

**FILM TRANSCRIPTS
AND
BACKGROUND READINGS**

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD

FILM TRANSCRIPTS

AND

BACKGROUND READING

PREFACE

This booklet is provided as an additional teaching tool for teachers of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD. It includes film and filmstrip/record transcripts not included in the teacher's guides, and readings that contain background information on the concepts and strategies employed in EXPLORING CHILDHOOD. Please note that most of the films are discussed in some detail in the relevant teacher's guides. The chart below indicates the unit to which each film or reading applies.

UNIT	FILMS/FILMSTRIPS	READINGS
Getting Involved	Michael's First Day Water Tricks Storytime Teacher, Lester Bit Me! Helping Is... Being There	Overview of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD The Influence of the High School upon Educational Methods How Adolescents See Their Role in a Fieldsite From Science to Social Action
No Two Alike: Helping Children with Special Needs	Sara Has Down's Syndrome Children with Special Needs Go to School	Down's Syndrome Blindness Deafness
Looking at Development	Gabriel Is Two Days Old Bill and Suzi: New Parents	
Making Connections	All in the Game	Perspectives on Adolescence
Child's Play	Half a Year Apart	Toys and Reasons Play as a Growth Process Polish for Play's Tarnished Reputation The Role of Play in Cognitive Development
Children's Art	Painting Time Racing Cars Clay Play	Art of the Young Child Children's Painting Ruby's Drawings
Child's Eye View	From My Point of View Little Blocks	
Family and Society	Michelle at Home (Hi, Daddy!) Seiko at Home	
Beyond the Front Door	Rachel at School Seiko at School At the Doctor's Around the Way with Kareema	
Children in Society	Memories of Adolescence	The Buckley Amendment

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FILM TRANSCRIPTS

Michael's First Day (6 minutes, b/w)

David: Come sit over here with us.
Do you know his name? What's
your name?

Michael: Michael.

David: Michael. Michael. Bring it
over here and let's all use
it. Okay, come here. Come
over here. Michael, come
here. Let's all get Michael
into it, okay? Okay. Go get
Michael. Be nice though.

Michael, don't you want to
come and join us? Let's pre-
tend that--you're going to see
your mommy later, right? And
then if you wait for your
mommy the more fun it will be
when you see her, right? Yes,
it will, because you'll be
more excited. So let's join
us and get your mind off see-
ing your mommy and play with
us. And then we'll go see
your mommy, okay? Okay? Why
not?

Come on, be quiet. Let's not
cry. Because if you cry, you
won't have any fun. Right?

Let's think of happy thoughts,
and when we see your mommy it
will be a happy thought, too.
Okay. Gee, look at all the
fun the other kids are having.
And you can join them, too.

Michael: I want another turn.

David: Okay, you ask him if you can
have another turn. Okay. So
why don't you come join us
and play with the monkey? I
thought it was a chipmunk.
But it's a monkey. Why not?

He's a nice monkey. Let's hit
him hard, okay? Got to share,
or else we can't use them.
Put it down. Mike, okay, go
to the chipmunk. Do you want
to play with something else
then? What? Blocks? Slide?
Do you want a ride on that
slide? I can't guess. You
have to tell me. Okay, what
do you want to do?

No, I don't want a turn, but
thank you. Let someone else
have a turn. They might want
one. Let Michael have a turn.
See, Mike, you wind it up and
then it hops. Show Michael
how it works. See, you wind
it up just like that. You put
it down on the floor and it
hops all over the place, like
a monkey. See?

Michael: Let me have a turn.

David: Isn't that fun? You like it,
don't ya? Wait, can I have
it, please? Okay, look. Wind
it up. That's right. Go
ahead, wind it up or it won't
work. See, that's enough.
Put it on the ground. See?
Wind it up some more.

Wrong way, you have to wind it
toward yourself. Like this.
Okay. There you go. Hard to
wind, isn't it? Oh, wow. See
it bouncing away. Like it?
Okay, wait. Let's everybody
have a turn. Because Mike
wants to play.

Water Tricks (13 minutes, color)

In Class

Teacher: What would you say play was?

Student: I say play is like...it's just the way children express themselves. The way they feel.

Student: They'll do something by themselves without others if they can.

Student: And to use your imagination, too.

Student: Bring yourself out through play. Like Cameron, he's quiet around kids if he's not playing or things. But when he gets really into something, like into playing house or something, he brings himself out and he shows you what he is really like. And he can be a lot more open than he is when he is just talking with someone.

Student: Like there's a lot more here than there could be at their houses, you know. More to play with. There's blocks; there's everything. Especially Bonnie, she doesn't have much.

Student: Like Bonnie, she sits and plays with the blocks but she doesn't come over to the house and play and everything like that.

Student: Because at home she doesn't do any of that. As soon as she gets here, she just sits at the table and, you know, plays with the blocks, and doesn't go with all the rest of the kids.

Student: It's too bad you can't get her to go with all the rest of the kids, too. I think she needs a lot.

Student: She wants to.

Student: I think she wants to but doesn't know how to, or how to go about it. She needs other people.

Teacher: Getting on to our points of play. These are some of the things, maybe, that play is for a particular child. But what are some of the things that we could plan as play in the nursery?

Paul: I'd like to do some water play with a couple of the boys. They seem to like it better than the girls. Because it is more mechanical, I guess. I think I might be able to teach them some of the principles of siphons and pumps, and they could play with that for a while.

At the Fieldsite

Paul: Take some of this water.

Child: Roll up your sleeves.

Paul: That's right, man. Do you want me to show you a trick with this? Watch what happens. Fill it up with water and turn it over. And it's all water in there, right? Put this under here and blow in it like a straw.

Child: That really is neat.

Paul: The water goes out.

Children: Let me try that. I'm going to try it.

Paul: Wait a minute, let's fill it up again first and then we'll try it. Blow in. And the water goes right out of it. Because the air goes in there and pushes it out.

Child: I want to try it.

Paul: Wait a minute, you'll have a turn. See? Now let the air go out.

Child: I want to do that.

Paul: You blew all the water out.

Child: I want to do that.

Paul: Okay, okay. You've got to put the hose underneath.

Child: I want to show you a trick, Paul.

Paul: You make all the water go out when you do that. See? Isn't that neat?

Child: Wait, I want to try it.

Paul: When you want to make it go in, the pump makes the water go in.

Child: I know a trick. I know a trick.

Child: It makes a motion.

Paul: Well, it was.

Child: Regular motion...

Paul: Just blowing bubbles.

Child: Let me fill it with water.

Paul: Let me show you something, all right? Turn it upside down like this and there is no water in it. And you put it down straight. See how there is still no water in it? You can see right to the bottom. Put this in. Blow all the water out.

Child: Do you want to see a trick?

Paul: It comes out like a shower.

Child: See my trick. Millie, see Billie's and my trick. Guess what, Paul, do you want to see Billie's and our trick?

Child: The water goes in there.

Paul: Neat, isn't it? Okay. That one is all done. Take this one, pick that one up with water. And if you want to, you can leave that one in there and then you can just pick this one up and put this one in.

Child: I've got enough.

Child: Hey, look!

Paul: It leaks out, yeah. That's too bad.

Child: Hey, I want to show you a trick. Fill this up with water.

Paul: It is. What are you doing? Keep it in there.

Child: I can make this, see.

Paul: Yep. Maybe this one will fit in. Yeah, it does. Then when you turn it upside down, you pull out those. See if it comes out those holes. Okay. Let's sort of get all this water out.

Child: I am. I picked it up. It's slippery in here.

Back in Class

Teacher: Let's take each activity and how it was planned. Do you want to tell about what it was and how did it go? Let's take Paul first, with the water play.

Paul: I think a number of things

were accomplished in the water play. First of all, I think they learned some actual technology about physics of water and air, and how air could displace water. And how water would flow and how straws work. How they could blow through hoses and make bubbles and things like that.

They also learned to get along with each other. They had to be sociable. Like, I got somewhat drenched. I think that was moderate. I tried to calm them down with me when they got splashing too much. And they all shared their toys. They got along well and had a good time in a really small area. They were all playing in just a little tub without much friction.

Teacher: How many?

Paul: There was four. Four of us. Matt, Billie, and Bonnie.

Teacher: What was unusual about that group?

Student: Bonnie was in that group. Bonnie actually went over and played.

Paul: Unusual because Chris, for one, is rather a boisterous character. The other two, you know, weren't really too rambunctious, but even so, Bonnie wasn't afraid to come and play with us--three other guys, which I think was something of an accomplishment.

Teacher: And this is part of the object of this type of nursery school. It's not structured, so to speak. We have a lot more structure here this morning than normally. But they are learning by doing things

by themselves and with your help.

Student: It's very simple, but they cannot do things like this at home. They get gooey, you know. They can put their hands in the paint and they can smooch with the clay. In the water they can splash it. Things that they aren't generally able to do at home--make a mess of themselves.

They do it here and they feel free doing it. Kelly and Pammy today showed us their hands, and they were covered with paint. And they just love it. They really love it. They really like to get into things.

Student: Kelly was really so happy because her hands were so mushy and everything else. And she kept putting her hands on the paper and getting her hands more in the paint.

Paul: They take to the most elemental things quicker. Like, they like to play with water very much. They really get excited when the clay is brought out. And they like to paint, too, very much. And these are basic things that I think kids always like to do because they're just the most basic elements. And that's what they like to play with. They like to learn how to use them and how to have fun with them. And when you get too complicated an activity, sometimes they sort of just lose interest or maybe get frustrated.

Teacher: Anybody else got any comment on that?

Student: I don't know. When we first

Storytime (5 minutes, color)

got this last year, you said to us--to the girls that were here--"Why don't you see what you can do with it?" And we took a look at it. We didn't do anything. We didn't take time, we didn't learn how to siphon something and how to use the pumps or anything. We didn't teach them anything with it. We just said, "This is the water place. Play with it."

Paul: One thing Matt figured out himself was how to hook. Put this tube on the end of this pump and there isn't enough water now, but he figured how to make the water go up through the pump, not through the other end. I didn't even show him that.

Student: Well, I observed them. And these are just some of the things that I jotted down. "The water place seems to be going very well, they don't even realize the camera and mike are even there," which they didn't. They were just going on with conversations as if it were any other day. "Paul is doing a great job with the kids. They are very responsive to him. Everything was going so well at 9:20, I find it hard to believe."

Annie: "He ran away from home because he didn't like taking baths."

That wasn't nice, was it?

"He played while they were fixing the streets, and got very dirty."

Look here.

Child: He is dirty.

Annie: He sure is.

"He played at the railroad and got even dirtier."

Look at him. Look at all that smoke and all that dirt.

"He played with the other dogs and got four dirty as steel."

Look at them other dogs getting dirty. Have you ever got dirty like that?

Children: No. Black dog with white spots.

Annie: It was white spots.

"Although there were many other things to do, Harry began to wonder if his family thought that he really ran away from home. He felt tired and hungry. So without stopping on the way, he ran back home."

Look at all the people looking at those dirty dogs.

Child: Oh, ain't he dirty!

Annie: He sure is. Have any of your dogs got that dirty?

Children: No, no.

Annie: You would all take your dogs to a bath, right?

Children: Yeah.

Annie: "When Harry got to his house, he crawled through the fence and started licking at the back door. One of the family looked out and said, 'There's a strange dog in our back yard.' He danced and he sung. He did these tricks over and over again. But everyone shook his head and said, 'Oh no, that couldn't be Harry.' Although Harry did all his famous tricks, they still didn't know who he was. Up the stairs he dashed, with his family following him, right close behind him. He jumped into the bathtub and started begging with the brush in his mouth. A trick that he had never did--done--before."

Look at him; they wanted to give him a bath.

"'This little doggy wants her bath,'" cried the little girl. And her father said, 'Why don't you and your brother give him a bath?'"

They're going to give him a bath.

"Harry's bath was one of the soapiest of them all. It worked like magic. As soon as the children started to scrub they began shouting, 'Mother, Daddy, come! Come quickly!'"

Why did they shout like that?

Children: Because.

Annie: Because they found it was

their dog, wasn't it? Did you all like the story?

Children: Yes.

Annie: For real?

Child: She's pushing me.

Annie: Don't do that.

Child: She couldn't see.

Annie: You couldn't see?

Child: I couldn't see.

Annie: You couldn't see either? But did you hear the story?

Child: Yeah.

Annie: Did you like it?

Child: Yes.

Annie: Okay, what was it about?

Children: Doggies. Dogs, or something. He took a bath. He didn't want to take a bath.

Annie: He didn't want to take a bath, so he ran away from home.

Child: He played in the dirt.

Annie: He played in the dirt and got all dirty.

Teacher, Lester Bit Me! (9 minutes,
color)

Frank: A green speckled frog sitting on the rock. One jumped into the pond. Three speckled frogs sitting on the log.

Teacher: Frank, you really learned that song yesterday.

Frank: Then there were three. Then one jumped into the pond, then there were two.

Teacher: Well, see you inside.

Frank: Then one jumped into the pond and then there was one.

Rebecca: Oh, Mommie. (crying) Oh, Mommie....

Mom: Now, Rebecca, stop crying. Please stop crying. I know you'll have a good time.

Child: You're a crybaby.

Voices: Milton, say hello to your teacher. Hello. Good morning, Milton. Hello, teacher. Good morning, Owen. It's too early to go to school. Arthur, have a good day. Goodbye, José, and be a good boy and listen to your teacher. I'll pick you up later. Have a good time. I don't want to go to school. One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten.... Eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen.

Okay. Everybody's here. Good. The first thing we'll do is feed the animals. We want to be nice to them and not hurt them.

Children: Maybe he's not hungry. Don't do that--you'll squash him! Teacher, Lester bit me!

Teacher: Lester?

Lester: I did not.

Teacher: Look at the fish eat his food.

Child: Be careful, because animals are smaller than we are.

Teacher: Now let's feed the frog. We have to be careful and not let him get away again.

Child: Hey, look at Arthur.

Teacher: Arthur, we fed the fish already.

Children: Okay. Boy, he stinks. Yeah, he stinks. Don't let the frog out.

Teacher: And Peter, careful.... (frog escapes)

Children: Peter is a bad boy.

Teacher: Whoops! It happened again. We better try to catch him. Do you see him? Where did he go?

Children: Catch him! Catch him! Catch the frog! Catch him! Gimme that! It's mine. You don't own it. Give me. I had it first.

Teacher: One second. We don't want to argue. Milton, who had the teddy bear first? Milton? Milton?

Milton: She did.

Ellen: May I borrow your orange?

Rebecca: That's not fair!

Teacher: Rebecca, what's the matter?

Rebecca: She ate my orange crayon so I can't finish my pumpkin.

Child: You shut up.

Teacher: Ken, are you looking for the frog?

Ken: The frog is lost. Where did he go?

Teacher: Oh, I'm sure he'll turn up. Just watch.

Rebecca: Oh, Mommie.

Teacher: Ellen, maybe you can share. Ellen! Ellen, people shouldn't eat crayons.

Child: José, you'd better get down there, for the teacher's going to get mad.

José: Teacher, I'm up here.

Teacher: José, get down from there. Oh, no.... Are you hurt? Thank goodness he's okay.

Peter: Oh, can I play?

Children: I don't want to play with you. Peter is a bad boy.

Peter: Teacher, I want to play and they won't let me play with them.

Teacher: Maybe you can show me what *you* can do by yourself, Peter, and build your *own* fort or tower.

Children: You can't catch me. I don't want to. Get him for me. Please. Come back, froggie.

Peter: Here's my tower and here's my fort and I'm going to go over there and bomb them. AHAAH! Pfft. AHAAH! Pfft.

Child: Here comes Noodlehood. Watch it.

Teacher: Peter, Linda, Milton. What's happened here?

Children: Who did that? Peter started it. Noodlehood.

Peter: You're the Noodlehood around here.

Teacher: Let's not worry about who started it and let's all pick up these blocks. Okay, Claudette. Get some paint.

Arthur: Help! My hand! It's stuck in the fish bowl.

Teacher: Just let go of the fish. But wait, wait.... Oh, no!

Child: The fish is on the floor.

Teacher: What shall I do with him?

Child: Put him in your pocket.

Teacher: In my pocket?

Children: Oh, I hate fish. It's all his fault. Teacher, Lester bit me again!

Teacher: Lester.... Now, to clean up that glass....

Lester: I did not.

Children: Where did he go? Froggie, come back! Hey, come out of there! Please move. I want to find Freddie.

Teacher: Now, who wants to paint?

Children: Me. Me. Me.

Rebecca: Psst, Claudette painted yesterday and she is going to paint again today. Look over there. See?

I want to paint! I want to paint!

Teacher: When Claudette is finished, you can take her place, okay?

Helping Is... (12 minutes, color)

Teacher: Ellen, what a cute dog!

Ellen: That's not a dog. That's my baby brother.

José: Teacher, look at my picture.

Teacher: Let's see, José.

José: It's raining in my painting. It's a big rainstorm.

Teacher: And.... It seems to be raining paint all over the room, too.

Children: We've got to catch him. Go catch him. I know who spilled paint. You have a big mouth. Don't kick me.

Teacher: Okay, this is clean-up time!

Voices: Goodbye, Kim, Lester. Goodbye. Bye, José. Bye, Teacher. Cut you loose, mother goose. Goodbye, Teacher. Bye-bye, Ellen.

Child: Teacher, Lester bit me again.

Teacher: Now, where did I put my keys? My pocket! What's this? Oh, in you go.

Narrator: *Helping to care for a group of small children can mean many things. Your work will be full of opportunities. How you help will develop according to your setting, the situations which occur, the children and you.*

These scenes are not presented as models for you to copy, but, rather, they are real experiences of students like yourself for you to discuss with your class.

In this film we see a number of students learning to help, each in her or his own way. Helping can mean just being there, ready to assist children. To push them on a swing, to help them dress, to be their friend or comfort them.

Zippers

Student: Oh, it's cold outside! You need your mittens.

Teacher: Are these your boots, honey? Don't forget your shoes.

Child: I got my rubbers on.

Student: Can you get it? Want some help?

Teacher: You did it one day, we'll see if you can do it again. I'm not sure I can still do it.

Student: Pull it down. We're getting there.

Child: I got a hat.

Student: Oh, you do? Where is it? Want me to find the hat for

you? Can you find it?

Child: I don't need my hat.

At the Playground

Student: Duck your head, Kenny.
Ready to go now?

Child: Yeah.

Student: Okay, now go get in the
shade so you won't get
dizzy, okay? That's an
order. Go on, Kenny.

Child: He's a baby.

Student: No, Kenny, that ain't right.

Child: He's a baby.

Student: Kenny, come say you're
sorry. Come on.

Narrator: *Helping can also mean join-
ing in children's activi-
ties, being there when they
need help, and encouraging
their make-believe.*

Clay

Student: I'm going to put some
leaves on mine.

Child: I'm making meat.

Student: Meat!

Child: And guess what we had last
night to eat for supper?

Student: What?

Child: Steak.

Student: Steak. Is that what that
is?

Child: I had chicken to eat and
this is chicken.

Student: Chicken is meat, too.

Child: Here's my pie.

Student: Oh, that looks delicious.

Child: Need some help, Kelly?

Children: You're cutting it. I'm
gonna cut again. A knife.
Then we cut it. Can we cut
again?

Student: You're gonna cut again,
okay?

Child: Look what I made.

Student: I'd like those outside.
Milkweed pods, yeah.

Narrator: *Involving a child is an-
other helpful role you can
play.*

Traffic Ticket

Student: Back up and change the
tracks. Do you want to
drive a police car? Make
your train go before I give
you a ticket. I'm going to
give you a ticket. What's
your name?

Child: Tony.

Student: Tony who? Tony who? I'm
going to give you a ticket.
Now get that train out of
the way before I take you
to jail with me. All right,
go. Go ahead before I give
you another ticket. I'm
going to count to three and
I'm going to give you an-
other ticket if you don't
go. One, two, three--
oh, oh. Wait a minute.
RRRRRRRRRR. Hold up--I'm
going to give you another
ticket. What's your name
again? What's your name?

What's your name? I'm a policeman. I'm going to give you another ticket. What's your name?

Child: Tony.

Student: Tony, huh. Now get that train out of the way or I'm going to take you to jail next time, hear? Go. Go. Get out of the way, you're slowing the progress of the city.

Oatmeal Cookies

Student: Take this. This is half a teaspoon, okay? You take one of those over here. I'll show you an easy way to do it.

Child: Why the eggs?

Student: Scrape it against the sides until level. Okay, there you go. Dump it in.

Student: Not yet, honey. You wait, okay?

Narrator: *Another way of helping is taking responsibility for planning and carrying out an activity with children, making decisions about how many children to work with and what materials they will need.*

Student: You have flour all over your face.

Child: I know what to do with the eggs.

Student: No, Chris, put it in here, okay?

Child: I want to help.

Student: Okay, the next thing is one teaspoon of cinnamon. Billie's turn.

Child: Give back Ronnie's spoon.

Student: I'll go get some more spoons, okay? Get some more measuring cups.

Child: Wait a minute.

Student: Take it easy so none of it goes out. We have to have all of that, okay? One teaspoon.

Okay, Billie, it's your turn in a minute. Do you want to put in the cinnamon, Bill?

ABC's

Mary Linda: Okay, what's this letter?

Children: B.

Mary Linda: Okay, say it together now.

Children: B.

Mary Linda: And this letter?

Children: C.

Mary Linda: Like that?

Children: C.

Mary Linda: Okay, say it loud.

Children: C.

Mary Linda: Okay, what we're going to do is take these letters in order. We're going to put A. We'll put an A right here. Then we're going to put a B. And then we're going to put a C, in order on the paper, okay? That's what we're going to do. Okay, does everybody know what we're going to do?

Children: Yeah.

Mary Linda: Now, stick it on. Turn it

over and put it on. That's good. Now this one, with a fork. What is it?

Child: B.

Mary Linda: B for what? Boy. Boy, okay. Now paste that one on. What starts with a B?

Children: Bear. I know what starts with a B--a bell. There's lots of things that start with B.

Mary Linda: B--blue. Which letter? Do you know, Eddie? Cake.

Children: C.

Mary Linda: That's right. Chocolate? Chocolate cake.

the line and you run. Wait.

Children: Go, Jerry, run, run, run!

Student: Come on, Paulo. Come on, hurry and catch John. Okay, where's John? Come on, Sonja. Catch Jeanna. Wait, Sonja, don't run.

Okay, John. Okay, go, Bernadette. Hey, wait a minute.

Narrator: *Sometimes things don't go the way you planned, and you may find that you can think of something that suits the children better.*

Playing at the High School Field

Student: Okay. I'm going to be standing over there with my hands out like this and the first person in the front is going to run and hit my hand. Like Paul right there, he's going to hit my hand and run back and hit the person in front of his line. Okay.

When he touches you, John, you run, okay? And then you come back, okay? Paul, you go all the way to the back, okay? Not yet. Come on, Paul. Come up here. Paul is going to run against Jerry. And let's see what line wins, okay?

Remember when you run over there to Eva, then you run back; you touch them.

Child: Get ready, Jerry. Get ready to run.

Student: You go back to the end of

Being There (Filmstrip/Record)

Side 1 of the "Being There" record includes audible signals for changing frames. If you are using this side of the record, turn the filmstrip to frame 1 (numbers are included in the right-hand corner of the frame) and start the soundtrack.

Side 2 of the record does not include signals. Due to the nature of the soundtrack, it is recommended that you use side 2, with the enclosed script as a guide. The underlined words are your cue to change frames. After you have used it with the tones as a guide, you may prefer to use the soundtrack without the tones for repeat showings.

Teachers are urged to preview the filmstrip before showing it to a group. Encourage the full participation of students by asking one or more to preview the filmstrip, also, and to assume responsibility for presenting it to the rest of the class.

Transcript

1. When we was picking courses, they had the course on the child development, right, and I asked my teacher, you know, what does it mean, you know, does it mean studying children, how they grow up or something? It came down that I needed five points for a subject, and I ended up liking it better than anything.
2. MUSIC (Title--hold six seconds.)
3. MUSIC (Title--hold six seconds.)
4. MUSIC -- It's more or less a nursery school, at the Salvation Army Day Care Center.
5. I think that at the age that they're at, the best thing that they can learn is to like school, is to accept school, is to want to come to school. So they'll quickly be able to adapt to situations like that.
6. I like to stick them together, to have them all working on the same thing so that they can share other people's opinions.
7. He's playing with that TV antenna. It's hard to say really what's going on in his mind as he's looking at it, but it looks like he's trying to figure out how it works.
8. You know, like kids when they see things like that at home, they know they're not supposed to touch them. And when they see things like that at the Salvation Army Day Care Center, and they feel that they can do anything they want to with them.
9. That brings out hidden identities, hidden thoughts that they had within their minds, like they say to themselves, this was what, you know, was on top of the television at home, let me see what's in back of this, I always wanted to look in back of this.
10. I've learned a lot from them. I've learned to accept more or less children's feelings. They have feelings just like we do, for reasons just like we do.
11. That was one of the first things that I learned from this child development course, is that kids have their days just like grownups have their days.
12. I mean sometimes I can come into their fieldsite, and just all of the kids, they just don't want to have nothing to do with me. And I learned that.
13. At first it used to get next to me, I used to think there was something wrong with me, that they just didn't like me.
14. Sometimes they just like to be alone. Sometimes they just don't want to be bothered with other people.

15. With the grownups especially.
16. Sooner or later they'll come back to my level. They'll ask me to help them out with certain things. Because they know I'm always there to help them.
17. I think I've gotten everything that I possibly could have gotten out of it. Like I wanted to learn more or less how to be a good father, you know.
18. I think that when I do have children of my own, I'll understand different ways of raising children.
19. MUSIC -- This is the front of the municipal building.
20. There's a lot of different people in the neighborhood. All kinds of people. Friendly people, wild people.
21. These kids are too young to start school, so this is like preparing them to leave their home and spend a day at school. It's like a day care center or something. It's fun.
22. And you can do what you want, you know, with the children there. You can teach them anything you want.
23. They come in at 9:30, most of them. They'd start right out with crayons and coloring and then they'd go on from there to play dough and playing around.
24. The dance was completely another thing. It was something that I made up for them. I've been taking dancing since three and one-half years old and I've been teaching now for four years.
25. And I just get along with little children and older children. It was fun, it was really fun.
26. I guess I'm talking to them, explaining how the steps go. It's hard, you know, little children like this, you have to put it just so they'd understand.
27. You can't come out with these words from a dancing school and say, now do it, you know. You have to break it down to their level like they know what you're talking about.
28. The only thing I really did with the kids was play with them a lot, play games, play dough, and did blocks and everything.
29. Maybe I was a friend to them, because, like, small kids really don't have older friends. I'm bigger than them and I'm older and I like them and they like me and we got along real good.
30. There's one little girl there I felt very bad for. Her mother was in a mental institution, and she said she didn't want her, get lost, go get hit by a car, go find, you know, another mother, I don't want to have anything to do with you.
31. And I felt so bad for this little girl, because when she comes in, she wants to be loved and she comes over to one of us. I felt so hurt, you know.
32. I really enjoyed this whole thing, probably because I like children and working with them, and if I had the chance again I think I'd do it all over again.
33. MUSIC -- The day care center is in the church.
34. They have pencils, crayons, they got, they weren't new crayons, they were old crayons, given to them by some other day care center. And they have blocks. And that's it.
35. I don't think they want me to do any activities, because they plan the activities, but I guess they want me to, you know, help the

- children, help them like if they need help.
36. I'm helping Gene there. He knows how to do the work. But he's the kind of boy, he's always trying to get your attention, right. He always wants help in this and that, even though he can do it.
 37. I was helping her with her paper. She was writing down her alphabet and whatnot. She doesn't get along too much with the other girls and they'll say she stinks or something like that, you know, and then she'll start crying and everything, and I'll say don't pay them no mind.
 38. You're better than them. I tell her something like that to stop her from crying.
 39. There's one little boy. He'll talk about God made us all and he'll talk about God didn't care whether we were black or white, you know, and it seems funny, you know, 'cause he's about three or four years old.
 40. Sometimes they have their fights and it seems like the blacks are for the blacks and the whites are for the whites. So I just punish both parties.
 41. They have movies. They get these tapes from somewhere of like Aretha Franklin doing a show, James Brown, black groups and white groups. The children get up and dance and whatnot.
 42. The black children, I think, they learn from their older brothers and sisters and the white children, you know, they do what they see.
 43. The hardest thing is, if you're down there by yourself, trying to keep them all in line. Like one person, that's not easy to handle thirty kids at one time.
 44. I liked working with the kids, I liked that.
 45. MUSIC -- When I thought of Montessori, you know, supposed to be really good. Interesting.
 46. The whole order lives there, and they have this little school there for some kids.
 47. Like, you'd come in and they'd say their prayers, 'cause it's a Catholic school. Then they have some free time, but they have to do something constructive.
 48. Most of the stuff there is shapes and blocks and the cards. They might have a few toys that the kids bring in, but they usually don't let them play with them.
 49. She's in charge of the school. Whatever I wanted to do I'd have to ask her and she'd tell you what you could do and how to work with the kids.
 50. Like you have to watch them, you know. You're not supposed to show them how to do it or anything. They're supposed to learn on their own.
 51. Like what I was doing, it could have been more interesting if I had more contact with them.
 52. If you're doing it with them, like it makes it easier for the kid to talk to you and everything. Because he thinks of you as a friend and everything instead of a teacher or something.
 53. They'll talk to you about everything, not just stuff they'd talk to a teacher about. You know, when you think of a kid, you think, oh well, she's only a little kid, you know, she doesn't know anything.
 54. But they're not dumb, they're smart, you know. They know what's

- going on in the world more than people really think they do.
55. It was sort of hard to work with them if you couldn't show them how to do things, you know. They learned a lot this way, and, you know, it was better for them because they could say they did it on their own.
56. MUSIC -- I didn't know it was a school. It looked like kind of a museum to me.
57. That's the kindergarten and pre-kindergarten playground. The kindergartens have their own entrances.
58. It's all racially balanced, it's 50 percent white and 50 percent black, even the teachers in the kindergartens. There's one white and one black teacher.
59. They didn't seem to think about color at all. To them I don't think there was any difference. They were all playing together.
60. When I was working there at the beginning, I was scared. I didn't know what to do with them, you know. When I had them by myself I was nervous. I didn't know how to keep their attention or anything like that. But now, it's, you know, all right--I can handle them.
61. Just looking at the kindergarten, they do whatever they want. Like when I went to kindergarten, everything was the whole class do this now and the whole class will do this.
62. But you know, they just do, like maybe six or seven different activities going at one time. Since I've been there, I don't see anything they don't have.
63. They have things in cabinets that she never even took out this year.
64. That's the teacher. She was testing kids in math. Then she gives the child the extra help that that child may need that another child may not need.
65. If I had an idea of something I wanted to do, Mrs. Clyde would let me do it, but usually I'd go in and we'd just talk about what was going to happen that day and she'd ask me which activity I wanted to look at.
66. To some of the kids I think I was a teacher. To some of them I was a friend. I could be a playmate, too. I used to play house with them and play games with them when they needed somebody else to play.
67. But then I'd turn around and if somebody was doing something wrong, I'd reprimand them. And then, they called me Debbie, so there was a difference there. They called the teacher Mrs. Clyburn.
68. It didn't bother me, but it seemed to confuse them. Because how could I be a friend and then, you know, be telling them to do things?
69. MUSIC -- Well, this is a place, they have different nurses and doctors.
70. When I walked into the room, you know, like everything was...it looked stark.
71. You don't really have too many things. Crayons, play dough, paper --I think that's all we have.
72. When you're in a large thing with about 32 kids, everything is much harder.
73. Because there's so many different ages, and different children, you have to do different things with them.
74. I think he wants attention.

Sara Has Down's Syndrome (16 minutes, color)

75. That's when they were just, I guess, filling up for water play or something--blow bubbles. Like they're all fascinated by water anyway.
76. Even though they were playing with the water, there were little like colors on the bubbles, like a rainbow and she was teaching them the colors even though they were playing.
77. It's a funny feeling, you can pick it up, you know, it goes off your hand, it's wet. They could see through it.
78. This kid right here, he's unbelievable. Things I've seen him do, he did easy.
79. 'Cause he understands everything. I thought he was kind of fascinating, you know.
80. All kids are, little small like that, you know. I think they're really cool.
81. I think I learned a lot, just to deal with children.
82. We're not just there to sit there and be like a statue and just watch the little kids go by.
83. MUSIC (Title--hold five seconds.)
84. MUSIC (Title--hold six seconds.)
85. MUSIC (Title--hold six seconds.)
86. MUSIC (Title)

Mother: *Sara is my youngest child, the youngest of five. She's six and she's retarded. She just doesn't sit as you might think a retarded child would, just doing nothing. She has so much energy. She keeps going and going and going.*

Want to make a sandwich? Hey, Sara, do you want to make a sandwich?

Sara: Two.

Mother: Do you want to cut it? Okay.

Sara: Um.

Mother: Okay. Over to the table.

When Sara does things it's just her own speed. You just wait. You can't force things to happen. Whatever pace she's set is the pace it's going to happen at, whether it's making a peanut butter sandwich or climbing up in the high chair. Whatever she's going to do. It's her own pace and you just have to wait. Sometimes if you just look at her and you enjoy her for the moment, at whatever she's doing, and not try to rush things, you appreciate it a little bit more.

Want juice or milk, Sara? Sara? Do you want juice or milk? Juice? Say juice.

Sara: Duice.

Mother: Okay. No, Sara, no. No. Hey, Sara, no. Hey, no.

