivation to change circumstances (2015). Think about children who are unable to engage in eye contact or social reference caregivers- social referencing is when children look to others to give information and meaning in a social situation. A child may begin to withdraw from a rich and beneficial relationship and thus will suffer the loss of growth that takes place within these participatory experiences. This can cause many parents and teachers to feel helpless, not knowing how to support the child with special needs, and leading them to reciprocally disengage in the relationship as well.

In a 2015 study, Hobson et al. observed that when a caregiver who supported a neuro-atypical child were asked to focus on the guided participation relationship, noticed a reduction in the severity of symptoms of the the child. When caregivers focused on having high quality guided relationships with children, the children were able to regulate and learn critical developmental skills (Hobson et al., 2015).

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1.7: Bandura

Bandura's Social Learning Theory and Observational Learning

Observational learning is a component of Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory, which asserts that individuals can learn new responses via observation of key others' behaviors (Bandura, 1977). Observational learning does not necessarily require reinforcement, but instead hinges on the presence of others, referred to as social models. Social models typically possess a higher status or authority compared to the observer, examples of which include parents, teachers, or police officers (Bouton, 2022).

Bandura theorized that the observational learning process consists of four parts. The first is attention-one must pay attention to what one is observing in order to learn. The second part is retention- to learn, one must be able to retain the observed behavior into one's memory. The third part of observational learning, initiation, acknowledges that the learner must be able to execute, or initiate the learned behavior. Lastly, the observer must possess the motivation to engage in observational learning.



Figure 1.7.1: Children observe a social model (an experienced chess player) to learn the rules of the game. (CC BY-SA 3.0; David R. Tribble via Wikimedia)

Imagine a child walking up to a group of children playing a game on the playground. The game looks fun, but it is new and unfamiliar. Rather than joining the game immediately, the child opts to sit back and watch the other children play a round or two. While observing the others, the child takes note of the ways in which they behave while playing the game. By watching the behavior of the other kids, the child can figure out the rules of the game and even some strategies for performing well at the game. This is called observational learning.

In the example here, the child must want to learn how to play the game in order to properly engage in observational learning. The children who already know how to play the game could be thought of as being authorities—and are therefore social models—even though they are the same age as the observer.

By observing how the social models behave, an individual is able to learn how to act in a certain situation. Other examples of observational learning might include a child learning to place her napkin in her lap by watching her parents at the dinner table, or a child learning how to use a pair of scissors after watching another child successfully use a pair of scissors.

The Bobo Doll Experiment

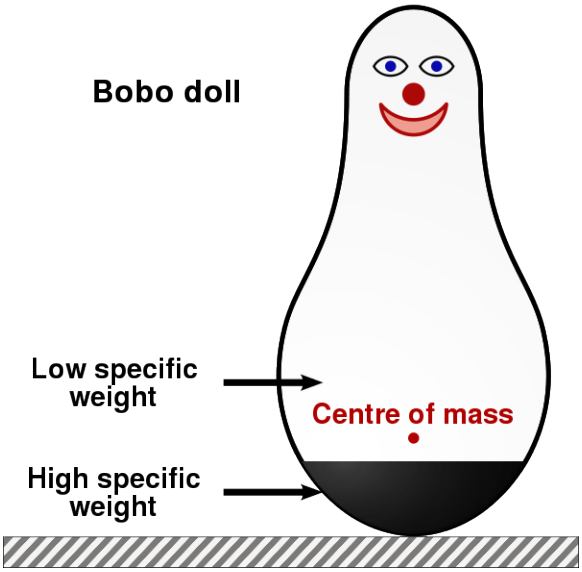


Figure 1.7.2: Bobo Doll diagram. (CC BY SA 3.0; Sémhur via Wikimedia)

Researchers have conducted countless experiments designed to explore observational learning, the most famous of which is Albert Bandura's "Bobo doll experiment." In this experiment, Bandura had children individually observe an adult social model interact with a clown doll, "Bobo" as seen in figure 1.7.2 (Bandura et al., 1961).

For one group of children, the adult interacted aggressively with Bobo: punching it, kicking it, throwing it, and even hitting it in the face with a toy mallet. Another group of children watched the adult interact with other toys, displaying no aggression toward Bobo. In both instances, the adult left and the children were allowed to interact with Bobo on their own.

Bandura found that children exposed to the aggressive social model were significantly more likely to behave aggressively toward Bobo, hitting and kicking him, compared to those exposed to the non-aggressive model. The researchers concluded that the children in the aggressive group used their observations of the adult social model's behavior to determine that aggressive behavior toward Bobo was acceptable.

While reinforcement was not required to elicit the children's behavior in Bandura's first experiment, it is important to acknowledge that consequences do play a role within observational learning. A future adaptation of this study demonstrated that children in the aggression group showed less aggressive behavior if they witnessed the adult model receive punishment for aggressing against Bobo (Bandura et al., 1963). Bandura referred to this process as vicarious reinforcement, as the children did not experience the reinforcement or punishment directly, yet were still influenced by observing it.

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Cultural Considerations

Social Learning theory applied culturally can be seen in the recent research of Morcillo, Ramos and Olazagasti (2015). In this research, bullying perpetration for minority youth living in at-risk circumstances were studied with the findings suggesting that exposure to a harsh and aggressive behavior in "model contexts" such as home and school, may have a strong impact on children's emotional and behavioral development, making these children more likely to display aggressive behaviors with peers.

These learned behaviors and relational patterns would then be reproduced with other vulnerable and high risk peers. The finding suggested newly immigrated children may find the need to use newly modeled skills as they navigate and learn to cope with cross cultural worlds (Morcillo et al., 2015).

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1.8: Cultural Frameworks

Cultural Frameworks

There are frameworks that look at diverse cultural interactions resulting in the formation of values, behaviors, and skills as asset. These frameworks include Funds of Knowledge, Community Cultural Wealth and Cultural Capital.

Cultural Capital

Pierre Bourdieu's (1930-2002) theory of cultural capital or “the cultural knowledge that serves as currency that helps us navigate culture and alters our experiences and the opportunities available to us.”

Sociologists find cultural capital or the social assets of person (including intellect, education, speech pattern, mannerisms, and dress) promote social mobility (Harper-Scott and Samson, 2009). People who accumulate and display the cultural knowledge of a society or group may earn social acceptance, status, and power. Bourdieau (1991) explained the accumulation and transmission of culture is a social investment from socializing agents including family, peers, and community. People learn culture and cultural characteristics and traits from one another; however, social status effects whether people share, spread, or communicate cultural knowledge to each other. A person’s social status in a group or society influences their ability to access and develop cultural capitol.

Cultural capital provides people access to cultural connections such as institutions, individuals, materials, and economic resources. Status guides people in choosing who and when culture or cultural capital is transferable. Bourdieu (1991) believed cultural inheritance and personal biography attributes to individual success more than intelligence or talent. With status comes access to social and cultural capital that generates access to privileges and power among and between groups. Individuals with cultural capital deficits face social inequalities (Reay, 2004). If someone does not have the cultural knowledge and skills to maneuver the social world she or he occupies, then she or he will not find acceptance within a group or society and access to support and resources. Consider how children from low resourced income families without insurance have increased health issues such as low birth weight or higher incidence of asthma (Waterston et al., 2004).

Cultural Wealth



Figure 1.8.1: Dual-language class at UCLA Community School. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley for EDUimage)

Yosso (2005) describes cultural wealth as “an array of cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by marginalized group that is often unrecognized and unacknowledged”, countering the cultural deficit model which focuses on deficiencies in

the home life of children.

Yosso's six forms of cultural capital are:

1. Aspirational- children develop social emotional perseverance despite educational inequities
2. Linguistic- children develop language and communication skills as dual language and dialectical learners
3. Familial- children develop a sense of community history and memory
4. Social- children draw from personal human resources within family and community
5. Navigational- children develop the ability to get needs met in unresponsive environments
6. Resistance- children develop the knowledge and skills to challenge inequality

Funds of Knowledge

Funds of Knowledge is a similar concept in early childhood from Velez- Ibanez and Greenberg (1992) made popular by Gonzales, Moll, and Amanti (2005). This is the idea that information learned in the home and family is knowledge that stays with children their whole lives. Funds of knowledge are the historically accumulated and culturally developed skills essential for an household, community, and individual to function well. Funds of knowledge help explain how culture shapes each child's skills, behaviors, and abilities. For children funds of knowledge can be built from:

- Family occupations
- Family activities
- Home language
- Family outings
- Household chores
- Caregiving experiences
- Entertainment

Funds of knowledge encompass families' traditions, experiences, information, and practices. When educators and supportive adults establish a relationship founded on the common goal of successful and healthy development of the child, it supports the aims of cultural responsiveness, equity, and inclusion. For example, when a child shares their enthusiasm for a television program their family is watching together, it draws upon many of the child's own funds of knowledge. While the child is drawing on a shared family and cultural experience in the show itself, the child is also engaging with notions of occupations and outings, values, chores and activities and vocabulary. A child's experience shopping at the grocery story is another example of funds of knowledge. A child may learn about quantity, money, shopping practices, cultural norms around food, and patterns of interacting, all while learning and practicing signs and symbols. Drawing on socio-cultural perspectives, educators embrace the funds of knowledge children possess utilizing these resources and skills to build productive pedagogy. In this way, educators acknowledge that every child comes to school with previous experiences that influence their interactions with language and support their emerging knowledge base.

The home environment of each family is complex and personal, and includes economic, social, and cultural influences. The complexity of home and community environments explains the diversity we see amongst school readiness nationwide. Using the Funds of Knowledge teachers can be seen as anthropologist investigating a child's knowledge base that originated in their home and community. Teachers can then design educational experience that pull from overlooked funds of knowledge to ensure culturally relevant learning experiences that honors a child's culture as opposed to focusing on what the child does not know leading to stereotypical and deficit thinking of the child.

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1.9: Erikson

Erik Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Erik Erikson suggested that our relationships and society's expectations motivate much of our behavior in his theory of psychosocial development. Erikson believed that we are not driven by unconscious urges. He is considered the father of developmental psychology because his model gives us a guideline for the entire life span and suggests certain primary psychological and social concerns throughout life (Paris et al., 2019).

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Erikson emphasized the importance of culture in parenting practices and motivations. He also added three stages of social and emotional domains regarding adult development. He believed that we are aware of what motivates us throughout life and people make conscious choices in life and these choices focus on meeting certain social and cultural needs rather than purely biological ones. His theory notes that humans are motivated, for instance, by the need to feel that the world is a trustworthy place, that we are capable individuals, that we can make a contribution to society, and that we have lived a meaningful life. These are all psychosocial issues.

Erikson divided the lifespan into eight stages. In each stage, we have a major psychosocial task to accomplish or crisis to overcome. Successful completion of each developmental task results in a sense of competence and a healthy personality. Failure to master these tasks leads to feelings of inadequacy. Erikson believed that our personality continues to take shape throughout our lifespan as we face these challenges in living (Erikson, 1959).

These eight stages form a foundation for discussions on emotional and social development during the life span. However, these stages or crises can occur more than once and can occur at different ages (Erikson, 1968). For instance, a person may struggle with a lack of trust beyond infancy under certain circumstances. Erikson's theory has been criticized for focusing so heavily on stages and assuming that the completion of one stage is a prerequisite for the next development crisis (Marcia, 1980). His theory also focuses on the social expectations that are found in some cultures, but not in others. For instance, the idea that adolescence is a time of searching for identity might translate well in the middle-class culture of the United States, but not as well in cultures where the transition into adulthood coincides with puberty through rites of passage and where adult roles offer fewer choices. Here is a brief overview of the eight stages (Lumen Learning, n.d.):

Table 1. Erik Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Name of Stage and Age	Description of Stage
Trust vs. mistrust (0-1 year)	The infant must have basic needs met in a consistent way in order to feel that the world is a trustworthy place.
Autonomy vs. shame and doubt (1-2 years)	Mobile toddlers have newfound freedom that they like to exercise and by being allowed to do so, they learn some basic independence.
Initiative vs. guilt (3-5 years)	Preschoolers like to initiate activities and emphasize doing things "all by myself."
Industry vs. inferiority (6-11 years)	School-aged children focus on accomplishments and begin making comparisons between themselves and their classmates.

Name of Stage and Age	Description of Stage
Identity vs. role confusion (adolescence)	Teenagers try to gain a sense of identity as they experiment with various roles, beliefs, and ideas.
Intimacy vs. isolation (young adulthood)	In our 20s and 30s, we make some of our first long-term commitments in intimate relationships.
Generativity vs. stagnation (middle adulthood)	In the 40s through the early 60s we focus on being productive at work and home and are motivated by wanting to feel that we've made a contribution to society.
Integrity vs. Despair (late adulthood)	We look back on our lives and hope to like what we see — that we have lived well and have a sense of integrity because we lived according to our beliefs.

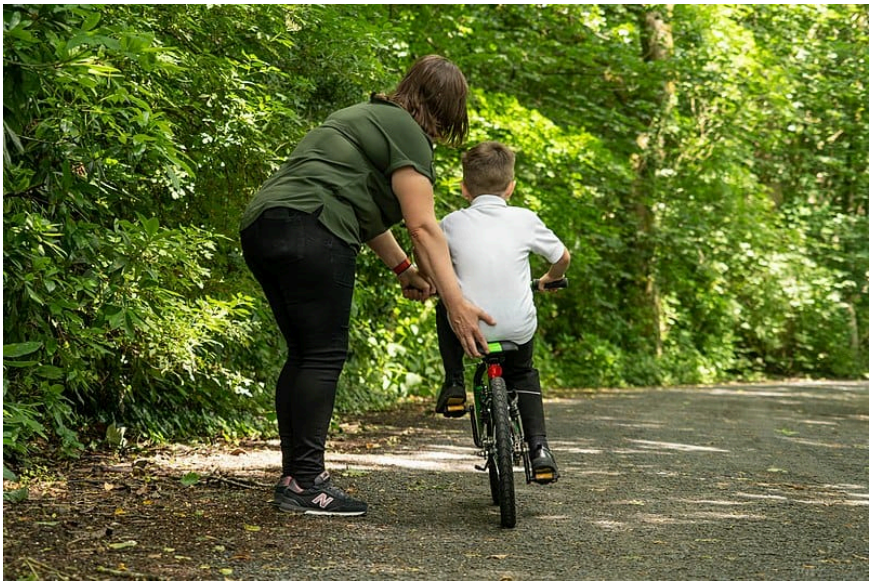


Figure 1.9.1: Initiative vs. Guilt. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Alextredz via flickr)

Cultural considerations of Erikson's Theory

As discussed throughout this reading, culture is a main component of socialization and, thus, identity formation. According to Erikson, social identity is developed through the experience of socialization. The ultimate goal of identity formation is achievement that gives a person a consistent and integrated personality. Erikson notes that this occurs through identity individuation, as children begin to see themselves as separate persons from a group. In the U.S., this idea can be challenging to apply to children raised in cultures that rely on collectivist and interdependent frameworks versus individualism and independent orientations (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1995). In a majority of cultures around the world, children think of themselves as a part of a group before they think of themselves as an individual. The concept of a child thinking independently is not rewarded and may make identity achievement, as Erikson outlines, not generalizable to all cultures.

Additionally, children's developing sense of self is influenced by how others- parents, caregivers, teachers, friends see them. For many children the bias around race and ethnicity will directly impact a sense of psychological well being (Kaiser & Wilkins, 2010). As noted above, group membership, or being apart of a collective, is the experience of many people. When group experiences and expectations are not taken into account it can often be framed as negative identity within Erikson's construct.

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1.10: Clarks-Cross Cultural Issues

Cross Cultural Issues

There is a risk that theories and data derived from White, European American settings could be assumed to apply to children and social groups from other cultures and this is unlikely to be true (Betancourt & López, 1993). For example, a study of characteristics of individuals seeking treatment for a binge eating disorder in Hispanic American, African American, and Caucasian American individuals found significant differences between groups (Franko et al., 2012). The study concluded that results from studying any one of the groups could not be extended to the other groups, and yet potential causes of the differences were not measured.

In 1920, Francis Cecil Sumner was the first African American to receive a PhD in psychology in the United States. Sumner established a psychology degree program at Howard University, leading to the education of a new generation of African American psychologists (Black et al., 2004). Much of the work of early psychologists from diverse backgrounds was dedicated to challenging intelligence testing and promoting innovative educational methods for children. George I. Sanchez contested such testing with Mexican American children. As a psychologist of Mexican heritage, he pointed out that the language and cultural barriers in testing were keeping children from equal opportunities (Guthrie, 1998). By 1940, he was teaching with his doctoral degree at University of Texas at Austin and challenging segregated educational practices (Romo, 1986).



Figure 1.10.1 Drs. Kenneth and Mamie Clark. (Public Domain, Wikimedia)

In the previous section, Erikson discussed obstacles to the development of identity. One of these obstacles is negative identity which is when a person rejects the roles expected by one's family, community, and society. Negative identity is the basis for the work of Mamie and Kenneth Clark's valuable research. Extending this idea, it stands to reason that identity formation may be particularly problematic for minotized communities such as females, people of color and children with atypical development as they tend to believe the societal norms related to their value and worth. For more information on these mioritized groups, see chapter 8.

Kenneth and Mamie Clark designed studies to investigate children's sense of identity, including tests using dolls, coloring, and drawings. The Drs. Clark, researched the development of consciousness of self in young children. In one test, Black preschool children were shown a series of line drawings of a White boy and a Black boy, a lion, a clown, and a hen and were asked to identify themselves or others. The results showed that, more often than not, the children selected the drawing of the Black boy to identify themselves rather than the drawing of the White boy (or any of the animals). The outcome of that research indicated that young Black children developed a consciousness of their race between 3 to 4 years of age. In another test, when given a variety of brown crayons to choose from, the children in the study used a crayon lighter than their own shade to color in their skin. This research laid the foundation for the groundbreaking research and for a myriad of racialized identity formation theories.

With additional questions emerging such as why are children using lighter shaded crayons to represent themselves, Kenneth and Mamie Clark conducted experiments known as “The Doll Test”. The premise was to understand the role of segregation and it's impact on Black children; however, the research ended up providing information about all children as discussed later. To understand racial identity development, the Drs. Clark used identical dolls with the only variable being the color of the doll's skin. The researchers found that:

1. Black children often chose to play with the White dolls more than the Black ones.
2. The children gave the color 'white' positive attributes like good and pretty; moreover, the 'black doll' was attributed to being bad and ugly.

Using Black and White dolls, some of the young Black children actually cried when asked to point to the doll they looked most like (Clark & Clark, 1947). The Clarks concluded that “prejudice, discrimination, and segregation” created a feeling of inferiority among African-American children and damaged their self-esteem. The original results by Drs. Clark can still be replicated with today's children.

This video is not closed captioned. However, viewing the video you can capture the main understanding of the video. The children accurately point to the White doll when asked and the Black doll when asked. They are then asked which doll is the pretty doll and point to the White doll. They are asked, "which doll is the nice doll" and point to the White doll. They are then asked "which doll is the bad doll" and they point to the Black doll. Finally they are ask "why is that doll bad" and they respond " Because it is Black". This indicates even at an early age children have been socialized to equate a negative meaning with being "Black". Although this particular video uses only Black children. It has been replicated many time with children of all racialized backgrounds.

YouTube Video

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The above video is a replication of the original doll test study. The doll test was instrumental in the landmark ruling in Brown vs. Board of Education. This testimony changed the trajectory of public education for all children. The Supreme Court cited Clark’s 1950 paper in its Brown decision and acknowledged it implicitly in the following passage: “To separate [African-American children] from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone.” Although this was an accomplishment for his research, Dr. Kenneth Clark was dismayed that the court failed to cite two other conclusions he had reached: that racism was an inherently American institution and that school segregation inhibited the development of white children, too. (American Psychological Association, 2019).

Listen to the podcast below describing the Clarks’ research and impact on the Supreme Court decision.

Doll Test Implications for All children

Dr. Clark's last conclusion, as noted above, that racism "is an inhibition in development of White children too" was not cited in the Brown vs Board of Education ruling, but it is important to understand the full implications of the research. The Drs. Clark hypothesized that racialized identity and White preference is not only an issue for Black American children but for most children. Most children have been socialized to prefer whiteness and to associate blackness with negativity. To corroborate this, the doll test has been replicated in many countries with shocking results. According to Gibson, Robbins & Rochat (2015), there is an even stronger White preference bias in five to seven-year-old Indian, Polynesian, and Melanesian children tested in their native island nations. These results are consistent with the idea that, during the preschool years, children are sensitive and attracted to signs of higher social status that, for historical reasons and across cultures, tends to be associated with lighter skin color. The research done by the Clarks is no longer being used as evidence for the need for integration but points to the outcomes of all children living in racist and discriminating social world.

Take a look at these videos to see how children of diverse ethnic and racialized identities responded similarly to the original

experiments. These videos include captioning in the section of importance.

Replicated Doll Test Italian Children

YouTube Video

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Replicated Doll Test in Japan Children

Not fully closed captioned; however, the captions are not needed. At minute 3:15 captions are embedded. The children are asked " whhich do you prefer" the children point to the "White doll". Noting a clear White preference.

YouTube Video

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After all of the Drs. Clark research and irrefutable evidence of the dangers of racism and prejudice, a recent report by UCLA (2014) notes we have lost much of the ground on segregating schools. In fact, that report finds that schools are segregated by race, language, and socio-economic status, and that Latinx children are the most segregated of any group. To read more about our national statistics and changing demographics read the UCLA report in full.

Reflection

Given the changing landscape outlined in the report above, what impact do you anticipate an increase segregation will have on all children, their self-esteem, and identity?

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1.11: Piaget

Piaget: Cognitive Development Theory

Overview

Jean Piaget studied how children and youth gradually become able to think logically and scientifically, resulting in his Cognitive Development Theory. Cognition refers to thinking and memory processes, and cognitive development refers to long-term changes in these processes. He was one of the first to recognize and map out the ways in which children's thought differs from that of adults. His interest in this area began when he was asked to test the IQ of children and began to notice that there was a pattern in their wrong answers (Paris et al., 2019).

Piaget believed that children's intellectual skills change over time based on biological predispositions and their own individual interactions with the world. He was very critical of teacher-directed instruction, believing that teachers or caregivers who take control of the child's learning place the child into a passive role (Crain, 2005). According to Piaget, children of differing ages interpret the world differently; therefore, he divided this learning into four stages. His stages assumed a sequence of thinking patterns with these key features:

1. They always happen in the same order.
2. No stage is ever skipped.
3. Each stage is a significant transformation from the stage before it.
4. Each later stage builds upon and incorporates the earlier stages.

Sensorimotor Stage

Piaget described intelligence in infancy as sensorimotor, or based on direct, physical contact via the use of their senses. Infants taste, feel, pound, push, hear, and move in order to experience the world.



Figure 1.11.1: Baby exploring the world using motor skills and senses. (CC BY 2.0; Ricardo Yubal via Wikimedia)

Preoperational Stage

Piaget's stage that coincides with early childhood is the preoperational stage. The word operational means logical, so these children were thought to be illogical. However, they learn to use language and to think of the world symbolically.



Figure 1.11.2: A child pretending to buy items at a toy grocery store. (CC BY SA 4.0.; Ermalfaro via Wikimedia)

Pretend Play

Pretending is a favorite activity during the preoperational stage. A toy has qualities beyond the way it was designed to function and can now be used to stand for a character or object unlike anything for which it was originally intended. A teddy bear, for example, can be a baby or the queen of a faraway land!

Note that children in the Preoperational Stage exhibit symbolic play, egocentrism, lack of understanding conservation tasks, and inability to understand reversibility.

Egocentrism

Egocentrism in early childhood refers to the tendency of young children to think that everyone sees things in the same way as them. This trait is particularly common in the preoperational stage.

Concrete Operational Stage



Figure 1.11.3: Children using their fingers to count. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Sengai Podhuvan via Wikimedia)

This stage takes place from around 7 years old to 11 years of age and is characterized by the development of organized and rational thinking. The child is now mature enough to use logical thought or operations (e.g., rules) but can only apply logic to physical or "concrete" objects and events (hence the name "concrete operational"). Children gain the abilities of conservation (number, area, volume, orientation) and understand that when concrete objects change in appearance, they still contain the same volume, area, number, and orientation and can return to their original state (reversibility) (Lally, & Vlentine-French, 2017).

Their rules of thinking still seem very basic by adult standards and usually operate unconsciously, but they allow children to solve problems more systematically than before, and therefore to be successful with many academic tasks. For example, a child may unconsciously follow the rule: "If nothing is added or taken away, then the amount of something stays the same." This simple principle helps children to understand certain arithmetic tasks, such as adding or subtracting zero from a number.

Formal Operational Stage

During this stage, adolescents are able to understand abstract principles. They are no longer limited by what can be directly seen or heard and are able to contemplate constructs such as beauty, love, freedom, and morality. Adolescents demonstrate hypothetical-deductive reasoning, which is developing hypotheses based on what might logically occur. They are able to think about all the possibilities in a situation beforehand, and then test them systematically because they are able to engage in scientific thinking.

Table 1. Jean Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development

Name of Stage	Description of Stage
Sensorimotor Stage	During the sensorimotor stage, children rely on the use of the senses and motor skills. From birth to abut 2 years the infant learns by tasting, smelling, touching, hearing, and moving objects around. This is a hands-on type of knowledge.
Preoperational Stage	In the preoperational stage, children from ages 2 to 7 years become able to think about the world using symbols. A symbol is something that stands for something else. The use of language, whether it is in the form of words or gestures, facilitates knowing and communicating about the world. This is the hallmark of preoperational learning and it typically occurs in early childhood. However, these children are preoperational or pre-logical. They still do not understand how the physical world operates. They may, for instance, fear that they will go down the drain if they sit at the front of the bathtub, even though they are too big.
Concrete Operational Stage	Children in the concrete operational stage, ages 7 to 11 years, develop the ability to think logically about the physical world. Middle childhood is a time of understanding concepts such as size, distance, and constancy of matter, and cause and effect relationships. A child knows that a scrambled egg is still an egg and that 8 ounces of water are still 8 ounces no matter what shape of glass contains it.
Formal Operational Stage	During the formal operational stage children, at about 12 years of age, acquire the ability to think logically about concrete and abstract events. The teenager who has reached this stage is able to consider possibilities and to contemplate ideas about situations that have never been directly encountered. More abstract understanding of religious ideas, morals, or ethics, and abstract principles such as freedom and dignity can be considered.

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Cultural Considerations of Piaget's Theory

Critics have discovered considerable variation in what children are able to do at various ages in different parts of the world and in different cultures. Further, many contend that Piaget may have underestimated what children are capable of given the right

circumstances (Lumen Learning, n.d.). For instance, he believed that learning peaked around the age of 12 years, designated by his last stage—formal operational stage.

Because learning appears to be highly contextual, meaning dependent on the environment, Piaget's belief that learning must be sequential has been challenged. Berry's (1976) eco-cultural model highlights that people value and develop those skills and concepts that are useful in the daily activities related to their daily lives, thus, on conservation tasks the ages of skill acquisition may be different. For example, the Baoule community on the Ivory Coast, who produce vegetable food, store it and exchange it in markets, tend to value quantitative concepts (reflected in Piaget's conservation of liquids task), while hunter-gatherers communities traditionally show little interest in precise quantitative comparisons.

Cross-cultural testing has challenged emerging cognitive theorists to incorporate cultural and environment into Piaget's ideas original ideas, but the succession of stages in cognitive development appears to be generalizable. Timing, ages, and capabilities during each stage appear to vary according to cultural context and enculturation patterns.

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1.12: Behaviorism

Behaviorist Theories

Behaviorism is primarily concerned with observable and measurable aspects of human behavior. In defining behavior, behaviorist learning theories emphasize changes in behavior that result from stimulus-response associations made by the learner. Several social psychologists studied behavior and identified different theories on how behaviors can be learned and/or changed through reinforcement. They called this conditioning.

John B. Watson (1878-1958) and B. F. Skinner (1904-1990) are the two principal originators of behaviorist approaches to learning. Watson believed that human behavior resulted from specific stimuli that elicited certain responses. Watson's basic premise was that conclusions about human development should be based on observation of overt behavior rather than speculation about subconscious motives or latent cognitive processes (Shaffer, 2000). He hypothesized that behavior could be dependent on the environment (culture). Watson's basic premise was that conclusions about human development should be based on observation of overt behavior rather than speculation about subconscious motives or latent cognitive processes (Shaffer, 2000). Through this experiment, he conditioned a little boy to fear a white rat by repeatedly showing the boy the rat, then introducing a scary, loud, clanking sound. In time, the young boy feared all white furry objects because he associated them with a scary, loud noise.

Watson's theories were built upon the work of Ivan Pavlov. Pavlov was well known for his research on a learning process called classical conditioning. Classical conditioning refers to learning that occurs when a neutral stimulus becomes associated with a stimulus that naturally produces a behavior. Pavlov earned the 1904 Nobel Prize in Psychology for his work on the theory of classical conditioning. In Watson's case, Little Albert became afraid of furry, white objects because he associated them with a scary noise. Similar to the work of Watson but more developed, in Pavlov's case, dogs drooled when they heard a ringing bell because they associated the sound with food.

For the purposes of our work with children, we can see how neutral stimulus become associated with naturally produces a behavior. Advertisements are a prime example of classical conditioning. Food advertisements are a great example of classical conditioning. We are conditioned to desire foods that look good. That's why we salivate when we see a commercial for our favorite steakhouse!

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B.F. Skinner: Operant Conditioning

Psychologist B.F. Skinner saw that classical conditioning is limited to existing behaviors that are reflexively elicited, and doesn't account for new behaviors such as riding a bike.[1] He proposed a theory about how such behaviors come about. Skinner believed that behavior is motivated by the consequences we receive for the behavior: reinforcements and punishments. His idea that learning is the result of consequences is based on the law of effect, which was first proposed by psychologist Edward Thorndike. According to the law of effect, behaviors that are followed by consequences that are satisfying to the organism are more likely to be repeated, and behaviors that are followed by unpleasant consequences are less likely to be repeated (Thorndike, 1911). Essentially, if an organism does something that brings about a desired result, the organism is more likely to do it again. If an organism does something that does not bring about the desired result, the organism is less likely to do it again. An example of the law of effect is employment. One of the reasons (and often the main reason) we show up for work is because we get paid to do so. If we stop getting paid, we will likely stop showing up—even if we love our job.

Table 1. Classical and Operant Conditioning Compared

Type of Approach	Classical Conditioning	Operant Conditioning
Conditioning approach	An unconditioned stimulus (such as food) is paired with a neutral stimulus (such as a bell). The neutral stimulus eventually becomes the conditioned stimulus, which brings about the conditioned response (salivation).	The target behavior is followed by reinforcement or punishment to either strengthen or weaken it so that the learner is more likely to exhibit the desired behavior in the future.
Stimulus timing	The stimulus occurs immediately before the response.	The stimulus (either reinforcement or punishment) occurs soon after the response.

Working with Thorndike's law of effect as his foundation, Skinner began conducting scientific experiments on animals (mainly rats and pigeons) to determine how organisms learn through operant conditioning (Skinner, 1938). He placed these animals inside an operant conditioning chamber, which has come to be known as a "Skinner box" (See Figure 1.). A Skinner box contains a lever (for rats) or disk (for pigeons) that the animal can press or peck for a food reward via the dispenser. Speakers and lights can be associated with certain behaviors. A recorder counts the number of responses made by the animal.

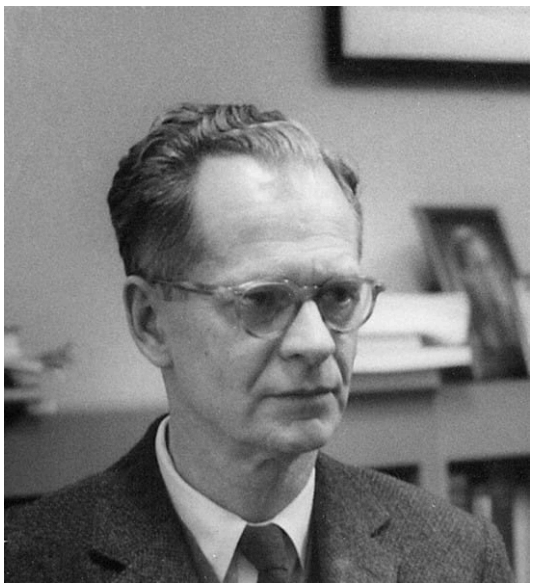


Figure 1.12.1: B. F. Skinner developed operant conditioning for systematic study of how behaviors are strengthened or weakened according to their consequences. (CC BY-3.0; Silly rabbit via Wikimedia)

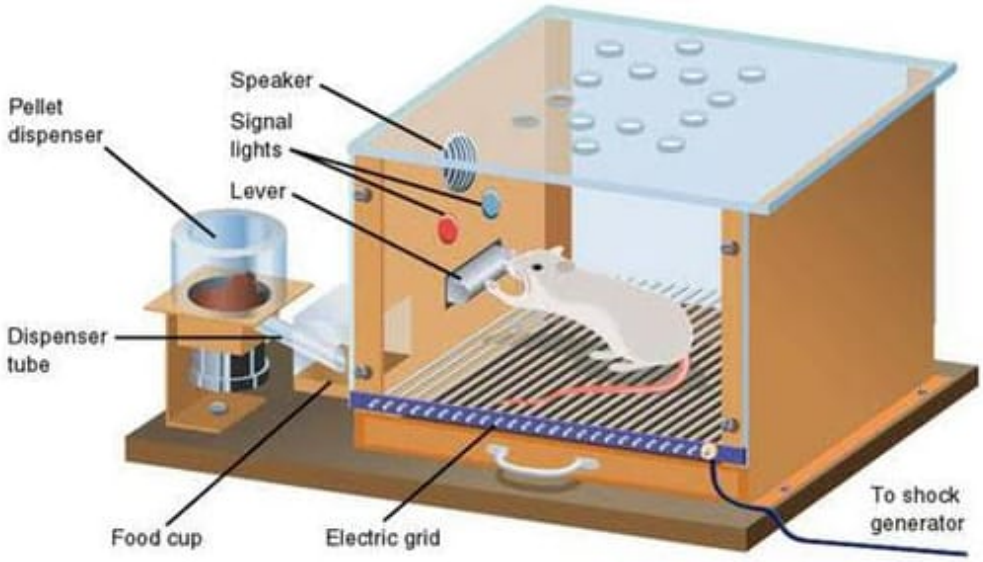


Figure 1.12.2: In a Skinner box, a rat presses a lever in an operant conditioning chamber to receive a food reward. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Wikimedia)

In discussing operant conditioning, we use several everyday words—positive, negative, reinforcement, and punishment—in a specialized manner. In operant conditioning, positive and negative do not mean good and bad. Instead, *positive* means you are adding something, and *negative* means you are taking something away. Reinforcement means you are increasing a behavior, and punishment means you are decreasing a behavior. Reinforcement can be positive or negative, and punishment can also be positive or negative. All reinforcers (positive or negative) *increase* the likelihood of a behavioral response. All punishers (positive or negative) decrease the likelihood of a behavioral response. Now let us combine these four terms: positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, positive punishment, and negative punishment (Table 2).

Table 2. Positive and Negative Reinforcement and Punishment

	Reinforcement	Punishment
Positive	Something is *added* to *increase* the likelihood of a behavior.	Something is *added* to *decrease* the likelihood of a behavior.
Negative	Something is *removed* to *increase* the likelihood of a behavior.	Something is *removed* to *decrease* the likelihood of a behavior.

Reinforcement

The most effective way to teach a person or animal a new behavior is with positive reinforcement. In positive reinforcement, a desirable stimulus is added to increase a behavior.

For example, let's say you tell your five-year-old son, Jerome, that if he cleans his room, he will get a toy. Jerome quickly cleans his room because he wants a new art set. Some people might say, "Why should I reward my child for doing what is expected?" However, we are constantly and consistently rewarded in our lives. Our paychecks are rewards, as are high grades or acceptance into our preferred schools. Being praised for doing a good job or for passing a driver's test are also rewards. Positive reinforcement as a learning tool is extremely effective. It has been found that one of the most effective ways to increase achievement in school districts with below-average reading scores was to pay the children to read.

An example of this can be seen in Dallas, where second-grade students in Dallas were paid $2 each time they read a book and passed a short quiz about the book. The result was a significant increase in reading comprehension (Fryer, 2010). What do you think about this program? If Skinner were alive today, he would probably think this was a great idea. He was a strong proponent of using operant conditioning principles to influence students' behavior at school. In fact, in addition to the Skinner box, he also invented what he called a teaching machine that was designed to reward small steps in learning—an early forerunner of computer-assisted learning (Skinner, 1961). His teaching machine tested students' knowledge as they worked through various school subjects. If students answered questions correctly, they received immediate positive reinforcement and could continue; if they answered incorrectly, they did not receive any reinforcement. The idea was that students would spend additional time studying the material to increase their chance of being reinforced the next time.



Figure 1.12.3: A child winning an award. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Anuj Nagar via Wikimedia)

In negative reinforcement, an undesirable stimulus is removed to increase a behavior. For example, car manufacturers use the principles of negative reinforcement in their seatbelt systems, which go “beep, beep, beep” until you fasten your seatbelt. The annoying sound stops when you exhibit the desired behavior, increasing the likelihood that you will buckle up in the future. Negative reinforcement is also used frequently in horse training. Riders apply pressure—by pulling the reins or squeezing their legs—and then remove the pressure when the horse performs the desired behavior, such as turning or speeding up. The pressure is the negative stimulus that the horse wants to remove.

Punishment

Many people confuse negative reinforcement with punishment in operant conditioning, but they are two very different concepts. Remember that reinforcement, even when it is negative, always increases a behavior. In contrast, punishment always decreases a behavior. In positive punishment, you add an undesirable stimulus to decrease a behavior. An example of positive punishment is reprimanding a student to get the student to stop texting in class. In this case, a stimulus (the reprimand) is added in order to decrease the behavior (texting in class). In negative punishment, you remove a pleasant stimulus to decrease a behavior, such as something the child enjoys (e.g., a toy or a scheduled outing). One controversial and misunderstood discipline technique is time out. Depending on how it is applied, time-outs can be negative punishment or seen as removal from items that are positively reinforcing such access to something they enjoy like a toy (Allen et.al, 1964).

Punishment, especially when it is immediate, is one way to decrease undesirable behavior. For example, imagine your four-year-old son, Brandon, runs into a busy street to get his ball. You give him a time-out (positive punishment) and tell him never to go into the street again. Chances are he will not repeat this behavior. While strategies like time-outs are common today, in the past children were often subject to physical punishment, such as spanking. It’s important to be aware of some of the drawbacks of using physical punishment on children. Within the context of parenting, it is important to note that the term “punishment” doesn’t mean that the consequence should be harmful.

In fact, experts caution that punishments like spanking can cause more harm than good (Murphy, 2017). First, punishment may teach fear. Brandon may become fearful of the street, but he also may become fearful of the person who delivered the punishment—you, his parent. Similarly, children who are punished by teachers may start to fear the teacher and try to avoid school (Gerschoff, 2013). Consequently, most schools in the United States have banned corporal punishment. Second, punishment may cause children to become more aggressive and prone to antisocial behavior and delinquency (Gershoff, 2002). They see their parents resort to spanking when they become angry and frustrated, so, in turn, they may act out this same behavior when they become angry and frustrated. For example, because you spank Brenda when you are angry with her for her misbehavior, she might start hitting her friends when they will not share their toys.

While positive punishment can be effective in some cases, Skinner suggested that the use of punishment should be weighed against the possible negative effects. Today’s psychologists and parenting experts favor reinforcement over punishment—they recommend that you catch your child doing something good and reward her for it.

Cultural Considerations



Figure 1.12.4: Teen experiencing anxiety. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; rima xaros via Flickr)

The socialization implications are evident when behavior is viewed within cultural practices. For example there has been a great deal of research related to anxiety levels for Asian Americans compared to western White Americans (Krieg and Xu 2018). Asian Americans consistently report higher social anxiety symptoms. The theory is that there is conflict navigating the high levels of interdependence in Asian American culture versus the low levels of interdependence in Western culture. This conflicts makes social situations "high stakes." Social situations trigger fears and anxiety as Asian Americans are concerned about how one's behavior impacts the group. This is important to keep in mind when working with children whose culture values the collective or group but the typical Western classroom values children demonstrating independence.

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1.13: Family Systems Theories

Family Systems Theory

Some theories are focused on a specific agent of socialization such as family. Family Systems Theory does just that, focuses how how the family socialized children. Family Systems Theory (from the work of Ackerman, Jackson, Minuchin, and Bowen) comes under the Functional Theory umbrella and shares the functional approach of considering the dysfunctions and functions of complex groups and organizations.

Family Systems Theory claims that the family is understood best by conceptualizing it as a complex, dynamic, and changing collection of parts, subsystems and family members. Much like a mechanic would interface with the computer system of a broken-down car to diagnose which systems are broken (transmission, electric, fuel, etc.) to repair it, a therapist or researcher would interact with family members to diagnose how and where the systems of the family are working and where they are in need of repair or intervention.

In the article entitled, “Understanding Families: Applying Family Systems Theory to Early Childhood Practice” by Linda Garris Christian, she states that family systems theory can explain why members of a family behave the way they do in a given situation. She identifies the six characteristics that make up the theory collectively.

The six characteristics are:

1. Boundaries – relates to limit, togetherness and separateness—what or who is “in” or “out of” the family.
2. Roles – in all families individuals members have roles, those roles may include – peacemaker, clown, rescuer, victim, these roles can be carried over into work, school, and social settings.
3. Rules – a set of standards, laws, or traditions that tell us how-to live-in relation to each other, they are often embedded in a cultural context; therefore, they can contribute to the feeling of cultural discontinuity that some children experience at school.
4. Hierarchy – this refers to who holds the decision making, control, and power in the family, each time the family composition changes, there is a shift in where family members are in their hierarchy.
5. Climate – this is about the emotional and physical environment of the family.
6. Equilibrium – the refers to the balance or imbalance that exists in the family, consistency in families can be difficult to maintain, but it is critical to children’s development that they have a sense of security and trust to maintain healthy development

The information uses ideas and concepts from the article " Understanding Families: Applying Family Systems Theory". After reviewing the article, you may want to reflect on the questions below.



Figure 1.13.1: A family enjoying the day together. (Public Domain; NARA)

Critical Reflection

1. How might you apply the six characteristics in this theory to your family of origin?
2. What more do you need to know about this theory to help you to support children and families in your early learning environment?

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Functionalism

When considering the role of family in society, functionalists uphold the notion that families are an important social institution and that they play a key role in stabilizing society. They also note that family members take on status roles in a marriage or family. The family—and its members—perform certain functions that facilitate the prosperity and development of society.

Sociologist George Murdock conducted a survey of 250 societies and determined that there are four universal residual functions of the family: sexual, reproductive, educational, and economic (Murdock 1949). According to Murdock, the family (which for him includes the state of marriage) regulates sexual relations between individuals. He does not deny the existence or impact of premarital or extramarital sex, but states that the family offers a socially legitimate sexual outlet for adults (Murdock, 1949)). This outlet gives way to reproduction, which is a necessary part of ensuring the survival of society.

Once children are born, the family plays a vital role in training them for adult life. As the primary agent of socialization and enculturation, the family teaches young children the ways of thinking and behaving that follow social and cultural norms, values, beliefs, and attitudes. For example, in some families, parents teach their children manners and civility believing a well-mannered child reflects a well-mannered parent.

Parents also teach children gender roles. Gender roles are an important part of the economic function of a family. In each family, there is a division of labor that consists of instrumental and expressive roles. Men tend to assume the instrumental roles in the

family, which typically involve work outside of the family that provides financial support and establishes family status. Women tend to assume the expressive roles, which typically involve work inside of the family which provides emotional support and physical care for children (Crano and Aronoff 1978).

According to functionalists, the differentiation of the roles on the basis of sex ensures that families are well balanced and coordinated. When family members move outside of these roles, the family is thrown out of balance and must recalibrate in order to function properly. For example, if the father assumes an expressive role such as providing daytime care for the children, the mother must take on an instrumental role such as gaining paid employment outside of the home in order for the family to maintain balance and function.

Conflict Theory

The functional perspective assumes the family provides its members emotional comfort and support, many families do just the opposite and are far from the harmonious, happy groups depicted in the 1950s television shows. Instead, and as the news story that began this chapter tragically illustrated, they argue, shout, and use emotional cruelty and physical violence.

Conflict theory's emphases, the family may also produce several problems. In particular, it may contribute for several reasons to social inequality, and it may subject its members to violence, arguments, and other forms of conflict. The family also became more and more of a patriarchal unit (see earlier discussion), helping to ensure men's status at the top of the social hierarchy.

Conflict theorists are quick to point out that U.S. families have been defined as private entities, the consequence of which has been to leave family matters to only those within the family. Many people in the United States are resistant to government intervention in the family: parents do not want the government to tell them how to raise their children or to become involved in domestic issues. Conflict theory highlights the role of power in family life and contends that the family is often not a haven but rather an arena where power struggles can occur. This exercise of power often entails the performance of family status roles. Conflict theorists may study conflicts as simple as the enforcement of rules from parent to child, or they may examine more serious issues such as domestic violence (spousal and child), sexual assault, marital rape, and incest.

The first study of marital power was performed in 1960. Researchers found that the person with the most access to value resources held the most power. As money is one of the most valuable resources, men who worked in paid labor outside of the home held more power than women who worked inside the home (Blood and Wolfe 1960). Even today, with more fluid family roles, conflict theorists find disputes over the division of household labor to be a common source of marital discord. Household labor offers no wages and, therefore, no power. Studies indicate that when men do more housework, women experience more satisfaction in their marriages, reducing the incidence of conflict (Coltrane 2000). In general, conflict theorists tend to study areas of marriage and life that involve inequalities or discrepancies in power and authority, as they are reflective of the larger social structure.

Check-in Time!

How does the division of chores impact or not impact your household?

Symbolic Interactionism

Interactionists view the world in terms of symbols and the meanings assigned to them (LaRossa and Reitzes 1993). The family itself is a symbol. To some, it is a father, mother, and children; to others, it is any union that involves respect and compassion. Interactionists stress that family is not an objective, concrete reality. Like other social phenomena, it is a social construct that is subject to the ebb and flow of social norms and ever-changing meanings.

Consider the meaning of other elements of family: in the past, "parent" was a symbol of a biological and emotional connection to a child. With more parent-child relationships developing through adoption, remarriage, or change in guardianship, the word "parent" today is less likely to be associated with a biological connection than with whoever is socially recognized as having the responsibility for a child's upbringing. Similarly, the terms "mother" and "father" are no longer rigidly associated with the meanings of caregiver and breadwinner. These meanings are more free-flowing through changing family roles.

Interactionists also recognize how the family status roles of each member are socially constructed, playing an important part in how people perceive and interpret social behavior. Interactionists view the family as a group of role players or "actors" that come

together to act out their parts in an effort to construct a family. These roles are up for interpretation. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, a “good father,” for example, was one who worked hard to provide financial security for his children. Today, for some, a “good father” is one who takes the time outside of work to promote his children’s emotional well-being, social skills, and intellectual growth—in some ways, a much more daunting task.

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2: WHY CULTURE IS IMPORTANT

Learning Objectives

At the end of the chapter, you should be able to:

- Explore values and beliefs of culture
- Explore norms, symbols, language in culture
- Understand attitudes in culture
- Describe examples of how culture influences behavior.
- Define ethnocentric bias and cultural relativism.

The Importance of Culture

Culture is a large part of our Bronfenbrenner's macrosystem that describes the attitudes, values and beliefs we encompass throughout life. It is the nonbiological aspect to life that describes the idea of learned behaviors. There is a cultural nature to how humans develop. Many researchers would argue that much of our identity, our sense of self, perspectives and how we perceive the world comes from our culture. Many of our skills and abilities may come from our cultural practices as well. Culture explains the question "why do we behave the way we do?" Cultures have norms, rules, and expectations that comes with its punishments and rewards. The many different aspects of culture are driving forces to our behaviors. Attitudes may influence how we treat or receive others. Traditions, values and beliefs may stem from other aspects of our macrosystem such as political ideation, or religion. Each aspect has influences over our behavior.

2.1: Introduction

2.2: Cultural Schemas

2.3: Norms

2.4: Attitudes

2.5: Culture in the Classroom

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2.1: Introduction

Culture and Socialization

Culture is a key concept in socialization as it influences our beliefs and behaviors. Culture is a part of each person and is the foundation of a society. People in general absorbs the rules, values, norms and beliefs of the culture they were born into (Nieto & Bode, 2008).

Think about what are the informal unwritten rules when you pass an acquaintance at school, work, in the grocery store, or in the mall? Generally, we do not consider all of the intricacies of the rules of behavior. We may simply say, “Hello!” and ask, “How was your weekend?” or some other trivial question meant to be a friendly greeting. Rarely do we physically embrace or even touch the individual. In fact, doing so may be viewed with scorn or distaste, since as people in the United States we have fairly rigid rules about personal space. However, we all adhere to various rules and standards that are created and maintained in culture.These rules and expectations have meaning, and there are ways in which you may violate this negotiation. Culturally, we examine in what situation and context certain behavior is expected, and in which situations perhaps it is not. These rules are created and enforced by people who interact and share societal norms.

> Critical Reflection
>
> Think about the setting and environment of grocery stores in each culture. Would these differences change the way one interacts with others?



Figure 2.1.1: people shopping in middle eastern market (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; ninjawil via Wordpress)



Figure 2.1.2:people shopping in western market (CC BY-SA 2.0; blmurch via Wordpress)

In everyday conversation, people rarely distinguish between the terms culture and society, but the terms have slightly different meanings, and the distinction is important to educators. A society describes a group of people who share a community and a culture. By “community,” is a definable region—as small as a neighborhood (Brooklyn, or “the east side of town”), as large as a country (Ethiopia, the United States, or Nepal), or somewhere in between (in the United States, this might include someone who identifies with Southern or Midwestern society). To clarify, a culture represents the beliefs and practices of a group, while society represents the people who share those beliefs and practices. Neither society nor culture could exist without the other. In this section we examine the relationship between culture and society in greater detail and pay special attention to the elements and forces that shape culture, including diversity and cultural changes. A final discussion touches on the different theoretical perspectives from which sociologists research culture.

Almost every human behavior, from parenting, to bathing, to shopping to marriage to expressions of feelings, is learned. Children learning the behaviors make them apart of the group. The conduct and systems of the group is collectively called culture. In the United States, people tend to view marriage as a choice between two people, based on mutual feelings of love. In other nations and in other times, marriages have been arranged through an intricate process of interviews and negotiations between entire families. To someone raised in New York City, the marriage customs of a family from Nigeria may seem strange or even wrong. Conversely, someone from a traditional Kolkata family might be perplexed with the idea of romantic love as the foundation for marriage and lifelong commitment. In other words, the way in which people view marriage depends largely on what they have been taught.



Figure 2.1.3: A man presenting his sister, the bride, to her groom. (CC BY-SA 1.0; Wikimedia)

Behavior based on learned customs is not a bad thing. Being familiar with unwritten rules helps people feel secure and “normal.” Most people want to live their daily lives confident that their behaviors will not be challenged or disrupted. But even an action as seemingly simple as commuting to school evidences a great deal of cultural propriety.

Take the case of going to school on public transportation. Whether people are commuting in Dublin, Cairo, Mumbai, or San Francisco, many behaviors will be the same, but significant differences also arise between cultures. Typically, a passenger will find a marked bus stop or station, wait for his bus or train, pay an agent before or after boarding, and quietly take a seat if one is available. But when boarding a bus in Cairo, passengers might have to run, because buses there often do not come to a full stop to take on patrons. Dublin bus riders would be expected to extend an arm to indicate that they want the bus to stop for them. And when boarding a commuter train in Mumbai, passengers must squeeze into overstuffed cars amid a lot of pushing and shoving on the crowded platforms. That kind of behavior would be considered the height of rudeness in the United States, but in Mumbai it reflects the daily challenges of getting around on a train system that is taxed to capacity.

In this example of commuting, culture consists of thoughts (expectations about personal space, for example) and tangible things (bus stops, trains, and seating capacity). Material culture refers to the objects or belongings of a group of people. Metro passes and bus tokens are part of material culture, as are automobiles, stores, and the physical structures where people worship. Nonmaterial culture, in contrast, consists of the ideas, attitudes, and beliefs of a society. Material and nonmaterial aspects of culture are linked, and physical objects often symbolize cultural ideas. A metro pass is a material object, but it represents a form of nonmaterial culture, namely, capitalism, and the acceptance of paying for transportation.

Cultural Universals

Often, a comparison of one culture to another will reveal obvious differences. But all cultures also share common elements. Cultural universals are patterns or traits that are globally common to all societies. One example of a cultural universal is the family unit: every human society recognizes a family structure that regulates sexual reproduction and the care of children. Even so, how that family unit is defined and how it functions vary. In many Asian cultures, for example, family members from all generations commonly live together in one household. In these cultures, young adults continue to live in the extended household family structure until they marry and join their spouse’s household, or they may remain and raise their nuclear family within the extended family’s homestead. In the United States, by contrast, individuals are expected to leave home and live independently for a period before forming a family unit that consists of parents and their offspring. Other cultural universals include customs like funeral rites, weddings, and celebrations of births. However, each culture may view the ceremonies quite differently.

Cultural Iceberg

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There are many factors of culture, it is powerful it is obvious in many ways but imperceivable in other ways (Hall, 1989). Theorists explain that culture is visible and invisible. Culture is visible in a groups dress, food, gestures, systems, as an educator this is the easiest elements of culture. The most difficult element of culture is the the culture we do not see but still exist. This is invisible cultural elements such as emotional reactions and beliefs systems.



Figure 2.1.4: Native American people in traditional dresss (CC BY 2.0; tm via Wikimedia)

Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism

The fact of cultural diversity raises some important but difficult questions of cultural relativism and ethnocentrism. Cultural relativism refers to the belief that we should not judge any culture as superior or inferior to another culture. In this view, all cultures have their benefits and disadvantages, and we should not automatically assume that our own culture is better and "their" culture is worse. Ethnocentrism**,** the opposite view, refers to the tendency to judge another culture by the standards of our own and to the belief that our own culture is indeed superior to another culture. When we think of cow worship in India, it is easy to be amused by it and even to make fun of it. That is why anthropologist Marvin Harris's (1978) analysis was so important, because it suggests that cow worship is in fact very important for the Indian way of life. Despite how much humans have in common, cultural differences are far more prevalent than cultural universals. For example, while all cultures have language, analysis of particular language structures and conversational etiquette reveal tremendous differences.



Figure 2.1.5: According to anthropologist Marvin Harris, cows are worshipped in India because they are such an important part of India's agricultural economy. (CC BY-SA 3.0; Bipin.cs37 via Wikimedia)

In the United States, if we make an "O" by putting our thumb and forefinger together, we mean "OK," but the same gesture in certain parts of Europe signifies an obscenity. "Thumbs up" in the United States means "great" or "wonderful," but in Australia it means the same thing as extending the middle finger in the United States. Certain parts of the Middle East and Asia would be offended if they saw you using your left hand to eat, because they use their left hand for bathroom hygiene.



Figure 2.1.6: OK. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; d Wang via Flickr)

The meaning of a gesture may differ from one society to another. This familiar gesture means "OK" in the United States, but in certain parts of Europe it signifies an obscenity. An American using this gesture might very well be greeted with an angry look.

In some Middle Eastern cultures, it is common to stand close to others in conversation. North Americans keep more distance and maintain a large "personal space." Even something as simple as eating and drinking varies greatly from culture to culture. If your professor comes into an early morning class holding a mug of liquid, what do you assume she is drinking? In the United States, it's most likely filled with coffee, not Earl Grey tea, a favorite in England, or Yak Butter tea, a staple in Tibet.



Figure 2.1.7:(CC-BY-NC-ND 4.0; Marie Anna Lee via ScholarlyCommons) & Figure 2.1.8: (Public Domain; NARA): It's not just what we eat, but where and how we eat that can differ

The way cuisines vary across cultures fascinates many people. Some travelers pride themselves on their willingness to try unfamiliar foods, like celebrated food writer Anthony Bourdain, while others return home expressing gratitude for their native culture's fare. Often, people in the United States express disgust at other cultures' cuisine and think that it's gross to eat meat from a dog or guinea pig, for example, while they don't question their own habit of eating cows or pigs. Such attitudes are an example of ethnocentrism, or evaluating and judging another culture based on how it compares to one's own cultural norms. Ethnocentrism, as sociologist William Graham Sumner (1906) described the term, involves a belief or attitude that one's own culture is better than all others. Almost everyone is a little bit ethnocentric. For example, Americans tend to say that people from England drive on the "wrong" side of the road, rather than on the "other" side. Someone from a country where dog meat is standard fare might find it off-putting to see a dog in a French restaurant—not on the menu, but as a pet and patron's companion. A good example of ethnocentrism is referring to parts of Asia as the "Far East." One might question, "Far east of where?"

A high level of appreciation for one's own culture can be healthy; a shared sense of community pride, for example, connects people in a society. But ethnocentrism can lead to disdain or dislike for other cultures and could cause misunderstanding and conflict. People with the best intentions sometimes travel to a society to "help" its people, because they see them as uneducated or backward—essentially inferior. In reality, these travelers are guilty of cultural imperialism, the deliberate imposition of one's own cultural values on another culture. Europe's colonial expansion, begun in the sixteenth century, was often accompanied by a severe cultural imperialism. European colonizers often viewed the people in the lands they colonized as uncultured savages who were in need of European governance, dress, religion, and other cultural practices. A more modern example of cultural imperialism may include the work of international aid agencies who introduce agricultural methods and plant species from developed countries while overlooking indigenous varieties and agricultural approaches that are better suited to the particular region (Scheuerman, 2010).

Ethnocentrism can be so strong that when confronted with all of the differences of a new culture, one may experience disorientation and frustration. In sociology, we call this culture shock. A traveler from Chicago might find the nightly silence of rural Montana unsettling, not peaceful. An exchange student from China might be annoyed by the constant interruptions in class as other students ask questions—a practice that is considered rude in China. Perhaps the Chicago traveler was initially captivated with Montana's quiet beauty and the Chinese student was originally excited to see a U.S.-style classroom firsthand. But as they experience unanticipated differences from their own culture, their excitement gives way to discomfort and doubts about how to behave appropriately in the new situation. Eventually, as people learn more about a culture, they recover from culture shock.

Critical Reflection

This section discussed the eating of dog meat in some other cultures. Many Americans and Europeans condemn this practice and look down upon non-western countries where these practices are typical.

> Do you think it is appropriate to condemn eating dog meat, or do you think such criticism violates cultural relativism and is therefore inappropriate?

