Looking at Development
Making Connections

Seeing Development

Looking at Development Making Connections

Seeing Development

Family and Society Module — *Considering the effects of family and society on the growth of a child.*

| We Are a Family □ | Rachel at Home △ | Oscar at Home △ | Michelle at Home △ | Seiko at Home △ | | Around the Way with Kareema △ | Rachel at School △ | Seiko at School △ |
| The Inquirer ■ | Childhood Memories ■ | Howie at Home △ | Commentaries on Family and Society Films ● | Craig at Home △ | Jeffrey at Home △ | Beyond the Front Door ■ | At the Doctor's △ | Howie at School △ | Oscar at School △ |

Teacher's Guide — *Explaining what is transmitted in care-giving interactions.*

Teacher's Guide — *Exploring how experiences outside the family affect a child's development.*

Seeing Development Module — *Determining children's needs and abilities at each age, what children need to grow, an[d]*

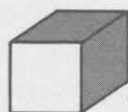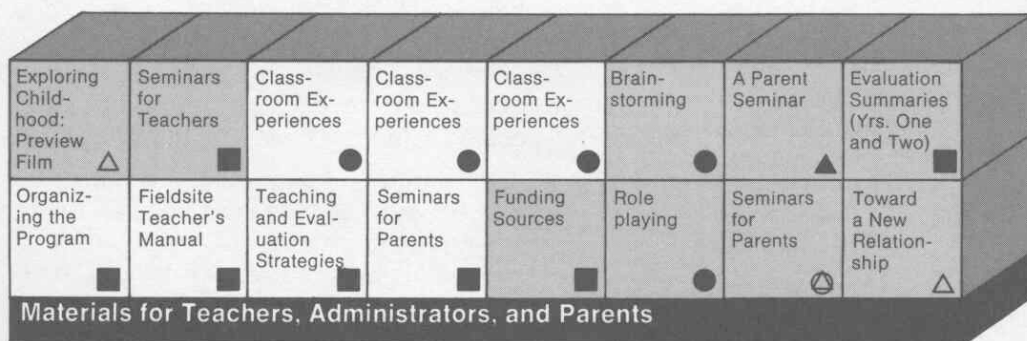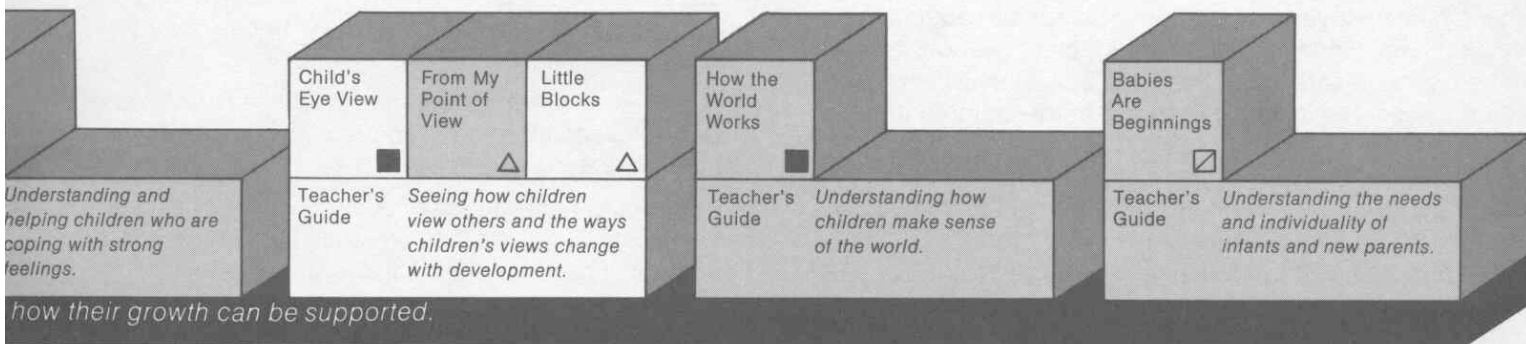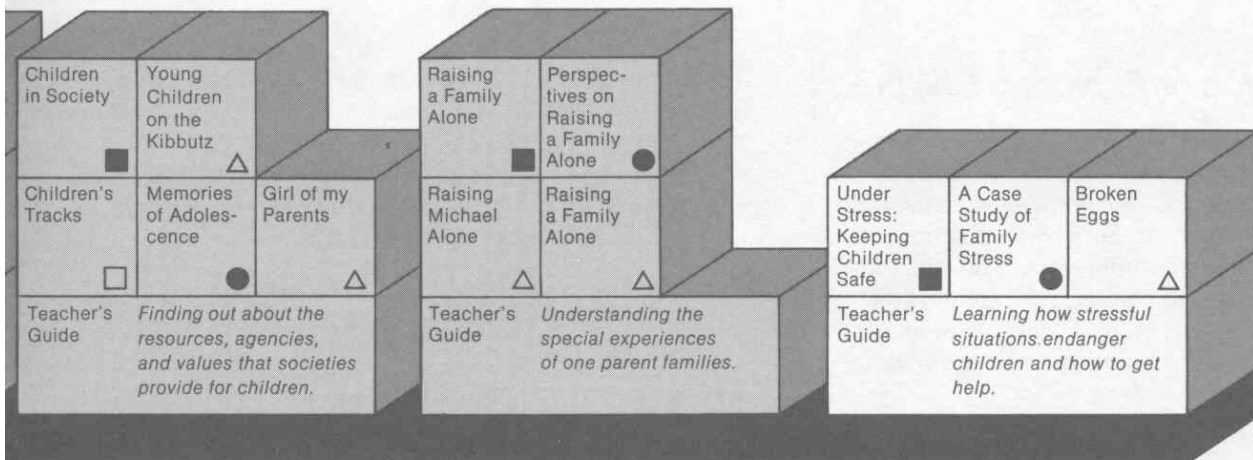| Gabriel Is Two Days Old △ | Bill and Suzi: New Parents △ | | | | | Clay Play △ | Racing Cars △ |
| Looking At Development ■ | Directions in Development □ | Making Connections ■ | All in the Game △ | Child's Play ■ | Half a Year Apart △ | Children's Art ■ | Drawing Sort □ | Painting Time △ | Fear, Anger, De[pendence] |