Some of the things that Sara does are negative. But you can't let those negative things defeat you. She keeps trying to do many things and you keep saying no, no, no.

But in the process she will learn and she is learning. And you just keep your sense of humor. They're the best fed dogs in the country.

Good girl. Good girl. Don't share them. Don't share with them, no. Sara, eat. More juice? Juice? Hey, Sara, Sara, want more juice? Hmmm? Oh, the table is not that dirty. No, no. Go get a sponge and clean it up then. No, no, no.

Sara's older sister Tabby sometimes is impatient with Sara. She thinks perhaps there should be a little bit more discipline.

Tabby: *When she was first born I reacted, I think, the worst of anyone. As far as I am concerned she should be punished when she does something wrong. She's seven years old and there is no reason, retarded or not, there is no reason why she should get away with throwing a glass of milk across the room. Because she knows it's wrong.*

Mother: Thank you. See that, get Cully's helmet. No, no, no, no.

We're working on speech both at home and they are also working on speech at school. Both the teacher and the high school student who goes down to the school from the high school.

Teacher: Up, down, up, down.

Mother: *I think the school's now decided that in order for Sara to learn speech, she's going to have to say things, particularly in the line of food, before she gets them. And she*

will respond to food, always.

Teacher: Can you say soup? See if she'll say soup for you.

Sara: Sooop.

Teacher: Very good. Can you say grapes? Grapes. Sara, grapes.

Mother: *The high school girl will repeat words and Sara will repeat them after her. Now words are coming out.*

Teacher: Grapes. Put it in. Can you say grapes? That's it. Grapes, Sara. Grapes. Grapes.

Sara: Gapes.

Teacher: That's it. Can you say apple? Apple.

Sara: Apple.

Teacher: That's it. Good.

Mother: *Sara went through the beginning stages of speech, the babbling stage, and I thought she was all ready to start talking. But suddenly, she stopped. And I guess this is the way retarded kids go through stages. They begin something and for no reason there's a blank.*

Teacher: No, you do, you can do it. Go ahead, put it in right. Go ahead, you can do it. Go ahead, almost. There you go. Yeah. Good girl.

Mother: *Sometimes people ask me how old is Sara? How retarded is she? I answer, "It all depends on what you are talking about." Sara can do many things. She can take out a vacuum cleaner if I'm vacuum cleaning, and plug it in and vacuum the room along with me. All of her own volition. She*

can make a peanut butter sandwich. She does put her toys away. Now that's an age that's hard to hit. A lot of these things she's learned at home. A lot of these things she's learned at nursery school.

So it all depends on what you're thinking about, whether she's a three or a five. But we don't push it. Whatever she does, hopefully the next day she'll do a little bit better in whatever area it is.

Martha and Emmy are Sara's next two older sisters. And they really enjoy Sara, either working with her speech or just playing with blocks. They appreciate each little step that she makes. I think there is a real communication between them.

Sister: Don't throw the train down the stairs. Sara.

Brother: Hit her over the head with it.

Sister: Shut up. Sara, stop it. Don't throw it down the stairs. Stop it.

Father: *Just the word "no" is not enough. You have to almost seem emotional when you say the no. Because if she can't see that you are upset, then she won't believe you anyhow.*

Here, Sara, put your glass on the table. Put it on the table. That's a good girl.

Mother: *Sara's brother Collee enjoys working with Sara, particularly in speech.*

Collee: Can you say carrot. Say carrot.

Sara: C a s s o t.

Collee: That's a girl, there you go. Big girl, Sara.

When my mother first had her I was sort of embarrassed to bring her down to the beach but that gradually went away. Then all the kids found out, you know. Most of my friends have seen her and so I'm not embarrassed about her anymore.

Sister: You know what Sara tried to do the other day was cut with scissors.

Collee: Thank you.

Father: She was doing quite well with it.

Collee: Sara, want some cheese? Some cheese.

Sister: Don't put a lot on, Collee, it tastes awful.

Sara: Cheese.

Collee: Great girl, Sara. There you go.

Sister: It tastes awful, when there's a lot.

Collee: It's good when it's a lot.

Sister: I had some meatballs and I put a little too much.

Sister: Want some salad?

Father: A little red from spaghetti. Still red from spaghetti. Here, put it in the water. Go on, put them on. Get your toes stretched out there a little bit. That's a good girl. Okay, pull them up. Pull them up. Pull them up. Come on, pull them up. Come on, pull them up.

Sara: Vrum. Vrum.

Children with Special Needs Go to School
(Filmstrip/Record)

Father: Pull them up. Come on, stand up. Okay, pull them up.

You can't be disappointed if she can't catch on right away. But she seems to catch on sooner or later, if you keep at it. And I think that's probably the most important thing, keeping at it.

No, no. You've got the wrong part, young lady. Hey, get a hold of this. Come on, get a hold of it. Come on, get a hold of that. Get a hold of this, up here. Pull it. Pull it. All right, come on. Here you go, put your arm in. Now get your other arm in. Okay, come here. Here, Sara. Come on, get the zipper. Get a hold of it. Get a hold of it --pull it. Pull it up further, go ahead. Pull it up a little bit further, go ahead. That's a big girl.

Mother: *I think Sara has brought my husband and I closer together. We realize the problems of all children, Sara being different from the other children. But the other children are also different from Sara. And I think the whole family is closer together by a special problem of Sara.*

Father: Put your head on the pillow. Come on. Your head, your head, put your head on the pillow. Okay, nitey nite.

On this tape, a number of adolescents share their reactions to working with children with special needs and describe some of the skills they have found useful. The tape might be shown first, before students begin working with special needs children, or after they have begun their work. It provides an opportunity for students to discuss their expectations or reactions to special needs children, to reflect about skills that are valuable, and also to learn from other students' comments.

As they watch, students might list in two columns the "joys" students mention ("feel good about helping...kids achieve something"; "something winning about the children") and the "difficulties" ("depressing," "don't like to look at them").

Discussing After Viewing

How do these emotions compare with those of class members? Have class members' expectations or reactions been influenced at all by the tape? Explain. (For example, students on tape say such things as "You learn to take braces and other aids for granted...." "You learn not to feel sorry for them....")

Lastly, students might list and discuss all the skills mentioned that might help them work with special needs children (being patient, helping children help themselves, letting them express feelings or get into trouble, developing one-to-one relationships, etc.).

Transcript

Numbers on this transcript correspond to numbered slides and indicate when to change slides during narration. Every tenth slide has a higher-toned beep.

(1, 2, 3, 4) When you go into the field-sites (5) or work with kids, one of the things that you have to keep in mind is that you have to sort of slow down (6) into another gear (7). You have to slow down because it takes them longer some-

times to do things (8, 9, 10) and you have to slow down your own pace so they can keep their own speed (11, 12, 13). You have to get with their pace and relax and realize that you have to have some patience (14)...(15). And if you do have patience and you can help the kids achieve something that they really need, (16) then they feel pretty good about themselves and you feel pretty good about yourself if you can help them do that. (17) The first week, every time you'd go into the rooms or when they were playing outdoors just looking at the kids, (18) they were so--I don't like to use the word "ugly"--but you didn't like to look at them (19). I think that the newest thing, (20) something that I don't think anybody's really ready to deal with, that they've never dealt with before--it's having to be in such close proximity and having to deal with people who have physical handicaps (21) and who don't function the way you ordinarily expect to function. And I was freaked out (22). You know, it's like my instincts of sort of giving were sort of stifled (23) by my instincts of revulsion or something completely different.

Sometimes we can get very put off by braces (24) or hearing aids or walkers or things like that, and really they're not (25) much different than eyeglasses; and we can get used to seeing people in eyeglasses (26). And very soon when you work with kids who use an aid of this kind--after a while you don't see it anymore (27). You realize that it isn't important (28). That is true, like any physical disability--when you see braces and, uh, (29) wheelchairs and things like that--and it really upsets you. You get so depressed; I was really depressed (30). And in my journal day after day I'd say, boy--I didn't know what my own feeling was, to tell you the truth.

(31) There's something very winning about children, so that close personal attachment to a child or two--this will pull them through that. (32) After you got to know them you know their abili-

ties--some of them look so helpless, and they seem so helpless, but they're really not. You know (33) I think... that I'd have to know them a little while (34) before I could really start really working with them and not feeling sorry for them (35, 36). When you're talking to them (37) you look directly into their eyes and say it (38)--say it where they know you're talking to them and they have no excuse for getting out of it. (39) If we really take the time out and just look at them (40) and say it slow if it has to be said slow, go ahead and say it that (41) way--but just to let them know that you're going to be talking (42) to them and that you want them to understand. (43, 44, 45, 46, 47) I always felt when I'd see a special child in the street or something, (48) ah, she must be always mothering him and always helping him and everything--it's taught me that (49) even though they're handicapped they don't need all that--they do need special attention and everything, but (50) give them a little bit of freedom and they can do it; if you just give them a chance they can do it. But I always felt, well, you don't ever let them do that alone because (51) what would they do? And I've really looked at them a lot differently (52). It's like working with a baby (53). You really have to get your cues nonverbally. So (54) you're not just trying to keep her quiet; you're trying to stimulate her (55) and make her more involved in every activity (56). You have to watch what makes her happy, what gives her pleasure, what she responds to (57). And your goal is to keep her as actively involved as possible (58). So you really have to look for every little cue (59).

(60) And I think that's really fantastic --cooking with the children (61). Because I feel that even blind people--they're going to have to do it at one time in their life (62) and if they learn it while they're young it's going to stay with them (63) and they'll get better and better at it, you know... (64).

One of the things that kids with special needs need to do is to get into trouble (65). Most people treat them like they're fragile, or have to be treated especially nicely and are afraid to show their feelings and so on (66). You can't always hold it in. It has to come out sometime. (67) They are human beings whether they're handicapped or not (68) and they have feelings and like anybody else they have to have a chance (69) to express them (70, 71).

(72) One thing that teenagers do bring is sort of a--playful approach (73). When you've been teaching for years as an adult sometimes you forget to play with kids (74), which is one of the most therapeutic things you can do (75). And the teenagers would come in and kind of horse around with the kids or get closer to their level in terms of playing chase games (76) or throwing snowballs or playing hide-and-go-seek (77). You know those kinds of things which sometimes adult teachers forget how to do (78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83).

Gabriel Is Two Days Old (15 minutes, b/w)

Doctor: Gabriel is two days old. He and his mommy are having a nice time. She's nursing her baby. And we thought we'd show you the baby this morning and see what he's like.

What happened when you first held him?

Mother: There was a lot of tension.

Doctor: You were tense?

Mother: Mainly because I hadn't fed him yet and it was like I wasn't really close to him yet. They wouldn't let me feed him. They don't let you eat like for 12 hours. So you hold him and it's like--what are you? What are you doing here? And when you finally feed him, a lot of confidence starts coming on. And you feel like you're really a mother.

Doctor: I'm a pediatrician and I'm interested in new babies. Babies are different from the first and they affect their families in different ways. Mothers and fathers may have an image about what they want in a baby before he comes, but after he comes, they have to adjust to him as a person. Parents react to the baby usually with their attempts to understand him, to help him eat, sleep, and grow properly. And eventually they want to shape him into their kind of person.

Mother: Funny noises, huh? Stretch, stretch. Come on. I haven't even seen you with your shirt off yet.

Doctor: See where she handles him. She knows just where to put her hands and how to take the shirt off without fumbling all over the place. Most mothers with their first babies are just

full of all sorts of injuries.

Mother: Just open your eyes and you'll see where you are. Just open your eyes. Come on. Come on. Come on, Monkey Face.

Doctor: Shall we put him down here and try for things?

Mother: Sure.

Doctor: All right, let's see. Oh, my goodness. Oh, goodness, nobody likes to be waked up, do they?

There he goes. Do you know what's waking him up now? Being too free and startling. But watch him as he gets startled now and you'll see that it will make him more and more upset. And in a minute he'll just be out of control and won't have any way of quieting himself down, unless somebody like his mother or I step in and help him. And with a little help he'll be able to quiet right down and begin to either go back to sleep or to respond to us. But you see, without some help...now we've got him undressed and we've allowed him too much freedom for his own good.

See what a mother wants to do, she wants to quiet him right down. And what does she do when she quiets him down? She puts a hand on him and she took his hand to hold it and she immediately began to put some limits on all of this too free activity. And look what he does. He goes right back down into nice quiet sleep.

Mother: Don't get that upset. It's all right.

Doctor: You know in some cultures, mothers swaddle their babies right after they're born. And

they put these wrappings all around them and enclose their arms and their bodies so that they can't get this upset and can't be this free and get over-upset. And the swaddling, in essence, keeps them calmed down and keeps them more available to respond to the environment around them.

And it's a very important thing. We've always thought of swaddling as a bad thing to do to a baby. But you know, it may not be. And if you watch a mother handling a baby who is too free, what she does essentially is reproduce what swaddling does, quieting him down, and calm him down so he can do more human things like look and listen and talk back to her-- suck, eat, all of the things that he's got to do to grow up.

Gabriel is undressed, which is bothering him, and also he's been crying and getting himself tired while he was crying. But now his mother is going to nurse him.

Can you see again how concentrated his whole body is on what he is doing? See how his hand is fisted? His feet are curled just like they were fisted. And he's putting everything he's got into this sucking process right here.

See how he sucks? And you can see it going right down through his neck and right down through there. Almost into his gullet. Look at his gullet down there. It's almost filling up in front of your eyes. Is he pulling very hard?

Mother: Yeah.

Doctor: How does it feel?

Mother: It feels really good. But it's really getting too hard. So I'll have to do something about that.

Doctor: Mothers tell me that babies really pull.

Mother: I never expected them to pull this hard.

Doctor: They are really strong.

Mother: That's why in those books they tell you to take care of your nipples and things. I never did because I thought it couldn't be that bad. But now I know!

Doctor: But don't nurse him very long at a time.

Mother: Five or six minutes.

Doctor: Are you worried about whether you have enough milk or not?

Mother: He was on formula a couple of days ago. So I'm sort of waiting for it to come in now.

Doctor: You were wondering why his breathing was so jerky. What did you think might be happening?

Mother: I didn't know. I had no ideas.

Doctor: Did you think he was not going to live or that he might be having a...convulsion?

Mother: Oh, no, I know he's really healthy.

My mother had one or two of her children with respiratory ailments and she lost both of them. And I kind of wonder about that.

Doctor: So it does make you wonder that he might have something wrong and he might not live, because your mother lost her two that way.

Mother: Oh, I never considered the fact that he might not live.

Doctor: Women have all sorts of fears during pregnancy about what their babies might have wrong with them. Women tell me that they have these tremendous fears about everything that might be wrong with the baby.

You notice this thing on the baby's belly button. This is a clamp that's put on to cut off the cord from the baby to the mother right after delivery. And this is to stop him from bleeding. And, of course, when they take and deliver the placenta from the mother, she stops bleeding. And this is just something that keeps him from bleeding.

Mother: That's something that I'm nervous about when I take him home.

Doctor: The cord? They'll take that off before you go.

Mother: I know they take off this thing but it's still pretty raw, isn't it?

Doctor: It isn't. And it's perfectly healed underneath there already. And this thing has to drop off. Once it drops off then you can clean it out with alcohol and keep it clean until it dries up.

Mother: Does that sting when you put alcohol on it?

Doctor: It's not raw and it's all healed by two days. It's all healed. And he won't bleed any longer or anything.

Mother: Gabriel.

Doctor: Did you see him turn to his mother's voice then?

Mother: How are you doing?

Doctor: And look at him open his eyes when she talks to him.

Mother: His eyes are getting much bigger now. They were all swollen yesterday.

Doctor: (rings bell) See how he startled to this sound when he didn't startle to his mother's voice? This is an example of how a baby is all set up to respond one way to an appropriate human noise and will respond with a startle or something inappropriate to a nonhuman noise.

(examining Gabriel) The stethoscope we put on their hearts first and listen to see if there is a heart murmur or if there is anything wrong with their hearts. And then we listen all over the chest. Just like you do when you go to have a checkup. And then we find out if there is anything wrong in his chest. And as his mother told you, she was worried about his chest because her own mother had trouble with babies who had chest trouble. So it would be awfully important to know that this baby didn't have any of that chest trouble, from the first day, and I examined him yesterday, so I knew he didn't.

And the next thing I do is to feel his stomach. And when you press into a baby's belly like this, you can feel his liver and his spleen and you can feel anything that is wrong down there in the way of a mass or a tumor. A baby lets you go right down into his backbone and you can push so hard that you can feel his backbone and you can also feel his kidneys. You can pretty much feel everything that is in his belly. And one thing that you nearly always feel is a full gut here,

which is loaded with a stool ready to happen. So by examining him we may make him have his bowel movement. And then you check on his penis and his testicles. And babies often don't have their testicles down and they are up in the canal here. This baby has both of his down and his penis is not circumcised and it's perfectly normal. And you check for his feet and his legs and his hands and his arms. And then what you do is turn him over. And you do the same sort of things on his back.

Nurse: Can I come in?

Doctor: We're busy. Then you look at his anus and his spinal cord and you look at his head and feel it, to see if there's anything wrong there. And a baby's head is made up of lots of different bones that have folded together in the birth process and they allow the head to shrink down a whole inch by folding over themselves--the bones did. And that's one reason for the soft spot that you feel in a baby's head. In the mother's birth canal it has to shrink down so it comes through without getting some brain damage.

And the beauty of a baby is that he can do all that. Do you feel as I do that he is so equal to taking care of himself to a large extent? That this is very reassuring in terms of having a baby?

Mother: Oh sure. Like some people think that babies are completely helpless. Like you have to make sure their head is turned when they sleep. But I know that a baby is not going to let himself suffocate because there is that instinct

of survival. He will turn his head.

Doctor: Keep talking and let me show that because I think that's great. If you put him on his belly--now watch what he does. See him turn his head? And he also crawls as if he wanted to get somewhere already.

Mother: Right.

Doctor: One of the most fascinating things to me is that nature sets a baby up with a crawl reflex, with a walk reflex, with even a smiling reflex, right at birth. What does he have all this equipment for? How is he going to learn to gain control over himself so he can interact with a very complicated world that he's just been born into? Does he need parents? How will they help him learn all these things and how does he show them what he needs himself as a very special kind of person?

Bill and Suzi: New Parents (13 minutes,
b/w)

Doctor: This is Becky Webber, who is five weeks old now, and Bill and Suzi, her father and mother. Becky is their first baby, and the first baby they've had to handle as a family. Before this, they've been a family with each other and they've made a big adjustment to that. Now they're having to make an even bigger adjustment, perhaps, to becoming a mother and father.

You were in a hospital where you could room in with her and where Bill could be with you?

Bill: I was allowed in from 7:30 in the morning to 10:30 at night. So, I wasn't there all the time, but I really got to know Becky right then and was with Suzi all the time. From the beginning I was very close to Becky. I was also there during the labor and delivery so there was no break with my closeness to both of them.

Doctor: Was it scary?

Bill: It wasn't as scary as I thought it would be. We had several classes which prepared us for what was going to happen during the birth. So I knew what to expect in terms of like what was going to happen to Suzi and what Becky would be doing when she'd come out. I was more scared, I think, in the beginning of labor when we weren't sure if she was coming then. But after that I was much calmer than I thought I'd be. I didn't know if I would be able to be confident through the whole labor end of it. Which was only like six hours long. But I felt very close to her the whole time.

Suzi had been in labor for six hours and she'd been pushing very hard for, I'm not sure,

the last half hour or hour. As soon as the episiotomy was made, she came in the next 15 seconds. I mean, literally her head passed through the opening and she was out. This is after six hours of labor and nine months of waiting! It was just so unexpected, how quickly she came out and there she was. I'd been prepared to see her all dried up and wrinkled and with lots of spots on her, which, I understand, some babies are like. But she was clean and she was a light purple. But she was really beautiful....

Doctor: She was worth all that worry.

Suzi: For the second day she was pretty sleepy. I lay there with her in my arms all day and just giggled at her and smiled at her and I felt very silly. I should have been sleeping. I was exhausted but I couldn't take my eyes off her.

It was the next day when she started crying. We thought we were total failures. You know, why can't we stop her from crying? The baby in the bed next to me, she's not crying.

Doctor: The second a baby cries you think, I've got to do something. If I do the right thing, the baby will be all right. If I don't do the right thing --what were some of your feelings about not doing the right thing?

Suzi: Well, I just felt that if I couldn't stop her from crying it was because I was inexperienced and I didn't know how to do it. I figured there had to be a way to stop her. I figured, she's crying, she must be very miserable. It took me quite a while to learn that she could cry for many reasons and

I couldn't do something about all of them.

Bill: When Becky cries it means many different things. It might mean that she's hungry or it might mean that she wants to be held or it might mean that she's, I don't know, that she's just talking or she might be just very upset. And it took a while to understand that it can mean all those things, and it took a while to figure out which cry meant something else. We're still learning. But, it's just much different than if I cry.

Doctor: It's taken you a month to learn what these cries are all about, hasn't it? What about those two days when she cried in the hospital? What did this crying mean to you then? That's what I thought you meant when you said that it was different, that it did something gutsy to you when a baby cried, that you were responsible for or getting to be responsible for. What about that?

Suzi: I think I responded as if it were a cry for help and I couldn't help. I think that's why it was so upsetting. I didn't see it as an expression *from her*; I saw it as a communication *to me*, which it wasn't at that time.

Doctor: And you didn't know what to do about it, didn't know how to respond to it?

Suzi: No.

Doctor: It made you want to run away?

Suzi: Well, for a long time it made me want to do something, and I did. I tried to nurse her, I tried to jiggle her. I walked around with her. I took her to

the window. I talked to her, and when nothing worked, then I gave her to Bill.

He tried the same things. She would stop for a few minutes and then she would start again. After a couple of hours of that we were tired. We couldn't think of anything else to do and figured that we were incompetent and we wanted to give up.

Doctor: Did you want to run away and leave her with the nurses in the hospital? I think this is a very common feeling. And the worst thing about it is when a baby starts crying at home, and you haven't got anybody to turn her over to, and you don't have any way of suddenly shifting this overwhelming responsibility to somebody else. It's a very scary time when you first take a baby home.

Bill: There are lots of things that I can do to help Becky. Sometimes she just wants to be held. Holding her makes her happy, and now she's able to play a lot more than she did, I'd say, in the first week. When she's not quite asleep I can play with her sometimes.

She likes going outside. I like to take her out for a walk and she loves the car. She just loves to go in the car. She'll often go right to sleep. There's just lots of things that I can do. Not just to do something when she's upset, but things that we like to do together.

Doctor: So you're learning to have fun together with her. I've always had the feeling, I guess because I'm a father, that it's harder for a father to get used to a new baby and get over the

hump of learning how to bring things out in a baby, and what I think of as relating to a baby, than it is for a mother.

A mother has all this marvelous equipment. She can nurse her baby. She's instinctively more tied to a baby, perhaps, than a father, because she has to be. I've always thought that it is pretty tough for a father to get going with a baby. In fact, a lot of fathers that I see in the office tell me that until the baby is about three months old, they really don't feel that it is their baby. When the baby starts smiling back at them and talking back to them, then they begin to feel, well, it really was worth it after all. How about this for you?

Bill: My problem is somewhat different. From the beginning I was very jealous of people thinking that Becky is Suzi's child, Suzi's baby. It happened all throughout pregnancy. When people talked about the child, it was Suzi's child and gifts were to Suzi. It just came in a lot of different ways. I sort of resented it the whole time. It wasn't really big because Suzi and I sort of agreed on...

Suzi: ...that it was ours. We spent many months talking about what we hoped to be like. We didn't want Bill to be an absent father...

Bill: ...and I didn't want Suzi to just, I don't want to say this too narrowly, but just to raise Becky, to take care of the home. So, I tried to do a lot of just regular housework. That's been part of sharing this responsibility.

Doctor: I think you're saying something that a lot of people feel they can never quite say and that is that a father feels shoved out when a baby comes along. He begins to feel jealous, maybe as early as you say--in pregnancy--when his wife is getting all the attention and feeling all the kicks the baby gives her and feeling sort of smug about how all of this is happening inside of her, and the father really doesn't have anything like that to go on.

And all of a sudden he gets the baby and he thinks this is going to be the next big step and this'll do it. Then his wife is off with the baby having a nice time nursing her. He's left out somewhere. It does make him jealous. The funny thing is that's when lots of fathers begin to pull away from their homes and begin to find other ways of finding satisfaction.

Bill: I change her a lot. That was very hard to learn how to do. I got upset because she had just gone and she was moving around and crying; and to do it cleanly and quickly, it was something I had to learn how to do.

Half a Year Apart (12 minutes, color)

Child: Happy birthday, Robin.

Teacher: That's very good. You pour very well.

Child: My mommy...my mommy coming.

Painting Time (7 minutes, color)

Narrator: This film seems to us to be a good example of what a young child can get out of working with paint. Patrice is four. He seems to be experimenting with making shapes from lines and colors and learning to control his materials.

Racing Cars (7 minutes, color)

Narrator: Enroue is five and likes to draw racing cars. He has drawn cars on many occasions, but less often with paints. When he painted this one, he seemed to run into a problem.

Enroue begins by making the front of the car, extends it backward making the fender, but he bumps into the edge of the paper. He appears to change his plan--what was the front wheel becomes the rear wheel.

He told us later that the yellow extension in front of the car is the motor.

Before Enroue began, he said he was going to make a number five car.

Enroue wrestles with materials to get them to do what he wants.

When the teacher adds more paper, giving him more room, the car he originally conceived seems to speedily unfold.

Clay Play (8 minutes, color)

Narrator: Lissa and Leah are both five-and-a-half and are friends. In this short experience, each reveals something of her own style of responding to her work, another person, and these materials.

Lissa: And go back up.

Leah: I've never seen one grow.

Lissa: I have.

Leah: I haven't. I'm making Lucy on Charlie Brown.

Lissa: You know Lucy has a dress, with curly sleeves.

Leah: Hey, why aren't you using this?

Lissa: What?

Leah: You made this.

Lissa: Made what? I didn't. I don't know who did.

Leah: Oh well. That's great.

Lissa: Once I saw Lucy wearing a strap. You know one of those straps. Those canvas straps.

Leah: It keeps falling down. This is going to be Lucy. Lucy's body. Is that a house?

Lissa: It's not nothing.

Leah: It is nothing. It looks like that to me, because you won't tell me what it is. And this leg is out funny because these are shoes. And don't laugh at them. Because it is important and I will laugh at yours, if you laugh at mine. Because it is not funny laughing at people's stuff.

Lissa: I know.

Leah: I shouldn't make Lucy.

Lissa: Why not?

Leah: I don't like the way she looks. I don't know how to make her hair.

Lissa: You should make a long ribbon and put it around her head.

Leah: That's not how you make Lucy's hair. Her hair is curly.

Lissa: I can make Lucy's hair.

Leah: What does it look like? Make it. Do you make it like this? Like this? That's how I make it.

Lissa: Why don't you make it?

Leah: That's not how you make it. That's not right. I know how it looks, though. It looks like this.

Lissa: I don't make it like that.

Leah: That's how it goes.

Lissa: I know, but I make it the way it looks.

Leah: I'm not going to make it. Lissa, why do you keep making that beautifuler and beautifuler? I'm making something different.

Lissa: It might be different. You think it will be different. How do you know it will be different?

Leah: I don't. It's all set. I think it will be different.

Lissa: I don't think it is.

Leah: It worked a little bit. But I want it.

From My Point of View (13 minutes, color)

Lissa: You make it different. At least don't use the other because I need them.

Leah: I'm not going to use the two. This is a home for the snail.

Susan: *Why does a child choose a toy to give to a parent? We wanted to find out more about how the age of children affects their ability to consider another person's point of view. So we developed two little games--suggested to us by the work of a researcher, John Flavell.*

I played these games with several preschool children. You'll catch on by watching what I do. Darren was first. He's just turning five.

Okay, we're going to play a game. It's sort of a silly game. Underneath here is somebody. See if you can tell who this somebody is.

Darren: It's a bear.

Susan: It's a bear. Hard to miss that, isn't it? He's got a big fat tummy. Is he a real bear?

Okay, he can do funny things. He can dance. He can run. He can flip over. And now what's he doing?

Darren: He's standing on his head.

Susan: Okay, now he's lying down, he's resting because he's all tired out. Good bear.

Can you make him dance?

Darren: Yeah.

Susan: Can you make him stand on his head?

Darren: Yeah.

Susan: There he is! Okay, let's give him a rest because his ears are getting tired. Okay? Now let's see. Oh, I

think I'd like to see him do it again. Can you show me him standing on his head?

Darren: Yeah.

Susan: There he is standing on his head.

Darren: Whoops!

Susan: "Whoops" because he almost fell. It's hard to stand on your head, isn't it? Can you do that?

Darren: No.

Susan: Can you make him dance so I can see him dance?

Darren: Yeah.

Susan: *Thinking of my point of view, Darren easily turned the teddy around so I could see it.*

Okay, let's put him over there and we'll play another kind of thing. We were just asking you about your birthday. Does your daddy have a birthday, too?

Darren: Yeah.

Susan: And your mummy?

Darren: Yeah.

Susan: Okay. Supposing we played store and we pretended that you had a whole lot of money and you were going to go and buy some birthday presents for your mummy and your daddy and for Stevie and maybe even for me. Okay?

Darren: Okay.

Susan: Do you know what all these things are?

Darren: Pipe, shirt, book, and what is this again?

Susan: Well, I think this is called a Raggedy Andy, sort of a little boy doll. There's a book called Benjamin Bunny. See the bunny with the hat on. Okay. Whose birthday should we buy for first?

Darren: My brother's. It's this. (chooses)

Susan: Why are you going to buy your brother the truck?

Darren: Because.... Because!

Susan: Just because? Okay. Now let's pretend that it's your mother's birthday. What would you get for her?

Darren: I'd get this for her.

Susan: Okay, we'll get that. We did your mother. We didn't do your father. What would you get for him?

Darren: I'll get these.

Susan: Why are you going to get that?

Darren: Because I want to.

Susan: Because you want to?

Darren: Yeah.

Susan: *Darren's gifts suggest that he was considering the likely preferences of his mother, brother, and father. But his reasoning is not yet clear. It's just "because," or more egocentrically, "because I want to." I tried the games with Joy, who's just three.*

Stand up and sit down. Look at that! And then he can also stand on his head. And

he can lie down. Can you make him lie down? Sure.

Can you stand him on his head so I can see him standing on his head?

Mother: Susan can't see that.

Susan: I can't see him standing on his head. Can you make it so I can see him standing on his head? Can you make it so I can see him standing on his feet? Oh, that's really kind of nice orange there. But I can't see the teddy.

Would you like to sort of play, sort of playing that you went to a store to buy some presents for your mommy and daddy?

What's that?

Joy: A tie.

Susan: What's that?

Joy: A Raggedy Ann.

Susan: A Raggedy Ann.

He's going to have to lean on the trucks.

What's that?

Joy: Mittens.

Susan: What's that?

Joy: Dolly.

Susan: Now, would you like to pretend that you're going to the store and you're going to buy a birthday present for mummy? Would you like to do that? You can pretend that all these things are at the store. What would you like to buy for your mummy? You have lots of money. What would

you like to get for her?

Joy: This.

Susan: You'd like to get that for her? Why would she like that?

In these games, Joy saw the world pretty much from her own point of view. But she was willing to play my game. Benjamin, on the other hand, at three, was absorbed in his own interest. His mind was on the trucks that he knew were under the table.

Can you make the teddy bear dance on his head?

Benjamin: Uh uh.

Susan: No? Can you make him dance on his feet? You can't. Oh, dear. Poor teddy bear. Now he's just resting.

Benjamin: Play under here.

Susan: We will in a minute.

Benjamin, show me the teddy bear dancing on his feet. I can't see the teddy bear. Can you see the teddy bear? Can I see the teddy bear? There he is! Can you show him to me dancing on his feet? No. Okay, let's put the teddy bear over there. We can make him dance later, maybe. Whose birthday do you want to buy a present for?

Benjamin: Me.

Susan: For yourself. Okay, let's buy a present for you first. What are you going to buy for yourself?

Benjamin: I'm going to buy two of them.

Susan: You're going to buy two of them for yourself.

Two-and-one-half-year-old Julie was full of curiosity. It took a little coaxing to get her to do what I was interested in.

Jimmy's a bear, and he's got orange paper on his back for resting.

Mother: No, don't take it apart, honey.

Susan: And this bear is a very tricky bear.

Julie: There's a hole.

Susan: It comes apart. That's right.

When we're all finished, you can have the bear, all right?

Mother: Then you can take it apart, all right?

Susan: Okay. Here, Julie, do you want to see the bear stand up?

Julie: Yeah.

Susan: See him standing up and dancing? Let's put him on the table again and give him a little rest. Now, look at what I'm going to do. He's a very clever bear. Now what's he doing?

Julie: He's kicking his legs.

Susan: He's kicking his legs in the air. Yes, and standing on his head. Right. He's very tired. His head is tired so he's going to rest again. There he is. Can you make him stand on his head?

Julie: What's in here?

Mother: Don't take it apart, honey. You can take it apart later on. Okay. Can you make the bear stand on his head?

Susan: Could you show him to me standing up?

Julie: Yes, I can. And then I can sit him down.

Susan: Oh, wait a minute. I can't see him. There he is sitting up. Isn't he a cute bear?

Julie: I can see you.

Susan: You can see me--and I can see you, too. Now, can you show him to me standing up? Can you show me the teddy bear?