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2.2: Cultural Schemas

Cultural Schemas

Culture determines how groups understand rules and make meaning of their behavior, patterns, systems and experiences. These frameworks are called values, beliefs, attitudes and norms. These cognitive processes provide structure for our social patterns. The following video discusses values in more depth and highlights other related ideas such as symbols, and norms that govern our daily lives. Children are learning about these complex ideas in their interactions with adults and caregivers. Children are learning about these mental structures, what Piaget called schemas, in this case cultural schemas (Lally & Vlentine-French, 2017).

YouTube Video

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Values

The first, and perhaps most crucial, elements of culture we will discuss are its values and beliefs. Values are a culture's standard for discerning what is good and just in society. Values are deeply embedded and critical for transmitting and teaching a culture's beliefs. Beliefs are the tenets or convictions that people hold to be true. Individuals in a society have specific beliefs, but they also share collective values.

Values are qualities or beliefs that are viewed as desirable or important. Socializing agents in all Bronfenbrenners bio-ecological model influence the internalization of values. In the microsystem what message did your parents give you gender or beauty? Major global events in the macrosystem and chronosystem also affect values. For example, COVID- 19 pandemic in 2020 made people value security and reorganize their family and work lives (Bojanowska et al., 2021).

Values help shape a society by suggesting what is good and bad, beautiful and ugly, sought or avoided. Consider the value that the United States places upon youth. Children represent innocence and purity, while a youthful adult appearance signifies sexuality. Shaped by this value, individuals spend millions of dollars each year on cosmetic products and surgeries to look young and beautiful. The United States also has an individualistic culture, meaning people place a high value on individuality and independence. In contrast, many other cultures are collectivist, meaning the welfare of the group and group relationships are a primary value.

Living up to a culture's values can be difficult. For parents in the U.S. we value children being independent but engage in helicopter parenting. It's easy to value good health, but it's hard to quit smoking. Marital monogamy is valued, but many spouses engage in infidelity. Cultural diversity and equal opportunities for all people are valued in the United States, yet the country's highest political offices have been dominated by white men.

Values often suggest how people should behave, but they don't accurately reflect how people do behave. Values portray an ideal culture, the standards society would like to embrace and live up to. But ideal culture differs from real culture, the way society actually is, based on what occurs and exists. In an ideal culture, there would be no traffic accidents, murders, poverty, or racial tension. But in real culture, police officers, lawmakers, educators, and social workers constantly strive to prevent or repair those accidents, crimes, and injustices. American teenagers are encouraged to value celibacy. However, the number of unplanned pregnancies among teens reveals that not only is the ideal hard to live up to, but the value alone is not enough to spare teenagers the potential consequences of having sex.

One way societies strive to put values into action is through rewards, sanctions, and punishments, see the section on theories that outline Skinner's work. When people observe the norms of society and uphold its values, they are often rewarded. A boy

who helps an elderly woman board a bus may receive a smile and a “thank you.” A business manager who raises profit margins may receive a quarterly bonus. People sanction certain behaviors by giving their support, approval, or permission, or by instilling formal actions of disapproval and nonsupport. Sanctions are a form of social control, a way to encourage conformity to cultural norms. Sometimes people conform to norms in anticipation or expectation of positive sanctions: good grades, for instance, may mean praise from parents and teachers. From a criminal justice perspective, properly used social control is also inexpensive crime control. Utilizing social control approaches pushes most people to conform to societal rules, regardless of whether authority figures (such as law enforcement) are present.



Figure 2.2.1: A Mangkong girl, caring for a younger sibling, stands outside a home. A norm in Laos have children playing a major role in helping to raise younger children. (CC BY-SA 3.0; BigBrotherMouse via Wikimedia)

When people go against a society’s values, they are punished. A boy who shoves an elderly woman aside to board the bus first may receive frowns or even a scolding from other passengers. A business manager who drives away customers will likely be fired. Breaking norms and rejecting values can lead to cultural sanctions such as earning a negative label—lazy, no-good bum—or to legal sanctions, such as traffic tickets, fines, or imprisonment.



Figure 2.2.2: In many parts of Africa and the Middle East, it is considered normal for men to hold hands in friendship. How would Americans react to these two soldiers? (CC BY 2.0; Geordie Mott via Wikimedia)

Values are not static; they vary across time and between groups as people evaluate, debate, and change collective societal beliefs. Values also vary from culture to culture. For example, cultures differ in their values about what kinds of physical closeness are

appropriate in public. It's rare to see two male friends or coworkers holding hands in the United States where that behavior often symbolizes romantic feelings. But in many nations, masculine physical intimacy is considered natural in public. This difference in cultural values came to light when people reacted to photos of former president George W. Bush holding hands with the Crown Prince of Saudi Arabia in 2005. A simple gesture, such as hand-holding, carries great symbolic differences across cultures.

Reflection

What is a value you have as an adult that was fostered in your childhood?

In what ways was that instilled in you by society. Can you link to the methods of socialization practices?

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2.3: Norms

Norms

So far, the examples in this chapter have often described how people are expected to behave in certain situations—for example, when buying food or boarding a bus. These examples describe the visible and invisible rules of conduct through which societies are structured, or what sociologists call norms. Norms define how to behave in accordance with what a society has defined as good, right, and important, and most members of the society adhere to them. Social norms have played a key role in the evolution of human cooperation, they support the young child understanding of being a member of a larger group and behaving in a way that supports the group. As noted in the social learning theory, children observe and follow the directives of adult caregivers; children conform and enforce social norms (Schmidt & Tomasello, 2012).

Formal norms are established, written rules. They are behaviors worked out and agreed upon in order to suit and serve the most people. Laws are formal norms, but so are employee manuals, college entrance exam requirements, and “no running” signs at swimming pools. Formal norms are the most specific and clearly stated of the various types of norms, and they are the most strictly enforced. But even formal norms are enforced to varying degrees and are reflected in cultural values.

For example, money is highly valued in the United States, so monetary crimes are punished. It’s against the law to rob a bank, and banks go to great lengths to prevent such crimes. People safeguard valuable possessions and install antitheft devices to protect homes and cars. A less strictly enforced social norm is driving while intoxicated. While it’s against the law to drive drunk, drinking is for the most part an acceptable social behavior. And though there are laws to punish drunk driving, there are few systems in place to prevent the crime. These examples show a range of enforcement in formal norms.



Figure 2.3.1: Street signs are an example of enforcement of Cultural norms. (CC BY 2.0; Ethan Prater via Wordpress)

There are plenty of formal norms, but the list of informal norms—casual behaviors that are generally and widely conformed to—is longer. People learn informal norms by observation, imitation, and general socialization. An example of cognitive methods of socialization in teaching children in the microsystems is is a parenting saying “Kiss your Aunt Edna” or “Use your napkin”—while others are learned by observation, including observations of the consequences when someone else violates a norm. But although informal norms define personal interactions, they extend into other systems as well. In the United States, there are informal norms regarding behavior at fast food restaurants. Customers line up to order their food and leave when they are done. They don’t sit down at a table with strangers, sing loudly as they prepare their condiments, or nap in a booth. Most people don’t commit even benign breaches of informal norms. Informal norms dictate appropriate behaviors without the need of written rules.

Norms may be further classified as either mores or folkways. Mores (mor-ays) are norms that embody the moral views and principles of a group (Sumner 1906). Violating them can have serious consequences. The strongest mores are legally protected

with laws or other formal norms. In the United States, for instance, murder is considered immoral, and it's punishable by law (a formal norm). But more often, mores are judged and guarded by public sentiment (an informal norm). People who violate mores are seen as shameful. They can even be shunned or banned from some groups. The mores of the U.S. school system require that a student's writing be in the student's own words or use special forms (such as quotation marks and a whole system of citation) for crediting other writers. Writing another person's words as if they are one's own has a name—plagiarism. The consequences for violating this norm are severe and usually result in expulsion.



Figure 2.3.2: Women doing laundry. (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0; Trey Ratcliff via Flickr)

Mores and Folksways

Unlike mores, folkways are norms without any moral underpinnings. Rather, folkways direct appropriate behavior in the day-to-day practices and expressions of a culture. They indicate whether to shake hands or kiss on the cheek when greeting another person. They specify whether to wear a tie and blazer or a T-shirt and sandals to an event. In Canada, women can smile and say hello to men on the street. In Egypt, that's not acceptable. In regions in the southern United States, bumping into an acquaintance means stopping to chat. It's considered rude not to, no matter how busy one is. In other regions, people guard their privacy and value time efficiency. A simple nod of the head is enough. Other accepted folkways in the United States may include holding the door open for a stranger or giving someone a gift on their birthday. The rules regarding these folkways may change from culture to culture.

Many folkways are actions we take for granted. People need to act without thinking in order to get seamlessly through daily routines; they can't stop and analyze every action (Sumner 1906). Those who experience culture shock may find that it subsides as they learn the new culture's folkways and are able to move through their daily routines more smoothly. Folkways might be small manners, learned by observation and imitated, but they are by no means trivial. Like mores and laws, these norms help people negotiate their daily lives within a given culture.

Check-in Time!

Explain the difference between folkways and mores.

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2.4: Attitudes

Attitudes as Internalized Standards

Children internalize the standards of their parents and society. They incorporate adult and other socializing agents expectations into their behavior, thereby becoming socialized. They, in turn, have similar ways of thinking about others with whom they interact, forming the foundation for a society.

Social psychologists reserve the term attitude to refer to our relatively enduring evaluation of something. (Albarracín, 2005; Wood, 2000). In this section we will consider the nature and strength of attitudes and the conditions under which attitudes best predict our behaviors.

Attitudes Are Evaluations

When we say that attitudes are evaluations, we mean that they involve a preference for or against the attitude object, as commonly expressed in such terms as prefer, like, dislike, hate, and love. When we express our attitudes—for instance, when we say, “I love Cheerios,” “I hate snakes,” “I’m crazy about Bill,” or “I like Italians”—we are expressing the relationship (either positive or negative) between the self and an attitude object. Statements such as these make it clear that attitudes are an important part of the self-concept—attitudes tie the self-concept to the attitude object, and so our attitudes are an essential part of "us" (Albarracín, 2005; Wood, 2000).

Reflection

The 9/11/2001 attacks, were an extreme example cultural belief systems at odds. This events caused a change in the system Bronfenbrenner called chronosystem - a massive change in our global society. American's grew to fear terrorism and those who the media (socializing agent) identified as perpetuated it. The fear of terrorism has changed our lives in the last 20 years impacting laws, systems and attitudes. We have greater emphasis on national security, more forceful immigration laws, increased racial profiling, and government surveillance technology.

Did you grow up with attitudes of suspicion and prejudice towards Middle Eastern people and culture?

Every human being holds thousands of attitudes, including those about family and friends, political parties and political figures, abortion rights and terrorism, preferences for music, and much more. Each of our attitudes has its own unique characteristics, and no two attitudes come to us or influence us in quite the same way. Research has found that some of our attitudes are inherited, at least in part, via genetic transmission from our parents (Olson, 2001). Other attitudes are learned mostly through direct and indirect experiences with the attitude objects (De Houwer, 2001). We may like to ride roller coasters in part because our genetic code has given us a thrill-loving personality and in part because we’ve had some really great times on roller coasters in the past. Still other attitudes are learned via the media (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2003; Levina, 2000) or through our interactions with friends (Poteat, 2007). Some of our attitudes are shared by others (most of us like sugar, fear snakes, and are disgusted by cockroaches), whereas other attitudes—such as our preferences for different styles of music or art—are more individualized.

Table 1 “Heritability of Some Attitudes” shows some of the attitudes that have been found to be the most highly heritable (i.e. most strongly determined by genetic variation among people). These attitudes form earlier and are stronger and more resistant to change than others (Bourgeois, 2002), although it is not yet known why some attitudes are more genetically determined than are others.

Table 1 - Heritability of Some Attitudes

Attitude	Heritability
Abortion on demand	0.54
Roller coaster rides	0.52
Death penalty for murder	0.5
Open-door immigration	0.46
Organized religion	0.45
Doing athletic activities	0.44
Voluntary euthanasia	0.44
Capitalism	0.39
Playing chess	0.38
Reading books	0.37
Exercising	0.36
Education	0.32
Big parties	0.32
Smoking	0.31
Being the center of attention	0.28
Getting along well with other people	0.28

Attitude	Heritability
Wearing clothes that draw attention	0.24
Sweets	0.22
Public speaking	0.2
Castration as punishment for sex crimes	0.17
Loud music	0.11
Looking my best at all times	0.1
Doing crossword puzzles	0.02
Separate roles for men and women	0
Making racial discrimination illegal	0
Playing organized sports	0
Playing bingo	0
Easy access to birth control	0
Being the leader of groups	0
Being assertive	0

Note table is ranked from most heritable to least heritable. Data are from Olson, Vernon, Harris, and Jang (2001).

Our attitudes are made up of cognitive, affective, and behavioral components. Consider an environmentalist's attitude toward recycling, which is probably very positive:

- In terms of affect: They feel happy when they recycle.
- In terms of behavior: They regularly recycle their bottles and cans.

- In terms of cognition: They believe recycling is the responsible thing to do.

Although most attitudes are determined by cognition, affect, and behavior, there is nevertheless variability in this regard across people and across attitudes. Some attitudes are more likely to be based on beliefs, some more likely to be based on feelings, and some more likely to be based on behaviors. Some people voted for Donald Trump in the 2016 elections because they like his policies ("he will make the US great again"), whereas others voted based on whether they liked him or not. Although you might think that cognition would be more important in this regard, political scientists have shown that many voting decisions are made primarily on the basis of affect. Indeed, it is fair to say that the affective component of attitudes is generally the strongest and most important (Abelson, 1981; Stangor, 1991).

Human beings hold attitudes because they are useful. Particularly, our attitudes enable us to determine, often very quickly and effortlessly, which behaviors to engage in, which people to approach or avoid, and even which products to buy (Duckworth, 2002; Maio & Olson, 2000). You can imagine that making quick decisions about what to avoid (for example, snake = bad ⇾ run away) or to approach (blueberries = good ⇾ eat) has had substantial value in our evolutionary experience.

Because attitudes are evaluations, they can be assessed using any of the normal measuring techniques used by social psychologists (Banaji & Heiphetz, 2010). Attitudes are frequently assessed using self-report measures, but they can also be assessed more indirectly using measures of arousal and facial expressions (Mendes, 2008) as well as implicit measures of cognition, such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT). Attitudes can also be seen in the brain by using neuroimaging techniques. This research has found that our attitudes, like most of our social knowledge, are stored primarily in the prefrontal cortex but that the amygdala is important in emotional attitudes, particularly those associated with fear (Cunningham, 2004; Cunningham & Zelazo, 2007; van den Bos, McClure, Harris, Fiske, & Cohen, 2007). Attitudes can be activated extremely quickly—often within one fifth of a second after we see an attitude object (Handy, 2010).

Critical Reflection!

Identify and bring in to mind a fruit. Did you come up with a different fruit other than strawberries- what impacts your determination of that being the best fruit?

- Previous experiences with the fruit
- Availability of this fruit in your geographic region
- Parents preferences

How does do these consideration shape your attitudes, beliefs about likes and dislikes about other things.



Figure 2.4.1: Berries. (CC BY 2.0; ppc1337 via Wordpress)

Some Attitudes Are Stronger Than Others

Some attitudes are more important than others, because they are more useful to us and thus have more impact on our daily lives. The importance of an attitude, as assessed by how quickly it comes to mind, is known as attitude strength (Fazio, 1990; Fazio, 1995; Krosnick & Petty, 1995). Some of our attitudes are strong attitudes, in the sense that we find them important, hold them with confidence, do not change them very much, and use them frequently to guide our actions. These strong attitudes may guide our actions completely out of our awareness (Ferguson, Bargh, & Nayak, 2005).

Other attitudes are weaker and have little influence on our actions. For instance, John Bargh and his colleagues (Bargh, Chaiken, Raymond, & Hymes, 1996) found that people could express attitudes toward nonsense words such as juvalamu (which people liked) and chakaka (which they did not like). The researchers also found that these attitudes were very weak. On the other hand, the heavy voter turnout for Barack Obama in the 2008 elections was probably because many of his supporters had strong positive attitudes about him.

Strong attitudes are attitudes that are more cognitively accessible—they come to mind quickly, regularly, and easily. We can easily measure attitude strength by assessing how quickly our attitudes are activated when we are exposed to the attitude object. If we can state our attitude quickly, without much thought, then it is a strong one. If we are unsure about our attitude and need to think about it for a while before stating our opinion, the attitude is weak.

Attitudes become stronger when we have direct positive or negative experiences with the attitude object, and particularly if those experiences have been in strong positive or negative contexts. Russell Fazio and his colleagues (Fazio, Powell, & Herr, 1983) had people either work on some puzzles or watch other people work on the same puzzles. Although the people who watched ended up either liking or disliking the puzzles as much as the people who actually worked on them, Fazio found that attitudes, as assessed by reaction time measures, were stronger (in the sense of being expressed quickly) for the people who had directly experienced the puzzles.

Because attitude strength is determined by cognitive accessibility, it is possible to make attitudes stronger by increasing the accessibility of the attitude. This can be done directly by having people think about, express, or discuss their attitudes with others. After people think about their attitudes, talk about them, or just say them out loud, the attitudes they have expressed become stronger (Downing, Judd, & Brauer, 1992; Tesser, Martin, & Mendolia, 1995). Because attitudes are linked to the self-concept, they also become stronger when they are activated along with the self-concept. When we are looking into a mirror or sitting in front of a TV camera, our attitudes are activated and we are then more likely to act on them (Beaman, Klentz, Diener, & Svanum, 1979).

Attitudes are also stronger when the ABCs of affect, behavior, and cognition all line up. As an example, many people's attitude toward their own nation is universally positive. They have strong positive feelings about their country, many positive thoughts about it, and tend to engage in behaviors that support it. Other attitudes are less strong because the affective, cognitive, and behavioral components are each somewhat different (Thompson, Zanna, & Griffin, 1995). My affect toward chocolate ice cream is positive—I like it a lot. On the other hand, my cognitions are more negative—I know that eating too much ice cream can make me fat and that it is bad for my coronary arteries. And even though I love chocolate ice cream, I don't eat some every time I get a chance. These inconsistencies among the components of my attitude make it less strong than it would be if all the components lined up together.

When Do Our Attitudes Guide Our Behavior?

Educators (as well as advertisers, marketers, and politicians) are particularly interested in the behavioral aspect of attitudes. Because it is normal that the ABCs of our attitudes are at least somewhat consistent, our behavior tends to follow from our affect and cognition. If I determine that you have more positive cognitions about and more positive affect toward Cheerios than Frosted Flakes, then I will naturally predict (and probably be correct when I do so) that you'll be more likely to buy Cheerios than Frosted Flakes when you go to the market. Furthermore, if I can do something to make your thoughts or feelings toward Frosted Flakes more positive, then your likelihood of buying that cereal instead of the other will also increase.

The principle of attitude consistency (that for any given attitude object, the ABCs of affect, behavior, and cognition are normally in line with each other) thus predicts that our attitudes (for instance, as measured via a self-report measure) are likely to guide behavior. Supporting this idea, meta-analyses have found that there is a significant and substantial positive correlation among the different components of attitudes, and that attitudes expressed on self-report measures do predict behavior (Glasman & Albarracín, 2006).

Although there is generally consistency between attitudes and behavior, the relationship is stronger in certain situations, for

certain people, and for certain attitudes (Wicker, 1969). The theory of planned behavior, developed by Martin Fishbein and Izek Ajzen (Ajzen, 1991; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975), outlined many of the important variables that affected the attitude-behavior relationship, and some of these factors are summarized in the list that follows this paragraph. It may not surprise you to hear that attitudes that are strong, in the sense that they are expressed quickly and confidently, predict our behavior better than do weak attitudes (Fazio, Powell, & Williams, 1989; Glasman & Albarracín, 2006). For example, Farc and Sagarin (2009) found that people who could more quickly complete questionnaires about their attitudes toward the politicians George Bush and John Kerry were also more likely to vote for the candidate that they had more positive attitudes toward in the 2004 presidential elections. The relationship between the responses on the questionnaires and voting behavior was weaker for those who completed the items more slowly.

- When attitudes are strong, rather than weak
- When we have a strong intention to perform the behavior
- When the attitude and the behavior both occur in similar social situations
- When the same components of the attitude (either affect or cognition) are accessible when the attitude is assessed and when the behavior is performed
- When the attitudes are measured at a specific, rather than a general, level
- For low self-monitors (rather than for high self-monitors)
- Attitudes only predict behaviors well under certain conditions and for some people. The preceding list summarizes the factors that create a strong attitude-behavior relationship.

The match between the social situations in which the attitudes are expressed and the behaviors are engaged in also matters, such that there is a greater attitude-behavior correlation when the social situations match.

Case example

Imagine for a minute the case of Magritte, a 16-year-old high school student. Magritte tells her parents that she hates the idea of smoking cigarettes. Magritte's negative attitude toward smoking seems to be a strong one because she's thought a lot about it—she believes that cigarettes are dirty, expensive, and unhealthy. But how sure are you that Magritte's attitude will predict her behavior? Would you be willing to bet that she'd never try smoking when she's out with her friends?

You can see that the problem here is that Magritte's attitude is being expressed in one social situation (when she is with her parents) whereas the behavior (trying a cigarette) is going to occur in a very different social situation (when she is out with her friends). The relevant social norms are of course much different in the two situations. Magritte's friends might be able to convince her to try smoking, despite her initial negative attitude, when they entice her with peer pressure. Behaviors are more likely to be consistent with attitudes when the social situation in which the behavior occurs is similar to the situation in which the attitude is expressed (Ajzen, 1991; LaPiere, 1936).

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2.5: Culture in the Classroom

Cultural Identity and Responsiveness

Cultural Identity

Although the early childhood field has a long history of commitment to developing culturally appropriate approaches to educating young children, it still struggles with understanding the role of culture in the development of our youngest children (Maschinot, 2008; Derman-Sparks & Olsen Edwards, 2010). As educators we will notice culture in the classroom as children will experience and interpret interactions and events in different ways. To develop a culturally responsive approach, it is essential to understand that what children learn from families and teachers are an idea systems that extends deep into the values of a group of people. Learning goes far beyond the things generally associated with culture, such as art, music, styles of dress, or holidays. As a child acquires cultural ways of being, these cultural rules for behavior impact identity by giving children the tools to understand their family/community and be understood in it.

Early childhood educators must recognize the uniqueness of all cultures, languages, and communities by embracing the increasing cultural and linguistic diversity of our society. All classrooms should be seen as diverse, inclusive, and promote equity by valuing and celebrating each family represented. This includes understanding the influence of multiple languages and dialects, ethnicities, abilities, genders and socioeconomic statuses.. These culturally responsive practices engage children and families through authentic home-school connections. As educators recognize and understand diverse social contexts, they are strengthening the effectiveness of instructional delivery. Academic progress takes place within the context of a child's ecosystems and their development is maximized when these ecosystems are considered and respected. Diversity of social contexts is an asset to educators, rather than a barrier to appropriate development, when culturally responsive practices are implemented in the classroom.

Note

According to Diller and Moule (2005) culture can be exhibited in these visible and invisible ways by children in the classroom:

Language Use

- Code switching
- Native Language Dominance
- Grammar
- Intonation

Emotions

- Expressions of fear, joy and happiness
- Reactions to conflict

Behaviors

- Gestures
- Body movement
- Physical Distance or proximity

Other

- Ways of dress
- Food preferences
- Routines and customs
- Parental engagement

Cultural identity is the identity or feeling of belonging to a group. It is part of a person's self-conception and self-perception and is related to nationality, ethnicity, religion, social class, generation, region, or any kind of social group that has its own distinct culture. In this way, cultural identity is both characteristic of the individual but also of the culturally identical group of members sharing the same cultural identity or upbringing.



Figure 2.5.1:These dancers are participating in a celebration which works to build their cultural identity. (Public Domain; Pxhere)

A range of cultural complexities structure the way individuals operate with the cultural realities in their lives. Cultural identities are influenced by several different factors such as ones religion, ancestry, skin color, language, class, education, profession, skill, family and political attitudes. These factors contribute to the development of one's identity.

Cultural Responsive

Culturally responsive practices, which include having high expectations and standards for learning, are indeed related to student success, even if few studies have been undertaken to make this connection explicit (Diller & Moule, 2005). So, when teachers treat culture with an almost exclusive emphasis on the celebrations, styles of dress, art, music, and food habits, they fail to appreciate the depth of cultural impact and the idea system at work in the process of development. Although a child's identity is impacted by participation in family cultural rituals, the focus neither starts nor ends there. Surrounding children with artifacts and customs that are a part of their history, homes, and communities is important. However, when that approach becomes the sole emphasis in attempts to embrace culture, it diverts attention from the more fundamental role that culture plays in the development of children's social, emotional, physical, and intellectual well-being. The challenge for teachers of young children is to understand the importance of culture to human development and to move beyond mere cultural appreciation and enrichment to cultural empowerment.

YouTube Video

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

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3: WHAT IS A FAMILY

Learning Objectives

In this chapter you will:

- Explore the complexity of families
- Explore various theories that impact the way in which we view children
- Explore different styles of parenting within a cultural context
- Investigate various ideas about child rearing
- Identify the four types of child abuse and the legal and ethical responsibilities of early childhood professionals
- Explore how trauma impacts young children (Adverse Childhood Experiences)

Family Development

It is often said that humans are social creatures. We make friends, live in communities, and connect to acquaintances through shared interests. In recent times, social media has become a new way for people to connect with childhood peers, friends of friends, and even strangers. Perhaps nothing is more central to the social world than the concept of family. Our families represent our earliest relationships and—often—our most enduring ones. In this chapter, you will investigate the following topics as they inform our professional work with families and culture in early childhood settings:

- the definition of family
- the diversity of families
- how parents develop
- theories that inform influence our concepts of parenting
- the various styles of parenting
- child abuse and neglect
- trauma informed care
- our legal and ethical responsibilities to children and families

3.1: Diversity of Families

3.2: Development of Parents

3.3: Influences on Child Rearing Practices

3.4: Styles of Parenting

3.5: Child Rearing Practices and Guidance

3.6: Child Abuse and Neglect

3.7: Mandated Reporting

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3.1: Diversity of Families

Contemporary Families

Pause to reflect

What does family mean to you? Whom do you think of when you define family? Do you see your family represented in the "dominant culture"? Think about how that may influence your ideas and shape the ways in which you interact with families that are served in early learning environments as the role of an early learning professional is to ensure that all children and families are valued and supported in the early learning environment.



Figure 3.1.1: A "traditional family" has a somewhat narrow definition that includes only relationships of blood, marriage, and occasionally adoption. More recently, in many societies, the definition of family has expanded. The definition of family includes the vast diversity that exists to ensure better outcomes for children.[1]

To begin our study of contemporary families in the United States, we will first define a concept that is important for us to understand as it relates to the content of this textbook: social constructions. A social construction is a mutual understanding and accepted reality created by members of a society: something that is not determined by biology or the natural world. Is there anything that humans have created that holds no real value in the natural world, yet we have assigned a great deal of value to it? If you are thinking of cash, you're right on the money. Humans have determined that certain pieces of paper and metal objects are worth an agreed-upon value. For example, in the United States, a one dollar bill is worth 100 times the value of a penny. One of the ways that we can tell money is a social construction is that it varies from culture to culture and over time. When you visit another country, the United States dollar bill has to be "exchanged" for money that has a different appearance and value. Compare money with another thing of value to human beings: air. Air is needed by all human beings to survive. The need for air and its value do not change over time or from culture to culture.

What does this have to do with families? While studying families, we must continually remind ourselves that the idea of the family, and in particular the internalized belief that there is a "traditional family," is a social construction. What is a "traditional family"? I suspect that we can each paint a picture in our heads, based on the years each of us has been exposed to portrayals of families in institutions such as the media, schools, government, and health care. Generally, the traditional American family has been identified as the nuclear family, most often represented as a male and female heterosexual married couple who is middle class, White, and with several children. When society or the individuals within a society designate one kind of family to be "traditional", this may imply a value, or a preference, for this kind of family structure with these particular social characteristics. This is sometimes called the "Leave it to Beaver" family after the popular sitcom television show that ran from 1957 until 1963. A current popular sitcom, Modern Family, which just concluded its 11th season in 2020, also features this "traditional" family, but includes two other families which feature people of other ethnic groups, and a same-sex couple. Together they form an extended family who all live in the same town. It is important to note, however, that the primacy of the upper middle-class, White family image continues to be emphasized as the "norm". As early learning professionals, our role is to look at how this social construct impacts the way in which we interact with all families to ensure that we are serving all of the children and their families in our

program with cultural responsiveness.

In more modern times, the traditional definition of family has been criticized as being too narrow. Modern families—especially those in industrialized societies—exist in many forms and always have, including the single parent family, foster families, same-sex couples, child free families, and many other variations from traditional norms. Common to each of these family forms is commitment, caring, and close emotional ties—which are increasingly the defining characteristics of family (Benokraitis, 2015). The changing definition of family has come about, in part, because of many factors that include divorce and re-marriage. In many cases, people do not grow up with their family of origin, but become part of a step family or blended family. Whether a single-parent, joint, or two-parent family, a person's family of origin, or the family into which he or she is born, generally acts as the social context for young children learning about relationships.

According to Bowen (1978), each person has a role to play in his or her family, and each role comes with certain rules and expectations. This system of rules and roles is known as family systems theory. The goal for the family is stability: rules and expectations that work for all. When the role of one member of the family changes, so do the rules and expectations. Such changes ripple through the family and cause each member to adjust his or her own role and expectations to compensate for the change. We will discuss family systems theory later on in this chapter as it helps to inform us about the different ways in which families social-emotional life varies.



Figure 3.2 - There are many variations of modern families, including blended or step families where two families combine. In a combined family the roles of individuals may be different than in their family of origin.

As we study families we must keep in mind that this idea of the "traditional" family is not representative of all families, yet it is continually reinforced by the social processes and institutions in our society. Media in particular continually reminds us of what families are "supposed to" look like. Whether you consume big-budget films, social media platforms, video games, and/or books and magazines, take a look. What kind of people and families do you see represented? While representation of women, people of color, and people of differing sexualities and gender expressions has increased in media, they still predominantly play less consequential characters within the plot lines. Although the majority of families in the United States no longer fit the traditional model (3) social institutions perpetuate the idea of a certain family structure. Government, schools, medical institutions, businesses, and places of worship all reinforce a typical view of family through the forms, activities, requirements, and processes that are shared with the public. How many times have you tried to fill out a form with checkboxes only to find that you did not "fit" into one of the boxes? Typical examples include giving parental choices of "mother" and "father," couple status choices such as "married" or "single," and gender choices such as "male" or female," all of which reinforce a binary view of individuals and families. The preference for an idealized traditional family type contributes to less social support for families who don't fit this type: for example, single-parent families, LGBTQ+ families, rural families, or families with a member who is disabled, unemployed, or who has a criminal record.



Figure 3.3 This was how we tended to think of families in the past.

The Diversity of Today's Families

The landscape of families has changed considerably over the last few decades. It is not that diverse families have never existed; it is that in today's society, we are making places at the table for this diversity. The images that we used to see of families, on television, in magazines, on billboards, and other media images portrayed the typical family as a mother, father, two children usually one male child and one female child that lived in a house with a white picket fence. Today, we elevate and value diverse families. Following are definitions of many of the family structures today that early learning professionals must embrace as our role is to serve all of the children and families that attend our early learning programs.

Dual parent family

This is often referred to as a mother and father raising children. However, if we think about the diversity of families this could include same sex parents as they are also raising children together.

Single parent

This could be a male or female parent who either wants to be a parent and doesn't have a partner to create a child with or is raising children on their own due to divorce. Often, we think of single parents as female, but today as we continue to form acceptance of family structures, there are males who are also choosing to form a family on their own or raise their children (from divorce) on their own. Another aspect of single parenting is when there is the death of a spouse and the remaining spouse chooses not to remarry.

Grandparents or other relatives raising children

Children whose parents are not able to care for them (for whatever reason), may be raised by their maternal or paternal grandparents or may be raised by extended family members including those family members that are not related biologically.

Teen parents

Today it is more acceptable for teens who become pregnant to raise a child. Sometimes they may do this together or separate. Sometimes they may do this with the help of their families. Teens who become pregnant while still in high school are often able to return to school and there are programs on high school campuses where teens may bring their child. They may receive parenting classes in addition to their high school curriculum.

Adoptive families (including transracial adoption)

Families who are not able to conceive a child on their own may choose adoption. While this tends to be most common, there are families who consciously choose adoption over procreation as well as decide to add to their family through adoption. In any case, forming a family through adoption is a choice that is not taken lightly. There are many options in forming your family through adoption. You can choose to have an open or closed adoption. Open adoption refers to having a continued relationship with the

birth parent(s) to just knowing who the birth parents are and everything in between. Closed adoption means that the family does not have access to birth parent(s) information. In addition, families may choose to adopt a child of the same race or of another race. They may choose to adopt nationally or internationally.

Resource families (formerly referred to as Foster Families)

Children placed in temporary care due to extenuating circumstances involving their family of origin are often placed in homes licensed to care for children. The adults who care for these children must go through strict protocols in order to provide the support and care that these vulnerable children will need. The most common name for this arrangement is fostering, but you may also hear them described as resource families. In these cases, it is the intent to reunite the children with their family of origin whenever possible. When this is not possible, the children are placed in the system to be adopted. The foster family may decide to adopt the children or another family may adopt the children. It is always the intent to find a permanent arrangement for children whenever possible, as we know that stability has better outcomes for children.

Families with same sex parents

Same sex couples, whether two men or two women, may choose to form a family and raise the children together. There are many ways in which they may decide to form their family. They may adopt, they may use reproductive technology, or they may use egg or sperm donors. In the case where two women are choosing to form a family, they may decide to have one of them become pregnant and give birth to their child. According to recent research into children raised by same sex parents, there is evidence to suggest that since these children are planned, they often have better outcomes than originally was believed.

Bi-racial/Multi-racial families

These are children who are raised by parents from two different races, including parents who may be bi-racial themselves. This also includes multi-racial families. Society is becoming more acceptable of diversity within families, which provides children with better outcomes.

Families with multi-religious/faith beliefs

There are children today raised in multi-religious homes. This means that each parent may have different faiths/religions. They may choose one faith/religion or both in raising their children.

Children with an incarcerated parent(s)

Sometimes children are raised by one parent while the other parent is incarcerated. This can be complicated for the family as the parent may spend some time away and then return home. While the parent who is incarcerated is away, the family structure changes. Each time the parent goes away and comes back it adds to this confusion. Sometimes, children whose parent(s) are incarcerated may live in foster care or a resource home while their parent is away and be returned to the parent upon their release, if it is safe for the child to do so.

Unmarried parents who are raising children

Today, many parents are deciding not to marry but to raise children. The only difference is that they do not have a legal marriage license; however, their family structure is the same as dual parent families whether opposite sex or same sex.

Transgender parents raising children

This refers to two ways in which children may be raised by a transgender parent or parents. A parent may transition after already having children with someone of the opposite sex or they may transition prior to having a child and decide they want to parent.

Blended families

A blended family can be two different parents that come together each bringing their children from a previous relationship with

them. Sometimes the parents that come together with children from a previous relationship may also decide to have a child together.

Families formed through reproductive technology

Today we have sophisticated medical advances to help parents who are infertile to become pregnant and give birth to their biological child as well as to use the biological material from someone else and carry that fertilized embryo to term. There are a variety of reproductive technology that is available to families. This is often at a huge financial cost to the families, as most medical insurance companies do not cover the medical expenses of becoming pregnant.

First time older parents

Today it is becoming more common for men and women to have children in their 30's, 40's, and even older. There are many reasons why men and women may wait to become parents. It may be due to infertility. It may be that the man and/or woman want to establish themselves in a career prior to having children. It may be that they wanted to have financial security before starting a family. What is important is to not assume why someone is parenting at an older age.

Families who experience homelessness

We know that some children are raised without a stable home. The family may be living in their car, living in a hotel, a homeless shelter, or living in multiple dwellings also known as couch surfing. Families experiencing homelessness may be due to the loss of a job/steady income, being employed by making minimal wages that do not provide the means necessary to sustain housing (and other basic necessities), or other issues that may complicate the family's ability to sustain a stable place to live. Families do not always share their homeless status as there is often shame and embarrassment that society places on these families.

Families with children who have developmental delays and disabilities

This refers to families who have a child or children with developmental delays and/or disabilities. These delays/disabilities are varied. There also may be typically developing children in the family as well. This often places a burden on families, not only because of the time needed to care for a child who is not typically developing, but because society often misinterprets children who display behaviors that may be viewed as inappropriate.

Families raising their children in a culture not their own and in which English is not the primary language

This refers to families who may have immigrated here and whose children were either born in their country of origin or born in the United States. This duality of cultures can create problems for the child and their family if societal expectations are that the family acculturate to the dominant culture. This results in children feeling shame about their family when they should feel pride in their family of origin.

Pause to reflect!

In reviewing all of the families above, how do you see your role as an early learning professional in supporting these families in your early learning programs? What level of comfort do you have? What may be challenging for you? What are some strategies that you could use to help you in working on the biases that you may have?

There is evidence that supports that children exist in many different family structures. It is our responsibility as early childhood professionals to provide supportive and inclusive interactions, relationships and environments for each and every family in our early childhood programs. This can be accomplished through our ability to be open, inviting, and to listening to what the families in our program need from us to feel a sense of belonging.

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3.2: Development of Parents

How Parents Develop

> Check-in Time!
>
> Have you ever thought about parenting? What are some of your ideas about what makes a "good enough" parent? How have your experiences shaped your ideas?

Parenting is a complex process in which parents and children both impact one another. There are many reasons that parents behave the way they do. The multiple influences on parenting are still being explored. Proposed influences on parental behavior include:

1. parent characteristics
2. child characteristics
3. contextual and sociocultural characteristics

Parent Characteristics

Parents bring unique traits and qualities to the parenting relationship that affect their decisions as parents. These characteristics include a parent's age, gender identity, personality, developmental history, beliefs, knowledge about parenting and child development, and mental and physical health. Parents' personalities also affect parenting behaviors. Parents who are more agreeable, conscientious, and outgoing are warmer and provide more structure to their children. Parents who are more agreeable, less anxious, and less negative also support their children's autonomy more than parents who are anxious and less agreeable. Parents who have these personality traits appear to be better able to respond to their children positively and provide a more consistent, structured environment for their children.

Parents' developmental histories, or their experiences as children, can also affect their parenting strategies. Parents may learn parenting practices from their own parents. Fathers whose own parents provided monitoring, consistent and age-appropriate discipline, and warmth are more likely to provide this constructive parenting to their own children. Patterns of negative parenting and ineffective discipline also appear from one generation to the next. However, parents who are dissatisfied with their primary caregivers' approach may be more likely to change their parenting methods when they have children.

Child Characteristics

Parenting is bidirectional. Not only do parents and caregivers affect their children, but children influence their parents/primary caregivers as well. Child characteristics, such as gender identity, birth order, temperament, and health status, can affect child-rearing behaviors and roles. For example, an infant with an easy temperament may enable caregivers to feel more effective, as they are easily able to soothe the child and elicit smiling and cooing. On the other hand, a cranky or fussy infant can elicit fewer positive reactions from caregivers and may result in parents feeling less effective in the role. Over time, parents of more challenging children may become more punitive and less patient with their children. Many parents who have a fussy, difficult child have been found to be less satisfied with their relationships and have greater challenges in balancing work and family roles. Thus, child temperament is one of the child characteristics that influences how caregivers behave with their children.

Another child characteristic is the child's gender identity. Some parents assign different household chores to their children based on their child's gender identity. For example, older research has shown girls are more often responsible for caring for younger siblings and household chores, whereas boys are more likely to be asked to perform chores outside the home, such as mowing the lawn. Research has also demonstrated that some parents talk differently with their children based on their child's gender identity, such as providing more scientific explanations to their sons and using more emotion words with their daughters. These cultural practices impact the way in which parents see their children and the children see their role in the family and in society.

Contextual Factors and Sociocultural Characteristics

The parent-child relationship does not occur in isolation. Sociocultural characteristics, including economic hardship, religion, politics, neighborhoods, schools, and social support, can also influence parenting. Parents who experience economic hardship tend to be more easily frustrated, depressed, and sad, and these emotional characteristics can affect their parenting skills.

Culture can also impact parenting behaviors in fundamental ways. Although promoting the development of skills necessary to function effectively in one's community, to the best of one's abilities, is a universal goal of parenting, the specific skills necessary vary widely from culture to culture. Thus, parents have different goals for their children that mostly depend on their culture. In our early learning programs in America, there is a tendency to focus on children's independence. This is not so for all cultures. Some cultures see the value of interdependence. This is often referred to as collectivism. This is where the family places the group over the self. This is an important concept to think about as the children and families you will serve, have differing goals for their children that must be acknowledged and valued.

These differences in parental goals are influenced by the culture of the family and their sense of belonging in their communities. The roles of an early learning professional is to acknowledge the complexities of parenting and to provide support that is culturally appropriate for each of the children and families they serve. It is crucial that early learning professionals acknowledge those complexities and do not think of parenting as a one size fits all.

The Six Stages of Parenthood - Ellen Galinsky

In the 80's, Ellen Galinsky, a researcher who studies changing family dynamics, was one of the first scholars to emphasize the development of parents themselves, how they respond to their children's development, and how they grow as parents. Parenthood is an experience that transforms one's identity as one takes on new roles. Children's growth and development force parents to change their roles. They must develop new skills and abilities in response to children's development. Galinsky identified six stages of parenthood that focus on different tasks and goals:

Stage 1:

The Image-Making Stage (prospective parents) - They enter this stage when the family is planning for a child. They are considering what it means to be parents and their plans for the future. They (a) think about and form images about their roles as parents, (b) contemplate what will emerge as a result of parenthood, and (c) prepare for changes associated adding an infant to their family. Prospective parents develop ideas about what it will be like to be a parent and what type of parent they want to be. Individuals may evaluate their relationships with their own parents as a model for their upcoming roles as parents.

Stage 2:

The Nurturing Stage (infancy) - This is the stage that occurs after the birth of the baby or after a baby may join a family through adoption. A parent's main goal during this stage is to develop an attachment relationship with their baby. Parents must adapt their romantic relationships, their relationships with their other children, and their relationships with their own parents to include the new infant. Some parents feel attached to their baby immediately, but for other parents, this occurs more gradually. Parents may have imagined their infant in specific ways, but they now have to reconcile those images with their actual baby. In incorporating their relationship with their child into their other relationships, parents often have to reshape their conceptions of themselves and their identity. Parenting responsibilities are the most demanding during infancy because infants are completely dependent on caregiving.

Stage 3:

The Authority Stage (toddler and pre-school) - During this stage, parents make decisions about how much authority to exert over their children's behavior. Parents must establish rules to guide their child's behavior and development. They have to decide how strictly they should enforce rules and what to do when rules are broken. Parents create rules and figure out how to effectively guide their child's behavior.

Stage 4:

The Interpretive Stage (middle childhood) - During this stage, parents interpret their children's experiences as they are increasingly exposed to the world outside of the family. Parents answer their children's questions, provide explanations, and determine what behaviors and values to teach. They decide what experiences to provide their children in terms of schooling, neighborhood, and extracurricular activities. By this time, parents have experience in the parenting role and often reflect on their strengths and weaknesses as parents, review their images of parenthood, and determine how realistic they have been. Parents have to negotiate how involved to be with their children, when to step in, and when to encourage children to make choices independently.

Stage 5:

The Interdependent Stage (adolescence) - During this stage, parents must redefine their authority and renegotiate their relationship with their adolescent as the children increasingly make decisions independent of parental control and authority. On the other hand, parents do not permit their adolescent children to have complete autonomy over their decision-making and behavior, and thus adolescents and parents must adapt their relationship to allow for greater negotiation and discussion about rules and limits.

Stage 6:

The Departure Stage (early adulthood) - During the departure stage of parenting, parents evaluate their entire parenting experience. They prepare for their child's departure, redefine their identity as the parent of an adult child, and assess their parenting accomplishments and failures. This stage forms a transition to a new era in parents' lives. This stage usually spans a long time period from when the oldest child moves away (and often returns) until the youngest child leaves. The parenting role must be redefined as a less central role in a parent's identity.

Cultural Considerations

Despite the interest in the development of parents, little research has examined developmental changes in parents' experiences and behaviors over time. Thus, it is not clear whether these theoretical stages are generalizable to parents of different races, ages, cultures, and religions, nor do we have empirical data on the factors that influence individual differences in these stages. In evaluating these ideas, early learning professionals must consider the many differences that exist among parents and use these ideas as more of a guide in understanding parents points of view.

References:

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3.3: Influences on Child Rearing Practices

Child Rearing Practices

There are many theorists/researchers who have compiled a plethora of ideas about child rearing that have influenced our thinking about children and how to raise them. While some of these theories/ideas may be a bit out of date, it is important for us to explore them to provide the context of how these ideas have infiltrated our thinking and why some of them still exist even in light of the new information that we have available. It is important in supporting all children and families, that we are aware of the multiple ways in which children are raised in their diverse households. There is not one right way to raise a child, but many different strategies that work best for the children and the families that they are being raised in. The following ideas are offered to enable you to investigate the nature by which ideas continue to permeate our social constructs. When we know where something comes from, we are better able to understand and adapt to what makes the most sense in our current society.

Autocratic Parenting and Thomas Hobbes

Thomas Hobbes, 1588-1679, contributed to the era of autocratic parenting due to his views regarding human motivation, Psychological Egoism, and the social contract. According to Hobbes, humans are extremely self-interested and born with original sin. Hence, adults had to use control and discipline because children were born "evil" and had to be saved. Further, as a result of adults' own self-interests, Hobbes believed that absolute authority was a necessity in politics, in dealing with others, and in the home.
During this era, many believed that children learned obedience to God via their parents' use of harsh discipline and strict parenting. Children were typically viewed as being "willful" and were used as household servants.

Key takeaways

- Babies were born with original sin and were very egocentric.
- Parents were to direct children away from their evil tendencies.
- Similar to the current authoritarian approach.
- Recommended that rigid and strict rules be used to shape children into well-behaved, successful adults.

Jacques Rousseau and Childlike Innocence

During the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's views started to change parenting practices. Rousseau contended that children were inherently innocent (not sinful, as Hobbes believed), weak, and easily tempted. He believed that humans were born pure until one's interactions with the environment caused negative effects on one's development. Rousseau also believed that children needed protection from child labor and negative influences within civilization. Rousseau's work is credited as being the first developmental account of childhood via his emphasis on maturation and stages of development:

- Childhood (0 to 12 years): children are guided by simple impulses and simply react to their surroundings.
- Pre-Adolescence (12 to 16 years): children begin to develop reason and are able to comprehend more abstract ideas.
- Puberty and Adulthood (16 years and onward): children develop into adults that can navigate society and its moral issues.

These stages elicited guidelines outlining "developmentally-appropriate" practices in parenting and education. Rousseau's work also emphasized the importance of play and teaching within the early years of childhood education:

"When the child flies a kite he is training eye and hand to accuracy; when he whips a top, he is increasing his strength by using it, but without learning anything. I have sometimes asked why children are not given the same games of skill as men; tennis, mall, billiards, archery, football, and musical instruments. I was told that some of these are beyond their strength, that the child's senses are not sufficiently developed for others. These do not strike me as valid reasons; a child is not as tall as a man, but he wears the same sort of coat; I do not want him to play with our cues at a billiard-table three feet high; I do not want him knocking about among our games, nor carrying one of our racquets in his little hand; but let him play in a room whose windows have been protected; at first let him only use soft balls, let his first racquets be of wood, then of parchment, and lastly of gut, according to

his progress."

Key takeaways

- Children were born innocent and exposure to certain circumstances resulted in them acting negatively.
- Parents were to shelter children from negative circumstances and interactions.
- Children mature over time throughout three stages–childhood, pre-adolescence, puberty, and adulthood.
- Maturation and development worked alongside each other.

G. Stanley Hall and Pedagogy

Hall was one of the first scientific psychologists who gained notoriety as an educational expert; his work was often geared toward parents and educators in addition to psychologists. Hall presented public lectures to educators on the psychology underlying childhood and how to "best" teach children (otherwise known as "pedagogy"). This work made significant contributions to the study of, and improvements within, parenting and educational practices. Hall believed that a child's nature should guide educational practices so children could become healthy, productive members of society. Overall, Hall's in-person presentations started the movement for the U.S. to integrate psychological and scientific studies within educational endeavors.

Key takeaways

- One of the first psychologists to be known as an educational expert.
- Developed "pedagogy" (how to "best" teach for optimal learning).
- A child's nature should guide educational practices in order to become a healthy, productive member of society.

Watson: Behaviorism

John B. Watson was an influential American psychologist whose most famous work occurred during the early 20th century at Johns Hopkins University. Watson conducted research on animal behavior, child-rearing, and advertising. Along with this research, he conducted the controversial "Little Albert" study, Watson believed that an objective analysis of the mind was impossible; therefore, he preferred to focus directly on observable behavior and attempted to modify it. Watson was a major proponent in shifting the focus of psychology from the mind to behavior, and this approach of observing and controlling behavior came to be known as behaviorism. A major object of study by behaviorists was learned behavior and its interaction with the inborn qualities of the organism.

Behaviorism commonly used animals in experiments under the assumption that what was learned using animal models could, to some degree, be applied to human behavior. This famous quote from Watson explains his contentions:

"Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specified world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select – doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant-chief and, yes, even beggar-man and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race of his ancestors. I am going beyond my facts and I admit it, but so have the advocates of the contrary and they have been doing it for many thousands of years."
Watson believed that children should be treated as young adults. In his book, he warned against the inevitable dangers of a mother providing too much love and affection. Watson's slogan was 'not more babies but better brought up babies'. Watson argued for the nurture side of the nature-nurture debate and contended that everything is built into a child through their interactions with their environment.

Thus, according to Watson, parents and caregivers hold complete responsibility for their children's actions since they choose the environment into which their child is reared.
Based on the results from his "Little Albert" study, Watson concluded that caregivers can shape a child's behavior and development simply by taking control of all stimulus-response associations.

Watson's advice to treat children with respect, but with relative emotional detachment, has been strongly criticized. However, behaviorism is still evident today and is largely responsible for establishing psychology as a scientific discipline through its

objective methods and experimentation. It is currently used in behavioral and cognitive-behavioral therapies, in classroom settings, and in child-rearing.

Key takeaways

- Objective analysis of the mind was impossible, therefore Watson coined “behaviorism” where the focus of psychology is to observe and control behavior.
- Individuals can be trained to behave in certain ways as a result of their environment and the types of stimuli applied.
- The Little Albert experiment—emotional responses can be conditioned in humans.

Vygotsky: Sociocultural Theory

Lev Vygotsky believed that a person has both a set of abilities and a set of potential abilities that can be reached if given the proper guidance from others. His Sociocultural Theory emphasizes the importance of culture and interaction in the development of cognitive abilities. Vygotsky concentrated more on children’s immediate social and cultural environment and their interactions with adults and peers. He saw a child as more of an apprentice, learning through a social environment with others who had more experience and were sensitive to the child’s needs and abilities.

Vygotsky theorized that through guided participation with a teacher or a more capable person, also known as scaffolding, a child can learn cognitive skills within a certain range known as the zone of proximal development. According to Vygotsky, development occurs first through children’s immediate social interactions and then moves to the individual level as they began to internalize their learning.

Have you ever taught children how to perform a task? Maybe it was brushing their teeth or tying their shoestrings. Chances are you spoke to them and described what you were doing while you demonstrated the skill and let them work along with you throughout the process. You provided them assistance when they seemed to need it, but once they knew what to do, you stood back and let them perform the task alone. This is an example of scaffolding.

Examples of scaffolding, the temporary support that parents, peers or teachers give a child to perform a task, can be seen throughout the world in an unlimited number of situations. Vygotsky’s theory contends that instead of assessing what people are doing, people should be understood in terms of what they are capable of doing with the proper guidance. This approach to teaching has also been adopted by educators.

Key takeaways

- Culture and interactions are key to the development of cognitive abilities.
- Scaffolding—a process of teaching by explaining a process, demonstrating the process, and performing the process.
- Zone of proximal development—the distance between a person’s potential to learn and their actual learning.

Freud and Psychodynamic Theories of Personality: The Role of the Unconscious

One of the most important psychological approaches to understanding personality is based on the theorizing of the Austrian physician and psychologist Sigmund Freud (1856–1939), who founded what is known today as the psychodynamic approach to understanding personality. Many people know about Freud because his work has had a long-standing impact on our everyday thinking about psychology and the psychodynamic approach is one of the most important approaches to psychological therapy.

Freud is probably the best known psychologist, in part because of his impressive observation and analyses of personality (there are 24 volumes of his writings). As is true of all theories, many of Freud’s ingenious ideas have turned out to be at least partially incorrect, but yet other aspects of his theories are still influencing psychology.

Freud used the observations that he and French neurologist Jean-Martin Charcot (1825–1893) made to develop his theory regarding the sources of personality and behavior, and his insights are central to the fundamental themes of psychology. In

terms of free will, Freud did not believe that we are able to control our own behaviors. Rather, he believed that all behaviors are predetermined by motivations that lie outside our awareness, in the unconscious. These forces show themselves in our dreams, in neurotic symptoms such as obsessions, while we are under hypnosis, and in Freudian “slips of the tongue” in which people reveal their unconscious desires in language. Freud argued that we rarely understand why we do what we do, although we can make up explanations for our behaviors after the fact. For Freud the mind was like an iceberg – many motivations of the unconscious being much larger, but out of sight, in comparison to the consciousness of which we are aware.

Freud proposed that the mind is divided into three components: the id, ego, and superego, and that the interactions and conflicts among the components create a personality.
According to Freudian theory, the id is the component of personality that forms the basis of our most primitive impulses. The id is entirely unconscious, and it drives our most important motivations, including the sexual drive (libido) and the aggressive or destructive drive (Thanatos).

According to Freud, the id is driven by the pleasure principle—the desire for immediate gratification of our sexual and aggressive urges. The id is why we smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, view pornography, tell mean jokes about people, and engage in other fun or harmful behaviors, often at the cost of doing more productive activities. The function of the ego is based on the reality principle—the idea that we must delay gratification of our basic motivations until the appropriate time with the appropriate outlet. The ego is the largely conscious controller or decision-maker of personality. The ego serves as the intermediary between the desires of the id and the constraints of society contained in the superego. We may wish to scream, yell, or hit, and yet our ego normally tells us to wait, reflect, and choose a more appropriate response. In stark contrast to the id, the superego represents our sense of morality and doing what is “right”. The superego tells us all the things that we shouldn’t do, or the duties and obligations of society. The superego strives for perfection, and when we fail to live up to its demands we feel guilty.

Freud's Stages of Development

Stage of Development	Age	Brief description	Current implications for caregivers
Oral	birth to 18 months	The infant uses their mouths to explore their environment as this is where their initial pleasure lies. Sucking/drinking	Make sure that the learning environment is safe for this type of exploration
Anal	18 months to 3 years	Children are focused on toileting and controlling their bladder and bowels. Toilet training too lenient or too harsh	Make sure that the environment is supportive to encourage children to feel safety in learning how to use the toilet as they gain more control of their bladders and bowels.
Phallic	3 to 6 years	Children are interested in their body parts, the genitals are a part of the body in which they feel a pleasurable sensation.	Make sure that children are not shamed when they touch the various parts of their bodies, that they are given loving supportive guidance.
Latency	6 to 12 years	Children are interested in developing friendships with their peers.	Make sure that children are supported in developing healthy relationships supported by loving, guiding adults.
Genital	Puberty and older	The bodies physical changes occur during this time which influences their social and emotional development. They begin to develop interests beyond friendships with other they may be physically attracted to. This used to be referred to as opposite sex attraction, but this development is the same for humans that have same sex attraction. Mature romantic relationships	Make sure that the adults in a child's environment have a deep understanding and knowledge base in regards to sexual development and sexual orientation, so the child make positive connections during this period of development.

Key takeaways

- Stages of sexual and emotional development: oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital.
- Human personality contains the id, ego, and superego.

- Individuals have unconscious drives and should be allowed to follow their own instincts.

Benjamin Spock: A Child-Centered Approach

Benjamin Spock was the first American pediatrician to study psychoanalysis in an attempt to understand children's needs and family dynamics. His ideas about childcare significantly changed overall attitudes toward the rearing of infants and children via his book, The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care (1946), one of the best selling volumes in history. The book's premises to parents are that "you know more than you think you do," and if you "feel like comforting the child, do it."

He encouraged parents to be more flexible and affectionate with their children and to treat them as individuals. Spock's first edition advised mothers to indulge their own impulses and as well as their children's, assuring them on the basis of the latest scientific studies that it was safe to do so. In the process, the book changed child-rearing advice from the previous generation and authorized mothers to express their "natural" feelings toward their children. However, his theories were criticized by colleagues for relying too heavily on anecdotal evidence rather than academic research.

Spock recommended spontaneity, warmth, and a fair amount of fun for parents and children. In subsequent editions of his book, Spock also included fathers in the contexts of childcare and child-rearing, acknowledged gender roles, and addressed divorce and single parenting.

Overall, Spock's advice encouraged caregivers to help children fit into the current needs of society and become contributing members of that society. He highly advocated for caregivers to instill values of cooperativeness and congeniality and help their child be likable. Spock was one of the most notable American authors of child-rearing advice during the twentieth century due to publications. In subsequent editions of his book, Spock also included fathers in the contexts of childcare and child-rearing, acknowledged gender roles, and addressed divorce and single parenting.

Overall, Spock's advice encouraged caregivers to help children fit into the current needs of society and become contributing members of that society. He highly advocated for caregivers to instill values of cooperativeness and congeniality and help their child be likable. Spock was one of the most notable American authors of child-rearing advice during the twentieth century due to publications in contemporary, mainstream magazines.

Key takeaways

- Parents should be adaptable, loving and encourage individuality within each child.
- Parents should have balanced relationships with their children composed of spontaneity, warmth, and fun.
- Parents should help children become contributing members of society by teaching cooperativeness and congeniality.
- The first American pediatrician to study psychoanalysis to understand children's needs and family dynamics.

B.F. Skinner: Operant Conditioning

Psychologist B.F. Skinner saw that classical conditioning is limited to existing behaviors that are reflexively elicited, and doesn't account for new behaviors such as riding a bike.
He proposed a theory about how such behaviors come about. Skinner believed that behavior is motivated by the consequences we receive for the behavior: reinforcements and punishments. His idea that learning is the result of consequences is based on the law of effect, which was first proposed by psychologist Edward Thorndike. According to the law of effect, behaviors that are followed by consequences that are satisfying to the organism are more likely to be repeated, and behaviors that are followed by unpleasant consequences are less likely to be repeated.

Essentially, if an organism does something that brings about a desired result, the organism is more likely to do it again. If an organism does something that does not bring about the desired result, the organism is less likely to do it again. An example of the law of effect is employment. One of the reasons (and often the main reason) we show up for work is because we get paid to do so. If we stop getting paid, we will likely stop showing up—even if we love our job.