Teacher's Guide — *Learning about children's development and how to support it.*

Teacher's Guide — *Examining the meaning of play for children.*

Teacher's Guide — *Learning about children's development from their art experiences.*

Teacher's Guide

Working with Children Module — *Preparing for work in fieldsites, and discussion of that work.*

| Helping Skills ● | Helping Is . . . △ | Michael's First Day △ | Teacher, Lester Bit Me! △ | Water Tricks △ | | | No Two Alike ■ | Children with Special Needs Go to School ◖ | Sara Has Down's Syndrome △ |
| Getting Involved ■ | What Is a Preschool Like? ■ | Storytime △ | Being There ◖ | Doing Things ■ | What About Discipline? ■ | What Is a Child? □ | | | |

Teacher's Guide — *Preparing for work with children and learning ways to discuss field work.*

Teacher's Guide — *Examining feelings and developing skills for working with special needs children.*

Exploring Childhood

Key

■ Booklet	△ Film	◖ Filmstrip and Record
□ Poster	● Record	
▨ Cards	▲ Cassette	

Children in Society	Young Children on the Kibbutz		Raising a Family Alone	Perspectives on Raising a Family Alone ●	
■	△		■		

Children's Tracks	Memories of Adolescence	Girl of my Parents	Raising Michael Alone	Raising a Family Alone
□	●	△	△	△

Teacher's Guide — *Finding out about the resources, agencies, and values that societies provide for children.*

Teacher's Guide — *Understanding the special experiences of one parent families.*

Under Stress: Keeping Children Safe ■	A Case Study of Family Stress ●	Broken Eggs △

Teacher's Guide — *Learning how stressful situations endanger children and how to get help.*

Child's Eye View ■	From My Point of View △	Little Blocks △

How the World Works ■

Babies Are Beginnings ☑

Understanding and helping children who are coping with strong feelings.

how their growth can be supported.

