

ROSS D. PARKE • GLENN I. ROISMAN • AMANDA J. ROSE

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Third Edition



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Social Development

Third edition

Ross D. Parke

Glenn I. Roisman

Amanda J. Rose



WILEY

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To my partner Bonnie, my children Gillian, Timothy, Megan, Sarah, Jennifer and Zachary and my grandchildren Benjamin, Liah, Sydney, Tess, Nathan and Noah.

Ross D. Parke

For Chryle Elieff and Nathan Roisman always, but this time especially for

Jay Martin

Glenn I. Roisman

To my husband, Chris Robert, our children Emma and Zack, and my parents

Bernard and Jolene Rose

Amanda J. Rose

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References (Available from your Instructor)

PREFACE

In this third edition of *Social Development* our goal remains to provide undergraduates and their instructors with a comprehensive, scholarly, engaging, and up-to-date treatment of theoretical insights and empirical findings in the field of social development. In writing and updating the book we have tried to convey the excitement of recent advances along with the accumulated knowledge that forms the basis of the field. In this revision we have added many recent references to new research on social development and have used lively examples and illustrations from children to illustrate the research-based conclusions in an effort to make this edition even more undergraduate-friendly and to arouse and maintain students' interest. Because we recognize that the way instructors organize the material covered in a course on social development varies, we have written the book so that chapters can be read out of order and separate sections can be assigned to meet different teaching goals.

Theoretical Orientation

Although we cover the traditional theories, our presentation reflects contemporary thought emphasizing systems, ecological approaches, and the multifaceted, multiply determined, and dynamically related nature of social phenomena. This focus on multiple levels of explanation is the reason we have included cultural-contextual and biological foundations of development and have discussed their interplay across levels.

Emphasis on Cultural Diversity

We have integrated information from cross-cultural research and studies that focus on ethnic and racial diversity within cultures into our discussions of social development. In each chapter, we illustrate these cultural variations both in the text and in features that provide a more detailed examination of a particular culture or cultural issue.

Emphasis on Biological Underpinnings

Reflecting increased recognition that we must probe the biological underpinnings of social development, we have devoted a separate chapter to biological influences on social development and introduced biological factors in our discussions of specific aspects of social development in other chapters. We highlight new advances in molecular and behavior genetics and epigenetics, neurological assessments (e.g., functional magnetic resonance imaging [fMRI]), and the hormonal correlates of

social development and emphasize the interaction between environmental conditions and the expression of biological predispositions to provide a forward-looking view that we hope will intrigue students and instructors.

Concern with Social Policy

Each year governments spend millions of dollars on programs for children. We review some of these policies and programs that have as their goal improving the lives of children, underscoring the interchange between basic research and social policy. We devote a separate chapter to this discussion—a unique feature of this book—so that students can more fully understand the policy-making process as well as specific policies aimed at children. Our goal is to make the work in this area relevant to students as citizens, informed consumers of scientific literature, and beginning professionals.

Age Scope of Coverage

This book covers social development in infancy, childhood, and adolescence. However, we recognize that social development does not stop then, so we have included a special feature—*Into Adulthood*—in each chapter to illustrate how social behaviors change in adulthood, how adult social behavior is influenced by earlier events in childhood and adolescence, or how adolescents manage the transition to adulthood. In addition, in Chapter 7, “Family,” we discuss how children’s social development is affected by adult development, specifically their parents’ development, and how circumstances in parents’ lives alter their behavior and, in turn, modify their children’s social outcomes.

Chapter Elements

Each chapter begins with examples of hypothetical children of different ages exhibiting the types of social behaviors we discuss in the chapter. At the end of the chapter, bulleted summaries review the chapter’s key concepts and main ideas. Key terms, which are highlighted in the text, are listed at the end of each chapter as a reminder to students of their significance, and combined in a glossary at the end of the book.

Chapter Features

Each chapter contains the following features that address interesting issues in social development. These are designed to underscore and amplify the main themes of the chapter and are intended to be read along with the regular text material. Their purpose is to increase students’ interest and understanding about topics that are important for achieving each chapter’s overall goals.

Research Up Close

In these highlighted sections, we examine a single study or set of studies in more detail to provide students with a fuller appreciation of the methodological complexities

of research on social development. For example, one such section describes studies of children who were raised in orphanages and who have problems forming close relationships correlated with deficits in oxytocin, the “love” hormone. In another chapter, this section describes studies of developmental changes in the frequency and nature of children’s lies.

Real-World Application

These sections provide examples of ways that basic science is translated into real-world applications, such as new ways to control violence, school programs to improve children’s social skills, policies to lessen the effects of maternal incarceration, and consequences of cyberbullying. Our goal is to show how basic research can be applied to understanding and addressing real-life problems.

Cultural Context

The focus of these sections is to demonstrate how culture shapes the behaviors and beliefs of children and adults. They include descriptions of differences and similarities in children’s temperaments, attachment relationships, and self-concepts around the globe. They also include a discussion of how effects of physical punishment depend on whether or not punishment is normative in the culture, and they provide illustrations of the differences in parenting in collectivist and individualistic cultures.

Bet You Thought That . . .

The goal of this feature is to challenge assumptions about how social development works by providing illustrations that are counterintuitive; for example, not all infant smiles are the same, genes alone do not determine social potential, babies can “read minds,” and parenting is a brain booster rather than a brain drain.

Into Adulthood

In an era of increasing emphasis on life-span development, appreciating that developmental trajectories do not stop at age 18 or 21 is important. For this reason, each chapter has a section that describes some aspect of development beyond adolescence. Examples include a description of how children whose aggressive behavior begins in early childhood are at risk for violent offenses in adulthood, a discussion of how early attachment patterns foreshadow the quality of later romantic ties, and a summary of how the lives of adults differ depending on whether they were shy or bold as children.

Insights from Extremes

In these sections, we discuss extreme cases that have led to insights about social development. These cases include children reared in institutions, a child who was isolated from social contact until she was 13 years old, children who are forced to be soldiers, children with autism, and transgender children.