In discussing operant conditioning, we use several everyday words—positive, negative, reinforcement, and punishment—in a

specialized manner. In operant conditioning, positive and negative do not mean good and bad. Instead, positive means you are adding something, and negative means you are taking something away. Reinforcement means you are increasing a behavior, and punishment means you are decreasing a behavior. Reinforcement can be positive or negative, and punishment can also be positive or negative. All reinforcers (positive or negative) increase the likelihood of a behavioral response. All punishers (positive or negative) decrease the likelihood of a behavioral response.

The most effective way to teach a person or animal a new behavior is with positive reinforcement. In positive reinforcement, a desirable stimulus is added to increase a behavior. For example, let's say you tell your five-year-old son, Jerome, that if he cleans his room, he will get a toy. Jerome quickly cleans his room because he wants a new art set. Some people might say, "Why should I reward my child for doing what is expected?" However, we are constantly and consistently rewarded in our lives. Our paychecks are rewards, as are high grades or acceptance into our preferred schools. Being praised for doing a good job or for passing a driver's test are also rewards. Positive reinforcement as a learning tool is extremely effective.

In negative reinforcement, an undesirable stimulus is removed to increase a behavior. For example, car manufacturers use the principles of negative reinforcement in their seatbelt systems, which go "beep, beep, beep" until you fasten your seatbelt. The annoying sound stops when you exhibit the desired behavior, increasing the likelihood that you will buckle up in the future. Negative reinforcement is also used frequently in horse training. Riders apply pressure—by pulling the reins or squeezing their legs—and then remove the pressure when the horse performs the desired behavior, such as turning or speeding up. The pressure is the negative stimulus that the horse wants to remove.

Many people confuse negative reinforcement with punishment in operant conditioning, but they are two very different concepts. Remember that reinforcement, even when it is negative, always increases a behavior. In contrast, punishment always decreases a behavior. In positive punishment, you add an undesirable stimulus to decrease a behavior. An example of positive punishment is reprimanding a student to get the student to stop texting in class. In this case, a stimulus (the reprimand) is added in order to decrease the behavior (texting in class). In negative punishment, you remove a pleasant stimulus to decrease a behavior, such as something the child enjoys (e.g., a toy or a scheduled outing). Time-outs are a very common form of negative punishment — they momentarily take away children's access to something they enjoy.

Punishment, especially when it is immediate, is one way to decrease undesirable behavior. For example, imagine your four-year-old son, Brandon, runs into a busy street to get his ball. You give him a time-out (positive punishment) and tell him never to go into the street again. Chances are he will not repeat this behavior. While strategies like time-outs are common today, in the past children were often subject to physical punishment, such as spanking. It's important to be aware of some of the drawbacks of using physical punishment on children. Within the context of parenting, it is important to note that the term "punishment" doesn't mean that the consequence should be harmful.
In fact, experts caution that punishments like spanking can cause more harm than good.

First, punishment may teach fear. Brandon may become fearful of the street, but he also may become fearful of the person who delivered the punishment—you, his parent. Similarly, children who are punished by teachers may start to fear the teacher and try to avoid school. Consequently, most schools in the United States have banned corporal punishment.

Second, punishment may cause children to become more aggressive and prone to antisocial behavior and delinquency. They see their parents resort to spanking when they become angry and frustrated, so, in turn, they may act out this same behavior when they become angry and frustrated. For example, because you spank Brenda when you are angry with her for her misbehavior, she might start hitting her friends when they will not share their toys.

While positive punishment can be effective in some cases, Skinner suggested that the use of punishment should be weighed against the possible negative effects. Today's psychologists and parenting experts favor reinforcement over punishment—they recommend that you catch your child doing something good and reward her for it.

In his operant conditioning experiments, Skinner often used an approach called shaping. Instead of rewarding only the target behavior, in shaping, we reward successive approximations of a target behavior. For instance, parents can break a task into smaller more "attainable" steps. These smaller steps should be in sequence of completing the entire desired task. As children start a step, or show improvements on a step, they should be praised and rewarded. As children master each step, they should again be praised and rewarded and then encouraged to the next step. This process of successive approximations is followed until a child masters the entire task. This takes time, but it is a proven method of shaping a child's behavior via rewarding and praising ongoing improvements.

Why is shaping needed? Remember that in order for reinforcement to work, the organism must first display the behavior. Shaping is needed because it is extremely unlikely that an organism will display anything but the simplest of behaviors spontaneously. In

shaping, behaviors are broken down into many small, achievable steps. The specific steps used in the process are the following:

1.Reinforce any response that resembles the desired behavior.
2.Then reinforce the response that more closely resembles the desired behavior. You will no longer reinforce the previously reinforced response.
3.Next, begin to reinforce the response that even more closely resembles the desired behavior.
4.Continue to reinforce closer and closer approximations of the desired behavior.
5.Finally, only reinforce the desired behavior.

Shaping is often used to teach a complex behavior or chain of behaviors. Skinner used shaping to teach pigeons not only relatively simple behaviors such as pecking a disk in a Skinner box, but also many unusual and entertaining behaviors, such as turning in circles, walking in figure eights, and even playing ping pong; this technique is commonly used by animal trainers today. An important part of shaping is stimulus discrimination. Recall Pavlov's dogs—he trained them to respond to the tone of a bell, and not to similar tones or sounds. This discrimination is also important in operant conditioning and in shaping behavior.

It is easy to see how shaping is effective in teaching behaviors to animals, but how does shaping work with humans? Let us consider parents whose goal is to have their child learn to clean his room. They use shaping to help him master steps toward the goal. Instead of performing the entire task, they set up these steps and reinforce each one. First, he cleans up one toy. Second, he cleans up five toys. Third, he chooses whether to pick up ten toys or put his books and clothes away. Fourth, he cleans up everything except two toys. Finally, he cleans his entire room.

Rewards such as stickers, praise, money, toys, and more can be used to reinforce learning. Let us go back to Skinner's rats again. How did the rats learn to press the lever in the Skinner box? They were rewarded with food each time they pressed the lever. For animals, food would be an obvious reinforcer.
What would be a good reinforcer for humans? For your daughter Sydney, it was the promise of a toy if she cleaned her room. How about Joaquin, the soccer player? If you gave Joaquin a piece of candy every time he made a goal, you would be using a primary reinforcer. Primary reinforcers are reinforcers that have innate reinforcing qualities. These kinds of reinforcers are not learned. Water, food, sleep, shelter, sex, and touch, among others, are primary reinforcers. Pleasure is also a primary reinforcer. Organisms do not lose their drive for these things. For most people, jumping in a cool lake on a very hot day would be reinforcing and the cool lake would be innately reinforcing—the water would cool the person off (a physical need), as well as provide pleasure.

A secondary reinforcer has no inherent value and only has reinforcing qualities when linked with a primary reinforcer. Praise, linked to affection, is one example of a secondary reinforcer, such as when you called out "Great shot!" every time Joaquin made a goal. Another example, money, is only worth something when you can use it to buy other things—either things that satisfy basic needs (food, water, shelter—all primary reinforcers) or other secondary reinforcers. If you were on a remote island in the middle of the Pacific Ocean and you had stacks of money, the money would not be useful if you could not spend it. What about the stickers on the behavior chart? They also are secondary reinforcers.
Sometimes, instead of stickers on a sticker chart, a token is used. Tokens, which are also secondary reinforcers, can then be traded in for rewards and prizes. Entire behavior management systems, known as token economies, are built around the use of these kinds of token reinforcers. Token economies have been found to be very effective at modifying behavior in a variety of settings such as schools, prisons, and mental hospitals.

Key takeaways

- Behavior is motivated by the consequences of that behavior.
- Behaviors with satisfying consequences are often repeated, while behaviors with unpleasant consequences are often avoided.
- Conditioning can be done through positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, positive punishment, and negative punishment.
- Reinforcement increases a behavior; punishment decreases a behavior.
- Shaping is slowly reinforcing behaviors that are more and more similar to the ideal goal behavior.

Attachment Theory (Harlow, Bowlby and Ainsworth)

Psychosocial development occurs as children form relationships, interact with others, and understand and manage their feelings. In social and emotional development, forming healthy attachments is very important and is the major social milestone of infancy.

Attachment is a long-standing connection or bond with others. Developmental psychologists are interested in how infants reach this milestone. They ask questions such questions as: How do parent and infant attachment bonds form? How does neglect affect these bonds? What accounts for children's attachment differences?

Researchers Harry Harlow, John Bowlby, and Mary Ainsworth conducted studies designed to answer these questions. In the 1950s, Harlow conducted a series of experiments on monkeys. He separated newborn monkeys from their mothers. Each monkey was presented with two surrogate mothers. One surrogate monkey was made out of wire mesh, and she could dispense milk. The other monkey was softer and made from cloth, but did not dispense milk. The findings showed that the monkeys preferred the soft, cuddly cloth monkey, even though she did not provide any nourishment. The baby monkeys spent their time clinging to the cloth monkey and only went to the wire monkey when they needed to be fed. Prior to this study, the medical and scientific communities generally thought that babies become attached to the people who provide their nourishment. However, Harlow concluded that there was more to the mother-child bond than nourishment.

Feelings of comfort and security are the critical components of maternal-infant bonding, which leads to healthy psychosocial development. Building on the work of Harlow and others, John Bowlby developed the concept of attachment theory. He defined attachment as the affectional bond or tie that infants form with their mother. An infant must form this bond with a primary caregiver in order to have normal social and emotional development. In addition, Bowlby proposed that this attachment bond is very powerful and continues throughout life. He used the concept of a secure base to define a healthy attachment between parent and child.

A secure base is a parental presence that gives the child a sense of safety as he explores his surroundings. Bowlby said that two things are needed for a healthy attachment: the caregiver must be responsive to the child's physical, social, and emotional needs, and the caregiver and child must engage in mutually enjoyable interactions.

While Bowlby believed that attachment was an all-or-nothing process, Mary Ainsworth's research showed otherwise. Mary identified the existence of what she calls "attachment behaviors," which are examples of behaviors demonstrated by insecure children in hopes of establishing or re-establishing an attachment to a presently absent caregiver. 'Since this behavior occurs uniformly in children, it is a compelling argument for the existence of "innate" or instinctual behaviors in human beings'.

Ainsworth wanted to know if children differ in the ways they bond, and if so, why. To find the answers to these questions, she used the Strange Situation procedure to study attachment between mothers and their infants in 1970. In the Strange Situation, the mother (or primary caregiver) and the infant (age 12-18 months) are placed in a room together. There are toys in the room, and the caregiver and child spend some time alone in the room. After the child has had time to explore one's surroundings, a stranger enters the room. The primary caregiver then leaves the baby with the stranger. After a few minutes, the caregiver returns to comfort the child. Based on how the infants/toddlers responded to the separation and reunion, Ainsworth identified three types of parent-child attachments: secure, avoidant, and resistant. A fourth style, known as disorganized attachment, was later described.

The most common type of attachment—also considered the healthiest—is called secure attachment. In this type of attachment, the toddler prefers their parent over a stranger. The attachment figure is used by the child as a secure base to explore their environment and is sought out in times of stress. Securely attached children were distressed when their caregivers left the room in the Strange Situation experiment, but when their caregivers returned, the securely attached children were happy to see them. Securely attached children have caregivers who are sensitive and responsive to their needs.

With avoidant attachment (sometimes called insecure or anxious-avoidant), the child is unresponsive to the parent, does not use the parent as a secure base, and does not care if the parent leaves. The toddler reacts to the parent the same way she reacts to a stranger. When the parent does return, the child is slow to show a positive reaction. Ainsworth theorized that these children were most likely to have a caregiver who was insensitive and inattentive to their needs.

In cases of resistant attachment (also called ambivalent or anxious-ambivalent/resistant), children tend to show clingy behavior, but then reject the attachment figure's attempts to interact with them. These children do not explore the toys in the room, as they are too fearful. During separation in the Strange Situation, they became extremely disturbed and angry with the parent. When the parent returns, the children are upset and difficult to comfort. Resistant attachment is the result of the caregivers' inconsistent level of response to their child.

Finally, children with disorganized attachment behave oddly in the Strange Situation. They freeze, run around the room in an erratic manner, or try to run away when the caregiver returns. This type of attachment is seen most often in children who have been abused. Research has shown that abuse disrupts a child's ability to regulate their emotions.

While Ainsworth's research has found support in subsequent studies, it has also met criticism. Some researchers have pointed

out that a child's temperament may have a strong influence on attachment, and others have noted that attachment varies from culture to culture, a factor not accounted for in Ainsworth's research.

Key takeaways

- Harlow: Contact comfort research concerning wire and cloth monkeys.
- Bowlby: Human attachment theory derived from Harlow's research.
- Attachment: The connection formed between two individuals over time.
- Secure base: A primary caregiver a child views as "home base" who provides the child with security to actively explore one's environment.
- Ainsworth: Strange Situation research which led to identifying types of attachment: secure, avoidant, disorganized, and resistant attachment.

Jean Piaget - Cognitive Development

Jean Piaget studied how children and youth gradually become able to think logically and scientifically, resulting in his Cognitive Development Theory. Cognition refers to thinking and memory processes, and cognitive development refers to long-term changes in these processes. He was one of the first to recognize and map out the ways in which children's thought differs from that of adults. His interest in this area began when he was asked to test the IQ of children and began to notice that there was a pattern in their wrong answers.

Piaget believed that children's intellectual skills change over time based on biological predispositions and their own individual interactions with the world. He was very critical of teacher-directed instruction, believing that teachers or caregivers who take control of the child's learning place the child into a passive role. According to Piaget, children of differing ages interpret the world differently; therefore, he divided this learning into four stages. His stages assumed a sequence of thinking patterns with these key features:

1.They always happen in the same order.
2.No stage is ever skipped.
3.Each stage is a significant transformation from the stage before it.
4.Each later stage builds upon and incorporates the earlier stages.

Piaget's Developmental Stages

Piaget's Stages of Development

Stages	Age	Brief description	Current implications for caregivers
Sensorimotor	Infancy	The infants intelligence is based on direct, physical contact via the use of their senses, infants taste, feel, pound, push, hear, and move in order to experience the world	Making sure to have lots of sensory materials available for infants to explore

Stages	Age	Brief description	Current implications for caregivers
Preoperational	Early Childhood	children learn to use language and to think of the world symbolically, they are egocentric in how they think that everyone sees things in the same way as them	Understanding that children see things from their perspective and gently helping them to develop perspective taking with patience.
Concrete Operational	Middle Childhood	characterized by the development of organized and rational thinking, can apply logic to physical and "concrete" objects; they gain the ability to understand conservation (number, area, volume, orientation) and understand that when concrete objects change in appearance, they still contain the same volume, are, number, and orientation and can return to their original state (reversibility); affords children with the ability to solve problems more systematically	Introducing more opportunities for learning experiences that are exploratory. Allowing for children to make inferences and to encourage deductive reasoning.
Formal Operational	Adolescence	are able to understand abstract principles, no longer limited by what can be directly seen or heard; contemplate constructs such as beauty, love, freedom, and morality, they demonstrate hypothetical-deductive reasoning which is developing hypotheses based on what might logically occur, able to think about all the possibilities	Allowing for children of this age to grapple with concepts and ideas; providing opportunities for them to have agency.

Criticisms of Piaget's Theory

Critics have discovered a considerable variation in what children are able to do at various ages in different parts of the world and in different cultures. Further, many contend that Piaget may have underestimated what children are capable of given the right circumstances. For instance, he believed that learning peaked around the age of 12 years, designated by his last stage—formal operational stage.

Key takeaways

- Children develop cognitively through stages—sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational, and formal operational.
- Each stage must be mastered before moving on to the next stage.
- Children's intellectual skills change based on their direct experiences with the environment.

Erik Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

Erik Erikson suggested that our relationships and society's expectations motivate much of our behavior in his theory of psychosocial development. Unlike Freud, Erikson believed that we are not driven by unconscious urges. He is considered the father of developmental psychology because his model gives us a guideline for the entire life span and suggests certain primary psychological and social concerns throughout life. Erikson expanded on Freud's theory by emphasizing the importance of culture in parenting practices and motivations. He also added three stages of social and emotional domains regarding adult development. He believed that we are aware of what motivates us throughout life and that the ego has greater importance in guiding our actions than the id does. We make conscious choices in life and these choices focus on meeting certain social and cultural needs rather than purely biological ones. Humans are motivated, for instance, by the need to feel that the world is a trustworthy place, that we are capable individuals, that we can make a contribution to society, and that we have lived a meaningful life. These are all psychosocial issues.

Erikson divided the lifespan into eight stages. In each stage, we have a major psychosocial task to accomplish or crisis to overcome. Successful completion of each developmental task results in a sense of competence and a healthy personality. Failure to master these tasks leads to feelings of inadequacy. Erikson believed that our personality continues to take shape throughout our lifespan as we face these challenges in living. These eight stages form a foundation for discussions on emotional and social development during the life span. However, these stages or crises can occur more than once and can occur at different ages. For instance, a person may struggle with a lack of trust beyond infancy under certain circumstances. Erikson's theory has been criticized for focusing so heavily on stages and assuming that the completion of one stage is a prerequisite for the next development crisis. His theory also focuses on the social expectations that are found in some cultures, but not in others. For instance, the idea that adolescence is a time of searching for identity might translate well in the middle-class culture of the United States, but not as well in cultures where the transition into adulthood coincides with puberty through rites of passage and where adult roles offer fewer choices.

Erikson's Stages of Development

Stage	Age	Brief Description	Current implications for caregivers
Trust vs. Mistrust	0 - 1 year	Infant must have basic needs met in a consistent way in order to feel that the world is a trustworthy place From birth to 12 months of age, infants must learn that adults can be trusted. This occurs when adults meet a child's basic needs for survival. Infants are dependent upon their caregivers, so caregivers who are consistently and appropriately responsive and sensitive to their infant's needs help their baby to develop a sense of trust; their baby will see the world as a safe, predictable place. Unresponsive or inconsistent caregivers who do not meet their baby's needs can elicit feelings of anxiety, fear, and mistrust; their baby may see the world as unpredictable and unsafe. If infants are treated cruelly or their needs are not met appropriately, they will likely grow up with a sense of mistrust for people in the world.	Ensuring that children's needs are met in primary caregiving experiences.

Stage	Age	Brief Description	Current implications for caregivers
Autonomy vs. shame and doubt	1 - 3 years	mobile toddlers have newfound freedom that they like to exercise and by being allowed to do so, they learn some basic independence	Providing opportunities for children to explore and to do things in their way and time.
Initiative vs. guilt	3 - 5 years	preschoolers like to initiate activities and emphasize doing things "all by myself"	Listening to and scaffolding what children are capable of doing.
Industry vs. inferiority	5 - 11 years	focus on accomplishments and making comparisons between themselves and their classmates (social media plays a big part in this today)	Help them to see that each person is an individual with differing skills and talents.
Identity vs. role confusion	Adolescence	trying to gain a sense of identity as they experiment with various roles, beliefs, and ideas	Providing opportunities for them to think about the possibilities that exist.
Intimacy vs. Isolation	Young adulthood	make some of our first long-term commitments in intimate relationships	
Generativity vs. stagnation	Middle adulthood	focus is on being productive at work and home and are motivated by waiting to feel that they've made a contribution to society	
Integrity vs. despair	Late adulthood	become reflective, look back and take stock and hope that we have lived well and have a sense of integrity because we lived according to our beliefs	

Key takeaways

- Erikson was a student of Freud but focused on conscious thought.
- His stages of psychosocial development address the entire lifespan and suggest a primary psychosocial crisis in some cultures that adults can use to understand how to support children's social and emotional development.
- Certain cultures may need to resolve the stages in different ways based upon their cultural and survival needs.
- During each of Erikson's eight development stages, two conflicting ideas must be resolved successfully in order for a person to become a confident, contributing member of society. Failure to master these tasks leads to feelings of inadequacy.
- The stages include: trust vs. mistrust, autonomy vs. shame and doubt, initiative vs. guilt, industry vs. inferiority, identity vs. role confusion, intimacy vs. isolation, generativity vs. stagnation, and integrity vs. despair.

Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory and Observational Learning

Observational learning is a component of Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory, which asserts that individuals can learn new responses via observation of key others' behaviors. Observational learning does not necessarily require reinforcement, but instead hinges on the presence of others, referred to as social models. Social models typically possess a higher status or authority compared to the observer, examples of which include parents, teachers, or police officers. Bandura theorized that the observational learning process consists of four parts. The first is attention-one must pay attention to what one is observing in order to learn. The second part is retention. To learn, one must be able to retain the observed behavior into one's memory. The third part of observational learning, initiation, acknowledges that the learner must be able to execute, or initiate the learned behavior. Lastly, the observer must possess the motivation to engage in observational learning.

Imagine a child walking up to a group of children playing a game on the playground. The game looks fun, but it is new and unfamiliar. Rather than joining the game immediately, the child opts to sit back and watch the other children play a round or two. While observing the others, the child takes note of the ways in which they behave while playing the game. By watching the behavior of the other kids, the child can figure out the rules of the game and even some strategies for performing well at the game. This is called observational learning.

In the example here, the child must want to learn how to play the game in order to properly engage in observational learning. The

children who already know how to play the game could be thought of as being authorities—and are therefore social models—even though they are the same age as the observer. By observing how the social models behave, an individual is able to learn how to act in a certain situation. Other examples of observational learning might include a child learning to place her napkin in her lap by watching her parents at the dinner table, or a child learning how to use a pair of scissors after watching another child successfully use a pair of scissors.

Bandura developed his theory by conducting research using a Bobo Doll. There were several groups of children who were exposed to different experiences with the Bobo Doll. One group of children watched while the adult interacted aggressively with Bobo; punching it, kicking it, throwing it, and even hitting it in the face with a toy mallet. Another group of children watched the adult interact with other toys, displaying no aggression toward Bobo. In both instances, the adult left and the children were allowed to interact with Bobo on their own.

Bandura found that children exposed to the aggressive social model were significantly more likely to behave aggressively toward Bobo, hitting and kicking him, compared to those exposed to the non-aggressive model. The researchers concluded that the children in the aggressive group used their observations of the adult social model's behavior to determine that aggressive behavior toward Bobo was acceptable. One word of caution, the children were randomly assigned to these groups. There wasn't a pre-questionnaire determining if the child was exposed to violence beyond this experiment. It is important to understand the context of research in order to make sense of what it is saying and not saying.

While reinforcement was not required to elicit the children's behavior in Bandura's first experiment, it is important to acknowledge that consequences do play a role within observational learning. A future adaptation of this study demonstrated that children in the aggression group showed less aggressive behavior if they witnessed the adult model receive punishment for aggressing against Bobo. Bandura referred to this process as vicarious reinforcement, as the children did not experience the reinforcement or punishment directly, yet were still influenced by observing it.

Key takeaways

- Individuals learn through observing others.
- Bobo doll experiment—children were more aggressive toward the Bobo doll if they witnessed models being aggressive.

Rudolf Dreikurs

Rudolf Dreikurs was an American psychiatrist and educator who developed Alfred Adler's system of individual psychology into a pragmatic method for understanding the purposes of misbehavior in children and stimulating cooperative behavior without punishment or reward. His primary focus was on pre-adolescents, and he reasoned that their problematic behavior resulted from feelings of lack of significance in their social group. He described four "mistaken goals" that such children would resort to, and outlined the most effective ways that teachers and parents could respond.

He saw the family as the first social setting in which education takes place, with the school environment as an extension of the family. Thus, his techniques for preventing misbehavior and encouraging appropriate behavior could be applied equally in both settings. Dreikurs' work continues through the training centers he and his colleagues established to train counselors in addressing the social problems of youth.

Adler and Dreikurs firmly believed that encouragement was essential to the improvement of behavior and human relationships. Their basic assumption was that human behavior is not predetermined by genetics, or merely the result of outside forces beyond one's control. They argued that behavior is a result of a search for significance within a social setting. Dreikurs said "anticipation influences outcome—the fear of making a mistake leads to mistakes. Anyone who can alter the expectations of people can change their behavior."

Accordingly, encouragement and positive support have a direct correlation with improved behavior in others. Adlerian Parent Education aims to give children the skills to meet life challenges in a constructive, positive way and the courage to circumvent the many pitfalls and dangers that confront children in society. It supports parents by providing them with tools to ease and handle the stress of being a parent and to raise children with courage and compassion.

Dreikurs believed that all behavior has a purpose. He constructed what is often considered the most effective tool in helping to understand children's behavior: The Four Goals of Misbehavior and the techniques of effectively revealing these to a misbehaving

child. The development of the system of natural and logical consequences and the application of these techniques may well be Dreikurs' finest contribution to the betterment of human society.

Dreikurs suggested that human misbehavior is the result of not having one's basic needs of belonging to, and contributing to, a social group met. The child then resorts to one of four mistaken goals: attention, power, revenge, or avoidance of failure. Dreikurs' main theory dealt with the misbehavior of pre-adolescents. He reasoned that these students will "act out" based on these four, principled "mistaken goals."

The first reason for their misbehavior is that they desire attention. If they do not receive the attention they crave through their actions (good or bad, e.g., doing well on a paper or throwing a tantrum), they move onto seeking power (e.g., they may refuse to complete a paper). If their power struggle is thwarted, they seek revenge. If even revenge does not achieve the desired response, they begin to feel inadequate.

His books list many ways to combat these behaviors. The first step is for teachers to identify the mistaken goal while also noting their own response to the misbehavior, and observe the students' reactions. Second, a teacher should confront the mistaken goal by providing an explanation of it along with a discussion of the faulty logic involved. By doing so, students are given an opportunity to examine and change their behavior. Third, Dreikurs emphasized the importance of avoiding power struggles with students. One way is simply by withdrawing as an authority figure; teachers can also redirect students' ambitions for power by having them participate in making decisions or giving directions. This is called "democratic teaching."

Dreikurs also recommended taking positive steps against revenge-seeking behavior. The teacher is instructed to set up situations where the students can exhibit talents and strengths and ultimately experience acceptance. Lastly, teachers should encourage students who display inadequacy by offering these students encouragement and support for even minimal efforts. His overall goal was that students would learn to cooperate reasonably, without being penalized or rewarded, because they would feel that they are valuable contributors to the classroom.

Dreikurs described two types of consequences: logical and natural. Logical consequences refer to "reasonable results that follow behavior either desirable or non-desirable." They typically require students to make right of what they have done wrong. For example, if students do not complete their work during class, they are required to do it for homework. In a democratic classroom, the students would know in advance the consequences of their misbehavior because as part of the classroom they helped formulate the consequences.

Natural consequences differ from logical consequences in that the results following the behavior occur naturally. For example, if a student tips his chair backward and falls, leaving him hurt or embarrassed, this would be a natural consequence, because the hurt and embarrassment alone is a sufficient consequence for his misbehavior.
Dreikurs did not consider punishment an effective method of discipline. He viewed punishment as an action taken by the teacher as an act of revenge to show the students who is in charge. He believed that punishment was humiliating and offensive to students.

Dreikurs believed in prevention, and his main focus was on constructive behavior rather than coercive discipline. He recommended that teachers have a democratic classroom and teaching style to help students gain a sense of belonging which is the genuine goal. In this manner, students would have a social interest: a condition in which students would realize themselves that it is to their advantage to contribute to the welfare of a group. Therefore, to understand children, they must be observed in a social setting and in relationship to others, to discover the reasons for their behavior.

Key takeaways

- Children who do not feel the basic need of belonging to a social group turn to attention, power, revenge, and avoidance of failure.
- Misbehavior can be modified without punishment through implementing natural and logical consequences.
- Dreikurs focused on pre-adolescents' reasons for their problematic behaviors and how teachers and parents can respond to it.
- Humans have a basic need for unconditional positive regard and acceptance.

Bioecological Systems Theory - Urie Bronfenbrenner

Urie Bronfenbrenner was one of the first psychologists to adopt a holistic perspective on human development via his Bioecological Systems Theory, which had a widespread influence on the way psychologists and other social scientists approach the study of human beings and their environments. Bronfenbrenner emphasized the importance of the social environments in which children are raised, and saw the breakdown of the family as the leading cause of the ever-growing rates of alienation, apathy, rebellion, delinquency, and violence among American youth. His work led to new directions in research and the design of programs and policies affecting the well-being of children and families. Bronfenbrenner's primary theoretical contribution was his Bioecological Systems Theory, in which he identified four types of nested systems.

Bronfenbrenner recognized that is it necessary to understand how not only the family or school influences human development, but how broader influences do as well.
The four systems are (with a fifth system being added later)

•Microsystem: Immediate environments such as family, school, peer group, neighborhood, and childcare environments.
•Mesosystem: A system comprised of connections between immediate environments (i.e., a child's home and school).
•Exosystem: External environmental settings which only indirectly affect development, such as parent's workplace.
•Macrosystem: The larger cultural context (Eastern vs. Western culture, national economy, political culture, subculture).
•Chronosystem: The patterning of environmental events and transitions over the course of life. (this was added later)

Each system contains roles, norms, and rules that can powerfully shape development. As this theory is discussed comprehensively in Chapter 1, it is important to note that while theories inform our practices, they also shape our thinking. Theory lives in many places, especially in social science disciplines. Reducing children's behavior to being one directional, we miss the opportunity to look at how the systems that Bronfenbrenner discovered are bi-directional in that these systems impact each other.

This example provides a clear explanation for you to consider. In order to understand the issues a learner is having with math, we can't simply look at that individual and what challenges they face directly with the subject. We have to look at the interactions that occur between the teacher and the child. Perhaps the teacher needs to make modifications as well. The teacher may be responding to regulations made by the school, such as new expectations for students in math or constraints on time that interferes with the teacher's ability to instruct. These new demands may be a response to national efforts to promote math and science deemed important by political leaders in response to relations with other countries at a particular time in history. Can you think of an example from your personal experience, that would help you to integrate this theory more meaningfully?

It has been said that before Bronfenbrenner, child psychologists studied the child, sociologists examined the family, anthropologists the society, economists the economic framework of the times, and political scientists the political structure. As a result of Bronfenbrenner's groundbreaking work in human ecology, these environments, from the family to economic and political structures, have come to be viewed as part of the life course from childhood through adulthood. The "bioecological" approach to human development broke down barriers among the social sciences and built bridges between the disciplines that have allowed findings to emerge about which key elements in the larger social structure, and across societies, are vital for optimal human development.

Key takeaways

- Bioecological Systems Theory—the study of how individual development can be shaped by one's interactions with the various systems and how an individual can impact the nested systems.
- Five nested systems: Microsystem, Mesosystem, Exosystem, Macrosystem, and Chronosystem.
- Each system contains roles, norms, and rules that can impact human development.

Pause to reflect

As you can see there are so many things to consider when it comes to our role as early learning professionals. We must have core knowledge that will enable us to be most up to date with current thinking about how to help families with the complicated tasks of parenting. As has been mentioned, there is no one right way. There are many ways to support children

in learning and growing. We will explore more contemporary parenting programs that are an integration of many of these thoughts and ideas that have been shared. It's not that ideas go away, we just make improvements as we go along. As Maya Angelou says, "We do the best we can until we know better. When we know better we do better."

References:

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3.4: Styles of Parenting

Parenting in a complicated emotional roller coaster, one in which we are often unprepared for. This section will engage you with the different ideas of the styles of parenting that have been a part of our theoretical journey in Early Childhood Education. It is important to note, that many of these ideas/theories have been normed using white children and families and that these ideas may not translate to all families as culture is another part of the dynamic of raising children. (This was discussed further in Chapter 2 which is dedicated to the influences of culture).

Styles of Parenting - Diana Baumrind

The parenting style used to rear a child will likely impact that child's future success in romantic, peer and parenting relationships. Diana Baumrind, a clinical and developmental psychologist, coined the following parenting styles: authoritative, authoritarian, and permissive/indulgent, Later, Maccoby and Martin added the uninvolved/neglectful style.

According to Baumrind, it is beneficial to evaluate the support and demandingness of a caregiver in order to determine which style is being used and how to effectively use it. Support refers to the amount of affection, acceptance, and warmth a parent provides to a child. Demandingness refers to the degree a parent controls a child's behavior.

The chart below depicts the four styles of parenting brought to us by Baumrind, Maccoby and Martin

Baumrind's Parenting Styles

Parenting Style	Brief Description	Outcomes for children
Authoritative (Democratic parenting) **High demandingness and responsiveness**	Authoritative parents tend to: • have high expectations for achievement and maturity, but they are also warm and responsive • set rules and enforce boundaries by having open discussion, providing guidance and using reasoning • provide their kids with reasoning and explanation for their action • allow children to have a sense of awareness and teach kids about values, morals, and goals • provide discipline that is confrontive, i.e. reasoned, negotiable, outcome-oriented, and concerned with regulating behaviors • are affectionate and supportive • provide their children with autonomy and encourage independence • allow bidirectional communication • cherish their children	Based on Baumrind's research on parenting styles, children of authoritative parents tend to: • appear happy and content • be more independent • be more active • achieve higher academic success • develop good self-esteem • interact with peers using competent social skills • have better mental health — less depression, anxiety, suicide attempts, delinquency, alcohol and drug use • exhibit less violent tendencies • are securely attached

Parenting Style	Brief Description	Outcomes for children
Authoritarian Parenting (Dictator parenting) **High demandingness, low responsiveness**	Authoritarian parents tend to: • demand blind obedience using reasons such as "because I said so" • allow one way communication through rules and orders, attempts to reason with them are seen as backtalk • use stern discipline and often employ harsh punishment, such as corporal punishment, as a way to control children's behavior • be unresponsive to their children's needs and are generally not nurturing • believe in tough love	Based on Baumrind's research on parenting styles, children of authoritarian parents tend to: • have an unhappy disposition • be less independent • appear insecure • possess low self-esteem • exhibit more behavioral problems • perform worse academically • have poorer social skills • be more prone to issues with mental health • be more likely to have drug use problems • have worse coping skills
Permissive Parenting (Indulgent parenting) **Low demandingness, high responsiveness**	Permissive parents tend to: • set very few rules and boundaries • they are reluctant to enforce rules • be warm and indulgent but they do not like to say no or disappoint their children	Based on Baumrind's research on parenting styles, children of authoritarian parents tend to: • have difficulty following rules • have difficulty with self-control • have more egocentric tendencies • encounter more problems in relationships and social interactions
Neglectful Parenting (Uninvolved parenting) **Low demandingness and responsiveness**	Neglectful parents tend to: • not set firm boundaries or high standards • be indifferent to their children's needs and uninvolved in their lives • have issues of mental health (depression, physical abuse or child neglect when they were children)	Based on Baumrind's research on parenting styles, children of permissive parents tend to: • be more impulsive • have difficulty with self-regulating their emotions • encounter more delinquency and addictions problems • have issues with mental health — e.g. suicidal behavior in adolescents

In reviewing the styles of parenting identified in the chart above, one can see that the focus comes more from Western, individualistic society's thoughts on the role of raising children. It is important that we look at how these ideals may influence the way in which we see families who have different ideals about parenting. This is one lens to look at parenting, but we need to be more critical thinkers about the many possibilities that exist in raising healthy, productive humans in the many different societies that exist in our world.

Additional parenting styles

Researchers have identified additional parenting approaches that are not applicable to Baumrind's styles, definitions, or outcomes. Below is an overview of four of these approaches–overindulgent parenting, helicopter parenting, lawnmower parenting, and traditional parenting.

Overindulgent Parenting

Overindulgent parenting is providing children with too much of what “looks good, too soon, too long.” Oftentimes, it appears that parents implement these strategies to fulfill their own unmet needs or feelings of neglect from their own childhood.

Examples include giving children an overabundance of:

- things or experiences that are not developmentally appropriate for the child,
- family resources that appear to meet the child’s needs but do not,
- anything that actively harms or prevents a child from developing and achieving one’s full potential, and
- freedom with minimal boundaries and limits that are developmentally-inappropriate for the child.

Many negative outcomes have been linked to overindulgent parenting, which include, but are not limited to, children who exhibit:

1. extreme self-centeredness,
2. excessive degrees of a sense of entitlement,
3. poor decision-making and coping skills, and
4. stifled developmental growth as a result of not experiencing or learning “necessary” life lessons.

Helicopter Parenting

Helicopter parenting is characterized by caregivers who are extremely over involved in their child’s life due to the belief that they can protect their child’s physical and/or emotional well-being. Caregivers using this approach appear overbearing and overprotective due to the close attention they pay to all of their child’s problems and successes. Parents “hover overhead” by constantly overseeing or being excessively interested in every aspect of their child’s life. Some contend that cell phones are “the world’s longest umbilical cord” which is contributing to this phenomenon.

Many negative outcomes have been linked to helicopter parenting, which may include, but are not limited to, children and adults who exhibit:
1. stifled developmental growth as a result of not experiencing or learning “necessary” life lessons,
2. long-term mental health problems,
3. rebellious behaviors in adolescence, and
4. a lack of independence coupled with poor decision-making, motivational, and coping skills.

Lawnmower Parenting

Saba Harouni Lurie, a licensed marriage and family therapist defines lawnmower parenting (also referred to as “bulldozing parenting” and “snowplow parenting”) simply as: “when parents remove obstacles for their kids in hopes of setting them up to be successful.” Lawnmower parents have a strong desire to protect their child from any type of struggle or obstacle. As as result, they're said to "mow over" any problems thei child faces, as well as prevent problems from occurring in the first place.

This may result in creating a generation that has no ideas what to do when they actually encounter a struggle. This may lead to adversely affecting children as having to face adversity, struggle, and/or failure robs them of opportunities to learn from their mistakes. Raising children who have experienced "minimal struggle" is not necessarily doing them any favors or even making them even remotely happier.

Traditional Parenting Style

The traditional parenting style is more commonly used in families with non-Western cultural values. Parents using this approach expect their children to respect and obey authority (e.g., parents, elders, etc.) and comply with their cultural beliefs and values without questions. Parents using this approach are high in demandingness, warmth, and responsiveness, similar to the authoritative approach, however, they do not engage in democratic discussions. This style was created because many parenting styles in non-Western cultures do not meet the criteria for authoritarian (due to expressing warmth) or authoritative (due to lack of communication).

For example, many families who self-identify as Asian Americans and Latino Americans engage in high demandingness and expect respect and obedience of their children. However, these caregivers also value closeness and love which is different from

the authoritarian parenting style. Adolescents who grow up in families using traditional parenting style characteristics tend to show higher academic achievements and lower behavioral and psychological problems when compared to their peers who are reared by caregivers using the authoritarian approach. These positive outcomes may be related to the closeness and love shown to children, which is different from the “cold” or “distant” characteristics consistent with the authoritarian style.

Key takeaways

- Overindulgent parenting is when parents over-provide things which are typically not developmentally-appropriate for their child.
  - This style of parenting can result in the child having poor decision-making and coping skills and being highly self-centered.
- Helicopter parenting is when parents are over-involved in their child’s life, many times as a way to protect their child.
  - This style can result in the child lacking independence, having poor decision-making and coping skills, etc.
- Lawnmower parenting is a newer phenomenon in where parents avoid letting their children struggle
  - This style can result in children not being able to handle the complexities of life once they leave their nest/home
- Traditional parenting is when parents expect their children to respect and obey authority, as well as comply with their cultural beliefs and values.
  - This style of parenting can result in higher academic achievements and lower behavioral and psychological problems.

Additional less researched parenting styles:

LeMaster and Defrain Parenting Styles

Style	Description	Possible Outcomes
Martyr	Will do anything for the child; even tasks that the child should do for themselves; may use all they do for the child to guilt child into compliance	Child learns to be dependent and manipulative.
Pal	Wants to be the chid's friend; lets children do what they want and focuses mostly on being entertaining and fun; sets few limits	Child may have little self-discipline and may try to test limits with others.
Police officer/ drill sergeant	Focuses primarily on making sure that the child is obedient and that the parent has full control of the child; may scold or punish child for not doing things right; struggles to allow child to grow and learn to make decisions independently	Child may have a log of resentment toward parent that is displaced on others
Teacher-counselor	Pays a lot of attention to expert advice on parenting and who believes that as long as all of the steps are followed, the parent can rear a perfect child	Puts all the responsibility of outcomes on parent
Athletic coach	Helps the child understand what needs to happen in certain situations and encourages and advised the child about how to manage these situations; does not intervene or do things for the child; sets consistent and objective rules	Child is supported and guided while they learn firsthand how to handle situations

Family Systems Theory

In an article by Linda Garris Christian entitled: "Understanding Families - Applying Family Systems Theory to Early Childhood Practice" she suggests that using this theory can help explain why members of a family behave the way they do in a given situation*. The chart below provides a brief overview of this theory and it's application in our early learning environments.

Category	Brief description	Examples	Ideas for working with families
Roles	There are many roles that individuals in families possess. Some of those roles are clown, peacemaker, victim, rescuer, etc. Each role carries an expectation with it. These roles can be carried over to work, school, and other social settings. Each role has both a positive and a negative aspect.	If you have the role of rescuer, you are required to fix problems and take care of others. The positive aspect of this is that you become the responsible person in the family capable of solving problems. The negative aspect is that other members in the family are not given opportunities to develop problem-solving skills.	• Provide children with opportunities to role play. This helps them to experience new roles in a safe space. • Observe children carefully so you are able to help them with experiencing other ways of being. • Highlight to families something about their child in both the roles that they currently possess and those that they are trying on.
Rules	This is a set of standards, laws, or traditions that tell us how to live in relation to each other. They may be spoken or unspoken.	When rules are spoken, it gives us the opportunity to discuss, problem solve, and make choices. If they are unspoken, we may not be aware of them until we break them. They are often embedded in a cultural context which can contribute to cultural discontinuity at school.	• Let children know about the difference between home rules and school rules. Make sure you respect the home rule, but help children to identify how that rule is different at school. • Unspoken rules can be related to gender, power, and how we treat each other. Make sure to discuss them with care and respect. • Help families to understand school rules and elicit their input carefully when conflict arises over school and home rules.

Category	Brief description	Examples	Ideas for working with families
Hierarchy	This refers to "who is the boss" in the family, meaning who is responsible for decision making, control, and power in the family. This can also be a shared in some families.	Understanding the hierarchy of families assists early learning professionals in knowing how to relate to each family in their early learning environment. One of the ways you can learn more about this hierarchy is to ask specific questions in a family questionnaire to enable you to understand each family structure. This may include using the following prompts in a family questionnaire to help you to get to know the hierarchy of the family: • Decisions about children in our family are usually made by _____. • How and when with whom would you like information about your child shared? • We want to respect your family in our work with you and your child at this center. Please share any information that you feel will help us in these efforts.	• Be a keen observer. Who signs the permission slips? Who returns the phone calls? How does the child role-play their family members in dramatic play? • Watch for how children are demonstrating the hierarchy they are growing up with. Make sure to vary experiences for children so they can be exposed to different ways of being.

Category	Brief description	Examples	Ideas for working with families
Boundaries	This relates to limites, togetherness, separateness -- what or who is "in" or "out of" the family. The use of disengaged and enmeshment is used to describe this element. Disengaged tends to be families that emphasize independence and autonomy. Each person's identity is encouraged and respected. Enmeshed tends to be families that emphasize togetherness, belonging, emotional connectedness, and at times conformity. It is important to note that one or the other is not better, just different. In addition, there are various degrees of how this looks in families. There are varying degrees as to how each family emphasizes disengagement and enmeshment.	One family may want to make sure that their child has choices as to what they engage in. They believe that ultimately it is the child's choice and will support their child's ultimate decision. They are working to foster his independence and his identity. This would be an example of disengaged. Another family may insist that their child do what they think is in the child's best interest. Making sure that the child conforms to what the family knows is best. This would be an example of enmeshment.	• Avoid stereotyping the family as a families culture does not automatically mean that the family is a certain way. It is important to become familiar with the families individual cultural background. • Respect families need for control. Involve families when introducing new ideas, materials, experiences to children. This is helpful in building relationships with families over time. • Include families in school events and make sure that you make space for the various configurations of families. It is important to include extended family. • Make space for difference and celebrate those differences by learning more about the families in your early learning programs.

Category	Brief description	Examples	Ideas for working with families
Climate	This is the emotional and physical environment that a child grows up in.	This is related to beliefs about children and families. You may consider the following questions in helping you to determine the climate of the family: • What would it feel like to be a child in this family? • Would I feel safe, secure, loved, encouraged, and supported? • Or, would I feel scared, fearful, angry, hated, and unhappy?	• Provide opportunities for families to discuss how they see children. This may be in casual conversation or in parenting workshops that you can offer in your program. • Make sure that the classroom is a safe space where children can explore, be given feedback and guidelines, and healthy sensory experiences.
Equilibrium	This refers to the consistency in families that may be difficult to maintain but necessary for children's development of a sense of security and trust.	This may be in the rituals and customs that keep families together during times of change and stress. This is the balance that tells members of the family what to expect.	• Provide as much consistency for children in the routines that you follow in your classrooms. This includes the room arrangement, the introduction of new staff, etc. • Provide opportunities to inform families of what they can do to create more stability for their children. This may be in providing a newsletter with tips or a workshop covering this topic.

References:

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*adapted from Understanding Families: Applying Family Systems Theory to Early Childhood Practice by Linda Garris Christian, Young Children, January, 2006

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3.5: Child Rearing Practices and Guidance

The Elements of Rearing and Guiding Children

So far in this chapter we have looked at theories and ideas that guide our knowledge about the variety of ways in which we think about rearing children. Some of those ideas are quite outdated and yet they seem to remain in the social lexicon when it comes to understanding about what is best for children in their formative years. There is nothing more complicated than raising children as they don't come with an instruction manual. The diversity of ideas we have explored thus far are as diverse as the individual children that are reared in the diversity of families as it relates to their culture and societal constructs.

Child-rearing and Guidance

Parents and caregivers have a responsibility to guide and promote positive socialization strategies for children in their care. These activities are known as discipline or guidance-two words that are often used interchangeably in parenting education. Discipline is defined as “ongoing teaching and nurturing that facilitates self-control, self-direction, competence, and care for others”. It is recommended that caregivers utilize a comprehensive disciplinary approach for guiding children’s behaviors.

Caregivers proactively teach children how to regulate their own behaviors by using age- and developmentally—appropriate strategies that enhance:

- positive, supportive, and nurturing caregiver-child relationships,
- safety, permanency, and consistency,
- acceptable behavioral patterns by removing reinforcements to eliminate undesired behaviors and providing positive reinforcements to strengthen desired behaviors, and
- cognitive, socio emotional, and executive functioning skills.*

For optimal outcomes, all of the above components must consistently function well in an individualized manner for each child, and within the context of children, feeling loved, safe, and secure. Recommended child-rearing strategies are outlined in upcoming pages.

Examples of caregivers’ guidance by stage:

- Newborns: recognize and respond flexibly to infant’s needs while providing generally structured daily routines.
- Infants and toddlers: use limitations, protection, and structure to create safe spaces for play and exploration.
- Early childhood: utilize creative and individualized strategies to guide children’s desirable behavior patterns to become their “typical interactions”.
- School-age: increase children’s own responsibility for self-control via the integration of previously-developed internalized rules of conduct.
- Adolescence: change strategies to foster more autonomy, self-regulation, and responsibility while guiding teens’ safety and positive decision-making skills.

Active Listening

Active listening is a type of communication strategy between two or more people that consists of paying attention to what someone is saying and attempting to understand what is being said. Clinical research studies demonstrate that active listening can be a catalyst in one’s personal growth. For example, children are more likely to listen to themselves if someone else allows them to speak and successfully convey their message.

Learning how to actively listen takes time, practice, and full commitment. Once achieved, it can build a strong foundation for positive communication resulting in a strong caregiver-child relationship by building trust throughout the lifespan. This strategy also tends to improve the quality of conversations by connecting with others on a deeper level, which can lead to more positive and healthy relationships.

How to use this method:

- Caregivers should be on the child's level and listen in an attentive, nonjudgmental, non-interrupting manner.
- Listeners should pay close attention to possible hidden messages and meanings contained in the verbal communication and should note all non-verbal communication from the child.
- It is important to remember that you are not giving your opinion and thoughts regarding what the child relays to you; you are paraphrasing what the child said and expressing back to the child the emotions the child conveyed.

Key takeaways

- Active listening is paying attention and attempting to understand what someone else is saying.
- It is important to note hidden messages in verbal and non-verbal communications.
- It is important to refrain from giving opinions while paraphrasing what the other person is saying.

Anticipatory structure

Anticipatory structure is a strategy where caregivers share plans and provide forewarnings to children regarding upcoming transitions between activities. This can help establish routines and facilitate more smooth changes in routines. It also allows time for children to prepare for changes, which can heighten their cooperation when the change happens. Anticipatory structure is most effective when caregivers provide multiple forewarnings before transitions, give reasoning for what the child is being asked to do, and use age-appropriate language that the child can understand. It is helpful for parents to provide praise or compliments for their children as they follow each step and meet the end goal.

Example

A parent tells their children that it is almost time to go to bed and they have ten minutes to finish playing and then they need to put their toys away. Later the parent reminds the children again and tells them that they have five minutes left to play and then they need to have all of their toys put away. After five minutes, the parent makes sure the children's toys are put away and asks them to get ready for bed by reminding them of their regular bedtime routine.

Key takeaway

- Anticipatory structure provides forewarnings to changes in activities and can help establish routines and cooperation.

CALM

The CALM method is a technique for parents to use to communicate with their children, whether that be talking through a conflict or just sharing about what happened that day. The goal of this method is to give children a voice and help them feel heard. The "best-practice" way to utilize this method would be to implement it every time your child wants to have a conversation one-on-one with you.

- Connect
- Affect
- Listen
- Mirroring

How to use this method:

CONNECT. The first step in the CALM method is connecting with the child. This means putting aside any and all distractions in order to give your full and undivided attention to what the child says to you.

AFFECT. The second step is affect, which is emotion. This means you want to share and show your emotions and feelings with your children and let them know that you have the same emotions as they do. Through this, they can see that you understand and empathize with what they are going through or telling you.

LISTEN. The third step is listening to the child by repeating what is said back to you or asking for clarifications to help the child feel listened to and heard.

MIRRORING. The fourth and final step is mirroring. This is when you (a) make sure you fully understand what the child is telling you, (b) clear up any questions or misunderstandings by paraphrasing (back to child) what the child said and (c) sharing in your child's thoughts and feelings.

Example

Your daughter, Sammie, came to you upset because she didn't win a contest at school. First, you would connect by removing all of your distractions (putting away phone, stopping what you are doing), turning your attention to her, and making eye contact with her. Next, you would show how her actions affected you by having an upset look on your face and tone in your voice to show you understand her emotions. After this, you would listen to what she tells you and then clarify details to show Deidre you are invested in the conversation. Lastly, you would mirror the interaction back to Deidre by paraphrasing what she told you to show you care about her thoughts and feelings.

By using this technique, children will be able to see and feel that you are listening, caring, and involved in what they are telling you. You want them to feel that they can come to you and trust you about anything going on in their life, big or small.

Constructive Choices

Constructive choices are a child-rearing strategy where parents provide the child with options for the child when making decisions. This allows children to be involved in making choices in their everyday activities, while still maintaining choices that are positive and safe. This strategy can help children learn how to make decisions, and it teaches and guides children about how to analyze their decision-making abilities so they can eventually make decisions on their own.

- How to use this method:
- Limit the number of times you give a child a choice,
- Limit the number of choices you give a child (two to four choices work well),
- Provide developmentally-appropriate choices that keep the child safe and healthy,
- Support the child's decision, and
- Help children think about their choices and the reasoning behind making each decision.

Example

A caregiver may give a child a choice to keep playing with their toys inside or to clean up the toys and go play outside. When the child decides which one they would like to do, you support their decision. This means helping them to critically think about their choices in the decision making process. The older the child, the more choices can be given.

Key takeaway

- Caregivers provide specific options to help guide children's activities and decision-making abilities.

Four Pluses and a Wish

Four Pluses and a Wish is a parenting strategy aimed at creating cooperation and motivation for children to comply with parental requests. Along with leading to better behavior outcomes, it also works to foster healthy communication and is a good example of parental supportive speech. Four Pluses and a Wish involves the parent providing three pluses, which are positive actions toward their child, before making a request. This helps the child feel more respected by their parents and therefore more likely to comply with parental wishes and requests. There are four steps to follow for this strategy.

How to use this method:

Plus 1

Smile: The parent approaches the child with a smile and a happy facial expression to show the child that nothing is wrong.

Plus 2

Relaxed body language: The parent displays a relaxed body and uses a friendly voice to communicate friendliness and acceptance toward the child.

Plus 3

Say the child's name: For children, hearing a parent say their name feels more personal, is affirming, and helps make them feel included and respected in the communication.

Plus 4

Compliment the child: Make a positive comment on something the child is doing, wearing, etc., to make the child feel appreciated.

The Wish

Make the request: After providing four pluses for the child, the parent can then make a request (the wish).

Example

Luke is playing with blocks and his mother comes into the room.
Luke's mother: "Luke, it's almost time for dinner, please clean up your toys and wash your hands."
Luke: "I don't want to clean up yet. I want to keep playing."
Luke's mother smiles at Luke and with relaxed body language, kneels to his level. "Luke, that is a great car you built with your blocks, you did a good job building it. Could you put it away for a while and come wash your hands for dinner, please?"
Luke smiled and complied with his mother's request.

Key takeaways

- Three positive actions are made towards the child before making a request.
- This method promotes cooperation and compliance with requests.

I-messages

I-messages are effective communication techniques to use when talking with another person. The goals of I-messages are to keep interactions positive, and avoid blame, guilt, judgment, and shame. I-messages express your own feelings, while "you" messages place assumptions or judgments onto the person with whom you are speaking. A "you" message would sound like, "You need to pay more attention!" or "You shouldn't be acting like that."

Here is an example of turning a "you" message into an I-message. The "you" message might be something like, "You always disobey our rules and do whatever you want!" However, turning it into an I-message might sound more like this, "I feel angry when you disobey the rules we've laid out for you because I feel disrespected. I like it when you obey the rules, guidelines, and boundaries we have in this family because it makes me feel like you care about me, yourself, and the whole family."

How to use this method:

- "I feel ___
- When ___
- Because ___
- I like ___"

This outline expresses how you feel about a given situation, action, or behavior by explaining what you feel, why you feel that way, and what you would like the desired behavior to be.

Example

•“I feel worried and anxious when it is one hour past the time you were to be home and I have not heard from you because I fear something bad has happened. I like it when you keep in touch with me if you might be late. I need you to contact me if you will be late.”

Key takeaway

- I-messages start with the word “I,” express your own feelings to keep communication positive, and help avoid blame and judgment onto the other person.

Induction

Induction can be used to help youth develop empathy, guide their behaviors, take ownership of their actions, learn acceptable behaviors, and understand how their actions may impact themselves (self-centered induction) and others (other-oriented induction).

How to use this method:

When you have a child’s full attention:

- Explain how one’s actions can affect themselves and others (positively and negatively).
- Use a child’s actions as an example to discuss and recommend expectations for acceptable behavior.
- Model desired behaviors for a child to imitate.
- Use others’ actions as examples to discuss and assess how behaviors can impact others’ feelings.
- Encourage, discuss, and reward desired behaviors.
- Explain and discourage undesirable actions.
- Be consistent and proactive by communicating expectations, discussing outcomes, and identifying feelings related to behaviors on an ongoing basis.

Children reared in an environment that uses this approach tend to have higher moral reasoning, internalized standards for behaviors, prosocial skills, and resistance to external influences when compared to their peers who have not been exposed to this technique.

Example

If a child is taking a sibling’s toys, a caregiver can explain, “When you take your brother’s toys, it causes him to feel sad and that you do not like him. How might you feel if your friend took your bike out of our yard without asking you?”

Key takeaway

- Induction is used to help children understand how their behaviors affect themselves and others, take ownership of their actions, and guide them to engage in acceptable behaviors.

Natural and Logical Consequences

In the previous section, Dreikurs was mentioned as he elevated this concept of natural and logical consequences. Caregivers can use both natural and logical consequences for children to learn behaviors that provide better outcomes. Both natural and logical consequences encourage children to take responsibility for their actions and behaviors, but in different ways. Natural consequences allow children to learn from the natural outcomes of a situation and logical consequences allow the parent to set the consequences of a child’s undesired actions or behaviors. Logical consequences work best when consequences are

immediate and consistent. It is also important to talk with the child about the behavior and to discuss what alternative behaviors would be better to use.

Examples

- Natural consequence: Sophie leaves her favorite hair styling doll outside overnight. It rains on Sophie's doll and ruins its hair. Now Sophie's doll is ruined and she is no longer able to style the doll's hair.
- Logical consequence: Juan hits a baseball into his neighbor's yard and breaks the neighbor's window. Juan's parents require Juan to apologize to the neighbor and to complete chores around their own home in order to pay for the neighbor's broken window.

Key takeaways

- Natural consequences are when a child learns from and experiences the natural outcomes of situations.
- Logical consequences are when parents set the consequences of a child's behaviors.
- This works best when the consequences are immediate and consistent.

No-lose Method

This is a democratic approach that results in caregivers and children resolving conflict in a manner in which all parties are satisfied with the solution.
How to use this method:

- Define: All parties communicate their perspectives of the "problem".
- Brainstorm Solutions: All parties list all possible solutions to resolve the issue.
- Assess Solutions: All parties decide and discuss how they feel about all of the solutions.
- Best Solution: All parties decide upon and agree to implement the best solution.
- Plan in Action: All parties put the best solution into practice.
- Follow-Up: Adult(s) proactively discuss the problem and solution with the child(ren) to revisit the situation

Example

- Define: The "problem" is that siblings are fighting over a book.
- Brainstorm Solutions: The children can take turns reading the book; each child can read a different book; both children can read with each other at the same time with that book; a parent can remove the book so both children need to find different books.
- Assess Solutions: Both children want to read the book together.
- Best Solution: The children and parent agree that the children will read the book together as long as the children do not fight. If they fight while reading the book, the parent will remove the book and both children will need to take a break.
- Plan in Action: The children read the book together and do not fight.
- Follow-Up: Later that same day, the parent asks if they both enjoyed reading that book together. Both children agreed it was an enjoyable time. The parent praised them for not fighting and for solving the issue.

Key takeaways

- This method is used to resolve conflict where every party involved discusses their perspective on the problem and possible solutions.
- A solution that satisfies all parties is decided and agreed upon.

Problem Ownership

Problem ownership is an important tool to utilize when caregivers are communicating with children because it can help avoid

blaming and arguing. This is when caregivers take time to reflect on an issue and think, “Whose problem is this? Who is actually upset about this?” Sometimes we may think the child is the one with the problem when actually we are the ones getting upset. In reality, the child is just fine – we are the ones that have a problem. This is when a caregiver should own the problem.

If a caregiver owns the problem, it is a perfect opportunity to utilize effective communication strategies such as I-Messages to express one’s thoughts and feelings regarding the problem. If, however, the child owns the problem, caregivers can use this as a chance to practice adult-child interaction techniques such as active listening and the CALM method to connect with the child concerning the problem.