Now I can see him standing up. Oh, what a beautiful bear. And I can see you behind him, too. Yeah. Now he's all tired out.

I think that bear would like to see us play another game.

With a little help, Julie learned to show me the bear. But with gifts, her own interests determined her choices.

You're going to buy the truck for your mommy?

Julie: Yeah.

Susan: Okay. What would you pick for your daddy from all these things?

Julie: I want to buy a candy.

Susan: Why is that?

Julie: Because...I want to buy this truck.

Susan: You want to buy the truck for your daddy?

Little Blocks (8 minutes, color)

Julie: Yeah. (picks up doll) This is for my daddy.

Susan: That's for your daddy.

Julie: No. That's for my mummy.

Susan: That's for your mummy. What would you like to buy for me? Because it's going to be my birthday very soon. Would you get me a present from this store?

Julie: Yeah. I'm going to get you candy.

Susan: Some candy.

Julie: Yeah.

Susan: That's a nice present.

Julie: Who cut this?

Susan: Well, the person who made the doll cut that.

Okay, how about a present if it was your birthday? What would your mommy get for you, if it was your birthday?

Julie: She will get me candy.

Susan: *After the game was over, we kept our promise.*

Egocentrism changes with age, though it never leaves us completely. But with development, people become more able to consider several points of view at once.

In Class

Bobby: I've had about three or four children that haven't taken a liking to me yet, maybe because they're not accustomed or used to me. But I've had one--I played with him for a while. We seemed to be doing pretty good until after he just changed his mind. I think he must have been thinking about something that he remembers. But we just were playing with blocks, and all of a sudden he quit playing with me. We played trains for a while. And all of a sudden as if there was a curtain.

At the Site

Bobby: You do all the little blocks. Here's some more blocks. What are you going to build?

Child: A house.

Bobby: Okay. Let's build a house. Let me show you how to build a house. You put this one right here. Put that one right here. Put that other one right here. Now put that other one over here on this side. Right there. And this one over here. Oh, oh, get that one.

Little girl: Toys up.

Bobby: You're not going to let me finish my house?

Little girl: Make it over there.

Bobby: Okay.

Little girl: Go over there.

Bobby: Go over there! Where over there?

Little girl: To the next room.

Bobby: Come here.

Let's build a house.
What do you want to build?
Castle, huh?

Child: I don't want to play nothing.

Bobby: You don't want to play nothing. Why not?

Child: I want to go with the teacher.

Bobby: You don't want to play with me?

We were playing over there with the blocks and making a house. Do you want to play with the train with me? I'm your friend.

Why do you want to go with the teacher? I could play with you.

Teacher: Do you want to play with me?

Bobby: Come on, we can play with the castle. Why not?

Teacher: Talk louder, I really can't hear you.

Child: I don't want to.

Teacher: You don't want to.

Wouldn't you like to make a big house and then knock it down? Wouldn't that be fun? I bet you'd have fun.

Bobby: You haven't tried it yet. Try it, you'll like it.

Teacher: Is there anything you want to do?

You're going to step on your lip. You're going to step on it.

Bobby: Oh, don't cry.

Come on, let's go play with the train. You don't want to play with the train? You don't want to play with me?

Teacher: He doesn't want to play.

Do you want to sit down and rest a while? Maybe you're tired.

Back in Class

Bobby: I played with him for a little while but, like I say, he just turned me away. And as I say, he must have been thinking of something.

Student: Do you feel upset when he does that?

Bobby: It makes me feel, like, neglected. He don't want to play with me.

Another student: Do you feel like you've failed at being a teacher when somebody tells you something like that?

Bobby: No. I say the only way you learn something is by your mistakes. I've had three people I've worked with. And out of the three people, I haven't had any success in it. I've had two little girls and Rodney.

Student: Are you thinking about giving it all up?

Student: No. Like they say, practice makes perfect.

All in the Game (22 minutes, color)

Narrator: Nick is eight months old. What's he up to? Why does he jump up and down? Why doesn't he just stand still?

The answer to this is playing. And, to a child, play is the most important and absorbing business in life. This urge to play is universal. It is present in the earliest months when play is mainly just moving your body around. But why do children play? The most obvious reason is just that it is fun. But having fun isn't the whole answer.

Children play and persevere with the game even when there seems to be very little fun in it for them. Like most children, Luke spends the greatest part of his time in play. That's where he finds his friends, satisfies his ambitions, copes with his problems, learns about the world. Because Luke is old enough to need companions, but too young to keep up with his older brother's friends, this game is bound to end in frustration and tears. Luke's personality comes out in the way he reacts to the game. And his personality is in turn affected by what he is going through.

So the question, "Why do children play?" can't be answered simply. An easier question to answer is, "What can children gain from play?" One thing they gain is an understanding of the world around them and the ma-

terials in it. Children aren't born knowing about different shapes, weights, balance, texture, etc. They gradually find out about them and it's in play that this happens.

They seem to pursue this understanding with tremendous seriousness and sensitivity.

They gain understanding by not only putting new things together but also by seeing how they come apart. That's why they can spend hours in building up and knocking down.

Children of different ages have reached different levels of understanding. So Kay at 2 is still exploring the smell of paint, while his 3-1/2-year-old brother Luke uses the same materials to paint a picture, even if you might not recognize it.

Tristram at 5 1/2 is creating a whole world of imagination and fantasies on paper. All play depends upon the stage a child has reached in his physical development and his ability to get along with other children. Two-year-olds like Kay are not very sociable people. His interest in the snakes and dart game is fleeting.

Even at 3 1/2, Luke is prepared to leave most of it to his brother, though his cooperation, his span of concentration, are greater than Kay's. When Kay takes his turn, his movements are not well coordinated and he loses the dice.

A year later we filmed the two younger members of the family again to see how their play had changed when they grew up. Children of 3 and older become much more sociable. They can cooperate with each other and they are also much more imaginative.

Kay at 3 is interested in this toy, not just because of its shape, feel, or color, but because it's a motor car, and he can pretend to be its owner, driver, mechanic. He'll share this fantasy world with his brother.

Children: You can get oil now.

Narrator: Now when Kay feels like it he'll cooperate. But he's still too young to keep up the cooperation for long. He'll still get pleasure from just moving around, as he did when he was a baby. But now there are the added ingredients of a ball and someone to play with.

When children are ready to be sociable, they need companions. They are learning how to get along with other children. But through their pretend games they also work out how adults can talk.

As well as exploring relationships, their make-believe play copies in detail many other scenes of adult life, particularly domestic scenes children see most often.

Timothy's interest in the process of cooking shows that the traditional separa-

tions between boys' and girls' interests needn't exist. But because the urge to imitate provides such a powerful opportunity for learning, Roseanna's doll play prepares her to accept the conventional role of a housewife. If this is the only kind of play adults encourage in her, she will miss the opportunity to explore other possibilities.

This little boy finds his instinct to copy encouraged when it leads to a traditionally masculine activity like his father mending the car.

There should be nothing to stop little girls doing the same.

In any case, to use this situation as an opportunity for teaching, the child has to be actively encouraged to join in the adult activity. At this young age, watching alone is not enough.

Father: Check the tires. Do you want to do it?

Narrator: A one-way mirror observation room can be used to watch children using a play house. For the children, the attraction of this house is that it is a private world. Through this mirror the psychologists study the play without disturbance. Their play involves exploring and making up fantasies around this exploration. They explore the shelves and construct their game out of what they find. They pretend the doll is

ill. And this allows them to explore the parts of the body they don't understand but already feel shy about.

They're also exploring what it feels like to have your own front door. This game includes the pleasures of knock-on-the-door-and-run-away, and ends up with a mixture of peephole and jack-in-the-box.

Sometimes children give us their own clues to the reasons behind this make-believe.

Preti is unhappy because her mother is away from home.

Preti: She's going to come back. She's going to come back with some new things. A tiny green light. She's gonna come back.

Narrator: Through play, Preti works out a solution to some of her fears about the new baby, which she knows from the last time might dilute her to mother's attention. Play prepared her to join in the rituals of feeding and nursing the new baby.

Most young children's play is spontaneous and not governed by fixed rules.

What happens when adults, whose games have rules, try to organize children in a simple race?

These children are four. They seem to get the idea and know what they are expected to do. But each time something goes wrong.

Grasping the idea of rules develops hand-and-hand with the stages of general understanding.

At first games are only about movement of body.

In the next stage, sometimes called the egocentric stage, the child sees everything only in relation to himself.

Interviewer: Who made up the rules?

Child: I did.

Narrator: The idea that rules are mutually agreed. Piaget, a Swiss scientist, first pointed out how attitudes to rules change with age. He concentrated his research on the game of marbles.

Interviewer: Do you ever play marbles? Now what would happen if Neal made up the rules and you didn't like them? Would you change them?

Child: You have to use diplomacy.

Narrator: So in this stage, rules are still flexible and can be changed by agreement. But then there is a hierarchy of age and size which settles whose opinions carry the most weight. This means that Tristam is much higher up the scale than his younger brother Kay.

Interviewer: Does Kay ever make up games?

Tristam: Sometimes when we play in between.

Interviewer: What was that?

Tristam: Like David.

Interviewer: Are his rules good rules?

Tristam: Sometimes.

Interviewer: Would you play by his rules?

Tristam: Yes. He lets me get the rules for him. He knows I'm bigger.

Narrator: *In any group of four-year-olds, like these playing picture dominoes, there will be children who see rules differently. Because although they all pass through stages in the order we've seen, the time it takes varies from child to child.*

Elizabeth accepts that rules exist. She no longer thinks she makes them up herself. But the way she explains them is still self-centered.

Elizabeth: You've got to put them there. See?

Narrator: *Susan isn't ready yet to follow rules. She's playing her own game. Just making patterns.*

Even when children of this age know the rules, characteristically they will bend them when necessary to their own advantage.

Elizabeth: Who's got double clock? I've got double clock. Aren't I lucky! Who's got clock? You're supposed to put it here, underneath. Susan is doing it all wrong. Susan, you're doing it all wrong.

Narrator: *In his own quiet way*

Phillip understands rules, too. Progress through the stages is a matter of maturity, not personality. But as in all play, personality has an effect on who needs the game. Susan has been involved in her own personal game for some time now, but has come to the end of it and is easily distracted.

Elizabeth: I've got double clock. I've got clock.

Narrator: *Like all four-year-olds, Phillip and Elizabeth can't keep up cooperation for long, and they end each playing their own game.*

If, as adults, we enter a child's world of play and try to organize it, even in something as simple as a relay race, we must expect each child to respond differently.

Each responds according to his own personality and maturity and needs. Each child will make it his own game.

Michelle at Home (Hi, Daddy!) (10 minutes, color)

In this film we see four-year-old Michelle and her six-year-old brother, Bret, at home. Their father is a lobster fisherman. He leaves before dawn and returns by early afternoon. Three older brothers and sisters were not present during this filming.

Mother: Just cut off a piece and give it to her.

Bret: A little tiny one.

Father: You have enough there for five kids. Come on now, give her more than that.

Bret: No.

Father: She won't even taste that.

Bret: Bet she will.

Mother: Now don't be selfish.

Father: Now take off a piece of that, you have plenty to tie in a knot with. You heard me.

Mother: You're supposed to share.

Father: See, you have plenty of room to tie a knot. Now give her a piece of it.

(Michelle holds an envelope away from her mother.)

Mother: Well, can I look at it?

Michelle: No. I don't want you to.

Mother: Why? That's mean. You're being mean. I can get it.

Michelle: You're not going to have it.

Mother: I will. I can get it off your head, too. It's over there.

(Mother swipes the envelope.)

Michelle: I want that.

Mother: What do you say? What do you say?

Michelle: I want it.

Mother: What do you say? What do you say? No, not till you say something. What do you say? Don't, you're going to fall! What do you say? What do you say? You're supposed to say, "please."

You took all my cigarettes with you this morning.

Father: There were only two.

Mother: So, you could have left one-- you could share them. You have a whole pack upstairs, in your shirt.

Michelle: Give me it, please.

Mother: Oh, the sun's coming out.

(Outside the two children are joined by a playmate. They upright a boat.)

Bret: ...Michelle! Or do you want me to be the rabbit?

Michelle: I want you to be a rabbit.

Child: How are you going to get back over it?

Bret: Easy, the same way I get in. Or up there or down there.

Child: Bret, you have to tell me if you want to get out.

Bret: Don't make very rough waves.

(Prepares to cook the crabs.)

Mother: He won't bite. Oh, Michelle, pick it up. Not by the big claw, by the little claw. This one. Pick it up this way. When you pick him up this way you blind him, so he can't see.

Michelle: I want to pick one.

Mother: So pick one up. Be sure you get it the right way. Right way now. No, no, not near the claws. Did he bite?

Michelle: No.

Mother: Not that way. There. Now they'll cook.

(Separates the cooked crabmeat.)

Mother: You got to take these off first.

Michelle: Awfully hot.

Mother: No, it isn't hot. No, the other way.

Michelle: This way?

Mother: No, no, this way.

Michelle: Okay. Now what do you do, put it in here?

Mother: Yeah.

(Michelle waits for supper with her father.)

Father: You have a whole bag full, can you spare more than one?

Michelle: No. Eat it all up. No more.

Father: I like it. I'd like to have another one.

Michelle: You ain't going to have another one because you eat all of them.

Father: You only gave me one. Come on, give me that one. Thank you.

Michelle: No more! See my boo boo? That's my boo boo.

Father: Right there?

Michelle: Yeah. That's my boo boo. Up here is my boo boo, too. That's my boo boo. And that's my boo boo. And that's my boo boo.

Mother: Did you show daddy the pictures you made in school today? Of the family.

Bret: No.

Father: Who judged the pictures? Who decided whose was the best picture?

Bret: Lloyd's mother. That's our family.

Father: That's our family.

Mother: Show him who they are.

Michelle: Where's me?

Bret: That's Michelle, that's Momma, that's me, and that's... that's Mitzie, Kimmie, that's Diane, and that's Donny.

Father: Oh yeah.

Mother: That's the family.

Father: Well, they're all smiling.

Mother: They're all smiling.

Seiko at Home (12 minutes, color)

This is a Japanese-American family on the West Coast. Seiko's father is an architect. She has two younger sisters.

Mother: What do you want for breakfast today?

Seiko: I don't know.

Mother: Daddy wants bacon and eggs, scrambled eggs. Want eggs?

Seiko: No. Cold cereal.

Mother: Cold cereal?

Seiko: Yeah.

Mother: Okay. Don't forget the napkins. We won't need the baby's food yet. She's not up. We'll get it when she's ready.

Seiko: Okay. Extra ones?

Mother: Leave extras there because if we spill anything.... Want some orange juice?

Seiko: No, apple juice.

Mother: I don't have any apple juice.

Seiko: All right. I'll just have some milk. You should have worn a dress today, Mom.

Mother: Who should have? I should have?

Seiko: So you'll look like a little girl.

Mother: So I'll look like a little girl, huh? Do you want me to look like you?

Seiko: Yes.

Mother: Do you want to tell Dad his eggs are almost ready?

Seiko: (calling) Your eggs are almost ready, Slow Poke.

(Father joins the table and asks about yesterday.)

Seiko: Marsha drew a horse.

Father: What did you draw?

Seiko: A flower.

Father: What did Norica (younger sister) draw?

Seiko: Scribbles. I don't want this.

Father: No, leave it there.

Seiko: If I don't want it, I just can leave it there.

Father: Mm mm. Hi!

Seiko: Don't talk with your mouth full.

Father: Oh, okay.

Seiko: No, thank you. She just pulls it out of your hand.

Mother: You have enough, huh? Do you want to eat just half of it? You can put a little bit of that on my plate.

Father: Better eat some more. You just had one piece.

Mother: It just looks too much for you, that's why you can't eat it.

Seiko: I want my bacon.

Father: Hurry up and eat. Look at your hands.

Mother: I know; I tried to wipe that off. What is that?

Seiko: A pen.

Father: A felt-tip pen? How come you got so messy? Did you get it on your face?

Seiko: Nope.

Father: Are you going to go to school with your hands all dirty?
No. Just yours? (baby talk with baby) (to Seiko) Eat up your French toast.

Seiko: Okay.

Father: Use your napkin. You're sure eating slow.

Mother: Want some of this egg and not eat your French toast?

Father: Oh boy.

Mother: You had too much to eat.

Father: Yes, I think so.

Mother: You're not much of a morning eater. Okay, eat a little of that. Drink one, either your juice or your milk.

Seiko: I didn't want this.

Mother: I got the message.

Seiko: Dad, I didn't want this.

Father: Okay.

Seiko: Now you got two things.

Father: Come on, hurry up.

Mother: Hurry up and eat. I saw Stephanie's mommy last night.

Seiko: Where? Oh, you should have bring that purse.

Mother: Oh, I know, that's what I said. She said, "That's okay, Stephanie won't miss it."

It would be more fun if you could take it for her. That would mean that you could play with her.

Father: Take it over to her house.

Eat the eggs. Don't open your mouth like that. You're supposed to keep your mouth closed.

Mother: You know that's bad manners.

Father: You've got to eat something or else your stomach is going to growl when you get to school. Do you want it to growl?

Seiko: Yours will growl.

Father: No, I ate breakfast. They're going to say, "Whose stomach is growling?"

Seiko: And I'll say, "No one."

Father: And then you'll say, "Me."

Seiko: I will say, "No one."

Mother: Hurry up, because you have to brush your teeth and be waiting for the bus so that you'll hear the bus.

Seiko: Okay.

Mother: Hurry up, finish eating. Want some ketchup for your egg?

Father: No, you can eat it the way it is. Just hurry up and eat it. Come on. What do you have in your mouth now? You have to finish eating, you have to brush your teeth and brush your hair.

Seiko: Brush your hair, brush your eyelashes. And brush your...

Father: What, my nose?

Seiko: No.

Father: My lips?

Seiko: No. Mustache. I got a little brush for your mustache.

Father: Good.

Seiko: It's in the middle drawer.
Hi, Norica.

Father: Hi.

Mother: Don't pick your nose. It will
get big. Want to sit with
Daddy? Do you want some eggs,
or do you want to wait?

Father: Do you want to wait, huh?
Want some juice? Water?
Bacon?

Seiko: You get mad at her. You
spanked her yesterday.

Father: Mommy spanked you? Why? For
waking baby up, huh?

Mother: Finish your eggs and finish
your milk and brush up. Get
ready. The bus will be coming
pretty soon.

Father: Hurry up.

Seiko: Okay.

Father: I have eggs in my stomach.
What do you have in your
stomach?

Seiko: Eggs and bacon.

Father: Mm. Not too much of it,
though. Don't forget to comb
your hair a little bit.

(Seiko combs her hair and shows the
little mustache brush to the cameraman.
Then she stops in the living room to
await the bus, which comes almost imme-
diately.)

Mother &
Father: Goodbye!

Seiko: Hi! Look what I have on.
(She shows her microphone to
the bus driver.)

Rachel at School (11 minutes, b/w)

Father: You're showing off a little
bit, aren't you?

Rachel: Stay up on my daddy all day.

Father: I'm going to go now, Rachel.

Rachel: No.

Father: No? Jessie is here. Why don't
you bring Jessie over? Let's
kiss bye-bye. Okay? Bring
Jessie over and show her all
these contraptions, okay?

Rachel: I can eat you up.

Father: I can eat you up. Hi, Jessie.
Show Jessie how these things
work.

Rachel: I'll eat you up. I'll just eat
your coat.

In the Housekeeping Corner

Jessie: Mil mil mil, mil mil mil.

Rachel: Yesterday after school, we
went to a place that sells
children's toys and my mommy
let me play on some of things
that people were selling, but
we didn't buy it. Hey wait,
I can't hold on to you (tossed
doll on bed). You're the old-
est. Jennifer's the youngest.
(toss on floor) Hey, Jennifer,
you stay there for a minute.

At the Trains

Jessie: I want to go.

Rachel: Here, Jess.

Jessie: I want to go. She's not let-
ting me go. Tell her to let
me go.

Rachel: Kara, will you please let
Jessica go? If you hit me, I'm
going to hit you. Kara's not

letting Jessica go through and I just tried to get her to do it but instead she hit me and I tried to hit her back.

Kara: I'll tell my Mumma you hit me.

Jessie: I want to get through, ooooh.

Kara: I won't let you come to my house any more. Just let Stephen and, ummm, Jake. That's all. Not you two.

Rachel: Well, then, I'm not going to let you come to my house for 86 weeks.

Jessie: I can't come through.

Kara: I'm going to move away from you.

Jessie: Good, then I can go through.

Rachel: Well, then, I'm going to wreck the track.

Jessie: I want to go through.

Kara: I'm going to take that away.

Rachel: You better not.

Jessie: See what you just did. I'm angry at you now, Rachel.

Kara: I got the track first. You can't play. I am going to play by myself.

Rachel: Well, then, we're not going to let you play with us ever again in the housekeeping corner.

Kara: It's everybody sharing. It's *everybody's* toys to *share*. I'll be your friend if you let me play.

Rachel: Come on, Kara, you can play, too.

Jessie: But not with us, right?

Rachel: Yes, she can. She's our friend from now on.

Jessie: She's not going to be our friend.

Rachel: She's always going to be near me.

Jessie: But remember, Kara, our lockers are near each other.

Kara: I want her near *me*, Jessie.

Rachel: Come on, Jessica. It would be more nicer if we be her friend.

Jessie: Yes, but we're not, right?

Rachel: I am.

Jessie: Anyway, so am I. Where's another stick?

Rachel: I don't know, Jessie. I've two of them.

Jessie: Why don't we share?

Rachel: One each, when I'm finished.

Jessie: Ooooh, I smell popcorn!

Seiko at School (7 minutes, color)

Synopsis

Incident	Sample Question
Passing out napkins and cups.	What do the children do during this waiting time?
Teachers prepare the table for finger painting and children begin.	What decisions do children make for themselves in participating in this activity? What decisions do teachers make? What rules seem to apply? Make a list of everything the children may be learning.
Seiko circulates in the playground. "Can I play with you guys?"	How does Seiko use her outdoor free play period?
"Teacher, I got a hurt."	How do the teachers respond to Seiko's "hurt"?
Seiko shows her bandaid to a teacher. "You got a bandaid on it, huh? Now it's gonna be all right."	With whom does Seiko seem to interact most comfortably?
Seiko resumes play in the playground.	What seems to influence Seiko's choice of how to use this time?

At the Doctor's (10 minutes, b/w)

Mother: My children do not like to hear her cry. So whenever she cries during the night I hear the pitter-patter of little feet coming across the hall and, "Why is she crying?" And, "Is it necessary?" and so forth and so on.

Doctor: As you say "my children," you look at one child. Is that right?

Jill: She wakes me up a lot.

Mother: Yes, Jill.

Doctor: I think it's one child.

Mother: Mark can pretty well weather the storm.

Doctor: Mark puts up with a lot of things, don't you, Mark? Is this baby going to be like you?

Mark: Oh yeah.

Doctor: You'd like her to be, wouldn't you? I would, too.

Mark: But I hope she doesn't cry any more.

Jill: She woke me up last night.

Doctor: Doing what, crying? Why don't you like to hear her cry?

Jill: Because I like to get sleep.

Doctor: You do. Jill, that's news. You never used to like to get sleep. Why do you like to get sleep now?

Jill: Because I won't be tired in the daytime.

Mark: Like, if she wakes up four times, I'll wake up about twice.

Doctor: Oh, Mark. It's nice to have that kind of regulator. Is he like his daddy?

Mother: Yes, his daddy is quite even-tempered and easy-going; and he can take most anything in his stride.

Doctor: (to Mark) Why don't you take them off? Would you? That would be neat. Great!

Mother: Mark is quite helpful.

Doctor: Mark is helpful?

Mother: And so is Jill.

Doctor: I bet Jill is.

Mother: They do quite a lot. They get diapers for me. And they help change. And they watch her if I have to leave the room. They are really quite helpful.

Doctor: It's really the payoff, having children old enough when you get a baby, isn't it? Because they really can participate. Does Jill do things for her?

Mother: Oh yes. She helps feed her. Don't you, Jill?

Doctor: Mark, you're great. I don't know whether it showed on the film but you see him take her fingers out so he didn't hurt them. He's very gentle with her. That's pretty hard to do, isn't it? Mark, you're really neat. Mark's learned a lot about babies with this one, haven't you? See how he picks her up, he puts his hand right under her head. Up under her neck and her shoulders, so he doesn't let her head flop. Does she ever smile at you?

Mark: Uh huh.

Doctor: See if you can make her smile. You know a lot about her, Mark, because you sort of know how to pace yourself. Do you know what I mean by that? You sort

of wait until she's ready to get active and you hold her hand when she's free like this and looking at you while you let her go and you don't intrude. Then when she seems to need something you lean down toward her and talk to her, which is awful nice. And obviously you're thinking about her.

Mark: Don't start crying, don't start crying.

Doctor: (to Jill) Can you feel her pulling on the bottle when you put it in her mouth? As you see, a baby has to adjust pretty rapidly to lots of changes when her sister's giving her the bottle.

Jill: Sometimes she lets you know when she doesn't want any more milk.

Doctor: How does she do that, Jill?

Jill: She doesn't open her mouth.

Doctor: If you've watched the baby learning, having to manage the nipple while Jill's giving it to her, she's had about three different postures with her mouth. And the marvelous thing about a newborn baby is that they can do this. They can shift from one position to another and keep right on going, with something they care about, like sucking on the nipple. And this baby now is getting a real experience with her sister. She's learning a lot about her sister. And she's learning a lot about how to adjust to the nipple. So this is what I think of anyway as infant learning. What do you think she's going to be like when she's a big person?

Mark: When she gets bigger she'll probably be good in kick ball

because we could feel my mother's stomach and she kept on kicking and kicking.

Jill: She would be good in handling fights.

Doctor: Yeah, what would you like for her to be when she grows up?

Jill: A mother.

Mother: During my pregnancy Jill especially noticed the enlargement of the abdomen and wanted to know why and when would the baby be here and how much bigger did I have to get before the baby would come. And then when she started moving, I let them feel the baby, the activity, which they enjoyed quite a bit. And at different times we could point out the extremities of the baby which they thought was quite interesting.

Doctor: Really. You could feel him inside your mommy's stomach. How do you think it felt to your mommy when she was in her tummy?

Jill: Bad.

Doctor: Bad.

Jill: She had awful pains. And cramps.

Doctor: What do you think about that? A mommy having pains when she has a baby.

Jill: I just hope I don't have one.

Doctor: You hope you don't have a baby?

Jill: Because it really hurts.

Doctor: But you just said you wanted her to grow up and have a baby. I thought you would like to grow up and have a baby, too.

Jill: Oh, no.

Doctor: You wouldn't?

Jill: I'd have to go all through that trouble.

Doctor: Do you think it's worth it or not?

Jill: Well, I think it's worth it.

Doctor: Well, I don't think you do think it's worth it, though. You don't sound like it. Do you think your mommy thinks it's worth it to get another baby?

Mark: One more!

Doctor: No. I bet you wanted a baby boy. Don't you want her to have another one?

Mark: Yeah, yeah.

Jill: Then you might take your chances and it may be another girl.

Doctor: That's true. It might not be worth it.

Jill: Everybody says to Mommy, "I hope she has twins," and she says, "Oh."

Doctor: Oh, how would you like to have twins?

Mark: I would. A boy and a girl. One for Jill and one for me. Double the trouble.

Doctor: Double the trouble.

Jill: I'm not going to get married when I grow up.

Doctor: Why? Why not?

Jill: I don't like getting married.

Mark: I'm going to live with my
cousin when I grow up.

Doctor: Is your cousin a boy or a girl?

Mark: A boy.

Doctor: So you don't have to get
married and have babies. And
things like that?

Mark: I'd rather have animal babies
than baby babies.

Doctor: Why is that, Mark?

Mark: Because they're more easier.
And they don't cry or anything
like that.

Doctor: And they don't make you have
fights.

How about your husband, how is
he adjusting to the baby?

Mother: Well, he's working quite a bit
but somehow he has taken more
interest in this child. When
Mark was younger he could do
anything for Mark that I could
do. And then when Jill came
along he kind of lost all his
interest in the baby, as babies
themselves. Now, when she got
a little bit older--she was
small--but when she got a lit-
tle bit older he would handle
her. But he didn't want to
handle her.

Doctor: Was this because she was so
difficult?

Mother: Yes, yes. With Mark he did
anything for Mark that I could
do.

Doctor: Really.

Jill: My grandmother was holding me
and while she was holding me
my brother was sitting next to
her and so he snatched me out
of her hand.

Doctor: Your brother did? He started
fighting pretty early, didn't
he? Well, tell me this. Does
he like Jill being as active
and as vital and as exciting
as she is now?

Mother: Yes.

Doctor: I bet he does. What is he
like? I don't know him very
well. Is he like Mark or is
he like Jill?

Mother: He's like Mark. He's a big
fellow. He's 6'1" and he
weighs 225 pounds.

Doctor: Wow!

Mother: He likes to romp and play with
the children. But he is quite
even-tempered, easy-going.
Well, very easy to get along
with, actually.

Around the Way with Kareema (18 minutes,
color)

Father: Kareema has three older sisters--Deborah, who is 19; Celeste, who is 18; Felicia, who is 10. She has a younger brother, Hasib, who is 18 months, and two nephews--Jamal, who is 3 years old, and Amin, who is 1 year old.

Mother: That's the price list, come on.

At the community store on certain days of the month, the prices are higher. At the store that is out, the prices are usually the same. And maybe that's because it is mostly an all-white neighborhood.

At Breakfast

Deborah: Sit down.

Kareema: Well, I got the same color you got, boy.

Deborah: Here, you want this one?

Father: A black family that lives in a city, they have to be responsible to each other. We have daughters; we try to give them the sense of development by giving them responsibility for the younger brothers and sisters.

Mother: She looks out for the little boys and she takes good care of them. She feels if she's hungry then they must be hungry. Every time she eats she fixes something for them to eat.

Deborah: Get the door.

Kareema: Who is it?

Going to Market

Mother: Even though I might take a cab, I still end up saving. Because we are poor and I try to get the most for my money. At the store I go to, out, the quality of service is better, the quality of food is better, than it is in the ghetto.

Kareema: What's that for?

No, no, you can't buy that many.

Deborah: Two, two.

Mother: You can't get that many. One butter and one plain. Go get a plain.

Deborah: The plain is blue. Go get a blue one. Take this one back. Take two back and get a blue.

Mother: We can't afford to buy three. Okay, now stop. I've spent all the money. (to Kareema) I know you can't carry it.

On the Block

Father: The girl across the street, Michelle, of the Taylor family, she plays with a great deal. Lisa and Deede, they live right in the same house on the first floor of the Taylor family.

Kareema: You can't have no company. Stop, I'm not playing with you, girl.

Children: Miss Sue, Miss Sue, Miss Sue, gimme A, B, C...

Father: And there's the twin Dicarta girls. The smallest of the two, she plays with her mostly.

Mother: *I think she is just about the youngest on the street.*

Father: *We worry that she doesn't run across the street, get hit by a car. But we also tell her to stay on the street. Do not wander off. Don't take any time up with any strange people.*

Mother: *Not to accept...money or candy from any strangers.*

At the Corner Shop

Bill: You'll lose your job that (Shopkeeper) way.

Assistant: You'll lose your job like that, man.

Bill: You want money every night? You don't get money every night. You wait to payday.

Child: What day is payday?

Assistant: Every six days.

Child: Okay, in six days.

Children: Hi, Bill.

Bill: Hi. Do you want something, baby? What else?

Child: Salt.

Bill: No salt, baby.

Kareema: I want some of those and one piece of gum.

Bill: This?

Kareema: Yeah.

Celeste: No, no, no, no, no.

Bill: What does she want? Don't give me no jiving now. Outside, just go.

Celeste: Come on, Kareema, tell him what you want.

Bill: My woman quit me.

Celeste: When? Which one, what's her name? The one on Blume Way?

Bill: I don't know which one. What does she want with this?

Child: Bye.

Bill: Which one? Bye, now.

Playing a Game

Child: No, I'm taking it.

Deborah: Frederick Douglass.

Celeste: Give me Martin Luther King, give me Martin Luther King.

Felicia: No, I want Martin Luther King. I don't know that other man.

Deborah: Okay, I'll take Joe Louis here.

Celeste: "Benjamin Banniker, born 1731, died 18 years early. A genius of his day. Made first American clock...."

Mother: *I buy them black games and black books, black dolls. Because they have to have something that relates to them. So they can learn about black history. Because it is only since the late '60s that they started getting black history in school. Some schools still don't have it.*

Celeste: "Dr. Charles Drew, born 1904-1950. Pioneered research in blood plasma...."

Deborah: You have school history.
Did they tell you how
Charles Drew died?

Celeste: No.

Deborah: How did he die, Felicia?

Felicia: I don't know.

Deborah: Didn't I tell you?

Celeste: I know, I know. No. He
died because he went to a
white hospital and they
wouldn't give him no blood.
They told him to go to the
black hospital that was
across town. By the time he
got there it was too late
and he was dead. And your
time's up, Kareema.

Deborah: That's not fair because you
started talking to her.

Mother: *If you want them to have
some background and some
knowledge of themselves you
have to start it at home.
Encourage them at home.
And that way if you put the
foundation they can always
build on it.*

Celeste: I won. Where's the prize?
Where's the prize? Where's
the prize?

Deborah: Right there!

Celeste: Where?

Deborah: That knowledge on the table!

Father: That's enough cutting, you
don't need more than that.