Learning from Living Leaders

Who are the current leaders in social development? How did they become interested in this field? What questions have they tried to answer? What do they think are the most pressing issues in their area? What message do they have for undergraduates? A variety of experts answered these questions, and the Learning from Living Leaders feature summarizes their responses. We hope that these profiles will put a face on researchers in the field and introduce students to some of the paths that lead to becoming a research leader, perhaps inspiring them to consider a career in this field.

At the Movies

To connect text material with students' interests, we have included a feature describing some movies that illuminate important themes in each chapter. Examples include *Juno*, an atypical example of teen pregnancy; *Mean Girls*, an illustration of relational aggression in high school; and *Gone Baby Gone*, a demonstration of different levels of moral reasoning.

Uniqueness of the Book

Several components of this text distinguish it from other books devoted to this topic. One is the discussion of the biological underpinnings of social development, both in a separate chapter and within the content of the other chapters. The discussion highlights the roles of hormones, such as cortisol and testosterone. It includes new techniques for probing brain activities and reviews recent work on mirror neurons and the “social brain,” which suggest that there are brain-specific correlates of social behaviors, such as empathy, moral decision making, and reactions to televised violence. This component also includes new work in behavior genetics, which emphasizes the role of environments in controlling the expression of genetic predispositions. Second, the book considers cultural variation both among societies around the world and within our own society. Third, the book has a chapter specifically devoted to social policy that examines in detail the policy process and highlights a number of recent government policy initiatives affecting children's lives. Fourth, the book includes unique features in each chapter, such as “Bet You Thought That . . .,” “Insights from Extremes,” and “Into Adulthood.” Finally, the book presents discussion of research on the cutting edge of the field to capture the excitement of recent advances in this area. To write these discussions, we not only have relied on published sources but also have sought out as-yet-unpublished information from several sources including forthcoming articles from experts and hot topics on the Internet. We believe this book offers students a fresh and unique perspective on social development.

Highlights of the Third Edition

Several new features, including stylistic changes as well as content changes, have been incorporated into this new edition.

Emerging Leaders

The Emerging Leaders feature, in Chapter 14, showcases 12 young scholars who are helping to shape the direction of research and policy in social development. This feature was introduced in the second edition and continues here with some fresh faces who have become emerging leaders. Combined with the Learning from Living leaders feature, it encourages students to appreciate the ways research is conducted by real people and gives them some inspirational messages about the research process.

Making *Social Development* More User Friendly

A second new feature is the addition of quotes from children and parents (real and hypothetical) that are interspersed throughout the book. Our goal is to illustrate key research findings by showing how they relate to children and families. We hope that these additions enliven the book and increase students' understanding.

Updating *Social Development* with New Research Findings and Insights

We have revised *Social Development* to include the most recent developments in theory, research, and policy. To achieve this goal, we have carefully reviewed recent publications and added more than 900 new references to our review of the field of social development.

Highlighting Ages of Children

In this revision we continue to offer descriptions of the ages of the research participants so students can more fully appreciate variations in children's developmental capabilities.

New Topics

New topics added in this revision include the following:

- New coverage of the biological foundations of social development including genetic, neurological, and hormonal factors (*Chapter 3 Biological Foundations*)
- More emphasis on the interplay between genes and environment in shaping development including a new section on differential susceptibility (*Chapter 3 Biological Foundations* as well as other chapters)
- New section on the effects of loss and bereavement on children (*Chapter 4 Attachment*)
- New evidence of the precocity of infants for understanding their social world (*Chapter 6 Self and Other* and *Chapter 11 Morality: Knowing Right, Doing Good*)
- More coverage of children in other societies around the globe (*Chapter 7 Family: Early and Enduring Influences* and *Chapter 13 Policy: Improving Children's Lives*)

Specific New Additions to Individual Chapters

Updated topics in this revision include the following (among others):

Chapter 1: Introduction: Theories of Social Development

- additional links between the theories outlined in Chapter 1 and topics discussed in later chapters (added so students can appreciate the relevance of the theories for guiding research)
- a focus on the mutually informative nature of basic and applied (translational) research
- additional emphasis on how Vygotsky's zone of proximal development concept informs the study of parenting quality
- introduction of a key challenge for the interpretation of findings from socialization research in particular and nonexperimental research on social development generally—that of potential genetic confounding

Chapter 2: Research Methods: Tools for Discovery

- additional detail on the nature and meaning of statistical inference in social science
- a revised focus on maximizing the quality of causal inferences via research designs and innovative statistical techniques in research areas where true experiments are impossible or unethical
- additional emphasis on the distinction between prospective and longitudinal approaches to the study of social development
- attention to the “replication crisis” in psychology and the value of large sample studies in increasing the precision of estimates of the associations of interest in social developmental studies
- updated discussion of the use of the Internet as a research tool
- updates on methods for collecting data from children during the course of their days via ecological momentary assessments that leverage new technologies, including smartphones
- additional detail on the distinction between statistical mediation and moderation
- new insights into research ethics

Chapter 3: Biological Foundations: Roots in Neurons and Genes

- additional detail on how newborns are biologically prepared to respond to faces
- additional details regarding the logic of behavior-genetic approaches
- an introduction to a variety of behavior-genetic approaches to the study of gene by environment interactions
- updates on our understanding of genetic influences—including epigenetics—where genetic expression can be modulated by environmental factors
- additional details regarding the distinction between two popular gene by environment interaction models—the dual-risk model and the differential susceptibility model
- new studies of gene–environment interactions further illustrate this model of genetic transmission
- updated statistics on the rate of autism in the United States

Chapter 4: Attachment: Forming Close Relationships

- additional details about measurement approaches that focus on attachment dimensions that build on the classic attachment categories

- new evidence of brain differences in adults with different patterns of attachment
- updates on the links between caregiving and attachment quality
- updated meta-analytic information about the transmission of attachment security across generations
- new information on parental incarceration and its implications for attachments
- discussion of a recent meta-analysis on the links between insecure attachments and temperament, along with discussion of studies focused on possibly genetic contributions to individual differences in attachment quality
- updates on the stability of attachment over the first two decades of life
- a new subsection on the implications for children of the death of a parent and relevant intervention strategies
- a summary of recent meta-analyses on the links between insecure and disorganized attachments and later social competence, externalizing behaviors, and internalizing problems