Problem ownership helps caregivers determine which problems they need to figure out themselves, and which problems they should allow their children to figure out. This provides a learning experience to gain responsibility for one’s actions that can be utilized in other relationships as well.

Example

Third-grader tells his dad, “Caleb is not my friend anymore!”
Dad: (active listening) “So, I hear that you are upset. What happened?”
Third-grader: “Caleb knocked down our entire snow fort during recess today! It took us three entire recesses to build it!”
(Dad feels sad for his son and wants to advocate for his son. Dad contemplates calling the teacher or Caleb’s parents. After reflecting, Dad asks himself, “Whose problem is this? It’s my son who is upset. I need to help him navigate this and let him know he can talk to me about these types of issues.” Dad decides to ask open-ended questions and use active listening to learn more about the entire situation.)
Dad: Why don’t you tell me what happened.
Third-grader: Well… (child has the opportunity to retell the incident and decide for himself, with his dad’s nurturing and understanding support, what to do about the problem).
This type of interaction allows a parent to provide support while assisting the child with ways to resolve or work through a problem.

Key takeaways

- Problem ownership is when an issue is reflected upon and analyzed to determine who is upset and who owns the problem in a situation.
- A solution can be determined based on who owns the problem.

Positive Language

The manner in which parents communicate with their child can largely determine the child’s own communication methods and language development and can affect the child’s vocabulary and speaking skills over time. Using positive language can greatly support and encourage the child as they get older.

How to use this method:

- Respond quickly and kindly to a child’s needs.
- Provide a listening ear or advice even at inconvenient times.
- Be responsive and consistent.
- Use positive and encouraging words when speaking with a child.
- Set a good example of how to talk to other people in public as well as at home by using manners and respect, such as saying “please,” “thank you,” and “I’m sorry.”
- Avoid sarcasm or ill-willed teasing.
- Use positive, communicative forms of guidance and avoid any form of violent discipline such as spanking.
- Spend time alone with each child, even at a young age. Quality time coupled with open communication encourages the child to feel safe and comfortable with their parents and creates a reliable relationship.

Examples

- Peter and Dan's mother says, "Thank you for picking up your toys" after they put away the toys in their playroom.
- Kaila returns home from school and says that she has had a bad day at school. Kaila's dad asks her what had made it a bad day and listens to Kaila explain what had happened.

Key takeaway

- Using phrases such as, "I'm sorry," "please," "thank you", and "I love you" often for children of all ages are recommended!

Redirecting

Verbal and physical redirection help promote desirable behaviors by directing children's attention to a different activity, toy, or behavior. These strategies help teach appropriate behavior, prevent injuries, reduce punishments, remove children from situations, and promote learning and exploration. The goal is to provide children with easy-to-understand alternative actions (verbally and/or physically) instead of using threats, punishments, or telling children what not to do.

How to Use Verbal and Physical Redirection

1. Maintain eye contact and come down to the child's level. Let children know that the act they are performing is unacceptable by using a firm, nurturing voice.
2. Explain why the behavior is unacceptable in a clear, consistent, developmentally appropriate manner. This will help children associate these words with the undesirable action.
3. Encourage children to practice the desired outcome immediately. For example, instead of telling children not to stand on chairs, verbally explain that they need to sit down while gently touching them to help them sit down carefully.
4. Use physical and verbal redirection to foster children's curiosity. For instance, encourage them to participate in desired acts that they will undoubtedly want to join.
5. Provide positive reinforcement and praise for completing the act in a desirable manner.

Verbal redirection is effective without physical redirection, but physical redirection is not effective without verbal redirection. As in most forms of child rearing, communication is a pivotal component of effective parenting strategies. Physical redirection tends to be more effective with younger children because they are still developing their language comprehension. As children develop additional cognitive and language skills, physical redirection should be used less frequently and verbal redirection should be used more often. An extremely important part of effective physical redirection is adding a gentle, nurturing touch simultaneously with the verbal redirection.

Redirection Techniques

Redirection technique	Incorrect usage	Correct usage
Verbal redirection	1. "Stop running in the kitchen, you'll split your head open!" 2. "I like your jacket, but don't leave it laying on the ground." 3. "Stop standing on the chair, you are going to get hurt!"	1. "The kitchen is not a place to run, walk when you are in here, please." 2. "I like your jacket, please hang it up after you take it off." 3. "We do not stand on chairs. Let's go outside and play in your tree house."
Physical redirection	1. Grab the child's arm to make him stop running. 2. Throw the child's jacket at her after she leaves it laying on the chair. 3. "Stop standing on the chair, you are going to get hurt!"	1. "The kitchen is not a place to run, please walk when you are in here," while gently touching the child's arm to slow him down to a walking pace. 2. "I like your jacket, please hang it up when you take it off." Gently touch the child's arm to guide her to the jacket and then to the coat hook. 3. "We do not stand on chairs, we sit on them," while gently and immediately, touching the child's leg and arm to help her get to a seated position.

Key takeaways

- Verbal redirection should always include explanations of the correct action that a child can understand while using a gentle, nurturing voice.
- Avoid using threats and telling children what not to do.
- Physical redirection should always be used in combination with verbal redirection.
- Consistent language is key for effective redirection so children associate the same words with undesirable actions.
- It is important to use the same steps and words if children repeat the same behavior. Consistency is key when reinforcing positive behaviors and deterring negative behaviors.

Reward-oriented Parenting and Positive Reinforcement

There are many ways to increase the likelihood of children exhibiting desirable behaviors by using positive reinforcements and rewards. You may want to revisit the information regarding Skinner in the previous section to effectively use this parenting strategy.

Parents or teachers may wish to reinforce children for:

Listening attentively;

- Using appropriate manners (e.g., saying “please,” “you are welcome,” and “thank you”);
- Moving and talking in a manner appropriate for the environment (e.g., using “library voices;” “walking feet”);
- Playing nicely;
- Completing tasks without reminders; and
- Calling or texting if they will be late.

Examples of rewards and positive reinforcements include:

- Complimenting a child’s behavior (e.g., “I really like the way you put all of your clothes away in your room”);
- Praising a child’s actions (e.g., “I am proud of how hard you studied for your spelling quiz.”);
- Giving additional privileges;
- Clapping or cheering;
- Thanking them for behaving a certain way (e.g., “Thank you very much for asking such a detailed question;” “I really appreciate you using your inside voice while we were at the museum.”);
- Making sure they overhear you telling someone else about their positive behavior;
- Smiling at them; and
- Giving tangible rewards (e.g., stickers, incentives).

In order for these methods to be effective, rewards or incentives must:

- be important or valuable to the child,
- occur immediately after the desired behavior, and
- consistently be implemented.

While this is a popular method that is often used in schools, a word of caution is important. Over rewarding children can become a problem if their only motivation to do something is to obtain a reward. Rewards can be both extrinsic and intrinsic. Extrinsic rewards are what is highlighted in this section - something that is outside of the child. Intrinsic rewards are those that motivate from within. Doing something because it is right for you and/or it feels good for you. There needs to be a balance so children do not become overly dependent on the extrinsic reward to shape their behavior.

Examples

Here is a common example of (unintentionally and positively) rewarding inappropriate behavior: An aunt provides candy to her nephew every time he throws a tantrum in the store because he wants candy at the checkout lane. The aunt reinforces the poor

behavior (e.g., a tantrum) by providing reinforcers (e.g., candy and attention) every time he throws a tantrum at the grocery store.

Here is an example of positively rewarding the same child to stop the tantrums: Now that this child throws a tantrum with his parents when they go to the grocery store, his parents provide their son with candy only when he does not throw a tantrum in the store. His parents reinforce the appropriate behavior (e.g., not throwing a tantrum) by providing reinforcers (e.g., candy and attention) every time they go to the grocery store and he refrains from throwing a tantrum.

Another way to help the child refrain from throwing a tantrum is to remind the child how we behave in the store. When you are in the store, letting them know that they are behaving appropriately by smiling at them to convey your approval creates a sense of acceptance from the caregiver to the child.

Structure (with Flexibility): Routines, Rules, Directions

Children (and most people of all ages) thrive in flexibly-structured environments. For children, the sense of knowing what to expect typically elicits feelings of safety and security. Caregivers can help children reduce feelings of chaos by providing flexible, but consistent:

- Routines,
- Rules, and
- Concrete, explicit directions with easy-to-understand expectations.

Rules and Routines

In order to maintain consistent routines (e.g., bedtimes, traditions) and rules (e.g., not eating food in certain areas of the house, curfews, wearing a helmet while riding a bicycle) it is important to facilitate and adhere to them as much as possible. Expectations should be developmentally-appropriate and communicated in a manner that can be easily understood.

For instance, perhaps family meals are at 6:30 p.m. because this is the time that everyone gets home from work and school activities. This expectation and all moderations should be communicated with all members on a daily basis but also remain flexible. Exceptions that may change a family mealtime might include attending a school-related activity or having a large family gathering every Sunday at 1:30 p.m.

Directions

Specific, warm, concrete, understandable directions and expectations can improve behaviors, prevent dangerous circumstances, reduce caregivers' frustrations, and foster children's learning of appropriate behaviors. It is most effective to tell children exactly what behaviors you desire.

Examples

- "Please use your walking feet while we are in the library," is more detailed than saying, "Stop that!"
- "We must hold hands in the parking lot to avoid getting hit by a car," instead of "Hey, come back here!" as the child runs through the parking lot.

Research shows that children's abilities to anticipate change, use appropriate behaviors, and develop independence are fostered by warm, safe, stable, nurturing, caring, compassionate caregiving on a consistent basis! This means that routines, rules, directions, expectations, and consequences should be responded to or applied every time in a nurturing, warm, consistent manner.

Key takeaways

- Providing a warm, close, nurturing, and openly-communicative environment with consistent routines, directions, and rules with reasonable flexibility are key for eliciting feelings of predictability and security.
- It is not too late to learn, teach, and reinforce these skills for caregivers and youth. However, it may take time and practice to elicit changes.

Time-ins and Time-outs

Time-ins are a positive child guidance strategy in which the caregiver stays with the child until they are both calm and can communicate about the issue at hand. When using a time-in the caregiver should stay with the child, and listen to the child and what they are feeling. Once the child has calmed down then the caregiver and child can discuss the child's behavior and what needs to be changed. Time-ins allow for children to not feel threatened and learn in a positive way. The caregiver and child are able to connect reducing power struggles since everyone's feelings and needs are considered.

A more common and somewhat opposite approach is the use of time-outs. Time-outs are a less positive approach and can be less effective compared to time-ins. Time-outs are where a child is left to sit alone somewhere away from the caregiver for a set amount of time. To learn about time-outs, such as how and when to use them, visit the cdc's parent essentials site.

Example

Both time-ins and time-outs are used to:

- stop undesirable behavior,
- help children learn better coping skills, and
- give parents and children a chance to calm down.

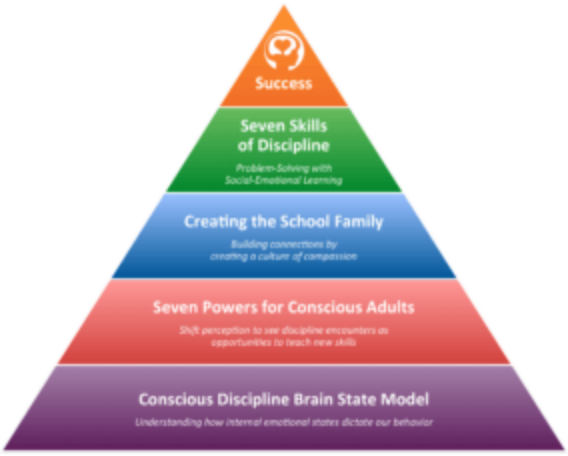
Key takeaways

- Threats and punishments (e.g., time-outs) are often less effective than positive parenting strategies (e.g., time-ins) for changing behaviors.
- Not all children respond well to time-outs.
- Time-ins can reduce power struggles and calm brains.

Parenting programs that offer guidance strategies for families

Conscious Discipline

Conscious Discipline is a comprehensive, evidence-based, trauma-informed approach. The founder Becky Bailey, has successfully implemented this program in many early learning environments throughout the nation as well as providing training opportunities for families. It is based on four components, which are scientifically and practically designed for success. Below is an infographic that illustrates those four components:



Brain State Model

The first component of conscious discipline empowers us to be conscious of brain-body states in ourselves and children. It then provides us with the practical skills we need to manage our thoughts, feeling and actions.

With this ability to self-regulate, we are then able to teach children to do the same. By doing this, we help children who are physically aggressive (survival state) or verbally aggressive (emotional state) become more integrated so they can learn and use problem-solving skills (executive state). When we understand the brain state model, we can clearly see the importance of building our homes, schools and businesses on the core principles of safety, connection and problem-solving.

- The only way to soothe the survival state if through the creation of safety.
- The only way to soothe an upset emotional state is through the creation of connection
- The executive state if the optimal state of problem-solving and learning.

In a survival state where we feel triggered by threat, these skills are flight, fight or surrender. We can't think clearly when a tiger is chasing us. In the modern world, the tiger may be a disrespectful child, but our brain's evolutionary skill set is the same: fight, flight or surrender.

Our emotional state is our response to upset – and can only be soothed through connection. An upset emotional state is triggered by the world not going our way. It limits our ability to see from another's point of view. This upset, unconscious state keeps us on autopilot so our words and tone match those of key authority figures from our childhood. We revert to disciplining the same ways we were disciplined, even if we know these behaviors to be ineffective or hurtful.

Executive State is the optimal state for problem-solving and learning. As we learn to regulate and integrate our internal state to be one of relaxed alertness, we are able access our own brilliance. We are empowered to change and make wise choices. An integrated executive state frees us from past conditioning, attunes us to the feelings and experiences of others, enables us to remain focused enough to set and achieve goals, and allows us to consciously respond instead of automatically react to life events.

Conscious Discipline empowers us to be conscious of brain-body states in ourselves and children. It then provides us with the practical skills we need to manage our thoughts, feeling and actions. With this ability to self-regulate, we are able to teach children to do the same. By doing this, we help children who are physically aggressive (survival state) or verbally aggressive (emotional state) become more integrated so they can learn and use problem-solving skills (executive state). When we understand the brain state model, we can clearly see the importance of building our homes, schools and businesses on the core principles of safety, connection and problem-solving.

As we move up the pyramid (refer to infographic) the second component is seven powers for conscious adults that are necessary in effectively and successfully helping to guide children's behavior.

The Seven Powers of Conscious Discipline

Powers	Big idea	Goal
Power of perception	No one can make you angry without your permission.	To teach adults and children to take responsibility for their own upset.
Power of unity	We are all in this together.	To perceive compassionately, and offer compassion to others and to ourselves.
Power of attention	Whatever we focus on, we get more of.	To create images of expected behavior in a child's brain.
Power of free will	The only person you can change is you.	Learning to connect and guide instead of force and coerce.
Power of acceptance	The moment is as it is.	To learn to respond to what life offers instead of attempting to make the world go our way.
Power of love	Choose to see the best in others.	Seeing the best in others keeps us in the higher centers of our brain so we can consciously respond instead of unconsciously react to life events.
Power of intention	Mistakes are opportunities to learn.	To teach a new skill rather than punishing others for lacking skills we think they should possess now.

The third component is essential in creating school family connections. We know that creating partnerships with families, build trust and mutual respect. We are a team working together with families to provide an environment that is supportive and empowering.

The school family is built on a healthy family model with the goal of optimal develop of all members. This includes:

Willingness to learn - without willingness, each interaction becomes a power struggle instead of a learning opportunity. The School Family brings all children and adults, especially the most difficult, to a place of willingness through a sense of belonging.

Impulse Control - connection with others wires the brain for impulse control. Disconnected children are disruptive and prone to aggressive, shutting down, or bullying behaviors. The School Family uses connection to encourage impulse control while teaching self-regulation skills in context.

Attention - our attentional system is sensitive to stress and becomes engaged with positive emotions. The School Family reduces stress while creating an atmosphere of caring, encouragement and meaningful contributions.

The last and fourth component are the seven skills of discipline. They include the following:

- Composure - anger management, delay of gratification
- Encouragement - prosocial skills, kindness, caring, helpfulness
- Assertiveness - bully prevention, healthy boundaries
- Choices - impulse control, goal achievement
- Empathy - emotional regulation, perspective taking
- Positive intent - cooperation, problem solving
- Consequences - learning from your mistakes

To find out more about this program you can visit the website where there is more information and resources regarding Conscious Discipline.

Love and Logic Parenting

Love and Logic Parenting was founded by Jim Fay and Foster Cline. They saw that families needed strategies to help deal with the problems their children were having. The principles in this program were formulated to help families to develop strategies that would bring the fun back into parenting. Over the years the program has been updated and this is the most current program developed in 2012.

The six techniques that are taught in the course:

- Putting an end to arguing, back talk, and begging
- Teaching responsibility without losing their love
- Setting limits without waging war
- Avoiding power-struggles
- Guiding kids to own and solve their problems
- Teaching kids to complete chores without reminders and without pay

This parenting program is usually taught in a cohort that involves 6 2-hour sessions. The workbook that comes with the program states the following.

Through this program, you will learn techniques that:

- Are simple and easy to learn.
- Teach responsibility and character.
- Lower your stress level.
- Have immediate and positive effects.
- Up the odds that you will enjoy livelong positive relationships with your kids and your grandchildren.

Active Parenting

Active parenting was founded in 1980 and was the first video-based parenting education program. The need for such an innovation in parenting education was based on two beliefs about parenting in our democratic society:

1. Parenting well is extremely important.
2. Parenting well is extremely difficult.

This training program is designed to teach a method of parenting and problem solving that will help families prepare children to courageously meet the challenges life poses. And it helps to build relationships that bring joy and satisfaction for a lifetime. The core beliefs of this parenting program is that parenting is the most important job you will ever do in our society. It is based on a six week training model where you will:

- Realize or recall mistakes you have made in the past in your own parenting. Everyone does and it is important to recognize those mistakes, but it is far more important to let go so that you can develop new strategies that will provide better outcomes for you and your children.
- Realize that you will make further mistakes as you learn new skills. Mistakes are a part of the learning process. When trying on new strategies, you are apt to make mistakes and there is no value in punishing yourself. The value comes in recognizing that you are not perfect and that you are open to learning and trying new strategies.

That six week training model includes the following content:

- the active parent
- winning cooperation
- responsibility and discipline
- understanding and redirecting behavior
- building courage, character, and self-esteem
- the active family now

Systematic Training for Effective Parenting (S.T.E.P.)

This parenting program was founded by a group of psychologists who believed that families needed support and strategies to create healthier ways of parenting. The philosophy of this parent program is to provide:

- a look at long-term goals of parenting
- information on how young children think, feel, and act
- skills that can increase your enjoyment and effectiveness as a parent
- skills that can develop your child's self-esteem and confidence
- support for yourself as a parent and as a person
- effective ways to teach cooperation and discipline

The course covers the following areas:

- Understanding young children - how they grow and develop
- Understanding young children's behavior
- Building self-esteem in the early years
- Learning and talking to young children
- Helping young children learn to cooperate
- Young children's social and emotional development

While this may seem like a comprehensive, exhaustive look at the varying parenting strategies, they are many more as well as more that keep surfacing. This shows us that effective parenting is an important aspect for both families and teachers who work with their children. It is important to note that parenting is based on many aspects and we need to be culturally responsive to other ways of parenting.

Recently, the Brazelton Touchpoints Center has created a program called: Parenting While Black. They offer many webinars with professionals on subjects that are relevant for raising black children. This program began in 2020 and since then they have had many webinars to support Black families in raising their Black children. Here are a few of the webinar titles:

- Standing in our Black Joy and Excellence with our Children, Families, and Communities
- Black Mental Health Matters: Being Black in White Spaces
- Elevating our Racial Identity: Flourishing in Blackness Across the Life Span
- Infertility, Fertility, and Birthing People: The Black Experience
- Thriving in the Midst: Grounding and Uplifting Our Babies, Children, Families, and Communities
- Literacy, Technology, and Art: Healing the Harm and Centering Our Joy in Raising Black Infants, Children and Youth

You can visit the Brazelton Touchpoints website for more information.

References

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Parenting the Love and Logic Way: Workbook, Charles Fay, PhD and Jim Fay, 2012

For more information about positive parenting strategies by ages and stages, visit the CDC website

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3.6: Child Abuse and Neglect

Types of Abuse

Child abuse takes many forms. Children can be physically or sexually assaulted, and they may also suffer from emotional abuse and neglect of many different forms. Whatever form it takes, child abuse is a serious problem. It is especially difficult to know how much child abuse occurs. Infants obviously cannot talk, and toddlers and older children who are abused usually do not tell anyone about the abuse. They might not define it as abuse, they might be scared to tell a trusted adult, they might blame themselves for being abused, or they might not know with whom they could talk about their abuse. Whatever the reason, children usually remain silent, thus making it very difficult to know how much abuse takes place. Up-to-date statistics on the different types of child abuse in the United States can be found at the U.S. Children's Bureau website.

Abuse can occur in multiple forms and across all family relationships. Breiding, Basile, Smith, Black, and Mahendra (2015) define the forms of abuse as:

- Physical abuse, the use of intentional physical force to cause harm. Scratching, pushing, shoving, throwing, grabbing, biting, choking, shaking, slapping, punching, and hitting are common forms of physical abuse;
- Sexual abuse, the act of forcing someone to participate in a sex act against the person's will. Such abuse is often referred to as sexual assault or rape.
- Psychological abuse, aggressive behavior that is intended to control someone else. Such abuse can include threats of physical or sexual abuse, manipulation, bullying, and stalking.

The most common form of child abuse is neglect. Child neglect is a deficit in meeting a child's basic needs, such as failure to provide adequate nutrition, supervision, health care, clothing, or housing, as well as other physical, emotional, social, educational, and safety needs. All societies have established necessary behaviors a caregiver must provide in order for a child to develop well within the domains of physical, social, and emotional development. Causes of neglect may result from caregivers experiencing problems associated with mental disorders, unplanned pregnancy, substance abuse, unemployment, over-employment, domestic violence, and, in special cases, poverty.
Child neglect depends on how a child and society perceives the caregivers' behaviors; it is not how parents or caregivers believe they are behaving toward their child. Caregiver's failure to provide for a child, when options are available, is different from failure to provide when options are not available. Poverty and lack of resources are often contributing factors that may prevent caregivers from meeting children's needs, when they otherwise would be able to meet those needs.

There are various types of child neglect which include:

- Physical neglect is the failure to provide a child with basic necessities of life such as adequate food, shelter, and clothing.
- Medical neglect is the failure of caregivers to meet a child's basic health care needs. Examples include not brushing teeth on a daily basis, not bathing a child, and/or taking children to doctor visits when needed.
- Emotional neglect is the failure to provide emotional support such as emotional security and encouragement (love, nurturance, etc.).
- Educational and developmental neglect include the failure to provide children with experiences necessary for normative growth and development. These may include failing to ensure children receive adequate education or experiences that help foster normative, developmental standards.
- Depending on the laws and child protective policies in one's area, leaving a young child unsupervised may be considered neglect, especially if doing so places the child in danger.

Child Abuse, Neglect and Foster Care

All types of abuse are complex issues, especially within families. There are many reasons people may become abusers, such as poverty, stress, and substance abuse are common characteristics shared by abusers, although abuse can happen in any family. Children who experience any type of abuse may "act out" or respond in a variety of unhealthful ways. This is the language that children use to communicate when they are hurting. These may include acts of self-destruction, withdrawal, and aggression, and struggles with depression, anxiety, and academic performance. Researchers have found that abused children's brains may

produce higher levels of stress hormones. These hormones can lead to decreased brain development, lower stress thresholds, suppressed immune responses, and lifelong difficulties with learning and memory. Abused children are much more likely than children who are not abused to end up with various developmental, psychological, and behavioral problems throughout their life course. In particular, they are more likely to be aggressive, to use alcohol and other drugs, to be anxious and depressed, and to get divorced if they marry.

Children who experience abuse or neglect are at risk of developing lifelong social, emotional, and health problems, particularly if neglected before the age of two years. This is consistent with what research tells us about Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs). However, it is important to note that not all children who experience abuse and neglect will have the same outcomes. As we learned, there are many ways in which we can foster stable, permanent, safe, secure, nurturing, loving care for children who have been associated with reduced effects of ACEs. It is extremely important to understand the ways in which child abuse and neglect can be prevented. For more information, visit the CDC Child Abuse and Neglect web page.

Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) are potentially traumatic events that occur in childhood *Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) | VitalSigns | CDC*. The video below provides an overview of ACEs and how we can prevent the impact.

YouTube Video

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this YouTube Video online

According to the Center for Disease Control and Prevention:

- ACEs can include violence, abuse, and growing up in a family with mental health or substance use problems.
- Toxic stress from ACEs can change brain development and affect how the body responds to stress.
- ACEs are linked to chronic health problems, mental illness, and substance misuse in adulthood.

These are experiences that have been identified as ACEs:

- Experiencing violence or abuse
- Witnessing violence in the home or community
- Having a family member attempt or die by suicide
- Also included are aspects of the child's environment that can undermine their sense of safety, stability, and bonding such as growing up in a household with:
  - Substance misuse
  - Mental health problems
  - Emotional abuse or neglect
  - Instability due to parental separation or household members being in jail or prison

Currently, we are seeing the impact of COVID-19 and Racial Injustice on children and their families. Consider how this societal trauma with the disruptions, isolations, and uncertainty may contribute to outcomes for children in the early years. This may be exacerbated by children who are already experiencing toxic stress in their homes, school, and community.

Corporal Punishment

Worldwide initiatives have recommended banning the use of corporal punishment with or in children of all ages. According to the Global Initiative to End all Corporal Punishment of Children, corporal punishment is defined as "any punishment in which physical force issued and intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however light".

Examples include shaking, kicking, forcing ingestion (e.g., soap, hot sauce), and "smacking," "slapping," or "spanking" with any object or a hand. Nonphysical forms of punishment (e.g., verbal and emotional abuse) include activities that are intended to cause

shame to a person such as humiliation, threats, ridicules, etc.
Vast amounts of research have consistently demonstrated strong correlations between youth who experienced harsh punishment (e.g., spanking) by their parents and increased risks of:

- changes in brain physiology that show on MRI studies,
- mental health disorders such as depression or anxiety,
- elevated cortisol levels,
- cognitive problems,
- aggressive behaviors,
- unhealthy caregiver-child relationships,
- suicide attempts,
- moderate-to-heavy drinking,
- substance use disorders,
- misconduct, and
- adverse outcomes that extend into adulthood.

Foster Care/Resource Families

In the United States and in some other countries, another way to immediately protect children from further abuse is to remove them from their primary caregivers and place them into foster care or with family members. Foster care is a system in which a minor is placed into a group home (residential child care community, treatment center, etc.), or private home of a state-certified caregiver, referred to as a “foster parent,” "resource family," or with a family member approved by the state. The placement of the child is normally arranged through the government or a social service agency. The institution, group home, or foster parent is typically compensated for expenses unless the child is placed with a family member.

In the United States, on any given day, there are more than 400,000 youth living in foster care (out-of-home care) primarily due to abuse and/or neglect. And, more than 100,000 of these youth are waiting to be adopted from foster care. This means that these parents have lost permanent legal rights and custody of their children, leaving their children without any permanently legal caregivers (the government assumes this responsibility until someone adopts the children). The average age of youth waiting to be adopted from foster care is eight years old. This is one way that a child may be adopted into a permanent family.

Adoption

Adoption of children is one of many ways in which families are formed. Adoption, the legal transfer of parental rights of a child to another person, can occur in many ways and elicit a wide variety of family types. In the United States, statistics for the total number of all types of adoptions are not compiled on a regular basis and statistics are not at all compiled for some adoption types. Adoption statistics and estimates are based on U.S. Census data and other sources. It is estimated that approximately 2-4% of all Americans are adopted.

As we learned previously, more than 100,000 youth (with an average age of 8 years) are waiting to be adopted from foster care. But, a majority of individuals wish to adopt an infant. According to research, millions of American women have expressed a desire to adopt an infant and tens of thousands of families are waiting to adopt an infant.
However, it is also estimated that fewer than 20,000 babies are voluntarily placed for adoption each year in the United States. Certainly, there are thousands fewer infants placed for adoption than families waiting to adopt an infant. Research has shown that placing a baby for adoption can serve as a preventive option of child abuse and neglect for individuals who are not ready to parent, able to parent, or willing to parent.

Thus, it is a best-practice approach that individuals experiencing unplanned or unwanted pregnancies be provided the most accurate information concerning their options for parenting, adoption, the processes associated with all options, etc.

In the U.S., it is common for birth parents to choose their baby’s adoptive parents, and in some cases, adoptive and birth family members are able to maintain some contact with each other. It is important to note that infants who are voluntarily placed are typically taken home immediately from the birthing location by their adopting family. In conclusion, fewer children may end up in foster care if their parents were advised of their options for adoption and parenting. To learn how to educate parents about the option of placing their baby for adoption.

Types of Adoptive Families

There are numerous adoptive family types. Below is a brief definition of each family type.

- Infant/newborn/domestic: A child who is born in a country and who is adopted shortly after birth (within the same country).
- Transnational/Intercountry/International: A child who is born in one country and is adopted by a family who lives in another country. Often, the child is orphaned. For statistics and information about intercountry adoptions visit this website.
- Kin: Children adopted by a relative such as an aunt, uncle, sister, brother, grandparent, or other relative.
- Foster care: Children who are no longer able to be cared for by their primary caregiver(s) who are adopted by another family member.
- Stepparent: Children adopted by one parent's spouse; the spouse agrees to take full responsibility for the child.
- The following forms of adoption are a result of assisted reproductive technology (methods that utilize medical technology to achieve conception and birth). In most U.S. states, these forms require the legal transfer of parental rights to another parent(s).
- Embryo: Families can adopt an embryo produced from the sperm and egg of one couple. Clinics and agencies help match donating families and recipient/adopting families.
- Surrogacy: A surrogate mother carries a fertilized egg in utero. After the birth of the child, the intended parent(s) adopt(s) the child.

Below are some of the more commonly-used terms associated with adoption and the legal process.

- Adoption Triad: Birth parents, adoptive parents, and the adopted child(ren).
- Disrupted Adoption: An adoption agreement that ends before finalization.
- Dissolution of Adoption: An adoption that ends after finalization.
- Interstate Compact on the Placement of Children: A law that requires written notice and prior approval of the placement of a child for adoption or foster care from one state with a family in another state.
- Kinship care: The full-time nurturing of a child by someone related to the child by family ties or by prior relationship connection (fictive kin).
- Reunification: The returning of foster children to the custody of their parent(s) after placement outside the home.
- Relinquishment/Termination of Parental Rights: The legal step necessary for parents to voluntarily or involuntarily have their parental rights terminated to allow their child to be adopted by adoptive parents; sometimes referred to as a surrender or as making an adoption plan for one's child.
- Special Needs: Children with physical, behavioral, or mental impairments, children with siblings in need of adoption, and at-risk children.
- Before and after the legal transfer of parental rights, families can decide how they may stay in contact after the child is no longer a legal member of the birth family. This decision is referred to as "levels of openness" or "degrees of contact."

Levels of Openness/Degrees of Contact

Non-identifying information: Information that allows the members of the adoption triad to know about each other, but without identifying information. First names, physical descriptions, occupation, education, personality characteristics, hobbies, interests, religious affiliation, and medical information are examples of non-identifying information.

Semi-open adoption: An adoption in which a child's birth parents and adoptive parents may exchange primarily non-identifying information. After the child is placed in the adoptive home, contact with the birth family may involve letters or pictures or other communications sent through the intermediary of the adoption agency or the attorney who assisted in the placement.

Closed adoption: An adoption that involves total confidentiality and sealed records; contact does not exist between any members of either family.
Identifying information: Information concerning birth parents which discloses their identities.

Open adoption: An adoption that involves some amount of initial and/or ongoing contact between birth and adoptive families, ranging from sending letters through the agency, to exchanging names, and/or scheduling visits.

Terminology
Using accurate adoption language can stop the spread of adoption-related misconceptions and educate others about adoption. For instance, the phrase "choosing to place your child for adoption" has a much more positive connotation than "giving up your

baby." "Choosing to place your child for adoption" focuses on the fact that parents most likely considered options and chose the option they felt was best for the child. It is important to use appropriate terms so that accurate language may someday be the norm.

Accurate and Inaccurate Adoption Terminology

Accurate language	Inaccurate language
Birthparent, first parent	Real parent, natural parent
My child	Adopted child
Choosing an adoption plan	Giving away/giving up your child
Finding a family to parent the child	Keeping your baby
To parent	To keep
Child in need of a family/parent	Adoptable child; Available child
Internation or intercountry adoption	Foreign adoption
Child who has special needs	Handicapped child, hard to place
Child from another country	Foreign child
Was adopted	Is adopted

References:

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Center for Disease Control

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3.7: Mandated Reporting

Legal and Ethical Responsibilities of a Mandated Reporter

Legal responsibilities

As an early learning professional in the state of California, you are a mandated reporter. As such you are required to report any known or suspected instances of child abuse or neglect to the county child welfare department or to a local law enforcement agency (local police/sheriffs' department). Understanding abuse is something that early learning professionals are required to have knowledge about. There is a required course that all early learning professionals must take in order to work with children and families.

This website Mandated Reporter Training offers the training needed for no cost. This training provides early learning professionals with the information they need to be understand their role and the actions they must take as a mandated reporter. The training for early learning professionals takes about 3 hours. After you have completed the training, you will earn a certificate to provide to your employer.

Many professionals who work directly or indirectly with children are mandated reporters. That includes:

- School personnel
- Child care providers (early learning professionals)
- Mental and social health providers
- Law enforcement
- Clergy
- Other professionals
- Volunteers

Each profession has training that provides what they need to know in order to ensure that they are doing their job as a mandated reporter.

Child Care Providers

Child care providers have unique opportunities to notice signs of child abuse or neglect. Your caregiving duties allow you to pay attention to children’s progress and development, and regular contact with children can reveal changes in appearance and behavior that indicate abuse. You may have infants in your care who cannot speak for themselves and are completely reliable on caregivers to protect them.

As a child care provider, you may be the only person outside of the family with whom a child has significant contact. You may be the one trusted adult to whom a child confides in about abuse and the only person who is in a position to help a child. It’s critical that you know how to recognize the signs and what to do when abuse is suspected.

- Licensee of a licensed community care facility
- Administrator of a licensed community care facility
- Employee of a licensed community care facility
- Licensee of a licensed child day care facility
- Administrator of a licensed child day care facility
- Employee of a licensed child day care facility

School Personnel

School personnel play a key role in identifying and helping abused children. Children spend the majority of their day in school, where you have regular contact and the ability to observe changes in appearance and behavior that others may not notice.

School personnel are often seen as positive role models and may be a source of support and care for many children; you may be the one trusted adult to whom a child confides in about abuse. It's critical that you know how to recognize the signs and report suspected abuse.

- Teacher
- Instructional aide
- Teacher's aide or teacher's assistant
- Classified employee of any public school
- Administrative Officer or supervisor of child welfare and attendance, or a certified pupil personnel employee
- Administrator of a public or private day camp
- Administrator or employee of a public or private youth center, youth recreation program or youth organization
- Administrator or employee of a public or private children's organization
- Employee of a county office of education or the California Department of Education, whose duties bring the employee into contact with children on a regular basis
- Head start teacher
- Licensing worker or licensing evaluator employed by a licensing agency
- Employee of a school district police or security department
- Any person who is an administrator or presenter of, or a counselor, in a child abuse prevention program in any public or private school
- District attorney investigator, inspector or family support officer
- Special education teachers, and staff.
- An athletic coach, athletic administrator, or athletic director employed by any public or private school that provides any combination of instruction for kindergarten or grades 1 to 12
- Any other employees and persons working on the behalf of school districts, county offices of education, state special schools and diagnostic centers operated by the State Department of Education, and charter schools who are mandated reporters, as defined in Section 11165.7 of the Penal Code

To report child abuse, you can contact the Children's Department of Social Services Mandated Reporting website.

Ethical responsibilities

As an early learning professional, there is guidance given from National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC). NAEYC has developed many position statements that guide our responsibility to the children and families we serve. The NAEYC Code of Ethical Conduct and Statement of Commitment is a document that outlines our ethical responsibilities to:

- to children
- to families
- to colleagues
- to community and society

The code is divided into principles and ideals. The primary principle we must adhere to is:

P-1.1—Above all, we shall not harm children. We shall not participate in practices that are emotionally damaging, physically harmful, disrespectful, degrading, dangerous, exploitative, or intimidating to children. This principle has precedence over all others in this Code.

As early learning professionals, you must be aware of your ethical responsibilities as you are trained to know how to best support children and their families in early learning environments.

References:

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Code of Ethical Conduct and Statement of Commitment: Washington, D.C.: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 2011

Children's Department of Social Services

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4: COMMUNITY

Learning Objectives

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

- Define a community and it's functions.
- Describe some of the theories that have studied the impact of a community on a child's development.
- Describe how a community influences socialization including social, emotional and physical development.
- List the types of organizations and agencies that can be found in communities.
- Describe the types of communities
- Describe how racism has and continues to impact communities today.

Community as a Socialization Agent

As we have seen, a child is socialized within the context of a family and culture. A child is also socialized within a community. The community a child grows up in can influence a child in their access to resources, their access to education, their access to health and wellness and their access to kinship. It is an identifier. Where are you from? One of the questions we might get asked if someone is getting to know us. The answer can give a lot of context to who we are as individuals. Did we grow up in the city or in a farming town? Was it a on the West Coast of the United States or in the bustling city of Hong Kong? The community a child grows up in contributes to the socialization of a child and has profound impacts on their development as we will see in this chapter.

4.1: What is Community?

4.2: Neighborhoods

4.3: Community Organizations and Services

4.4: Type of Communities

4.5: Racism

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4.1: What is Community?

Community:

A Community is a socialization agent, because children learn the expectations of adults and will model those around them within the community. Within communities, children are given the opportunity to build relationships that support their social, emotional, and physical development and can help them to succeed in life. But not all communities are created equal. In this chapter we will; learn what a community is, what some of the benefits and drawbacks of certain communities are and how the community plays a role in the child's development.



Figure 4.1.1 "Oak Terrace Preserve's Walkable Neighborhoods" by North Charleston is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0

What is a community?

The term "community" is used in several ways, but a common definition is the concept of belongingness (Solomon, Watson, Battistitch, Schaps, & Delucci, 1996). Further, Furman (1998) states that a community is not established until its members feel a sense of belonging, community members trust each other, and feel safe (Osterman, 2000). Community can be used to describe a territorial or geographical entity or community can be relational, describing the nature of human relationships (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). In the context of child development, we can define community narrowly (a classroom community) or broadly (a city or state). Communities can be large or small. They can be vibrant or static. They can be a positive force or a negative force. Communities are ever changing because the people change. But some aspects of community never change.

A community serves both as a place for the individual and family as well as for the larger group. It can be a place for small groups or family only groups to congregate or it can be a place for the larger community to band together. This sense of community can be found most often in times of stress and disasters. When the Campfire happened in Butte County in 2018 in which over 150,000 acres burned and 85 people lost their lives, (Calfire, 2019) people came to help in droves. A community struck by devastation donated food, shelter and time. Not only did the small mountain community help, but so did many around the country.

YouTube Video

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In Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, he identified communities in the mesosystem; how communities interacted with families and peers and schools. He also identified communities in the exosystem as the history and values and economic condition of a community. And as we'll learn a little later on, it can also be found in the Macrosystem due to the political ideologies of the community and the services available to those that live there.

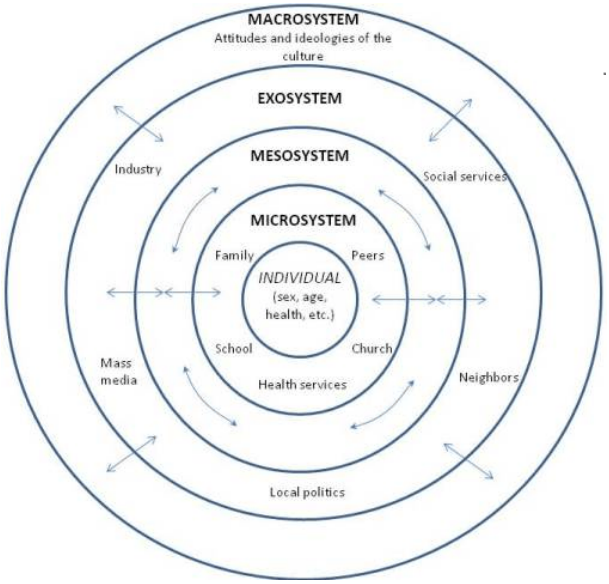


Figure 4.1.2: Bioecological Model of Human Development Source: Visual adaptation of Bronfenbrenner's bioecological model of child development (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Note: SES = socioeconomic status.

There are other theories and theorists that have studied the way neighborhoods and communities have affected children's development. Some of the other theories we will take a look at are:

- Stress Theory, which identifies the danger of exposure to physical toxins such as lead in the soil and paint as well as neighborhood violence on children's development.
- Social Organizational Theory which is characterized as the strength of local institutions and the amount of willingness of the community to become involved on behalf of the common good.
- Institutional Model Theory which holds that the resources of the community rather than the neighbors make the most difference.

How might the community or neighborhood a child lives in, contribute to their socialization? Let's look at the types of neighborhoods children live in, as well as what each has to offer. The political climate of an area, transportation, pollution, cultural opportunities, social services, all go into contributing to the lives and socialization of children. We will also brainstorm resources that neighborhoods have to offer families living in them.

References:

Osterman, K. F. (2000). Students' need for belonging in the school community. *Review of educational research*, *70*(3), 323-367.

Solomon, D., Watson, M., Battistich, V., Schaps, E., & Delucchi, K. (1996). Creating classrooms that students experience as communities. American Journal of Community Psychology, 24(6), 719-748.

"Camp Fire". fire.ca.gov. CAL FIRE. November 15, 2019. Archived from the original on September 8, 2020. Retrieved February 2,2022.

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4.2: Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods

When asked, over 50% of people describe their living situation as in the suburbs, according to the US Census Bureau. The suburbs was originally a subset up of urban areas, but has become where the majority of families live. The suburbs are generally where housing communities are set up and is typically more dense than rural areas, but less dense than urban areas. Urban areas are cities with a higher population and is a mixture of housing and business. In 2017, Pew Research studied the changing demographics of where more of the population is residing. What they found is that rural communities are shrinking and suburban areas are increasing. They also found that they are changing ethnically as well, with the majority of urban dwellers being non-Hispanic

According to the Census Bureau, 11.6 million children 16% of all kids nationwide were living in poverty in 2020. The data also reveal that poverty rates remain disproportionately high for children of color. Nationwide, Black (28%), American Indian (25%) and Latino (23%) children are more likely to grow up poor when compared to their non-Hispanic white (10%) and Asian and Pacific Islander (9%) peers.

High-poverty urban settings has increased in the United States and the the amount of poor urban families living in high-poverty neighborhoods has increased exponentially.

Additional Theories

Stress theory looks at how air and land pollution in neighborhoods can cause stress on families and children. Exposure to lead, smog, bad water and high levels of toxins are all environmental stressors and can play a part in environmental racism. Let's look at the Flint water crisis. As of the writing of this book, the water in Flint Michigan is still undrinkable and the majority of the city residents are standing in long lines to get their weekly ration of bottled water. In 2014 the water was contaminated with lead and while some inroads have been made to clean up the mess, it is still a crisis. The Michigan Civil Rights Commission set out to determine if this was an environmental justice issue and this is what they said, "The Commission believes that we have answered our initial question, “was race a factor in the Flint Water Crisis?” Our answer is an unreserved and undeniable -- “yes.” We do not base our finding on any particular event. It is based on a plethora of events and policies that so racialized the structure of public policy that it systemically produced racially disparate outcomes adversely affecting a community primarily made up of people of color."



Figure 4.2.1:"Flint Water Response Team" by Michigan Emergency Management & Homeland Security is licensed under CC BY-ND

Neighborhoods can be places where families can gather together and commune. Some neighborhoods have strong community bonds and you can see that in the activities offered, in their resources and how they gather. In Social Organizational Theory, social integration and participation is key to having better outcomes for children. Like the African proverb, "it takes a village to raise a child" in Social Organizational Theory, neighborhoods with similar values will raise the alarm and monitor for dangers to children. Contact among families may lead them to share ways of dealing with behavior problems with their own children, getting advice, encouraging children's skills, connecting to community resources and organizing neighborhood activities (Klebanov et al., 1997). This can happen in rural, suburban as well as urban neighborhoods. In this theory, it is the people coming together to make the change for children.

In Institutional models, the importance of neighborhood wellness is placed on the resources; parks, libraries, children's programs and activities. The more affluent areas, the richer the experiences offered. And of course, the safer the neighborhoods, or the perceived level of safety, the more willingness parents are to take advantage of these resources. This is of critical importance as children get older and are adolescents; but can also play a big role in early childhood as well. Interactions between children and preschools, religious communities, child care, libraries, health care systems, public transportation, and other playmates have an impact on children and children's development as well.

This video (5:48) shows the Bioecological Model by Urie Bronfenbrenner. Pay attention to how the environment and the opportunities around a child can help or hinder a child.

YouTube Video

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Reflection

How were the physical resources in your neighborhood growing up? Were you able to play in the parks and walk around your neighborhoods while feeling safe?

Parks and Recreation

Green space and parks are sometimes hard to find, unsafe and difficult to access. In rural areas, they can be far and without transportation, near impossible to access. In urban and suburban areas, they may be unsafe or not well maintained. We also have some of the most beautiful and adventurous parks. One of our most famous parks was established in 1853. Central Park in New York City is 843 acres of land preserved for the purpose of recreation and relief from urban conditions. Many other large cities followed New York's example and in the early 1900's the people put pressure on the government to create and maintain our city parks (Rivkin, 1995). This was because by this time, many cities had grown larger and there was less play space for children. In 1906, the Playground and Recreation Association of America was created, which now goes by the name; The National Recreation Association.



Figure 4.2.3: "Central Park" by kevin dooley is licensed under CC BY-SA 2.0

Figure 4.2.4: "Riverfront Park" by North Charleston is licensed under CC BY 2.0

Adventure Playgrounds are spaces that are open, with real materials such as tools, paint, wood, metal, recyclables and anything else that sparks the imagination of the children that use them to create and play with. There is no direct adult direction, only support. There can be a lot of risk taking as well in some of these playgrounds. There are currently only a handful of these playgrounds in the United States.

YouTube Video

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Check In

Look on the Internet where the nearest Adventure Playground is to you. What is different about it than other parks?

References:

Klebanov, P.K.,J. Brooks-Gunn, and G.J.Duncan 1994 Does neighborhood and family poverty affect mothers' parenting, mental health, and social support? *Journal of Marriage, and the Family* 56(2):441-455

Rivkin, M.S. (1995). *The great outdoors: Restoring children's right to play outside.* Washington, DC: National Association for the Education of Young Children

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4.3: Community Organizations and Services

Types of Community Organizations and Agencies:

There are many types of organizations we can find in communities from religious, cultural, public, private, or government that can provide help to families in many different ways. Some of these might be businesses offering services for a fee or sliding scale. They might be medical services to keep children healthy or they might be educational opportunities for a child to gain experiences from and learn. These community organizations and agencies are socialization agents and can help children understand the world around them, how it works, and how they interact within that space. Some of these experiences are formal learning experiences and others are learned informally, by watching what is going on around them.

Businesses

In any urban and some suburban and rural areas, you will find many types of businesses. There are large corporations in some areas of town, and small family run businesses. One of the ways that children learn about money and finances is to see the adults in their lives spending it. How they spend it, what they spend it on and where they spend it are all lessons they are learning. The adults are also interacting with shopkeepers, and waiters, bank teller and cashiers. Children from a very young age are watching the interactions between these very important people in their life and these people within these businesses. The adults are *modeling* behavior and ways of interacting with others that are outside of their family and school setting. Businesses are a great educational resource for children as well. Whether it is learning about produce at the grocery store or counting out change at the bank, or ordering food from a menu at a restaurant or learning how manufacturing works in a factory, there are many ways that children can learn from the businesses around them. These experiences provide an opportunity for young people to learn about social relationships and emotions through education and exploration.

Reflection

What businesses are around your school that you can partner with for an educational experience for the children in your class? What would the children learn from the experience?

Social Organizations

Many social and cultural experiences exist for children as well and can provide a rich curriculum and foster a love of the arts. But there is a gap in opportunity when not all families have equal access to these cultural and social events. Some events, such as street fairs and parades, may be free. Some museums, theaters, or cultural centers may offer free or reduced priced days for those that can't afford it. Many of these museums offer hands on activities for children and educational programs. One of the most accessible, free and educational resources for children are libraries. According to the American Library Association, there are an estimated 116,867 libraries of all kinds in the United States today. Libraries are one of our best resources. The purpose of a library is to provide free access to books and other cultural materials, but they are so much more. They are a meeting place in the event of a disaster. They are a place to hold community events. It is a social gathering place and provide space and companionship for seniors and parents and guardians of young children. There are story times for young children often with crafts and a lesson. Many times mothers or fathers are able to meet other parents and it can become a social experience as well as childcare. It can also help instill a love of learning and begin the child on their literacy journey, which hopefully continues through life.

“Google can bring you back 100,000 answers. A librarian can bring you back the right one.” Neil Gaiman, Author

Religious organizations offer services and often times youth groups and camps and can also be a vital part of a community. Churches are another gathering place in times of disaster and many open their doors to those in need often with food or shelter or other support.

Note

In August 2017, Hurricane Harvey devastated parts of Texas including Houston, with record flooding and families in crisis. The Islamic Society of Greater Houston which provides religious and social services to all Muslims but who live their vision by providing a social services unit to any in need, opened their mosques to any Houston residents that had been flooded out of their homes. “There’s no religion, there’s no color,” one of the volunteers said of the tragedy. “We are open to help everyone and anyone. When disaster strikes, we have to jump on this immediately.” One Islamic center set up a 24-hour hotline to help with medical emergencies.



Figure 4.3.1: Hurricane Harvey flooding in Port Arthur, Texas, August; via NARA & DVIDS Public Domain Archive

Community clubs are another way that children can informally learn. They could be clubs for adults that children are welcome or they could be specifically for children. For adults there are car clubs and exercise clubs and hobby clubs and social and religious clubs. For children there can be Girl or Boy Scouts, theater clubs, team clubs, sport clubs, all types of clubs for the social, physical and emotional development of children. The boys and Girls club of America is another club, which helps kids and does not need parental support in the way of money or transportation. It is a way for a child to connect with a big brother or big sister mentor to guide them through life's challenges to be a successful and productive member of society. But as Lareau (2011) states in her book Unequal Childhoods, a family's social class determines how much children will participate in community opportunities, as a lot of these are fee based and require transportation and time away from work or commitments for parents.

Transportation

Each community offers different types of transportation, whether they are private or public. Some urban and suburban areas offer private transportation services such as airplanes, taxis or ride shares, but there are also city transportation services such as buses, trains and subways. Transportation is not limited to vehicles, but also to bikes, scooters, wheelchairs and our feet. The safety and amount of bike paths available, as well as the proximity of services makes it easier to get around a community. Transportation can be limited and difficult in rural areas of the country, while it can be dangerous for children in some urban areas. All of these transportation services can be educational opportunities for children.

Social Service Agencies

Part of Bronfenbrenner's *Macrosystem* is the political ideology of the community, and the larger country, which creates policies and determines which services are worthy of support. For example, Head Start was started under President Lyndon Johnson, but although the country has not been able to pass federal legislation for Preschool for all children, several states such as Georgia and New York have. We have a wide variety of social service programs that are either government funded, privately funded or funded through a non-profit.

Some of these programs are:

- YMCA**:** A non-profit committed to strengthening community by empowering young people, improving the health and well-being of people of all ages and inspiring action in and across communities.
- Catholic Charities: A religious organization that is called to provide service to people in need, to advocate for justice in social structures, and to call the entire church and other people of goodwill to do the same.
- WIC: The Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) provides federal grants to states for supplemental foods, health care referrals, and nutrition education for low-income pregnant, breastfeeding, and non-breastfeeding postpartum women, and to infants and children up to age 5 who are found to be at nutritional risk.
- Family Service Agencies: These services are broad and can offer help in:
  - Early Childhood and Child Care Services.
  - Education Services.
  - Health Services.
  - Housing Services.
  - Respite Care Programs.
  - Services to Children and Youth With Disabilities.

They are also a referral agency and can refer families to the help they need.

- Child Welfare: The purpose of child welfare is to protect children from abuse, neglect, abandonment or delinquency. Traditionally children are only removed from the home in extreme cases but *Foster Care, Kinship Care and Adoption* are also social service programs for children in abusive situations. In cases of delinquency the child may stay with the family or they may be placed in juvenile detention or an institution.
- TANF: Temporary Assistance for Needy Families is a federal government program that offers assistance with shelter, food, jobs and cash assistance to help people with children to get on their feet. Each state uses the program differently.
- Regional Centers: Regional centers oversee the coordination and delivery of services for those with developmental disabilities. They are part of the department of social services and provide assessments, determine eligibility for services, and offer case management services. Regional centers also develop, purchase, and coordinate the services in each person's *Individual Program Plan*.

There are many more social service programs and they vary from community to community, but they often do not always meet the needs of those in the community. Like previously stated, the people in power decide what is worthy of support. Unlike other wealthy nations, the United States lacks federally mandated supports for family life in areas such as adequate parental leave and child sick leave, universal health care coverage and affordable quality child care (Cruse, Hegewisch, &Gault, 2016). Resources vary significantly state to state and community to community due to local and state government political ideology.

Reflection:

What resources do you have in your area? If a family came to you looking for a resource would you know what resources are available to them?

References:

Lareau, A. (2011). Unequal Childhoods: Class, race and family life (2nd ed). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.Cruse, L.R., Hegewisch, A., & Gault, B. (2016). The need for support for working families

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4.4: Type of Communities

Neighborhoods and the Unhoused

Not all communities are created equal. The educational opportunities, the outcomes, the ability to earn a living wage, the air, noise, chemical and garbage pollution, the ability to get together and socialize, all of these and more will impact a child and their socialization. Let's look at some neighborhoods you can find in the United States and how the experiences the children will have will differ

Neighborhoods

Moorpark: The neighborhood of Moorpark has the town square in the center where every Friday night during the summer months there is a Farmers Market where the local farmers can sell their fruits and vegetables and people can dance. There is a bingo hall that is crowded and the place to be on Wednesdays and Saturdays. There are two churches in town and most everyone attends one of them. If someone is sick or has a baby or a death in the family it's announced there and the town sets up a dinner train where they bring dinner to the family for a month. The school is in good condition and many of the mothers don't work so they are able to volunteer in the classrooms and donate supplies and their time. They get together in the spring to plant flowers and the school vegetable patch. There are a few clubs and church social events for the children and teens in the community and everyone knows everyone.

Piedmont: Right on the edge of the train tracks is a neighborhood that has small houses and apartments that have been there for 50 years. Many of them have tarps covering the roofs to keep the rain out and you can often see children playing in the dirt outside and near the tracks with sticks and bricks. There is a river nearby where many of the older children fish for their families dinner that night. Both parents are working and the kids are left alone after school to take care of themselves and get dinner on the table. The school has not received adequate funding since opening so there is no air conditioning, and the books are several years old and falling apart. Not many teachers want to teach there due to the lack of resources. There is a heavy police presence and a high percentage of domestic violence. There isn't much to do during the weekends except work or catch up on chores.

Glenntown: The houses are mansions set on beautifully manicured lots with a clubhouse and golf course as the neighborhood hang out. Most families are two parents with either both parents working high paying jobs or the mother staying at home. The schools are rated the best in the state and there is a private school that many of the parents use instead of the public school. Most children are enrolled in a variety of clubs and after school sports. There has been crime, but restitution not jail time has been the punishment. The neighborhood puts out a weekly newsletter and in the spring the announcements of college acceptances are listed with most being Ivy Leagues.

Levenson: There are apartments, businesses and skyscrapers as far as you can see in Levenson. The main form of transportation is the subway and you need to walk fast if you are walking the streets. It's not safe for children to be by themselves in the neighborhood so any playtime is structured and set up with other families. The school is underfunded, but it's the only green space the children have unless the parents can take them to the park several subway stops away on the weekends. There is a mix of families and income levels. There are pockets of high crime and gang activity, and other parts of people trying to make it day to day. Most people stay to themselves and don't interact with others in their community.

All of these examples show how a neighborhood setting can influence mobility, social experiences, play, education, crime, and exposure to experiences. The sizes of the community, the diversity of the community and the relationships we build within communities are all part of the child's socialization and will differ greatly when they come from different communities.

Unhoused

The unhoused or homelessness is a complex social problem, and the characteristics of homelessness vary geographically (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009). Homelessness has increased dramatically in the Global North since the 1970s especially among the most vulnerable populations (Takahashi, 1996).

Homelessness, or the threat of homelessness, is not just people living or sleeping on the street. Sometimes homelessness is not visible, but it still exists where people are living in abandoned buildings, living in tenements, using emergency shelters, using

family or friends as places to stay or even “couch surfing.” The line between being housed and being homeless is often not clear, as people can find themselves in a cycle of moving between temporary “homes” (e.g., staying with family or friends) and shelters for the homeless. As well, many people live in housing that does not meet health and safety standards (e.g., the presence of mold; inadequate electrical or heating systems). All of these living situations put people at risk of poor physical, mental and emotional health.

Homelessness is usually publicly stigmatized, and government policies that affect homeless people and their rights and access to public space are often harsh (Mitchell, 2003).

The Causes of Homelessness

Homelessness is an outcome of the complex interplay of structural factors, systemic failures and individual circumstances (Gaetz, Donaldson, Richter, & Gulliver, 2013):

1. Structural factors are where the cost of living has increased but without an adequate increase in income, particularly for those in the lower income brackets or those on social assistance.
2. Systemic failures occur when people fall between the cracks of a country’s systems of care. For example, when people are discharged from hospitals or correctional facilities into emergency shelters or when youth transition out of the child welfare system.
3. Personal circumstances may come into play when individuals and families experience catastrophic events such as job loss, illness or a house fire. Traumatic events or health problems can add to the risk of becoming homeless when housing or income is in short supply.
4. Family violence and conflict, particularly for women, children and youth, may push individuals to flee their homes in order to protect themselves.

Note

People Making a Difference

Feeding “Motel Kids” Near Disneyland

Just blocks from Disneyland in Anaheim, California, more than 1,000 families live in cheap motels frequently used by drug dealers and prostitutes. Because they cannot afford the deposit for an apartment, the motels are their only alternative to homelessness. As Bruno Serato, a local Italian restaurant owner, observed, “Some people are stuck, they have no money. They need to live in that room. They’ve lost everything they have. They have no other choice. No choice.”