Mother: *I don't have to be at work
until 5:00. I wanted a job
with those kinds of hours so
that I would be home when
Kareema got home from school.
Because she looks forward
to that. Most of the time*

*I try to cook before I leave.
And if I don't, then Deborah
cooks. And then she's home
for the rest of the evening.*

Father: Okay, take the gum out of
your mouth. You can't eat
your dinner with gum. You
know that.

Celeste: Just because she wants a
private secretary.

Deborah: So?

Celeste: So.

Deborah: That's all you do is stay on
the phone anyhow.

Celeste: Am I benefiting by calling
the driving school for you?
Am I benefiting? How?

Father: *She knows that I go to
school. She knows that her
mother goes to school. We
tell her why we go to school,
to make ourselves more
skilled--to make a better
life, for all of us. That
way we influence her to
learn and tell her to learn
more that she can develop
very early in her life.*

Bedtime

Kareema: Mommy. I have to tell you
something.

Mother: Oh gee, what do you have to
tell me, Kareema?

Kareema: I have to tell you.

Mother: Okay, you can come and tell
me.

Kareema: Can you get me some birthday
hats on my birthday?

Mother: Yes, when your birthday
comes. It's not your birth-
day now, is it?

Kareema: No.

Mother: That's all you had to tell me?

Kareema: No. I want some vitamins.

Mother: You don't need any vitamins tonight. Come on, in the bed.

Father: Be a good girl.

Mother: *I think it's wrong for parents to try and put their values on their kids.*

Father: *She has to have her own values to please her, to make her content. To make her function. Because her life goes on. Because she's into the future. I'm the past. I can only hand down my wisdom or her mother hand down her wisdom.*

Mother: She's supposed to sleep in her own bed.

Father: Like you sleep in yours.

Mother: You're so silly tonight.

Father: Goodbye, Kareema.

Kareema: Play, Mom?

Father: Goodbye, Kareema!

Mother: No, you can't.

Father: Good night.

Kareema: I want to sit with you.

Mother: No, you can't.

Father: Good night!

Mother: You've got to go to bed. And get your rest. Otherwise you'll be tired. Then you'll fall asleep in school.

Kareema: I want to put something on my finger.

Mother: I don't see anything wrong with that finger. I don't see anything there. I don't see anything on that finger at all.

Kareema: I know, but it hurts.

Mother: You must have smashed it in the door or something because you don't have a splinter or anything in it.

Kareema: Put a bandaid on.

Mother: I don't have another bandaid.

Kareema: Let me see.

Mother: Go to bed, Kareema.

Kareema: I saw one.

Mother: Go to bed, Kareema.

Kareema: I saw one.

Mother: Come on, good night. Good night.

Father: Good night.

Kareema: Wait. Fix my lunch.

Mother: You're not going to have one. Kareema, get out of here and go to bed.

Kareema: Can I have a pear?

Mother: You can't have anything. You never want to go to bed.

Most times the best jobs that black people could get was when I was looking, to be a teacher, or you get a job in the post office. But now it's not a closed thing. Now there are so many different avenues open. They can go to college. They can

Memories of Adolescence (Record)

*go into a technical school.
They can set their own goals.
They see that life itself is
a learning experience.*

Father: *Their values will probably
be different than our values.*

Mother: *Of course, because each
generation is different.*

Father: *The only value I have right
now as far as she's con-
cerned is to grow up to be
a strong, beautiful black
woman.*

Mother: *Come on, big girls don't cry.
Come on, come on. It's time
for you to go to bed. It's
eight o'clock.*

Kareema: *I don't want to go to school.*

Mother: *Well, you got to go. You
gonna be a dummy? Huh? Go
to bed now, I'll see you in
the morning.*

Kareema: *My finger hurts.*

Mother: *I don't see anything wrong
with your finger, Kareema.*

Kareema: *It hurts.*

Mother: *It doesn't hurt. Go to bed.*

Kareema: *My thumb's broke.*

Mother: *I don't see anything wrong
with your thumb.*

Kareema: *Well, it still hurts. I
want to go to sleep now, cut
the lights. Cut off the
lights.*

The following selections are included on
the record:

Side 1, Camara Laye describes how his
band 1: parents respond to his friends,
and his own feelings about his
mother's censorship of some of
the girls he is friendly with.

Side 1, Jade Snow likes the ideas
band 2: about personal independence
that she hears when she enters
college. But she runs into
trouble with her parents when
she wants to decide for her-
self where, when, and with
whom she can go out.

Side 1, When Ohiyesa is reclaimed by
band 3: his father, whom he believed
had been killed by the white
man, he encounters the shock
of having to leave behind the
only life and culture he has
known, and to begin a new life
and identity as Charles East-
man.

Side 2, As a young college student,
band 1: Anne Moody chooses to fight
for the rights and dignity she
believes her people deserve.
She becomes one of a small
group of demonstrators sitting
in at a lunch counter.

Side 2, Although she often sees
band 2: through her father's optimism,
Friedele Bruser is growing to
appreciate his struggle to
support his family, and to
value his hope and faith de-
spite the scorn of others.

BACKGROUND READINGS

Overview of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD

This reading by Marilyn Clayton Felt, Project Director for EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, describes the overall conceptual and pedagogical designs of the course. By presenting the assumptions and questions that guided the development of the course materials, this paper aims to help teachers better understand the goals for EXPLORING CHILDHOOD.

There is a growing body of evidence that the process of making human beings human is breaking down in American society. The signs of this breakdown are seen in the growing rates of alienation, apathy, rebellion, delinquency, and violence we have observed in this nation in recent decades.... The causes of the breakdown are of course manifold, but they all operate in one direction--namely to decrease the active concern of one generation for the next.

Urie Bronfenbrenner
Professor
Department of Human Development and Family Studies
Cornell University

I have long believed that the development of a child does not begin the day he is born--or at age three--but much earlier, during the formative years of his parents.

Edward Zigler
Professor and Director
Child Development Program
Department of Psychology
Yale University

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD is a program in which the study of child development is combined with work with young children on a regular basis. It gives students opportunities to develop competence in working with children, and a framework for understanding the forces that shape the development of a child.

Three government agencies have joined in the funding of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, each one viewing the program in a special way. When the National Institute of Mental Health considered the program in 1970, their concern was the alienation many

teenagers feel from both family and society. They saw a program of work with children offering teenagers a role in which they are needed by others, and an experience that would both deepen their sense of personal identity and increase their compassion for, and understanding of, their families. The Office of Child Development became involved as the major funder in 1971. They viewed the students as being responsible for the next generation of children, and saw EXPLORING CHILDHOOD as a way for students to prepare for parenthood, for careers involving children, or simply for citizenship, with the responsibility of making daily decisions that affect children. In 1972 the Office of Education added its support, seeing the program as having application beyond the initial target population of junior and senior high school students, by providing career incentive for potential dropouts as well as career training for unemployed adults interested in working with children. We feel that all these goals are compatible with the pedagogy and scope of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD.

The Pedagogical Approach of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD

The main source of energy for students in EXPLORING CHILDHOOD is their field work with children. In developing a curriculum around field work, we have been guided by the following questions:

- What kinds of help can we provide to make the field work rewarding?
- How can we draw on the feelings, ideas, questions, memories, plans, and insights generated by that experience to bring students more in touch with their own identities and to foster in them an understanding of the conditions needed for growth in others?
- What ideas and issues from the social sciences will allow students to understand and explore the world of children?

In developing a pedagogy for EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, a central concern has been the need to allow the program to be adaptable to a vast range of conditions. For example, secondary schools teach the program under many disciplines, including home economics, family living, social studies, and health; there are many types of fieldsites, including lab schools within the school, preschools, Head Start centers, day-care centers, and family day-care sites; students themselves vary both in academic preparation and in real-life preparation for the course; and, most importantly, the preschool children will come from homes that represent tremendous diversity both in goals for children and in child-rearing practices.

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD attempts to help students understand what a child is like, how human interaction can shape the development of a child, and how the context in which growth occurs can affect development. These insights and perspectives, we believe, can help students become increasingly flexible and able to respond to children in ways that make sense for each individual within a given situation.

The Conceptual Framework of the Program

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD is concerned with the development of a sense of self and a sense of others, both in young adults and in the children with whom they work. This program hopes to help students gain competence in working with children.

Our approach has been shaped by a desire to introduce concepts in ways that respect the students' personal experience with children, both prior to and during EXPLORING CHILDHOOD. Rather than define concepts early on and teach lists of facts, we have introduced concepts as suggested guidelines for organizing observation. We ask students to recollect experiences, collect observations, and decide for themselves if a suggested concept makes sense in terms of what they have seen. Looking at concepts from the perspective of concrete experi-

ence not only helps students legitimize the way they will learn about children during the rest of their lives, but also offers new intellectual opportunities for students who have previously had little academic success. Students who have had extensive child-care experience have much to offer others in the class.

Concepts have been selected both for their helpfulness in field work and for their relevance to development throughout the life cycle. Examples of concepts we have found generative are "egocentrism," for understanding the growth and change in a person's view of the world; and "values," for understanding what is transmitted in human interactions.

The Sequence of the Curriculum

Suggestions for the general sequence of the curriculum come from what we have found to be the cycle of needs and interests of students working with young children.

Working with Children module: A student's major concerns at the beginning of the year, before starting to work with children, are:

- What will the field work be like?
- What kind of role will I have?
- Will the children like me?
- Will I be able to cope?

Consequently, this first group of materials attempts to help students develop a sense of competence before starting their field work, and to build the class into a support group in which failures as well as successes can be discussed. Commonplace situations with children and their teachers, which are presented as case studies through film, audio-tape, storyboard, and photo essay, allow students to share ideas about children's behavior and about what to do in problem situations. Observation is focused on the fieldsites--their special nature as

places for children, the purposes of fieldsite materials, the activities and environments fieldsites provide, and the ways teachers interact with children. Guidelines for observing children and for keeping a journal about experiences begin a theme that is developed throughout the year: ways of learning about children.

A book of activities for children, *Doing Things*, gives students concrete things to plan and do with children. A film made at a variety of fieldsites shows them the numerous kinds of roles they can take with children.

Although much of Working with Children is used during the first month, as preparation for field work, the materials are appropriate for use throughout the year. For example, "Teacher, Lester Bit Me," an animated film about the plight of a preschool teacher on a day when everything seems to go wrong, is good material for one of those times during the year when students need encouragement about field work or a chance to view their work with humor. With or without reference to these fieldsite materials, discussion of field experiences should be an ongoing part of class work, both when students have problems, successes, or questions they want to share and when their experience supports, contradicts, or gains new meaning from conceptual materials.

The pedagogical challenge of Working with Children is this: How to foster an "open-ended" approach to looking at explanations of behavior and ways of interacting with children, yet help students reach the "closure" that is satisfying for learning and absolutely necessary for action. Using case studies, a teacher can help students arrive at some conclusions about what they would do, based on their view of a situation. The purpose is not to reach group consensus, which rarely happens in child-care discussion because of legitimate differences in values and views about the nature of development, but to help each student develop confidence in his or her own ability to examine a situation and

follow his or her best judgment. As the year proceeds, students will deepen skills through practice in observing situations and evaluating outcomes.

Seeing Development module: Once students have started field work, the concrete experience with children begins. Students become interested in learning what a child is like, and, specifically, about the ways in which children are different from older people. A general booklet, *Looking at Development*, sets the context for exploring human development by considering the capacities of an infant; it introduces the question "What do you believe brings about growth and change in a child?" and describes the ways several theorists have approached the study of development. Generalized data about development, collected from a number of sources in the field, is included, along with suggestions of other ways to learn about children--specifically, collecting data about growth and change in a child and about the development of diversity among children. *Looking at Development* is designed to be a reference point throughout the unit, and to help students summarize their learnings at the end.

Five other booklets delve into particular areas of a child's development: *Children's Art* presents one way of looking at the growth of skill, and introduces the concept of stages of development. In *How the World Works*, a child's beliefs about cause and effect, change, time, similarities and differences, and what things are alive or not alive are explored. *A Child's Eye View* considers the concept of egocentrism, a child's growing awareness of the minds, feelings, perspectives, and needs of others, and the idea of moral development in children. The motivations and developmental factors in children's behavior that are generally considered problems are discussed in *Fear, Anger, Dependence*. *Child's Play* looks at the many opportunities for growth that play affords a child.

Through these booklets, students can

enter the world of a child, look at patterns of growth and change at different ages, consider the ways individual differences develop, and, finally, think about how they can support development in ways that are meaningful for each particular child in their care.

The pedagogical problem for this module is to provide a framework for learning and concepts about development such as "egocentrism" and the notion of "stages." We do not want to preempt a student's way of seeing development or contradict the message that a student's data perceptions are important guides for learning. Our approach has been both to suggest learning theories or concepts as guidelines for observations and to present ideas of theorists in an explicit way. We emphasize that theories are speculations of flesh-and-blood people by showing what triggered a theorist's interest in children and what behavior was observed that led to the development of a theory. The teacher's responsibility is to connect theory to the data of the student's own observations and to connect both of these with practice. The teacher must continually refer students to their own experiences with children; to help them question and explore the validity of concepts and theories. He or she must show clearly how a concept relates to caring for a child, be aware of how students connect a concept to concrete behavior, and allow students to bring their own experience to bear in either supporting or questioning a concept. Also, teachers must help their students see that they too have theories about development that can be tested by observation, used in caring for children, and shared with their classmates as valuable resources for learning.

Family and Society module: Once students have deepened their sense of how a child sees the world, the course shifts from the ways in which the child's mind and body develop to the social forces that influence a child's life. Interactions in the family, with the world "beyond the front door" and with the

environment, resources, beliefs, and values of the society at large become the central focus of attention.

The study of family is based on a series of documentary films showing interactions in a variety of families. This material was designed with two major goals in mind: (1) to heighten students' perceptions of what is transmitted to children in daily commonplace interactions; and (2) to let students experience the childrearing styles of families other than their own in order to gain insight into the attitudes, traditions, and values of others. The notion of clarifying values and beliefs about children and childrearing and measuring these beliefs and values against one's actions--a notion that is touched on earlier in the course--becomes central here. It provides a foundation for understanding that all families have implicit values for children and implicit beliefs about childrearing. It enables students to grasp the crucial idea that all family interactions transmit messages to children, implicitly or explicitly, that may or may not be consistent with family values.

Beyond the Front Door, the middle section in the module, follows children as they leave their home--for preschool, to join in the daily tasks of a parent, or to play in the yard or the street. Students are asked to explore how a child interacts in this expanded world: How many people are friends? How many are strangers? What contact does a child have with his or her parents' work? What values and childrearing practices does the child encounter among people outside the family?

"Matching Messages," a section of *Beyond the Front Door*, considers the interrelationship between the messages received in and beyond the home. For students it poses the challenge of taking into consideration the values and practices of the child's family, the values and practices of the preschool, and also the student's own values and sense of what to do when caring for a child.

Up to this point the course deals with things students see and affect every day, whether it be some activity that shows a child's development or the interactions between two people. Now the course turns to social organization, and considers invisible underlying structures and circumstances over which individuals have little immediate control. While this exploration should surely deepen students' understanding of the children in their care, we consider the major motivational force of this material to be the student's concern about the kind of society he or she envisions for the next generation of children, and his or her thoughts about what to do personally about it.

The central issue--how a society affects the conditions in which a family rears a child--is specified in two sets of questions, which are used to explore other societies as well as our own:

- What does a family need to protect and nourish its children? Who should provide what a family needs?
- What messages does a society transmit to children through its media, agencies, and institutions?

Students will examine other societies through documentary film and written and taped autobiographical accounts. Our own society will be examined through independent research projects. Exposure to childrearing practices of foreign societies allows students to become familiar with the range of ways in which human societies have provided care and protection for their young. The Israeli kibbutz is one society chosen for study, because kibbutz members have clearly articulated their values and, therefore, we can examine them. Also, many of the issues that influenced kibbutzniks initially in planning child care are issues currently of concern to our society--provision of equal roles for women, pros and cons of group care for children, cooperativeness as a desirable trait. The other reason kibbutzim provide an excellent study is that many are three

generations old and show more than the effects of social innovation per se. Students can debate the values and practices of the kibbutz and use this debate as a vantage point from which to take a fresh look at the values and practices of the society they know.

The Inquirer, another part of this final section of the course, suggests individual study projects for students on aspects of the way their own society provides for children. Materials describe ways of collecting data on such topics as children's literature, law and children, public media and children, and nutrition. In addition to the research skills, survey skills, and new observation skills that these projects develop, students have the opportunity to meet people in a variety of roles that may suggest future career possibilities for them.

The pedagogical challenge of Family and Society is to help students develop a more compassionate understanding of their own families, while helping them to understand and respect the values, traditions, and practices of others. When students begin the course, they tend to limit their perceptions in one of two directions. Either they defend their own family experiences so strongly that they have trouble seeing other ways of expressing love and care; or, in appreciating the ways of others, they find the values and practices of their own families lacking. Teachers have two resources to draw upon in making the exploration of family and society a strong and positive contribution to students' understanding of self and others. One is the observation that raising a child to find a meaningful place in the world and to care for himself or herself and others is a responsibility shared by parents everywhere. The ways in which different parents meet this task can begin to be understood by considering the enormous complexity of the task, the traditions of a family, and the conditions society provides for them. The second resource is the set of feelings that working with children evokes in

students--tenderness, anger, frustration, love, inadequacy, pride, overwhelming responsibility, and desire to protect. Young adults frequently gain a new and deeply sympathetic view of their family when their first child is born and they begin experiencing all the emotions that come with that responsibility. Working with children evokes these emotions in a small beginning way, and a sensitive teacher can help students build an understanding of families that is based upon these incipient feelings.

Self-evaluation

We have described the general sequence and flow of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD over the course of a year. Important throughout the year is the development of one's own sense of identity, which involves identifying and understanding one's own values and beliefs about children, developing competence in working with children, and knowing how to evaluate one's own growth. Self-evaluation materials are part of the curriculum; they have been designed to help students identify ways in which they would like to gain competence, and to give them guidelines for evaluating the results of a situation and measuring their own progress.

Underlying Values of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD

In the process of developing EXPLORING CHILDHOOD we have often been asked--and have often asked ourselves--what values are implicit in the program. Altogether, we find that four major values have influenced the direction of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD:

1. *To view the present, whether adolescence or childhood, as an important time of being as well as becoming.* Our priority in this respect is not to prepare students to be parents or professionals, or to prepare children to be adults, but to help both to have rewarding experiences each day they are together.

2. *To demonstrate that insight can be learned and can be an important influence on behavior.* Students are helped to see how others experience the world, what messages are transmitted in human interactions, what influence social organization exerts; and to understand their own beliefs and values.
3. *To help students and children develop confidence in their own identities.* For children, receiving appreciation from students of their particular abilities, personalities, and family backgrounds helps develop confidence. For students, being supported by teachers in their new role as caregivers increases self-esteem. At the same time, learning to appreciate the values and traditions of their own families nourishes their sense of worth.
4. *To legitimize the view that anyone responsible for the care of a child has worthwhile experiences to share with others.* Parents, preschool teachers, people involved in health, artistic, legal, educational, or welfare professions, and students themselves have been involved in creating the EXPLORING CHILDHOOD curriculum; all should be considered resource people for a classroom.

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD is a program that has the potential for breaking down barriers between age groups and between institutions, and for bringing people together in a common venture. A resourceful teacher can make EXPLORING CHILDHOOD a rich experience for many members of a community.

The Influence of the High School Upon
Educational Methods

by John Dewey

This reading, written in 1895, suggests that high schools should provide for the training of capable teachers for the lower grades in order to help adolescent students find meaningful service outlets for the information they get in school. Students, he says, should not graduate from high school until they have had a chance to put their knowledge into action by teaching. Also, the introduction of psychology and sociology into high school studies would, Dewey says, bring a closer relationship between a subject field and the students' prior experience. Thus, knowledge and action reflected in course work and service to young children would make the high school an influential force upon instructional programs.

Is the influence of the high school upon educational methods exhausted?... There is one great possibility, as yet unrealized, so far as any systematic effort is concerned. This is the preparation by the high school of teachers for the lower grades. The simple fact is that this is one of its chief functions at present, but the high school is doing it only incidentally and unsystematically. My query is whether the high school must not awaken to consciousness of what it is already doing by the way, and make that one of its chief functions....

1. In the first place, the introduction of a training course would give a practical motive for doing much work now done without any sense of its bearings. We all agree--or almost all--with great cheerfulness to the proposition that character, not information, is the end of education, and then tamely submit to, or willfully create conditions which make it impossible that the school should be an active force in character building. But the greatest of these conditions is that the information gained does not find outlet in action. Absorption, income is the rule--and then we wonder whether learning tends to selfishness!

I do not believe any more helpful in-

spiration could come into any school than the conviction that what is being learned must be so learned that it may be of service in teaching others.* This is not the place to discuss ways and means of practice work, but I believe the solution of this difficult problem will be in the discovery that it is stupidity to suppose that there is no alternative between no practice teaching, and the turning over of whole classes to the pupil-teacher at the outset. The latter method of necessity throws the teacher into a mechanical attitude, it not only does not tend to, but it hinders, the development of sympathy and psychological insight. The proper place of the pupil-teacher is as a helper, here, there and anywhere that he can discover something to do, dealing with a few individuals in their personal difficulties, rather than with the "teaching" of a class *en masse*. This personal relationship once secured, the pupil-teacher will be in a healthy attitude when dealing with a class as a whole. Moreover this method would go far to relieve that congestion where one teacher deals with from forty to sixty pupils.

2. A training course does not mean so much new subjects for study as a new interest in, and a new point of view for existing subjects. I do not think physiology would be any the less well learned as physiology if emphasis were thrown upon questions of ventilation, of hygienic seats and postures, of the importance of correct muscular attitudes and gymnastic exercises, of the use and education of the senses of touch, sight and hearing, and a thousand other points.

*I hope I may be pardoned for repeating what an instructor of one of our best high schools said to me in private conversations--it went so much beyond what I dared to say. It was that no person ought to be allowed to graduate from the high school until he had put to use his knowledge in teaching; that this was the best guarantee for sure assimilation.

What is true of physiology is true in kind, even if in less degree, of all the sciences. It is not so obviously true of the languages and of history, but even here contact with the needs and methods of younger children would serve to fertilize rather than to deaden the material. What is required in any case is a selection and adjustment of subjects already taught, rather than a large number of new studies.

3. Two new studies however are required. These are psychology and social ethics.

...it will be said, this means the introduction of a new study into a crowded curriculum. I won't suggest that certain things might give way and that the study of the human nature which lies in us, and in whose expressions we live and have our deepest contacts and relations, has claims equal to various and sundry subjects which I will not mention. Such a suggestion might seem extreme and utopian, and I'll not make it.

But a few facts may be selected indicating that this new study would serve to relieve rather than congest the course of study. In the first place the period covered by the high school is the age of adolescence. This is the natural age of introspection. There is no time of life when the interest in self, and in the relations and adjustments of self to others is so pressing and conscious as at this time. If metaphysics is a disease, like mumps and measles, then this is the time when it is epidemic. The failure to utilize this interest is a pedagogic blunder. It is a blunder in the economy of the school; it is a blunder from the standpoint of the pupil, who has one of the most educative of all interests left without direction and so liable to perversion and distortion. So far is it from true that psychology would lead to morbid self-consciousness, that in many cases the tendency to morbidness both in one's self and in relation to others is a harassing and grievous fact; and the conscious direction of this tendency in a scientific channel would be one of the greatest,

if not the greatest, means for purging it of its morbidness....

To sum up the matter in terms of the current agitation of the correlation of studies, psychology as a concrete study of human nature in the individual, and sociology as the concrete study of human nature in its organized forms, are the natural bases for unification of studies in the high school, whether we look at the dominant interests and impulses of the pupil at this age, or at the material studied.* This seems to me to constitute a fair basis for the claim that these studies would introduce order rather than confusion, work for ease rather than for hardship in the high school economy.

The schools already have a certain running machinery, a certain prescribed and acquired *modus operandi*; teachers have their acquired tastes and habits. It is not easy to readjust these. I do not propose what I have said as a model to be at once and everywhere conformed to. But I believe the high schools must soon face the question of affording a course of training for would-be teachers in the lower grades, and that it behooves those who have any responsibility in the shaping of the educational structure to give serious attention to this matter, and to shape the modifications which continually occur in this direction. When this function shall be taken in by the high school, I believe the influence of the high school upon educational methods will be at its full tide--a tide which will never ebb.

*It will be noticed that I have said nothing of the separate study of systematic pedagogy. The omission is not accidental, but the reasons cannot be given here. There is a certain division of labor in the training of teachers with reference to which I hope to write in the future.

How Adolescents See Their Role in a Fieldsite

by Catherine M. Cobb

In this reading, Catherine Cobb, an EXPLORING CHILDHOOD course evaluator, discusses adolescents' ambivalence about their roles as friend and/or teacher to young children. The reading provides some reasons for the ambivalence and suggests that if course and field teachers understand the conflicts adolescents face in working with young children, then they may be better able to provide the students with experiences that will enhance their confidence and competence. The reading also provides examples of situations where good communication between teacher and adolescent helped stave off tensions and conflicts and made for more competent and confident action on the part of the high school students.

Adolescents who work with preschool children often face a dilemma. While they prize the special rapport and friendship they can develop with children, they doubt that, without the experience and authority of the adult teacher, they can really help the child learn.

We learned of adolescents' ambivalence about their role in the preschool during the first year of development of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, before course materials existed. During that year, we talked with students and teachers in many programs in which adolescents were working with young children, so that EXPLORING CHILDHOOD could address itself to their special experiences. Originally this paper was a research report to the developers of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, urging them to design materials that would support the adolescents in their desire to be both friend and teacher to the child. Now we address it to teachers of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, feeling that if course and field teachers understand the conflicts students face in working with young children, they can better energize the students' strengths and help them make a unique contribution to the growth of young children.

Helpers Are Warm; Teachers Are Distant

When teachers talk about adolescents in the fieldsite, they usually refer to them as tutors, Big Brothers or Sisters, teacher's aides, or teacher's assistants. The last two terms focus on the student's relationship to the fieldsite teacher and suggest that the student is an adjunct or helper to the teacher. When students talk about themselves in the fieldsite, they are much less likely to use the word "teacher." They most often call themselves "friends" or "helpers," stressing their relationship with the child.

By helper, students seem to mean someone who responds to the child's needs on the spot, is close physically, and understands the child's feelings. As students recall their experiences with children they often remember talking with and touching the child, and moving to his or her physical level by stooping or sitting down. A ninth-grade girl recalled how she began to get to know a little girl this way:

She was sitting down and I went over and I tickled her and she turned around and said, "Will you pick me up?" And I picked her up. And I was talking to her.... Then I put her down and she goes, "Will you help me make a castle?" I was helping her.... So then we got on the bus and she got on my lap.

Whether they work continually with "special friends" or move equally among many children (two different working styles students describe), students say they either answer children's questions or look for signals that children need help. They try, according to many students, to respond to the children rather than direct them. One boy who chooses to work equally with many children describes his responsive role this way:

I don't think I should pick out one child. I feel all the children in the class should be treated equal.... I go from one child to another.... When we walk into the class the children are working on something....

We have to find ourselves, to fit in with whatever they're doing.... Sometimes they have to work with paste and glue and tape...and I'll help them with the pasting.

As students talk about this close helper role, they often contrast it with the teacher's role. "Teacher" seems in many cases to be just the opposite of the close, listening, and responding helper. Asked how she would want the younger children to think of her in the pre-school, a ninth-grade girl said firmly that she wouldn't want them to think of her as a teacher:

Teachers just sit on the sidelines. They don't really go up to them and talk to them. If there is something...they will go up to them and break them up; but like, I help them with the game, you know, and they sit on my lap. And they don't do that with the teachers.

Teachers intervene to keep order, not to draw children into talk or to support them in whatever activity they are trying to do. A boy drew the same distinction between the responsive helper and the disciplining teacher. In explaining what it meant that "we're there to help and Mrs. A--- is there to teach," this boy noted that teachers restrain children's talking rather than encouraging it, and tend to relate to children as a group rather than as individuals.

If the children do something wrong, like if they talk, Mrs. A--- will talk to the whole class. She'll be the one to quiet them down instead of Janie and me.

The strongest statement of the difference between helper and teacher came from a tenth-grade girl who actively disowned any teacher role in her work with kindergarten children. While hers is the most negative view of teachers and stronger than many, the qualities she ascribes to the two roles are those that many other students voice. Asked whether she would like the children to

think of her as a teacher she said:

When the kids think of you as a teacher they can't fool around with you that much...and you just have to be there and discipline the kids. A teacher is a grownup who tells the kids what to do, how to do it and makes sure they do it their way.... Kids have other ways of doing things that will work out the same [but teachers] get mad because the kids don't do it the same way they do.

In contrast, Janie sees herself encouraging the child's own special modes of seeing and understanding through a free form of play she calls fooling around. She describes how she introduced a group of children to a new animal by having them touch it, watch it, ask questions about it, draw it, and finally, name it:

I brought in a guinea pig and let it run around, and let them ask questions. I let them touch it.... The next time I came in they said, "I want to draw an animal." I said, "What kind?" "The one you brought in." So they all drew something like a guinea pig. And they called it that. And then they made a zoo and put the animals into the zoo.

Though she thought this way of working was good for the children, it did not fit her conception of "teaching."

Helpers Are Only Friends

While many students share Janie's definitions of teacher and helper, few have as clear a negative view of the teacher or as confidently positive a view of the value of a helper-friend. Many wonder whether the very thing that draws them close to the child--their youth and proximity to their own childhoods--also keeps them from having a significant effect on the child.

While the children won't see the teenagers as "almighty superiors like their mother and father," they also won't see them as very knowing or powerful. A boy

who has had a great difficulty finding a way to work with children saw the adult authority as a source of power to draw the child's attention: "An adult can help these kids more because they really do look up to an adult." Another boy said he often felt the children had more control over him than he did over them:

They didn't jump on me, they would just do things to irritate me. Like rubbing junk on the tables. Making high screeching noises, like that. (Did they succeed in irritating you?) Yes.

Like other students, who agreed that sometimes the children "feel they can get something over us," he sometimes saw the child's awe of the adult teacher as enviable:

The big difference is that they sort of have more respect for the teachers, more fear.... They're not afraid, afraid. They listen to them a lot better than me.

Out of the positive side of this ambivalence toward the teacher role the student envies not only the older person's power, but also the knowledge, understanding, and experience with children that enable the teacher to actually effect some change in the child. More than one student doubted whether the "close friend" relationship alone had real value. While the students are proud that the children "come over and talk to us as people," they also acknowledge that "we don't have the same knowledge that an adult might have." One seventeen-year-old girl was highly skeptical about teenagers' ability to use wisely the knowledge they do have:

I know a lot of kids my age that take the little knowledge that they have too seriously, and try to apply it and...they do more harm than good. Whereas I think maybe adults might be a little bit more prudent with the knowledge they have.

She worried that students would impose concepts about behavior on the child, rather than observing the child and using simpler, clearer ideas to explain the behavior. She gave this example:

Like reading a book on Freud, and taking it perfectly seriously and then going out and...just because a kid...keeps putting his fingers in his mouth, telling him he has an oral fixation.

Students who are critical of the limitations of the helper role often seem to be distinguishing between *rapport* with and *real understanding* of a child. While adolescents feel a sense of closeness and warmth toward the child, they may question whether that feeling carries with it an understanding of the child's real needs.

There is a further way that students express doubt about their role with children; they seldom use the word "learning" in connection with their activities with children. Students express little confidence that, having rejected the impersonal teacher role in favor of a warmer relationship with the child, they can still bring about growth or learning in the child.

Source of the Adolescent's Role Conflict

The adolescent's awe and rejection of the teacher role probably are less a personal response to the field teacher than an expression of a general ambivalence toward adults. While this view of the teacher inevitably comes in part from past experience, it probably comes also from the adolescent's own struggle to define himself or herself as a significant person, separate from the important adults in his or her life. The adolescent's struggle for autonomy makes him or her feel omnipotent sometimes, powerless other times. Criticizing the teacher as a distant wielder of power and authority is probably indicative in part of the adolescent's longing for more of that power in his or her own life.

Sensitivity and Distortion

Many field teachers have said that the adolescents' struggles to feel more powerful make them particularly sensitive to a parallel struggle in four-year-olds. They identify with the child's helplessness and also tend to see children as oppressed by adults. Stories students tell about their field work with children often have what we have come to call a "St. George" theme: an adolescent rescues a child "victim" from indifferent or rejecting adults:

One of them was a kid whose parents more or less didn't like him and they told him this. They didn't think he was as good looking as he could have been. So his father didn't love him. So he told him. And [the child] has very strange reactions.... He doesn't know the difference between loud and soft and he's yelling all the time.

Students frequently attribute children's problems to a "lack of attention" from adults; the student quoted above saw this little boy as deprived of attention, which he proceeded to give him. He described how he calmed the boy and established a special relationship with him, which not only supplied what the parents withheld, but also drew the two of them away from the class group:

All he wants is attention from other people, 'cause his mother doesn't give him any.... And when you talk to him, and give him some attention, he'll go over and start drawing. Like I drew him a big house and he just laughed and he brought it home and he loved it and he called it his. And he wouldn't show it to the class.

The student saw himself as exclusively aware of the child's needs and was pleased that the child, as a result, returned exclusive attention to him.

An Expression of Values about Children

Students' stories may be misinformed and represent a distorted view of a child's fragility or an adult's callousness. At the same time, they may also represent an accurate sensitivity to adult indifference and unjust use of power. The students' own concern with these issues make them sensitive to the world around them, and able to project into situations they observe.