Chapter 5: Emotions: Thoughts about Feelings

- new computer automation techniques for tracking emotional intensity over time
- recent meta-analysis of gender differences in emotional expressions
- updates on both Duchenne smiles and Duchenne distress expressions
- new cross-cultural work on shame and pride
- new findings on children's distinguishing between true and pseudo-distress
- recent work on cultural differences in display rule use
- updates on emotion regulation in adulthood
- recent statistics on depression and suicide among children and youth

Chapter 6: Self and Other: Getting to Know Me, Getting to Know You

- updates on the links between physical appearance and self-concept in both girls and boys
- new work on links between popularity and self-esteem
- new research on the development of growth mind sets across time
- new work on the processes underlying identity formation
- new work on early development of own race preferences
- updates on biracial and bicultural identities
- updated figures on sexual orientation among youth
- a new meta-analysis focused on the effectiveness of programs to improve perspective taking
- revised language section that focuses on the social aspects of language and communication

Chapter 7: Family: Early and Enduring Influences

- new work on the transition to parenthood
- cross-national work on the effects of parental rejection
- new meta-analysis of the links between physical punishment and child outcomes
- new work on the relation between motherhood and learning
- updates on the effects of sib-sib interaction on both children and young adults
- new work on the effects of family routines on children
- updates on international efforts to prohibit physical punishment
- new findings on maternal employment, adoption, and same-gender parent families
- effects of later onset of parenting on children

Chapter 8: Peers: A World of Their Own

- new evidence of aggressive behavior as early as infancy
- new perspectives on cross-cultural differences in regards to pretend play
- new work on “contagion” effects in behavior and emotions between friends
- updated explanation of the different ways youth can be “popular” with peers
- new discussion of neural systems that may underlie tendencies to approach peers
- introduced construct called “antipathies,” a peer relationship characterized by mutual dislike
- updated perspective regarding cultural/gender differences in the path to intimate friendships
- up-to-date information about the prevalence and correlates of same-sex romantic relationships

Chapter 9: Schools, Mentors, and Media: Connections with Society

- new studies regarding which students struggle the most with school transitions
- new research regarding cross-ethnic friendships in schools
- expanded discussion of the drawbacks and benefits of single-sex education
- expanded discussion of cooperative learning, including introducing the “flipped” classroom
- new discussion regarding risks of school suspension and expulsion for at-risk students
- new research regarding the positive effects of racially/ethnically integrated schools
- up-to-date research on youths’ media involvement, including smartphones, social media, and the risks of “lurking” on others’ social media sites
- expanded information regarding cyberbullying

Chapter 10: Sex and Gender: Vive la Différence?

- new discussion of historical shifts in sex-typed personality characteristics (e.g., expressivity among women)
- new research and discussion regarding transgendered youth
- new discussion of the difference between mean-level gender differences (i.e., boys are more aggressive than girls on average) and stereotypes (i.e., he is a boy and so he must be aggressive)
- updated information about girls’ participation in sports
- updated information regarding the influence of prenatal hormone abnormalities on girls’ likelihood of choosing boys as playmates and preferring male-typed toys

Chapter 11: Morality: Knowing Right, Doing Good

- new work on children and adolescent understanding of nurturance rights (care/protection) and self-determination rights
- updates on the neurological correlates of moral reasoning
- new cross-cultural evidence of children’s ability to distinguish social-conventional and moral rules
- recent work on adolescent reasoning about sexual minority youth
- youth understanding about income inequalities across society
- new work on positive and negative effects of parents on children’s moral judgments
- recent work on the neurological correlates of self-regulation and prosocial behavior
- advances in understanding the effects of moral emotions (shame and guilt) on adolescent adjustment

- new work on infant's and preschooler's understanding of prosocial/nonprosocial behavior of others
- new research on ethnicity, acculturation, and prosocial behavior

Chapter 12: Aggression: Insult and Injury

- new information regarding teen dating violence
- new evidence regarding contexts (e.g., more dangerous versus safer neighborhoods) under which genetics may have the greatest influence on aggression
- new presentation of the “differential susceptibility hypothesis”
- expanded discussion of the role of culture, including findings suggesting students are more aggressive at school in individualist cultures than in collectivist cultures
- new discussion regarding cultural differences in the effectiveness of bullying programs and the need for culturally sensitive interventions

Chapter 13: Policy: Improving Children's Lives

- new work on the links between poverty and brain development
- updates on long-term effectiveness of Head start and other preschool programs
- new findings about the effects of TANF government programs for child well-being
- new work on effects of early child care on adolescent outcomes
- new statistics on the decline in teenage pregnancies
- new innovations in teen pregnancy prevention programs and their effectiveness
- new meta-analysis of gender differences in rates of child sexual abuse
- new programs for child abuse prevention
- updated statistics concerning rates of physical violence against children globally

Instructor Resources

Resources for instructors are available at www.wiley.com/go/parke/socialdevelopment3e. All resource material has been updated to reflect changes in the current edition of the book.

Instructor's Guide

The comprehensive instructor's guide provides chapter outlines, chapter summaries, key terms for each chapter (glossary items and additional important terms), and chapter learning objectives. Ideas for lectures, class discussions, demonstrations, student activities (e.g., small research projects that students can conduct in settings outside of class), and topics suitable for class debates are given. A set of handouts are provided that can serve as a review guide for students. The guide offers topics and writing guidelines for students' term papers, including suggestions for conducting a literature search, recommendations about the best search engines, suggestions about how to organize a review section by section, and an overview of APA formatting and referencing style. It lists relevant short films generally available from the university or college media resource center and popular movies and TV programs that illustrate themes of each chapter. Films such as *Juno* document the experience of adolescent pregnancy; *Mean Girls* illustrates the issues of relational aggression among high school girls; *Gone Baby Gone* provides insights into different levels of moral reasoning. Suggested background readings are also given for each chapter.