Serato learned about these families back in 2005, when he saw a boy at the local Boys & Girls Club eating a bag of potato chips as his only food for dinner. He was told that the boy lived with his family in a motel and that the Boys & Girls Club had a “motel kids” program that drove children in vans after school to their motels. Although the children got free breakfast and lunch at school, they often went hungry at night. Serato soon began serving pasta dinners to some seventy children at the club every evening, a number that had grown by spring 2011 to almost three hundred children nightly. Serato also pays to have the children transported to the club for their dinners, and he estimates that the food and transportation cost him about $2,000 monthly. His program had served more than 300,000 pasta dinners to motel kids by 2011.

Two of the children who eat Serato’s pasta are Carlos and Anthony Gomez, 12, who live in a motel room with the other members of their family. Their father was grateful for the pasta: “I no longer worry as much, about them [coming home] and there being no food. I know that they eat over there at [the] Boys & Girls Club.”

Bruno Serato is merely happy to be helping out. “They’re customers,” he explains. “My favorite customers” (Toner, 2011).

For more information about Bruno Serato’s efforts, visit his charity site at Caterina's Club.

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4.5: Racism

Racism in Communities

If we can determine that low funded schools, pollution, crime, community resources, toxins and poverty can have a negative effective on a child's development we can easily draw the conclusion that there are negative outcomes for children that grow up in these low income urban neighborhoods. The data also shows that the majority of these children are Black, Brown and Indigenous children (Shrider, Kollar, Chen, & Semega, 2021). This is not a mistake, it is an example of systemic racism. This is from years of racism and white supremacy that is still happening today. **Jim Crow laws** were laws put into place in the late 1800s until mid 1900s that segregated Black people from white people. They also prevented Black people from voting by enacting a poll tax or requiring a test before voting. If you can't vote, you can't vote for your interests or vote to better your situation.

Redlining is another example of systemic racism. This was the practice of outlining areas with sizable Black populations in red ink on maps as a warning to mortgage lenders, effectively isolating Black people in areas that would suffer lower levels of investment than their white counterparts. But redlining hasn't stopped. There is significantly greater economic inequality in cities where more of the high-risk or “hazardous” areas are currently minority neighborhoods.

Currently in California and many other states, schools are funded in large part by property taxes. What does that mean for schools in neighborhoods that have a lower socioeconomic status and lower median property value? Some states like California, New York, Texas and Illinois tax wealthier businesses more heavily and redistribute those dollars into lower-income school districts to help spread out the funding more evenly. Even in those states the wealthier school districts have families that can fundraise or donate more money to the schools for better opportunities for the students.

As home ownership is the traditional, tried and true key to accessing wealth in the U.S., it becomes easier to understand the web of institutional racism. Where we live generally determines where our children attend school. The quality of schooling we receive impacts our potential for higher education, our entrance into the job market, and quite possible our interactions with police and the criminal justice system. Additionally, the type of job we work generally determines the type of health care we receive or do not receive.

The combination of family poverty and neighborhood poverty poses a double risk to a large population of black and brown children and are much more likely to grow up in these situations than white children. There are still laws being passed that make it harder for black people to vote and that are trying to deny the history of racism in this country.

This video gives a good explanation of some of these challenges.

YouTube Video

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Shrider, E. A., Kollar, M., Chen, F., & Semega, J. (2021). Income and poverty in the United States: 2020. *Current Population Reports. US Census Bureau*.

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5: SCHOOL

Learning Objectives

- Identify types of schools/systems and educational systems.
- Explore the interrelationships of families, communities and schools.
- Identify the roles of teachers/educators.
- Explore current research and methods.

The Role of School in our Society

Schools and schooling in the United States and were developed to facilitate learning, increase knowledge, skills and impart values based on the dominant culture(s) and structural systems (Larson, 2021). Formal education is commonly divided formally into such stages as infant/toddler, preschool, transitional kindergarten, kindergarten, elementary, middle school, high school and then career technical education, college, university and internships or apprenticeships.

5.1: Theoretical Perspectives on Education

5.2: Education around the World

5.3: School Systems

5.4: What is the future of education?

5.5: The History of Instructional Technology in Education

5.6: Emerging Trends in The Use of Emerging Technologies in E-learning

5.7: The Role of Teachers/Educators

5.8: Interrelationships of Families, School and Communities

5.9: Current Research

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5.1: Theoretical Perspectives on Education

Education Theories

Schools and educational systems play an integral role in individuals' lives as well as society as a whole, sociologists and educators view that role from many diverse points of view. Functionalists believe that education equips people to perform different functional roles in society. Conflict theorists view education as a means of widening the gap in social inequality. Feminist theorists point to evidence that sexism in education continues to prevent women from achieving a full measure of social equality. Symbolic interactionists study the dynamics of the classroom, the interactions between students and teachers, and how those affect everyday life. In this section, you will learn about each of these perspectives and review familiar and new theorist such as Piaget, Gardner and Kimberlé Crenshaw.

Functionalism

Functionalists view education as one of the more important social institutions in a society. They contend that education contributes two kinds of functions: manifest (or primary) functions, which are the intended and visible functions of education; and latent (or secondary) functions, which are the hidden and unintended functions.

Manifest Functions

There are several major manifest functions associated with education. The first is socialization. Beginning in preschool and kindergarten, students are taught to practice various societal roles. The French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1858–1917), who established the academic discipline of sociology, characterized schools as "socialization agencies that teach children how to get along with others and prepare them for adult economic roles" (Durkheim 1898). Indeed, it seems that schools have taken on this responsibility in full.

This socialization also involves learning the rules and norms of the society as a whole. In the early days of compulsory education, students learned the dominant culture. Today, since the culture of the United States is increasingly diverse, students may learn a variety of cultural norms, not only that of the dominant culture.

School systems in the United States also transmit the core values of the nation through manifest functions like social control. One of the roles of schools is to teach students conformity to law and respect for authority. Obviously, such respect, given to teachers and administrators, will help a student navigate the school environment. This function also prepares students to enter the workplace and the world at large, where they will continue to be subject to people who have authority over them. Fulfillment of this function rests primarily with classroom teachers and instructors who are with students all day.



Figure 5.1.1: Teacher lecturing in the classroom (CC BY 2.0; Tulane Public Relations via Wikimedia)

Education also provides one of the major methods used by people for upward social mobility. This function is referred to associal placement. College and graduate schools are viewed as vehicles for moving students closer to the careers that will give them the financial freedom and security they seek. As a result, college students are often more motivated to study areas that they believe will be advantageous on the social ladder. A student might value business courses over a class in Victorian poetry because she sees business class as a stronger vehicle for financial success.

Latent Functions

The educational setting introduces students to social networks that might last for years and can help people find jobs after their schooling is complete. Of course, with social media such as Facebook and LinkedIn, these networks are easier than ever to maintain. Another latent function is the ability to work with others in small groups, a skill that is transferable to a workplace.

The educational system, especially as experienced on university campuses, has traditionally provided a place for students to learn about various social issues. This was definitely apparent when the nation went into lock downs and online learning. Students were learning how to navigate and develop relationships with their peers, siblings and families in different ways than before. There were also movements happening within the United States and abroad related to social justice, equity, voting rights, fair pay, health care and many more which were unified with the purpose of changing the political climate of the country.

Manifest and Latent Functions of Education according to functionalist theory, education contributes both manifest and latent functions.

Manifest Functions: Openly stated functions with intended goals	Latent Functions: Hidden, unstated functions with sometimes unintended consequences
Socialization	Courtship
Transmission of culture	Social networks
Social control	Group work
Social placement	Creation of generation gap
Cultural innovation	Political and social integration

Another role of schools, according to functionalist theory, is that of sorting, or classifying students based on academic merit or potential. The most capable students are identified early in schools through testing and classroom achievements. Such students are placed in accelerated programs in anticipation of successful college attendance.

Figure 5.1.2: Young girl looking out window

Conflict Theory

Conflict theorists do not believe that public schools reduce social inequality. Rather, they believe that the educational system reinforces and perpetuates social inequalities that arise from differences in class, gender, race, and ethnicity. Where functionalists see education as serving a beneficial role, conflict theorists view it more negatively. To them, educational systems preserve the status quo and push people of lower status into obedience.

The fulfillment of one's education is closely linked to social class. Students of low socioeconomic status are generally not afforded the same opportunities as students of higher status, no matter how great their academic ability or desire to learn. Picture a student from a working-class home who wants to do well in school. On a Monday, he's assigned a paper that's due Friday. Monday evening, he has to babysit his younger sister while his divorced mother works. Tuesday and Wednesday, he works stocking shelves after school until 10:00 p.m. By Thursday, the only day he might have available to work on that assignment, he's so exhausted he can't bring himself to start the paper. His mother, though she'd like to help him, is so tired herself that she isn't able to give him the encouragement or support he needs. And since English is her second language, she has difficulty with some of his educational materials. They also lack a computer and printer at home, which most of his classmates have, so they have to rely on the public library or school system for access to technology. As this story shows, many students from working-class families have to contend with helping out at home, contributing financially to the family, poor study environments and a lack of support from their families. This is a difficult match with education systems that adhere to a traditional curriculum that is more easily understood and completed by students of higher social classes.

Such a situation leads to social class reproduction, extensively studied by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. He researched how cultural capital, or cultural knowledge that serves (metaphorically) as currency that helps us navigate a culture, alters the experiences and opportunities available to French students from different social classes. Members of the upper and middle classes have more cultural capital than do families of lower-class status. As a result, the educational system maintains a cycle in which the dominant culture's values are rewarded. Instruction and tests cater to the dominant culture and leave others struggling to identify with values and competencies outside their social class. For example, there has been a great deal of discussion over what standardized tests such as the SAT truly measure. Many argue that the tests group students by cultural ability rather than by natural intelligence.

The cycle of rewarding those who possess cultural capital is found in formal educational curricula as well as in the hidden curriculum, which refers to the type of nonacademic knowledge that students learn through informal learning and cultural transmission. This hidden curriculum reinforces the positions of those with higher cultural capital and serves to bestow status unequally.

Conflict theorists point to tracking, a formalized sorting system that places students on "tracks" (advanced versus low achievers) that perpetuate inequalities. While educators may believe that students do better in tracked classes because they are with students of similar ability and may have access to more individual attention from teachers, conflict theorists feel that tracking leads to self-fulfilling prophecies in which students live up (or down) to teacher and societal expectations (Education Week 2004).

To conflict theorists, schools play the role of training working-class students to accept and retain their position as lower members of society. They argue that this role is fulfilled through the disparity of resources available to students in richer and poorer neighborhoods as well as through testing (Lauen and Tyson 2008).

IQ tests have been attacked for being biased—for testing cultural knowledge rather than actual intelligence. For example, a test item may ask students what instruments belong in an orchestra. To correctly answer this question requires certain cultural knowledge—knowledge most often held by more affluent people who typically have more exposure to orchestral music. Though experts in testing claim that bias has been eliminated from tests, conflict theorists maintain that this is impossible. These tests, to conflict theorists, are another way in which education does not provide opportunities, but instead maintains an established configuration of power.

Feminist Theory

Feminist theory aims to understand the mechanisms and roots of gender inequality in education, as well as their societal repercussions. Like many other institutions of society, educational systems are characterized by unequal treatment and opportunity for women. Almost two-thirds of the world's 862 million illiterate people are women, and the illiteracy rate among women is expected to increase in many regions, especially in several African and Asian countries (UNESCO 2005; World Bank 2007).

Women in the United States have been relatively late, historically speaking, to be granted entry to the public university system. In fact, it wasn't until the establishment of Title IX of the Education Amendments in 1972 that discriminating on the basis of sex in U.S. education programs became illegal. In the United States, there is also a post-education gender disparity between what male and female college graduates earn. A study released in May 2011 showed that, among men and women who graduated from college between 2006 and 2010, men out-earned women by an average of more than $5,000 each year. First-year job earnings for men averaged $33,150; for women the average was $28,000 (Godofsky, Zukin, and van Horn 2011). Similar trends are seen among salaries of professionals in virtually all industries.

When women face limited opportunities for education, their capacity to achieve equal rights, including financial independence, are limited. Feminist theory seeks to promote women's rights to equal education (and its resultant benefits) across the world.

Grade Inflation: When is an 'A' Really a 'C'?

Consider a large-city newspaper publisher. Ten years ago, when culling résumés for an entry-level copywriter, they were well assured that if they selected a grad with a GPA of 3.7 or higher, they'd have someone with the writing skills to contribute to the workplace on day one. But over the last few years, they've noticed that A-level students don't have the competency evident in the past. More and more, they find themselves in the position of educating new hires in abilities that, in the past, had been mastered during their education.

This story illustrates a growing concern referred to as grade inflation—a term used to describe the observation that the correspondence between letter grades and the achievements they reflect has been changing (in a downward direction) over time. Put simply, what used to be considered C-level, or average, now often earns a student a B, or even an A.

Why is this happening? Research on this emerging issue is ongoing, so no one is quite sure yet. Some cite the alleged shift toward a culture that rewards effort instead of product, i.e., the amount of work a student puts in raises the grade, even if the resulting product is poor quality. Another oft-cited contributor is the pressure many of today's instructors feel to earn positive course evaluations from their students—records that can tie into teacher compensation, award of tenure, or the future career of a young grad teaching entry-level courses. The fact that these reviews are commonly posted online exacerbates this pressure.

Other studies don't agree that grade inflation exists at all. In any case, the issue is hotly debated, with many being called upon to conduct research to help us better understand and respond to this trend (National Public Radio 2004; Mansfield 2005).

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic Interactionism sees education as one way that labeling theory is seen in action. A symbolic interactionist might say that this labeling has a direct correlation to those who are in power and those who are labeled. For example, low standardized test scores or poor performance in a particular class often lead to a student who is labeled as a low achiever. Such labels are difficult to "shake off," which can create a self-fulfilling prophecy (Merton 1968).

In his book *High School Confidential*, Jeremy Iverson details his experience as a Stanford graduate posing as a student at a California high school. One of the problems he identifies in his research is that of teachers applying labels that students are never able to lose. One teacher told him, without knowing he was a bright graduate of a top university, that he would never amount to anything (Iverson 2006). Iverson obviously didn't take this teacher's false assessment to heart. But when an actual seventeen-year-old student hears this from a person with authority over her, it's no wonder that the student might begin to "live down to" that label.

The labeling with which symbolic interactionists concern themselves extends to the very degrees that symbolize completion of education. Credentialism embodies the emphasis on certificates or degrees to show that a person has a certain skill, has attained a certain level of education, or has met certain job qualifications. These certificates or degrees serve as a symbol of what a person has achieved, and allows the labeling of that individual.

Indeed, as these examples show, labeling theory can significantly impact a student's schooling. This is easily seen in the educational setting, as teachers and more powerful social groups within the school dole out labels that are adopted by the entire school population.

Cognitive Theories

Piaget's Cognitive Development Theory from Chapter One

Gardner's Multiple Intelligences Theory, of which there are currently nine so-called intelligences, listed as follows. (Note: number nine is pretty new on Professor Gardner's evolving list and is yet to be included in most representative graphics, such as the one below.)

1. musical-rhythmic and harmonic
2. visual-spatial
3. verbal-linguistic
4. logical-mathematical
5. bodily-kinesthetic
6. interpersonal
7. intrapersonal
8. naturalist
9. existential.



Figure 5.1.3: Gardener's Multiple Intelligences Theory. (CC BY-SA 4.0 ; Sajaganesandip via Wikimedia)

Critical Race Theory (CRT)

Kimberle Williams Crenshaw—who coined the term Critical Race Theory defined as "a practice of interrogating the role of race and racism in society that emerged in the legal academy and spread to other fields of scholarship." (Crenshaw, 2011) This describes this theory as a verb. Here's an example of what this looks like in practice.

YouTube Video

This interactive element is not available in this format. Visit the link or scan the QR code to access it online.

View this YouTube Video online

Critical Race Theory in Education

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) introduced CRT to education by arguing that race has remained undertheorized, and although race has been examined "as a powerful tool for explaining social inequity, the intellectual salience of this theorizing has not been systematically employed in the analysis of educational inequality" (p. 50). After Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) seminal article on CRT in education, many authors have applied CRT to educational research (Solorzano, 1998; Tate, 1997).

There are five tenets that CRT scholars have developed that guide the examination of educational equity and racial justice:

1. Centrality of Race and Racism**:** CRT research within an education context should center race and racism, as well as the intersections of other forms of oppression, such as gender, class, and sexual orientation.
2. Challenge to the Dominant Perspective**:** CRT in education challenges dominant culture perspectives and centers historically marginalized perspectives.
3. Commitment to Social Justice: CRT is consistently rooted in social justice outcomes.
4. Valuing Experiential Knowledge: CRT builds on the oral traditions and narratives of Black, Indigenous, and people of color (BIPOC) communities when discerning social inequities.
5. Interdisciplinary: CRT asserts that scholarly research should reflect multiple perspectives (Solorzano & Bernal, 2001).

Critical Race Theory has also received criticisms by the educational systems as shame blaming or not the history which should be shared in our schools and classrooms.

Critical Reflection and Application Time

What did you hear the General in the video above say and what are your thoughts and feelings of what was said?

In what ways is education shaped by the theories we learned in this chapter, what examples would you add to each of the theories to provide deeper understanding?

Summary

The theories offer insight into how we understand education and how schools play a role in the development of child within Bronfenbrenner's Bio-Ecological Systems Theory. . Functionalists view education as an important social institution that contributes both manifest and latent functions. Functionalists see education as serving the needs of society by preparing students for later roles, or functions, in society. Conflict theorists see schools as a means for perpetuating class, racial-ethnic, and gender inequalities. In the same vein, feminist theory focuses specifically on the mechanisms and roots of gender inequality in education. The theory of symbolic interactionism focuses on education as a means for labeling individuals. Piaget's cognitive development describes the stages of thinking from individual to interpersonal based on interactions and experiences. Gardner incorporates the way we learn based on our diverse array of intelligences. Critical Race Theory calls us to act and identify race and racism in the communities we live and engage as educators.

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- 1.6: Lesson 1.6: Howard Gardner's Multiple Intelligences Theory is licensed CC BY 4.0.

5.2: Education around the World

Education Values Vary Geographically



Figure 5.2.1: These children are at a library in Singapore, where students are outperforming U.S. students on worldwide tests.. (Copyright; kodomut via flickr)

International differences in education systems are not solely a financial issue. The value placed on education, the amount of time devoted to it, and the distribution of education within a country also play a role in those differences. For example, students in South Korea spend 220 days a year in school, compared to the 180 days a year of their United States counterparts (Pellissier 2010). As of 2006, the United States ranked fifth among twenty-seven countries for college participation, but ranked sixteenth in the number of students who receive college degrees (National Center for Public Policy and Higher Education 2006). These statistics may be related to how much time is spent on education in the United States.

Then there is the issue of educational distribution within a nation. In December 2010, the results of a test called the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA), which is administered to fifteen-year-old students worldwide, were released. Those results showed that students in the United States had fallen from fifteenth to twenty-fifth in the rankings for science and math (National Public Radio 2010). Students at the top of the rankings hailed from Shanghai, Finland, Hong Kong, and Singapore.

Analysts determined that the nations and city-states at the top of the rankings had several things in common. For one, they had well-established standards for education with clear goals for all students. They also recruited teachers from the top 5 to 10 percent of university graduates each year, which is not the case for most countries (National Public Radio 2010).

Finally, there is the issue of social factors. One analyst from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the organization that created the test, attributed 20 percent of performance differences and the United States' low rankings to differences in social background. Researchers noted that educational resources, including money and quality teachers, are not distributed equitably in the United States. In the top-ranking countries, limited access to resources did not necessarily predict low performance. Analysts also noted what they described as "resilient students," or those students who achieve at a higher level than one might expect given their social background. In Shanghai and Singapore, the proportion of resilient students is about 70 percent. In the United States, it is below 30 percent. These insights suggest that the United States' educational system may be on a descending path that could detrimentally affect the country's economy and its social landscape (National Public Radio 2010).

Education in Finland

With public education in the United States under such intense criticism, why is it that Singapore, South Korea, and especially Finland (which is culturally most similar to us), have such excellent public education? Over the course of thirty years, the country has pulled itself from among the lowest rankings by the Organization of Economic Cooperation (OEDC) to first in 2012, and remains, as of 2014, in the top five. Contrary to the rigid curriculum and long hours demanded of students in South Korea and Singapore, Finnish education often seems paradoxical to outside observers because it appears to break a lot of the rules we take for granted. It is common for children to enter school at seven years old, and children will have more recess and less hours in school than U.S. children—approximately 300 less hours. Their homework load is light when compared to all other industrialized nations (nearly 300 fewer hours per year in elementary school). There are no gifted programs, almost no private schools, and no high-stakes national standardized tests (Laukkanen 2008; LynNell Hancock 2011).

Prioritization is different than in the United States. There is an emphasis on allocating resources for those who need them most, high standards, support for special needs students, qualified teachers taken from the top 10 percent of the nation's graduates and who must earn a Master's degree, evaluation of education, balancing decentralization and centralization.

"We used to have a system which was really unequal," stated the Finnish Education Chief in an interview. "My parents never had a real possibility to study and have a higher education. We decided in the 1960s that we would provide a free quality education to all. Even universities are free of charge. Equal means that we support everyone and we're not going to waste anyone's skills." As for teachers, "We don't test our teachers or ask them to prove their knowledge. But it's true that we do invest in a lot of additional teacher training even after they become teachers" (Gross-Loh, 2014).

Yet over the past decade Finland has consistently performed among the top nations on the PISA. Finland's school children didn't always excel. Finland built its excellent, efficient, and equitable educational system in a few decades from scratch, and the concept guiding almost every educational reform has been equity. The Finnish paradox is that by focusing on the bigger picture for all, Finland has succeeded at fostering the individual potential of most every child.

"We created a school system based on equality to make sure we can develop everyone's potential. Now we can see how well it's been working. Last year the OECD tested adults from twenty-four countries measuring the skill levels of adults aged sixteen to sixty-five on a survey called the Programme for International Assessment of Adult Competencies (PIAAC), which tests skills in literacy, numeracy, and problem solving in technology-rich environments. Finland scored at or near the top on all measures."

Formal and Informal Education

As already mentioned, education is not solely concerned with the basic academic concepts that a student learns in the classroom. Societies also educate their children, outside of the school system, in matters of everyday practical living. These two types of learning are referred to as formal education and informal education.

Formal education describes the learning of academic facts and concepts through a formal curriculum. Arising from the tutelage of ancient Greek thinkers, centuries of scholars have examined topics through formalized methods of learning. Education in earlier times was only available to the higher classes; they had the means for access to scholarly materials, plus the luxury of leisure time that could be used for learning. The Industrial Revolution and its accompanying social changes made education more accessible to the general population. Many families in the emerging middle class found new opportunities for schooling.

The modern U.S. educational system is the result of this progression. Today, basic education is considered a right and responsibility for all citizens. Expectations of this system focus on formal education, with curricula and testing designed to ensure that students learn the facts and concepts that society believes are basic knowledge.

In contrast, informal education describes learning about cultural values, norms, and expected behaviors by participating in a society. This type of learning occurs both through the formal education system and at home. Our earliest learning experiences generally happen via parents, relatives, and others in our community. Through informal education, we learn how to dress for different occasions, how to perform regular life routines like shopping for and preparing food, and how to keep our bodies clean.

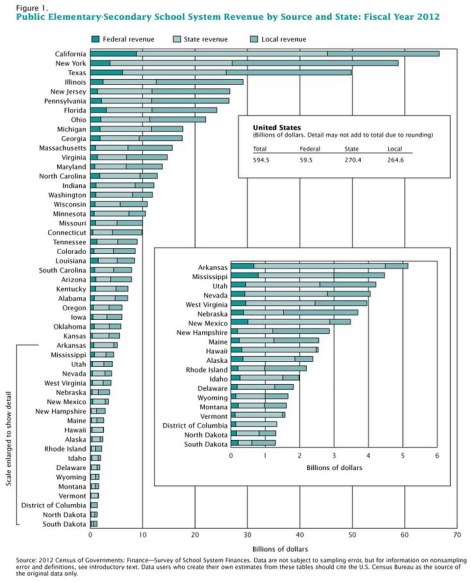


Figure 5.2.2: Parents teaching their children to cook provide an informal education. . (Photo by Direct Media on StockSnap)

Cultural transmission refers to the way people come to learn the values, beliefs, and social norms of their culture. Both informal and formal education include cultural transmission. For example, a student will learn about cultural aspects of modern history in a U.S. History classroom. In that same classroom, the student might learn the cultural norm for asking a classmate out on a date through passing notes and whispered conversations.

Access to Education

Another global concern in education is universal access. This term refers to people's equal ability to participate in an education system. On a world level, access might be more difficult for certain groups based on class or gender (as was the case in the United States earlier in the nation's history, a dynamic we still struggle to overcome). The modern idea of universal access arose in the United States as a concern for people with disabilities. In the United States, one way in which universal education is supported is through federal and state governments covering the cost of free public education. Of course, the way this plays out in terms of school budgets and taxes makes this an often-contested topic on the national, state, and community levels. In viewing the table picture below you may need to enlarge your screen to view.



How has your state's revenue affected your educational opportunities? (Graph courtesy of Census of Governments: Survey of School System Finances 2012)

A precedent for universal access to education in the United States was set with the 1972 U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia's decision in Mills v. Board of Education of the District of Columbia. This case was brought on the behalf of seven school-age children with special needs who argued that the school board was denying their access to free public education. The school board maintained that the children's "exceptional" needs, which included mental retardation and mental illness, precluded their right to be educated for free in a public school setting. The board argued that the cost of educating these children would be too expensive and that the children would therefore have to remain at home without access to education.

This case was resolved in a hearing without any trial. The judge, Joseph Cornelius Waddy, upheld the students' right to education, finding that they were to be given either public education services or private education paid for by the Washington, D.C., board of education. He noted that

> *Constitutional rights must be afforded citizens despite the greater expense involved … the District of Columbia's interest in educating the excluded children clearly must outweigh its interest in preserving its financial resources. … The inadequacies of the District of Columbia Public School System whether occasioned by insufficient funding or administrative inefficiency, certainly cannot be permitted to bear more heavily on the "exceptional" or handicapped child than on the normal child (Mills v. Board of Education 1972).*

Today, the optimal way to include differently abled students in standard classrooms is still being researched and debated. "Inclusion" is a method that involves complete immersion in a standard classroom, whereas "mainstreaming" balances time in a special-needs classroom with standard classroom participation. There continues to be social debate surrounding how to implement the ideal of universal access to education.

Summary

Educational systems around the world have many differences, though the same factors—including resources and money—affect every educational system. Educational distribution is a major issue in many nations, including in the United States, where the amount of money spent per student varies greatly by state. Education happens through both formal and informal systems; both foster cultural transmission. Universal access to education is a worldwide concern.

Critical Reflection

Has there ever been a time when your formal and informal educations in the same setting were at odds? How did you overcome that disconnect?

Do you believe free access to schools has achieved its intended goal? Explain.

Further Research

Though it's a struggle, education is continually being improved in the developing world. To learn how educational programs are being fostered worldwide, explore the Education section of the Center for Global Development's website.

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5.3: School Systems

Introduction

March 2020 was a month we will never forget. Schools and the educational system physically closed their doors for a particular time and went to remote learning platforms such as Zoom, Microsoft Teams, Canvas and other electronic-learning tools. All children regardless of where they lived were being home-skilled to some degree by there families, siblings and neighborhoods. The digital divide was displayed by the lack of access children had to computers, laptops and even tablets. Schools would be forever changed and the country would realize how valued these settings were for children's learning and social-emotional development. Let's take an opportunity to identify and define the different types of schools, educational practices, partnerships and resources to serve children and families.

Types of Schooling

Public Schools are required to follow certain guidelines and maintain mandates via the state's local rules of curriculum, policies, and governance. Educators are required to have certain certifications and this may differ from state to state. For example, in California teachers have credentials to teach specific age groups and must maintain professional learning as part of their certification. The U.S. Department of Education provides guidance to states and requests state plans to be submitted based on the Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA).

Charter Schools is defined by the California department of education as "public schools providing instruction in any of grades TK–12 created or organized by teachers, parents, community leaders, or a community-based organization.

Private Schools differ from state to state and predominately charge tuition. The misconception is that private schools don't maintain the same standards or abide by the same laws and policies of public schools.

Home Schooling has its roots in the 1960s though the 1970s when educational reform became an issue on the national forefront (Dobson, 2000, paragraph 5). Actually, until 1852, public school attendance was not mandatory. It was only in 1852 that the state of Massachusetts made the first compulsory attendance law and eventually all other states followed suit. (All About Parenting). This issue has become increasingly debated because the number of students enrolled in home school has been increasing 15 to 20% each year for the last fifteen years (Dobson, 2000, paragraph 9). Families were faced with the option to send their children to public or private schools or to keep their children at home to educate the children themselves. Families considered many aspects of education to make this decision including their educational aptitude as teachers, the possible social effect on the children, the production of good citizens, the attention the children need to learn, and the external pressures of the school systems placed on the children. While public education uses a set curriculum to teach all children in a given classroom. The classroom is filled with a variety of learning styles, interests, and abilities. For the families who have chosen to educate their child at home, the curriculum can be catered to meet each child's individual needs, interests, and learning style. There is also the element of time. More personalized time is given to the child at home and there is not the wasted time standing in line for lunch, recess, others to finish their work, etc. and therefore much of the schoolwork is completed much earlier in the day, leaving time for real-life learning experiences. (All About Parenting).

Home Schooling and the Federal Government

Once an isolated practice with little support, homeschooling “has now reached a level of unprecedented visibility, politicization, and publicization” (Cooper, p. 111). Parents and advocates have gained significant legal, political, and social ground, substantially raising public awareness. Subsequently, the increase in home schooling’s power and popularity has caused state and local educational leaders to adjust some of their policies. This has brought considerable criticism from supporters of the “democratic, public control of education” (Cooper, pg 112). They claim homeschooling “denies democratic accountability” (Cooper, pg. 112) and is “detrimental to the common good” (Cooper, pg. 115).

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Educational Practices and Models

Schools may utilize different pedagogical frameworks and models to support learning. The list below is not exhausted of all practices and models.

Montessori Approach (Dr. Maria Montessori)

The Montessori Approach refers to children's activity as work (not play); children are given long periods of time to work and a strong emphasis on individual learning and individual pace is valued. Central to Montessori's method of education is the dynamic triad of child, teacher and environment. One of the teacher's roles is to guide the child through what Montessori termed the 'prepared environment, i.e., a classroom and a way of learning that are designed to support the child's intellectual, physical, emotional and social development through active exploration, choice and independent learning.

The educational materials have a self-correcting focus and areas of the curriculum consist of art, music, movement, practical life (example; pouring, dressing, cleaning). In the Montessori method, the goal of education is to allow the child's optimal development (intellectual, physical, emotional and social) to unfold.

A typical Montessori program will have mixed-age grouping. Children are given the freedom to choose what they work on, where they work, with whom they work, and for how long they work on any particular activity, all within the limits of the class rules. No competition is set up between children, and there is no system of extrinsic rewards or punishments.

Other Approaches and Models of Curriculum

Common Core Standards are skills and knowledge for K-12 grade. View the video below for additional information about common core.

YouTube Video

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School and Family Partnerships

Programs and schools that serve children and families may have formal committees such as Parent Teacher Association (PTA), advisory boards, and other ways to create space and build community. The PTA is one of the oldest national organizations with local chapters at school sites that advocate for children and promote family engagement . In what ways do you think schools changed how they engage families as the virtual platform has increased?

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5.4: What is the future of education?



Picture of chairs and desks, with bulletin boards and chalk boards on the walls. A traditional picture of the classrooms.

Introduction

Education is evolving so rapidly in the way of technology which makes it hard for the world to keep up. J. Johnson, C. Chapman and J. Dyer (2006) state, “The past three decades have seen the rapid development of new and emerging technologies revolutionizing the way we live, work, and learn” (J. Johnson, C. Chapman and J. Dyer, 2006, P.1). Education started off as a traditional classroom and is now integrating more toward technology based learning.

Traditional Classrooms

Traditional classrooms have teachers set in their ways and who have a system. These teachers have their own way of thinking and like to teach things a certain way. The classroom is set a certain way, the students read from the book, and there is little or no technology. Perhaps this does not have to be a bad thing. There are a few subjects that are difficult to learn through the computer, like math for example. Patrick Suppes, a great educator, gives his expert opinion on traditional classrooms: “Hearing lectures and listening to someone else’s talk seem to be almost psychologically essential to learning complex subjects, at least as far as ordinary learners are concerned” (Suppes, 1969, par. 4). Also a traditional classroom seems to be more regulated. Some teachers are not willing to change the way they teach, perhaps some students do not want to change the way they are taught by learning new technology.

On the other hand, traditional classrooms often lack the technological aspect of education. Certain students need individual attention to learn or understand the material. In a traditional classroom, students who require more individual attention may be left behind. The opportunity for a customized learning experience is not as possible as it is in a technologically integrated classroom. The use of technology allows students to learn at a comfortable pace while integrating more collaborative learning tools, like group projects, that better simulate a real world environment. This classroom also frees the teacher to give more personalized attention to those who need it. “We need to continue moving teacher education away from the traditional sink-or-swim model of field experience...” (Zeichner, 2006, P.9)

Technology Integration

"Across the nation, on the Web and in the home, classrooms are evolving beyond the traditional learning environment with alternatives that are no longer bound by geography and customary modes of operation" (Coxx, 2004). This integration of

technology makes it possible for teachers to grow and more importantly, possible for students to grow. What is technology integration? “Technology integration is using computers effectively and efficiently in the general content areas to allow students to learn how to apply computer skills in meaningful ways” (Dockstader, 1999, P.1). Incorporating technology into the curriculum does not mean just teaching the students how to use the programs, but how to apply these software to real-world situations. Technology integration is having instruction drive technology, not technology drive instruction. In other words, technology should be used as a tool for teaching, not the focus of the lesson. Holland (2005) explained how a third grade teacher needed to teach her students to distinguish between fact and opinion according to the core curriculum (Holland, 2005, par.4). She taught the concept using a digital camera and a simple processing activity. The students took pictures of them, printed them out, and wrote five facts and five opinions about the picture. Her students got so much out of the lesson, like using analytical skills to decipher the difference between what fact is and what opinion is. This is a necessary real work tool they were taught in an entertaining way.

Some people however, not just teachers, find it harder to adapt to the new technology. “For many adults, all this digital activity is a source of high anxiety” (Tapscott, 1999, P.7). For the younger generation who grew up with the technology, it is easier for them to make this transition. According to Holland’s article, some teachers that have been teaching in the traditional fashion for most of their career refuse to learn advanced technology. Not because these teachers do not want to prepare their students for the future, but because they find it difficult to incorporate technology into the curriculum. One teacher in Holland’s (2005) article writes, “I am not a computer person.” Then Holland goes on to say,”Well maybe you’re not, but face it-we live in a digital age-an age for which we must prepare our students. We weren’t all born knowing to double-click a mouse any more than we exited the womb reciting multiplication facts. We all learn in baby steps” (Holland, 2005, P.3). To some degree, people focus too much on the debate of how the student should be taught. The teachers are forgetting why they are here and are taking time away from the students learning by fighting the integration.

Author's Opinion

The integration of technology into the classroom and using it the fullest potential will have a positive impact of increasing the engagement of the students in our classroom. I remember trying to keep myself awake in class because the teacher did nothing to keep me engaged in the material. I will incorporate much technology into my classroom so that my students will be able to experience hands-on and will be inspired to collaborate with other classmates. I think Suppes (1969) expressed it best when he said, “I would claim that the wise use of technology and science, particularly in education, presents a major opportunity and challenge” (Suppes, 1969, par. 1). However, just because I feel so strongly towards the use of technology and think it is the future of education, does not mean there is not more to be done. Technology is growing so quickly, there is still much we do not know and bugs to be worked out.

Conclusion

Education has progressed immensely over the last fifteen years. It has gone from lectures and textbooks to digital cameras and computers in the classroom. Everybody is working together to make this transition from a traditional-centered classroom to a technology-integrated classroom. The future of education is the key to our children’s learning process and their opportunities ahead. “It is difficult to predict how education will change over the next decade let alone the next century, but there will most certainly be changes in pedagogies which more readily recognize the way young people learn with new technologies” (J. Johnson, C. Chapman and J. Dyer, 2006).

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5.5: The History of Instructional Technology in Education

In the early ages, before formal schools, family members educated younger members with one-to-one coaching and mentoring. Early instructional technologies were sticks to draw on the ground and rocks to draw on walls. Information was not recorded permanently. With the invention of paper and the printing press, information was recorded, and learners could refer to documents as needed for learning. The paper revolution was followed much later by the invention of computer hardware and the software that makes computers do what we want, including developing electronic learning materials.

In the early 1960s, these learning materials were designed and developed on mainframe computers. In the 1970s, computer-based training systems used minicomputers to teach. With the invention of the microcomputer in the late 1970s and early 1980s educators and learners had more control over the design and delivery of learning materials. As learners determined for themselves what they wanted to learn, the instructor's role changed from that of a presenter of information to that of a facilitator. The microcomputer revolutionized the way educational materials were developed and delivered. The instructor was able to design learning materials using authoring systems, and learners were able to learn when and where they wanted.

Rumble (2003) identified four generations of distance education systems: correspondence systems; educational broadcasting systems; multimedia distance education systems; and online distance education systems. In early distance education learning materials were mailed to learners and the learners mailed assignments back to the instructor. The first attempt to use computers for instruction was by the military, who designed instruction to train military staff. About the same time, educational institutions started to use broadcast television to deliver instruction to learners. With the invention of the microcomputer in the 1970s, there was a shift to microcomputer-based learning systems. Because the different microcomputer systems then in use did not communicate with each other, there was limited flexibility in developing and sharing learning materials. Also, the early microcomputer systems did not provide features such as audio, video, and special effects. As instructional technology improved, educators developed learning materials in less time and with more control over the product.

Until the late 1970s, educational institutions used face-to-face classroom instruction. This was followed by a shift to a more individualized format using self-study workbooks, videotapes, and computer software. As technology advanced, the group-based classroom mode shifted to the one-to-one mode of delivery. The combination of the Internet and mobile technology has moved elearning to the next generation, allowing educators to design and deliver learning materials for learners living in remote locations, or who cannot attend face-to-face schools for other reasons. The available computing power of these technologies allows educators to better meet the needs of individual learners.

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5.6: Emerging Trends in The Use of Emerging Technologies in E-learning

Educators need to develop innovative models of teaching and delivery methods tailored to emerging technologies. Future learning systems should contain intelligent agents to duplicate one-to-one tutoring. Multiple intelligent agents could also monitor learners' progress, and cater to individual needs and styles. Intelligent learning systems will allow learners to be more active and will place more responsibility on them in the learning process. Research is needed on how to empower learners to learn on their own and how to activate learners' metacognitive skills.

Content will be designed as small chunks in the form of information and learning objects. This will allow intelligent agents to prescribe the most appropriate materials based on learner's learning style, progress, and needs. The intelligent agents will assemble these chunks into a larger instructional sequence so that learners can achieve the learning outcomes of the lesson. More work is needed on how to develop learning objects and how to tag them for easy retrieval by intelligent agents.

Future technologies will use intelligent agents to assemble courses and modules of instruction immediately by accessing learning objects from repositories. Because of the changing nature of content, models are needed to develop learning materials in as short time as possible using techniques similar to rapid application development (Lohr et al., 2003). Smart learning systems in emerging technologies will be able to assemble unique courses for each learner, based on the learner's prior knowledge, learning preferences, and needs.

Pervasive computing is making it possible for computing power to be included everywhere, thanks to tiny microprocessors and wireless access. As a result, educators must design for pervasive computing where learners will access learning materials using everyday objects and environments. For example, learners might be able to access course materials using kitchen appliances, or their clothing.

The trend in hardware development is towards virtual devices, such as the virtual keyboard and virtual screen. With these devices, learners are able to turn on the device, use it, and then turn it off. For example, for input into a computer, a learner can press a button to turn on a virtual keyboard on a temporary surface, use it, then turn it off. When developing learning materials for emerging technologies, educators must design for delivery on these virtual devices.

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5.7: The Role of Teachers/Educators

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Curriculum

Curriculum can be defined as the goals for children's development and learning, what teachers do to achieve the goals, the content children are to learn, processes, and activities through which children learn, the environment or context in which teaching and learning occur. What types of curriculum models (ex. emergent, project-based) or theories (ex. Montessori, Piaget, Vygotsky) have you heard about?

Teaching Philosophy

A quality curriculum provides a vision of what a program should look like and a framework for making decisions about how to achieve that vision. Educators need to be able to define their vision and how they provide learning to meet the needs of all learners. This vision should include the following:

- Create learning environments to allow students to be critical observers of their environment.
- Value Difference
    - Recognize Injustice
        - Question and Call to Action
- Critically evaluate and modify curriculum, materials, and teaching strategies.
- Expand personal and professional knowledge.

Expectations

Do no harm is an expression you may have heard in regards to medical professions but also applies to education and other fields of study. The National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC) has created the "Code of Ethical Conduct and Statement of Commitment" (May 2011) which identifies the core values and responsibilities early care and educational settings should have and strive to meet in supporting children, families, educators, and community. Please click Code of Ethics to view.

Teacher Performance Expectations and Assessment

Teacher Performance Assessment

There are several advantages of performance assessments (Linn & Miller 2005). First, the focus is on complex learning outcomes that often cannot be measured by other methods. Second, performance assessments typically assess process or procedure as well as the product. For example, the teacher can observe if the students are repairing the machine using the appropriate tools and procedures as well as whether the machine functions properly after the repairs. Third, well designed performance assessments communicate the instructional goals and meaningful learning clearly to students. For example, if the topic in a fifth grade art class is one-point perspective the performance assessment could be drawing a city scene that illustrates one point perspective. (www.sanford-artedventures.com) . This assessment is meaningful and clearly communicates the learning goal. This performance assessment is a good instructional activity and has good content validity— common with well designed performance assessments (Linn & Miller 2005).

One major disadvantage with performance assessments is that they are typically very time consuming for students and teachers. This means that fewer assessments can be gathered so if they are not carefully devised fewer learning goals will be assessed—which can reduce content validity. State curriculum guidelines can be helpful in determining what should be included in a performance assessment. For example, Eric, a dance teacher in a high school in Tennessee learns that the state standards indicate that dance students at the highest level should be able to do demonstrate consistency and clarity in performing technical skills by:

- performing complex movement combinations to music in a variety of meters and styles
- performing combinations and variations in a broad dynamic range
- demonstrating improvement in performing movement combinations through self-evaluation
- critiquing a live or taped dance production based on given criteria
- (www.tn.gov/education/instruction/academic-standards/arts-education.html)

Eric devises the following performance task for his eleventh grade modern dance class .

In groups of 4-6 students will perform a dance at least 5 minutes in length. The dance selected should be multifaceted so that all the dancers can demonstrate technical skills, complex movements, and a dynamic range (Items 1-2). Students will videotape their rehearsals and document how they improved through self evaluation (Item 3). Each group will view and critique the final performance of one other group in class (Item 4). Eric would need to scaffold most steps in this performance assessment. The groups probably would need guidance in selecting a dance that allowed all the dancers to demonstrate the appropriate skills; critiquing their own performances constructively; working effectively as a team, and applying criteria to evaluate a dance.

Another disadvantage of performance assessments is they are hard to assess reliably which can lead to inaccuracy and unfair evaluation. As with any constructed response assessment, scoring rubrics are very important. An example of holistic and analytic scoring rubrics designed to assess a completed *product* are in Tables in previous sections. A rubric designed to assess the process of group interactions is in Table 1.11.1

Table 1.11.1 : Example of group interaction rubric

Score	Time management	Participation and performance in roles	Shared involvement
0	Group did not stay on task and so task was not completed.	Group did not assign or share roles.	Single individual did the task.
1	Group was off-task the majority of the time but task was completed.	Groups assigned roles but members did not use these roles.	Group totally disregarded comments and ideas from some members.
2	Group stayed on task most of the time.	Groups accepted and used some but not all roles.	Group accepted some ideas but did not give others adequate consideration.

3	Group stayed on task throughout the activity and managed time well.	Group accepted and used roles and actively participated.	Groups gave equal consideration to all ideas.
4	Group defined their own approach in a way that more effectively managed the activity.	Group defined and used roles not mentioned to them. Role changes took place that maximized individuals' expertise.	Groups made specific efforts to involve all group members including the reticent members.
Source: Adapted from Group Interaction (GI) SETUP (2003). Issues, Evidence and You. Ronkonkomo, NY Lab-Aids.			

This rubric was devised for middle grade science but could be used in other subject areas when assessing group process. In some performance assessments several scoring rubrics should be used. In the dance performance example above Eric should have scoring rubrics for the performance skills, the improvement based on self evaluation, the team work, and the critique of the other group. Obviously, devising a good performance assessment is complex and Linn and Miller (2005) recommend that teachers should:

• Create performance assessments that require students to use complex cognitive skills. Sometimes teachers devise assessments that are interesting and that the students enjoy but do not require students to use higher level cognitive skills that lead to significant learning. Focusing on high level skills and learning outcomes is particularly important because performance assessments are typically so time consuming.

• Ensure that the task is clear to the students. Performance assessments typically require multiple steps so students need to have the necessary prerequisite skills and knowledge as well as clear directions. Careful scaffolding is important for successful performance assessments.

• Specify expectations of the performance clearly by providing students scoring rubrics during the instruction. This not only helps students understand what it expected but it also guarantees that teachers are clear about what they expect. Thinking this through while planning the performance assessment can be difficult for teachers but is crucial as it typically leads to revisions of the actual assessment and directions provided to students.

• Reduce the importance of unessential skills in completing the task. What skills are essential depends on the purpose of the task. For example, for a science report, is the use of publishing software essential? If the purpose of the assessment is for students to demonstrate the process of the scientific method including writing a report, then the format of the report may not be significant. However, if the purpose includes integrating two subject areas, science and technology, then the use of publishing software is important.

Because performance assessments take time it is tempting to include multiple skills without carefully considering if all the skills are essential to the learning goals.

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5.8: Interrelationships of Families, School and Communities

The Importance of Home/School Connection

Prior to Covid-19, home and school for children who may have not been homeschooled were a young child's two most important worlds. Children and families had to bridge these two worlds every day. It is important that home and school are connected in positive, respectful ways in which children feel secure. But when the two worlds are at odds because of apathy, lack of understanding, or an inability to work together, children suffer. Teachers who truly value the family's role in a child's education, and recognize how much they can accomplish by working with families, can build a true partnership. This section 5.8 will help you by addressing the following topics:

- Getting to know families
- Making families feel welcome
- Communicating with families
- Partnering with families on children's learning
- Responding to challenging situations

Appreciating Differences

Just as you get to know each child and use what you learn to develop a relationship that helps every child learn, you begin building a partnership with families by getting to know and appreciate each family. Every family is different. Teachers must vary the ways in which they communicate and involve families to reach every family. Think about the structure of your family did you live in a house with multiple generations? Families vary in regards to personalities and temperament with different comfort levels in relating to their child's school. Our life experiences, including the level of education, socio-economic status, immigrant status, may impact how families engage with their child's school and teacher. It's also important to acknowledge that we all have cultural differences and different beliefs, values, and practices. What are your personal experiences with schools and teachers? In what ways in understanding your experiences can assist in appreciating how families engage with their child's school? Knowing and appreciating what is unique or different about each family helps you to build relationships and support children's learning and development.

Belonging

Initial contacts with children's families are opportunities to get to know them better and understand their experiences, values, and beliefs. Some programs start with enrollment at the school, others use home visits. I can remember my daughter's teacher sending postcards to each student welcoming the family as a whole to the next grade, this made me feel as if the teacher cared and took the time to develop a relationship with not only the student but also the family. Families who feel welcome in the classroom are more likely to return and become involved in the program. When children first enter your program, their parents are likely to be especially interested in finding out what their child will be learning and what each day will be like. You can be prepared to meet this interest by making available as many of the following as possible:

- Take families and children on a tour of the classroom**,** introducing the inside and outside classroom environments. This can also be virtually or a video in which you and teachers tour not only the classroom but also the school. This may be helpful in decreasing anxiety and apprehension about what to expect and assist families in talking with their children about their school and classroom.
- Hold an open house to allow families to meet each other and experience the classroom environment.
- Create a display at the entrance to your classroom with pictures and descriptions of life in your classroom based on the languages of your children and families as well as the community. (Adapted from National PTA Family Guide)

Communication

Communication with families is a means of building and maintaining relationships. What is the influence of culture on communication styles? One thing we learned from living in a Pandemic is the use of technology. Schools provided technology to

children as we pivoted to a remote learning environment and still may utilize this as schools are opening and temporarily shutting down for the well-being and health and safety of the teachers, staff, and children. Some schools might be using platforms to maintain open dialogue and communication with families. It is important to communicate in ways that meet the needs and ability levels of family members, particularly those whose primary language is not English.

Understanding the History

Schools and systems and policies which support schools can lend to how educators/teachers build relationships with families and support the needs of the community in which they are housed. For example, when we begin to look at policies and laws that changed schools structures it allows us to understand the difference between equality and equity. Equality is providing the same opportunity to all. Equity is meeting the specific needs of the individual to partake in the opportunity being provided.

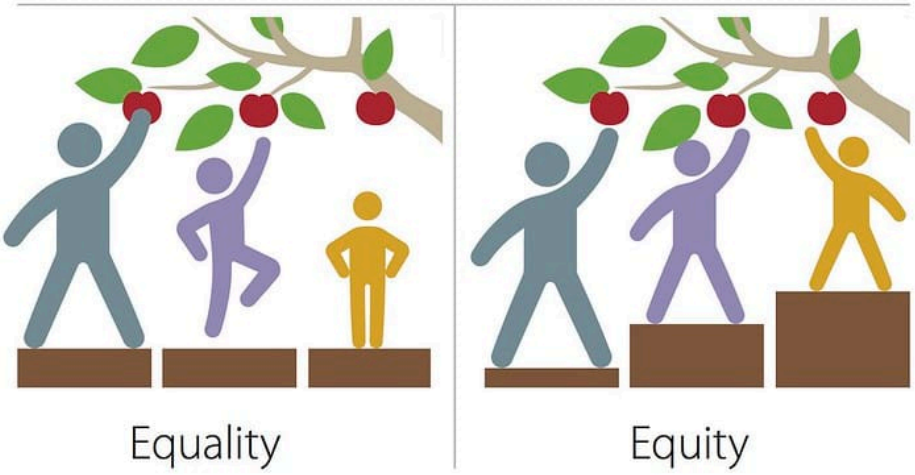


Figure 5.8.1: Equality vs Equity. (CC BY-NC 2.0; via flickr)

Policies and Laws

Mendez vs. Westminister (1947)



Figure 5.8.2: Sylvia Mendez, by the Office of Senator Kamala Harris and US Department of Agriculture | Public domain

Just after the end of World War II, Sylvia Mendez was eight years old and a student at a racially segregated elementary school in Westminster, California. She wanted to attend a nearby school, but it was reserved for white-only students. Her parents (along with four other Mexican-American families) sued the school district on behalf of the community's 5,000 Latino and Latina students. In 1946, the plaintiffs won their case in federal court, making it the first time in U.S. history that a school district was told it had to desegregate.

The Mendez case had enormous implications for civil rights in the country. It preceded the Brown v. Board of Education school desegregation decision by eight years. Future Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall represented both Sylvia Mendez and later Linda Brown in the Brown v. Board of Education case. He used some of the same arguments from the Mendez case to win the Brown decision.

In the Mendez v. Westminster case, the judge wrote these words challenging the "separate but equal" doctrine established in the Plessy v. Ferguson case in 1898:

"The equal protection of the laws' pertaining to the public school system in California is not provided by furnishing in separate schools the same technical facilities, textbooks and courses of instruction to children of Mexican ancestry that are available to the other public school children regardless of their ancestry. A paramount requisite in the American system of public education is social equality. It must be open to all children by unified school association regardless of lineage."

A national hero, Sylvia Mendez received a 2010 Presidential Medal of Freedom and in 2018 was awarded the National Hispanic Hero Award. She continues to work for equality and justice for Latinos and all people of color.

The Maestas Desegregation Case

A 1914 case, Francisco Maestas et al. v. George H. Shone, et al., is a little-known forerunner to Sylvia Mendez and her family's fight to end educational segregation of Mexican American children. The case involved a railroad worker, Francisco Maestas, who was unable to enroll his son in the Alamosa, Colorado public school nearest their home. School officials demanded the boy attend a "Mexican school" with the district's other children of Mexican descent because it was assumed the children needed to learn English - even though most of the children at the school spoke English. The district court judge ruled in favor of the Maestas family, stating that all English-speaking children should be allowed to attend the school closest to their homes. Efforts are under way to build a memorial to the case as a milestone in ending segregation of Mexican children based on language and race ("The Most Important School Desegregation Case You've Never Heard Of", National Education Policy Newsletter, July 9, 2020).

Brown vs Board of Education

Jim Crow laws began around 1965 following the ratification of the 13th Amendment, which abolished slavery in the United States. Jim Crow required separate accommodations for Whites and blacks. And then in 1896, with the Plessy v. Ferguson ruling, the "separate but equal" law became constitutional. Since these laws were built on the notion of white supremacy and black inferiority, "separate but equal" is indeed a misnomer. In 1954, the Brown v. Board of Education unanimous decision overturned *Plessy* and decided that separate is inherently unequal. But it was not until 1968 that the Supreme Court ordered segregated school systems dismantled.

Individual Disability Education Act (IDEA)

Developmental Disabilities are a group of disabilities, including ADHD, Autism Spectrum Disorder, Cerebral Palsy, Intellectual Disabilities, Hearing Loss, Learning Disability, Vision Impairments, and delays. These occur before age 21 and are expected to last throughout the lifetime.

Intellectual disabilities are disabilities that occur before age 21 – during a person's developmental stage of life – and are likely to be lifelong. A person with a developmental disability may require support in learning (both academic and experiential learning), judgment and reasoning. Some people with intellectual disabilities can live independently, work, and have families, while some need maximum support in all aspects of daily living.

Common developmental disabilities include Attention Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), autism spectrum disorder, cerebral palsy, hearing loss, intellectual or cognitive disability, learning disability, vision impairment, or neurological impairments.

Intellectual or cognitive disabilities require some specialized assistance in learning. There is a wide range of people who have this

diagnosis, so we can't assume anything just because a person has a label of intellectual disability. Most people with intellectual disabilities are able to acquire information and skills in order to live independently and work as adults. A small percentage, however, need lifelong maximum support in activities of daily living like eating, showering, and dressing.

There are many causes of intellectual disability, including genetic disorders, falls, malnutrition, environmental pollution, birth trauma, infections, child abuse and accidents.

Autism Spectrum Disorders (ASD) are very common – according to the Centers for Disease Control from 2017, 1 in 59 children has been diagnosed with ASD. The criteria for a diagnosis of ASD are complicated.

While ASD is sometimes characterized as a communication disorder, increasingly, some people believe autism is simply a different way of seeing the world, and the behaviors that accompany autism should be viewed as a form of diversity rather than something that needs professional intervention. It's important to remember that everyone with the diagnosis of ASD is an individual and nothing can be assumed about her or his abilities or need for support simply because of the diagnosis. Not every autistic person has every trait named in the diagnostic criteria, or experiences the same characteristic in the same way. While there is a growing movement of autistic pride, each autistic person experiences autism in their own way, and each may require different types of support for housing, education, employment, relationships, communication, healthcare, and activities of daily living.

Learning Disabilities are very common and can be thought of as a processing disorder, where information is process a bit differently than with people who don't have this disability. One way to accommodate children and adults with learning disabilities is to provide extra time to process information or to express ideas. Dyslexia (difficulty in reading), dysgraphia (difficulty in writing), and dyscalculia (difficulty with arithmetic), are common learning disabilities. Another common learning disability is attention deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD) which results in difficulty in sustaining focus.

Cerebral Palsy is a very common developmental disability that causes people to experience stiff muscles or difficulties with coordination that causes a jerky motion. In some people it causes a continuous writhing motion. Some people with cerebral palsy can walk, while others need to use a wheelchair for mobility. A small percentage of cerebral palsy is inherited, but most cerebral palsy is caused by birth trauma or another kind of trauma, such as an accident.

Some people with cerebral palsy have cognitive or learning disabilities, while many do not. So like having a diagnosis of any other disability, having a diagnosis of cerebral palsy doesn't imply anything about intelligence, judgment or ability to work.

Epilepsy is a seizure disorder, where neurons in the brain can cause several different types of seizures. Some seizures are minor and the individual experiencing them loses contact with the environment for a brief period of time. Some seizures might cause a person to have repetitive motions for a minute or more. And some seizures are more involved and cause the person experiencing them to lose control of muscles for a period of time.

Neurological impairments are a collection of conditions resulting from issues with the nervous system that may cause a range of symptoms. Some neurologic impairments are hidden disabilities that result in the need for some specialized assistance. Some neurological impairments have a genetic component, while others do not. Neurological impairments include narcolepsy, neurofibromatosis, tuberous sclerosis, spina bifida, Prader-Willi syndrome, and Tourette Syndrome.

Legal Issues, Legal Rights, and Disability

Citizens of the United States obtain rights in three different ways: they are enumerated in our Constitution and Bill of Rights; they are enacted through legislation (local, state or federal) and codified in regulations that further explain or interpret the legislation; or they are the result of court decisions that further define our rights, how they should be interpreted and commonly understood.

Citizens with disabilities have the same rights as citizens who do not have disabilities, among them the right to vote, to own property and dispose of it as they wish, the right to marry, the right to privacy, the right to worship, and freedom of speech, and the right to due process.

After World War II and the Nuremberg Trials, an important concept of informed consent became the standard when medical or other interventions are recommended. This means that a person needs to consent to treatment and needs to understand both the benefits of the treatment and any risks that might derive from the treatment. If we go in for surgery, we are asked to sign a consent form that details what could happen to us as a result of the surgery or of medications that are prescribed. Informed consent also applies to issues like behavior management interventions.

One issue that has involved informed consent and is the source of some tension at the moment is the issue of guardianship. In New York State, the law presumes that anyone who is over 18 can make his or her own decisions. Some individuals with intellectual disabilities may need support in order to make decisions about health care, whether or not to have children, or other life choices. Parents can retain the power to make these decisions for their adult children with intellectual or developmental disabilities if they go to court and petition to remain their adult child's guardian. Sometimes parents are awarded limited guardianship – they can make some decisions for their adult child with a disability, but not all decisions. Recently a new idea – supported decision-making – is gaining ground. The idea is that the person appoints someone he or she trusts to assist in making important decisions without giving up her or his rights.