The adolescents' sensitive yet distorted view of the adult could provide a special influence on the life of the child in the fieldsite. What the students like or reject in their own roles and in the teacher's expresses what they care about most in relationships between older and younger people--whether between parents and teachers, or between adolescents and young children.

Without assuming the four themes that follow describe the values of all adolescents, it is possible to say that many of them share these simple concerns about how people should relate to children.

1. All children need warm, loyal attention from older people.

I have to go around and see everybody.

"Spoiled" to me is the mother gives them anything they want; but [the child's] bratty like she maybe doesn't get enough attention.

You can't just walk out on them.... You have to let them know you're leaving.... Yes, they'll get a guilty conscience that they did something wrong. If they really liked you, even if you didn't do anything, they're going to wonder why you left.

2. We should find out how a child can best work rather than force our way or tell him or her how to do something.

Instead of telling them to "Do this, do that," we don't. We show them how to, or maybe tell them how to do it themselves.

Marvin doesn't really want to work. (What's the best way you can help him?) Just the way I'm doing it, like getting him into the right mood. I talk about sports with him.... Yeah, like "What do you think of Carl Yastrzemski?"..."We can talk about this later, but let's get down to math right now." He's interested in talking about sports, so he wants to get done.

3. It is important to talk to children and appeal to their ability to understand, rather than just to control them.

What you can't do with them is say, "Well, it's like this." You have to say it's like this and explain it and tell them why it's like this.

I'm thinking that yelling isn't a good thing for kids.... If you just yell, and tell them not to do it then they don't know why in much detail. A lot of times it's better to have them quiet down slowly and know the reason they should quiet down.

4. To help a child, it's important to know what his or her problem is and what the child is experiencing inside.

Like, I told you that S--- can't be a part of the group because he never had any friends so...how to do it would be getting him more into the group by sort of...pairing him with the kids. But if you didn't know why, then you wouldn't know how.

The students' perception of the helper and teacher roles poses a double problem. On the one hand, students need to "break the set" of their expectations about teachers. They need to know more fully what the teacher's purposes are as he or she works with children, and what the effects of the teacher's deci-

sions actually are on children. On the other hand, students also need to realize and preserve the basic concerns underlying their view. In summary, the problem is how to help the student both correct the distortion and nourish the values implicit in that view.

The Importance of Communication

If the adolescent's view of herself/himself and of the field teacher comes from a general state of conflict about relationships with adults, one might conclude that until those larger conflicts are resolved, the adolescent should not try to work with young children; but there are several reasons to reject this conclusion. First of all, despite their ambivalence, students are eager to volunteer for cross-age programs, and field teachers, for the most part, welcome them. More important, good communication with the fieldsite teacher can become the critical tool for helping students check and correct their perceptions of the teacher. It is by knowing what a teacher is doing and why, that students can form more accurate images of the teacher with whom they work; and it is by expressing questions and doubts to the teacher that students can make their concerns and values felt in the fieldsite.

The basis for this kind of communication can be established in two ways. Course teachers in EXPLORING CHILDHOOD can understand the needs of field teachers working with and understanding teenagers, and course and field teachers can understand the needs of the adolescent. Here, for example, are recurring questions and problems experienced by field teachers who would like to help teenagers be more productive in their classrooms.

The Teacher: How Can I Find Time?

Teachers are sometimes anxious that the student coming in only every few days might easily misconstrue their actions:

Just to talk in one afternoon, you may see somebody being absolutely obnoxious to a child and you write that down as a lousy teacher, a lack of understanding. You really don't know the reasons behind it.

Teachers state one main reason for their scarce contact with student helpers:

You don't have time to deal with the child and then talk to the students, saying, "The reason I did that was...."

The scheduling of student work so that they come midway through a busy day or week seemed continually to prevent the teachers from giving the student the history of events, or a sense of the particular rhythm of that day. The course teacher can coordinate students' schedules to fit more closely with that of the fieldsite teacher.

The Teacher: What Are Adolescents Like?

While "time" was the most concrete problem, teachers suggested another that may be just as basic. Accustomed to working with very young children or with college or graduate student interns, some pre-school teachers found they didn't know what to expect from high school students, how to interpret their needs, and how to communicate with them. One teacher found she overestimated what a student could do because of her mature size, and underestimated her extreme sensitivity and need for support:

I find it hard to remember that she's a high school student because she's a very mature-looking girl.... She was very sensitive to criticism, I think far more so than a student teacher would be who knows what [his or her] role is going to be.... So it was difficult to make suggestions at the beginning.

She was surprised to discover that the student had so little confidence in her ability to catch and hold the attention of the children.

I thought it would be valuable for her to have a range of experience-- I had asked her to do a story with a small group of children, which she was very hesitant about and in fact didn't do eventually. She put it off and put it off, so I just let that go. Because I think if she's not happy doing something, then it's likely to be a catastrophe.

Along with other teachers, she was sympathetic that perhaps the "hard part at that stage is that they're questioning, so that they haven't worked out things for themselves, so it's difficult sometimes to deal with the children."

One school director, delighted that a tenth-grade boy was going to teach the children a dance from his family's culture, was surprised and rueful when the student simply felt too self-conscious to go through with it. According to the teacher's view, the student started to be a "teacher" and suddenly lost confidence:

He said spontaneously that from his country they do a dance.... Now he became a teacher and he wasn't even aware.... Of course the kids wanted to know it.... He was so embarrassed, totally embarrassed that he never performed the dance. And I kept saying, "I'll get you some records." He said he couldn't find the record and I knew that wasn't true.... He never got into it, never got into it.

Many teachers discovered slowly that the students' special ability to be close to and perceptive about children is accompanied by their lack of conviction about their ability to initiate activities as a "teacher" might.

When one male kindergarten teacher brought his junior high student helpers together in a "seminar" group to discuss their experiences, he found himself awkward and uncertain of how to talk with them:

I guess that I just felt that from

the beginning it was kind of something was wrong.... I don't know how it happened to be arranged at that time, but I'm tired and I just got through working.... The first couple of times...I couldn't continue to get responses from them, and therefore I learned that I had a lot to learn about how to work with this age child, and I had so many other things I was doing.

Typically this teacher first cites the "time of day" as the difficulty, but the stronger underlying problem seems to be an uneasy feeling about his own "teacher" competence, which arose when he tried to talk with the older students and discovered what they had seen in his classroom.

When teachers don't have an opportunity to explore the students' feelings of uncertainty, they may get a mistaken idea of the students' feelings of success with children. One teacher was grateful to a tenth-grade boy who had been able to establish a special one-to-one relationship with a handicapped child and bring new information and ideas about the child which the teachers had not been able to get. According to her view:

This child was able to express himself to P--- which gave [us] another kind of insight as to where he really was...because he would say different things and P--- would relate these things.

But P--- himself didn't even mention this child in a fairly long final interview. His general view of how really useful he had been was that:

I'm not any more patient than I was before. I know I...learned a little about myself. I learned first of all that I'm not the whizz with kids that I thought I was. I thought I could handle the kids 'cause I can handle my little brothers and sisters. But sometimes they were just too much for me.

The teacher had had little sense of how this student was experiencing his work with children in her school, and assumed he had as positive a feeling about his work as she did. Because the student and teacher voiced these comments only in interviews and never to each other, there was no opportunity for the teacher to learn more about the student or for the student to "correct" somewhat his sense of failure.

Course and field teacher can establish a program supportive to the adolescents if they realize the questions and problems they are likely to experience, and work to create a schedule where classroom ideas and discussions integrate well with fieldsite experiences.

The Student: Why Should the Teacher Listen?

From the teacher's point of view the major obstacles to communication with the adolescent are time and a lack of understanding of the problems the students face. From the student's point of view there are further obstacles. Either extreme awe or rejection of the teacher are likely to keep the student from voicing questions and concerns. One student articulated a series of needs she felt for the children in the kindergarten where she was helping, but assumed it was inappropriate to voice them.

Because you know, I really...would like to tell her, well, it's really none of my business what she does with the class, but you know I'd really like to tell her that she really shouldn't have the same things every day, day in, day out. I'd really like to get her to help me with Y---, see what bothers him, if anything is bothering him that makes him do what he does.

She has built up a host of frustrated reactions in her assumption that it is none of her business what happens in the fieldsite.

The Student: What Do I See and Think?

From the student's side, a sense of a teacher's openness to talk is not the only factor that makes communication of ideas possible. *It is very hard to talk about your doubts and ideas when you are not very sure of what they are.* Students may have a set of discrete, perceptive observations of an event, which never become organized in an overview. Observing a human situation in its multiple detail and integrating those separate aspects into a whole picture is a complex process which takes skills and practice. And "noticing" one's own reactions to a situation, whether they are sympathetic identification with one participant or confusion about the cause of someone's behavior, also takes skill and practice. It takes confidence that one's own reactions are worth paying attention to.

In one interview conversation two girls seemed blocked from asking questions or expressing doubts both because of their awe of the teachers and because of their own difficulty in drawing a full and detailed picture of the problem they describe. The two have worked as a pair in a nursery school and both have been struck by a troubled child; they noticed how the teachers handled the problem and the effect of their strategy. As they talk, one can hear a kind of "dissonance" between their adulation of the adults in the preschool and their half-formed, uneasy perceptions of how those adults have handled a child's problem:

M: *They have, like, these problems. I don't know how they can do it. Like one little girl. She likes to have a different name each week. And we'll say like, "Elijah, come here." And she'll say, "No! My name is Dorothy." And gets very upset. And they told her not to do that any more and she still does it.*

R: *Not very often.*

M: *She's done it every time I've gone.*

R: *No, but when Mrs. S--- is in class I don't think she does it. And like, when one of the mothers came in she couldn't help but wipe up the children's snack, and the children said, "Let me do it." The children are so independent.... Their teachers teach them to do all these really....*

They have noticed that simply telling the child to stop her troublesome behavior did not really help. But no doubts came to the surface in the girls' dialogue since the scattered observations are buried in their awe of what the teachers are doing and their assumption that the teacher's strategy must somehow have been valid.

In order for good communication to exist between field teacher and student, a great deal of time may not be needed so much as an understanding of what is needed. It may help to describe two events in a fieldsite which, though brief, did help correct a student's view of the teacher and help the two exchange ideas.

One student described an instance in which the teacher, anticipating the student's confusion, gave a rationale for her action. As the student told the story, a child had great difficulty separating from his mother at the beginning of each day:

His mother...had to literally drag him in and he'd put his hands on the door and...he just wouldn't go in. But it was interesting to watch how the teacher would talk to him.... She talked to me a while afterward about it.... She said she had tried just treating him with love but she found that for him the best tactic was to be stern.... She started this new type of work with him just before I got there. So in about two or three weeks I could see how it was gradually easier and easier to get in the classroom for him. And he would really open up after a while and enjoy the children.

In this case, a thoughtful teacher helped a child become integrated into the group, instead of treating the child as someone needing "rescue." The teacher did not offer the child escape into the private world of their relationship. In giving the student a context for her actions, the teacher made the student a colleague, or at least a sympathetic and informed observer.

In another instance of "good" communication a student successfully communicated her values to the teacher. The student in this case felt the teacher was violating the child's need for autonomy --and the teacher agreed and changed her way of working. The conflict arose over a crafts project:

Just one thing bothers me very much about the arts and crafts part. We're doing paper cutting and stuff. In the beginning of the year...the teacher was cutting out green Christmas trees for all of them and cutting out shapes and they were going to stick the shapes on Christmas trees. And that bugged the hell out of me.

The student's plea that the children be able to create their own shapes is unusual in its assumption about the child's stage of development:

Because if the kids do not have the muscles in their hands to cut, all right. It's all right to cut for them, or let them tear, but let them do it themselves. And don't dare cut that tree out for them.

Her comment is also unusual in that she ends by acknowledging that she is expressing her own needs and values, that she knows that what she is doing is asking for the child what she would want for herself. "It just really bothered me. 'Cause I'm sort of--into it."

What Do We Mean by "Good Communication"?

Implicit in these two anecdotes are several critical components of communication which have the power to meet the two needs stressed in this report: to help the students be able to "break their set" about teachers or adults and to help students and teachers to exchange ideas and values about working with children. The teacher in the first example *anticipated* that the student would value a gentle treatment of the child over a firmer one; she was *self-conscious* about her own strategies with children; and she *valued* the student's support and collaboration in her actions. As a result she shared her problem rather than leaving the student to conclude from the outside that the child needed rescuing from a harsh adult.

The student in the second example drew on at least four skills: she was able to *observe* the situation in detail; to *conceptualize* it as a situation which deprives a child of autonomy; to be self-conscious and *recognize* her own reaction and judgment of such a situation; and to *articulate* it to the person with the real power to change the situation. The teacher in this anecdote, like the previous one, *valued* the student's views of adults and children; in this case she was able to see her own behavior from a new point of view and change it.

Such communication is challenging since it involves nourishing in the student a wide range of skills in observing and in integrating perceptions of child behavior. It also demands that the preschool teachers have an understanding of the needs and strengths of the students who work with them, and find "natural" ways and times for the teacher and students to share ideas and information in the busy ongoing life of the preschool.

Developers of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD have attempted to create materials which will help students become more skilled and knowledgeable in their work with chil-

by Urie Bronfenbrenner

dren. Materials will be helpful only if course and field teachers together establish the conditions which create the kind of communication described above. This involves the course teacher's taking the initiative to orient field teachers to the goals of the program and needs of participating adolescents, and maintaining close contact with the field teacher throughout the year. The field teachers should then orient the student helpers to the particular goals and philosophy of that site and to the ways children are encouraged to learn there, and create opportunities for contact with the students during the course of their work.

Only when these conditions are created can the final component of good communication be realized: a developing trust between field teacher and adolescent. Trust in this case means suspending judgment about what the other is doing and can do until they can explore it, and assuming, in spite of their real differences in style, knowledge, experience, and even values, they share a basic concern for the growth and happiness of the children they work with.

Urie Bronfenbrenner is Professor of Human Development and Family Studies at Cornell University, and a consulting scholar to EXPLORING CHILDHOOD. This reading suggests several approaches to change in the classroom, the school, the family, the neighborhood, and the larger community, which, he feels, would greatly enhance the lives of children. One important change is the involvement of pupils in responsible tasks on behalf of others both inside the school and out. One of the important tasks that adolescents can perform, according to Bronfenbrenner, is work with children. This reading is excerpted from Chapter 6 of Two Worlds of Childhood: U.S. and U.S.S.R., by Urie Bronfenbrenner. Copyright © 1970 by Russell Sage Foundation.

Surely, the most needed innovation in the American classroom is the involvement of pupils in responsible tasks on behalf of others within the classroom, the school, the neighborhood, and the community. The full potential of the motivational processes here discussed will remain unplumbed and seriously underestimated so long as the social setting in which these processes can take place is limited to the conventional classroom with its homogeneous grouping, by age, and, often, by ability and social class as well. To realize these possibilities requires moving beyond the classroom into the larger contexts of school and neighborhood.

The School

Perhaps the most promising possibility which the total school offers in furthering the development of the child is the active involvement of older and, subsequently, younger children in the process. For the preschooler or primary-grader, an older child, particularly of the same sex, can be a very influential figure, especially if he is willing to spend time with his younger companion. Except for the occasional anachronism of a one-room school, this potential resource remains almost entirely unexploited in American education

and, for that matter, in the process of socialization generally as it takes place in our country. Opportunities for experimentation are therefore legion. One might begin with an Americanized adaptation of the Soviet system of "shevstvo" in which a preschool or primary class is "adopted" by an older class, with each younger child having an older "brother" or "sister" from the more advanced class. It becomes the responsibility of the older pupil to get to know his younger "sib" and his family, to escort him to and from school, play with him and his friends, teach him games, and last but not least, become acquainted with his progress and problems in school, reading with and to him, helping and encouraging him to learn. In the meantime the parent class as a whole organizes activities for their "ward class," including trips to athletic events, nature walks, camp-outs, museum visits, etc.

The foregoing examples illustrate how ...the effects of modeling and reinforcement are enhanced in the context of intensive relationships, group membership, and common commitment to a superordinate goal.

An extension of this same principle points to a potential contribution of the school as a whole to the development of the individual child. Within the formal educational context, the school is the social unit with which the child, and those concerned for his welfare, can most readily identify. If the school as a total community becomes visibly involved in activities focused on the child and his needs, if older children, school organizations, other teachers, school administrators, PTA's--if all these persons and groups in some way participate in the program and publicly support those most actively engaged in the effort, the reinforcing effect increases by geometric proportions. Conversely, if a special program is confined to an isolated classroom, it is not only deprived of powerful reinforcing influences but also risks the danger that the rest of the school, especially

children in other classes, will perceive the "special class" in invidious terms (e.g., "dummies, queers") and treat its members accordingly. When this occurs, the powerful influences of modeling, negative reinforcement, and group pressure serve only to undermine the already unfavorable self-image of a "problem child."

But it is not primarily the needs of problem children or the disadvantaged that call for change in American schools. If the radical innovations that are required are not introduced, it will be all children who will be culturally deprived--not of cognitive stimulation, but of their humanity. For their own full development, the young need to be exposed not only to factual knowledge but also to the standards and modes of behavior requisite for living in a cooperative society. As we have seen, in Communist schools, a deliberate effort is made--through appropriate models, reinforcements, and group experiences--to teach the child the values and behaviors consistent with Communist ideals. In American schools, training for action consistent with social responsibility and human dignity is at best an extra-curricular activity. The belated recognition of our full educational obligations to the nation's children--the so-called advantaged no less than the deprived--offers us a chance to redress this weakness and to make democratic education not only a principle but a practice.

The Family

Just as a chain breaks first in its weakest link, so the problems of a society become most pressing and visible in the social strata that are under greatest stress. Thus, it is not surprising that we should first recognize the disruption of the process of socialization in American society among the families of the poor. And it is in this same context that we have begun the attempt to develop countermeasures, ways to revitalize the socialization process

through the establishment of institutions like Head Start, which re-involve parents and other community members in the lives of their children in a setting that points the way to more constructive patterns of activity and interaction.

Accordingly, in discussing new patterns of family involvement, we draw heavily on the experience of the author as a member of the committee that originally designed and gave professional direction to the Head Start program. Although most of our examples refer to the disadvantaged family, they are readily translatable into the middle-class world, as evidenced by the increasing demand for--and inception of--Head Start-type programs in well-to-do neighborhoods.

Today's Head Start programs typically profess strong commitment to the principle of family involvement, but in practice implementation is limited to two rather restricted forms: the first is the inclusion of some parents on the program's advisory board; the second involves meetings for parents at which staff members make presentations about some aspect of the program. Both of these measures have the effect of bypassing the most important aspect of family involvement--engaging parents and older children in new and more mutually rewarding patterns of interaction with the young.

An essential first step in bringing about such changed patterns of interaction is exposure of the parents and other family members to them. This can be done at one of two places, at a pre-school or neighborhood center, or in the home. The basic approach is one of demonstration: showing the family the kinds of things that are done in a pre-school program, which also happen to be things that family members can themselves do with the child; e.g., games to play, books to read, pictures to look at and talk about. Particularly valuable in this connection are activities that involve and require more than one person in patterns of interaction with the child; that is, not just the teacher

and/or the mother, but also other adults and older children (i.e., father, grandma, brother, sister, next-door neighbor). A useful technique is to ask the visiting or visited family members to help in carrying out particular activities with the child. It is important that the process not be seen as a lesson in which the child must learn something and deserves punishment for failure, but instead simply as an engaging activity in which learning is incidental to a total gratifying experience.

To facilitate the involvement of parents in such non-school-like educational activities, it is desirable to provide a library consisting not only of books but also of toys and games which require the verbal participation of adults and older children, and which can be borrowed for extended periods of time for home use.

The involvement of family members in the educational program of course poses a difficult dilemma to professional staff. On the one hand, there is the need to expose parents and other family members to new or different ways of dealing with their children. On the other hand, this must be done in such a way as to enhance, rather than lower, the power and prestige of these persons in the eyes of the child. The second requirement arises from the evidence that the inductive and reinforcing capacity of a model varies directly with the model's status, command over resources, and control of the social environment. An ingenious demonstration of how this dilemma can be resolved was observed at an all-Negro Head Start program in the rural South. Since the local, white-dominated school administration had refused to have anything to do with the program, it was organized by Negro church groups under the leadership of an 86-year-old minister. Several days before classes were to begin, this man invited all the parents and teen-agers to an orientation meeting, a pass-the-dish picnic in a nearby forest area (a forest which he himself had planted years ago with seeds ob-

tained free from the United States Department of Agriculture). After the picnic, the minister offered to take the whole group on a tour of the forest. During the walk he would ask adults and teen-agers to show him interesting plant and animal life which they observed, give names of flowers, trees, and birds, explain how plants grow, what animals feed on, etc. While drawing out much information from the group, he also added considerable material from his own experience. At the end of the walk, he turned to the group with a request: "On Saturday we start our Head Start program. In the afternoon the children need some recreation and the teachers need a rest. Could you folks bring the children here and tell them all the things *you know* that *they don't know* about the forest?"

The turnout on Saturday was impressive, and so was the performance of the "instant experts."

The Neighborhood

The foregoing example illustrates also the reinforcing potential of the other people with whom the child frequently associates and identifies--his neighbors. These persons, particularly the adults and older children who are looked up to and admired by the young, probably stand second only to parents in terms of their power to influence the child's behavior. For this reason it would be important for educational programs to try to exploit this potential in a systematic way. The most direct approach would be to discover from the families and neighborhoods themselves who are the popular and admired individuals and groups, and then to involve them as aides in the program. It may often be the case that the activities in which such individuals or groups normally engage, indeed, the activities for which they are popular, are not those which one would want children to adopt. This fact should receive consideration, but it should hardly be the determining factor, since the behaviors that matter are those that the model exhibits in the presence of the child. It follows that the activities

in which such persons engage as aides, volunteers, and the like must be constructive in nature and reinforce other aspects of the program. They may take a variety of forms: supervising and playing games, exhibiting or teaching a hobby or skill (whittling, playing a musical instrument, magic tricks). The significant factor is that the activity be seen by the child as part of and supporting all the things the child is doing "in school."

A second important use of neighborhood resources involves exposing the child to successful models in his own locality--persons coming from his own background who are productive members of society: skilled or semiskilled workers, teachers, or government employees. Providing opportunities for such persons to associate with the children (e.g., as escorts, recreation supervisors, part-time aides, or tutors), tell something about their work, and perhaps have the children visit the person at work can help provide a repertoire of possible occupational goals unknown to many children of poverty today. In view of the frequency of father absence among disadvantaged families and the predominance of female personnel in education programs generally, the involvement of male adults and teen-agers is highly desirable, especially for boys.

If people from the neighborhood are to be drawn into the program, it is obvious that many desirable activities cannot be carried out effectively if they are to be conducted only during school hours or solely in a school classroom. To begin with, if the program is to have enduring impact, it must influence the child's behavior outside of school as much as in school. Second, a school classroom does not lend itself to many of the kinds of informal activities involving parents, other adults, and older children which have been described above.

Accordingly, some kind of *neighborhood center* becomes a highly desirable feature of any comprehensive educational program. Such a center would have to

be open after school, on weekends, and during vacations and have some staff members on duty at all times. The center should be represented to the community not merely as a place where children go but rather where all members of the community go in the joint interest of themselves and their children. The neighborhood center might be housed in a school building, but, if so, facilities available should include other than traditional classrooms with fixed seats.

The Larger Community

The contribution of the total community to educational programs is analogous to that of the neighborhood but now with representatives and resources drawn from the larger context. Use can be made both of older children and adults from middle-class backgrounds provided they are not the only "competent" models on the scene, for without the example and support of "his own people" the child's receptivity to what may then be seen as an alien influence is much reduced. It follows that activities by persons or in settings from outside the child's subculture must be heavily interlaced with representatives from his own world who manifestly cooperate in the total effect. This in turn implies close working relationships of mutual respect between workers from within and outside the child's own milieu. Mutual respect is essential in these relationships, not merely for the purpose of maintaining a viable learning atmosphere, but, more importantly, to further the constructive development of the child's own sense of identity and worth as a person and as a member of society.

However, it is not only what the community does for the child that contributes to his development. Of equal if not greater importance is what he does for that community--quite modestly at first, but gradually at increasing levels of responsibility. ...it is in part the enforced inutility of children in our society that works to produce feelings of alienation, indifference, and an-

tagonism. Learning early in life the skills and rewards of service to one's community brings with it the benefits of a more stable and gratifying self-identity. Indeed, in the last analysis, the child--so long as he remains a child--must receive more from the community than he can give.

From this point of view, the greatest significance of the total community, especially for the disadvantaged child, lies in the fact that many of the problems he faces, and the possibilities for their solution, are rooted in the community as a whole and are therefore beyond the reach of segmental efforts at the level of the neighborhood, the school, or the home. We have in mind such problems as housing, welfare services, medical care, community recreation programs, sanitation, police services, and television programming.

Given this state of affairs, it is a sobering fact that, neither in our communities nor in the nation as a whole, is there a single agency that is charged with the responsibility of assessing and improving the situation of the child in his total environment. As it stands, the needs of children are parcelled out among a hopeless confusion of agencies with diverse objectives, conflicting jurisdictions, and imperfect channels of communication. The school, the health department, the churches, welfare services, youth organizations, the medical profession, libraries, the police, recreation programs--all of these see the children of the community at one time or another, but no one of them is concerned with the total pattern of life for children in the community: where, how, and with whom they spend their waking hours and what may be the impact of these experiences on the development of the child as an individual and as a member of society. An inquiry of this nature would, we believe, reveal some troubling facts which in themselves could generate concerted action. Accordingly, an important aspect of any program at the level of total community would be the establishment of a "Commis-

sion on Children," which would have as its initial charge finding out how, where, and with whom the children of all ages in the community spend their time. The Commission would include among its members representatives of the major institutions in the community that deal with children, but should also draw in businessmen, parents from all social-class levels, as well as the young themselves, teen-agers from diverse segments of the community who can speak from recent experience. The Commission would be expected to report its findings and recommendations to appropriate executive bodies and to the public at large.

Any report of such a Commission is likely to underscore the inescapable fact that many of the problems which beset the lives of children, and the courses of action necessary to combat these problems, lie beyond the power of the local community to control. The design of housing developments, the determination of working hours for industry, the programming policies of television networks, the training of teachers, and the new types of personnel needed to work with the young, and, above all, the priorities of state and federal spending--all of these factors which, in the last analysis, determine how a society treats its children, are superimposed on the community from without and require understanding and action at higher levels.

Yet, our emphasis here is on *local initiative and concern*. We believe this is the place to start, for that is where the children are. For only a hard look at the world in which they live--a world created for them in large part by default--can convince us of the urgency of their plight and the consequences of our inaction. Then perhaps it will come to pass that, in the words of Isaiah, "A little child shall lead them."

We have come a long way in our comparative study of socialization in the Soviet Union and the United States. We began with descriptive facts, considered their implications in the light of data

and theory from the social sciences, and ultimately ended with a blueprint for change within our society. In doing so we take cognizance of a new, as yet unfamiliar, and surely presumptuous role for the scientists dealing with problems of human development. Yet it is a role we believe the social scientist must take. As his colleagues in the physical sciences have learned to do long ago, he must go beyond natural history to recognize and probe as yet unexploited theoretical possibilities and their practical applications. The present volume represents a beginning effort toward this broader objective. We have sought to demonstrate that the behavioral sciences, though admittedly limited in knowledge and theoretical grasp, can, nevertheless, illuminate both the problems of a society and possible directions for their solution. Specifically, we have used a comparative approach to expose similarities and differences in the process of human socialization as it takes place in the two most powerful nations of our time, the Soviet Union and the United States. We believe that the results of this inquiry indicate that the rather different Soviet approach to the upbringing of the young is not without significance for our own problems. If the Russians have gone too far in subjecting the child and his peer group to conformity to a single set of values imposed by the adult society, perhaps we have reached the point of diminishing returns in allowing excessive autonomy and in failing to utilize the constructive potential of the peer group in developing social responsibility and consideration for others. Moving to counteract this tendency does not mean subscribing to Soviet insistence on the primacy of the collective over the individual or adopting their practice of shifting major responsibility for upbringing from the family to public institutions. On the contrary, what is called for is greater involvement of parents, and other adults, in the lives of children, and--conversely--greater involvement of children in responsibility on behalf of their own family, community, and society at large.

Given the fragmented character of modern American life--its growing separatism and violence--such an injunction may appear to some as a pipe dream, but it need not be. For just as autonomy and aggression have their roots in the American tradition, so have neighborliness, civic concern, and devotion to the young. It is to these that we must look if we are to rediscover our moral identity as a society and as a nation.

Down's Syndrome

Most of the information in this section is based on a flyer entitled "Chromosome 21 and its Association with Down's Syndrome." Available from The National Foundation/March of Dimes, Box 2000, White Plains, New York 10602.

Definition

A congenital condition characterized by mental deficiency (mental age usually never exceeds eight years); and physical traits such as slanting, widely spaced eyes, flattened nose, small ears, broad hands (often with a single crease across them), and short stature. The condition is caused by an unknown "influence" on the embryo.

Incidence

Down's syndrome afflicts approximately one in 770 newborns in the United States. The syndrome is called "mongolism" because of the appearance of the eyes, but it occurs in all races.

Cause

The most common chromosomal abnormality in Down's syndrome (mongolism) is the occurrence of three number 21 chromosomes rather than only a pair. The total chromosome count is 47 instead of the normal 46. Failure of the two chromosomes of pair 21 to separate during sperm or egg development produces an abnormal reproductive cell and thus a child with three number 21 chromosomes. This is much more likely to occur in older women. Doctors are now able to detect during pregnancy whether or not the fetus has been affected by Down's syndrome.

Characteristics

The child with Down's syndrome has short limbs and fingers, an enlarged protruding tongue and slanted eyes, often with a fold of skin over the upper eyelid. The facial features and back of the head

Blindness

are flattened. At birth the baby is "floppy" and has weak, soft muscles. Light colored specks in the iris are a common finding, except in dark brown eyes.

Mental Retardation. This is moderate to severe in most patients, but some can be trained to the eighth grade or an even higher level. It is important to have the child seen regularly by a physician so that he can judge growth and development and aid in making decisions about appropriate education and training.

Leukemia and Heart Defects. Acute leukemia is 20 times as frequent in children with Down's syndrome as in normal children. About half of all infants with the syndrome have congenital heart defects.

This information is adapted from The Story of Blindness, by Gabriel Farrell. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Copyright © 1956 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Incidence

Because definitions of blindness vary according to countries and/or organizations, it is difficult to determine its precise incidence. The U.S. Committee on the Statistics of the Blind estimated as of 1952 that of every 100,000 people 198 were blind. A minimum world estimate considers six million people to be blind.

Definition and Diagnosis

The United States' definition of blindness as accepted for admission to schools for the blind, rehabilitation benefits, and assistance from social security is as follows: *A person shall be considered blind who has a visual acuity not exceeding 20/200 in the better eye with correcting lenses, or visual acuity greater than 20/200 but with a limitation in the fields of vision such that the widest diameter of the visual fields subtends an angle no greater than 20 degrees.*

A visual acuity of 20/200 means that the eye can distinguish at 20 feet what the normal eye can see at a distance of 200 feet, i.e., the big "E" on the Snellen chart. This definition is limited due to its primary application to distant vision; any short vision and ability to use residual sight should also be considered before labeling a person blind.

Types of Blindness: Causes and Treatment

Blindness is attributed to accidents, heredity, and disease, whether specific to the eye or not. Damage to the optic nerve or brain can also result in blindness. Even a perfect eye is useless if the ability to transmit or receive and interpret an image is lost.

Trachoma. Trachoma has been virtually eliminated in many parts of the world, including the United States, but remains in areas where unhygienic conditions exist. This virus infection causes running eyes and is easily transmitted by direct contact, towels, clothes, and flies. When treated early enough, the loss of sight is prevented. Spontaneous cures are found in 60 percent of trachoma cases.

Ophthalmia Neonatorum. "Babies' sore eyes" is an inflammation of the conjunctiva. Evident in the first few days following birth, it can be prevented by dropping into each eye soon after birth a 2 percent solution of silver nitrate. The condition has nearly disappeared due to this practice.

Retrolental Fibroplasia. Usually found three to five weeks after birth in premature babies who weighed less than four pounds at birth. A distortion and overgrowth of the retina's blood vessels leads to detachment of the retina and the formation behind the lens of an opaque mass consisting of the detached retina, blood vessels, and fibrous tissue. The condition ceases its advance in the fourth or fifth month. Thus, initially severe cases may regress so that sight is not ultimately terribly impaired, while mild cases may result in an extreme loss of sight later. The condition has been related to high exposure to oxygen, which is now used more cautiously in the treatment of other ills.

Glaucoma. More common in middle-age, glaucoma may also be congenital. It is characterized by bulging and hardening eyeballs. In infants the eye is often removed because of pain or secondary infection. Glaucoma's gradual onset in adults can easily be detected by measuring the pressure in the eye. It cannot be cured, but can be controlled if found in time. Complete blindness results if the condition is left untreated too long.

Cataracts. Cataracts are most common in the aged, though they may be congenital,

due to heredity or the administration of a toxic substance to the pregnant mother. This lens cloudiness may be due to injury, chronic infection, or simple degeneration of the lens fiber with age. Up to a certain point, cataracts can be improved with treatment. Beyond this, the lens can be surgically removed, its function then carried out by glasses or a surgically implanted artificial lens.