Test Bank

In the Test Bank, approximately 80 multiple-choice questions, 15 short-answer questions, 10 essay questions, and 20 true/false questions are provided for each chapter. Some of these questions are available for students to use as a practice quiz. New questions have been added to reflect revised text content. All questions are keyed to specific pages of the textbook.

Image Gallery

The Image Gallery includes all of the illustrations in each chapter. These images can be used as provided or to create instructional slides.

PowerPoint Slides

PowerPoint slides serve as a springboard for lectures covering the key points, figures, tables, and key terms in each chapter. These slides can be used as they are or can be modified to suit the instructor's specific requirements.

Annotated Web Links

A set of Web links connecting to relevant written and video materials for each chapter can be used to supplement information in the textbook or as a starting point for class assignments.

Acknowledgments

In writing the first two editions of this book, we received constructive suggestions from many experts in the field as well as instructors who teach social development. The book is better as a result of their feedback, and we are grateful for their assistance. The reviewers of the first edition of the book were the following: Joan Grusec, University of Toronto; Scott Miller, University of Florida; John Bates, Indiana University; Susanne Denham, George Mason University; Deborah Laible, Lehigh University; Melanie Killen, University of Maryland; Judith Smetana, University of Rochester; Susan Harter, University of Denver; Jennifer Lansford, Duke University; Steven Asher, Duke University; Gary Ladd, Arizona State University; Patricia Greenfield, University of California, Los Angeles; Rob Crosnoe, University of Texas; Everett Waters, State University of New York at Stony Brook; Philip Rodkin, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Craig Hart, Brigham Young University; Mark Cummings, University of Notre Dame; Lindsay Chase-Lansdale, Northwestern University; Campbell Leaper, University of California, Santa Cruz; Barry Schneider, University of Ottawa; Kenneth Rubin, University of Maryland; Samuel Putnam, Bowdoin College; Julie Dunsmore, Virginia Tech University; Jamie Ostrov, University of Buffalo; Herman Huber, College of Saint Elizabeth; Nancy Furlong, Alfred University; Celina Echols, Southeastern Louisiana University; Robert Marcus, University of Maryland; Cynthia Hall, University of Alabama

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Learning from Living (and Past) Leaders

This third edition is coauthored by Ross D. Parke, Glenn I. Roisman, and Amanda J. Rose, a team that we hope will bring fresh perspectives and up-to-date coverage to this latest

edition. It is important to note, however, that this edition builds upon the previous two editions under the authorship of K. Alison Clarke-Stewart and Ross Parke. Sadly Professor Clarke-Stewart died suddenly in 2014, but we want to recognize that the wit, wisdom, and incisive sense of scholarship that she brought to the first two editions has informed and guided this latest edition. Below we provide a brief profile of Alison Clarke-Stewart, and as current authors we hope that we have faithfully honored her legacy in this new version of this book and trust that she would be pleased with this newest edition.

Our admired and beloved past author

K. Alison Clarke-Stewart was a leading scholar in social development. She grew up in Canada and completed her BA and MS at the University of British Columbia before moving to the United States for graduate school. Just before she began her PhD program, she had an epiphany. The violence that erupted that summer culminating in the assassinations of Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. led her to decide to study children's social development in the hope that by doing so she might contribute to making the

world a better place. After receiving her PhD from Yale University, she studied family interactions, child care quality, early childhood education programs, divorce and custody effects, and children's eyewitness testimony—always with the goal of discovering ways people could create more positive experiences for children and enhance their social skills and relationships. Before retirement, Clarke-Stewart was Professor in the Department of Psychology and Social Behavior in the School of Social Ecology at the University of California, Irvine. Earlier she taught in the Department of Education and the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago. She was a Fellow of the American Psychological Association and the American Psychological Society and a Principal Investigator of the NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development. She was a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and a Visiting Scholar at Oxford University. She wrote four textbooks on child development and authored *Day Care* and coauthored *Children at Home and in Day Care*, *What We Know about Childcare*; *Divorce: Causes and Consequences*, and *Divorce Lessons: Real Life Stories and What You Can Learn from Them*. She is missed by family and friends as well as the field of social development where she was recognized as an inspiring and groundbreaking leader.

Courtesy of Ross D. Parke



Ross D. Parke

is a Distinguished Professor of Psychology, Emeritus and past Director of the Center for Family Studies at the University of California, Riverside. He also taught at the

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and at the University of Wisconsin. He is past president of the Society for Research in Child Development from which he received the Distinguished Scientific Contribution to Child Development Award, and of the Developmental Psychology Division of the American Psychological Association, who awarded him the G. Stanley Hall award for his contributions to developmental psychology. He has served as an editor of the *Journal of Family Psychology* and *Developmental Psychology* and was associate editor of *Child Development*. He is the author of *Fatherhood*, coauthor of *Throwaway Dads*, and coeditor of *Family-Peer Relationships: In Search of the Linkages; Children in Time and Place; Exploring Family Relationships with Other Social Contexts* and *Strengthening Couple Relationships for Optimal Child Development*. His more recent books are *Future Families: Diverse Forms, Rich Possibilities* published by Wiley-Blackwell in 2014 and a co-edited volume (with Glen Elder) entitled *Children in a Changing World: Socio-Cultural and Temporal Perspectives* published by Cambridge University Press in 2019. He obtained his PhD from the University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, and his work has focused on early social relationships in infancy and childhood, punishment, aggression, child abuse, fathers' roles in child development, links between family and peer social systems, ethnic variations in families, and the effects of new reproductive technologies on families. He taught a college course on social development for more than 40 years and is highly regarded as a textbook author with seven editions of *Child Psychology: A Contemporary Viewpoint* to his credit.