When a person with a disability enters public care (or private care) they often give up some rights or parts of rights in order to be eligible for the care they receive. For example, if a person is moving into a group home or apartment program that is run by a service agency, s/he might be giving up some rights to privacy or self-determination in order for the service agency to provide what's needed. For example, if the person is living with six people and there are two staff members, and five of the residents want to go swimming on Tuesdays, the person who would prefer to stay home may end up going swimming because there is no one to stay home with him or her. Or if the person is used to having a private room s/he may be living with a roommate, at least for a period of time. These issues are typically spelled out so that they are clear before the person moves from one setting to another. While the goal of these organizations should be to provide as much choice as possible – to provide services in the 'least restrictive environment' possible, practical issues sometimes mean choices may be limited.

There are five basic laws and regulations that affect disabled children and adults. These are explained below:

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973: Sections 504 and 508 (1973)

The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 is very important because its Section 504 mandated that any public entity receiving federal funds needed to be accessible to individuals with disabilities. Since hospitals, federal courts, transportation systems and educational institutions received federal funds, what this meant was that for the first time people who had mobility or sensory issues could take advantage of higher education or the court system, or have access to public transportation. Section 508 mandated that internal federal systems – for example, the telecommunications systems- had to be accessible. This opened the door for people with disabilities to be employed by the federal government. One of the important principles included in the Rehab Act of 1973 was the idea of 'least restrictive alternative' or 'least restrictive environment.' What this means is that when services are needed – whether they are rehabilitative or educational – they should be provided in the least possible segregated setting, and that people with disabilities should only receive segregated services when absolutely necessary. So, rehabilitation services should be provide in the community, not in segregated settings like hospitals or institutions.

PL 94-142 (1975), renamed IDEA (2004), and Every Student Succeeds Act (2015)

Public Law 94-142, the Education of All Handicapped Children Act – further modified in and renamed Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) mandated a free and appropriate education to all children, whether or not they had a disability. IDEA expanded on this idea, and recent reauthorizations have made some improvements. Important to the original and subsequent modifications is the idea which was embedded in the Rehab Act of 1973 – the idea of 'least restrictive setting.' Extending this idea is the concept that the default educational setting should be one where the child with a disability is included or integrated, and only removed from an inclusive classroom for a specific, documented reason (therapy or another documented reason). Also included is the mandate for a written individualized education plan (IEP) that describes the student's needs and the services to be provided to assist in that child's education, due process and appeals, formalized input from parents and the student, and periodic review. Additional supports needed by the student are detailed in each student's IEP.

The Developmental Disabilities Act (1963)

The Developmental Disabilities Act was initially authorized in 1963 by President Kennedy. It is administered under the federal Administration for Community Living (ACL). It is reauthorized periodically and changes are made depending on current needs. For example, in 1975, the State Protection and Advocacy systems were created to address civil rights violations. The Act of 1978 provided for the creation of Developmental Disabilities Planning Councils in each state. These Councils are awarded federal funds and are charged with funding pilot projects that can be widely adopted if they prove to be viable and useful. The DD Act also provided for the creation of University Centers of Excellence in Developmental Disabilities (UCEDs) which are charged with training clinicians and other staff to work in the community with individuals with developmental disabilities. Protection and Advocacy programs in each state can help with bringing legal actions in cases of violations of individual rights, but they frequently bring actions against more systemic violations of rights. Protection and Advocacy Programs address legal rights of individuals

with developmental disabilities, assistive technology, voting accessibility and traumatic brain injury.

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 is the most sweeping legislation for persons with disabilities in the United States. The ADA was signed by President George H. W. Bush in July of 1990, and took effect two years later. The ADA and its amendments of 2008 provide for reasonable accommodation in employment, communication, transportation, and in the use of community resources, like local businesses. While the ADA lays the groundwork for forcing accessibility, it also puts the burden of complaint upon disabled citizens. While the Office of Civil Rights will investigate and prosecute violations of the ADA, reliance for identifying instances of violation rests with individuals with disabilities.

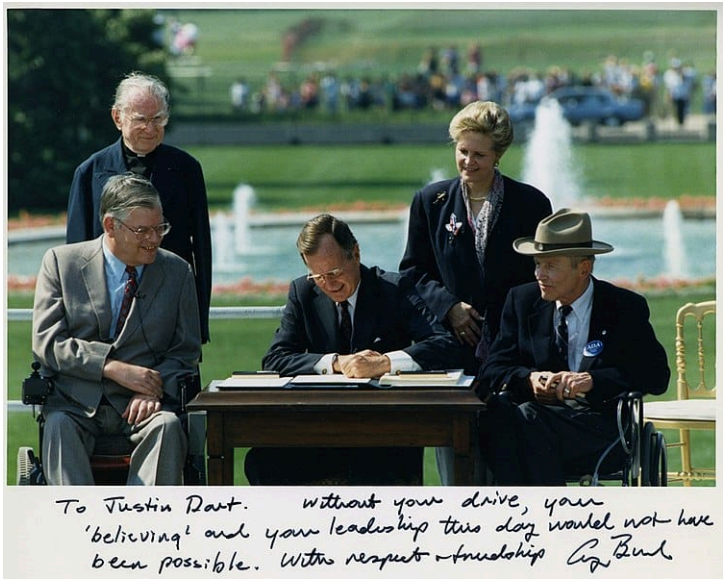


Figure 5.8.3: *Obama archives. President Bush signing the ADA. Far right (in hat) is Justin Dart.*. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Wikimedia)

The Olmstead v L.C. Decision of 1999

The Olmstead v L.C. Decision of 1999 was a lawsuit filed by two women living in the Georgia Regional Hospital. Each of the women wanted to live in the community and in each case the professionals treating the women agreed that they would be able to do that. The State of Georgia had not placed the women arguing that their budget was inadequate to support them in the community. The case went all the way to the Supreme Court, which found that "under Title II of the ADA states are required to place persons with mental disabilities in community settings rather than in institutions when the State's treatment professionals have determined that community placement is appropriate" and when other conditions have been met. The decision also reaffirmed that individuals with disabilities should not be excluded from life in the community but instead should be included in society.

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5.9: Current Research

Joint Policy Statement on Expulsions and Suspensions Policies in Early Childhood (US Department of Education and Health and Human Services)

The joint statement of the U.S. Departments of Health and Human Services and Education titled Statement on Expulsion and Suspension Policies in Early Childhood Settings (2015) states that the most important steps early childhood education programs can take in preventing, limiting, and eliminating suspension and expulsion is to establish developmentally appropriate and equitable behavior guidance practices and policies that center both the social emotional and behavioral health of young children. These policies should be consistently enforced, without bias and clearly communicated to administrators, teachers, students, and their families (Longstreth, Brady, & Kay, 2013).

School to Prison Pipelines

The school-to-prison pipeline is the name for the phenomenon of suspensions and expulsions found to be a direct pathway to the criminal justice system. This journey begins in early childhood education where Black boys disproportionately experience punitive disciplinary actions. Research shows that early and repetitive exclusionary school discipline results in higher rates of Black males dropping out of school and becoming involved in the criminal justice system (Bryan, 2017).

Anti-Bias Education

The anti-bias movement was born out of the multiculturalism movement. Some of the people involved in the multiculturalism movement felt that it did not do enough to address social problems in the education system.

The anti-bias approach urges educators to be aware of biases that perpetuate oppression and create an inequitable environment and to eliminate them. The anti-bias approach is intended to teach children about acceptance, tolerance and respect; to critically analyze what they are taught; and to recognize the connections between ethnicity, gender, religion, and social class, and power, privilege, prestige, and opportunity. Anti-bias curriculum also embraces differences and uniqueness. There is no such thing as "color-blindness." We need to accept and acknowledge differences.

The National Director of the Anti Defamation League, Abraham H. Foxman has said, "Children are born into this world without prejudice, but can learn prejudice as easily as the alphabet or tying their shoes; getting to children as early as possible is important when you want to instill them with positive images of themselves and others" (Anti-Defamation League, 2001, How Can We Stop Hate Before it Starts? section, para. 0). Therefore, while it is important to educate adults about bias and discrimination, raising children who will be anti-bias is an essential step towards achieving real change in our society. Incorporating anti-bias curriculum in early childhood education provides children with a foundation to fight for social justice later in their lives.

In the Classroom

A classroom environment rich in possibilities for exploring diversity provides children with opportunities to develop ideas about themselves and others, allows them to initiate conversations about differences in a safe environment, and provides teachers with a setting in which they can introduce activities about diversity (Stern-LaRosa, 2001, Talking to children about diversity: Preschool years section, para. 7). Teachers are an integral part of a child's development, and can be key figures in shaping children's perceptions of differences. They are influential role models who have the potential to teach children to be anti-bias.



Figure 5.9.1: Teachers are role models for anti-bias. [73]

The formation of children's attitudes towards difference is a social process in which the family, school, and media all play major roles (Derman-Sparks, 2006, p. 15). Thus, in our society, children are constantly exposed to bias, prejudice, and discrimination, but the school is a place where these views can be challenged (Lee, 2006, p. 4). Because children absorb societal beliefs, it is important to teach them during their development to appreciate differences rather than allowing them to internalize society's biases.

Children's experiences in early childhood shape how they will approach differences throughout their life. The preschool years lay the foundation for children's development of a strong sense of self, empathy, and positive attitudes towards difference and social interaction skills. The bias and discrimination that exist in our society has the ability to sabotage their healthy development in these areas. Through anti-bias activities and the help of educators, children can learn to resist various forms of bias (Derman-Sparks, 2006, p. 193). Even young children have the ability to be anti-bias; what children learn in the classroom can be transferred into action to combat the injustice they encounter in the world around them. Children can be taught to be allies. This means that they are willing to stand up when they see bias occurring.

Curriculum

Anti-bias curriculum strives for the development of a student who will actively promote social justice. Through activities that build a strong sense of self, empathy, a positive attitude towards people different from oneself, and healthy social interaction skills, students may be guided towards the path of social justice.

The Anti-Bias Curriculum, developed by a multi-ethnic group of early childhood educators, promotes the following goals:

1. To nurture each child's construction of a knowledgeable, confident self-concept and group identity.
2. To promote each child's comfortable, empathic interaction with people from diverse backgrounds.
3. To foster each child's critical thinking about bias.
4. To cultivate each child's ability to stand up for her/himself and for others in the face of bias (Derman-Sparks, 2006, p. 193).

These principles should be a topic of discussion and a part of primary activities, but also relevant to students' role as activists, because, as Kalantzis and Cope point out, "Multicultural education, to be effective, needs to be more active" (Nieto, 2006 p. 26).

An integral part of anti-bias activism among young students involves awareness about the seriousness of the issue. It is therefore necessary to discuss and define principles and ideologies regarding prejudice with children from a young age. Sandra Fitzpatrick emphasizes the importance of starting with concrete examples and working towards the more abstract when working with particularly young students. She suggests role-playing and contextual conversations to help children grasp the concepts of race and prejudice. For example, the Dr. Suess children's book, "The Sneetches" is particularly useful in explaining that what is on the outside doesn't matter (Fitzpatrick, personal communication, April 24, 2008). Once students have a grasp on what prejudice is, and how it can hurt people, anti-bias activities can begin. Activism can happen right in the classroom, around the community, or

in larger society.

One activity Louise Derman-Sparks recommends involves “flesh-colored bandages… a material of considerable interest to young children” (Derman-Sparks, 2006, p. 195). One day, while attending to a minor scrape, she said to the children, “Look at this—it says on the box that these bandages are flesh-colored. That means they are the same color as our skin. Let’s see if it really is true.” Each child then received a bandage on his or her arm, and they noticed that the bandages matched very few of the students’ skin tones. The next day, they invited members of other classrooms to participate in the experiment. Noticing that the bandages were, indeed, not a universal skin color, they opted to write a letter to the company. The children dictated what they wanted to say, Derman-Sparks added a description of their experiment, and the letter was mailed to the company. They also got families involved, sending letters home about what they were doing. A few weeks later the class received a box of bandages with a polite note reading, “Enclosed find some transparent strips which are more flesh-colored” (Derman-Sparks, 2006, p. 196).

Although teacher-led activities are a great way to get students into the habit of speaking out against prejudice, when the students themselves lead, it becomes more than just an activity. It becomes activism. Early childhood educators Tara Karr and Sandra Fitzpatrick have seen remarkable cases of anti-racist activism within their classrooms.

Tara Karr, a pre-school teacher at Gorse Child Study Center, has found that her students are also capable of responding to those precious classroom events we call “teachable moments.” This year she has a set of twins who are particularly vocal in reacting to other students’ comments about the families made of “scary brown people” in stories or the “impossible” family structures that have two moms. Karr has found that when the twins reply with, “What is scary? She is saying only good things to her daughter,” or “There doesn’t always have to be a dad, family is the people that love you,” the entire class jumps in for a student-led discussion about skin color, or what makes a family, etc. (Tara Karr, personal communication, April 25, 2008).

One year in Sandra Fitzpatrick’s career as a kindergarten teacher at the Three Rivers School, the gym classes hosted a “jump-a-thon.” The children were to raise money outside of school, and the students who had raised the most would win prizes. At the end of the competition, it was the students who came from wealthy families who had raised the most money, and therefore won the prizes. Fitzpatrick describes the students in her class who had not won prizes as “devastated,” and those who had won prizes were equally concerned. Having learned about prejudice earlier in the year, the class decided to take a stand against the biased system. They chose to return their prizes, talk to other classes in the school about the event, and make a video explaining why the system was unfair that they then sent to the American Heart Association, who had sponsored the event (Sandra Fitzpatrick, personal communication, May 5, 2008).

Guiding Children’s Behavior in Culturally Appropriate Ways

Children are products of their environment and their families are their first teachers. When children are enrolled in school, they bring with them what they have learned from their home environment. This could be positive or negative and it may fit well into their new learning environment or it may not. [76] “For children whose home language or culture differs substantially from the norm in early childhood classrooms, this transition may expose them to conflicting expectations about how to behave and other potential sources of [cultural difference between home and the early childhood education program].” [77]

According to the National Association for the Education of Young Children’s Culturally Appropriate Positive Guidance with Young Children by Zeynep Isik-Ercan, we have to remember that children have cultural routines that heavily influence their behavior. When caregivers and teachers respond to behavior it is important to consider the cultural scripts that children might be following.

They should consider the issue through a lens of culturally appropriateness that takes into consideration factors such as:

- Family traditions
- Religious beliefs
- Community etiquette
- Social class
- Contextual differences (such as urban, rural, and suburban practices)
- Parenting style

Guidance through Peer Culture

“Peer culture—‘the stable sets of routines, artifacts, values, and concerns that children produce and share with each other’ (Corsaro 2012, 489)—is an important component of classroom culture. Teachers may gain valuable insights when they examine

various elements of the peer culture in their classrooms and use children's interactions to establish positive guidance." Children can monitor and regulate their peers' behaviors before they can do the same for their own behavior. By interacting with other children, they receive feedback that helps them begin to internalize social expectations about their behavior. [79]



Figure 5.9.2: Children collaborating while building children building with wooden blocks(CC BY 2.0) via flickr

Working through Conflict with the Anti-Bias Approach

In their book Anti-Bias Education for Young Children and Ourselves , Louise Derman-Sparks and Julie Olsen Edwards provide guidelines that can be used to help children navigate conflict related to diversity in ways that protect all children's rights and are culturally responsive.

To support children's ability to recognize unfairness and the negative impact it has educators can:

- Notice and learn about the sources of children's misconceptions and stereotypes.
- Plan experiences that allow children to compare accurate representations to their inaccurate understandings
- Support their attempts to make unfair things fair

Educators should remember that biased behaviors are just as serious as physical aggression. To help children act against prejudice and/or discrimination, educators can:

- Notice when unfair practices affect children
- Facilitate dialogue about the feelings and ideas about these situations
- Provide information as needed to help children understand
- Think about the children and families and what their needs are and take into consideration how they handle prejudice and discrimination
- Provide diverse ways to handle discriminatory situations that will accommodate the diversity of families
- Plan and carry out actions to address the problem with children [80]
- If you are unsure how to respond, tell the child or children you will think about it and get back to them (ensuring that you always follow through)

Supporting Children's Conflict Negotiation

It is important for educators to coach young children, step-by-step, as they learn conflict resolution skills. Model a predictable, effective sequence of steps children can eventually use on their own: acknowledge feelings, gather information about the conflict, restate the problem, ask children to suggest possible solutions, help them choose one to try, and then check back with them soon after as they implement their solution. As they mature and practice, gradually step back and take a less central role in solving problems, prompting children if they "get stuck" on the path to resolution. After they do resolve a conflict, briefly summarize the ways children solved the problem successfully. This reinforces children's skills for the next time a problem arises.

Developmental Sequence of Conflict Negotiation

As children mature, they are able to better understand the perspectives of other people and can negotiate more constructively with peers to resolve conflicts.

1. Beginning level : Children can express to each other (using words, actions, or facial expressions) their own desires, but adults need to provide ideas for resolving disputes.
2. Next level : Children begin to use appropriate words and actions to express their perspectives and desires to each other and seek adults for help during disputes.
3. Next level : Children not only express their own needs and desires to each other during a conflict but can suggest simple solutions based on their own perspectives.
4. Mature or proficient level : Children can consider each other's perspectives when there is a disagreement and can suggest and agree on some mutually acceptable solutions. [81]

Social Justice, Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion

In 1972, in response to the civil rights movement, Congress passed the law commonly known as Title IX ("Title IX Legal Manual"). This law stipulates that any school receiving federal funds must allow equal access to educational programs. Although Title IX is most often associated with athletics, because it is written so broadly, it actually paved the way for many improvements in women's status in academics ("Achieving Success Under Title IX"; *Title IX - Gender Equity in Education*). It is important to remember that Title IX protects both sexes from discrimination. According to the American Civil Liberties Union, "Title IX benefits both males and females and is the lynchpin of thirty-five years of efforts to promote and establish gender equity in schools" ("Title IX – Gender Equity in Education", para. 1).

Despite the progress initiated by Title IX, many educators still felt women and girls were feeling the pangs of discrimination. In 1992, the American Association of University Women (AAUW) published a major study titled *How Schools Shortchange Girls*. This study shed light of the ways in which schools consciously or unconsciously discriminated against girls. Among other things, the study noted how girls were often stereotyped or neglected by the educational system. The study claims that curricula and tests were sometimes even biased in favor of males ("How Schools Shortchange Girls"). At times, females are also victims of sexual harassment in schools, which can cause a huge disruption in the learning process("How Schools Shortchange Girls").

How Schools Shortchange Girls elicited national attention and action. However, a popular backlash has recently begun to develop. According to Thomas (2008, para. 7), "In recent years, a number of critics have said that attempts to achieve greater gender equity [are] producing unintended negative effects on boys." In other words, boys may be the ones getting shortchanged now. Boys are now deemed more likely to exhibit behavior problems and to need remedial assistance (Kommer, 2006). Although groups like the AAUW still contend that girls' advances have not come "at the expense of boys," many feel it would be wise to bolster our support of boys (Thomas, para. 1; Tyre, 2006). We can do this by incorporating methods that specifically appeal to boys: kinesthetic learning, visual learning, and competitive learning.

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6: BUILDING COLLABORATIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH FAMILIES

Learning Objectives

- Identify the importance of relationships between ECE programs and families.
- Describe ways teachers and programs can facilitate trusting relationships with families.
- Differentiate parent involvement from family engagement.
- Protect the importance of families as having the primary role in their children's lives.
- Define ways for programs to empower families.
- Describe effective communication strategies.
- Describe strategies for successful family conferencing.

"A growing body of research suggests that meaningful engagement of families in their children's early learning supports school readiness and later academic success" (NAEYC 2009; Henrich and Gadaire 2008; Weiss, Caspe, and Lopez 2006). Programs and teachers who strive to build genuine partnerships with the parents, guardians, and other primary caregivers at home and encourage families to become active participants in their child's early learning and development help families to become advocates for their children. "High levels of engagement often result from strong program–family partnerships that are co-constructed and characterized by trust, shared values, ongoing bidirectional communication, mutual respect, and attention to each party's needs (Lopez, Kreider, and Caspe 2004; NAEYC 2009, 6).

In addition, early childhood education programs have learned that when they can effectively partner with families, young children benefit and families are more likely to maintain involvement with school settings across the years. By strengthening family engagement during the early years, particularly with families from diverse backgrounds, families that have children with disabilities or other special needs, and families with dual language learners, early childhood education (ECE) programs can help to reduce the achievement gap.

When programs strive to build trusting, open, and collaborative relationships with families and genuinely seek the family's input to inform program planning, family members receive the message that they play a key role in their child's development and learning. In efforts to establish strong links between home and the early care and education setting, programs and teachers focus on developing strategies for family collaboration and being responsive to each family's home language.

6.1: Building and Maintaining Positive Relationships with Families

6.2: From Parent Involvement to Family Engagement

6.3: Valuing the Primary Role of Families in Promoting Children's Development

6.4: Empowering Families

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6.7: Family Teacher Conferencing

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6.1: Building and Maintaining Positive Relationships with Families

Relationships with Families

Honest, caring, understanding, and respectful exchanges with family members lead to their sharing important information with teachers that help to inform how to care and support each child's learning and development. Taking the time to find out from family members about their child's unique characteristics and needs plays an important role in providing teachers with the information needed to set up developmentally appropriate learning environments, curriculum, and guidance strategies for individual children in their early learning programs. Establishing positive relationships with families helps to bridge children's experiences between the program and home, and it fosters children's sense of belonging in the early education setting.



Figure 6.1 6.1.1: When there is a trusting relationship that values the family, it is easier for parents to trust the care of their children to early educators.[1]

Teachers view families as children's first teachers and seek their assessments of a child's needs, interests, and abilities. Different families and communities have different views and expectations of preschool aged children. The effective early childhood educator recognizes, understands, and respects the values of children's families and communities and attempts to make the environment as congruent with those values as possible. In high-quality early childhood programs, the teacher speaks frequently with family members and, whenever appropriate, strengthens the links between the home and program. Frequent communication between program staff and family members is important, especially in the case of children with disabilities or other special needs. Through collaboration with families, preschool teachers can gain insight into ways in which they can be important contributors to the child's learning and development. To support children's learning across home and school contexts, the program can encourage family participation in activities at the early care and education program.[2]

Quotable

"Family engagement with schools has been linked to important outcomes for children of all families, including families with children who are dual language learners . . . Numerous positive developmental child outcomes have been associated with family engagement, including early literacy skills, cognitive and language development skills . . . socio-emotional skills . . . and academic achievement."

Source: State Advisory Council on Early Learning and Care 2013, Paper 4, Family Engagement, 121.

Programs and Teachers Build Relationships with Families

Programs convey an important message to families when they seek their views and collaborate with them in the care of their children. This message helps family members understand that their preferences and their concerns about the learning and development of their child are important to teachers and program leaders. When a teacher has open, honest, and understanding

relationships with family members, the resulting links between home and the early care education setting often helps their child feel safe and comfortable.

Programs

- Support the participation of all family members, being responsive to their cultural, linguistic, and economic differences, as well as to any disabilities or special needs of the children or a family member.
- Involve family members in making decisions about the program and its' policies.
- Recognize and acknowledge that teen parents are still adolescents developmentally even though they are in an adult role as parents.
- Provide a way for families to give feedback to the program, such as regular evaluations or opportunities for informal discussion.
- Schedule regular meetings, social times, and other special events for families so that they can learn more about the program, get to know each other and staff members, and build a sense of community

Communication

- Seek and consider families' views when identifying and hiring new staff members.
- Create an area for posting information for families (daily notices, outside services, child development information, community events, employment, and educational opportunities).
- Encourage communication between teachers and family members at the beginning and end of each day.

Teachers

- Share a child's records with his or her family, including assessment information on the child's learning, experiences, and developmental progress.
- Learn about the different families in the program.

How to communicate

- Engage in a two-way exchange of ideas, preferences, and child-rearing philosophies during the first meetings with family members, setting the tone for future communication.
- Listen, reflect, and respond when family members communicate concerns and ideas about their child.
- Initiate discussions with families to understand and resolve issues when they arise.
- Engage in communication with family members at the beginning and end of each day about the child's care, activities, interests, and moods.
- Communicate to family members that they are always welcome to visit or call to check on their child.

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6.2: From Parent Involvement to Family Engagement

Family Engagement as Parent Involvement

Parent involvement refers to parent participation in the systems and activities the early childhood education program in ways that support them as the primary educators, nurturers, and advocates for all children enrolled in the program. Parent involvement refers to opportunities for parent participation in a variety of program activities that support child and adult development, including policy and program decision-making.

Family engagement refers to ongoing, goal-directed relationships between staff and families that are mutual, culturally responsive, and that support what is best for children and families both individually and collectively. Staff and families share responsibility for the learning and development of children, the progress toward outcomes for children and families, and for parent involvement in the program. Parent involvement is a part of this larger construct of family engagement.

Table 6.2: Examples that Illustrate the Shift from Parent Involvement to Engagement[1]

Parent Involvement	Family Engagement
Parent Involvement is primarily the responsibility of family services staff (or parent involvement specialists, home visitors, or transition specialists).	Family engagement is embedded in the work of all staff members, management systems and leadership priorities.
Parent involvement might revolve around outputs—for example, the number of parents who show up at a meeting.	Family engagement focuses on evidence of positive, goal directed relationships, for example, that result in family progress in one (or more) of the seven outcome areas.
Parent involvement works with a small percentage of families involved in leadership opportunities (policy council, parent meetings, special events, etc.).	Through ongoing relationships, family members are engaged in a variety of goal directed ways related to Parent and Family Engagement Outcomes.
Programs that involve parents collect data from children and families—for example, information about parent participation.	Programs that engage families use child and family data to improve services. These programs help families understand and use child data to support their children's progress and development.

Engaging and Collaborating with Families

Programs

- Develop and implement program policies that give families and staff members opportunities to observe and discuss children's development and behavior.
- Support families by providing tools and resources that help them contribute to their children's learning.
- Invite families to participate formally and informally in the development, governance, and evaluation of program services and policies, as appropriate.

Teachers

- Recognize that working with families promotes children's development.
- Build relationships with families to ensure meaningful two-way collaboration, supporting the children's learning and development and helping families to understand child development.
- Attentively greet family members when they arrive and depart from the program setting, and use those opportunities to exchange information about the family's child.
- Contribute ideas and resources to promote each child's learning and development in the home and community.
- Collaborate formally and informally with families and colleagues to share observations, describe children's accomplishments, plan for children individually and as a group, and address concerns about children.
- Support families as decision makers for and educators of their children.
- Actively solicit and listen to families' goals, aspirations, and concerns about their children's development.



Figure 6.2: Children thrive when their families are engaged and included in their early childhood education program.[2]

Home Language

Programs

- Create strategies to engage family members from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds and invite family members to share goals and strategies for supporting children's home languages in the group or classroom. This may require the use of interpreters and translators.

Teachers

- Learn a few words in each child's home language, such as greetings, names of family members, words of comfort, and important objects or places. Parents and other family members can be good resources for learning their language.
- Seek and use resources to facilitate communication with family members in their home language, ensuring that all families are included.[3]

"Acknowledge, Ask, and Adapt" By putting into practice the following steps for culturally responsive caregiving, you will gain the information you need to support appropriately the growth of all the children in your care.

Step 1: Acknowledge The first step is a step of recognition in which you use your growing awareness of the existence of different cultural assumptions about child development. A willingness to be open with yourself is essential to the success of this step.

Step 2: Ask The second step is an information-gathering step. The goal is to get the information you need about the parents' and your cultural beliefs and values so that you can solve the problem together during the third step. Do not rush the second step.

Step 3: Adapt In this last problem-solving step, you use the information gathered in step two to resolve conflicts caused by

cultural differences and find the most effective way to support each child's growth."

References

[1] Examples that Illustrate the Shift from Parent Involvement to Engagement

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6.3: Valuing the Primary Role of Families in Promoting Children's Development

Families

The family is central in children's lives, as it is through their experiences with their families that children learn about themselves and the world around them (adapted from CDE 2006, 56). Family member is used to define the people who are primarily responsible for a child, including extended family members and resource families (text adapted from CDE 2006, 56). Programs support the healthy growth and development of the child within the context of the family by creating continuity between the home and the early care and education setting. Programs are responsible for learning about the children's home life through communication with family members and, when possible, home visits. As part of this process, programs will learn to work with diverse family structures, including those headed by grandparents, resource families, same-sex parents, and teen parents. An essential aspect of high-quality programs is finding ways to support the growing relationship between the child and the family, and adapting to the strengths and needs of each child–family relationship (CDE 2006, 57). By getting to know families and understanding the importance of children's relationships with caregivers at home, programs and teachers can support the primary role of the family in children's learning and development.

Knowledge of Families

Programs

- Develop or adapt program policies, based on knowledge of the families and on their input and feedback, to support family engagement in the program.

Teachers

- Gather information from family members and engage in direct, effective communication to learn about family composition, values, and traditions to support the primary role of families in their children's care and education and to engage families in the early education setting.
- Learn about each family's values, beliefs, and practices by observing and engaging family members in conversation or by communicating with other staff members as appropriate.
- Find out about each family's language preferences and language goals for the child.
- Refer to and use pertinent family information when responding to needs of children and families.

Parent–Child History and Relationships

Programs

- Develop program policies that support children's relationships with their adult caregivers at home.
- Provide professional development for staff on facilitating parent–child relationships and identifying areas of concern.
- Provide resources or consultation as appropriate to address concerns related to children's relationships with adult caregivers at home.

Teachers

- Understand that all children develop in the context of relationships and that the quality of children's interactions with adult caregivers at home has an impact on child outcomes.
- Follow program policies or practices designed to support relationships between children and adult family members.
- Use a variety of techniques to facilitate and reinforce positive interaction between children and adult family members and support each adult family member's capacity to be responsive and sensitive to the child.

- Understand that culture influences approaches to nurturing young children.
- Identify concerns related to children's relationships with adult family members and follow up as appropriate.

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6.4: Empowering Families

Partnership

When programs and teachers engage in open, respectful communication with family members and strive to develop positive, collaborative relationships with them, family members feel included and empowered. The experience of authentically contributing to their children's experiences in preschool helps family members become advocates for their children both within the program and in interactions with other early learning professionals. For example, they are more likely to seek or request services for their children, such as referrals to special education, when needed or appropriate.

Programs can help families with dual language learners recognize their families' cultural and linguistic strengths and learn the skills to ask for the types of services that they think will benefit their children. Families should be encouraged to share their strengths with the program and be asked to participate in joint goal setting and decision making about their children's education. The entire program benefits when educators incorporate diverse cultures, languages, and talents of families with dual language learners into the program's learning environment and curriculum. Once family members feel their contributions and opinions are valued, programs will benefit from their knowledge and experience.

Empowerment of Families

Programs

- Develop an open-door policy that encourages family members to visit the classroom or center at any time.
- Encourage families to offer recommendations for the program's structure and curriculum and to observe the ways in which their contributions are used in the setting.
- Invite families to share their areas of expertise with the teacher, other families, and the children in the program.
- Ensure all families have the opportunity to participate in a policymaking capacity or leadership role (e.g., as members of a board of directors or advisory board).
- Develop a philosophy statement that expresses the program's appreciation of cultural and linguistic diversity and share the statement with both staff and families.
- Invite families with young dual language learners to participate formally as part of groups that contribute to decisions for the program (e.g., boards, committees, and the like), and to share on an ongoing basis their ideas on how to support and engage with families.

Teachers

- Solicit help from family members in solving problems their child may be having in an early care and education setting.
- Invite families to volunteer regularly and to participate in activities.
- Hold conferences regularly, not just when there is a problem with the child.



Figure 6.4.3: When families are welcome in the early education environment, their children thrive.

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6.5: Programs are Responsive to Families' Goals for Their Children's Development

Partnership with families

The most successful opportunities for parent engagement are those that address the ideas of parents about their roles in their children's education and their sense of efficacy in helping their children to succeed in early childhood programs (Hoover-Dempsey and Sandler 1997). Working with parents to define shared goals helps to strengthen the home–school partnership. In particular, when programs and teachers work to integrate school and family experiences, implement school-readiness practices, and identify strategies for school readiness and transitions, both families and their children benefit.

Researchers have found that preschoolers achieved at higher levels when families and teachers shared similar child centered beliefs and practices. Thus, it is important that programs ask all families to collaborate and participate in joint goal setting for their children, and to ask families with dual language learners and those families who have children with disabilities or other special needs, about effective strategies and the contexts in which their children learn best.

Integrating School and Family Experiences

Programs

- Explain the program's philosophy on school readiness to classroom staff and families, with consideration for each child's level of development.
- Incorporate the role of family members in facilitating their children's transition from preschool to kindergarten.
- Ensure that families with young dual language learners are included as partners in their children's education. Families should be consulted regarding their children's early language learning experiences, their educational goals for their children, and the educational progress of their children.
- Ensure that families of young children with disabilities or other special needs are included as partners in their education. Families should be consulted regarding their children's unique learning needs, their educational goals for their children, and the educational progress of their children.
- Invite families to collaborate with program staff on long-term language development and learning goals for their children. Actively recruit families to participate in classroom activities.

Teachers

- Respond to children and family members in ways that encourage them to share family experiences.
- Share information about children's experiences in the early education setting with families.
- Support each child's home language and culture at home and at school.
- Maintain confidentiality of family and child information as appropriate.
- Design early education environments that reflect the diverse experiences of children and families.

Implementation of School-Readiness Practices

Programs

- Collaborate with local transitional kindergarten and kindergarten programs, schools, and support staff in preparing children and families for upcoming transitions.
- Provide professional development activities for staff on school-readiness issues, including developmentally appropriate practice, communication with families, and social–emotional competence.

Teachers

- Describe the program's philosophy on school readiness and transitions.
- Engage in discussions with families about children's experiences in the group or classroom as the experiences relate to school readiness and transitions.
- Respond to questions from families or refer them to appropriate staff for inquiries related to school readiness.
- Articulate that school entry is one milestone in the context of a developmental and educational continuum.
- Include all families as partners in the education of their children with attentiveness to families whose home language is not English.

Strategies for School Readiness and Transitions

Programs

- Coordinate developmentally appropriate experiences to support children's school readiness in all developmental domains, anticipating upcoming transitions to new programs or schools.

Teachers

- Know the previous early care and education experiences of children in the group and plan for upcoming transitions to new programs or schools.
- Identify indicators of school readiness and developmental precursors of school readiness, as appropriate, for the ages of the children served.

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6.6: Programs and Teachers Use Effective Communication Strategies that Reflect the Diversity of Families Served

Communication

Honoring diversity strengthens relationships with families and children, thereby enhancing the quality of care and education for preschool children (adapted from CDE 2006, 57–58). Being responsive to cultural, linguistic, and economic differences and how these differences affect the ways in which programs and teachers communicate with families demonstrates a program's commitment to each family's unique strengths. Programs and teachers can work to enhance their communication strategies, attending carefully to individual differences in family preferences for communication.

Two-way communication strategies have been found to be particularly effective with families with dual language learners who may otherwise feel disconnected from the program. Two-way communication allows both parties to share information about the learning progress and well-being of the dual language learner and to collaborate on ways to help the child reach important learning goals. This type of communication works well during one-on-one meetings with the teacher or in a more informal setting such as in the community or in a group setting with other families with dual language learners of similar linguistic backgrounds. Regular two-way communication may be the first step toward increasing family engagement and key to developing strong dual language learner family–program partnerships.

Communication Strategies

Programs

- Provide professional development for staff on the principles of and strategies for effective communication with families.
- Ensure confidentiality and privacy in communications throughout the program.
- Develop a language and communication policy that informs families with young dual language learners on the possible modes to communicate with staff.

Teachers

- Respect each family's style and preferred method of communication and interact with families in a transparent, accountable manner.
- Interact with families in a timely and professional manner to establish relationships that encourage mutual, two-way exchange of information about children.
- Maintain confidentiality and ensure privacy in communications regarding children, families, and staff and colleagues.



Figure 6.6.4: Open communication is vital to the relationships between families and teachers.[9]

Family Preferences for Communication

Programs

- Interpret and apply communication policies (as appropriate) to ensure that diverse families are included and complex situations are addressed.
- Help staff to understand and apply communication styles based on each family's expressed needs and preferences.
- Ensure that all communications are accessible and comprehensible to families (i.e., in the family's preferred language).

Teachers

Use various ways to communicate with families (e.g., active listening, e-mail and telephone contact, text messaging), depending on each family's preferences and on the situation.

- Model for families effective strategies for communicating with children, adapt strategies for communicating with children, and adapt strategies (as needed) to meet diverse language and literacy needs.[10]

References:

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6.7: Family Teacher Conferencing

Conferences

Our responsibility as early childhood professionals is to observe, document, and assess children's development. This provides us with information about each child to enable us to plan and implement effective curriculum, design an environment, develop a schedule/routine, and to know how to guide and support the behavior of the children in our program.

It is important that we share this information with families in a supportive and engaging way. We typically do this with formal family/teacher conferencing; however, there are informal ways to communicate with families on a more daily basis. Conferences are designed to facilitate discussion with families regarding the shared goals that the teacher and the family have decided upon through the many informal communication that happens throughout the school year.

Sometimes there are difficult things that need to be communicated to families in a formal conference. It is critical that we have established a trusting, collaborative relationships with families in order to have these difficult conversations. When families know that you truly care about their child, they will be more likely to hear what you are saying and engage with you in working together to support their child's developmental needs.

Effective communication strategies are important in all the ways that we communicate with families. Conferencing is one of those ways. The following are some tips on how to have an effective conference with families.

Groundwork for Successful Conferences

- Explain purpose of the conference to the family
- Play for uninterrupted time
- Plan for private location as to not be unintentionally interrupted
- Plan goals and material to be discussed
- Prepare family for their participatory role
- Send an overview of the conference prior to meeting

Strategies for Successful Conferences

- Help families feel at ease
- Being with positive attitude and comments
- Encourage family participation
- Listen actively - paraphrase and reflect on what the family is saying
- Summarize for family
- Provide copies of the assessment tool being used

Things to Avoid in Conferences

- Avoid using technical terminology
- Avoid the role of "expert"
- Avoid negative evaluations
- Avoid unprofessional conversation
- Avoid advice giving
- Avoid rushing into solutions

Below is an example of a Family-Teacher Conference Letter that you may want to consider using prior to meeting with the families.

Family-Teacher Conference Letter

Dear Family,

As the day of our scheduled family-teacher conference draws near, we need to collect our thought about your child so our time can be put to good use. The following questionnaire is designed to assist me in covering all areas of concern and celebration to you and to me. Please take a few minutes to complete and return it to me prior to our conference. Remember this is not an evaluation, it is a sharing of information about a child the we both care about. Thank you for your collaboration!

Please answer the following questions:

1. My child communicates the following to me at home about school:
    - Relationships with children and adults
    - Favorite activities and areas of play
2. I see my child's areas of strength as:
3. I feel that my child needs to develop skills in:
4. I would like to discuss or have more information on:
5. Have you considered the whole child - social, emotional, physical, and intellectual?
6. What else have you been wondering lately?

Preparing for the conference

Here are some things you can use as a checklist to prepare for your conference ahead of time:

- Time scheduled
- Coverage in classroom arranged
- Staff lounge reserved (or place where you will hold the conference)
- Organization of anecdotal records and portfolio
- Handout sent for family participation
- Family contacted for observation appointment
- List of questions prepared
- Outline of topics prepared
- Plan for opening examples
- Environment prepared - snacks, writing materials, privacy sign

Productive Family-Teacher Conferences Need

The following are some things to consider to ensure that the conference is productive:

- Planning and preparation to achieve goals
- Time and privacy for discussion
- Strategies to facilitate two-way communication and sharing of information, questions, and ideas
- Respect for each participant's expertise
- A positive focus on child's progress and development

References:

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7: WELCOMING AND SUPPORTING FAMILIES

Learning Objectives

- Analyze the importance of a welcoming environment.
- Describe ways to make families feel welcome.
- Explain how programs can advocate for families.
- Define the role of community resources.
- Define ways in which you can collaborate with families regarding their home language.

Establishing a welcoming environment is an important aspect of fostering family engagement. “A welcoming environment implies that a program has focused efforts on maintaining an atmosphere that is inviting to families and honors their presence” (Constantino 2008, 25). In a welcoming environment, families feel that they belong and seek ways to contribute to the program. They become comfortable with exchanging information with their children’s teachers and open to exploring ways to bring learning activities from the preschool program to home. An essential part of a welcoming environment for families with dual language learners is the program ensuring that they have opportunities to communicate in their home language. Encouraging communication between families with dual language learners who share a home language, hiring staff members (when possible) who are able to communicate in the families’ home language, and providing translations help the families to feel welcome in the preschool setting.

7.1: Welcoming Spaces

7.2: Advocacy for Children and Families

7.3: Programs and Teachers Support Dual Language Learning

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7.1: Welcoming Spaces

Creating a Welcoming Space

Families will feel more supported and included if there are spaces designed with them in mind in your program. Many programs like to have a couch or bench or welcome area with adult furniture where the adult is able to transition from home to school with their child. Including pictures of the families in the classroom shows that the program encourages family engagement and understands the need for the child to have a connection to home when away for so many hours a day. Creating a community in a classroom where families can meet and interact with each other will also make families feel more comfortable with their child spending time away from them and in an early childhood education program. Family nights, ice cream socials, art fundraisers, child led plays, and open house nights are all great ways to open the classroom to families. What other ways can you think of to engage families in your program?



Figure 7.1 A father reading to his infant Photo by Picsea on Unsplash

Programs

- Express a warm welcome by having staff and teachers greet families at the door.
- Create a comfortable drop off area where families can separate from their child by reading them a book or looking at their family book
- Offer a family room or space, where family members can mingle with one another and access information on child development.
- Make a private space available for families and staff to communicate with one another.
- Arrange for support so families with dual language learners can use the home language to communicate with teachers and other program staff members.

Activity

Design what you think would be the perfect classroom that would be welcoming to children, teachers and families

Programs Regularly Provide Family Members with Information about Their Children's Learning and Development, Well-Being, And Everyday Experiences

A key to building successful partnerships with parents is to make them true partners by sharing with them the same kinds of educational information and ideas that are important to the teacher and staff. In a high-quality program, there is ongoing communication between the home and the early care and education center. As much as possible, families and teachers support each other in the development of the child.

Family practices in the home are also important for young dual language learners to learn, practice, and reinforce concepts in their home language that were initially introduced in school, such as literacy-building skills. Recent research suggests the use of families' home language is a protective factor for children of immigrant families. When some amount of the family's native language is used regularly in the home, young dual language learners show improved cognitive and social development. Thus, it is important for preschool programs to encourage learning at home in dual language learners' home languages. This may be particularly beneficial in the realm of reading and literacy-building skills.

Although monolingual speakers (those that only speak one language) often do not realize it, the majority of children around the world are **bilingual**, (they understand and use two languages). (Meyers- Sutton, 2005). Even in the United States, which is a relatively monolingual society, more than 47 million people speak a language other than English at home, and about 10 million of these people are children or youth in public schools (United States Department of Commerce, 2003). The large majority of bilingual students (75%) are Hispanic, but the rest represent more than a hundred different language groups from around the world. In larger communities throughout the United States, it is therefore common for a single classroom to contain students from several language backgrounds at once. In classrooms, as in other social settings, bilingualism exists in different forms and degrees.

Information about Learning

Programs

- Offer regular workshops for adult family members that family members helped to design and implement.
- Provide resources for educating the children's family members in various media (print, audio, video) and in the home languages of the families served by the early care and education setting, if appropriate to do so.
- Provide current information about the role of the family in maintaining home language skills.

Teachers

- Inform parents regularly about the purpose and benefits of the activities in the program for their children.
- Provide information regularly to families with dual language learners about the benefits of developing both of the child's languages and promoting bilingualism

[1] Photo by Picsea on Unsplash

[2]: Martha Lally and Suzanne Valentine-French. Provided by: College of Lake County Foundation. Located at: http://dept.clcillinois.edu/psy/LifespanDevelopment.pdf. License: *CC BY-NC-SA: Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike*

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7.2: Advocacy for Children and Families

Advocacy

The better that families are able to meet their children's basic need for shelter, food, and clothing, the more that family members will be available to support their child's learning. Effective programs provide support to families who want it, usually by linking families with resources in the community through referrals. To support family functioning and promote resilience in families and young children, programs and teachers can establish community partnerships and identify key resources for families, connecting them to those resources considered appropriate. In particular, services that help families become self-sufficient and prevent risk of stress or at least reduce ongoing, intense stress, allow family members to become sources of support for each other. Services that promote positive, nurturing relationships among family members enable families to become more resilient and strengthen the children's capacity for learning. Once working relationships with other service providers in the community are established, preschool programs can work to ensure that families receive needed services and children experience continuity in their learning and development.

Strengthening Families: Five Protective Factors

Five protective factors are the foundation of the Strengthening Families Approach: parental resilience, social connections, concrete support in times of need, knowledge of parenting and child development, and social and emotional competence of children. Research studies support the common sense notion that when these protective factors are well established in a family, the likelihood of child abuse and neglect diminishes. Research shows that these protective factors are also "promotive" factors that build family strengths and a family environment that promotes optimal child and youth development.

Source: Center for the Study of Social Policy, n.d.

Family Functioning

Programs

- Collaborate with staff, families, and social service providers to develop policies and procedures related to family support.
- Respond to questions or concerns from staff members or other adults and act as a professional resource.
- Provide professional development opportunities to staff on family functioning, protective and risk factors, and community resources.

Teachers

- Articulate an understanding that families function in a variety of ways and that children or families may require support outside the program.
- Demonstrate an understanding of risk, stress, and resiliency factors related to family functioning and how to support all families appropriately.
- Take steps for further inquiry when concerns arise based on observations of a child or family.
- Communicate daily with families about children's well-being.
- Refer questions or concerns to other staff members when appropriate.
- Work with colleagues to respond to signs of risk or stress in children, as developmentally appropriate and individually meaningful.



Figure 7.2.1: Your coworkers can work with you to support families that are experiencing stressors.[1]

Programs

- Establish effective relationships with partners to ensure continuity of children's learning and development.
- Maintain professional connections to community and state partners.

Teachers

- Understand the importance of community partnerships in meeting children's needs.
- Form effective partnerships and collaborations with families, professionals, and community representatives.
- Support the needs of children, their success, and their well-being by maintaining professional connections to community and state partners.

Connecting Families with Resources

Programs

- Support staff and families in the referral process as appropriate.
- Work with community resources to conduct outreach or provide services to program families as appropriate.
- Anticipate families' needs for support based on knowledge of the families' circumstances or of current events that may affect them (e.g., economic climate, natural disasters).
- Identify key community resources that support program practices and family needs, including services that support families with dual language learners' communication with the program.
- Share information with colleagues and develop connections to the program.

Teachers

- Demonstrate familiarity with community resources to support children and families.
- Respond to requests from families about community resources and refer questions to appropriate staff members.
- Protect the confidentiality and privacy of families.
- Engage in conversations with families about referrals to community resources and assist in identifying or gaining access to services as needed, with consideration for the diverse linguistic and cultural experiences of families.
- Identify signs that children or families may require support outside the program, maintain documentation, and initiate closer observation or further inquiry, collaborating with families as appropriate.
- Provide resources linked to classroom instructions to assist families in supporting continued development and maintenance

of the home language.



Figure 7.2.2: Families experiencing food insecurity could benefit from this community resource, a food bank.[2]

Use of Community Resources

Teachers

- Gain knowledge about the importance of community resources that can enhance professional expertise and children's learning experiences.
- Use community resources routinely to enhance their knowledge about families and services and classroom learning activities.

Note

Often resources for families are compiled and sometimes sold for the cost of printing can be purchased from a church or community organization. Check your local area to see if that is an option for you.

The power of a resource

One morning a mother dropped off her three children to their classrooms in the childcare program and then went to the director of the programs office, closed the door behind her, and sunk to the floor crying. She shared with the director that her husband is bipolar and had been off his medication. The night before he had thrown her and her three children ages 4, 3 and 1 out of the house without shoes, keys, coats or any food or diapers. She was able to call a friend to take her in for the night, but they could not stay there another night. She needed help. After listening, the director was able to pull out her book of local resources and find her temporary shelter, a low cost lawyer, a treatment center for her husband and access to food and clothing. While sometimes all they need is a listening ear, there are times that families need help and resources. Having those gathered ahead of time can be helpful for struggling families.

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7.3: Programs and Teachers Support Dual Language Learning

Programs and families with dual language learners are critical to children's language development as the sheer amount of words children hear and the richness of the speech they hear is strongly linked to their future language and literacy abilities. Thus, it is critical that programs communicate to families with dual language learners the importance of speaking to children in their home language and suggest that families seize as many opportunities as possible to engage children in conversation. Parents need to help families understand the importance of dual language learning concepts in their home language and engaging in extended language interactions in their home language. In addition, preschool programs can provide families with dual language learners with the necessary provisions and resources to teach new concepts at home in dual language learners' first language.

Home Language

Programs

- Collaborate with families and colleagues to provide a variety of ways throughout the program for young dual language learners and their families to participate.
- Model one-on-one, group, and unstructured peer-to-peer activities.
- Collaborate with families and colleagues to design an educational program
- that incorporates each child's home language(s).
- Encourage families, colleagues, and community members to use children's home languages and provide training or support as needed.
- Conduct ongoing evaluation of programmatic support for children's home language(s) and use data to guide program improvements.

Teachers

- Assist in offering a variety of developmentally appropriate, individually meaningful, and culturally responsive ways for young dual language learners to participate in the group (CDE 2009).
- Work with colleagues to create various opportunities for young dual language learners and their families to participate in the group throughout the day.
- Demonstrate understanding that the early education setting is often the first place where young dual language learners encounter English and that honoring each child's home language fosters positive social–emotional development and the child's development and learning in all other areas.
- Support home language development.
- Plan with families, colleagues, community members, and others who support children's development and learning.
- Incorporate practices that honor the role of the home language as a vital foundation in English-language development.[3]

Attributions:

[3] California Preschool Program Guidelines by the California Department of Education is used with permission (pg. 135-139)

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8: CONTEMPORARY ISSUES FOR CHILDREN AND FAMILIES

Learning Objectives

After this chapter, you should be able to:

- Identify and Describe contemporary social issues and their effects on families and children
- Examine the cultural and historical implications of discrimination in many forms and the impact of the socialization of children and families.
- Understand the generational outcomes of media on the socialization of children.

Issues for Children and Families

Socialization intends to instill developmental skills in children for them to successfully function in their larger target communities. Children are members of several groups and structure within their nested systems. The developmental skills or tasks of a specific society differ from group to group depending on the cultural group the child belongs to. Factors that impact a child's socialization are ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, ability or class; skill development is thus dependent on the individual and the societal demand within the Bronfenbrenner's larger macrosystem influence.

Even at a young age, children are impacted by experiences that occur in the larger society. In response to these experiences children's beliefs, values attitudes will be shaped. How do society issues impact the way children are socialized? How do these societal changes redefine children's needs and development?

Some of key contemporary experiences and exposures include issues of related discrimination and prejudice and bias in all forms, and larger Bronfenbrenner's chronosystem changes such as the COVID-19 pandemic has on the socializing agent of media.

In this section, we consider how contemporary issues is changing the landscape of socialization for children. We consider what is needed to prepare children to be competent members of an ever-changing society.

8.1: Stereotypes, Prejudice, Discrimination and Bias

8.2: Racial Identity and Ethnicity

8.3: Children with Diverse Abilities and Special Needs

8.4: Socio-Economic Status

8.5: Gender Socialization

8.6: Gender Expression and Sexual Orientation

8.7: Language

8.8: Bilingual Children and Codeswitching

8.9: Age

8.10: Media Influences on Children

8.11: Political Context

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- 3: The Development of Identity in Children by Krischa Esquivel, Emily Elam, Jennifer Paris, and Maricela Tafoya is licensed CC BY 4.0. Original source: drive.google.com/file/d/1Fvn1eq2lecG0LXRTHAz5Kj6fFiOjH-jT.

8.1: Stereotypes, Prejudice, Discrimination and Bias

Stereotypes

As children grow, they learn how to behave from those around them. In this socialization process, children are introduced to certain attitudes, behaviors, and beliefs and develop cognitive schemas. Stereotypes are cognitive schemas that incorporate culturally shared representations of social groups and influence information processing related to social categorization (Dovidio et al., 2010; Yzerbyt, 2016). When we encounter someone for the first time, we may not be aware of their cultural or social identities. If we do not have any prior knowledge, we tend to assign individuals to categories based on appearance, age, and the context in which the encounter takes place. This is normal human behavior, as we make sense of the world by putting objects and people into categories. We tend to categorize based on perceived similarities and differences. Obviously, our ability to make viable choices depends on our own degree of experience and knowledge. The less knowledge we have, the more likely we are to fall back on general information we may have acquired informally from friends, family, or media reports. Our mind tries to connect the dots in order to create a complete picture based on the information it already has, which may be scant or faulty. This can provide a very limited, narrowly focused, and potentially distorted impression of the other.

Stereotypes are oversimplified generalizations about groups of people. Stereotypes can be based on race, ethnicity, age, gender, sexual orientation—almost any characteristic. Many of these groups are entirely a social construct such as race and gender. They may be positive (usually about one's own group, such as when women suggest they are less likely to complain about physical pain) but are often negative (usually toward other groups, such as when members of a dominant racial group suggest that a subordinate racial group is stupid or lazy). In either case, the stereotype is a generalization that doesn't take individual differences into account.

Stereotypes can be perpetuated in every agent of socialization from family, school, community and media. In fact, new stereotypes are rarely created; rather, they are recycled from subordinate groups that have assimilated into society and are reused to describe newly subordinate groups. For example, many stereotypes that are currently used to characterize Black people were used earlier in American history to characterize Irish and Eastern European immigrants. While cultural and other differences do exist among the various American racial and ethnic groups, many of the views we have of such groups are unfounded and hence are stereotypes. An example of the stereotypes that white people have of other groups appears in Figure 8.1.1 "Perceptions by Non-Latino white Respondents of the Intelligence of white and Black Americans", in which white respondents in the General Social Survey (GSS), a recurring survey of a random sample of the US population, are less likely to think Blacks are intelligent than they are to think whites are intelligent.

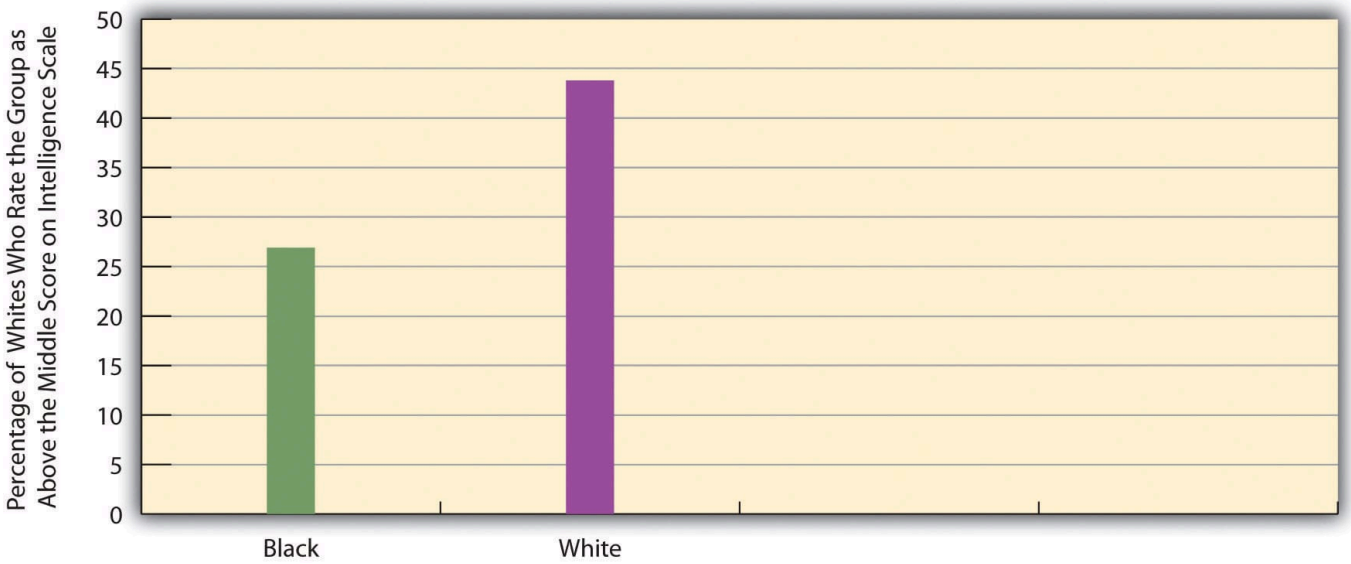


Figure 8.1.1: Perceptions by Non-Latino white Respondents of the Intelligence of white and Black Americans. (CC BY 2.0; Data from General Social Survey)

Explaining Prejudice

Prejudice refers to the beliefs, thoughts, feelings, and attitudes someone holds about a group. A prejudice is not based on experience; instead, it is a prejudgment, originating outside actual experience. Prejudice may be based on a person's political affiliation, sex, gender, social class, age, disability, religion, sexuality, language, nationality, criminal background, wealth, race, ethnicity, or other personal characteristic. The discussion in this section will largely focus on racial prejudice.

The 1970 documentary, Eye of the Storm, illustrates the way in which prejudice develops, by showing how defining one category of people as superior (children with blue eyes) results in prejudice against people who are not part of the favored category; Jane Elliot, then a 3rd grade teacher, conducted her "Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes" exercise to give her students a difficult, hands-on experience with prejudice and discrimination.

> **Note**
>
> The Blue Eye Experiment highlights how quickly prejudice can be adopted and embedded within a classroom or peers groups without basis. Think about which ways Jane's statements about the children shaped behaviors, values, and beliefs about others and the children's own abilities.

Sociological Explanations of Prejudice

One popular sociological explanation emphasizes conformity and socialization and is called social learning theory. In this view, people who are prejudiced are merely conforming to the culture in which they grow up, and prejudice is the result of socialization from parents, peers, the news media, and other various aspects of their culture. Supporting this view, studies have found that people tend to become more prejudiced when they move to areas where people are very prejudiced and less prejudiced when they move to locations where people are less prejudiced (Aronson, 2008). If people in the South today continue to be more prejudiced than those outside the South, as we discuss later, even though legal segregation ended more than four decades ago, the influence of their culture on their socialization may help explain these beliefs.

Another explanation of stereotypes and prejudice focuses on supposed cultural deficiencies of people of color (Murray, 1984). These deficiencies include a failure to value hard work and, for African Americans, a lack of strong family ties, and are said to account for the poverty and other problems facing these minorities. As we saw earlier, more than half of non-Latino whites think that Blacks' poverty is due to their lack of motivation and willpower. Ironically some scholars find support for this cultural deficiency view in the experience of many Asian Americans, whose success is often attributed to their culture's emphasis on hard work, educational attainment, and strong family ties (Min, 2005). If that is true, these scholars say, then the lack of success of other people of color stems from the failure of their own cultures to value these attributes.