Blindness by Disease. Smallpox, tuberculosis, and syphilis may cause blindness. Acquired syphilis is easily cured, and treatment of congenital syphilis can prevent a child's blindness if it is undertaken before the mother's fifth month of pregnancy. A pregnant mother's case of rubella, or German measles, can also cause blindness in the child. The lack or inadequacy of treatment for diabetes may also lead to blindness.

Prognosis

The incidence of visual impairment is low among children in countries having high standards of living, efficient medical care, and good treatment of the sightless. This indicates that much blindness is preventable. On the other hand, good health care increases life expectancy so that the percentage of vision problems due to old age increases. In addition, better medical care allows more imperfect babies to survive. Those with defective sight, if they choose to have children, increase the possibility of the inheritance of visual defects.

Deafness

This information is adapted from The Deaf and Their Problems, by Kenneth W. Hodgson. New York: Philosophical Library, 1954.

Definition

Deafness is found in varying degrees and is of three basic types. *Attenuation deafness*, in which all incoming sound waves lose the same amount of strength, is relatively rare. *Abnormal frequency response* refers to the inability to hear particular frequencies, high or low. (Since English consists mainly of high frequency sounds, the loss of these results in a reduction of the intelligibility of the language to 5 percent.) *Abnormal intensity response* means the inability to hear sounds at certain intensities. Since the intensity of sound varies as the square of the distance from its source, hearing is usually aided greatly by decreasing the distance.

Causes

If congenital, deafness may be due to the absence or malformation of part or all of the ear, or malfunction of the brain. Otosclerosis begins in infancy as a progressive deformation in which the oval window membrane, necessary for vibration transmission, becomes bordered and insensitive.

Plugs of wax in the outer ear may press on the tympanic membrane, the "eardrum," and prevent its vibration, but this condition is easily remedied. Head injuries particular to the brain or ear can result in deafness. A puncture of the eardrum, however, will heal in a few weeks, though the new tissue will be coarser. Perforations are dangerous mainly in that they may let bacteria enter the middle ear. The most common cause of deafness is infectious disease.

Catarrhal Otitis Media. This is a common result of a congested nose blown too little, necessitating breathing through the mouth. Mouthbreathing disturbs the adenoids and causes their ab-

normal growth. This blocks the lower end of the Eustachian tube, so that the air pressure on the eardrum is greater on the exterior and the drum caves in a bit. This forces together the bones of the middle ear so that they can no longer vibrate freely. The catarrh also inflames the membranes in this area, further stiffening the ossicles and constricting the Eustachian tube, which aggravates and perpetuates the situation.

Suppurative Otitis Media. Also called *ororrhoea*, this condition may follow *catarrhal otitis media* or a bacterial or viral infection. Streptococcal infections particularly contribute to this; streptococcus pyogens are often found in the throat of a person who has, for example, tonsillitis, scarlet fever, or influenza. In this instance pus forms in the cavity beyond the eardrum, pressing on the membrane and destroying tissue. Less elastic scar tissue forms and eventually restricts ossicle vibration. The pus may be drained through surgery. If it is not, destruction spreads further. It is possible to save the hearing with surgery at this point, but the situation is critical. Usually such operations are life-saving with deafness an accepted result. Half of these otitis media cases begin in infancy and go undetected.

Toys and Reasons*

by Erik Erikson

Erik Erikson is perhaps best known for his work on the formation of a sense of identity. His insights about human development have come from clinical practice with children and research into childhood in different cultures. According to Erikson, play helps prepare children to become adults by letting them explore their relationship to others and to the larger social world. This article is particularly useful for teachers in showing how one incident-- Ben Rogers and the steamboat--illustrates the constructive nature of play and its multiple functions.

Let us take as our text a play episode described by a rather well-known psychologist. The occasion, while not pathological, is nevertheless a tragic one: a boy named Tom Sawyer, by verdict of his aunt, must whitewash a fence on an otherwise faultless spring morning. His predicament is intensified by the appearance of an age mate named Ben Rogers, who indulges in a game. It is Ben, the man of leisure, whom we want to observe with the eyes of Tom, the working man.

He took up his brush and went tranquilly to work. Ben Rogers hove in sight presently--the very boy, of all boys, whose ridicule he had been dreading. Ben's gait was the hop-skip-and-jump--proof enough that his heart was light and his anticipations high. He was eating an apple, and giving a long, melodious whoop, at intervals, followed by a deep-toned ding-dong-dong, ding-dong-dong, for he was personating a steamboat. As he drew near, he slackened speed, took the middle of the street, leaned far over to starboard and rounded to ponderously and with laborious pomp and circumstance--for he was personating the *Big Missouri*, and considered himself to be drawing nine feet of water. He was

boat and captain and engine-bells combined, so he had to imagine himself standing on his own hurricane-deck giving the orders and executing them:

..."Stop the stabboard! Ting-a-ling-ling! Stop the labboard! Come ahead on the stabboard! Stop her! Let your outside turn over slow! Ting-a-ling-ling! Chow-ow-ow! Get out that headline! Lively now! Come--out with your spring-line--what're you about there! Take a turn round that stump with the bight of it! Stand by that stage, now --let her go! Done with the engines, sir! Ting-a-ling-ling! Sh't! sh't! sh't! (trying the gauge-cocks)."

Tom went on whitewashing--paid no attention to the steamboat. Ben stared a moment, and then said:

"Hi-yi! You're up a stump, ain't you! ...You got to work, hey?"

My clinical impression of Ben Rogers is a most favorable one, and this on all three counts: organism, ego, and society. For he takes care of the body by munching an apple; he simultaneously enjoys imaginary control over a number of highly conflicting items (being a steamboat and parts thereof, as well as being the captain of said steamboat, and the crew obeying said captain); while he loses not a moment in sizing up social reality when, on navigating a corner, he sees Tom at work. By no means reacting as a steamboat would, he knows immediately how to pretend sympathy though he undoubtedly finds his own freedom enhanced by Tom's predicament.

Flexible lad, we would say. However, Tom proves to be the better psychologist: he is going to put Ben to work. Which shows that psychology is at least the second-best thing to, and under some adverse circumstances may even prove superior to, ordinary adjustment.

In view of Ben's final fate it seems almost rude to add interpretation to defeat, and to ask what Ben's play may

*Reprinted from Erik Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Second Edition, 1963), pp. 209-14.

mean. I presented this question to a class of psychiatric social-work students. Most of the answers were, of course, of the traumatic variety, for in what other way could Ben become accessible to "case work"? Ben must have been a frustrated boy, the majority agreed, to take the trouble to play so strenuously. The possible frustrations ranged from oppression by a tyrannical father from whom he escapes in fantasy by becoming a bossy captain, to a bed-wetting or toilet trauma of some kind which now made him want to be drawing nine feet of water. Some answers concerned the more obvious circumstance that he wanted to be big, and this in the form of a captain, the idol of his day.

My contribution to the discussion consisted of the consideration that Ben is a growing boy. To grow means to be divided into different parts which move at different rates. A growing boy has trouble in mastering his gangling body as well as his divided mind. He wants to be good, if only out of expediency, and always finds he has been bad. He wants to rebel, and finds that almost against his will he has given in. As his time perspective permits a glimpse of approaching adulthood he finds himself acting like a child. One "meaning" of Ben's play could be that it affords his ego a temporary victory over his gangling body and self by making a well-functioning whole out of brain (captain), the nerves and muscles of will (signal system and engine), and the whole bulk of the body (boat). It permits him to be an entity within which he is his own boss, because he obeys himself. At the same time, he chooses his metaphors from the tool world of the young machine age, and anticipates the identity of the machine god of his day: the captain of the *Big Missouri*.

Play, then, is a function of the ego, an attempt to synchronize the bodily and the social processes with the self. Ben's fantasy could well contain a phallic and locomotor element: a powerful boat in a mighty stream makes a good symbol. A captain certainly is a

fitting father image, and, beyond that, an image of well-delineated patriarchal power. Yet the emphasis, I think, should be on the ego's need to master the various areas of life, and especially those in which the individual finds his self, his body, and his social role wanting and trailing.

Play as a Growth Process*

by Barbara Biber

A professor at Bank Street College of Education in New York, Biber argues that there are two major needs that play serves in young children: play helps a child learn about the world and acts as an outlet for strong emotions. Biber demonstrates these two functions of play by looking chiefly at dramatic play.

What do we have in mind when we think of play? What do children do when they play? Children's play has the quality of intense, absorbing experience, a bit of life lived richly and fully. There is zest and wonder and drama and a special kind of immediacy that is without thought for the passing of time. There is nothing to be accomplished, no sense of what is right or wrong to check the flow of spontaneity, no direction to follow. Whatever is at hand can become the suitable materials for play. The essence of the play experience is subjective, something within the child that may not necessarily become obvious to the one who observes the course or the form of his activity.

Play as an activity may take any one of numberless forms. It may be just physical activity, an overflow of energy, of exuberance. Besides running, skipping, hopping, children like to slide, seesaw, and swing. Although these play experiences require a degree of patterning in coordination, they belong among the natural playful uses which a child makes of his body. If his play is as free as his energy is boundless, he is likely to embroider the basic patterns: he soon finds it more fun to hop on one foot, to slide down on his belly instead of his bottom, to swing standing up.

Playing may be something quite different from the lively expression of physical energies. It may take quite delicate forms such as playing with sounds and words. The chanting of younger children, the nonsense rhyming of the older ones are play forms.

The child is playing when, with his hands, he impresses himself on things around him. He pounds the clay and smears the paint. He creates with blocks even when he is only stacking them high or lining them up low. He makes the mud take shape. He fits things together and takes them apart. There is pleasure and satisfaction in what one's hands can make of the physical world, and the child, in his playful remaking of the world around him, lays the cornerstone of his feeling about himself in relation to that world.

Now we come to the world of play that is most challenging and enticing: dramatic play. Here the child can take flight. He needs no longer be a child. He can make himself over and be a wolf or an engineer or a mother or a baby who is crying. He can re-create the world not only as he really experiences it but even in the strange aspects that symbolize some of his deepest wishes and fears. It is this kind of play--or rather the values that it has for growth--that I would like to talk about most today.

What do play experiences do for child growth? If a child can have a really full, wholesome experience with play, he will be having the most wholesome kind of fun that a child can have. For a child to have fun is basic to his future happiness. His early childhood play may become the basic substance out of which he lays down one of his life patterns, namely, not only that one can have fun but that one can create fun. Most of us adults enjoy only a watered-down manufactured kind of fun--going to the movies, shopping, listening to a concert, or seeing a baseball game--and do not feel secure that some of the deepest resources for happiness lie within ourselves, free of a price of admission. This is one of these securities that compose a positive attitude towards life, in general.

In dramatic play, children also find a sense of confidence in their own impulses. There are no directions to follow, no rules to stick to. Whatever

*Reprinted with permission from *Vassar Alumnae Magazine* XXXVII, 2, 1951.

they do will be good and right. Whenever their impulses lead them, that is the way to follow. This is the freedom children should have in their play, an absence of boundaries and prescriptions that we cannot grant them outside of their play lives.

Another important by-product of play is the feeling of strength it yields to the child, a relief from the feelings of powerlessness and helplessness that many children feel keenly as junior members of our well-ordered adult world. In play we give them an opportunity to counteract this powerlessness to a degree. It is the child's chance to lay the plans, to judge what is best, to create the sequence of events. Dramatic play is one of the basic ways in which children can try out their talents for structuring life. The fact that they deal with symbols rather than realities does not detract from the sense of mastery.

As you watch children playing, you see the ingredients of the child world spread out before you, differing in complexity and elaboration according to the level of maturity. When a two- or three-year-old plays train, he does so simply. The train goes. It makes sounds. Just a block and a child saying "choo" may be Johnnie's idea of a train, but very soon he meets up with Mary, who has been very much impressed with the odd way that people sit in trains, looking at each other's backs. To another child in the group a train is not a train unless it whistles. Soon, a composite train emerges: it goes, it says "Choo," it whistles intermittently, people sit in it one behind the other. Children, at all levels, pool their ideas in free dramatic play, expose each other to new impressions, stimulate each other to new wondering and questioning. Can we fail to recognize this process as learning? Can we neglect to notice that here is learning going on in a social atmosphere full of pleasure and delight? In reliving and freely dramatizing his experience the child is thinking at his own pace with other children. He is

learning in the best possible way.

More than that, the ways of the world are becoming delicious to him. He is tasting and re-tasting life in his own terms and finding it full of delight and interest. He projects his own pattern of the world into the play and in so doing, brings the real world closer to himself. He is building the feeling that the world is his, to understand, to interpret, to puzzle about, to make over. For the future, we need citizens in whom these attitudes are deeply ingrained.

We would be seriously in error, however, were we to assume that all play of young children is clear and logical. Horses are more likely to eat lamb stew than hay, and what starts out to be a boat often ends as a kitchen stove without any obviously clear transitions. Often when play violates the line of adult logic we can see that it has a special kind of coherence all its own--perhaps the coherence of an action rather than a thinking pattern. Playing dentist may take the form of sitting on a keg and whirling one's feet around because the wonderful dentist's chair is the outstanding recall for the child. Teeth and drills may be altogether omitted while the child accentuates through his play what impressed him most. It makes sense in child terms even though it may not to the adult who is told that the children are playing dentist when what meets the eye looks like a crowd of whirling Dervishes. To understand children's play we must loose our imaginations from the restrictions of adulthood and the limitations of logic that is tied in within literalness and objective reality.

If free play is to yield these values in terms of children's growth needs, it requires a skilled guiding hand, especially where children are collected in groups as they are in nursery schools. There is a way of setting the stage and creating an atmosphere for spontaneous play. Most important in this atmosphere is the teacher's sensitive understanding of her own role. Sometimes the teacher

needs to be ready to guide the play, especially among the fives, sixes, and sevens, into channels that are beyond the needs of the nursery years. But she must guide only in terms of the children's growth needs. Her guidance may be in terms of her choice of stories, materials, trips, experiences. It may function through discussions. Without skillful guidance, a free play program for successive years can become stultified and disturbing to children.

One of the main problems with respect to play which we are working through as teachers is--How much shall the teacher get involved in the children's play? Shall she correct, suggest, contribute, participate? I don't have the answer, but I hope teachers will continue to think about and talk about this problem. We have left behind the stage of education in which the teacher was relegated to the background. We have still to discover what are the optimal points at which the teacher can step in, offering new material or ideas to enrich the play. In our teacher training institutes we encourage teachers to have imagination and use it but if you teach this too well, the teachers themselves (and this goes for parents, too) will be expressing themselves in the play, and before you know it they will have taken away the play from the child. This, naturally, is closely related to teacher personality. Some people intuitively know when it is best to withdraw and take a passive role, when a new idea will not be an intrusion and when stimulation had best be indirect. It behooves us all as teachers to think: are we stimulating and developing the children by our active teaching or are we becoming so active that the children are overwhelmed and restricted by the flood of our bright ideas?

Day in, day out, we affect children's play by the things we provide for them to play with. We choose equipment and materials with care and thought and have accepted the premise that a good share of play materials should be of the "raw" variety--things like clay, blocks, paper, mud, which the child can freely

shape to his own purposes and upon which he can impress his own pattern. These are in contrast to the finished dolls and trains, trucks and doll dishes which come in finished form and are adapted, as established symbols, into the flow of the child's free play. One of the interesting questions in education today has to do with what balance shall be kept between raw and finished materials, recognizing that each kind serves a different function with respect to play and may meet varying needs of different individual children. This is an area for study and experimentation in which we have made only a fair beginning.

To return briefly to the point that children's play cannot always be understood from the vantage point of logic and realistic accuracy. The inner coherence of play is as often based on emotion as it is on logic or action. If it seems incomprehensible, rambling, or slightly insane it is because we cannot read the deep emotional life of children, because we do not understand adequately how feelings can transform thought, at all ages.

We know that children are full of feeling--deep and good, hard and strong feeling. They get mad and glad with intensity. Their feelings are as quick, as volatile as they are deep. This vital aspect of their life experience needs outlet through play quite as much as their developing curiosities and their effervescent energies. Many of us who can accept play as a child's way of interpreting life intellectually, often stop short at allowing children full freedom in expressing the feeling aspects of their lives. Or else we make the error of thinking of emotional expression of this kind in terms of negative feeling, of avoiding repression of hostility and such. This, to be sure, is an important aspect of wholesome growth. The chance to express negative feeling through play can save the child considerable anguish. The dolls he is allowed to hit leave him more able to face his real life problems successfully.

Polish for Play's Tarnished Reputation*

by Sara Arnaud, Nancy S. Brown, Nancy E. Curry, Margaret B. McFarland, and Ethel Tittnich

But there is the positive aspect of a child's emotional life which should not be overlooked. Covering the doll lovingly with layers of blankets is as deep and important an experience as the smacking and the spanking. What we must remember through all of this is that the child does not necessarily play out what his actual experience has been. He may instead be playing out the residue of feeling which his experience has left with him.

This selection describes the developmental differences in children, from infancy to age ten, based on the authors' clinical observations of play behavior in normal children. The authors describe the development of play activity, from fulfilling biological needs in infants through practicing motor abilities and experimenting with objects, to the emergence of dramatic play in toddlers and older children.

[There are several useful functions of play:]

- Play, by virtue of its spontaneous, highly enjoyable qualities for children, acts as an energizer and organizer of cognitive learning. The variation and scope of play bring deeper and more extended cognitive gains than single-channel or narrow-channel teaching does--a fact relevant to Piaget's concept of assimilation, so beautifully explicated by Millie Almy.
- When shared with other children, play is a major vehicle for constructive socialization, widening empathy with others, and lessening egocentrism. While this function was held to be overvalued a decade ago, the present social climate casts it into increasing prominence.
- The power of play in helping children master anxiety and normal developmental conflicts, as well as traumatic experience, has been exceedingly well documented in the psychodynamic and psychoanalytic literature. In this, play provides both a humanitarian service in lessening the child's pain, and a cognitive service in lessening emotional turmoil disruptive to learning.

*Reprinted from Sara Arnaud et al., *Play: The Child Strives towards Self-Realization* (Washington: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1971), pp. 5-12.

Meanwhile, on an entirely different front, new questions about play were being generated by the findings of ethologists--those naturalists who study animals in their natural habitats, away from the necessary constraints and artificialities of the laboratory or zoo. As it emerged from these ethological studies of diverse species, that the young (and indeed often the elderly) of many species engage in playful and even game-like activities, and, moreover, that the more complex the nervous system, the more playful the species, inevitable questions arose: What function does play serve in the survival of these species? Why the apparent association between nervous-system complexity and variety in play?

The First Year of Life

1. Play seems to evolve gradually as the infant's energies exceed his requirements for biological need fulfillment. Initially, play is closely related to the activities of primary need fulfillment and therefore is centered in mouth activities, as described by Brian Sutton-Smith and Piaget. These oral activities seem to represent the baby's actively augmenting the gratification of the feeding situation. (For example, the baby rhythmically trills his tongue against the nipple of the breast or bottle, thus augmenting the tactile experience within the oral cavity; lip movements not essential to sucking begin, these activities are most readily observed in the resting stage of the nursing rhythm.) From this beginning, babies seem to invest themselves in increasingly complex activities that extend the gratifications provided by their mothers and other caretakers.

2. As maturation progresses, making successive motor activities possible, the baby responds to the emergence of each new capacity with intense playful exercise of capacities ascendant in his developmental thrust. Mittleman theorizes that there is a drive toward the expression of motor activities and gratification derived from such expres-

sion. This form of play includes vocal activities with attendant listening to sounds produced and experimentation in breath and saliva control and in mouth postures.

3. Mother-baby play maximizes the significance of each successive phase of the mutuality of mother and infant; each partner in the relationship seeks to realize gratification for self and the partner. Babies early select play responses evocative of pleasure in the mother as the mother adapts to the baby's cues expressive of his constitutional preferences and his emergent capacities. The opening and closing of eyelids grows into peek-a-boo in which each partner experiments in the anxiety of loss of visual contact with the joy of reunion. The baby's body and that of the mother are available for their playful interactions. The infant's interest in play with objects is initiated by his playful exploration of his mother's body--the baby's hand brought against the mother's breast in nursing, or around her finger as she holds the bottle, gradually progresses to play with the buttons on the mother's dress, her hair, the apertures of her face alternated with play with the baby's own features and then to interest in the play objects in her hands. All of the phrases of individuation as described by Mahler are played out in mother and child interactions and by the end of the first year by the child himself.

4. As Piaget has pointed out, babies' self-initiated activities bring them into contact with objects in their environments, these contacts stimulating the child and modifying the objects. Escalona has pointed out the greater frequency of such contacts in the experience of active infants than of quiet infants. These early contacts defined by Piaget as assimilative, progress to adaptive and purposive play in which certain activities are repeated and produce gratifying stimuli. But, such play with objects is observed only among infants who have had positive human relationships that have stabilized the

sensory attention to tactile, visual, and auditory stimuli.

The Toddler Phase of Play

1. The toddler reproduces mothering behavior formerly passively experienced and alternates with dramatizations of the passive counterpart. There is continued playful exploration of the mother's body and the toddler's body with comparative concentration (e.g., mirror play). The peek-a-boo game continues and primitive hiding and seeking begins.

2. While practicing emergent motor skills, the toddler takes joy in experimentation in movements.

3. Dominant play themes such as containment and release and filling and emptying are evident. There is intense exploration of objects and their qualities and adaptive uses (e.g., block piling and knocking down).

4. Real dramatic play begins with simple themes of mother-baby experiences and increases in complexity of theme and action in duration. Objects now are given symbolic significance. Affiliation with animals is expressed both in dramatic play and in the playful use of stuffed animals.

Three-Year-Olds' Play

1. Because of its lack of a preconceptualized theme, the dramatic play of three-year-olds can be compared to the process-oriented behavior of the sensorimotor activities, in which the activity is a pleasurable end in itself and the product is not yet needed.

2. Play themes of three-year-olds involve loosely developed familiar activities--usually nurturant ones--in which the whole person is represented by a part or single aspect of his appearance or behavior.

3. When nonfamilial figures are represented in play, the familial or nurturant characteristics are extended and attributed to these nonfamilial figures.

4. Destructive and unmodified aggression is attributed to such nonfamilial characters or to TV characters with whom there is some association of aggression (Batman, Superman, etc.), and these roles elicit diffuse excitability and fear in the players.

5. Real and pretend are not firmly separated so that the child *becomes*, rather than *pretends* to be, the person that he represents. Perhaps for this reason, the baby role seems to have to be avoided, or disguised as yet, or projected onto a doll.

6. Roles are fluid and shifting, not clearly defined (e.g., the playing three-year-old can be the family dog at one moment and the mother the next).

7. Collecting or gathering is a characteristic of three-year-olds which with time becomes refined or discriminative in the context of dramatic play (e.g., all the puzzles and books may be found stuffed into the wheel toys and then hauled about; later the play theme of moving or picnicking will incorporate the collected articles).

8. The technique of repeating a play act in a ritualistic way is frequently employed and seems to function as a control of immediate time and space by making it more predictable (e.g., the child who always begins his school day with the same activity, that is, always goes to the easel or always begins with a small block building); such ritualization is also used symbolically in play as a coping mechanism (e.g., the use of play dough, which is a familiar home activity, as a transition play activity after mother leaves), or it may appear as vestigial activities that have become superfluous when the context of the play changes while the activity has not

(e.g., insisting on lining up chairs for a train game played earlier even if the play theme is now cowboys).

9. Separation-individuation is a major task of the threes and is reflected in their games of appearance and disappearance as well as in the occasional attempt to avoid the absence of mother by being the mother in play.

Four-Year-Olds' Play

1. The management of aggressive impulses seems to be a key issue at four and is manifest in their play in a variety of ways:

a. Portraying aggressive TV superheroes who attack, but also rescue.

b. Initiating ghost or monster play in which some innocent person, often a teacher, is designated as the monster from whom the children run. The play gradually develops into a "chase" in which the child becomes the "monster" or wild animals from whom other children run away excitedly.

c. The creation of a safe or "cozy" place where the occupants are labeled "good" and outsiders are viewed as intruders who are "bad."

d. Unbridled aggression sometimes frightens the more timid four-year-olds who seek an outlet in silliness, sometimes under the guise of play and sometimes verbally in the use of bathroom words or nonsense rhymes.

2. Masculine and feminine traits are exaggerated. For this kind of play all the trappings of masculinity or femininity are now needed.

a. To be a cowboy, boys want the entire outfits: hat, gloves, belt, boots, etc. The girls now portray the alluring feminine side of mother, as well as her nurturant one, and require hats, scarves, veils, gloves,

high heels. If all the necessary props aren't available, the play may be frustrated.

b. There is much testing of body competence in straightforward motor play, which can be incorporated into a dramatic theme. "I'm a bat and I just have to practice running."

3. With the increased awareness of masculine and feminine roles and a more stable sense of self, the four-year-old has a clearer idea of who other people are.

a. Play no longer just centers around the home, but can be expanded to include beauty shop, store, firehouse, ranch--with appropriate roles played out in these settings.

b. Sex curiosity reflecting an interest in other children is approached under the guise of doctor play.

c. Discriminations of all sorts are made with children being excluded or included in play on the basis of differences and likenesses in sex, color, kind of clothes worn, etc.

4. With a firmer sense of self, the four-year-old can better distinguish between reality and fantasy.

a. He can put a certain distance between his internal self and the play activity by moving from self-action to toy-action (rather than being the tiger, he can use the toy tiger or puppet in tiger play).

b. More attributes of a character can be assumed without threat of loss of self. (Now he can play the role of baby rather than be the baby.)

c. He can play out experiences that interest, baffle, or frighten him. This play still has a tinge of the fantastic, as exemplified by the enactment of night fears in which

ghosts come to terrorize sleeping children.

5. Hiding and burying are evident in sand and block play as well as in games where the children take delight in hiding from each other or from the teacher. This seems to be a higher level than the peek-a-boo separation play of the three-year-old.

6. The four-year-old can swing from stout independence to marked dependence in his play. This switching of roles is not as fluid as at three, for now a clear reversal of roles can be seen. (A harried "mother" may switch to needy baby role.)

Five-Year-Olds' Play

1. There is a wide panorama of play at age five, with many earlier developmental themes still being worked upon either as unsolved issues or as regressive phenomena. Some children are already moving into the games-with-rules play of the school-age child.

2. In the intent dramatization of every aspect of his widening world, the five-year-old responds to those external stimuli which mesh with his burgeoning developmental interests (e.g., the power and thrust of space exploration) and he has a demarcation between the realistic and the fantastic. ("This is just pretend.")

3. Play is used to help assimilate, comprehend, and master experiences as at earlier ages, but at five this play can arise almost immediately after the stimulus of an unusual, interesting, or frightening experience (as evidenced in the play of the five-year-olds after witnessing a serious accident).

4. The five-year-old has the capacity to sublimate his aggressive or frightened feelings through dramatic play.

5. Pretend roles include both an enactment of real life roles (nurse, teacher, policeman, bride, groom, etc.) and of

cultural folk heroes (spacemen, cowboys, kings and queens).

6. Although the sociodramatic play often has quite realistic elements as the children attempt to imitate perceived adult actions and reactions, their deeper fantasies (e.g., biting animals, monsters that kill) are often revealed in more structured dramas such as self-created puppet shows or dictated stories.

7. There is a heightened interest in romance, which is revealed in the play of five-year-olds through exciting boy-and-girl chases, enactment of fairy tales ("Cinderella," "Sleeping Beauty") and bride and groom play.

8. As the five-year-old becomes more capable of dealing with the concrete world, he demonstrates a dawning capacity to deal with abstractions. In his play there comes to be a blending of the affective and the cognitive through the use of abstract symbols or adjuncts to his dramatizations (the making of paper money to be used to buy food at a pretend "Burger-King" restaurant).

The Dramatic Play of Six- to Ten-Year-Olds

In a facilitating atmosphere which encourages spontaneous expression of the child's own interests, dramatic fantasy play continues throughout the six- to ten-year period. As the child grows older, this play often is cast in the form of a staged drama, with the children preparing their own props and developing their plot as they go along, with many on-the-spot improvisations even though the general plot of the drama remains the same over a period of weeks or even months. Occasionally they put their script in writing, but this in no way constrains them to stick to the script.

The most gleefully invested plays and role enactments--and remember, they are ones developed by *normal* children--are usually blood-and-thunder melodramas,

dripping with gore, featuring ambush and attack, killing and death. They are peopled with ghosts, statues that come to life, grisly folk heroes (e.g., Dracula), vampires, and people who turn out to be very different from what they purport to be. The opposite sex, romance, and relationships between males and females tend to be treated in hostilely joking, disparaging terms; danger is implicit in them (e.g., the girl who enacts a bride, whose bridegroom turns into a werewolf when he kisses her; the boy who enacts a vampish female with a machine gun under her skirt).

A common current running through much of the dramatic play is that things are not what they seem to be; in particular, benign, unsuspecting looking individuals are revealed to be monsters or to be working for the enemy, luring their friends into disaster.

What is notably absent from many of the plays (but not all) are parents; parentless bands of peers and siblings take center stage, usually threatened by mysterious forces or adult figures who are culturally symbolic of danger, such as vampires or Mr. Hyde.

Feeble attempts at rationalizing these bizarre fantasies and distancing themselves from them take the form of the children saying they are bad dreams, casting aspersions on the skill of the script writer (i.e., blame for the "craziness" of a play developed by several children is shifted to one of them), or the dramatic play is embedded in a clowning silliness and nonsense speech that seems to imply fantasy has no meaning.

The theme of aggression continues, often taking a strongly sadistic twist. Targets for aggression vary from a scapegoated child to a tattered fur piece christened Mildred (by the boys), which is hanged, cut, daubed with "blood," etc. Some aggression is constrained by rules of fairness and making sure that opposing forces are evenly matched ("Two against one ain't fair"). A good deal of hostile aggression is

also expressed in bathroom talk (poopie, stink pot) and accusations of dirtiness, stinkiness, messiness. The children have also been known to use the bathroom as a hilarious setting for their self-produced plays.

By eight or nine, these dramas are usually enacted by all-boy or all-girl casts, with impersonation of the opposite sex when the plot required such a role. Sex differences in fantasy content show the boys with greater concern for physical prowess and bodily injury, the girls more concerned with physical attractiveness.

The Role of Play in Cognitive Development*

by Brian Sutton-Smith

In this selection, Brian Sutton-Smith, a professor at New York University, reviews research that found a correlation between playfulness and creativity. He cites other studies that indicate how game skills are related to other aspects of a child's personality and how games perform specific functions in different cultures.

The Function of Play

Very little is known about what play accomplishes for human or animal organisms. This neglect of play's "function" seems to have occurred historically because of the key role of "work" in industrial civilization and the concomitant derogation of the importance of recreation and leisure.... In addition, and perhaps for similar historical reasons, explanations of behavior both in biological and psychological thinking have been serious and utilitarian in nature; that is, an activity has not been thought to be explained unless its direct value for the organism's survival could be indicated.

For this reason, play, which on the surface at least is not a very useful activity, has been interpreted most often as an illustration of the working of other "useful" functions, rather than a peculiar function in its own right. It has been said that in play the child "reduces tensions," "masters anxiety," "generalizes responses," or manifests a polarity of "pure assimilation." In each of these cases the explanation of play has been subsumed to the workings of theoretical concepts which could just as well be illustrated without reference to play.

In consequence, the research literature on play is mainly about variables that

are not necessarily central to an understanding of play itself. For example, levels of social development (e.g., solitary, parallel, and the like) are said to be illustrated in the play of preschoolers; more severely punished children are said to express more aggression in their doll play; children are said to prefer to go on with play activities that have been interrupted; play and game preferences are used as evidences of sex-role identification, anxiety, intellectual level, race, environment, need achievement, levels of aspiration, and sociometric status....

In the literature of the past few years, however, there has developed a changing attitude towards the functional significance of play and games, and it is to this literature that the present article will be devoted....

In a great deal of current research and as a part of play's rehabilitation as serious subject-matter, play has generally been identified with exploratory behavior. Both exploratory behavior and play have been described as self-motivated activities whose rewards lie in the gratifications that they bring directly to the participants (Berlyne, 1960). One typical finding from this work, emerging from many animal as well as some human studies, is that novel properties in the ecology (blocks, puzzles, colors, and games) increase the response levels of the subjects exposed to those properties. As subjects cease to be able to do new things with objects, however, their response to them decreases. Berlyne has indicated that other properties of objects which have similar effects are their complexity, their surprisingness, their uncertainty, and their capacity to induce conflict.

It has also been found that the greatest increases in response level are recorded for those objects with which the subjects can do most things, that is, which can be handled, moved, seen, touched, and so forth. Further, exploratory and play behavior, like other response systems, are susceptible to increase or

*Reprinted from Brian Sutton-Smith, *The Young Child: Reviews of Research* (Washington: National Association for the Education of Young Children, 1967), pp. 96-108.

diminution in response level as a result of appropriate parental reinforcements (Aldrich, 1965; Marshall, 1966).

Finally, exploratory and play behavior in child subjects correlates highly with information seeking in general (Maw & Maw, 1965)....

For the purposes of this paper, we will provisionally suggest that play, while like exploratory behavior in being intrinsically motivated, is different from the latter in its greater emphasis upon the novel variation of responses according to internal criteria; play is an activity accompanied by the traditional and often-mentioned affective accompaniments of "playfulness," "fun," and "the enjoyment of the activity for its own sake."