Courtesy of Glenn I. Roisman



Glenn I. Roisman

is a Distinguished McKnight University Professor of Child Psychology and the Director of Undergraduate Studies at the Institute of Child Development at the University of Minnesota. Prior to moving back to Minnesota (where he earned his PhD) with his wife Chryle and son

Nathan, Dr. Roisman spent the first decade of his career in the Department of Psychology at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. During those years as an Assistant and then Associate Professor, he was honored with both the Society for Research in Child Development Award for Early Research Contributions and the Boyd R. McCandless Young Scientist Award from the Developmental Psychology Division of the American Psychological Association. Currently, Dr. Roisman serves as an associate editor of both *Child Development* and *Psychological Bulletin* and has thus far published over 100 journal articles on the legacy of early interpersonal experiences—many of which are based on data from some of the landmark longitudinal studies of human development described in this book, including the Minnesota Longitudinal Study of Risk and Adaptation and the NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development. More recently, he became involved in assessments of the Minnesota Twin Registry cohort as one of its Principal Investigators. In addition, Dr. Roisman has taught a college course to undergraduates on social development entitled *Development and Interpersonal Relationships* for more than 15 years and regularly co-teaches a course on social and emotional development to first-year graduate students at Minnesota.

Courtesy of Amanda J. Rose



Amanda J. Rose

is a Professor of Psychological Sciences at the University of Missouri. She received her doctorate from the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1999 and did her undergraduate work at The Ohio State University. Dr. Rose joined the faculty at the University of

Missouri in 1999 as a founding member of the Developmental Psychology Training Program within the Department of Psychological Sciences. She served as Director of the Developmental Training Program from 2002 to 2010 and again from 2013 to 2015. Dr. Rose's research focuses on gender, friendships, and emotional adjustment in childhood and adolescence. Her work has been funded by NIH, and she is a fellow of the American Psychological Association and a fellow

of the American Psychological Society. Dr. Rose also was awarded an early scientific achievement award from the Society for Research in Child Development. Dr. Rose is a committed teacher and research mentor. In the classroom, she has taught Social Development, Developmental Psychology, and Research Methods in Developmental Psychology. Many of the undergraduate students that Dr. Rose has mentored in research have pursued doctoral training at prestigious universities, and all of the doctoral students that she has mentored are currently faculty members in Departments of Psychology at colleges and universities around the nation. Dr. Rose is a recipient of many teaching awards, including a Kemper Fellowship for Excellence in Teaching, one of the highest teaching honors awarded at the University of Missouri. In addition, Dr. Rose is committed to promoting women's professional development, especially in academia. Dr. Rose has developed undergraduate and graduate classes on women's professional development and regularly gives presentations on the topic.

Introduction

Theories of Social Development



Alan Tobey/Stockphoto

What is the study of social development? It is many things. It is a description of children's social behavior and how it changes as children get older. It is a description of children's ideas about themselves and other people, their relationships with peers and adults, their emotional expressions and displays, and their ability to function in social groups. It traces continuities and discontinuities in children's social behavior, relationships, and ideas over time. It is also an explanation of the processes that lead to changes in social behavior and to individual differences among children. It includes examination of how other aspects of development—cognitive, perceptual, language, and motor development—underlie children's social behavior.

Researchers in the field of social development investigate the influences of parents and peers, schools and the media, and culture and biology on children's social behavior and ideas. For some scholars, unraveling the mysteries of social

Four-month-old Abby gazes into her mother's eyes. Her mother returns the gaze and smiles broadly. Abby smiles back at her mother and coos. This simple social exchange represents the beginnings of social development. Five-year-old Jason is a bully. He terrorizes the other children in his classroom, takes their toys, hits them, and verbally abuses them. His classmate Aiden is quiet, cooperative, and compliant; he shares his toys and settles disputes peacefully. Not surprisingly, classmates like Aiden better than Jason. These patterns reflect individual differences in social behavior during early childhood. Twelve-year-old Emma loves to spend time with her best friend Meg. They walk to school together, meet at recess, sit next to each other at lunch, play on the same soccer team, confer about homework, and text late into the night. Their close relationship is typical of best friendships in middle childhood. These three hypothetical examples illustrate some of the phenomena of social development in childhood. In this chapter, we discuss the theories that explain these phenomena and the questions that are central to the study of social development.



Let You Didn't Know That . . . Newborns Can Recognize Their Mothers by Smell



oneclearvision/iStockphoto

Each chapter in this book contains a highlighted section describing something about social behavior or social development that may surprise you. Did you know that . . .

- Newborns can recognize their own mothers by smell.

- Even 2-years-olds experience jealousy.
- Aggressive behavior in an 8-year-old can predict criminal behavior at age 30.
- Infants in orphanages have lower levels of the "love" hormone, oxytocin.
- Child abuse can lead to changes in children's brain functioning.
- Having a close friend can make up for being rejected by classmates.
- Adolescent girls who have grown up without a father have a much higher chance of becoming a teen mother than those who grew up with a father.

You will learn about these and other interesting facts about social development as you read this textbook.

development is a goal in itself. It allows them to satisfy their curiosity about why some children become juvenile delinquents and others become model teens. It offers insights into the principles and laws that govern social interaction.

Other scholars have more practical concerns. They gather information about social development to help people make better decisions about children's lives. They give parents information that will help improve their child-rearing strategies. They give teachers information about how to reorganize their classrooms to support children's social needs. They provide information to guide policymakers' decisions about child-care regulations, school policies, and family welfare. They offer information to help health professionals identify and treat children who are showing signs of atypical development. All of these are legitimate goals within the study of social development.

Social Development: A Brief History

The study of children's development is a relatively recent enterprise. In the medieval period, people viewed children as miniature adults and did not even recognize childhood as a distinctive period deserving special attention (Aries, 1962). Children were not valued in the same way or treated with the same care as they are today. Many children died in infancy and early childhood and, if they survived, they were forced to labor in mines and fields. Child labor laws to protect children's health and welfare were not introduced until the 1800s. As people began to recognize children's value and vulnerability, the need to understand their development through scientific study became clear as well.

The scientific study of children's development began with the pioneering work of the evolutionary biologist Charles Darwin. In his work on the development of emotions in his own and other people's children, Darwin (1872) paved the way

for the modern study of emotions—a key element of social development. Following Darwin, psychologist G. Stanley Hall (1904) used questionnaires to document children’s activities, feelings, and attitudes. A few years later, John B. Watson (1913) argued that conditioning and learning were the processes by which social and emotional behavior are acquired and modified. His early studies of how infants acquire fear responses through conditioning demonstrated that emotional responses are learnable and that social behavior can be studied scientifically. Around the same time, Sigmund Freud (1905, 1910) offered a more biologically oriented view, claiming that social development was the product of how adults handled children’s basic drives, such as the infant’s drive to suck. An American psychologist and pediatrician, Arnold Gesell (1928), offered a different view of social development. He argued that social skills, like motor skills, simply unfold over the course of infancy and childhood. Thus, the field began with competing views about social development (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2012). In this chapter, we explore the views reflected in both traditional and modern theories of social development (for a detailed review of the recent history of the study of social development, see Collins, 2011).