How accurate is the cultural deficiency argument? Whether people of color have "deficient" cultures remains hotly debated (Bonilla-Silva, 2009). Many social scientists find little or no evidence of cultural problems in minority communities and say the belief in cultural deficiencies is an example of symbolic racism that blames the victim. Citing survey evidence, they say that poor people of color value work and education for themselves and their children at least as much as wealthier white people do (Holland, 2011; Muhammad, 2007). Yet other social scientists, including those sympathetic to the structural problems facing people of color, believe that certain cultural problems do exist, but they are careful to say that these cultural problems arise out of the structural problems.

In these two studies, we can see how the deficit theory can impact children even at the earliest ages. In the landmark Yale study by Gilliam (2016) the findings reveal that when expecting challenging behaviors, teachers gazed longer at Black children, especially Black boys. The teachers indicated that they looked for and expected problematic behavior from Black boys. Moreover, Gregory and Robert (2017) found that teacher's suspend Black children three times more than White children for similar situations. This suggests that Black students are being treated differently based on race. The researcher concluded that teachers that come with deficit thinking, believing that Black boys have a tendency toward disruption or violence and who are known to be lenient in disciplining White children compounds the issue that Black children are being "pushed" out of the education system at a young age.

The Changing Nature of Prejudice

Although racial and ethnic prejudice still exists in the United States, its nature has changed during the past half-century. Studies of these changes focus on whites' perceptions of African Americans. Back in the 1940's and before, an era of overt Jim Crow racism (also called traditional or old-fashioned racism) prevailed, not just in the South but in the entire nation. This racism involved blatant bigotry, firm beliefs in the need for segregation, and the view that Blacks were biologically inferior to whites. In the early 1940's, for example, more than half of all whites thought that Blacks were less intelligent than whites, more than half favored segregation in public transportation, more than two-thirds favored segregated schools, and more than half thought whites should receive preference over Blacks in employment hiring (Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997).

The Nazi experience and then the civil rights movement led whites to reassess their views, and Jim Crow racism gradually waned. Few whites believe today that African Americans are biologically inferior, and few favor segregation. So few whites now support segregation and other Jim Crow views that national surveys no longer include many of the questions that were asked a half-century ago.

But that does not mean that prejudice has disappeared. Many scholars say that Jim Crow racism has been replaced by a more subtle form of racial prejudice, termed laissez-faire, symbolic, or modern racism, that amounts to a "kinder, gentler, anti Black ideology" that avoids notions of biological inferiority (Bobo, Kluegel, & Smith, 1996). Instead, it involves stereotypes about African Americans, a belief that their poverty is due to their cultural inferiority, and opposition to government policies to help them. Similar views exist about Latinos. In effect, this new form of prejudice blames African Americans and Latinos themselves for their low socioeconomic standing and involves such beliefs that they simply do not want to work hard.

Evidence for this modern form of prejudice is seen in Figure 8.1.2, which presents whites' responses to two General Social Survey (GSS) questions that asked, respectively, whether African Americans' low socioeconomic status is due to their lower "in-born ability to learn" or to their lack of "motivation and will power to pull themselves up out of poverty." While only 8.5 percent of whites attributed Blacks' status to lower innate intelligence (reflecting the decline of Jim Crow racism), about 48 percent attributed it to their lack of motivation and willpower. Although this reason sounds "kinder" and "gentler" than a belief in Blacks' biological inferiority, it is still one that blames African Americans for their low socioeconomic status.

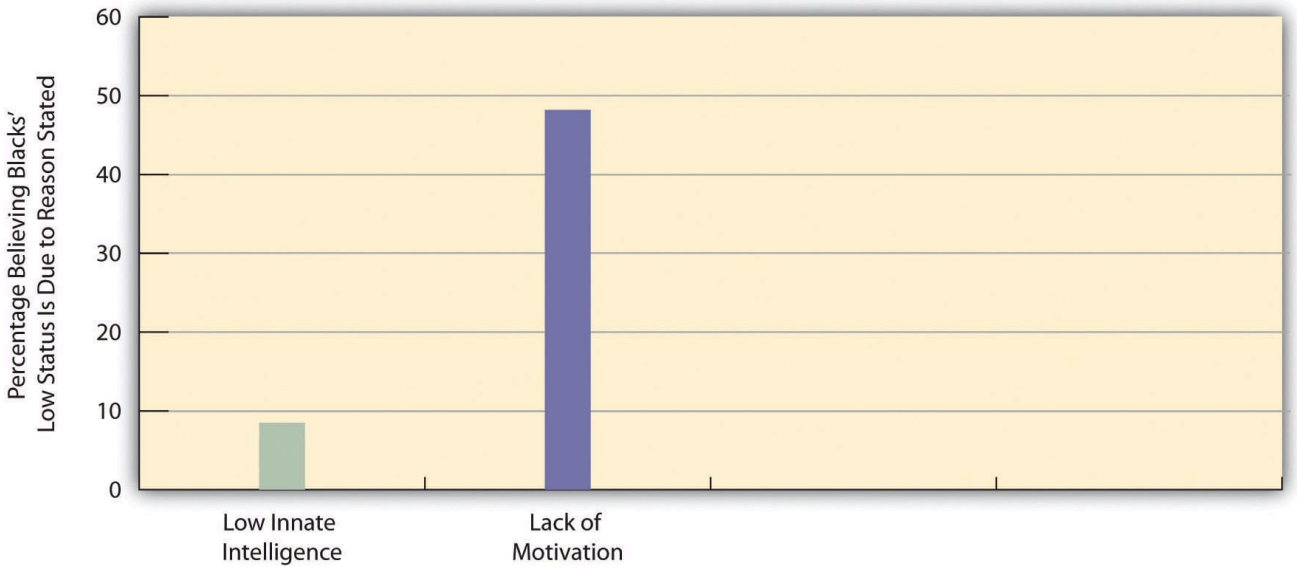


Figure 8.1.2: Attribution by Non-Latino whites of Blacks' Low Socioeconomic Status to Blacks' Low Innate Intelligence and to Their Lack of Motivation to Improve. (CC BY 2.0; Data from General Social Survey)

Types of Active Prejudice

Discrimination

Discrimination in this context refers to the arbitrary denial of rights, privileges, and opportunities to members of these groups. The use of the word arbitrary emphasizes that these groups are being treated unequally not because of their lack of merit but

because of their race and ethnicity. Usually prejudice and discrimination go hand-in-hand, but Robert Merton (1949) stressed this is not always so. Sometimes we can be prejudiced and not discriminate, and sometimes we might not be prejudiced and still discriminate.

Institutional Discrimination

Individual discrimination is important to address, but at least as consequential in today's world is institutional discrimination, or discrimination that pervades the practices of whole institutions, such as housing, medical care, law enforcement, employment, and education. This type of discrimination does not just affect a few isolated people of color. Instead, it affects large numbers of individuals simply because of their race or ethnicity. Sometimes institutional discrimination is also based on gender, disability, and other characteristics.

The bottom line is this: Institutions can discriminate even if they do not intend to do so. Consider height requirements for police. Before the 1970s, police forces around the United States commonly had height requirements, say five feet ten inches. As women began to want to join police forces in the 1970s, many found they were too short. The same was true for people from some racial/ethnic backgrounds, such as Latinos, whose stature is smaller on the average than that of non-Latino whites. Of course, even many white males were too short to become police officers, but the point is that even more women, and even more men of certain ethnicities, were too short.

This gender and ethnic difference is not, in and of itself, discriminatory as the law defines the term. The law allows for bona fide (good faith) physical qualifications for a job. As an example, we would all agree that someone has to be able to see to be a school bus driver; sight therefore is a bona fide requirement for this line of work. Thus even though people who are blind cannot become school bus drivers, the law does not consider such a physical requirement to be discriminatory.

But were the height restrictions for police work in the early 1970s bona fide requirements? Women and members of certain ethnic groups challenged these restrictions in court and won their cases, as it was decided that there was no logical basis for the height restrictions then in effect. The courts concluded that a person did not have to be five feet ten inches to be an effective police officer. In response to these court challenges, police forces lowered their height requirements, opening the door for many more women, Latino men, and some other men to join police forces (Appier, 1998). Whether police forces back then intended their height requirements to discriminate, or whether they honestly thought their height requirements made sense, remains in dispute. Regardless of the reason, their requirements did discriminate.

Institutional discrimination affects the life chances of children and families of color in many aspects of life today. To illustrate this, we turn briefly to some examples of institutional discrimination that have been the subject of government investigation and scholarly research. A 2012 report from the American Psychological Association's Task Force on Preventing Discrimination and Promoting Diversity found that biases – including implicit biases – are pervasive across people and institutions. In the educational setting, children from minoritized communities have less access to experienced teachers, advanced coursework, and resources and are also more harshly punished for minor behavioral infractions occurring in the school setting. They are less likely to be identified for and receive special education services, and in some states, school districts with more nonwhite children receive lower funding at any given poverty level than districts with more white children (U.S Department of education, 2017).

Implicit Bias

Sometimes biases exist in people; they're just more subtle. These are unexamined and sometimes unconscious but real in their consequences. They are automatic, ambiguous, and ambivalent, and nonetheless are biased, unfair, and disrespectful to the belief in equality.

- Implicit biases are attitudes or stereotypes that unconsciously affect our actions, decisions, and understanding.
- Implicit biases can be positive (a preference for something or someone) or negative (an aversion to or fear of something or someone).
- Implicit biases are different from known biases that people may choose to conceal for social or political reasons. In fact, implicit biases often conflict with a person's explicit and/or declared beliefs.
- Implicit biases are formed over a lifetime as a result of exposure to direct and indirect messages. The media plays a large role in this formation process.
- Implicit biases are pervasive: everyone has them.
- Implicit biases are changeable, but research shows that this process takes time, intention, and training.

Note

Social psychologists have developed several ways to measure this relatively automatic own-group preference, the most famous being the implicit bias test. Take the implicit bias test to explore your own possible biases. Then watch the Kirwan Institute video examine ways teachers bias can create negative impacts for people of color.

YouTube Video

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Microaggressions

Implicit biases can impact our relationships and interactions with each other in many ways, some of which are described in the research findings listed above. One way that implicit biases can manifest is in the form of microaggressions: subtle verbal or nonverbal insults or denigrating messages communicated toward a marginalized person, often by someone who may be well-intentioned but unaware of the impact their words or actions have on the target.

Microaggressions can be based on any aspect of a marginalized person's identity (for example, sexuality, religion, or gender). Individual microaggressions may not be devastating to the person experiencing them; however, their cumulative effects over time can be large.

YouTube Video

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Microaggression Exercise

Microaggressions have been described by many as "small paper cuts" that represent all the times that someone says or does something that marginalizes you because of your cultural frame of reference. Which of these statements is a Microaggression?

- Asking if someone with brown skin has "papers".
- Boys will be boys
- Disabled people are so inspiring
- You don't act like a normal Black person.
- You're really pretty for a dark-skinned girl.

If it comes to attention that a Microaggression occurred, from a reflective disposition all involved should consider:

1. Why is the statement problematic- who might be affected by the statement?
2. How might the statement be intended as a compliment?
3. What are ways to be upstanders- someone who recognizes when something is wrong and speaks up to make it right?

Impact of Stereotypes, Prejudice, and Bias

Pervasive implicit bias and microaggressions and constant exposure to racism in both implicit and explicit forms can have cumulative and serious impacts on BIPOC. Researchers are only now beginning to identify and understand some of these impacts. For example, scientists have begun linking prolonged racism-related stress to racial health disparities (West ed link below) such as differences in maternal mortality rates between Black and white women. Other racial health disparities, such as differing rates of asthma and diabetes across racial groups, may also be linked to the stress impact of racism. Stress hormones, while harmless in small doses, are toxic with prolonged exposure, and can cause permanent damage to the nervous, cardiovascular, immune, and endocrine systems.

According to the Academy of Pediatrics (2019), Racism is a core determinant of health. The policy statement from the medical leaders goes on to clarify, "Racism is a social determinant of health that has a profound impact on the health status of children, adolescents, emerging adults, and their families". Although progress has been made toward racial equality and equity, the evidence to support the continued negative impact of racism on health and well-being through implicit and explicit biases, institutional structures, and interpersonal relationships is clear. The groundbreaking article goes on to highlight that the social environment that children navigate can undermine health and well being for our most vulnerable children.

In addition to health disparities, the so-called “racial achievement gap” in education has also been attributed at least in part to the presence of implicit bias, stereotypes, and microaggressions. In the 1990's, psychologists Claude Steele and Joshua Aronson provided empirical evidence for the impact of stereotype threat on academic performance. The idea behind stereotype threat is that awareness of negative stereotypes about one’s racial group raises stress and self-doubt among students, who then perform worse. Over two decades of data show that stereotype threat is common and consequential. For a summary of this phenomenon and related studies, read the American Psychological Association’s “Research in Action”.

Addressing Stereotypes, Prejudice, and Bias

Institutional

To begin to dismantle structural discrimination the Academy of Pediatrics (2019) suggest the following:

- Acknowledge that educational and health equity is unachievable unless racism is addressed through interdisciplinary partnerships with other organizations that have developed campaigns against racism.
- Advocate for improvements in the quality of education in segregated urban, suburban, and rural communities designed to better optimize vocational attainment and educational milestones for all students.
- Advocate for federal and local policies that support implicit-bias training in schools and robust training of educators in culturally competent classroom management to improve disparities in academic outcomes and disproportionate rates of suspension and expulsion among students of color, reflecting a systemic bias in the educational system.
- Encourage community-level advocacy with members of those communities disproportionately affected by racism to develop policies that advance social justice.
- Advocate for fair housing practices, including access to housing loans and rentals that prohibit the persistence of historic “redlining.”
- Advocate for funding and dissemination of rigorous research that examine the impact of policy changes and community-level interventions on reducing the health effects of racism and other forms of discrimination on youth development.

Individual

Many of the efforts used to address prejudice and intolerance on the individual level involve education, that is, increasing intercultural awareness or sensitizing individuals to difference. However, intolerance is complex, involving not only a cognitive side, but also affective (emotional), behavioral, and structural/political components. One approach for addressing intolerance is contact theory, originally the "contact hypothesis," as developed by US psychologist Gordon Allport (1979). Allport suggested that direct contact between members of different groups – under certain conditions – could lead to reducing prejudice and conflict. The conditions for success he laid out, are that 1) there be equal status between the groups, 2) both groups have common goals for the encounter, 3) both groups focus on cooperation rather than competition, and finally 4) the process be supported by an authority of some kind, such as a government agency. This approach has been used effectively in such conflicts as the relationship between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland and in the reconciliation talks between whites and blacks in post-apartheid South Africa. It is the underlying assumption for the benefits derived from school exchanges.

Relying on faulty information leads us to make generalizations that may be far removed from reality. We can overcome the distortion of the "single story", as Nigerian novelist Chimamanda Adichie puts it, in a number of ways (Adichie, 2009). The most effective antidote is to gain greater real knowledge of other cultures through direct contact. That can come from travel, study abroad, service learning, online exchanges, or informal means of making contact. Following news reports on what's happening outside our immediate area can also be valuable, particularly if we seek out reliable, objective reporting. What can be helpful in that regard is to try to find multiple sources of information. Another way to gain insight into other cultures is through stories, told in novels, autobiographies, or movies. The more perspectives we have on a given culture, the less likely it is that we will extrapolate from a single experience to make generalizations about an entire group.

Research by Allport and others has shown that bringing groups together into contact with one another does not in itself provide a guarantee of improved attitudes or enlightened views vis-à-vis the other group. Allport's contact theory shows that the context and conditions of the encounter will shape success or failure. Even encounters when conducted under ideal and carefully supervised conditions may still have mixed results. That might include benefits for some students and adverse reactions from others, including reactions bordering on culture shock.

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8.2: Racial Identity and Ethnicity

Racial Identity and Ethnicity

Before we discuss racial identity and ethnicity, it is important that we define race and ethnicity, understand the myths about race and the historical context of racial grouping, why it was created, and how it evolved overtime. There are two myths or ideas about race. The first suggests people inherit physical characteristics distinguishing race. Second, the idea that one race is superior to others or that one "pure" race exists. In actuality, scientific research mapping of the human genome system found that humans are homogenous (Henslin, 2011). Race is truly an arbitrary label that has become part of society's culture with no justifiable evidence to support differences in physical appearance substantiate the idea that there are a variety of human species. Traditionally, racial terms classify and stratify people by appearance and inherently assign racial groups as inferior or superior in society (Kottak & Kozaitis, 2012). Scientific data finds only one human species making up only one human race. Evidence shows physical differences in human appearance including skin color are a result of human migration patterns and adaptions to the environment (Jablonski, 2012). Nonetheless, people use physical characteristics to identify, relate, and interact with one another.



Figure 8.2.1: A class of racially and ethnically diverse students. (Public Domain; via NMAAHC)

Ethnicity refers to the cultural characteristics related to ancestry and heritage, and also describes shared cultural group practices values, and beliefs. People who identify with an ethnic group share common cultural characteristics (i.e.,nationality, history, language, religion, etc.). Ethnic groups select rituals, customs, ceremonies, and other traditions to help preserve shared heritage (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2012). Lifestyle requirements and other identity characteristics such as geography and region influence how we adapt our ethnic behaviors to fit the context or setting in which we live. Culture is also key in determining how human bodies grow and develop such as food preferences and diet and cultural traditions promote certain activities and abilities including physical well-being and sport (Kottak and Kozaitis, 2012). Someone of Mexican decent living in Central California who is a college professor will project different ethnic behaviors than someone of the same ethnic culture who is a housekeeper in Las Vegas, Nevada. Differences in profession, social class, and region will influence each person's lifestyle, physical composition, and health though both may identify and affiliate themselves as Mexican.

Let's date back to the original consensus in 1790. Race was created for sorting and ranking people in the English colonies. In the 18th century was created to rank America broke populations in to racial groups of free whites, other persons (including free blacks and taxable Indians), and slaves (Lewitt & Baker, 1994). From the early 1900s through 1950, the census subgroups included whites, negro, and other (which included American Indians, Chinese and Japanese), and a person's race was determined by the consensus taker. Mexican was considered a race in 1930, but was dropped in 1940. Mexican was included in the white subgroup as a prior consensus. People of mixed race was usually determined by the race of the father (Lewitt & Baker, 1994). As times have progressed, the categories for racial identities has expanded. Some include:

- American Indian or Alaskan Native: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliations or community recognition.
- Asian or Pacific Islander: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands. This area includes, for example, China, India, Ja- pan, Korea, the Philippine Islands, and Samoa
- Black: A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa
- Hispanic: A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race
- White: A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East (Lewitt & Baker, 1994).

Now that we have some context on how race transformed over centuries in the United States, let's build on that understanding by learning about the impacts of race and ethnicity. Race, and the given contexts of race in America plays a huge role in how children and families will experience the world around them. Through racial grouping, identifiers such as minority groups were created. Minority groups are people who receive unequal treatment and discrimination based on social categories such as age, gender, sexuality, race and ethnicity, religious beliefs, or socio-economic class. For example, a large group of people may be a minority group because they lack social power. The physical and cultural traits of minority groups "are held in low esteem by the dominant or majority group which treats them unfairly" (Henslin, 2011, pg 217). The dominant group has higher power and status in society and receives greater privileges. As a result, the dominant group uses its position to discriminate against those that are different. White, middle class and European descendants represents the dominant group. Minority groups can garner power by expanding political boundaries or through expanded migration though both of these efforts do not occur with ease and require societal support from minority and dominant group members. The loss of power among dominant groups threatens not only their authority over other groups but also the privileges and way of life established by the majority.Race can be a huge factor in how children will experience education as well. When dissecting race using critical race theory, studies suggest that systems of oppression, marginalization, racism, inequity, and discrimination are ingrained in policies, practices, institutions, and systems of education that impacts children and families (Heard-Garris et al., 2018). Impacts of race and ethnicity can determine the resources a child have access to, the type of education they receive, and the type of hardship they encounter.



Figure 8.2.2: The hands of 3 people with different skin colors. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Ibex73 via Wikimedia)

Race and ethnicity can cause families of minority groups to experience stress that's related to implications of race and ethnicity. For an example, if a person is experiencing discrimination in the work place, and is eventually laid off, they may experience stress and other mental health issues that trickles down to their interactions with their children. This will cause a stress response in their children. Multiple studies have documented how the stresses of everyday discrimination on parents or other caregivers, such as being associated with negative stereotypes, can have harmful effects on caregiving behaviors and adult mental health. And when caregivers' mental health is affected, the challenges of coping with it can cause an excessive stress response in their children.

When considering what studies suggest, it's important to understand that a huge portion of how children identify themselves come from their race and ethnicity. Race, ethnicity, gender, and culture are all important identifiers. This all falls in to identity formation. This formation process begins at birth, peaks during adolescence, and continues to develop throughout adulthood, thus

allowing an individual to fully negotiate multiple identities. There are so many moving parts to how identity formation works. For an example, educators, including both White teachers and administrators, have an impact on the racial identity and development of African American students. Research has documented that White teachers often treat their students differently and have different expectations for them depending upon their gender, race, and perceived academic abilities. Black students frequently perceive that teachers have lower academic expectations for them and higher academic expectations for White students. These issues are highly problematic as teacher- student relations are viewed as a paramount dimension of the school environment (Decuir-Gunby 2009). Students who are giving lower academic expectations are more likely to have lower academic achievement.

We ask this question. How important is ethnic identity for the developing child? There are so many factors that contributes to a child developing low self-esteem. Can the negative effects of race and ethnicity be counteracted with teaching children to have a high sense of ethnic identity? Analyses of data collected from 12,386 adolescents showed that ethnic identity is an important qualifier of the relationships between independent variables of ethnicity and gender, and dependent variables of global self-esteem, academic self-confidence, and purpose in life. Whites and Native Americans had lower ethnic identity, and Blacks and Hispanics had higher ethnic identity. Asians and respondents of mixed ethnicity had intermediate levels of ethnic identity. The greater the ethnic identity, the higher the self-esteem, purpose in life and self-confidence (Martinez & Dukes 1997).

Racism

The terms stereotype, prejudice, discrimination, and racism are often used interchangeably in everyday conversation, but sociologists do not view them as the same. While prejudice is not necessarily specific to race, racism is a doctrine of racial supremacy that sees one racial category as somehow superior or inferior to others. The Ku Klux Klan is a racist organization; its members' belief in white supremacy has encouraged over a century of hate crime and hate speech.

According to Kendi (2020), racism is a marriage of racist policies and racist ideas that produces and normalizes racial inequities. Kendi defines a racist as someone who is supporting a racist policy through their actions or inaction or expressing a racist idea. Further, racial inequity is defined as when two or more race-ethnic groups are not standing on equal footing - which is a result of racist policies or ideas (Kendi, 2020). For Kendi, the polar of a racist is an anti-racist, one who is supporting an anti-racist policy through their actions or expressing an anti-racist idea. To say that one is not racist is a hollow statement as it is devoid of action.

Institutional racism refers to the way in which racism is embedded in the fabric of society. For example, the disproportionate number of Black men arrested, charged, and convicted of crimes may reflect racial profiling, a form of institutional racism. (At the end of this section, various types of racism are further defined, with examples).

Sociologists, in general, recognize "race" as a social construct. This means that, although the concepts of race and racism are based on observable biological characteristics, any conclusions drawn about race on the basis of those observations are heavily influenced by cultural ideologies. Racism, as an ideology, exists in a society at both the individual and institutional level.

While much of the research and work on racism during the last half-century or so has concentrated on "white racism" in the Western world, historical accounts of race-based social practices can be found across the globe. Kendi reminds us though that a person of any race-ethnic background could be racist. Racism can be broadly understood to encompass individual and group prejudices and acts of discrimination that result in material and cultural advantages conferred on a majority or a dominant social group. So-called "white racism" focuses on societies in which white populations are the majority or the dominant social group. In studies of these majority white societies, the aggregate of material and cultural advantages is usually termed "white privilege."

Racism in the United States traces the attitudes, laws, practices and actions which discriminate against various groups in the United States based on their race or ethnicity; while most white Americans enjoy legally or socially sanctioned privileges and rights which have at various times been denied to members of other ethnic or minority groups. European Americans, particularly affluent white Anglo-Saxon Protestants, are said to have enjoyed advantages in matters of education, immigration, voting rights, citizenship, land acquisition, bankruptcy, and criminal procedure throughout United States history.

Racism against various ethnic or minority groups has existed in the United States since the colonial era. African Americans in particular have faced restrictions on their political, social, and economic freedoms throughout much of United States history. Native Americans have suffered genocide, forced removals, and massacres, and they continue to face discrimination. In addition, East, South, and Southeast Asians along with Pacific Islanders have also been discriminated against. Hispanics have continuously experienced racism in the United States despite the fact that many of them have European ancestry. Middle Eastern groups such as Jews, Arabs, and Iranians continuously face discrimination in the United States, and as a result, some people who belong to these groups do not identify as, and are not perceived to be, white.



Figure 8.2.3: Protesters at a Black Lives Matter gathering. (CC BY-SA 4.0; WBPchur via Wikimedia)

Racism has manifested itself in a variety of ways, including genocide, slavery, segregation, Native American reservations, Native American boarding schools, immigration and naturalization laws, and internment camps. Formal racial discrimination was largely banned by the mid-20th century and over time, coming to be perceived as being socially and morally unacceptable. Racial politics remains a major phenomenon, and racism continues to be reflected in socioeconomic inequality. In recent years research has uncovered extensive evidence of racial discrimination in various sectors of modern U.S. society, including the criminal justice system, business, the economy, housing, health care, the media, and politics. In the view of the United Nations and the U.S. Human Rights Network, "discrimination in the United States permeates all aspects of life and extends to all communities of color."

A general definition of racism has been provided above. Yet, in reality, sociologists have identified multiple types of racism, which are defined and described below. The analysis of these different types of racism provides more depth and complexity which can help to better diagnose, critically analyze, and potentially remedy racism.

Thinking Sociologically

Color-blind racism is defined as the use of race-neutral principles to defend the racially unequal status quo. While a mainstream definition of color-blindness suggests that race or racial classification does not affect a person's life chances or opportunities, sociologists such as Bonilla-Silva argues that this more subtle form of racism ignores race and structural racism and is the dominant ideology in the U.S. Yet, as shown below structural racism permeates every aspect of our lives, and color blind racism ignores the structural inequalities that disproportionately affect people of color.

- Example: "We are all equal" and "race doesn't matter" are phrases uttered and may sound but, but in reality these phrases ignore structural problems such as the prison industrial complex, poverty, the wealth gap, and educational inequalities - all of which hamper the life chances of people of color which means we do not all have equal chances.
- How can we reach a point where our differences are acknowledged and even celebrated or where are unequal life experiences are understood as real?

Environmental racism: Structurally analogous to environmental sexism, environmental racism involves a conceptual association between people of color and nature that marks their dual subordination (Bullard & Wright, 1987). Environmental racism is seen in the deliberate targeting of communities of color for toxic waste disposal and the siting of polluting industries(Ibid). It is racial discrimination in the official sanctioning of the life-threatening presence of poisons and pollutants in communities of color (Ibid). And, it is racial discrimination in the history of excluding people of color from the mainstream environmental groups, decision-making boards, commissions, and regulatory bodies (Ibid).

- Example: Government-sanctioned lead-contaminated drinking water in Flint, Michigan, disproportionately impacting the African-American population.
- What race-ethnic representation exists in your local, appointed and elected municipalities (government), including those that regulate water and air pollution? What environmental groups exist in your community to provide checks on these governing boards, particularly with regards to the communities populated by people of color?

Ideological racism: An ideology that considers a groups' unchangeable physical characteristics to be linked in a direct, causal way to psychological or intellectual characteristics and that, on this basis, distinguishes between superior and inferior groups (St. Jean & Feagin, 1998).

- Example: The justification of slavery as "saving" Africans from their homeland's "primitive culture;" Manifest Destiny that purported Euro-Americans God-given rights to the lands in the eastern United States at the expense of Native Americans who were symbolized as "savages;" former President Trump's statements on the campaign trail linking Mexicans to rapists and criminals.
- How can the stereotypes that shape ideological racism be challenged or changed - on an individual level, in our families, in the media, and in society at large?

Internalized racism: Members of the target group are emotionally, physically, and spiritually battered to the point that they begin to actually believe that their oppression is deserved, is their lot in life, is natural and right, and that it doesn't even exist (Yamato, 2004).

- Example: A person of color who hates their skin color and wishes to marry out of their race-ethnic group so their children will be of lighter complexion. Another example: the root of the alcohol problem in Indigenous communities can be traced to the effects of colonization, internalizing the colonizer's message (i.e. American Indians are inferior or "savage").
- In some communities and families, internalized racism has been in the works over centuries. What types of mental health supports exist in your communities or schools that may serve to address internalized racism?

Inter-group or inter-personal racism: This is the racism that occurs between individuals or groups; it is the holding of negative attitudes towards a different race or culture (Safe Places for the Advancement of Community and Equity). Interpersonal racism often follows a victim/perpetrator model (Ibid). Within poor communities, ignorance and suspicion of groups or individuals of a different race-ethnic background may result in tension between various race-ethnic groups.

- Example: In urban spaces such as Los Angeles, Long Beach, Chicago, New York City, poor Latinx, Asian, and African American gangs fight each other rather than the capitalist system that perpetuates class inequalities.
- Can you identify examples of multiracial coalitions in your community? One such multiracial collective is Californians for Justice, located in Oakland, San Jose, Fresno, and Long Beach, which is a statewide youth-powered organization fighting for racial justice, particularly in our public schools.

Intra-group racism: Racist attitudes and behaviors against people of your "same racial group." Colorism is a type of intra-group racism which is the ranking or judgment of individuals based on skin tone (Schaefer, 2019).

- Example: A light-skinned person of color who evaluates a dark-skinned person of color as inferior; a wealthy person of any particular "race" who speaks pejoratively of less financially wealthy individuals in their "race."
- Have you ever experienced colorism in your family, community, or social media? How did you respond to this colorism, or how could have you responded to it?

Modern racism: White beliefs that serious anti-Black (or anti-Mexican, anti-Arab, anti-Asian, etc.) discrimination does not exist today and that African Americans (or other communities of color) are making illegitimate demands for social changes. (St. Jean & Feagin, 1998). This type of racism may be understood as color-blind racism.

- Example: One white male (David C.) in the film, The Color of Fear, was sure he was not racist at all and sure that racism is a thing of the past and only a figment in the imagination of the minds of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, etc

- In this film, through dialoguing with other men of color and white men, David C. barely begins to understand white privilege and the systems of power that oppress people of color. Another male featured in the film, Roberto, acknowledges that unmasking white privilege is painful, as he proclaims,"The cure of the pain is in the pain." How would you respond to someone who proclaims that racism is not real, but is rather an illusion or a figment of one's imagination?

Structural racism/Systemic racism: A shorthand term for the many systemic factors that work to produce and maintain racial inequities in America today. These are aspects of our history and culture that allow the privileges associated with "whiteness" and the disadvantages associated with "color" to remain deeply embedded within the political economy. Public policies, institutional practices and cultural representations contribute to structural racism by reproducing outcomes that are racially inequitable. (The Aspen Institute)

- Example: The criminal justice system contributes to systemic racism through over-policing of communities of color, disproportionate police brutality experienced by people of color, and disproportionate mass incarceration of Black men.
- The Summer 2020 protests called to dismantle systemic racism in this country, particularly in policing. What do you think needs to happen to rid this country of system racism that is evident in our laws, schooling, mass media, criminal justice system, political representation, employment patterns, etc.?

Subtle, covert racism: Hidden, camouflaged, pernicious racism.

- Example: Merriam-Webster's Dictionary definitions of racially-coded labels such as Black, minority, and savage all contain derogatory meanings.
- What do you think is more harmful to our society: overt (obvious) racism or subtle, covert racism? While laws may address overt racism such as hate crimes, addressing covert racism may be far more challenging. How might we raise children in a way to prevent subtle, covert racism?

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8.3: Children with Diverse Abilities and Special Needs

Children with Diverse Abilities and Special Needs

It is important to recognize and overcome societal and socialized limitations such as stereotypes and discrimination of children with special needs and diverse abilities. According to U.S Census Bureau (Young, 2021), over three million children (4.3% of the under-18 population) in the United States had a disability in 2019, up 0.4 percentage points since 2008. Linking back the previous discussion, some racial groups had higher rates such as Native American and African American children. Connecting the data to future discussion, children living in poverty have nearly double the rate of disability.

Children with disabilities or other special needs refers to children with a specific diagnosis, as well as children who do not have a diagnosis but whose behavior, development, and/or health affect their family's ability to maintain child care services. The disability or special need may be as mild as a slight speech delay or as complex as a mixed diagnosis of motor challenges, vision impairment, and cognitive delays. Special health care needs include a variety of conditions such as birth defects, neurological disorders, and chronic illnesses that can be life threatening or impact daily living (e.g., cancer, sickle cell disease [or anemia], cystic fibrosis, hemophilia, AIDS, diabetes, juvenile rheumatoid arthritis).

Historical Challenges

In Bronfenbrenner's Macrosystem there are many cultural and legislative challenges. Similarly to the discussion of stereotyping, bias of ethnic groups, children with special needs have been the target of overt and covert discrimination as well. These discriminations were often viewed as justified as a result of the child disability. In the US, the socialized view that children with disabilities should be removed from society or eliminated promoted the eugenics movement as a humane necessity to the misfortune of being born different with a special need. As recent as 1970, sterilization laws were legal for people with disabilities. Issues advocates consider controversial with direct implications for children with special needs are limiting medical care to children and adults with disabilities, and the use of prenatal testing to determine the presence of disabilities in embryos and fetuses (Pullen, et al, 2020).

Only 50 years ago, children with disabilities seeking education could not attend public schools. This resulted in many children being separated from their families and ecological systems only to be sent to private schools, isolated in separate classrooms or institutionalized in appalling State centers. Advocates used the ruling from Brown v. Board of Education decision arguing disabled children are entitled to the same rights applied to Black children in that landmark decision.

Critical Think

Thinking about macrosystem changes, what system reforms would you advocate for to support children and families with special needs?

Outcome for Children with Diverse Abilities

The societal view of people and children with disabilities ranges from mistreatment, to pity and neglect. These societal attitudes can be internalized and cause learned helplessness - the belief developed from the cumulation of negative experiences that a person does not influence the outcome of events. Elliot & Dweck (1988) found that when children believe their failures to achieve simple developmental tasks are due to uncontrollable factors related to their own skills or lack of ability, they stop trying to achieve. Many factors can cause learned helplessness such as parental over-help, educational mismatch (placement and teaching style), and bias from adults and caregivers. These factors reinforce a belief that less is expected of them because they are capable of less. Children can get caught in a negative cycle of perceived incompetence and subsequent debilitating belief.

On an institutional perspective, poorer educational outcomes and lower standards Educational mismatch can be seen in the data from lower academic achievement, increased likelihood to repeat grades and less time in general education classrooms are all consistently noted in the research (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). In our youngest children, we see disproportion trends as well. Researcher Zeng et. al (2021) highlights that 5.4% of young children with disabilities had been either suspended or expelled,

compared to 1.2% of children without disabilities.

Lastly, social emotionally, internalizations of negative feelings can be seen in children with learning disabilities as well. Research suggests found that internalizing problems occurred more often than externalizing problems in students with learning disabilities. These children reported feeling more depressed than students without Learning disabilities (Hinshaw, 1992).

Historical Legislation

In response to these observed outcomes, legislation was passed to support children with special needs. The Education for All Handicapped Children Act of 1975 and The Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) of 1990, established rights of young children with disabilities and exceptionalities to receive a Free and Appropriate Education (FAPE) in the Least restrictive Environments (LRE) to the extent possible, requiring children with disabilities to have access to the general education curriculum, along with learning activities and settings that are available to their peers without disabilities. Corresponding federal legislation applied to infants and toddlers (children birth to 3) and their families specifies that early intervention services and supports must be provided in "natural environments," generally interpreted to mean a broad range of contexts and activities that generally occur for typically developing infants and toddlers in homes and communities. To learn more about IDEA Department of Education website.

Supporting Children and Families

It is critical that children with disabilities or other special needs and their families are included in quality early childhood education programs that are the natural environments of their typically developing peers. Children learn from their interactions with other children and their surroundings while developing a sense of security and self-esteem from caring relationships with program providers and staff. Everyone benefits from quality early childhood education programs that provide inclusive care. This allows for children who have a disability or special need get to know and interact with typically developing peers, while their families benefit from programs and services they need to achieve their parenting goals. Children who are typically developing benefit when they have the opportunity to get to know peers who are atypically developing in the classroom. Everyone has the opportunity to learn about other human beings in regard to their strengths and challenges. Despite increasing rates of inclusion, many teacher preparation programs do not require all candidates to demonstrate the skills needed to effectively instruct diverse learners. Graduates of these programs often arrive in schools that do not have a culture or mechanism for educator collaboration. Many schools also lack the resources to provide high-quality professional development to address gaps in teachers' skills or knowledge.



Figure 8.3.1: A Sailor plays with a child from the Association For the Welfare of the Disabled Day Care Center during a community service project.
(CC BY-2.0; N. Ross Taylor via Wikimedia)

Reflection

- What resources are available in your community for children with diverse abilities and their families.
- Are there resources concentrated in one geographic area?
- Are there resources for specific diverse abilities- physical, socio-emotional or cognitive?

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8.4: Socio-Economic Status

Socio-economic Status

Socio-economic status is a combination of a person's or family's economic and social position in comparison to others. This status is measured by a person's income, education, and occupation. Furthermore, socio-economic status have been used to measure the status of people, families and communities. There are three levels in which a person can be classified as. These includes low, middle, and high. Economic inequality is becoming a big topic as researcher are making associations and connections to how the flow of resources are being distributed amongst families and communities, and how fairness on a systemic level varies within the three groups.

Socio-economic status can directly impact children's experience with the world. There are associations between parenting styles, and socio-economic status. Socio-economic status impacts environment, and in many cases, the culture of how adults parent their children. High Socioeconomic Status parents tend to be more democratic, use reasoning, more open to children's opinions, use more expressions of warmth and affection, more communication, reasoning, and use of complex language. They also emphasize creativity, happiness, ambition, independence, curiosity, and self-control. Low Socioeconomic Status tend to emphasize obedience, respect, neatness, cleanliness, and staying out of trouble. They are also more controlling, authoritarian, arbitrary, and use physical punishment. Even though this is researched information, there are still cultural and racial biases.



Figure 8.4.1: A home in Thailand built with spare materials. (Public Domain; Pxhere)

Socio-economic status goes a step further in to the type of jobs parents have. The type of job parents has can result in the amount of time they spend with their children, and resources they can assess to provide a higher quality life for their children. Middle-class occupations deal with ideas and symbols, need to be skilled in interpersonal skills, and have more self-direction on how and what to get done. These parents evaluate children's behavior by considering motives and attitudes, and want their children to be considerate, intellectually curious, responsible and self-controlled. In other words, their focus is on independency. Lower-class occupations deal with physical objects, use less interpersonal skills, and have routine tasks with high level of supervision. These parents evaluate children's behavior based on immediate consequences & external characteristics, and want their children to have good manners, to do well in school, and be obedient. Their focus is conformity.

The statistics on children and poverty are discouraging (DeNavas-Walt, 2009). Children under 18 represent 36% of all poor Americans even though they constitute only 25% of the population. About 19% of U.S. children live in poverty, a figure that rises to 44% for children living just with their mothers and to 53% for children under the age of 6 living just with their mothers. As with many things, race and ethnicity play an important role: African American and Latino children are more than three times as likely as non-Latino white children to live in poverty. Children under 18 years represent 23 percent of the population, but they comprise 33 percent of all people in poverty. Among all children, 44 percent live in low-income families and approximately one

in every five (22 percent) live in poor families (Jiang et al., 2015). Young children under age 6 years appear to be particularly vulnerable, with 48 percent living in low-income and 25 percent living in poor families. Being a child in a low-income or poor family does not happen by chance. Parental education and employment, race/ethnicity, and other factors are associated with children experiencing economic insecurity (Jiang et al., 2015). This fact sheet describes the demographic, socio-economic, and geographic characteristics of young children and their parents. It highlights important factors that appear to distinguish low-income and poor children in this age group from their less disadvantaged counterparts (Jiang et al., 2015).



Figure 8.4.2: You can't tell a family's socioeconomic status just by their appearance. (Public Domain; Pxhere)

Wealth is an important economic resource that families use to invest in their children It can be accessed to provide cash resources or used as collateral for securing loans. Wealth is also a stock of resources and enables saving for future expenditures, such as college education) (Miller et al., 2021). Qualitative work by Thomas Shapiro shows how parents leverage their wealth to make life-changing investments in children, particularly in terms of residence in better neighborhoods and enrollment in better schools. Models of family stress show that economic strain leads to increased psychological distress and interparental conflict (Miller et al. 2021). Parental distress and conflict are linked to harsher, more detached, and less nurturing, stimulating, and responsive parenting, which in turn predicts worse outcomes for children, such as increased internalizing and externalizing problems and less advanced cognitive and academic skills (Miller et al., 2021). Wealth can reduce economic strain by providing financial and psychological security against economic crises, especially in times of hardship, such as unemployment or family breakup. Wealth can also generate nonwork income (such as interest or dividend income) without time spent working, which frees up parental time to be invested in enriching interactions with children (Miller et al., 2021).

Much research finds that poor children are at increased risk for behavioral, psychological, and health problems not only during childhood and adolescence but also well into their adult years (Wagmiller & Adelman, 2009). In a type of vicious cycle, children growing up in poor households are at greater risk of continuing to live in poverty after they reach adulthood.

Multiple factors influence social standing, however, people often assume hard work and effort leads to a high status and wealth. Socialization reinforces the ideology that social stratification is a result of personal effort or merit (Carl, 2013). The concept of meritocracy is a social ideal or value, but no society exists where the determination of social rank is purely on merit. Inheritance alone shows social standing is not always individually earned. Some people have to put little to no effort to inherit social status and wealth. Additionally, societies operating under a caste system where birth determines lifelong status undermines meritocracy. Caste systems function on the structure that someone born into a low-status group remains low status regardless of their accomplishments, and those born into high-status groups stay high status (Henslin, 2011). The caste system reinforces ascribed status rather than achieved to ensure sustainment of multiple roles and occupations in society.

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accomplishments, and those born into high-status groups stay high status (Henslin, 2011). The caste system reinforces ascribed status rather than achieved to ensure sustainment of multiple roles and occupations in society.

In modern societies, there is evidence of merit based standing in academics and job performance but other factors such as age, disability, gender, race, and region influence life's opportunities and challenges for obtaining social standing. A major flaw of meritocracy is how society measures social contributions. Janitorial and custodial work is necessary in society to reduce illness and manage waste just as much as surgery is to keep people healthy and alive, but surgeons receive greater rewards than janitors do for their contributions.

The United States hold the highest rate of childhood poverty than any other Western democracy. A major reason for this is that the United States lacks the large, national programs other Western democracies have both for preventing poverty and for helping children and adults already living in poverty. These programs include housing allowances, free or subsidized day care and preschool programs, and some form of national health insurance. The experience of other Western democracies indicates that the number of U.S. poor children and the problems they face are much higher than they need to be (Waldfogel, 2009).

Marx and Engels (1967) suggested there is a social class division between the capitalists who control the means of production and the workers. In 1985, Erik Wright interjected that people can occupy contradictory class positions throughout their lifetime. People who have occupied various class positions (e.g., bookkeeper to manager to chief operating officer) relate to the experiences of others in those positions, and as a result may feel internal conflict in handling situations between positions or favoring one over another. Late in the twentieth century, Joseph Kahl and Dennis Gilbert (1992) updated the theoretical perspective of Max Weber by developing a six-tier model portraying the United States class structure including underclass, working-poor, working, lower middle, upper middle, and capitalists. The social class model depicts the distribution of property, prestige, and power among society based on income and education.

Each class lifestyle requires a certain level of wealth in order to acquire the material necessities and comforts of life (Henslin 2011). The correlation between the standard of living and quality of life or life chances (i.e., opportunities and barriers) influences one's ability to afford food, shelter, clothing, healthcare, other basic needs, and luxury items. A person's standards of living including income, employment, class, and housing effects their cultural identity.

Social class serves as a marker or indication of resources. These markers are noticeable in the behaviors, customs, and norms of each stratified group (Carl 2013). People living in impoverished communities have different cultural norms and practices compared to those with middle incomes or families of wealth. For example, the urban poor often sleep on cardboard boxes on the ground or on sidewalks and feed themselves by begging, scavenging, and raiding garbage (Kottak and Kozaitis 2012). Middle income and wealth families tend to sleep in housing structures and nourish themselves with food from supermarkets or restaurants.

YouTube Video

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View this YouTube Video online

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8.5: Gender Socialization

Sex and Gender

Although the terms "sex" and "gender" are sometimes used interchangeably and do in fact complement each other, they nonetheless refer to different aspects of what it means to be a woman or man in any society.

Sex refers to biological, physical and physiological differences between males and females, including both primary sex characteristics (the reproductive system) and secondary characteristics such as height and muscularity, as well as genetic differences (e.g., chromosomes). Male sexual and reproductive organs include the penis and testes. Female sexual and reproductive organs include clitoris, vagina and ovaries. Biological males have XY chromosome and biological females have XX chromosome but biological sex is not as easily defined or determined as you might expect. For example, does the presence of more than one X mean that the XXY person is female or does the presence of a Y mean that the XXY person is male? The existence of sex variations fundamentally challenges the notion of a binary biological sex.

Gender is a term that refers to social or cultural distinctions and roles associated with being male or female. Gender is not determined by biology in any simple way. At an early age, we begin learning cultural norms for what is considered masculine (trait of a male) and feminine (trait of a female). Gender is conveyed and signaled to others through clothing and hairstyle, or mannerisms like tone of voice, physical bearing, and facial expression. For example, children in the United States may associate long hair, fingernail polish or dresses with femininity. Later in life, as adults, we often conform to these norms by behaving in gender specific ways: men build houses and women bake cookies (Marshall, 1989; Money et al., 1955; Weinraub et al., 1984). It is important to remember that behaviors and traits associated with masculinity and femininity are culturally defined. For example, in American culture, it is considered feminine to wear a dress or skirt; however, in many Middle Eastern, Asian, and African cultures, dresses or skirts (often referred to as sarongs, robes, or gowns) are worn by males and are considered masculine. The kilt worn by a Scottish male does not make him appear feminine in his culture.

Our understanding of gender begins very early in life – often before we are born. Western cultures, expecting parents are asked whether they are having a girl or a boy and immediately judgments are made about the child. Boys will be active and presents will be blue while girls will be delicate and presents will be pink. In some Asian and Muslim cultures a male child is valued more favorably than a female child (Matsumoto & Juang, 2013) and female fetuses may be aborted or female infants abandoned.

Gender Socialization

Previous sections identified several agents of socialization, including the family, peers, schools, the mass media, and religion. While that chapter's discussion focused on these agents' impact on socialization in general, ample evidence of their impact on gender-role socialization also exists. Sociologists should view gender as a social structure, in the same way we view race.

Note

As you watch the overview of gender theories, reflect on your earliest memories related to gender:

- When was the first time you understood how your gender would affect your life?
- How did your understanding of gender develop as you grew older, and as the world changed around you?
- Were your own experiences related to gender positive or negative?

Agents of Socialization related to Gender

The Family

Currently, socialization around gender occurs in the womb. We see this with gender reveal parties. Gender reveal parties are celebrations that reveal the sex of the child, but what we are generally celebrating is how the parents of the child intend to treat the child based on their sex. Parents begin to socialize their child by gender without realizing it. Many studies document this

process. Lindsey (2011) noted that parents commonly describe their infant daughters as pretty, soft, and delicate and their infant sons as strong, active, and alert, even though neutral observers find no such gender differences among infants when they do not know the infants' sex. From infancy on, parents play with and otherwise interact with their daughters and sons differently. They play more roughly with their sons—for example, by throwing them up in the air or by gently wrestling with them—and more quietly with their daughters. When their infant or toddler daughters cry, they warmly comfort them, but they tend to let their sons cry longer and to comfort them less. They give their girls dolls to play with and their boys "action figures" and toy guns. While these gender differences in socialization are probably smaller now than a generation ago, they certainly continue to exist. Go into a large toy store and you will see pink aisles of dolls and cooking sets and blue aisles of action figures, toy guns, and related items.

The religious background of the family also contributes to traditional gender stereotypes. Many traditional interpretations of the many different religious texts yield the message that women are subservient to men (Tanenbaum, 2009).

Peers

Peer influences also encourage gender socialization. As they reach school age, children begin to play different games based on their gender. Boys tend to play sports and other competitive team games governed by inflexible rules and relatively large numbers of roles, while girls tend to play smaller, cooperative games such as hopscotch and jumping rope with fewer, more flexible rules. Although girls are much more involved in sports now than a generation ago, these gender differences in their play as youngsters persist and continue to reinforce gender roles. For example, they encourage competitiveness in boys and cooperation and trust among girls. Boys who are not competitive risk being called "sissy" or other words by their peers. The patterns we see in adult males and females thus have their roots in their play as young children (King et al., 1991).

Gender Differences in Children's Play and Games

In considering the debate discussed in the text between biology and sociology over the origins of gender roles, some widely cited studies by sociologists over gender differences in children's play and games provide evidence for the importance of socialization.

Janet Lever (1978) studied fifth-grade children in three different communities in Connecticut. She watched them play and otherwise interact in school and also had the children keep diaries of their play and games outside school. One of her central aims was to determine how complex the two sexes' play and games were in terms of such factors as number of rules, specialization of roles, and size of the group playing. In all of these respects, Lever found that boys' play and games were typically more complex than girls' play and games. She attributed these differences to socialization by parents, teachers, and other adults and argued that the complexity of boys' play and games helped them to be better able than girls to learn important social skills such as dealing with rules and coordinating actions to achieve goals.

Meanwhile, Barrie Thorne (1993) spent many months in two different working-class communities in California and Michigan observing fourth and fifth graders sit in class and lunchrooms and play on the school playgrounds. Most children were white, but several were African American or Latino. As you might expect, the girls and boys she observed usually played separately from each other, and the one-sex groups in which they played were very important for the development of their gender identity, with boys tending to play team sports and other competitive games and girls tending to play cooperative games such as jump rope. These differences led Thorne to conclude that gender-role socialization stems not only from practices by adults but also from the children's own activities without adult involvement. When boys and girls did interact, it was often "girls against the boys" or vice versa in classroom spelling contests and in games such as tag. Thorne concluded that these "us against them" contests helped the children learn that boys and girls are two different and antagonistic sexes and that gender itself is antagonistic, even if there were also moments when both sexes interacted on the playground in more relaxed, noncompetitive situations. Boys also tended to disrupt girls' games more than the reverse and in this manner both exerted and learned dominance over females. In all of these ways, children were not just the passive recipients of gender-role socialization from adults (their teachers), but they also played an active role in ensuring that such socialization occurred.

The studies by Lever and Thorne were among the first to emphasize the importance of children's play and peer relationships for gender socialization. They also called attention to the importance of the traits and values learned through such socialization for outcomes later in life. The rise in team sports opportunities for girls in the years since Lever and Thorne did their research is a welcome development that addresses the concerns expressed in their studies, but young children continue to play in the ways that Lever and Thorne found. To the extent children's play has the consequences just listed, and

to the extent these consequences impede full gender inequality, these sociological studies suggest the need for teachers, parents, and other adults to help organize children's play that is more egalitarian along the lines discussed by Lever, Thorne, and other scholars. In this way, their sociological work has helped to make a difference and promises to continue to do so.

Schools

School is yet another agent of gender socialization (Klein, 2007). First of all, school playgrounds provide a location for the gender-linked play activities just described to occur. Second, and perhaps more important, teachers at all levels treat their female and male students differently in subtle ways of which they are probably not aware. They tend to call on boys more often to answer questions in class and to praise them more when they give the right answer. They also give boys more feedback about their assignments and other school work (Sadker & Sadker, 1994). At all grade levels, many textbooks and other books still portray people in gender-stereotyped ways. It is true that the newer books do less of this than older ones, but the newer books still contain some stereotypes, and the older books are still used in many schools, especially those that cannot afford to buy newer volumes.

In the past, many schools were organized and structured along gender lines which socialized males and females differently. Even though most schools are the integrated traditional disproportionate outcomes are still prevalent such where females focus on social science fields for employment and males are more inclined to to focus on STEM (science, technology, engineering and mathematics) subjects. These patterns can be observed with career and study choices already prior to entering the work force (UNESCO, 2017).

This may be a product of societal influence, where children see behavioral cues from their teachers and caregivers signaling differences in competencies for girls and boys in school years. This hidden curriculum is determinantal to girls and privileges boys in classrooms. Research from suggests a teacher's own underlying beliefs about gendered behavior may cause them to act in favor of the boys such as calling on them more in class or asking boys cognitively more complex questions. This ultimately leads to the unfolding of a self-fulfilling prophecy in the academic and behavioral performances of the students (Hedges & Nowell, 1995).

Mass Media

Gender socialization also occurs through the mass media (Dow & Wood, 2006). On children's television shows, the major characters are male. On Nickelodeon, for example, the very popular SpongeBob SquarePants is a male, as are his pet snail, Gary; his best friend, Patrick Star; their neighbor, Squidward Tentacles; and SpongeBob's employer, Eugene Crabs. Of the major characters in Bikini Bottom, only Sandy Cheeks is a female.

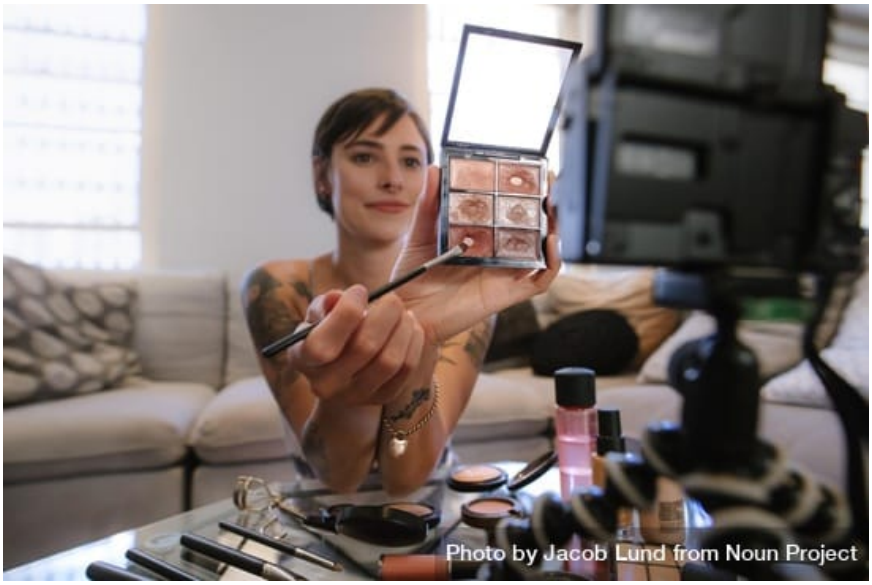


Figure 8.5.1: Young person showing make-up on camera for social media followers. (CC BY-NC-ND 2.0; Jacob Lund via The Noun Project)

As for adults' prime-time television, more men than women continue to fill more major roles in weekly shows, despite notable

women's roles in shows such as Insecure and Grey's Anatomy. Women are also often portrayed as unintelligent or frivolous individuals who are there more for their looks than for anything else. Television commercials reinforce this image (Yoder, Christopher, & Holmes, 2008).

Cosmetics ads abound, suggesting not only that a major task for women is to look good but also that their sense of self-worth stems from looking good. Other commercials show women becoming ecstatic over achieving a clean floor or sparkling laundry. Judging from the world of television commercials, then, women's chief goals in life are to look good and to have a clean house. At the same time, men's chief goals, judging from many commercials, are to drink beer and drive cars.

Women's and men's magazines reinforce these gender images (Milillo, 2008). Most of the magazines intended for teenaged girls and adult women are filled with pictures of thin, beautiful models, advice on dieting, cosmetics ads, and articles on how to win and please your man. Conversely, the magazines intended for teenaged boys and men are filled with ads and articles on cars and sports, advice on how to succeed in careers and other endeavors, and pictures of thin, beautiful (and sometimes nude) women. These magazine images again suggest that women's chief goals are to look good and to please men and that men's chief goals are to succeed, win over women, and live life in the fast lane.

Gender Roles

Gender roles, refer to a society's expectations of people's behavior and attitudes based on whether they are females or males. Understood in this way, gender, like race, is a social construction. How we think and behave as females and males is not etched in stone by our biology but rather is a result of how society expects us to think and behave based on what sex we are. As we grow up, we learn these expectations as we develop our gender identity, or our beliefs about ourselves as females or males.

The attitudes and expectations surrounding gender roles are not typically based on any inherent or natural gender differences, but on gender stereotypes, or oversimplified notions about the attitudes, traits, and behavior patterns of males and females. We engage in gender stereotyping when we do things like making the assumption that a teenage babysitter is female or that the principal of a school is male.

While it is somewhat acceptable for women to take on a narrow range of masculine characteristics without repercussions (such as dressing in traditionally male clothing), men are rarely able to take on more feminine characteristics (such as wearing skirts) without the risk of harassment or violence. This threat of punishment for stepping outside of gender norms is especially true for those who do not identify as male or female.

These expectations are called femininity and masculinity. Femininity refers to the cultural expectations we have of girls and women, while masculinity refers to the expectations we have of boys and men. A familiar nursery rhyme nicely summarizes these two sets of traits:

What are little boys made of?

Snips and snails,

And puppy dog tails,

That's what little boys are made of.

What are little girls made of?

Sugar and spice,

And everything nice,

That's what little girls are made of.

As this nursery rhyme suggests, our traditional notions of femininity and masculinity indicate that we think females and males are fundamentally different from each other.

YouTube Video

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As mentioned earlier, gender roles are well-established social constructions that may change from culture to culture and over time. In American culture, we commonly think of gender roles in terms of gender stereotypes, or the beliefs and expectations people hold about the typical characteristics, preferences, and behaviors of men and women.

By the time we are adults, our gender roles are a stable part of our personalities, and we usually hold many gender stereotypes. When do children start to learn about gender? Very early. By their first birthday, children can distinguish faces by gender. By their second birthday, they can label others' gender and even sort objects into gender-typed categories. By the third birthday, children can consistently identify their own gender (see Martin, Ruble, & Szkrybalo, 2002, for a review). At this age, children believe sex is determined by external attributes, not biological attributes. Between 3 and 6 years of age, children learn that gender is constant and can't change simply by changing external attributes, having developed gender constancy. During this period, children also develop strong and rigid gender stereotypes. Stereotypes can refer to play (e.g., boys play with trucks, and girls play with dolls), traits (e.g., boys are strong, and girls like to cry), and occupations (e.g., men are doctors and women are nurses). These stereotypes stay rigid until children reach about age 8 or 9. Then they develop cognitive abilities that allow them to be more flexible in their thinking about others.