Teacher's Guide — *Seeing how children view others and the ways children's views change with development.*

Teacher's Guide — *Understanding how children make sense of the world.*

Teacher's Guide — *Understanding the needs and individuality of infants and new parents.*

Exploring Childhood: Preview Film △	Seminars for Teachers ■	Classroom Experiences ●	Classroom Experiences ●	Classroom Experiences ●	Brainstorming ●	A Parent Seminar ▲	Evaluation Summaries (Yrs. One and Two) ■
Organizing the Program ■	Fieldsite Teacher's Manual ■	Teaching and Evaluation Strategies ■	Seminars for Parents ■	Funding Sources ■	Role playing ●	Seminars for Parents ⬡	Toward a New Relationship △

Materials for Teachers, Administrators, and Parents

☐ Full Year Course Selection
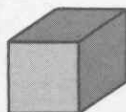
◻ Supplementary Materials

Learning Objectives of *Exploring Childhood*

Exploring Childhood is a program in which the study of child development is combined with work with young children on a regular basis. The program gives students opportunities to develop competence with children, and provides a framework for understanding the forces that shape human development. At its most general level, *Exploring Childhood* promotes learning and growth in four major areas:

- concept development
- skills in working with others
- inquiry and observation skills
- personal awareness

Exploring Childhood students learn about factors that shape human development. Concepts such as maturation, egocentrism, modeling, and reinforcement are considered to help explain caregiving and child behaviors which students observe in themselves and in the children they work with.

Students' growth in working with others comes from experience as an aide in fieldsites serving children, as well as from classroom work which includes such activities as applying course information and concepts to their personal experience. For instance, by role playing and analyzing incidents that involve helping children, students integrate their own experience with new concepts and information about human growth and development. Such understanding can then be put to use in their continuing work with children.

Course pedagogy emphasizes discussion and small-group interaction, which increase students' ability to share experiences, information, and ideas with one another. This view of learning as a sharing, integrated experience, in which students work cooperatively and learn to respect the experience and point of view of others, promotes social skills as well as cognitive growth.

Skills of inquiry developed through *Exploring Childhood* include observation techniques, collecting and using evidence to form and test hypotheses, posing questions and seeking their answers, and analyzing and evaluating data.

In the area of personal development, the course enables students to view the behavior of others and of themselves from several perspectives, to think through relationships with family members, to gain insight into their own behavior, to become more sensitive to the needs and point of view of others, and to recognize how one's values and beliefs shape one's actions.

These four general areas of student learning and growth can be broken down into the following learning objectives. (Please note that the specific goals for each unit of the course can be found in the relevant teacher's guide.) In terms of concept development, students of *Exploring Childhood* will be able to:

- demonstrate a recognition of the universal needs and patterns that underlie individual development in themselves and in others.
- show an understanding of development as a lifelong and multifaceted process.
- identify some of the changes in abilities and needs that occur as a person develops, particularly from birth to age eight, but including the full development cycle (e.g., significant aspects of adolescence and stages of adulthood).
- use the developmental theories of Erikson and Piaget as hypotheses in understanding the behavior they observe in children they work with.
- combine sensitivity to the individual child's uniqueness with relevant information about universals in development (developmental patterns).
- demonstrate knowledge of cultural values held in different societies, values that influence the behavior and emotional patterns of caregivers and children.
- demonstrate an understanding of the significance of play for all ages.
- identify appropriate expectations for children's behavior at various ages (e.g., in children's play, interactions with others, fears, etc.).
- demonstrate an understanding of the child's stage of egocentrism when working with him or her.
- identify possible causes and consequences of strong emotions in children (such as fear, anger, and dependence), and explain how such feelings and ways of coping with them change with development.
- demonstrate an understanding of how stress can affect a caregiver's ability to keep children from harm by analyzing causes of stress and potential sources of support in cases of stress involving caregivers.