Critical Questions about Social Development

As scientists studied children’s social development, they confronted and debated a number of critical questions. These questions, which we discuss in this section, have framed the study of development and colored different theories of social development.

How Do Biological and Environmental Influences Affect Social Development?

In the early history of developmental psychology, scholars took opposing positions on what was known as the “nature–nurture” issue. Some emphasized the role of nature, that is, heredity and maturation; others emphasized the role of nurture, that is, learning and experience. The former argued that biology is destiny and the course of development is largely predetermined by genetic factors, which guide the natural **maturation** or unfolding of increasingly complex social skills and abilities. Gesell was an early advocate of this view. Opposing this view, scholars such as Watson (1928) placed their emphasis firmly on the environment. They assumed that genetic factors put few restrictions on the ways that environmental events shape the course of children’s development and claimed that by properly organizing the environment they could train any infant to become an athlete, an architect, or an attorney.

Today no one supports either of these extreme positions. Modern scholars realize that both biological and environmental factors influence social development—although they may disagree about the relative importance of each. The challenge now is to explore how the two sets of factors interact to produce changes and individual differences in children’s social abilities. In recent years, researchers have studied these factors in a number of ways. One group of researchers, for example, showed that children’s aggressiveness is a function of both their testosterone level—biology—and their exposure to aggressive interactions—environment (Moffitt et al., 2006). Another researcher showed that children’s sociability with

peers is rooted in both their early temperamental characteristics—biology—and their early experiences in the family—environment (Rothbart 2011). Yet another eminent developmental scientist, Jay Belsky, has advanced the “differential susceptibility” hypothesis (discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, “Biological Foundations”) that certain biologically based factors—including difficult temperament and a subset of molecular-genetic markers—predispose some children to be more reactive to and therefore affected by both negative *and* positive caregiving experiences (Belsky & Pluess, 2009). Today, the question is not which factor, biology or environment, determines development but rather how the expression of a particular inherited biological characteristic is shaped, modified, and directed by a particular set of environmental circumstances.

What Role Do Children Play In Their Own Development?

A second critical question about social development concerns the extent to which children contribute to their own development. Early scholars tended to believe that children were simply passive organisms who were shaped by external forces. Today, most scholars have moved away from this simple view. Some still insist that children are assertive or shy because of the way their parents rear them or that adolescents become juvenile delinquents because of peer pressure. In general, however, developmental scientists currently believe that children are active agents who, to some extent, shape, control, and direct the course of their own development (Kuczynski & Parkin, 2007; Kuczynski et al., 2015). Children, they assert, are curious seekers of information who intentionally try to understand and explore the world about them. They actively seek out particular kinds of information and interactions. In addition, they actively modify the actions of the people they encounter. Over the course of development, children participate in reciprocal interchanges with these other people, interchanges that are best described as **transactional** (Sameroff, 2009, 2010). For example, children ask their parents for help solving a social problem, their parents offer advice, and, as a result, children’s interactions with their parents and peers are modified. Throughout development, children’s social behavior is constantly undergoing change as a result of this mutual influence process.

What Is The Appropriate Unit for Studying Social Development?

Psychologists’ study of social development has typically focused on the individual child as the unit of analysis. In recent decades, however, psychologists have increasingly recognized that other units also warrant attention. As an outgrowth of the recognition that children have reciprocal interactions with other people, the focus has shifted to the **social dyad**. Researchers now study the nature of social interactions and exchanges between pairs of children or between children and their parents and investigate social relationships between these individuals (Collins & Madsen, 2006). Attention is also given to larger units including social triads, such as mother–father–child or a trio of friends (Collins, 2011). In addition, researchers study the social groups that children form or join outside the family. These groups have their own rules and provide significant contexts for children’s social development. Contemporary social development scholars view all of these units—individuals, dyads, triads, and groups—as important for studying social development.



Insights from Extremes: Genie, a “Wild Child”



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Few extreme cases have aroused as much public interest and professional scrutiny as the discovery in November 1970 of a 13-year-old girl who had been living in isolation, locked inside her bedroom, since infancy (Rymer, 1994). The house where “Genie,” as she became known, lived was completely dark; all blinds were drawn and there were no toys. Her bedroom, at the back of the house, was furnished only with a wire cage and a potty chair. During the day, Genie was strapped to the potty chair and at night she was locked in bed inside the wire cage. No one in the family was allowed to talk to her, and her food was put out hurriedly without speaking. If her father heard her vocalizing, he beat her and barked and growled like a dog to keep her quiet. Genie was discovered by authorities when her mother, who was almost blind and also a victim of abuse by Genie’s father, ran away from her husband and took Genie with her.

This was not only a human tragedy but also an opportunity to evaluate the impact of extreme environmental input on children’s development. When she was rescued, Genie could

not stand erect; she walked with a “bunny walk,” with her hands up in front, like paws. She was incontinent, unsocialized, malnourished, and unable to chew normally. She was eerily silent. She spoke only a few words and short phrases such as “stop it” and “no more.” With therapy and training, Genie eventually learned some words. She also learned to smile. Her demeanor changed, and she became sociable with familiar adults. She was fascinated with classical piano music, and researchers speculated that from her isolated bedroom she had been able to hear a neighbor child practicing piano. Genie also learned to express herself through sign language and developed remarkable nonverbal communication skills; she and her caretakers were often approached by strangers who, without being asked, spontaneously gave Genie gifts or possessions. Despite her therapy and experience living with foster parents, Genie was never able to master grammar and had trouble controlling her angry outbursts. She was never able to function independently and, today, in her early 60s, she is living in a sheltered home for adults with disabilities, speaking very little but communicating reasonably well with sign language.