Play and Cognition

Given this conception of play, we are in a position to ask what cognitive differences such variation seeking can make. In classical psychoanalytic and Piagetian theory, the play of the child is said to have a mainly compensatory function. For the analysts, play has little significance for intellectual growth except as it helps to reduce the amount of tension that might be impeding intellectual activity somewhere else. For Piaget, play permits the child to make an intellectual response in fantasy when he cannot make one in reality, and this protects his sense of autonomy. In addition, however, it helps to consolidate learnings acquired elsewhere and prevents them from dropping into disuse.

These two viewpoints may be contrasted with others in which the play itself is given a much more active cognitive function in the development of thought. Psychoanalyst Erik Erikson suggests that the young child's play is analogous to the planning of an adult. Several generations of sociologists likewise have seen play as providing model situations in which the child rehearses roles he will later occupy seriously somewhere else.

While most of these sociologists emphasize the social value of the play, some also stress cognitive implications. For example, George H. Mead stated that children develop social *understanding* through having to take the role of the other into account in their own actions. That is, the child cannot hide very successfully in Hide-and-Seek unless he has also taken into account what happens when someone seeks (Mead, 1934; Goffman, 1961).

But these are general theoretical viewpoints, whereas our interest here is in research investigations of play as a form of cognitive variation seeking. A useful lead is provided by the work of Lieberman (1965). She was interested in relations between children's playfulness and their creativity. Her subjects were 93 kindergarten children from middle-class homes attending five kindergarten classes in three New York schools. The children were rated on playfulness scales which included the following characteristics:

1. *How often does the child engage in spontaneous physical movement and activity during play?* This behavior would include skipping, hopping, jumping, and other rhythmic movements of the whole body or parts of the body like arms, legs, or head, which could be judged as a fairly clear indication of exuberance.
2. *How often does the child show joy in or during his play activities?* This may be judged by facial expressions such as smiling, by verbal expressions such as saying "I like this" or "This is fun," or by more indirect vocalizing such as singing as an accompaniment of the activity, e.g., "choo, choo, train go along." Other behavioral indicators would be repetition of activity or resumption of activity with clear evidence of enjoyment.
3. *How often does the child show a sense of humor during play?* By "sense of humor" is meant rhyming

and gentle teasing ("glint-in-the-eye" behavior), as well as an ability to see a situation as funny as it pertains to himself or others.

4. *While playing, how often does the child show flexibility in his interaction with the surrounding group structure?* This may be judged by the child joining different groups at any one play period and becoming part of them and their play activity, and by being able to move in and out of these groups by his own choice or by suggestion from the group members without aggressive intent on their part.

A factor analysis of the results led Lieberman to conclude that these scales tapped a single factor of playfulness in these children. But the finding to which we wish to call attention in the present case is the significant relation which was found between playfulness and ability on several creative tasks. That is, children who were rated as more playful were also better at such tasks as: a) suggesting novel ideas about how a toy dog and a toy doll could be changed to make them more fun to play with; b) giving novel plot titles for two illustrated stories that were read and shown to the children; and c) giving novel lists of animals, things to eat, and toys.

Unfortunately, the problem with Lieberman's work, as well as with much other work involving creativity measures, is that intelligence loads more heavily on the separate variables of playfulness and creativity than these latter variables do with each other. Consequently, we cannot be sure whether the findings reflect a distinctive relation between playfulness and creativity or whether these variables are two separate manifestations of intelligence as measured by conventional intelligence tests.

And yet it seems to make sense that the variations in response which constitute playful exercise should be similar to the required variation in response on

creativity tests. In other words, these two variables appear to be structurally similar....

Play and Novel Repertoires

What then is the functional relation between the two? While there are various possibilities, only one will be presented here, as the concern is more with research than it is with theory. The viewpoint taken is that when a child plays with particular objects, varying his responses with them playfully, he increases the range of his associations for those particular objects. In addition, he discovers many more uses for those objects than he would otherwise. Some of these usages may be unique to himself and many will be "imaginative," "fantastic," "absurd," and perhaps "serendipitous." Presumably, almost anything in the child's repertoire of responses or cognitions can thus be combined with anything else for a novel result, though we would naturally expect recent and intense experiences to play a salient role.

While it is probable that most of this associative and combinatorial activity is of no utility except as a self-expressive, self-rewarding exercise, it is also probable that this activity increases the child's repertoire of responses and cognitions so that if he is asked a "creativity" question involving similar objects and associations, he is more likely to be able to make a unique (that is, creative) response. This is to say that play increases the child's repertoire of responses, an increase which has potential value (though no inevitable utility) for subsequent adaptive responses.

In order to test this relation, the writer hypothesized that children would show a greater repertoire of responses for those toys with which they had played a great deal than for those with which they had played less. More specifically, it was hypothesized that both boys and girls would have a greater repertoire of responses with objects for

their own sex than for opposite sex objects. In order to control for differences in familiarity, like and opposite sex toys were chosen that were familiar to all subjects.

Four toys were selected that had been favorites during the children's year in kindergarten. The girls' toys were dolls and dishes; the boys' were trucks and blocks. It was expected that as they had all known and seen a great deal of all of these toys throughout the year, they would not differ in their familiarity with the toys, as measured by their descriptions of them, but that they would differ in their response variations with these toys as measured by their accounts of the usages to which the toys could be put. Nine boys and nine girls of kindergarten age were individually interviewed, and the investigator played the "blind" game with them. That is, of each toy, he asked, pretending that he was blind: "What is it like?" (description), and "What can you do with it?" (usage). Each child responded to each toy. The interviews were conducted in a leisurely manner, the longest taking 45 minutes and the most usages given for one object being 72 items.

The results were that the sexes did not differ from each other in their descriptions of the four objects. Both sexes did differ, however, in the total number of usages given for each boy and the number of unique usages. Boys were able to give more usages and more unique usages for trucks and blocks than they could give for dolls and dishes, although they had not differed between the two sets in their descriptions. Similarly, the girls displayed a larger repertoire for the objects with which they had most often played, dolls and dishes, than for trucks and blocks, which had also been in the kindergarten all year, but with which they had not played extensively (Sutton-Smith, 1967).

As the number of responses was not related to intelligence, and as the children showed equal familiarity with all

objects (as judged by their descriptions), it seemed reasonable to interpret their response to this adaptive situation (asking them questions) as an example of the way in which responses developed in play may be put to adaptive use when there is a demand.

This principle may apply to games as well as play. While most of the activities that players exercise in games have an expressive value in and for themselves, occasionally such activities turn out to have adaptive value, as when the subject, a healthy sportsman, is required in an emergency to run for help, or when the baseball pitcher is required to throw a stone at an attacking dog, or when the footballer is required to indulge in physical combat in war, or when the poker player is required to consider the possibility that a business opponent is merely bluffing. In these cases, we need not postulate any very direct causal connection between the sphere of play and the sphere of adaptive behavior, only the general evolutionary requirement that organisms or individuals with wider ranges of expressive characteristics, of which play is but one example, are equipped with larger response repertoires for use in times of adaptive requirement or crisis....

Play as Learning

The view that something is learned by play and games has long been a staple assumption in the "play way" theory of education and has been revived amongst modern educators under the rubric of game simulation (Bruner, 1965; Meier & Duke, 1966). Evidence for effects of particular games on particular learnings are few, although where research has been carried out, it seems to be of confirming import. Research with games involving verbal and number cues seems to show that games result in a greater improvement than occurs when control groups receive the same training from more orthodox workbook procedures (Humphrey, 1965, 1966).

Similarly, research with games requiring the exercise of a variety of self-controls seems to indicate social improvements in the players.... As an example of this type of field research, the present investigator used a number game to induce number conservation in young children between the ages of five and seven years. The game known traditionally as "How many eggs in my bush?" is a guessing game in which the players each hide a number of counters within their fist, and the other player must guess the number obscured. If he guesses correctly, the counters are his. The players take turns and the winner is the player who finishes up with all the counters. Each player begins with about 10 counters. Children in the experimental group showed a significant improvement from a pre- to post-test on number conservation as compared with children in the control group. The game apparently forced the players to pay attention to the cues for number identity or they would lose, be cheated against, be laughed at, and would certainly not win (Sutton-Smith, 1967)....

Similarly, cross-cultural work with games seems to show that games are tied in a functionally enculturative manner to the cultures of which they are a part. Thus, games of physical skill have been shown to occur in cultures where there is spear throwing and hunting. The older tribal members introduce and sustain these games which have a clearcut training value. Games of chance occur in cultures where there is punishment for personal achievement and an emphasis upon reliance on divinatory approaches to decision-making (Roberts & Sutton-Smith, 1966); games of strategy occur in cultures where the emphasis is on obedience and diplomacy as required in class and intergroup relations and warfare (Roberts, Sutton-Smith, & Kendon, 1963).

Still, all this research, though it implies functional relations between games and culture patterns, and between games and cognitive styles,...is weak insofar as it does not allow us to draw

conclusions concerning the particular facets of the games that have the observed influence.

Art of the Young Child*

by Jane Cooper Bland

This reading is based on the author's experiences as an art educator at the Bank Street College of Education, and instructor at the Art Center of the Museum of Modern Art. "How Children Create" describes how children develop in painting, clay work, and cutting from ages three to five. "How Adults Can Help" gives suggestions for setting up environments that encourage children to work freely with art materials. This reading is particularly relevant to the drawing-sort activity, since it offers concrete ideas of what children can do at different ages. Since this reading would be of special interest to field-site teachers, parents, and students, you might xerox it to share with them.

How Children Create

The Child at Three Years. In general, three-year-old boys and girls like and need to manipulate materials and to change what they are making as they work. They also take pleasure in doing the same kinds of things over and over. Perhaps they do this in order to convince themselves that they know how or they may just be repeating an enjoyable experience. They often keep changing the colors on their papers by painting one over another until the result is a mass of brown paint. Although this may make the painting less attractive to the adult, the value for the child has been his growing power to change colors. This is an important part of learning.

They pat and roll clay, build it up into some form, squash it, then pat and roll it again; they make birthday cakes, admire them, and pull them apart and start over. A child of three begins constructing by sticking things into clay or any soft material. As a rule,

*Excerpts from *Art of the Young Child: Understanding and Encouraging Creative Growth in Children Three to Five*, by Jane Cooper Bland. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1968. All rights reserved. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

he is not able to cope with mobiles or constructions which require skill in joining, nor can he manage many materials like wire or pipe cleaners.

Most three-year-olds are able to cut paper and they get a great deal of satisfaction from it. They cut paper into pieces for the sheer enjoyment of cutting or because they feel a sense of power in changing the sheet of paper from its original form. Cutting is an activity complete in itself and usually quite separate from pasting. Three-year-olds will cut many small pieces and then push them all aside and choose new materials when they decide to paste. Pasting, too, tends to be a separate activity enjoyed for itself. They often cover what they have made by pasting one piece of paper after another over it. They derive pleasure from manipulating the smooth slippery paste.

Although the child at this age level will occasionally concentrate on any one of the above activities for nearly an hour, most three-year-olds' interest will last only from about five to twenty minutes.

The Child at Four Years. For the most part, four-year-olds concentrate longer than three-year-olds. Ten or fifteen minutes to half an hour is an average; some will work for almost an hour. They enjoy both manipulating materials and the power to change what they are making as they work, but they are less inclined to repeat and are not so apt to paint their hands as are the three-year-olds. They make more definite forms, enclosed circular shapes, for example, and they paint masses of color next to each other instead of over one another. A child may elaborate a shape by painting color within it or around it or by surrounding it with other shapes or dots of color. A shape may suggest something representational to him, for instance, a circle as a head, which he may develop by putting features in it. Children at this age tend to use the whole paper, relating linear forms to it and often

covering it completely with color. Sometimes they start with a specific idea of what they want to paint while at other times they improvise as they go along.

In clay modeling, most children at four make definite things, building and adding rather than pulling apart and redoing. They are more selective, choosing materials for a collage and placing them with greater deliberation before pasting. They begin to cut and invent instead of only cutting and changing. A four-year-old enjoys making simple constructions and mobiles with wire and pipe cleaners. He needs help with tying or connecting but he can choose and combine materials that can be put together easily.

The Child at Five Years. As children grow, their span of concentration increases. Therefore, five-year-olds concentrate longer than children of four, sometimes drawing, painting, modeling, or constructing for as long as an hour but usually from about fifteen minutes to half an hour.

They are inclined to preplan their paintings and to make positive shapes, even when making what they call "designs." They mix colors with greater sureness and discrimination than they did in the earlier years. Some, however, still tend to manipulate paint and change their work by painting one color over another repeatedly. This is particularly true of children who are painting for the first time.

In clay modeling, children of this age are apt to combine forms and to build better-constructed objects than those made by either three- or four-year-olds. As they become familiar with the material, they make more complex clay pieces and are apt to select whatever they apply to the clay, such as swab sticks, buttons, straws, to embellish it as a planned part of the construction rather than for the mere satisfaction of sticking things in and taking them out again. Usually they do not repeat for the sake of manipulating the material

as a three-year-old will, but tend to create some specific thing. What a child finally produces may develop while he is modeling or from an idea he had at the outset.

A five-year-old chooses materials for collage thoughtfully and cuts them into interesting shapes. He can use scissors with more certainty and skill. He enjoys making constructions and mobiles and can devise ways of fastening materials together with wire, pipe cleaners, paper clips, or yarn, and can begin to balance one shape with another. Like the four-year-old, he learns to look at materials in new ways, particularly as they affect each other. This gives materials a new dimension because the child sees them freshly, as elements that can be converted into original designs through his imagination. He can make constructions that stand by themselves or he can make mobiles, in which the enchantment of motion is an added element.

How Adults Can Help

Fostering Independence. That child is lucky indeed whose parents and teachers are as delighted with each forward step in the language of art as they are with each new venture in speech. Adults will help the child best if they understand what he is trying to do. Understanding underlies respect and this goes deeper than mere cordial acceptance. The child needs respect in order to go forward with confidence in what he has to say and in his mastery of the means to say it. How can adults gain this understanding? For one thing they can watch a child as he works. His expression of absorption, of attentiveness, of pleasure, is as telling as the spoken word or the finished product.

Another way to encourage children is to share their experiences. Parents can work along with their children, although they should not show them what to make, or how to make it, or give them things to copy.

Naturally the way parents and children work will be quite different. Parents should expect these differences and be pleased that the child is working independently. They can start sharing by helping the child get out his materials. A parent might say: "I'll get the paints and you get out the paper," or "Why don't you get out the clay and I'll put newspaper around the table and floor." Giving the child responsibility will help him to become independent in caring for his own art materials. Perhaps when mother is shopping, she can find something for the collage treasure box and say, "Look what I've found, do you think we could use this in a paste picture?" All of this heightens the feeling of "togetherness." The parents' interest fosters the child's feeling that what he is doing has value.

It is, of course, not possible or even necessary for a busy parent to be with a child every minute that he is painting or constructing. If the child feels an adult's sincere interest in what he is making, he will gain confidence to go ahead. Parents should try to look at what a child shows them with an understanding eye. He may have been experimenting with paints or other materials in order to gain power over them. Adults should never feel that time spent in experimentation is wasted because no finished product comes out of it. A quicker result might be obtained by having the child follow rules, but it will have little or no meaning for him.

Experimenting is not just finding out what paint, clay, or other materials can do. A child also experiments with expressing in concrete form his ideas and feelings about what is happening to him in his own world. Thus he strengthens his power to weigh choices, to decide, and to face the results of his decisions. Painting or modeling may be pleasurable but it is also serious business.

Sometimes it may seem as though materials have hardly been set up before the child announces that he is finished. Parents and teachers should not be

troubled by this. The child may have had just as satisfying an experience as one who has worked for a longer time. Sometimes a child may not want to paint at a particular time. This does not necessarily mean that he doesn't like painting. He may be absorbed in another activity, or it is possible that his confidence has been shaken because he has been made to feel inadequate by someone whom he is anxious to please.

If a child asks for help, he may not be needing the specific thing he asks for. Perhaps at that particular time he wants only to be assured of interest. A three-year-old seldom asks for help. Four- and five-year-olds whose work has been respected on their own level will also go ahead independently. Unless a child shows genuine dissatisfaction with what he has made, adults should accept it without offering criticism. However, if Johnny asks: "Show me how to make a horse," or anything else, no matter how flattering this may be to his mother and father, or how much they like to do things for their child, they should realize that he is harmed instead of helped when they show him how to do it their way rather than encouraging him to do it his way. They might help him clarify his own idea by comments such as: "What kind of a horse do you want to make? What color? What is he doing? If I show you my way, it will be my horse, not yours."

Sometimes, for one reason or another, a child may feel that he must conform to adult standards and he may ask, "What shall I paint?" If he does, an adult should not feel obligated to tell him to paint a tree with apples, or a house, or a boat, or anything else. He might say some such thing as: "There are so many things you can think of that I can't," or "Did you see any pretty colors today? How about trying to paint as many different colors as possible on your paper?" or "Let's try to see how many different things the brush can do." Often a new medium, such as clay or collage, will encourage a child to explore and work in his own way.

Such suggestions may help him to get started but if a child persistently asks for help and ideas, he may have become too dependent on others. The real problem is to reinstate his self-confidence. Perhaps giving him more responsibility in doing things for himself and for others, such as washing his own hands, dressing himself, caring for pets, getting things for mother, might help. Trust and confidence in his ability to carry out responsibilities on his own level can help him to feel that his contribution is of real worth.

Sharing what they know about a child can help parents and teachers understand his problems and work together toward helping him grow. If a child is going to school, parents should make every effort to become acquainted with the school program. This can help them to strike a balance between what happens there and what the child does at home. If the school program is sound, parents can learn many things from the teacher that they can adapt to the home situation. On the other hand, no matter how much experience a teacher may have had with large numbers of children, talking with a parent can give her an insight into the particular needs of an individual child. Parents can also help a teacher who is struggling to better her program in the light of new ideas in art education. A group of parents supporting a teacher can often make it possible for an administrator to change a difficult situation.

Sometimes parents are faced with the problem of their children attending a school still using outmoded methods in art education, such as copying or tracing patterns. They should not undermine the child's respect for his teacher or school, but if the child seems disturbed, one thing they can say is: "At school, why don't you do it their way, but at home let's do it your own way. It's more fun."

However, if the art program at school is so outmoded or if the school has no art program at all, parents should try to do something to remedy this. Parent-

teacher organizations have been created for just such purposes. Some parents may feel that it is not up to them to be concerned with the school program, although actually it is their responsibility since, after all, schools exist for the children who attend them. Parent-teacher organizations, rather than hindering, can reinforce the hands of teachers and administrators in building better programs for children.

Providing Materials and a Place to Work.

Parents can play an important part in stimulating the child's interest and growth by setting up a place for him and by providing the proper materials.

A child needs an inviting place even if it is only a free corner in the kitchen or living room. It is important that materials should be available so that they can be gotten out readily when they are to be used. If a child is eager to paint, waiting for elaborate preparations may dampen his enthusiasm for the entire activity. Children and parents can set up a working place together. As a child becomes familiar with the best way of getting out what he needs, he will be able to start by himself even when his mother is busy. Of course, she will want to keep an eye on his progress so that she can help him if necessary and be ready to supervise cleaning up when his creative energy is spent.

Equipment need not be elaborate. A low table, with a surface large enough to hold good-sized paper and a tray of paints, is excellent for painting and will also serve for working in clay, collage, or construction. The table should be low enough for the child to see and reach the whole of his paper. If the top is slippery, a bit of masking tape struck across an edge of the paper onto the table will keep the paper from sliding. Oilcloth or newspaper can be spread on both the table and the floor to protect surfaces and make cleaning up easier. A smock or one of father's old shirts with sleeves cut short will protect the child's clothes. A set of low shelves should be nearby to hold a variety of materials and tools such as

paper, brushes, and collage and construction materials. If shelves are at least eighteen inches deep, eighteen-by twenty-four-inch drawing paper can be stored on one of them. If not, a portfolio of the same size or a little larger will serve the purpose. This may be kept behind the shelves or in a closet. If there is no space for a set of shelves, the materials and tools may be kept together in a box or carton or in a drawer which can be pulled out and carried about from place to place.

An easel is also desirable for painting. One advantage of the easel is that the child's paper is up where he can easily see and reach his painting as he works. However, the disadvantage is that the child has much less control over the paint, which tends to flow together and run down the paper. Many children, therefore, prefer to work on a table or the floor. When working on the floor, spread out newspapers and put the paper to be worked on, the tray of paints, and water dish on it. Set them against a wall or in a corner, so that they will not be kicked over or stepped on. If an easel is preferred and a commercially made one seems too expensive, a good substitute is a piece of beaver-board set against the wall or on the seat of a straight chair leaning against the back.

Clay should be stored in an airtight container such as a crock or large can to keep it moist. Wrapping the container with a plastic material will help keep out air. If this is placed in a wooden box or on a platform set on casters, it can be wheeled out of the way under a table when not in use.

The child will need a box to hold his collection of things such as shells, feathers, yarn, wire, and cloth for making collages. A box or tray with divisions, like a refrigerator tray or jewelry box, is very useful for holding the very small things like buttons and beads; the larger things can be put in a pasteboard box.

The materials out of which the child creates are important to his satisfaction and success. Often a parent goes to the expense of buying materials which are a hindrance to the young child or are too elaborate or advanced, such as a complicated set of crayons of forty-eight colors or oil paints. The following are recommended as most suitable for creative growth at this age level.

Poster paint. Poster paint is the best kind of paint for children because it flows easily from the brush onto the paper. It comes in brilliant colors and, since it is opaque, a child can change colors by painting one over the other. Blue, red, yellow, black, and white are adequate, because almost any color can be obtained by mixing two or more of these. Green, orange, and violet may be added if a wider range is desired. It is economical to buy poster paint in pint, or even quart, jars. Paints must always be kept covered, to prevent them from drying out. Glass syrup dispensers with metal tops make good containers for storing paint. If the tops are kept clean, the colors can be poured without spilling.

Powder paint. Powder paint costs less than poster paint and is almost as good when mixed with water to the consistency of heavy cream. It is less convenient, however, as it sours quickly and must be mixed each time in small quantities. Watercolors that usually come in hard little cakes lack the freeing qualities of poster paint and are not desirable for young children.

Tools for painting. For the child's use, small containers, one for each color, such as glass or plastic furniture coasters, or small jar tops, should be provided. Brushes, a large container for water (a plastic bowl or a coffee can will do), and an acetate sponge for wiping the brushes are also needed. It is desirable to place all of these on a tray (an aluminum cookie sheet makes a good tray). Three brushes, three-quarter-, one-half-, and one-quarter-inch, are all that the young

child needs. Flat, long-handled, short bristle brushes called "brights" are the best. The child should use large brushes, three-quarter- or one-half-inch, for most work and the narrow one-quarter-inch brush only for details. Children often paint with the sponge as well as with the brush. Brushes should be thoroughly washed after the painting period so that all paint is out of them and stored either bristle end up or lying flat in order to keep bristles in shape.

Chalk. Large soft chalk comes in many colors and can be used when, for one reason or another, it is too difficult to set up poster paints, or to introduce another medium. By using the broad side of the chalk, the child will get quite rich color. New colors can be mixed by rubbing one color over another. The best kind of chalk is lecturer's chalk, which is approximately half an inch square.

Crayons. Crayons should not be confused with chalks; and one certainly should never accept them as a substitute for poster paint. Crayons are less expensive and less messy but they do not stimulate a child towards exploration and experimentation as poster paint does. Also a child is apt to grip the crayon more tightly and become tense as his interest increases rather than to relax as in painting. Crayons and pencils lend themselves to a linear form of expression and as such are media in which children tend to make narrative or story-telling pictures. Young children also make zig-zag lines with pencil or crayon in imitation of adult writing. It would be a mistake to insist that they fill in forms with color when using crayon.

Paper. There are many kinds of paper suitable for painting. White drawing paper is the most expensive and the best. A lightweight manila paper is less expensive but not so durable and since it is yellowish it is often not so inviting to work on. Unprinted newsprint is usable but it is flimsy. Any one of

these will do but all can be used at different times. Paper can be bought in pads or by the ream (a package of 500 sheets). It is also sold in rolls and, although easier to store in this form, it has the disadvantage of having to be cut each time. Paper should be large, approximately eighteen by twenty-four inches in size. Wrapping paper or newsprint, especially those pages with a uniform small type printing, such as the financial or want-ad sections, are good substitutes when other paper is not available. It is better for a child to have plenty of paper on which to experiment than to be limited to a few sheets no matter how good they may be.

Clay. Clay can be squeezed and pounded but at the same time is firm enough to hold its shape. A child can make and remake things with it. It can serve as a base for constructions using such things as tongue depressors, swab sticks, popsicle sticks, twigs, and acorns. The best to buy is moist clay, a powdered clay mixed with water which hardens when it dries. This should not be confused with plasticine, which is often sold in colored strips or cubes. Plasticine is clay mixed with oil. It does not harden, is rubbery and less pleasant to touch than moist clay. Moist clay can be bought in various quantities, such as five-, ten-, and twenty-five-pound tins, or hundred-pound drums. It is better to buy it in large quantities if it can be kept moist. It should be put into a crock with a tight cover or plastic bag with a zipper, or wrapped in plastic, since it must be kept airtight to stay moist. The clay comes in a large mass or lump. If it is difficult to get out in small pieces one may cut into it with the end of a heavy wire clothes hanger using a scooping motion and then lift the cut pieces out.

Finger paint. Finger paint, like clay, can be easily manipulated. However, even though finger painting is often a freeing experience, it is not a demanding one, and therefore offers little opportunity for growth. It is quite different from painting with a brush,

in which developing control leads to increasing ability to express feelings and ideas. Finger paint can satisfy the child who has the need to be messy. If a child insists on putting his hands into poster paint, perhaps he needs to finger paint for a while. It is not necessary to do finger painting on paper. A table with a plastic top or the common enamel-top kitchen table makes a good surface, where the whole thing can be wiped up easily afterward. A piece of oilcloth firmly fastened on any table provides a good surface on which to finger paint.

Construction paper and scissors. Paper and scissors respond to the child's need to change and invent because he can produce new shapes with them. Paper can be cut or torn into many different shapes, or rolled, folded, and changed in a variety of ways. Scissors should be blunt-ended but of good quality so that they have sharp blades. Paper for cutting must be firm, such as construction paper, heavy wrapping paper, corrugated or any strong paper. Flimsy paper, like tissue, doesn't offer enough resistance.

Collage materials. A collage is a two-dimensional design made out of different materials fastened together. The materials out of which a child makes collages include an almost infinite variety of things, manufactured or found in nature. These may range from fabrics, paper, metal, and plastic to leaves, bark, and shells.

As was mentioned earlier, the collage experience helps develop a child's tactile powers and gives him an opportunity to make selections and judgments which are basic to his growth and taste. The opportunity for choice should, therefore, be wide and include variety in color--bright or neutral; in texture--soft, hard, smooth, rough; in pattern--geometric or natural forms, large or small motifs. Many things which often go into the wastebaskets can be useful, such as cellophane from cigarette packages, ribbon or gay wrappings from birthday or Christmas gifts. In addition, it is

advisable to purchase something special now and then, like fluorescent, colored, or metallic paper, or perhaps some tinsel string from the five and dime or department store. These will not only give variety to the child's collection, but will be added encouragement for him to realize that his parents are interested in his creative efforts and, therefore, in him.

Some children make collages by sticking materials together, one on another. Most children, however, need a firm piece of paper or cardboard on which to arrange and fasten the materials they have selected. For example, construction paper or the cardboard put into shirts by the laundry can be used for bases. For sticking things together, library paste which comes in a jar with a brush is preferred by young children, but mucilage in small bottles with dispenser tops can also be used if it is more convenient.

Construction materials. Three-dimensional constructions are called mobiles and stables. Mobiles are designs made with a variety of materials fastened to a wire structure or hanging on strings, or attached in some other way, to produce motion. Motion is the principal characteristic of a mobile. A stable is a combination of forms made of different materials but which has no motion, as its name implies.

Both mobiles and stables are made of practically every kind of material and their construction and composition can be very complex or elaborate. The simplest and most spontaneous methods are recommended for the young child, to conform to his abilities and skill. The same materials recommended above for collage are suitable for constructions, with the addition of such things as wire of different gauges but light enough so the child can bend them easily. Millinery wire, copper or brass wire of gauges sixteen, twenty, and twenty-three, are good. Bell wire, which comes in different colors, and wire solder are also suitable and can be purchased in

Children's Painting*

by Lois Lord and Nancy R. Smith

the local hardware store. Long pipe cleaners are excellent and can be found in florist shops. A base is necessary for starting. A lump of clay makes the simplest base in which a child, particularly a three-year-old, can stick such things as straws, shells, swab sticks, or whatever he chooses. Another is to staple the pipe cleaner to a cardboard square. Styrofoam, a plastic that looks like snow, comes in blocks about an inch thick; it can be cut into any size and shape and because of its soft but sturdy texture a child can push pipe cleaners or small sticks into it. A single pipe cleaner, wire, or cardboard with holes punched in it hanging from a string is good for starting mobiles. While mobiles are often made on a string or wire, they can also be made like stabiles; that is, wires, pipe cleaners, or straws can be fastened to a base and shapes of various materials fastened to their upper ends with string or fine wire, so that they move.

Lois Lord at Bank Street College of Education and Nancy R. Smith at the University of Massachusetts discuss seven stages of development children go through in their art work, and suggest ways of motivating children and responding to their work at each stage.

"Supporting Children in Their Art Work" might be particularly helpful to students who are unsure of what to do with children who are painting at the field-site. This section is relevant to the workshop section entitled "Making Art." Think about what comments might be helpful to you as you experiment with materials and what you might say to students and young children to motivate and encourage them.

The goal of working with art materials is to help develop the natural capacities of the child for understanding and interacting with his world through personal experimentation and synthesis in those materials.

Supporting Children in Their Art Work

Suggestions for Motivations and Responses. When everything is ready, the teacher asks the children a question to help each one to focus and get started. The question is asked in such a way as to help each child to find his own idea and work in his own way. To actually set a topic does not help children to do this. In stages one and two, motivation is the material itself. By stages, a short discussion can be introduced.

After children have discovered how to make symbols (Stages IV, V, and VI) the question concerns their own lives and interests. Teachers know the particular interests of their children.

*From *Experience and Painting*, by Lois Lord and Nancy R. Smith (in press), developed at Project Follow Through, Bank Street College of Education, New York. Copyright © 1973 by Lois Lord and Nancy R. Smith.

It is more supportive to the child to make a comment about the process rather than a value judgment about the product (for example: try to avoid saying, "Your picture is pretty.") It is most supportive to the child and important for the teacher to look carefully with each child at his picture. It will help a teacher to see the painting as she tries to make a descriptive comment.

Stage I--Discovery

Motivation: Whenever a new material is introduced, children first explore it to find out what they can do with it--and what it is like. In painting this involves mixing paints and exploring how they can be spread on the paper, with a brush.

The teacher shows the child how to wash the brush in the water, wipe it on the edge of the container and dry it on the sponge.

"Look at the colors. How can you mix them? What can you do with them on the paper?"

Comments about the work concern lines, shapes, and colors mixed.

"How did you make that new color?"

"You moved your arm in a big curve to make that line."

"I can see you enjoyed the feel of the thick paint as you spread it all over the paper."

"Look at these shapes you made."

Stage II--Control of line, color, shape

Motivation: The material itself. Variety of sizes of paper and proportions of rectangles may be offered to paint on. Variety of kinds of paper, colored paper, etc., may be offered as choices at times.

Comments about work will concern kinds of lines, shapes, textures made with the

brush and colors.

"You have made thick lines and thin lines."

"Here is a line you made thick at one end and thin at the other."

"You have mixed many different colors and arranged them all over your picture."

"You have used the paint in several ways; it is smooth here and it looks rough here."

Stage III--Combination of line, color, shape

Motivation is still the material and a question and short discussion:

"What kinds of lines can you make with your colors? Straight? Or curvy? Or jagged? How can you arrange them together?"

"What colors and shapes will you make in your picture today?"

"Would you like to use fat and thin shapes together in your picture? Will they be touching or how will you arrange them?"

Comments will concern the combination and arrangement of lines and shapes and colors. Look at each picture for the repetition of shapes, lines, and colors, and how they are arranged in the picture.

"You have chosen to use some bright primary colors and some colors you have mixed. You have arranged the blue in big and little shapes all over your picture."

"You have mixed several kinds of green."

"The way you have arranged those little shapes makes them look as though they are moving."

"This line makes a shape and you have put many colors inside that shape and some outside it too."

Stage IV--Discovery of symbol

Motivation: When the paintings show that some children have discovered how to make symbols (for a person, house, car, etc.), they can be encouraged to develop.

"Do you have an idea for a picture today? Would you like to make a design or would you like to make a person or an animal?"

"Will you use roundish shapes in a design or to make a person?"

"What shape will the house be?"
(if a child has suggested a house)

"Yesterday you made a car; will you make another one today?"

Comments will concern the growing ability to make symbols.

"You used many round shapes to make that person."

"Do you want to tell me anything about what you made?"

"I can see two people in your picture."

Stage V--Control of symbol

Motivation: When children have reached the stage of making experience paintings, the motivation can focus on the child himself and what he likes to do--this is appropriate at first and second grade. Here are some suggestions for discussion.

"What are some things you like to do with your mother or grandmother?"

"What do you like to play with?"

"What do you like to do on the weekend?" (if a child says "play" then ask, "What do you play?")

"What do you enjoy doing with your friend? Indoors? Outside?"

"Where do you like to go with your friend?"

"What animals do you know? Which animals do you like?"

"Do you have a pet? If not, what kind of pet would you like to have?"