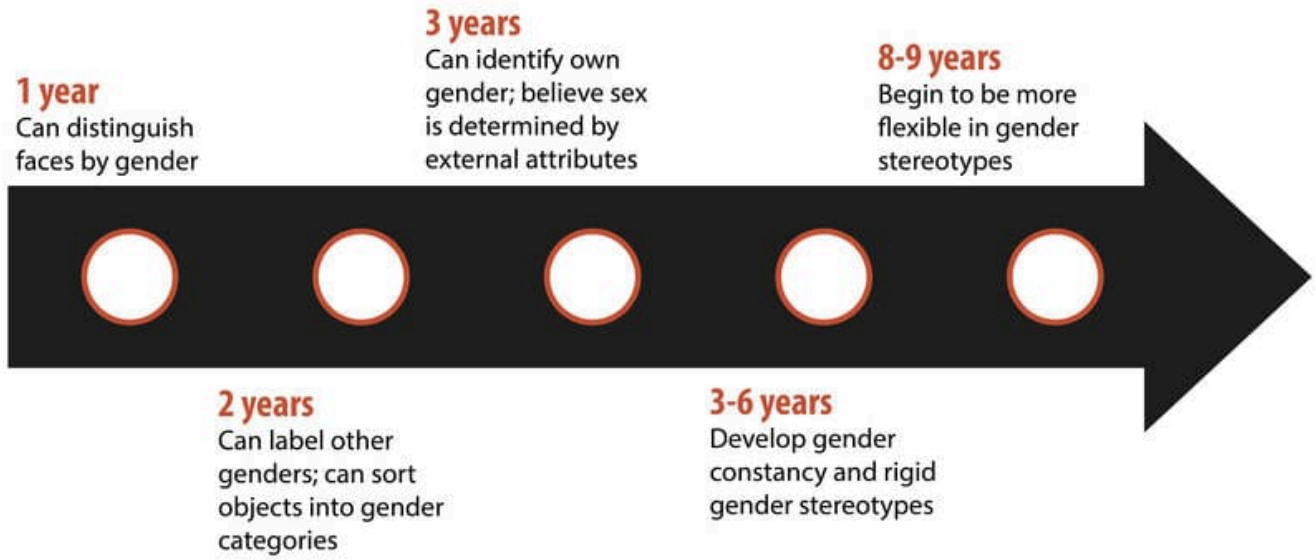


Figure 8.5.2: Children develop the ability to classify gender very early in life.

There are also psychological theories that partially explain how children form their own gender roles after they learn to differentiate based on gender. The first of these theories is gender schema theory. Gender schema theory argues that children are active learners who essentially socialize themselves. In this case, children actively organize others' behavior, activities, and attributes into gender categories, which are known as schemas. These schemas then affect what children notice and remember later. People of all ages are more likely to remember schema-consistent behaviors and attributes than schema-inconsistent behaviors and attributes. So, people are more likely to remember men, and forget women, who are firefighters. They also misremember schema-inconsistent information. If research participants are shown pictures of someone standing at the stove, they are more likely to remember the person to be cooking if depicted as a woman, and the person to be repairing the stove if depicted as a man. By only remembering schema-consistent information, gender schemas strengthen more and more over time.

Gender stigma awareness is the extent to which children, particularly adolescents, are cognizant of being judged by their gender (e.g., boys are more delinquent than girls, boys are better at math; girls are more hardworking that boys, girls are not good at

math) affect how people perceive and interact with them. This this fear of gender stigma leads many boys to engage in risk taking behaviors such fighting, delinquent behaviors, and substance abuse to prove their masculinity (Kwaning et al., 2021).

A second theory that attempts to explain the formation of gender roles in children is social learning theory. Social learning theory argues that gender roles are learned through reinforcement, punishment, and modeling. Children are rewarded and reinforced for behaving in concordance with gender roles and punished for breaking gender roles. In addition, social learning theory argues that children learn many of their gender roles by modeling the behavior of adults and older children and, in doing so, develop ideas about what behaviors are appropriate for each gender. Social learning theory has less support than gender schema theory—research shows that parents do reinforce gender-appropriate play, but for the most part treat their male and female children similarly (Lytton & Romney, 1991).

Activity

- What did they decide to do?
- What problems did it create?
- Why did one doctor voice his concern?
- What is your opinion of this?

Gender Differences

Differences between males and females can be based on (a) actual gender differences (i.e., men and women are actually different in some abilities), (b) gender roles (i.e., differences in how men and women are supposed to act), or (c) gender stereotypes (i.e., differences in how we think men and women are). Sometimes gender stereotypes and gender roles reflect actual gender differences, but sometimes they do not.

What are actual gender differences? In terms of language and language skills, girls develop language skills earlier and know more words than boys; this does not, however, translate into long-term differences. Girls are also more likely than boys to offer praise, to agree with the person they're talking to, and to elaborate on the other person's comments; boys, in contrast, are more likely than girls to assert their opinion and offer criticisms (Leaper & Smith, 2004). In terms of temperament, boys are slightly less able to suppress inappropriate responses and slightly more likely to blurt things out than girls (Else-Quest et al., 2006).



Figure 8.5.3: Boys exhibit higher rates of unprovoked physical aggression than girls and are more likely to play organized rough-and-tumble games. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Aislinn Ritchie via Flickr)

With respect to aggression, boys exhibit higher rates of unprovoked physical aggression than girls, but no difference in provoked aggression (Hyde, 2005). Some of the biggest differences involve the play styles of children. Boys frequently play organized rough-and-tumble games in large groups, while girls often play less physical activities in much smaller groups (Maccoby, 1998). There are also differences in the rates of depression, with girls much more likely than boys to be depressed after puberty. After

puberty, girls are also more likely to be unhappy with their bodies than boys.

However, there is considerable variability between individual males and individual females. Also, even when there are mean level differences, the actual size of most of these differences is quite small. This means, knowing someone's gender does not help much in predicting his or her actual traits. For example, in terms of activity level, boys are considered more active than girls. However, 42% of girls are more active than the average boy. Furthermore, many gender differences do not reflect innate differences, but instead reflect differences in specific experiences and socialization. For example, one presumed gender difference is that boys show better spatial abilities than girls. However, Tzuriel and Egozi (2010) gave girls the chance to practice their spatial skills (by imagining a line drawing was different shapes) and discovered that, with practice, this gender difference completely disappeared.

Many domains we assume differ across genders are really based on gender stereotypes and not actual differences. Based on large meta-analyses, the analyses of thousands of studies across more than one million people, research has shown: Girls are not more fearful, shy, or scared of new things than boys; boys are not more angry than girls and girls are not more emotional than boys; boys do not perform better at math than girls; and girls are not more talkative than boys (Hyde, 2005).

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8.6: Gender Expression and Sexual Orientation

Development of Sexual Orientation

According to current scientific understanding, individuals are usually aware of their sexual orientation between middle childhood and early adolescence. However, this is not always the case, and some do not become aware of their sexual orientation until much later in life. It is not necessary to participate in sexual activity to be aware of these emotional, romantic, and physical attractions; people can be celibate and still recognize their sexual orientation. Some researchers argue that sexual orientation is not static and inborn, but is instead fluid and changeable throughout the lifespan.

There is no scientific consensus regarding the exact reasons why an individual holds a particular sexual orientation. Research has examined possible biological, developmental, social, and cultural influences on sexual orientation, but there has been no evidence that links sexual orientation to one factor (APA, 2008). Biological explanations, that include genetics, hormones, and birth order, will be explored further. Excess or deficient exposure to hormones during prenatal development has also been theorized as an explanation for sexual orientation. One-third of females exposed to abnormal amounts of prenatal androgens, a condition called congenital adrenal hyperplasia (CAH), identify as bisexual or lesbian (Cohen-Bendahan et al., 2005). In contrast, too little exposure to prenatal androgens may affect male sexual orientation (Carlson, 2011).

Gender Expression

A person's subjective experience of their own gender and how it develops, or gender identity, is a topic of much debate. It is the extent to which one identifies with a particular gender; it is a person's individual sense and subjective experience of being a man, a woman, or other gender. It is often shaped early in life and consists primarily of the acceptance (or non-acceptance) of one's membership into a gender category. Gender roles and identity is largely a function of culture. Children learn to differentiae and begin to identify these characteristics through the process of socialization.

Many countries such as Africa, India, Philippines and Sweden have a much more cultural permissiveness related to gender. Here is a map of gender diverse countries and their traditions Gender Diverse Countries. Sweden is ranked as one of the most egalitarian countries in the world, with a strong national equality discourse and a relatively high number of men engaging in traditionally communal roles such as parenting and domestic tasks (Gustafsson Sendén et al., 2019).

YouTube Video

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Note

In some cultures, gender is seen as completely binary, a dichotomy. If your culture tends to view gender as binary, is one gender dominant, or are the genders of equal value, as in the yin-yang symbol in Chinese culture?

What is your view now as you begin this discussion?

How are these expectations transmitted to children?

In most societies, there is a basic division between gender attributes assigned to males and females. In all societies, however, some individuals do not identify with some (or all) of the aspects of gender that are assigned to their biological sex.

Those that identify with the gender that corresponds to the sex assigned to them at birth (for example, they are assigned female at birth and continue to identify as a girl, and later a woman) are called cisgender. In many Western cultures, individuals who identify with a gender that is different from their biological sex (for example, they are assigned female at birth but feel inwardly that they are a boy or a gender other than a girl) are called transgender. Some transgender individuals, if they have access to resources and medical care, choose to alter their bodies through medical interventions such as surgery and hormonal therapy so that their physical being is better aligned with their gender identity.

Recent terms such as “genderqueer,” “genderfluid,” “gender variant,” “androgynous,” “agender,” and “gender nonconforming” are used by individuals who do not identify within the gender binary as either a man or a woman. Instead they identify as existing somewhere along a spectrum or continuum of genders, or outside of the spectrum altogether, often in a way that is continuously evolving.

The Gender Continuum

Generally, our psychological sense of being male and female, gender identity corresponds to our biological sex. This is known as cisgender. This is not true for everyone. Transgender individuals’ gender identities do not correspond with their birth sexes. Transgendered males assigned the sex female at birth have a strong emotional and psychological connection to the forms of masculinity in their society that they identify their gender as male. A parallel connection to femininity exists for transgendered females.

A binary or dichotomous view of gender (masculine or feminine) is specific to some cultures, like the United States, but it is not universal. In some cultures there are additional gender variations resulting in more than two gender categories. For example, Samoan culture accepts what they refer to as a third gender. Fa’afafine, which translates as “the way of the woman,” is a term used to describe individuals who are born biologically male but embody both masculine and feminine traits. Fa’afafines are considered an important part of Samoan culture. In Thailand, you can be male, female, or kathoey (Tangmunkongvorakul, Banwell, Carmichael, Utomo, & Sleigh, 2010) and in Pakistan, India, Nepal, and Bangladesh transgender females are referred to as hijras, recognized by their governments as a third gender (Pasquesoone, 2014).

Because gender is so deeply ingrained culturally, it is difficult to determine the prevalence of transgenderism in society. Rates of transgender individuals vary widely around the world (see Table 1) and are shaped by social norms and cultural values. Transgendered individuals, who wish to alter their bodies through medical interventions such as surgery and hormonal therapy, so that their physical being is better aligned with their gender identity, are called transsexuals. Not all transgendered individuals choose to alter their bodies. Many will maintain their original anatomy but may present themselves to society as the opposite gender.

There is no single, conclusive explanation for why people are transgendered. Some hypotheses suggest biological factors such as genetics, or prenatal hormone levels, as well as social and cultural factors, such as childhood and adulthood experiences. Most experts believe that all of these factors contribute to a person’s gender identity (American Psychological Association, 2008). Unfortunately, transgendered and transsexual individuals frequently experience discrimination based on their gender identity and are twice as likely to experience assault or discrimination as non-transgendered individuals. Transgendered individuals are also one and a half times more likely to experience intimidation (National Coalition of Anti-Violence Programs, 2010) and be the victim of violent crime.

Transgender or Gender Non-Conforming Children

Children who do not feel that they are the gender they were assigned with birth, deserve a bit of special attention in this discussion about gender as. “Gender identity and expression are central to the way we see ourselves and engage in the world around us. This is certainly true of transgender and gender-expansive children and teens, for whom family support is absolutely critical” (Human Rights Campaign, 2019).

Transgender issues manifest at different times in life in different individuals. In most cases of gender dysphoria, the condition is often apparent in early childhood, when such a child may express behavior in-congruent with and dissatisfaction related to their assigned gender. However, many of these children experience rejection as a result of their differences and quickly attempt to repress them. Therefore, people who see these children regularly may be unaware that they are unhappy as members of their assigned gender.

Family acceptance among transgender children predicts an increase in greater self-esteem, social support, and general health

status. It also protects against depression, substance abuse, and suicidal ideation and behaviors. Parents' access to information is critical in aiding and advocating for transgender youth.



Figure 8.6.1: Two non-binary students looking at each other in the hallway. (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0; Zackary Drucker via Vice)

A safe school climate is essential for transgender, gender dysphoric, and gender non-conforming children, who likely experience stress and anxiety due to their desire to transition or display themselves as a different gender. While many schools have become more accepting and allow children to express their desired gender identity, current research shows that there is an increased amount of harassment, bullying, indifference by school staff, and antigay victimization towards transgender and gender non-conforming youth.

LGBTQ Parenting

LGBTQ parenting refers to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) people raising one or more children as parents or foster care parents. This includes: children raised by same-sex couples (same-sex parenting), children raised by single LGBTQ parents, and children raised by an opposite-sex couple where at least one partner is LGBTQ. Within the microsystem, LGBTQ people can become parents through various means including current or former relationships, co-parenting, adoption, donor insemination, reciprocal IVF, and surrogacy.One of the most controversial issues concerning the family today is that of gay and lesbian marriages. According to census data, about 800,000 same-sex couples now live together in the United States, and about one-fifth of these couples are raising at least one child under age 18; the number of children being raised by same-sex couples is about 270,000 (Barkan, Marks, & Milardo, 2009). In the macrosystem, Five states permit same-sex marriage as of July 2010—Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Iowa, and Vermont—along with Washington, DC. Several other states recognize civil unions or provide some legal benefits to same-sex couples, but civil union status does not afford couples the full range of rights and privileges that married couples enjoy. Thirty-two states have laws or constitutional amendments that ban same-sex marriage. Internationally, same-sex marriage is permitted in Belgium, Canada, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, and Sweden.

Among other arguments, opponents of same-sex marriages say that they threaten the stability of the institution of marriage and that children of same-sex couples fare worse in several respects than those raised by both their biological parents (Benne & McDermott, 2009). However, the social science evidence fails to support either of these two arguments. There is no evidence that heterosexual marriages have been undermined in the five states that have legalized same-sex marriage. For example, Massachusetts, which has allowed same-sex marriage since 2004, continues to have one of the lowest divorce rates in the nation. Regarding children of same-sex couples, studies find that their psychological well-being is as high as those of children of heterosexual couples. As a review of this body of research concluded, "Because every relevant study to date shows that parental sexual orientation per se has no measurable effect on the quality of parent-child relationships or on children's mental health or social adjustment, there is no evidentiary basis for considering parental sexual orientation in decisions about children's 'best interest'" (Stacey & Biblarz).

Scientific research consistently shows that gay and lesbian parents are as fit and capable as heterosexual parents, and their

children are as psychologically healthy and well-adjusted as those reared by heterosexual parents despite the reality that considerable legal discrimination and inequity remain significant challenges for these families. Major associations of mental health professionals in the U.S., Canada, and Australia have not identified credible empirical research that suggests otherwise.



Figure 8.6.2: Two fathers (an LGBT couple) with their son. (CC BY 4.0; MickeyMasters via Wikimedia)

Children of LGBT parents do not have any differences in their gender role behaviors in comparison to those observed in heterosexual family structures. In fact, a study by Bos and Sandfort (2009) also revealed that children raised by same-sex couples felt less pressured to follow gender stereotypes. But children may struggle with negative attitudes about their parents from the harassment they may encounter by living in society.

Critical Reflection

What challenges might LGBTQ families face? What role might early childhood educators and their programs play in supporting these families?

What resources in your community support LGBTQ families?

Trans Parenting

There is little to no visibility or public support through pregnancy and parenting resources directed towards trans parents. In the case of trans individuals who desire to become parents and to be legally recognized as mothers or fathers of their children, courts often refuse to legally acknowledge such roles because of biological discrimination.



Figure 8.6.3: Ferndando Machado and Diane Rodriguez, who are both transgender, with their son Sununun. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Ceoti via Wikimedia)

Bias and Discrimination

Gender Bias

Gender stereotypes and cultural norms maintain gender and sexual inequalities in society. Differential treatment on the basis of gender is also referred to gender discrimination or sexism and is an inevitable consequence of gender stereotypes. Sexism varies in its level of severity. In parts of the world where women are strongly undervalued, young girls may not be given the same access to nutrition, health care, and education as boys. Further, they will grow up believing that they deserve to be treated differently from boys (Thorne, 1993; UNICEF, 2007). Gender stereotypes typically maintain gender inequalities in society. The concept of ambivalent sexism recognizes the complex nature of gender attitudes, in which women are often associated with positive and negative qualities (Glick & Fiske, 2001). It has two components. First, hostile sexism refers to the negative attitudes of women as inferior and incompetent relative to men. Second, benevolent sexism refers to the perception that women need to be protected, supported, and adored by men. There has been considerable empirical support for benevolent sexism, possibly because it is seen as more socially acceptable than hostile sexism.Gender inequality based on gender bias is found in varying degrees in most societies around the world, and the United States is no exception.

As an individualist culture, North Americans believe that people should be free to pursue whatever family and career responsibilities they desire but enculturation and stereotyping combine to limit the ability of girls and boys and women and men alike to imagine less traditional possibilities.Different treatment by gender begins with parents. A meta-analysis of research from the United States and Canada found that parents most frequently treated sons and daughters differently by encouraging gender-stereotypical activities (Lytton & Romney, 1991). Fathers, more than mothers, are particularly likely to encourage gender-stereotypical play, especially in sons. Parents also talk to their children differently based on stereotypes. For example, parents talk about numbers and counting twice as often with sons than daughters (Chang, Sandhofer, & Brown, 2011) and talk to sons in more detail about science than with daughters. Parents are also much more likely to discuss emotions with their daughters than their sons.

Biased attributions lead to negative stereotyping and discrimination but being aware of your personal biases, as well as situations or contexts where you experience bias helps reduce cultural. It is important to remember that biases are not permanent and can be shaped and changed to limit their impact on our thoughts and behaviors (Dasgupta, 2013). Taking a culturally relativist perspective is another way to reduce gender bias. When we consider the experiences of people who are different from us, we are less likely to make negative and hasty judgments. Challenging and correcting gender stereotypes in everyday activities is another way that we can reduce gender bias as individuals.

Gender inequality is found in varying degrees in most societies around the world, and the United States is no exception. Just as racial/ethnic stereotyping and prejudice underlie racial/ethnic inequality so do stereotypes and false beliefs underlie gender

inequality.Globalization and cultural transmission has facilitated improvements in gender inequality but more can be done to challenge traditional possibilities and increase the opportunities for both females and males. Women working full time often have trouble making ends meet, so many are in low-paying jobs. One-parent families headed by a woman for any reason are much poorer ($30,296 in 2008 median annual income) than those headed by a man ($44,358) according to Gadlla (2008). Additionally, women also engage in a “second shift” of work at home; they take care of most of the household (cleaning and cooking), childcare (homework, bathing, etc.), and additional family care responsibilities (such as caring for elderly parents). As many sociologists note, this unequal distribution of unpaid labor is largely connected to traditional gender roles.Although stereotypes and beliefs have weakened considerably since the 1970s thanks in large part to the contemporary women’s movement and the gay and lesbian rights movements, they obviously persist and hamper efforts to achieve full gender equality.

Sexual Orientation Bias

With regard to sexuality, there is a substantial body of evidence showing that homosexuals and bisexuals are treated differently than heterosexuals in schools, the workplace, and the military. Much of this discrimination is based on stereotypes, misinformation, and homophobia — an extreme or irrational aversion to homosexuals. In the United States, major policies to prevent discrimination based on sexual orientation have not been enacted until recently and are largely the result of local changes rather than national or federal policy.

The United States is heteronormative, meaning that society supports heterosexuality as the norm. Consider, for example, that homosexuals are often asked, "When did you know you were gay?" but heterosexuals are rarely asked, "When did you know you were straight?" (Ryle, 2011). Living in a culture that privileges heterosexuality has a significant impact on the ways in which non-heterosexual people are able to develop and express their sexuality.

Open identification of one's sexual orientation may be hindered by homophobia, which encompasses a range of negative attitudes and feelings toward homosexuality or people who are identified or perceived as being lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender (LGBT). It can be expressed as antipathy, contempt, prejudice, aversion, or hatred; it may be based on irrational fear and is sometimes related to religious beliefs (Carroll, 2016). Homophobia is observable in critical and hostile behavior, such as discrimination and violence on the basis of sexual orientations that are non- heterosexual. Recognized types of homophobia include institutionalized homophobia, such as religious and state-sponsored homophobia, and internalized homophobia in which people with same-sex attractions internalize, or believe, society's negative views and/or hatred of themselves.In adolescences feelings of internalized homophobia may be unconscious due to the judgement, discrimination from peers, families, educators and institutions. Children may experience homophobic bullying in every agent of socialization. Some research suggest that identifying as an LGBTQ youth was the most common reason for school victimization by their peers specifically in anti- social language towards the youth (Hong & Garbarino, 2012).

Gay, lesbian, and bisexual people regularly experience stigma, harassment, discrimination, and violence based on their sexual orientation (Carroll, 2016). Research has shown that gay, lesbian, and bisexual teenagers are at a higher risk of depression and suicide due to exclusion from social groups, rejection from peers and family, and negative media portrayals of homosexuals (Bauermeister et al., 2010). Socio- culturally, research suggest larger school setting, school settings that offer social group support (affinity groups) offer more protective environments for LGBTQ youth. Teacher who are trained and involved report a lower rate of harassment.

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8.7: Language

Language

Although language is tied greatly in to culture, language also helps children with their self identity. Both culture and language play a role in children's self identity so you will see the two terms being mentioned together to explain the relationship they have with identity. In recent years, there has been substantial scholarly work on the relationship between language – especially second language or L2 – and identity. The common perception is that being proficient in another language can add a new personal identity which inherits traits from the culture in which the language is spoken. We may acquire, along with linguistic skills, nonverbal behaviors (i.e. learning how to bow when learning Japanese), cultural preferences in areas such as food or music, as well as a fundamental worldview shared by native speakers of the language. However, we should be aware of the complex relationship between language and culture, which is not the same for all languages. Learning English, for example, a language which encompasses many different cultures, is quite different culturally from learning Japanese, closely associated with just one country.



Figure 8.7.1: Woman showcasing cultural heritage. (Public Domain; HAROLDPH via Pixabay)

Modern theories of language and identity have moved away from the focus on the individual psychological effect of second language acquisition to a greater concern with sociological and cultural dimensions. Contemporary scholars study how language learners construct identity depending on the time and place in which they are using the L2. David Block, one of the leading scholars in the area of language and identity, points out that issues of self-identity arise often when individuals move across socio-cultural and language borders. In this sense, says Block, identity can be seen as "contested in nature as the new and varied input provided to the individual serves to disturb taken-for-granted points of reference" (Block, 2007, p. 20). Block and Cameron (2002) used the term "critical experience" to refer to such periods in one's life:

> By critical experiences, I mean periods of time during which prolonged contact with an L2 and a new and different cultural setting causes irreversible destabilization of the individual sense of self. There is, in a sense, an element of before and after in critical experiences as the individual's socio-historical, cultural and linguistic environment, once well defined and delimited, becomes relatively ill-defined and open-ended (Block & Cameron, 2002, p. 4).

In such cases, argues Block, it's not a question of discarding one's identity and substituting something new. Rather the result is what has come to be known as "hybrid" or "third place" identities. This hybrid identity creates a subject position that provides insights into different linguistic and cultural worlds. However, it can also lead to feelings of uncertainty and ambivalence, in particular for migrants, who strive to keep aspects of their home culture while learning a new language and adapting to a new way of life. In order to construct a coherent life narrative, we seek to resolve internal conflict and assuage feelings of ambivalence. In that sense, there is a recognition that as individuals we can make choices in terms of self-identity (see sidebar). We tend

to take on different available identities depending on need and context. Block points out, however, that in contrast to the open choice of products in a supermarket, we are constrained in our choice of identity by factors such as social hierarchies, educational systems, or government policies. The language choices we make are influenced by a variety of factors. Socio-economic and historical contexts may play significant roles. In formally colonized nations, the language of the colonizer acquired a hegemony over the local languages, which continued even after the colonizer had left. This in turn left a significant impact on the identity that the speakers of the language of the colonizer assumed or were attributed. The speakers of the language of the colonizer were considered to be socially superior or higher up in society than speakers of the local language.

Shopping for identities at the "cultural supermarket"

The cultural anthropologist, Gordon Matthews, argues that identities are not entities into which one is "raised"; rather, one "assumes" an identity and then works on it. Identity is thus seen to develop in what Matthews calls the cultural supermarket: just as the modern supermarket offers foods from all over the world, in all shapes and sizes, so the international media and advanced technology together make available to individuals around the world a range of identities to be assumed.

Block, 2007, pp. 21-22

The dynamics of identity formation has led to an interest within applied linguistics in what is called the imagined community that language learners may aspire to join when they learn a new language (Anderson, 1991). The imagined community may be a reconstruction of a past culture or a construct of the imagination, a desired community that offers a range of possible identities for the future. Often language learners are motivated by such imagined futures and may develop extensive fictional personae around these possible future selves: "An imagined community presupposes an imagined identity—one that offers an enhanced range of possibilities for the future" (Pavlenko & Norton, 2007, p. 598). Learners of French might envision a future in which they live in Paris and are fluent enough in French to converse in cafés and to read French poetry in the original. The "imagined self" available through a second language might involve personal growth (Dörnyei, 2009). Pavlenko & Norton (2007) cite research that has shown that "many young Japanese women consider English to be intrinsically linked to feminism and thus are motivated to learn it as a language of empowerment" (p. 597). In fact, in many parts of the world English has become the language which represents opportunities for personal growth and professional advancement (Lin & Byram, 2016). At the same time, English may be seen as an instrument of colonialism and imperialism and as a repressive force on the development of indigenous cultures.

Another intersection of language, place, and identity is represented in the concept of linguistic landscapes, the often multilingual urban signage now encountered in cities throughout the world (Shohamy & Gorter, 2008). An analysis of signs in particular neighborhoods can reveal the dynamics of different language and ethnic communities. Examining the changes over time, as Dutch scholar Jan Blommaert has done for his neighborhood in Amsterdam, can show not only how neighborhoods change but also how they identify themselves linguistically (2013). This interest in signs is a branch of semiotics, the science of signs and their significance. Increasingly linguists are looking beyond traditional uses of language to "multimodal" understanding of how communication takes place and how identities are created through language use in context and in combination with other modes of communication.



Figure 8.7.2: In culturally diverse cities such as New York, many different languages are used for public signs. (CC BY 2.0; MK Feeney via Wikimedia)

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- 2.2: Judging and Treating Others Fairly by Robert Godwin-Jones is licensed CC BY-NC 4.0.

8.8: Bilingual Children and Codeswitching

Dual Language Learners

Dual language learners (DLLs) are children under the age of five who have at least one parent or guardian who speaks a language other than English at home and are mastering their native language proficiency while learning English simultaneously. The population of dual language learners (DLLs) is growing rapidly. 62 percent of DLLs are Hispanic, 16 percent are White, 15 percent are Asian, and 16 percent are Black. Spanish is by far the most prevalent language spoken in DLLs households and is spoken by 60 percent of parents of DLLs (Park, Zong, and Batalova, 2018). DLLs are significantly more likely to live in poverty with 31 percent of DLLs living in families with incomes below the poverty line. In comparison, 22 percent of non DLLs live in families below the poverty line. DLL parents are likely to have lower academic attainment with 26 percent holding less than a high school diploma. Overall, 77 percent of DLLs are likely to have a better two parent family structure which can lead to having more access to resources for child care and supervision. While DLLs usually have a family structure of two parents, 24 percent of DLLs live in linguistically isolated households and have limited English proficiency. In this case, all members of the family speak English less than well, which leads to having limited resources to educational, medical and other critical services (Park, Zong, and Batalova, 2018).

Dual language learners learn and develop differently than monolingual children. Cognitively, bilingual children may process things differently which has an influence on how they problem solve and learn language and literacy skills. It is not surprising that the linguistic development of bilingual children is different from that of their monolingual peers, but increasing evidence shows that nonverbal cognitive development is also affected by bilingualism. Linguistic tasks are often performed more poorly by bilingual children than monolinguals, especially assessments of vocabulary (Barac & Bialystok, 2012). Some studies suggest that bilingual advantage was due to socioeconomic differences between bilingual and monolingual child. There is no doubt that socioeconomic status (SES) is a powerful influence on executive control, but it does not undermine the body of literature for which bilingual advantages have been recorded (Barac & Bialystok, 2012).



Figure 8.8.1: Three children tinker with small objects. (CC BY-SA 2.0; Bakken Museum via Minneapolis2040)

Code Switching

Children who are bilingual or dual language learners who are able to converse entirely in one or the other of the two languages they speak often switch back and forth between the two languages. An example would be “I put the forks en las mesas”, meaning, “I put the forks on the tables” (Woolford (1983). This is an example of code switching.

In speech development of multilingual children, not only two or more linguistic forms are acquired, but also the socialization

to the rules and expectations that accompany the usage of those languages (Klapicova, 2017). Children are developing through language, and social rules. Socialization can be viewed as the learning of given social rules through which social structures are reproduced, and as the acquisition of the motivation to practice these structures in role performance (Klapicova, 2017). Code switching for bilingual and multilingual learners is the result of developing language and maneuvering through social rules. The child is seen as beginning life as a social being within already defined social network; through the growth of communication and language, the child, in interaction with others constructs a social world and it is through these verbal and communicative processes as conversational exchanges that social action itself is constituted (Klapicova, 2017). Code switching is used by its speakers to communicate,for social purposes, and even as a form of cultural capital as discussed in the theories section (Spears, 2015).

Below is an example of codeswitching.

Paul, Delaney, Paul's mother and Paul's father going to visit Paul and Stephanie's grandparents and pick up Stephanie, who spent the afternoon there. Paul's father is trying to park the car in front of the grandparents' house.

Paul's father (to Paul): "Mozeme tuto zaparkovat? Zmestime sa tu?" (Can we park here? Shall we fit in here?)

Paul (to his father): Ano, zmestime sa." (Yes, we'll fit in here.)

Paul (to Delaney): Grandma!

Delaney: That's where Stevka is?"

Paul: No, grandma.

While commenting on the parking space with his father, Paul made sure Delaney did not feel left out from the conversation and even though he did not translate what the matter he and his father were discussing was, he found a different topic to talk about with Delaney: who the house they stopped at belonged to. As Delaney assumed that's where Stephanie had spent the day, she asked Paul whether that was the case. However, in that moment, Paul found it relevant to emphasize that was where the grandmother was, not his sister (Klapicova, 2017).

The idea of code switching has developed in to a broad concept that impacts many minorities socially and psychologically. Code-switching involves adjusting one's style of speech, appearance, behavior, and expression in ways that will make others feel more comfortable in exchange for fair treatment, quality service, and employment opportunities. For an example: When a Black person is with their friends, they may speak more comfortably using informal language and body language, but when in the presence of a White officer, they may code switch in to a more formal English language as a survival instinct. Studies points to code switching being used frequently in the workplace which is a sign of a lack of equity and inclusion. While more in-depth studies are needed to expand the theory of cultural code switching, studies point to many minorities being impacted by this growing idea.

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8.9: Age

In middle-class U.S. families, children are often not regarded as capable of caring for themselves or tending another child until perhaps age 10 (or later in some regions). In the U.K., it is an offense to leave a child under age 14 years without adult supervision (Subbotsky, 1995). However, in many other communities around the world, children begin to take on responsibility for tending other children at ages 5–7 (Rogoff et al, 1975), and in some places even younger children begin to assume this responsibility. For example, among the Kwara'ae of Oceania, three year olds are skilled workers in the gardens and household, excellent caregivers of their younger siblings, and accomplished at social interaction. Although young children also have time to play, many of the functions of play seem to be met by work. For both adults and children, work is accompanied by singing, joking, verbal play and entertaining conversation. Instead of playing with dolls, children care for real babies. In addition to working in the family gardens, young children have their own garden plots. The latter may seem like play, but by three or four years of age many children are taking produce they have grown themselves to the market to sell, thereby making a significant and valued contribution to the family income. (Watson-Gegeo, 1990, p. 87)



Figure 8.9.1: In some cultures, it is the norm for the older siblings to raise the younger ones. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Basile Morin via Wikimedia)

When do children's judgment and coordination allow them to handle sharp knives safely? Although U.S. middle-class adults often do not trust children below about age 5 with knives, among the Efe of the Democratic Republic of Congo, infants routinely use machetes safely (Rogoff, 2003). Likewise, New Guinea infants handle knives and fire safely by the time they are able to walk (Rogoff, 2003). Parents of Central Africa teach 8- to 10-month-old infants how to throw small spears and use small pointed digging sticks and miniature axes with sharp metal blades: Training for autonomy begins in infancy. Infants are allowed to crawl or walk to whatever they want in camp and allowed to use knives, machetes, digging sticks, and clay pots around camp. Only if an infant begins to crawl into a fire or hits another child do parents or others interfere with the infant's activity (Rogoff, 2003). It was not unusual, for instance, to see an eight month old with a six-inch knife chopping the branch frame of its family's house. By three or four years of age children can cook themselves a meal on the fire, and by ten years of age, children know enough subsistence skills to live in the forest alone if need be. (Rogoff, 2003). This evidence shows that children's wide range of abilities are linked to cultural practices, and many of our cultural practices either put limitations on what we allow children to do, or enhance children's abilities. Rogoff & Chavajay discussed how cultural practices relate to the development of ways of thinking, remembering, reasoning, and problem solving. (1995). What children are learning from a young age can impact how they learn, develop, and determine their practical skills during their later ages.

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8.10: Media Influences on Children

Media Technology and Socialization

Media's changing landscape has a profound affect on socialization. Media technology includes screen media (television & motion pictures), print (magazines & books) audio and multimedia inclusive of computers and phones. As discussed earlier in the chapter, it is an agent of socialization that impacts beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. Media has the ability to influence our political views; our tastes in popular culture; our views of women, people of color, and the LGBTQ+ community; and many other beliefs, behavior and practices. This was evident in recent years during the chronosystem shift employing new technology utilized during COVID-19. Children and families became even more reliant on media technology for information, socialization and remote learning due to school closures. The proliferation of digital media platforms and apps became the lifeline to society for sharing news and connecting the global world.

Theories of Media Socialization

The primary theory regarding Media influence on children can be traced to the discussion of Bandura Social Learning Theory. According to his theory, children learn by observing models in media and all it's forms. Children will imitate and role play what they see, especially if the role model has prestige and social influence. This influence can be both positive and negative. For example, a child watching *Sesame Street* may learn about diversity, collaboration, and other valuable positive social skills. Conversely, a child actively engaging in violent video game content may also learn aggressive an antisocial behavior. More will be discussed on this subject later.

There are myriad theories about how society, and media will progress. Functionalism sees the contribution that technology and media provide to the stability of society, from facilitating leisure time to increasing productivity. Conflict theorists are more concerned with how technology reinforces inequalities among communities, both within and among countries. They also look at how media typically give voice to the most powerful, and how new media might offer tools to help those who are disenfranchised. Symbolic interactionists see the symbolic uses of technology as signs of everything from a sterile futuristic world to a successful professional life.

Because functionalism focuses on how media and technology contribute to the smooth functioning of society, a good place to begin understanding this perspective is to write a list of functions you perceive media and technology to perform. Your list might include the ability to find information on the Internet, television’s entertainment value, or how advertising and product placement contribute to social norms.

Media Consumption

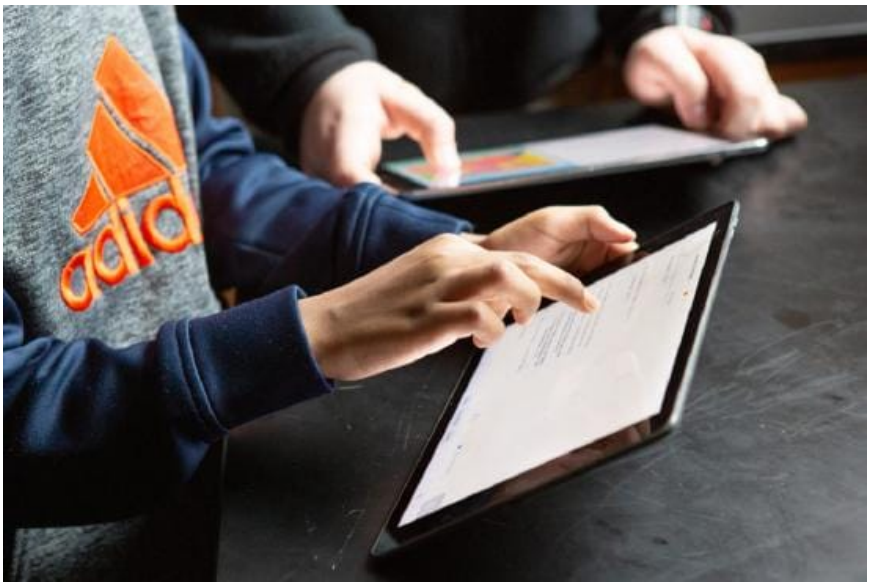


Figure 8.10.1:Children using tablets. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley, EDUImages)

The current generation of children are digital natives- meaning they have never know a time without digital technology. Entertainment, education, and socialization opportunities have been literally at their fingertips 24 hours a day. Although media estimates vary, current research from Common Sense Media (Rideout & Robb, 2020), offer these insights on media consumption of children related to age, income, race, and type of preference media:

- Children from birth to age 8 use about two and a half hours (2:24) of screen media a day. Daily use ranges from 49 minutes among those younger than 2, to two and a half hours (2:30) among 2- to 4-year-olds, and more than three hours (3:05) among 5- to 8-year-olds.
- More than a third (34%) of children age 8 and younger watch online videos every day, up from 24% three years ago. Nearly half (46%) of 2- to 4-year-olds and more than two-thirds (67%) of 5- to 8-year-olds have their own mobile device (tablet or smartphone), making online viewing even more accessible.
- Children in lower-income households spend an average of nearly two hours a day more with screen media than those in higher income homes (3:48 vs. 1:52).
- Both the frequency and amount of time spent reading among children from lower-income households have increased. The proportion of children in lower-income households who are daily readers—that is, who read or are read to every day—has increased by 10 percentage points over the past three years, from 40% to 50%.
- For the first time since we began the census, online video viewing dominates kids' screen time. Our youngest kids are spending 39 minutes a day watching online videos on platforms like YouTube and TikTok, up from only 19 minutes in 2017. The growth in mobile device access is driving this increase, as nearly half of 2- to 4-year-olds and more than two-thirds of 5- to 8-year-olds have their own tablet or smartphone.

YouTube Video

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Types of Media

At the beginning of the 20th century, neither television nor the Internet existed. There were no commercial radio stations, no

roadside billboards, no feature films, and certainly no smartphones. People were dependent on newspapers and magazines for their knowledge of the outside world. In the last generation during the digital explosion, media saturates all aspects of life from children's bedrooms to schools to senior living communities. Mass media have allowed for more shared social experiences, but new media now create a seemingly endless amount of airtime for any and every voice that wants to be heard. Advertising has also changed with technology. New media allow consumers to bypass traditional advertising venues and cause companies to be more innovative and intrusive as they try to gain our attention.

Traditional Media

Traditional media encompasses all the means of communication that existed before the Internet and new media technology, including printed materials (books, magazines, and newspapers), broadcast communications (television and radio), film, and music. New media, on the other hand, includes electronic video games and entertainment, the Internet, and social media. Although different forms of mass media rise and fall in popularity, it is worth noting that despite significant cultural and technological changes, none of the media discussed throughout this text has fallen out of use completely.

The publishing industry has also suffered from the effects of new technology (although newspaper readership has been in decline since the introduction of television and radio). When newspapers began developing online versions in response to competition from cable television, they found themselves up against a new form of journalism: amateur blogging. Initially dismissed as unreliable and biased, blogs have gained credibility and large readerships over the past decade, forcing traditional journalists to blog and tweet in order to keep pace (which allows less time to check that sources are reliable or add in-depth analysis to a story). Traditional newspapers are also losing out to news aggregators such as Google News, which profit from providing links to journalists' stories at major newspapers without offering financial compensation to either the journalists or the news organizations. Many newspapers have adapted to the Internet out of necessity, fighting falling circulation figures and slumping advertising sales by offering websites, blogs, and podcasts and producing news stories in video form. Those that had the foresight to adapt to the new technology are breathing a sigh of relief; a 2010 Pew Research Center report found that more Americans receive their news via the Internet than from newspapers or radio sources, and that the Internet is the third most popular news source behind national and local television news.

New Media

Initially conceived as an attack-proof military network in the 1960s, the Internet has since become an integral part of daily life. With the development of the World Wide Web in the 1980s and the introduction of commercial browsers in the 1990s, users gained the ability to transmit pictures, sound, and video over the Internet. Since then, it is almost impossible to overstate the influence the Internet has had on media over the past four decades. Media has become a primary socialization factor utilizing cinema, radio, television, video, computer, Internet, mobile communication which has influenced a generational cohort during crucial developmental tasks. Different types of media matter at each stage, for example a teenager may feel excluded from their peer group without a smart phone. On the other hand, technology keeps evolving over time and offers increasing access to media and to a larger variety of media content to our youngest children. Novel forms of access through new digital devices shape the current media habits of new generations.

Advantages of Media

The availability of media for children provide them with access to formal and informal educational programming, low cost entertainment and leisure, and a fully connect life with peers and family. These benefits will be explored here.

The saturation of media technology for children has offered well-designed television programs, such as Sesame Street, which can improve cognitive, literacy, and social outcomes for children 3 to 5 years of age. Evaluations of apps from Sesame Workshop and the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) also have shown efficacy in teaching literacy skills to preschoolers. These high quality programs can be learning tools (Santomero, 2018). Digital books, which are books that can be read on a screen, often come with interactive enhancements that, research suggests, may decrease child comprehension of content or parent dialogic reading interactions when visual effects are distracting. Parents should, therefore, be instructed to interact with children during eBook reading, as they would a print book (Radesky, J., & Christakis, D., 2016).



Figure 8.10.2: A computer screen shows a second-grade teacher leading a lesson for her remote learning students. (CC BY-NC 4.0; Allison Shelley via EDUimages)

In the era of COVID -19, access to computers and technology supported informal and formal learning for most children. In a 2021 Census Bureau survey (McElrath, 2020), 93% of households had a child learning online. As a result, education has changed dramatically, with the rise of online learning where teachers provide instruction to students remotely using various digital platforms. A growing number of research studies suggests that online learning has been shown to increase retention of information, take less time, and has helped keep children in school.

In addition to speed, reach, and cost, online media delivery enables a wider range of voices and perspectives on any subject. Through nontraditional media such as blogs and Twitter, people can put their own personal slant on current events, popular culture, and issues that are important to them without feeling obliged to remain neutral. A study by the Pew Research Center (2010) found that nontraditional media sources report on a wider variety of stories than traditional media, enabling individual sites to develop their own personality and voice. The study also discovered that these online sources focus on highly emotional subject matter that can be personalized by the writers and shared in the social forum. By opening up blogs and social media sites to online discussion or debate, bloggers enable readers to generate their own content, turning audiences from passive consumers into active creators. In this way, knowledge becomes a social process rather than a one-way street—the blogger posts an opinion, a reader comments on the blogger's opinion, the blogger then evaluates the reader's comment and revises his or her perspective accordingly, and the process repeats itself until an issue has been thoroughly explored. Many bloggers also provide links to other blogs they support or enjoy reading, enabling ideas with merit to filter through various channels on the Internet.

Challenges of Media

Disparity and Digital Divide

Although media technology use has become ubiquitous in our culture, some children do not have access to the opportunities of media, causing them to miss out on educational and economic opportunities. According to the American Academy of Pediatrics (Radesky, J., & Christakis, D., 2016), approximately 37% of lower income households do not have a computer. This is significant, at time when remote learning has become essential, and given the achievement gaps for low income children, disproportionately comprised of Black and Brown children, this failure to stem the divide could be devastating. Society not addressing this gap between people who can afford personal computers and access to the web and people who cannot is known as the digital divide. These disparities mean that people with lower incomes and educational levels are at a disadvantage when it comes to accessing educational opportunities, information, news, and computer-related skills that might help them navigate society.

The 2020 pandemic demonstrated how access to technology and use of technology influences the ability of children to acquire to learning virtual settings. Some teachers held synchronous video-conference sessions. Yet, accessibility to learning experience for children was not equitable. Some children may not have had the opportunity to participate in the synchronous sessions with their classmates and viewed recordings of the read aloud experience. Other students might not have access to an appropriate device

or wifi. A family's economic capacity to mitigate and successfully utilize technology varied greatly, and resulted in uneven access to educational opportunities throughout the pandemic. For example, some students may have access to a device, but might be sharing this access with siblings or other family members who also need them. Parents might be able to allow a child to use their cell phone for a portion of the day, but few adults can navigate a whole day without access to their own cell phone. The younger the age of the child, the less likely they might be to have access to their own device.

The digital divide is even more prominent between developed and developing countries. In nations such as Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Syria, the government permits little or no access to the Internet. In other countries, such as Mexico, Brazil, and Columbia, poor telecommunications infrastructure forces users to wait extremely inconvenient lengths of time to get online (Bahia & Delaporte, 2020). As discussed, socio economic status and race intersect with the digital divide, and so does gender. According to the same report, girls and women are less likely to have access to internet and computers as well. To learn more about the global digital divide visit United Nations Conference on Trade and Development to see which countries are most affected.

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Health Factors

In an ongoing controversy, the media is often blamed for youth violence, mental health issues, obesity and many other of society's ills. The average child sees thousands of acts of violence in media platforms. Media often seemingly extol sex violence, including violence against women. Advertising can greatly influence our choice of soda, shoes, and countless other products. The mass media may also reinforce racial and gender stereotypes, including the belief that women are sex objects and suitable targets of male violence. Here is a review of recent data on the health impact of media on children.

- In 2021, internal research from Facebook suggested social media made mental health issue increase (Wells et al., 2021).
- Common Sense Media's (Rideout & Robb, 2020), research indicates that people of color are underrepresented in movie and TV roles across platforms, and when they are represented, they're often stereotyped. For example, despite being 18% of the population, Latinos only make up 5% of speaking film roles. Characters of color in shows most watched by children age 2 to 13 are more likely to be depicted as violent, and women of all ethnic-racial groups in adult programming are more likely to appear in sexualized roles.Moreover, watching the gender stereotypes embedded in video increased boys' and girls' stereotype confirmation (Wille et al., 2018).
- Zillmann et al. (1994) found the average child sees 12,000 violent acts on television annually, including many depictions of murder and rape. More than 1000 studies confirm that exposure to heavy doses of television violence increases aggressive behaviour, particularly in boys.
- Television viewing makes a substantial contribution to obesity because prime time commercials promote unhealthy dietary practices (Ostbye et al., 1993)
- Today, media has become a leading sex educator for children. Between 1976 and 1996, there has been a 270% increase in sexual interactions during the family hour of 2000 hours to 2100 hours (Crespo et al., 2001).

Digital Literacy

Advertising

Advertising to children and teenagers via various forms of media has occurred for decades, with expenditures of $3.2 billion for non-digital and $900 million for digital advertising in the United States in 2018. Children and teenagers encounter advertising through television, radio, print media, the Internet, and their mobile phones. Advertising can take many forms, including images, videos, and games that advertise specific brands. Along with a growing number of online predators misrepresenting themselves on social networking sites, the Internet is responsible for a lot of other types of misinformation circulating the web. Unless children are able to distinguish between reliable, unbiased sources and factual information, they may find themselves consuming

inaccurate news reports or false encyclopedia entries. Even so-called reliable news sources are subject to occasional errors with their source material.

Teaching children digital literacy is crucial. Children and parents need to understand how technology influences and sometimes exploits them. These mechanisms often are invisible, so digital citizenship curricula will need to help children understand. According to Rideout & Robb (2020) the concerns around digital literacy are listed below.

- Free digital products aren't really "free" unless they are made by a nonprofit group.
- Cookies (browser data trackers that follow our "crumbs" as we go from site to site) and device identifiers (IDs hardwired into smartphones and tablets, which can be traced back to users) often are collected by platforms and sold to companies that collect data on purchases, gameplay or browsing histories.
- Individuals' video viewing behavior on sites like YouTube can indicate aspects of users' mental health, race, sexuality, political leaning or other characteristics.
- Platforms used by schools (such as Google Classroom, ClassDojo) collect children's data about test scores and behavior, which need to be protected.
- Algorithms that sort people into categories of consumers carry bias and can reinforce disparities.
- Users are more complicated than these algorithm categories, and they need to be aware of what tech platforms know about them and how this informs what messages they get (e.g., anti-vaccine misinformation to anxious new parents; alcohol and marijuana marketing to minority and low-income populations).

Research on children's understanding of television advertising suggest that children have limited ability to understand the intent of advertisers, consider Piaget's developmental stages. Marketers use many approaches such as the use of animated characters, interactive games for product using reinforcement strategies, which can be seen here with Barbie. Marketers also embedded products in TV, video games and movies (think of the Coke cup next to American Idol).

The proliferation of advertising and misinformation based on media companies algorithm is makes children particularly vulnerable which is why some countries, such as Sweden and Brazil, have laws banning advertising to children younger than 12 years. US advocates for children urge stricter regulations to protect children and ban commercials and misinformation targeted to young children. Regulations on television advertising have not yet been updated for the modern digital environment.

While Tumblr and Facebook encourage us to check in and provide details of our day through online social networks, corporations can just as easily promote their products on these sites. Even supposedly crowd-sourced sites like Yelp (which aggregates local reviews) are not immune to corporate shenanigans. That is, we think we are reading objective observations when in reality we may be buying into one more form of advertising.

Facebook, which started as a free social network for college students, is increasingly a monetized business, selling you goods and services in subtle ways. But chances are you don't think of Facebook as one big online advertisement. What started out as a symbol of coolness and insider status, unavailable to parents and corporate shills, now promotes consumerism in the form of games and fandom. For example, think of all the money spent to upgrade popular Facebook games like Candy Crush. And notice that whenever you become a "fan," you likely receive product updates and special deals that promote online and real-world consumerism.

YouTube Video

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Note

With the fast pace changes occurring in media, what macrosystem policy changes would you advocate for to protect children in a vulnerable developmental stage? What about in the microsystem level, what should parents or caregivers do to protect children?

Media Regulations

Privacy

Within Bronfenbrenners Macrosystem is the idea regulations related to media. Regulations have been focused on advertisement as discussed above and privacy concerns. Online privacy concerns also extend from individuals to their dependents. In accordance with the Child Online Privacy Protection Act, school districts must consider and control certain elements of privacy on behalf of students, meaning they cannot require or encourage students under age thirteen to provide personal information. Likewise, online platforms such as Instagram do not let children under the age of thirteen register for their sites. And where children are registered by their parents, sites like YouTube and, more recently, TikTok issue controls to prevent inappropriate portrayals by children or inappropriate behavior by other members. For example, YouTube often disables comments on videos produced by children (Moreno, 2020). TikTok added privacy and protection methods in 2020, but in early 2021 was hit with allegations of violating child safety and privacy guidelines.

Although schools and companies are required to take steps to lower risks to children, parents and guardians are free to make their own choices on behalf of their children. Some parents avoid showing their children on social media; they do not post pictures, and ask family members to refrain from doing so (Levy, 2019). On the other end of the spectrum, some parents run social media accounts for their children. Sometimes referred to as "sharents," they may share entertaining videos, promote products through demos or try-ons, or post professionally produced photos on behalf of clothing companies or equipment makers. A child's (even a toddler's) role as an influencer can be financially lucrative, and companies making everything from helmets to dancewear have taken notice (Allchin 2012).

The responsibility for regulating children's media is traditionally been the responsibility of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The Communications Act of 1934 replaced the Radio Act and created a more powerful entity to monitor the airwaves—a fiver-member Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to oversee both radio and telephone communication. It has no jurisdiction over print media, mainly because print media are purchased and not broadcast. The FCC requires TV and radio stations to apply for licenses, granted only if stations follow rules about limiting advertising.

There has always been marketing to young children, even prior to 1980, but the amount was very limited and confined. With the growing purchase power of children restrictions on advertisers and companies to protect children has lessen in the past 50 years. Between 1975 and 1985, deregulation public policy removed limitations on advertising to children and stripping congress' power to to protect children from marketers, leaving companies free to advertise to children as they see fit, and allowing them to use the strategies above. At the same time, children's media inclusive of TV shows has expanded. There are upwards of 500 channels running at a 24 hour cycle providing entertainment content to children such as Nickelodeon, Disney, Netflix, Disney streaming, Sprouts and more. As a result of deregulation, society witnessed media content created for the sole purpose of selling a toy, essentially turning kids' shows into program-length toy commercials.

Net Neutrality

The issue of net neutrality, the principle that all Internet data should be treated equally by Internet service providers, is part of the national debate about Internet access and the digital divide. On one side of this debate is the belief that those who provide Internet service, like those who provide electricity and water, should be treated as common carriers, legally prohibited from discriminating based on the customer or nature of the goods. Supporters of net neutrality suggest that without such legal protections, the Internet could be divided into “fast” and “slow” lanes. A conflict perspective theorist might suggest that this discrimination would allow bigger corporations, such as Amazon, to pay Internet providers a premium for faster service, which could lead to gaining an advantage that would drive small, local competitors out of business.

The other side of the debate holds the belief that designating Internet service providers as common carriers would constitute an unreasonable regulatory burden and limit the ability of telecommunication companies to operate profitably. A functional

perspective theorist might point out that, without profits, companies would not invest in making improvements to their Internet service or expanding those services to underserved areas. The final decision rests with the Federal Communications Commission and the federal government, which must decide how to fairly regulate broadband providers without dividing the Internet into haves and have-nots.

YouTube Video

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Note

With the increased growth of media-linked toys and products, there has been a rapid growth in children's consumption. Do you think we should be concerned about this?

Do you think these is a link between the increasing frequency to use licensed characters to sell junk food and other products to children?

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8.11: Political Context

Political Context and Policy

Policies have a huge impact on children, families and how they experience the world around them. For instance, in 2001, President Bush signed into effect Public Law 107-110, better known as the No Child Left Behind Act mandating that schools administer achievement tests to students and publish those results so that parents have an idea of their children's performance. Additionally, the government would have information on the gaps in educational achievement between children from various social class, racial, and ethnic groups. Schools that showed significant gaps in these levels of performance were mandated to work toward narrowing these gaps. Educators criticized the policy for focusing too much on testing as the only indication of student performance. Target goals were considered unrealistic and set by the federal government rather than individual states. Because these requirements became increasingly unworkable for schools, changes to the law were requested. Children living in low SES communities suffered the most from this law. Children were expected to perform and meet unrealistic achievement levels while schools were not given the proper funding, tools, and resources to improve the quality of education to children.

School discipline policies that are below federal and state level can also be detrimental to children's development. This idea fits in to the school to prison pipeline. It is widely acknowledged that American schools—urban public schools in particular— are defining and managing student discipline with an increasingly punitive approach. Specific examples of restrictive school policies include the imposition of dress codes or uniforms to promote conformity, as well as the use of student ID badges to facilitate immediate identification of troublemakers and deter would-be rule breakers Recent statistics indicate that over 80 percent of schools, and nearly all urban schools, now use some type of security and surveillance program. Aspects of these programs include the use of metal detectors, locked or monitored doors and gates, adult supervision of hallways, uniformed security guards or uniformed and armed security resource officers (SROs), security cameras, locker searches, clear school bag requirements, and drug-sniffing dogs. Research suggests that these trends in school punitiveness are not inconsequential (Welch & Payne 2010). For students perceived by teachers and administrators to be in the "school to prison pipeline" or on the "jailhouse track", more punitive discipline is sanctioned, even when the particular violations are not illegal. Schools are more frequently responding to defiance of behavioral codes and broken laws with in-school suspensions, out-of-school suspensions, and expulsions (Welch & Payne 2010). These extreme measures contribute to children's academic success and perception of self.



Figure 8.11.1: Protesters fighting for public change. (CC BY-SA 4.0; Ted Eytan via The Federalist)

Public Policies and Politics

Reflection

If tomorrow you could make one change to public policies that would make life better for children in your care or community, what would you change and why?

An investment in a well-crafted government program, using the tools that we know today to be highly effective, can have a huge development impact. Early childhood development programs are the foundations for successful social investments over the lifetime of an individual, especially for the poor. Investing more in this area is one of the most effective ways governments can improve economic mobility. Many governments are taking this lesson to heart and have increased investments in the early years. On a per capita basis, for example, governments are spending three times more on children aged 6–11 than on those aged 0–5. Moreover, early childhood investments tend to disproportionately favor physical infrastructure such as daycare facilities, while neglecting vital training and human capital. Recent research shows that some of the biggest returns on investment can come from modest programs that focus on improving the critical early interactions between young children and adults, be they parents, teachers, or caregivers (Berlinski & Schady, 2015).

Consider the influences from the exosystem and macrosystems that influence children and families as you watch The Raising of America video clips. Explore the website to learn more about the five-part documentary series that explores the question: Why are so many children in America faring so poorly? What are the consequences for the nation's future? How might we, as a nation, do better? The series investigates these questions through different disciplines: What does science tell us about the enduring importance of early life experiences on the brain and body? What it is like to be a parent today? And what policies and structures help or hinder the raising of healthy, happy and compassionate children?

Did you know that wages for average Americans have stagnated over the last forty years. At the same time, the cost of essentials (like housing and education) has substantially increased while corporate profits have skyrocketed. How does this pattern affect childhood?

Some facts to consider from Raising of America

- Most women work and 40% of new mothers return to work by the time their babies are three months old. Former Investment banker and economist Robert Dugger says, "Our policies actually actively discourage parents from being able to take care of their children when they're very young. They may instinctively want to do it, but we don't make it easy for them."
- Ashley a welfare recipient says, "Everybody thinks that you get state assistance, well you're just lazy and you don't want to work. That's not the case for the majority and that's sure not the case for me." Given its inaccuracy, why do you think the stereotyping of people in need of public assistance as "lazy" persists? What kind of public assistance do wealthy people receive?
- Why do so many people blame parents for making "wrong" or "irresponsible" decisions rather than address how the dice are loaded against them? How does this impact the policies and programs enacted to support low-income families with children?

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