This extreme case suggested that there are critical or sensitive periods early in life, and development is irreparably impaired if children lack sensory and social stimulation from their environments during these periods. The case stimulated research and popular interest in the role of social stimulation for brain functioning and development of communicative and social skills.

Is Development Continuous or Discontinuous?

A fourth question that developmental psychologists have asked is how to characterize the nature of developmental change. Some see development as a continuous process with each change building on earlier experiences in an orderly way. They see development as smooth and gradual, without any abrupt shifts along the path (Figure 1.1a). Others view development as a series of discrete steps and see the organization of behavior as qualitatively different at each new stage or plateau (Figure 1.1b). The concerns of each phase of development and the skills

learned in that phase are different from those of every other phase. Jean Piaget and Sigmund Freud both proposed such stage theories of development, suggesting that as children get older, they move through different stages, that at each new stage, they learn new strategies for understanding and acquiring knowledge and for managing interpersonal relationships, and that these new strategies displace earlier ways of dealing with the world. Scientists who endorse a continuous view of development suggest that noticeable changes in behavior are simply part of an ongoing series of smaller shifts.

Recently, some developmental psychologists have suggested that our judgment of continuity or discontinuity depends on the power of the lens we use when we look at changes across ages (Siegler, 2006). If we look from a distance or over a fairly long period of time, marked differences are evident, suggesting that there are distinct developmental stages in social behavior and social relationships. If we look more closely, however, we find that such changes do not happen suddenly. In fact, we find a great deal of variability in social behaviors even at the same point in time: A child may sometimes use a sophisticated and socially appropriate strategy to interact with a companion and, at other times, rely on a relatively primitive tactic. For example, in the process of learning social skills, a toddler may take turns and ask to play with a peer's toy on one occasion but the next day may grab the toy without asking or waiting. Only after many encounters with peers and toys does the toddler come to use turn taking and requests consistently. When social interactions are examined using a more powerful lens in this way, a very different picture of development appears: one of gradual shifts and changes as children slowly learn new strategies and gradually adopt the best and most advanced ones (Figure 1.1c). Thus, over time, change proceeds in a less linear and a less step-like fashion than continuous or stage theories suggest.

Today, most social development scholars recognize the value of both continuous and discontinuous views; they see development as basically continuous but interspersed with transitional periods in which changes are relatively abrupt or where growth is accelerated relative to earlier periods. These transitional periods may be the result of physical changes, such as learning to walk, which offers infants new opportunities for interaction (Karasik et al., 2011), or the onset of puberty, which changes

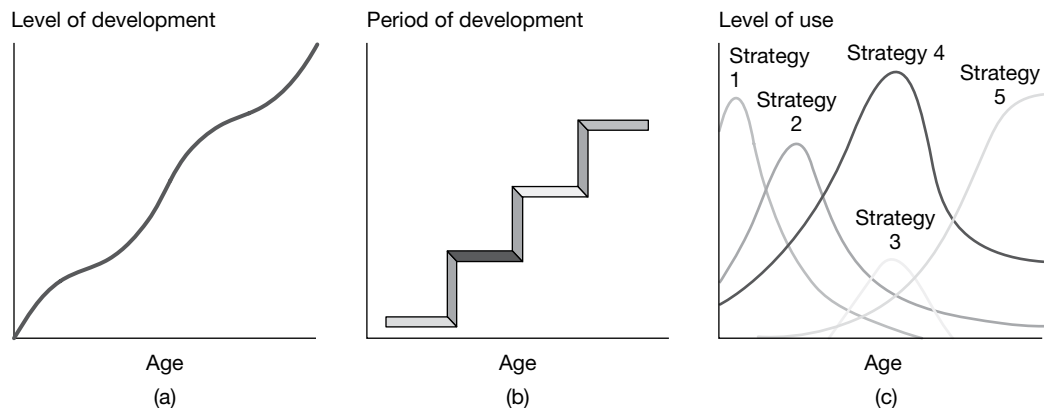


FIGURE 1.1 Continuity and discontinuity in development (a) The continuous view looks at development as a gradual series of shifts in skills and behavior with no abrupt changes. (b) The discontinuous view suggests that step-like changes make each stage qualitatively different from the one that preceded it. (c) The third view suggests that different strategies ebb and flow with increasing age, and the most successful strategies gradually predominate.

the way children think about themselves (Caspi & Shiner, 2006; Ge et al., 2001). Other transitions may be the result of cultural changes, such as entry into junior high school, which brings children into larger social groups and a more complex social organization. Some view these transitional periods of reorganization as opportunities for intervention or changes in developmental trajectories.

Is Social Behavior the Result of the Situation or the Child?

Another critical question about social development is whether children's behavior is the same in different situations: at school, at home, on the playground, and in the street. Do children behave differently in different settings, or do their individual characteristics lead them to behave similarly across situations? Can we describe certain children as honest, dependable, and helpful and expect them to exhibit these qualities at all times? How do these traits manifest themselves in different situations: during a difficult test, in a confrontation with an angry parent, in a competitive game, or with a friend in need? Developmental scientists differ in the importance they assign to "person factors" versus "situational factors." Many resolve the dilemma by stressing the dual contributions of both personality and situational factors. They point out that children seek out situations in which they can display their personalities. Aggressive children, for example, are more likely to join a gang or enroll in a karate class than to opt for the church choir or a stamp collectors' club (Bullock & Merrill, 1980), but in settings that don't allow or promote aggressive behavior, these same children may be friendly, reasonable, and cooperative. As we discuss in Chapter 3, "Biological Foundations," genetic predispositions lead children to niche-pick situations that are compatible with their genetic makeup (Scarr & McCartney, 1983). At the same time, children's selection of these experiences may strengthen their predispositions—for example, their tendency to behave aggressively—as they get older.

Is Social Development Universal Across Cultures?