"How do you feel when it rains?"

"What do you play in the snow?"

"What do you do when it is very hot? How do you feel?"

"What do you see on the road?"

Then: A transition question to help the child to think of his idea in terms of the material:

"What color will you use to start with?"

"Have you thought about where you will put your person (car, house) on your paper?"

Or simply,

"How will you begin?"

Responses and comments of the teacher say something concerning the growing ability to symbolize the relation of parts to the whole.

"You have put many windows on your house and they are different shapes."

"Let's look at how you made the person in your picture. What parts does he have?"

"Today you put a man driving your car; will you show where it is driving? Is it on a road?"

Stage VI--Combination of symbols

By stage six the discussion can focus on

ideas that have several people interacting and on more specific situations. Children are now able to paint people in action and need support in this. The base line is the most characteristic organization of space.

"Where do you play with two or more friends?"

"What do you climb? Alone or with friends?"

"What are some things you do sitting at a table?"

"When do you run?"

"Who else is there? Where is it?"

"When do you stretch?"

Responses and comments concern the action of figures and the relationship of symbols. It is also appropriate to comment on choice and arrangement of color.

"Let's look at how you made this person! What is he doing?"

"I see that person is running. Are you going to show where he is?"

"You have made children in three different positions and it is interesting the way you placed all the different greens you mixed."

Stage VII--Discovery of concepts of the environment, the society

By grade two most children are painting pictures in which people are interacting with other people. Also by eight years, children are becoming interested in the world and are less ego-centered in their interests, and their paintings show this.

Some discussion suggestions:

"Where do you see people waiting?"

"What are different ways to go places?"

"What kinds of machines do you like to watch?"

"Sometimes it is helpful to simplify when making a picture; sometimes it is helpful to include many details. Which subject would you choose to simplify? Which to paint elaborately?"

"Which social events do we all participate in? Which are limited in some way? Birthdays, sports, parties, weddings?"

"What kinds of spaces do people feel cozy in, frightened in, hurry through, spend time in?"

"Where do you look at things from a special point of view?"

"What kind of situation makes you feel happy, sad, uncomfortable? Will you use colors to convey these feelings--shapes, textiles, the spatial organization?"

"What kind of workers do you see working?"

"Have you ever been in a factory? What kind and what were the people working at?"

"What kind of games have a lot of players? Do you play it or have you watched others playing? Where?"

"What kind of a store have you been in? What were you buying or looking at? What were other people doing?"

"What does it feel like to be out in a storm?"

Then:

"How will you arrange the people on the paper? What will you make big and what small?"

"What colors will you use to convey the feeling?" OR "How are the

Ruby's Drawings*

by Robert Coles

people dressed and are they in different positions?"

Responses and comments concern the relationships of symbols--the interaction between people and the relationship of people (or animals) to the environment.

"You have shown the many positions baseball players are in when they play. You have put the diamond on the paper so there is that small space for the onlookers."

"The colors you used make the party seem gay."

"Look at all the colors you have mixed for the stormy sky. That tiny person makes the storm seem big in contrast."

Robert Coles, a child psychiatrist currently doing research at the Harvard University Health Services, has done extensive work in the South with black and white children and their families in the throes of school integration.

In this particular selection from Children of Crisis, Coles discusses the art work of six-year-old Ruby at the time when she was the only black child in a previously segregated school in New Orleans. Whites boycotted and picketed the school, her father lost his job, the time was very stressful for Ruby. Coles looks at four of her drawings, and makes some observations about her feelings and perceptions of the experience. This is an example of how a trained psychiatrist, who has worked with a child for several years, can make some inferences about the child's psychological concerns by analyzing her drawings. We would caution that students who see children only in school and only for a few months avoid making hasty conclusions about the psychological state of a child just by looking at his or her drawings.

Keep this selection in mind during the seminar activity in which fieldsite teachers describe certain paintings done at the fieldsite. Fieldsite teachers who know a child well, and also the conditions under which a child has painted a particular picture, can add much background information to the discussion of the picture.

The first Southern child to put my crayons to use was Ruby. She and I started talking, playing and drawing together when she was six years old, and braving daily mobs to attend an almost empty school building. Upon our first meeting I told Ruby of my interest in drawings, and she showed me some she

*From *Children of Crisis: A Study of Courage and Fear*, by Robert Coles, M.D., by permission of Little, Brown and Co. in association with The Atlantic Monthly Press. Copyright © 1964, 1965, 1966, 1967 by Robert Coles.

had done at school and brought home to keep. Over the years she has drawn and painted during most of our talks, so that I now have over two hundred of her productions. Many of the topics were her choice, while other pictures were started in response to my specific suggestion or even request. I would ask her to draw a picture of her school, or of her teacher. I would ask her to paint a picture of anyone she knew, or wanted to portray. I might ask her one day to try putting herself, her brother or her sister on paper, while on another occasion I might ask her to sketch a particular classmate or schoolmate of hers. (For many months there were only two or three of them, the children of the few whites who defied the boycott. We both knew them, and each of us knew that the other spent time with them, Ruby at school and I in visits to their homes.)

For a long time--four months, in fact--Ruby never used brown or black except to indicate soil or the ground; even then she always made sure they were covered by a solid covering of green grass. It was not simply on my account that she abstained from these colors; her school drawings showed a similar pattern. She did, however, distinguish between white and Negro people. She drew white people larger and more lifelike. Negroes were smaller, their bodies less intact. A white girl we both knew to be her own size appeared several times taller. While Ruby's own face lacked an eye in one drawing, an ear in another, the white girl never lacked any features. Moreover, Ruby drew the white girl's hands and legs carefully, always making sure that they had the proper number of fingers and toes. Not so with her own limbs, or those of any other Negro children she chose (or was asked) to picture. A thumb or forefinger might be missing, or a whole set of toes. The arms were shorter, even absent or truncated.

There were other interesting features to her drawings. The ears of Negroes appeared larger than those of white people. A Negro might not have two ears,

but the one he or she did have was large indeed. When both were present, their large size persisted. In contrast, quite often a Negro appeared with no mouth--it would be "forgotten"--or she used a thin line to represent the mouth; whereas a white child or adult was likely to have lips, teeth and a full, wide-opened mouth. With regard to the nose, Ruby often as not omitted it in both races, though interestingly enough, when it appeared it was in her white classmates a thin orange line.

Hair color and texture presented Ruby with the same kind of challenge that skin color did. So long as she kept away from brown and black crayons or paints she had to be very careful about the hair she drew.

White children received blond (yellow) hair, or their hair would be the same orange that outlined their face--always the case with Negro children. Many people of both races had no hair. No Negro child had blond hair.

The first change in all this came when Ruby asked me whether she might draw her grandfather--her mother's father. It was not new for her to ask my permission to draw a particular picture, though this was the first time she had chosen someone living outside of New Orleans. (He has a farm in the Mississippi Delta.) With an enthusiasm and determination that struck me as unusual and worth watching she drew an enormous black man, his frame taking up--quite unusually--almost the entire sheet of paper. Not only did she outline his skin as brown; every inch of him was made brown except for a thick black belt across his midriff. His eyes were large, oval lines of black surrounding the brown irises. His mouth was large, and it showed fine, yellow-colored teeth. The ears were normal in size. The arms were long, stretching to the feet, ending in oversize hands; the left one had its normal complement of fingers, but the right was blessed with six. The legs were thick, and ended in heavily sketched boots (a noticeable shift from

the frayed shoes or bare feet hitherto drawn).

Ruby worked intently right to the end, then instantly told me what her grandfather was doing, and what he had to say. (Often I would ask her what was happening in the place she drew or what the person she painted was thinking.) "That's my momma's daddy and he has a farm that's his and no one else's; and he has just come home to have his supper. He is tired, but he feels real good and soon he is going to have a big supper and then go to bed."

Ruby's father at that time was unemployed. It was not the first time, though never before had he been fired simply because his daughter was going to one school rather than another. He tended to be morose at home. He sat looking at television, or he sat on the front steps of the house carving a piece of wood, throwing it away, hurling the knife at the house's wood, then fetching a new branch to peel, cut and again discard. He also suffered a noticeable loss of appetite--the entire family knew about it and talked about it. The children tried to coax their father to eat. His wife cooked especially tasty chicken or ribs. I was asked for an appetite stimulant--and prescribed a tonic made up of vitamins and some Dexamyl for his moodiness. I gave him a few sleeping pills because he would toss about by the hour and smoke incessantly. (In a house where eight people slept in two adjoining bedrooms with no door between them it seemed essential to do so not only for his sleep but the children's.)

I asked Ruby whether there was any particular reason why she decided to draw her grandfather that day. She told me she had none by shaking her head. She smiled, then picked up the crayons and started drawing again, this time doing a pastoral landscape. Brown and black were used appropriately and freely. When it was finished she took some of her Coke and a cookie, then spoke: "I like it here, but I wish we could live on a farm, too; and Momma says if it

gets real bad we can always go there. She says her daddy is the strongest man you can find. She says his arms are as wide as I am, and he can lick anyone and his brother together. She says not to worry, we have a hiding place and I should remember it every day."

She was having no particularly bad time of it, but she was rather tired that day. By then she also knew me long enough to talk about her fears, her periods of exhaustion, her wish for refuge or escape. Only once, before Ruby decided to draw her grandfather and a countryside scene, had she mentioned her impatience with the mobs, her weariness at their persistence: "They don't seem to be getting tired, the way we thought. Maybe it'll have to be a race, and I hope we win. Some people sometimes think we won't, and maybe I believe them, but not for too long."

Perspectives on Adolescence

This reading was originally compiled for Coming of Age: Managing Transitions, Unit 3 of EXPLORING HUMAN NATURE, a course developed by Education Development Center.

Our society takes pretty much for granted the idea that adolescence is a stage of life as inevitable as birth or death. Adolescence is identified with words like stress, rebellion, and turmoil. And by and large, people exert their major efforts debating how to handle adolescents; they rarely stop to examine whether a time of life called adolescence, with all its problems and pressures, is really so unavoidable after all.

Actually, data from other societies have made some social scientists suspect that adolescence, as it is experienced by young people in our culture, might be more a consequence of living in contemporary society than a fact of life in and of itself. The great variation in how the transition from childhood to adulthood is made in different societies suggests that we have not yet come to grips with the question of what adolescence is really all about. Is adolescence something that every individual must go through on the way to adulthood? Is adolescence an inevitable consequence of being human?

This section contains five statements representing different points of view about the nature of adolescence. Some of these views are complementary: there is no disagreement about the meaning of adolescence; the theorists simply choose to emphasize different aspects of the experience of young people. Other views are actually contradictory; the theorists disagree about the nature of adolescence.

What is the basis for disagreement? The theorists define the origins of adolescence very differently and this influences how they interpret what the experience of adolescence is like. Some theorists, for example, think that the origins of adolescence are physiological and that adolescence is therefore inevitable because puberty is inevitable.

Others see adolescence as related to the way in which a society is organized; that is, the structure of a society in and of itself is what determines whether adolescence is inevitable or not. A third perspective holds that while puberty necessarily creates some potential problem areas for the young person, who now has to deal with a new body and new feelings, society can make this experience either relatively anxiety-free or very difficult.

Each of the theories of adolescence has something to say about the experience of young people at this time of life. Viewed together, the different perspectives help us to deal with the question of what adolescence in our society is really all about.

Perspective One

Adolescence: The Effects of Puberty

Some theorists believe that puberty always affects the individual in profound ways. One such theorist is Peter Blos, a psychoanalyst who works with children and young teenagers. Blos believes that when puberty begins, young people undergo changes in virtually every aspect of life--in their interests and aspirations, their social and emotional life, and their sense of who and what they are. These changes, according to Blos, create confusion, stress, and turmoil for the growing person, all of which are inevitable consequences of the process of puberty.

The sheer fact that the body is changing enormously creates a whole set of problems and concerns for the adolescent. Puberty is incredibly unpredictable; when puberty begins and how long it takes are different for every individual. What is more, young people often discover that different parts of their bodies are maturing at very different rates. Consequently, people going through puberty are very concerned about how normal their own development is, and they spend a good deal of time comparing

themselves with their friends. Blos states that one task of the adolescent is to redefine former ideas about the body in light of the changes taking place.

Testing Limits

Young people must also reassess their sense of identity, not only in terms of a newly emerging body, but also with respect to new pursuits and physical capabilities; new feelings and new kinds of relationships with other people. Blos says that as a consequence, adolescents become rebellious, obstinate, and excessive in their behavior and demands. These are ways of testing limits--their own limits and the limits set by the outside world. One way of finding out who one is can be by finding out who one is not. Young people indulge in all kinds of experimental behaviors to sort out what they can and cannot do. Thus, they find out their own capacities and limitations as well as the restrictions set by other people and society at large.

This process of redefining one's identity brings feelings of loneliness, isolation, and confusion. The realization that one is no longer a child, that one must give up childish ways and begin to deal with adult responsibilities, intensifies the fear and confusion and makes some young people wish to remain adolescent indefinitely. But all the stress and doubts are as beneficial to adolescents in the long run as they are unavoidable in the process of becoming adult.

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Perspective Two

Adolescence: Shifting Emotional Ties

"...from this time on [the adolescent] will live with the members of [his or her] family as though with strangers."

Anna Freud

However different the transition from childhood may be from one society to the next, one fact remains unalterable--at some point during the second decade in the life of every girl and boy, physiological changes take place that transform the child into a man or woman. The changes of puberty mean that one has reached at least the physical status of adulthood. Love, marriage, and parenthood are now at least theoretical possibilities, and some theorists interested in personality development believe that they are possibilities that complicate life enormously for young people. One such theorist is Anna Freud, the daughter of Sigmund Freud.

As they mature physically, young people begin to think about making some commitment to another person who is not a member of the family. According to Anna Freud, this means that all sexually mature human beings must somehow resolve the problem of where they will direct major loyalties and affections. Adult feelings require adult relationships with peers; and the major task of adolescence is to shift from loving one's parents to loving someone outside one's family.

People are often unaware that such choices are being made, even while they are in the very process of making them. But it is this conflict between love of and loyalty to one's family on the one hand, and to people outside that family on the other, that makes this time of life so extremely complicated and sometimes so frightening.

Handling New Emotions

Physical maturity, according to Anna Freud, brings with it new and confusing sexual feelings--feelings that are foreign to the now maturing individuals' ideas of who they are. They are immediate, compelling feelings, and they cause young people to want to behave in unfamiliar and upsetting ways.

These new emotions, which are part and parcel of becoming a physical adult, drastically change the way individuals wish to interact with the people around them. Young people are still attached to the members of their families, but they must now make distinctions between what kinds of love they will feel for their parents and what kinds will be directed toward people outside their families. And because these various aspects of feeling are so different from what they have ever experienced, young people are not yet sure of what is appropriate for them to feel and do. Individuals at this point in life must learn to handle this new aspect of themselves and to become comfortable with their new emotions, so that these are not at odds with their understanding of who they are and what is "proper" for them to do.

Temporary Tactics

Sometimes people at this age are so overwhelmed by their feelings that they react in extreme ways. They may, for instance, decide to have nothing whatever to do with the world of feelings and withdraw into a hermit-like existence; they deny that they have any feelings at all and act as though they can live completely in the world of intellect, of ideas. Others are so confused by their feelings that they do the best they can to conform to what everyone else in their group seems to be doing.

These are temporary tactics--ways in which individuals at this transitional stage attempt to manage what are very unfamiliar feelings. Sooner or later, these tactics are abandoned as young people find out how to integrate their feelings with their definitions of who they are.

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Perspective Three

Adolescence: The Crisis of Identity

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Sigmund Freud's theories shook the foundations of traditional thinking about the development of personality. The scientific world suddenly began to realize the significance that early childhood experience has in later life. Previously, scientists and doctors had given little thought to what childhood might mean for the fate of the adult. But now they glorified the early years of life and virtually ignored the fact that people could still grow, change, and learn even if they were more than four years old. One psychologist, however, saw that the destiny of the human personality is not sealed before a person outgrows diapers. This was Erik Erikson, who is interested in studying the stages of human development from infancy through adolescence. During the Second World War, he made popular the notion of the "identity crisis."

Erikson reintroduced the idea that the personality grows and changes throughout the individual's life. He also realized that a person's life story can never be fully understood in a vacuum: the problems individuals have in adjusting to themselves, to others, and to society are influenced by the historical time in which they live. Individuals not only have their own history but are also in history.

Making Choices

People growing up in today's world are faced with a wide range of possibilities for their adult lives: choice of occupation, politics, religion, and life style; to marry or to remain single; etc. These choices must be made within a relatively short span of time, so that a person has to make many important decisions simultaneously. Faced with this problem, young people sometimes become disorganized, not only because so many choices are available, but also because they alone must make the choices and live with the consequences. Erikson points out that decisions about occupation, marriage, and family relationships all are made during adolescence. Childhood is still important, but the time of young adulthood is also tremendously significant for modern men and women. It is at this time that individuals must discover who they are, who they will be, and how they will fit into the world. It is now that the young person faces the "crisis of identity."

Erikson defines identity as "the capacity to see oneself as having continuity and sameness." In other words, individuals need to see themselves as being consistent and dependable in their feelings, actions, and reactions. They must know that they can trust themselves to behave and feel the way they expect to behave and feel in any given situation. For Erikson, arriving at this point is the central task for young people in adolescence. Erikson therefore proposes that--at least in contemporary societies where the search for self can be ex-

tremely difficult--part of adolescence should be a time when choice may be deferred and experimentation permitted.

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Perspective Four

Adolescence: A Cultural Invention?

by Margaret Mead

Anthropologist Margaret Mead's first field trip, at the age of twenty-three, was to the island of Samoa in the South Pacific. She was particularly interested in finding out what the experience of adolescence was like for females, and whether the difficulties associated with adolescence were inevitable or were a product of our own society. The selection that follows is from her book, Coming of Age in Samoa.

"Adolescence is not necessarily a time of stress and strain, but...cultural conditions make it so."

Margaret Mead

In the course of development, the process of growth by which the baby girl becomes a grown woman, are the sudden and conspicuous bodily changes which take place at puberty [necessarily] accompanied by a development which is spasmodic, emotionally charged, and accompanied by an awakened religious sense, a flowering of idealism, a great desire for assertion of self against authority--or not? Is adolescence a period of mental and emotional distress for the growing girl as inevitably as teething is a period of misery for the small baby? Can we think of adolescence

as a time in the life history of every girl child which carries with it symptoms of conflict and stress as surely as it implies a change in the girl's body?

Following the Samoan girls through every aspect of their lives we have tried to answer this question, and we found throughout that we had to answer it in the negative. The adolescent girl in Samoa differed from her sister who had not reached puberty in one chief respect, that in the older girl certain bodily changes were present which were absent in the younger girl. There were no other great differences to set off the group passing through adolescence from the group which would become adolescent in two years or the group which had become adolescent two years before....

...If it is proved that adolescence is not necessarily a specially difficult period in a girl's life--and proved it is if we can find a society in which that is so--then what accounts for the presence of storm and stress in American adolescents?... What is there in Samoa which is absent in America, what is there in America which is absent in Samoa, which will account for this difference?...

The Samoan background which makes growing up so easy, so simple a matter, is the general casualness of the whole society. For Samoa is a place where no one plays for very high stakes, no one pays very heavy prices, no one suffers for his convictions or fights to the death for special ends.... No one is hurried along in life or punished harshly for slowness of development. Instead, the gifted, the precocious, are held back, until the slowest among them have caught the pace. And in personal relations, caring is as slight. Love and hate, jealousy and revenge, sorrow and bereavement, are all matters of weeks. From the first months of its life, when the child is handed carelessly from one woman's hands to another's, the lesson is learned of not caring for one person greatly, not

setting high hopes on any one relationship....

...And however much we may deplore such an attitude and feel that important personalities and great art are not born in so shallow a society, we must recognize that here is a strong factor in the painless development from childhood to womanhood. For where no one feels very strongly, the adolescent will not be tortured by poignant situations.... So, high up in our list of explanations we must place the lack of deep feeling which the Samoans have conventionalized until it is the very framework of all their attitudes toward life.

And next there is the most striking way in which all isolated primitive civilizations and many modern ones differ from our own, in the number of choices which are permitted to each individual. Our children grow up to find a world of choices dazzling their unaccustomed eyes. In religion they may be Catholics, Protestants, Christian Scientists, Spiritualists, Agnostics, Atheists, or even pay no attention at all to religion. This is an unthinkable situation in any primitive society not exposed to foreign influence. There is one set of gods, one accepted religious practice, and if a man does not believe, his only recourse is to believe less than his fellows; he may scoff but there is no new faith to which he may turn....

Similarly, our children are faced with half a dozen standards of morality: a double sex standard for men and women, a single standard for men and women, and groups which advocate that the single standard should be freedom while others argue that the single standard should be absolute monogamy. Trial marriage, companionate marriage, contract marriage--all these possible solutions of a social impasse are paraded before the growing children while the actual conditions in their own communities and the moving pictures and magazines inform them of mass violations of every code, violations which march under no banners of social reform....

Our young people are faced by a series of different groups which believe different things and advocate different practices, and to each of which some trusted friend or relative may belong.... Add to [this] the groups represented, defended, advocated by...teachers, and the books which [a child] reads by accident, and the list of possible enthusiasms, of suggested allegiances, incompatible with one another, becomes appalling....

And not only are our developing children faced by a series of groups advocating different and mutually exclusive standards, but a more perplexing problem presents itself to them. Because our civilization is woven of so many diverse strands, the ideas which any one group accepts will be found to contain numerous contradictions.... If [a girl] has philosophically accepted the fact that there are several standards among which she must choose, she may still preserve a child-like faith in the coherence of her chosen philosophy. But beyond the immediate choice which was so puzzling and hard to make, which perhaps involved hurting her parents or alienating her friends, she expects peace. But she has not reckoned with the fact that each of the philosophies with which she is confronted is itself but the half-ripened fruit of compromise. If she accepts Christianity, she is immediately confused between the Gospel teachings concerning peace and the value of human life and the Church's whole-hearted acceptance of war....

So for the explanation of the lack of poignancy in the choices of growing girls in Samoa, we must look to the temperament of the Samoan civilization which discounts strong feeling. But for the explanation of the lack of conflict we must look principally to the difference between a simple, homogenous primitive civilization, a civilization which changes so slowly that to each generation it appears static, and a motley, diverse, heterogenous modern civilization....

...Samoa's lack of difficult situations, of conflicting choice, of situations in which fear or pain or anxiety are sharpened to a knife edge will probably account for a large part of the absence of psychological maladjustment....

Nevertheless, it is possible that there are factors in the early environment of the Samoan child which are particularly favorable to the establishment of nervous stability.... It is conceivable that the Samoan child is not only handled more gently by its culture but that it is also better equipped for those difficulties which it does meet....

With this hypothesis in mind it is worthwhile to consider in more detail which parts of the young child's social environment are most strikingly different from ours. Most of these center about the family situation, the environment which impinges earliest and most intensely upon the child's consciousness....

The close relationship between parent and child, which has such a decisive influence upon so many in our civilization, that submission to the parent or defiance of the parent may become the dominating pattern of a lifetime, is not found in Samoa. Children reared in households where there are a half dozen adult women to care for them and dry their tears, and a half dozen adult males, all of whom represent constituted authority, do not distinguish their parents as sharply as our children do.... The Samoan baby learns that its world is composed of a hierarchy of male and female adults, all of whom can be depended upon and must be deferred to....

Nothing could present a sharper contrast to the average American home, with its small number of children, the close, theoretically permanent tie between the parents, the drama of the entrance of each new child upon the scene and the deposition of the last baby. Here the growing girl learns to depend upon a few individuals, to expect the rewards of life from certain kinds of personalities....

...What are the rewards of the tiny, ingrown, biological family opposing its closed circle of affection to a forbidding world, of the strong ties between parents and children, ties which imply an active personal relation from birth until death? Specialization of affection, it is true, but at the price of many individuals' preserving through life the attitudes of dependent children, of ties between parents and children which successfully defeat the children's attempts to make other adjustments, of necessary choices made unnecessarily poignant because they become issues in an intense emotional relationship....

The presence of many strongly held and contradictory points of view and the enormous influence of individuals in the lives of their children in our country play into each other's hands in producing situations fraught with emotion and pain. In Samoa the fact that one girl's father is a domineering, dogmatic person, her cousin's father a gentle, reasonable person, and another cousin's father a vivid, brilliant, eccentric person, will influence the three girls in only one respect, choice of residence if any one of the three fathers is the head of a household. But the attitudes of the three girls towards sex, and towards religion, will not be affected by the different temperaments of their three fathers, for the fathers play too slight a role in their lives. They are schooled not by an individual but by an army of relatives into a general conformity upon which the personality of their parents has a very slight effect....

The Samoan parent would reject as unseemly and odious an ethical plea made to a child in terms of personal affection. "Be good to please your mother." "Go to church for father's sake." "Don't be so disagreeable to your sister, it makes father so unhappy." Where there is one standard of conduct and only one, such undignified confusion of ethics and affection is blessedly eliminated. But where there are many standards and all adults are striving

desperately to bind their own children to the particular courses which they themselves have chosen, recourse is had to devious and nonreputable means. Beliefs, practices, courses of action, are pressed upon the child in the name of filial loyalty. In our ideal picture of the freedom of the individual and the dignity of human relations, it is not pleasant to realize that we have developed a form of family organization which often cripples the emotional life, and warps and confuses the growth of many individuals' power to consciously live their own lives.

Perspective Five

Adolescence: One Kind of Status

by August Hollingshead

August Hollingshead, a professor of sociology at Yale University, is interested in analyzing how the social structure of a community affects the way young people behave. The following statement comes from his book, Elmtown's Youth.

Adolescence is the period of life when the society in which a person functions ceases to regard him as a child and does not accord him full adult statuses, roles, and functions. In terms of behavior, it is defined by the roles a person is expected to play, is allowed to play, is forced to play, or prohibited from playing, by virtue of his status in society.... The important thing about the adolescent years is the way people regard the maturing individual.

The Buckley Amendment

In 1974 Congress passed a law that has been called the "Buckley Amendment" because it was proposed by Senator James Buckley of New York. Basically it provides that

No funds shall be made available under any applicable program to any educational agency or institution which has a policy of denying, or which effectively prevents, the parents of students who are or have been in attendance at a school of such agency or at such institution, as the case may be, the right to inspect and review the education records of their children....

Each educational agency or institution shall establish appropriate procedures for the granting of a request by parents for access to the education records of their children within a reasonable period of time, but in no case more than forty-five days after the request has been made....

It further states that parents must be

provided an opportunity for a hearing by such agency or institution, in accordance with regulations of the Secretary, to challenge the content of such student's education records, in order to insure that the records are not inaccurate, misleading, or otherwise in violation of the privacy or other rights of students, and to provide an opportunity for the correction or deletion of any such inaccurate, misleading, or otherwise inappropriate data contained therein and to insert into such records a written explanation of the parents respecting the content of such records.

Educational agencies or institutions must also inform parents (and students over 18) of their right to access to their children's (or their own) confidential files.

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SEIKO AT HOME

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD is a program designed to provide caregivers with opportunities to develop competence in working with children, a framework for understanding the forces that shape the development of a child, and a chance to explore their own identities as people and as caregivers. Program materials and services include paperbound booklets, posters, films, filmstrips, records, teacher workshops, and parent seminars.

In EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, films and other materials do not provide models of ideal behavior but examples of real behavior that invite analysis and discussion. We have avoided "models" because often an ideally resolved situation, seen on film, precludes those who are observing it from facing the problems involved and considering how they would behave and why. We want observers to think through what consequences there might be and what role they think a teacher, aide, or parent should take.

The Film

This film is one of seven "At Home" films, showing families from a variety of areas and backgrounds, with four-year-olds, having a meal. These films were designed to show the diversity of values, customs, and caregiving styles to be found among American families. Seiko's family is Japanese-American. Her father is an architect. There are two younger sisters.

Before the Film

As you watch the film, keep in mind the following questions:

- What values do family members seem to hold for the four-year-old? How are these values communicated to the child?
- What are the effects of the family's messages on the child?
- What is the child's effect on the family?

Suggestions for Discussion

To consider the concrete behavior seen in the film and the values underlying it, you might view the film again, stopping the projector at certain points to discuss what has just occurred or is about to occur. In each instance, consider: What would you do? What would you want the children to learn?

After viewing what *does* occur in the film, discuss the parents' possible reasons for responding as they do. What effect is the child having on the parents?

The film can also be observed from the standpoint of various themes. Consider how the family handles any of the following issues:

- discipline
- children's responsibilities
- demonstrating affection
- cleanliness
- compassion and egocentrism
- independence and trust
- routines and rituals
- aggression and control of emotion
- roles and expectations
- possessiveness and sharing

Transcript (Running Time: 12 minutes)

This is a Japanese-American family on the West Coast. Seiko's father is an architect. She has two younger sisters.

Mother: What do you want for breakfast today?

Seiko: I don't know.

Mother: Daddy wants bacon and eggs, scrambled eggs. Want eggs?

Seiko: No. Cold cereal.

Mother: Cold cereal?

Seiko: Yeah.

Mother: Okay. Don't forget the napkins. We won't need the baby's food yet. She's not up. We'll get it when she's ready.

Seiko: Okay. Extra ones?

Mother: Leave extras there because if we spill anything.... Want some orange juice?

Seiko: No, apple juice.

Mother: I don't have any apple juice.

Seiko: All right. I'll just have some milk. You should have worn a dress today, Mom.

Mother: Who should have? I should have?

Seiko: So you'll look like a little girl.

Mother: So I'll look like a little girl, huh? Do you want me to look like you?

Seiko: Yes.

Mother: Do you want to tell Dad his eggs are almost ready?

Seiko: (calling) Your eggs are almost ready, Slow Poke.

(Father joins the table and asks about yesterday.)

Seiko: Marsha drew a horse.

Father: What did you draw?

Seiko: A flower.

Father: What did Norica (younger sister) draw?

Seiko: Scribbles. I don't want this.

Father: No, leave it there.

Seiko: If I don't want it, I just can leave it there.

Father: Mm mm. Hi!

Seiko: Don't talk with your mouth full.

Father: Oh, okay.

Seiko: No, thank you. She just pulls it out of your hand.

Mother: You have enough, huh? Do you want to eat just half of it? You can put a little bit of that on my plate.

Father: Better eat some more. You just had one piece.

Mother: It just looks too much for you, that's why you can't eat it.

Seiko: I want my bacon.

Father: Hurry up and eat. Look at your hands.

Mother: I know; I tried to wipe that off. What is that?

Seiko: A pen.

Father: A felt-tip pen? How come you got so messy? Did you get it on your face?

Seiko: Nope.

Father: Are you going to go to school with your hands all dirty? No. Just yours? (baby talk with baby) (to Seiko) Eat up your French toast.

Seiko: Okay.

Father: Use your napkin. You're sure eating slow.

Mother: Want some of this egg and not eat your French toast?

Father: Oh boy.

Mother: You had too much to eat.

Father: Yes, I think so.

Mother: You're not much of a morning eater. Okay, eat a little of that. Drink one, either your juice or your milk.

Seiko: I didn't want this.

Mother: I got the message.

Seiko: Dad, I didn't want this.

Father: Okay.

Seiko: Now you got two things.

Father: Come on, hurry up.

Mother: Hurry up and eat. I saw Stephie's mommy last night.

Seiko: Where? Oh, you should have bring that purse.

Mother: Oh, I know, that's what I said. She said, "That's okay, Stephie won't miss it."

It would be more fun if you could take it for her. That would mean that you could play with her.

Father: Take it over to her house.

Eat the eggs. Don't open your mouth like that. You're supposed to keep your mouth closed.

Mother: You know that's bad manners.

Father: You've got to eat something or else your stomach is going to growl when you get to school. Do you want it to growl?

Seiko: Yours will growl.

Father: No, I ate breakfast. They're going to say, "Whose stomach is growling?"

Seiko: And I'll say, "No one."

Father: And then you'll say, "Me."

Seiko: I will say, "No one."

Mother: Hurry up, because you have to brush your teeth and be waiting for the bus so that you'll hear the bus.

Seiko: Okay.

Mother: Hurry up, finish eating. Want some ketchup for your egg?

Father: No, you can eat it the way it is. Just hurry up and eat it. Come on. What do you have in your mouth now? You have to finish eating, you have to brush your teeth and brush your hair.

Seiko: Brush your hair, brush your eyelashes. And brush your...

Father: What, my nose?

Seiko: No.

Father: My lips?

Seiko: No. Mustache. I got a little brush for your mustache.

Father: Good.

Seiko: It's in the middle drawer.
Hi, Norica.

Father: Hi.

Mother: Don't pick your nose. It will
get big. Want to sit with
Daddy? Do you want some eggs,
or do you want to wait?

Father: Do you want to wait, huh?
Want some juice? Water?
Bacon?

Seiko: You get mad at her. You
spanked her yesterday.

Father: Mommy spanked you? Why? For
waking baby up, huh?

Mother: Finish your eggs and finish
your milk and brush up. Get
ready. The bus will be coming
pretty soon.

Father: Hurry up.

Seiko: Okay.

Father: I have eggs in my stomach.
What do you have in your
stomach?

Seiko: Eggs and bacon.

Father: Mm. Not too much of it,
though. Don't forget to comb
your hair a little bit.

(Seiko combs her hair and shows the
little mustache brush to the cameraman.
Then she stops in the living room to
await the bus, which comes almost im-
mediately.)

Mother &
Father: Goodbye!

Seiko: Hi! Look what I have on.
(She shows her microphone to
the bus driver.)