Children who grow up on a farm in China, in a kibbutz in Israel, in a village in Peru, or in a suburb in the United States have very different experiences. Even within the United States, racial and ethnic groups present children with diverse experiences (Buriel, 2011; Parke & Buriel, 2006). Another critical question about social development is how much effect these different experiences have on children's social behavior. Psychologists themselves differ as to how much importance they ascribe to culture. Some argue that culture-free laws of development apply to all children in all cultures. For example, children in every culture acquire the basic foundations of social life, such as learning to recognize other people's emotional expressions and to communicate their wishes and desires to others through language. Other psychologists stress the fact that the cultural settings in which children grow up play a major role in their development. In some cultures, for example, older siblings care for children, whereas in other cultures professional caregivers care for them in group settings. It is unlikely that children who grow up in nuclear family arrangements would develop social attitudes and behaviors identical to those of children with these very different child-rearing experiences. Yet other psychologists suggest that *some* aspects of social development are universal and *other* aspects are culturally specific. For example, although all children develop social understanding, the rates



Cultural Context: Parenting Advice Around the Globe

In North America and Western Europe, millions of parenting manuals are sold every year to mothers and fathers eager to learn how to become good parents and raise their children properly. The nine editions of Dr. Benjamin Spock's *Baby and Child Care* have sold tens of millions of copies since the book was first published in 1946; only the Bible had sold more copies in the 20th century. But would Dr. Spock's book travel well and serve as a useful guide for parents in other cultures? Probably not. Even though Westerners think that their way of caring for infants is obvious, correct, and natural—a simple matter of common sense—it turns out that what people accept as common sense in one society may be considered odd, exotic, or even barbaric in another (DeLoache & Gottlieb, 2000). Different cultures make different assumptions about appropriate or desirable characteristics of children and appropriate or desirable behaviors of parents.



Alan Tobey/Stockphoto

Woman from a Fulani tribe with her child.

The characteristics that our culture values stress the uniqueness and independence of individuals. Based on our belief in free will and our capacity to shape our own destiny, we

value autonomy, assertiveness, ambition, and even competitiveness in children. In our culture, parents have the major responsibility for producing children with these desirable characteristics. Although all cultures aim to protect and keep their children safe, members of our culture have invented infant car seats, baby monitors, and nanny cams to protect children. We believe in the power of technology and innovation to make things better, including our children and ourselves. Our parenting advice manuals reflect these beliefs.

Other cultures do not share our assumptions about what child traits are desirable, who should be responsible for child rearing, or even the nature of the threats that children face. In many other cultures, our common sense makes no sense! Instead of a focus on self-confidence and self-aggrandizement, many non-Western cultures value interdependence, modesty, and self-effacement. Among the Fulani (see photo), one of the largest groups in West Africa, who live at the edge of the Sahara desert, the most valued traits include *soemteende*, "modesty and reserve"; *munyal*, "patience and fortitude"; and *hakkilo*, "care and forethought" (Johnson, 2000). Children in Bali, one of the Indonesian islands, are taught not to display positive emotions such as joy when they receive a good grade at school or negative emotions such as anger in public (Diener, 2000).

Many non-Western societies also value shared responsibility for child rearing, and members of the wider community participate in child care. In Beng villages in the Ivory Coast (located in West Africa), extended families live together, and all family members as well as villagers from other households share in child care. In fact, members of other households are expected to visit a newborn within hours of its birth (Gottlieb, 2000). An extreme example of shared child-rearing responsibility is practiced in Ifaluk, a Micronesian island in the North Pacific Ocean. There, more than a third of children are adopted by a second family. These adopted children share the resources of both their biological and their adoptive parents.

They sleep in either family's house and receive shelter, protection, and security from both sets of parents. In effect, adopted children have two family networks (Le, 2000).

In some cultures, social ties are formed not just with the living but also with the dead. Among the Baganda, an East African group, infants are viewed as reincarnated ancestors, and one of the cultural goals is to maintain ties between the child and the ancestor's spirit. Children's names are selected according to which ancestor's name produces a smile from the baby (DeLoache & Gottlieb, 2000). Protection of children is culturally determined as well, often based on religious beliefs that can include witches or evil spirits that could harm children. Among the Fulani, mothers may ward off evil spirits by rolling their infants in cow dung to make them less desirable and not worth capturing by the evil spirit, or they might

place a small knife on the pillow while a baby sleeps to ward off the spirit (Johnson, 2000).

If Western child-rearing experts want to sell their parenting books to mothers in other cultures, they will have to do some serious rewriting. The assumption that our way of raising children is the right way or the only way is clearly wrong. Dr. Spock's advice to parents about raising children would not be very adaptive for children living among the Fulani, the Balinese, the Beng, or the Ifauk. Parents in these cultures need their own parenting manuals written by someone who grew up in their culture and knows the skills that children need to grow into productive and well-adjusted members of their culture. Of course, parents in these cultures don't feel the need for parenting manuals the way Western parents do. They base their practices on tradition and observation, not on reading books.

at which social milestones are reached vary across cultures. Today most developmental psychologists take this third position, recognizing universal aspects of development as well as the importance of considering cultural contexts (Fung, 2011; Rogoff, 2003; Sera, Maratsos, & Carlson, 2016).

How Does Social Development Vary Across Historical Eras?

Cultures not only differ from one another but also differ over time. Another critical question, therefore, is how these changes affect children's social development. In our own society, dramatic changes in the structure of families and the ways people communicate have occurred over the past decades. Rates of divorce and remarriage have increased, childbearing has been delayed, family sizes have decreased, the likelihood of mothers working outside the home has increased, children's exposure to peers in child care has increased, and computers and smart phones have increasingly been used to communicate with people we know and people we have never met. The question is whether children develop in the same ways regardless of such shifts in the culture that surrounds them. Theorists now appreciate that historical changes such as these play a part in shaping children's development (Elder & Shanahan, 2006; Elder & George, 2015). The social lives of children and their families are also affected by specific historic events: the Vietnam War in the 1960s, the conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland in the late 1960s, the farm crisis in the American Midwest in the 1980s, the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany in 1989, the terrorist tragedy on 9/11 in 2001, the tsunami in Indonesia in 2004, Hurricane Katrina in 2005, and the global economic downturn in 2008. Both distinct historical events and more gradual shifts in living arrangements and