In working with others, *Exploring Childhood* students will gain in ability to:

- consider the point of view of others involved when solving problems.
- work cooperatively with other adults in the fieldsite.
- carefully observe and listen to children in order to be sensitive to their needs, interests, and perspectives, and to identify when children need help and when they are best left alone.
- recognize and expand opportunities for children to

express themselves and stretch their emerging capabilities (e.g., through art, fantasy, vigorous play, or manipulation of materials); to expand such opportunities by providing children with appropriate settings and materials, and emotional and intellectual support.

- use age-appropriate levels of communication and discipline when working with children.

- show respect for the traditions, life styles, and values of families different from their own.

- recognize messages that are damaging to a child's sense of self-esteem, consider ways to limit such messages, and help children cope with them when they occur.

- affirm the capabilities of children and others in seeking mutual goals.

- demonstrate in class a notion of learning as a shared experience, through participation in cooperative classroom ventures and through the exchange of information.

Exploring Childhood students develop many skills, including the ability to:

- demonstrate skill in observing and recording behavior, forming a question, taking notes, collecting data, keeping a journal, and setting up situations or activities in order to diagnose specific abilities in children.

- organize data collected, present findings, and plan actions based upon what has been learned.

- separate fact from inference when reporting, discussing, and analyzing children's behavior.

- focus on the details of observed natural behavior (from life or film) and offer careful interpretations of what values they see reflected.

- identify factors in the neighborhood, community, and society that influence children's development (e.g., people, institutions, traditions).

- take into account the influence on children of the values and expectations of parents, caregivers, and society when considering the behavior of children.

- identify messages transmitted in everyday interactions between children and caregivers.

- analyze the means people use for influencing children's behavior, in terms of the values that are reflected and the underlying theories of how children learn.

- analyze differences and similarities between the values and expectations of a child's home and those of his or her school.

- identify resources families need for raising children, and indicate how to obtain some of these resources in their own community.

- assess the suitability of play environments for children, and, where possible, make positive contributions to the quality of a play environment.

- identify suitable adaptations in a school, family setting, and society to help children with specific special needs.

- recognize factors that contribute to childhood accidents and identify accident prevention measures appropriate to children of different ages.

- draw on their own values for children to propose some concrete, specific improvements in how their own community (and/or society) can meet the needs of children and their families.

Finally, *Exploring Childhood* students develop greater personal awareness, becoming able to:

- articulate their own values for children, their theories about how children develop, and their feelings about issues of child care, and identify ways in which these beliefs and feelings affect their behavior with children.

- assess their own strengths and limitations as caregivers, and take these into consideration in working with children.

- articulate significant factors in their own lives, past and present, that have contributed to their sense of who they are (as individuals and as caregivers) and where they are headed.

- apply the concept of egocentrism in understanding their own behavior.

- recognize signs of stress in their own lives, and develop ways of dealing with personal feelings of anger or frustration and of gaining help or support in stressful situations, especially with children.

- recognize their growing competence in helping children meet their needs.

Contents

The full-year package of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD materials includes items selected from each module of the course. Important materials from *Looking at Development* and *Making Connections* which are not included in the full-year selection are two films, "Bill and Suzi: New Parents" and "All in the Game."

These materials may be obtained separately and used with this guide.

Overview of SEEING DEVELOPMENT Module

Seeing Development asks the following questions:

What is development?

How does it change a person?

What are some differences and similarities between children and adults?

What are children's beliefs, abilities, interests, and fears, and how do these change with level of development?

What is special about the way I, as an adolescent, experience the world? How have I developed and how am I developing now?

Goals

Seeing Development attempts to support students' experience with children by providing insights about how children develop. Through materials that build on experiences with children, students enter the world of children, look at patterns of growth and change at different ages, consider the ways individual differences develop, and finally think about how they can support children's development.

In Looking at Development and Making Connections, resource booklets to be used throughout the module, students learn new ways to gather and synthesize information about young children. These processes (collecting, setting up a situation, generalizing and thinking about theory) are applied throughout the module for the purpose of looking at children's art and play, how children view other people, how they explain the world, and how they feel.
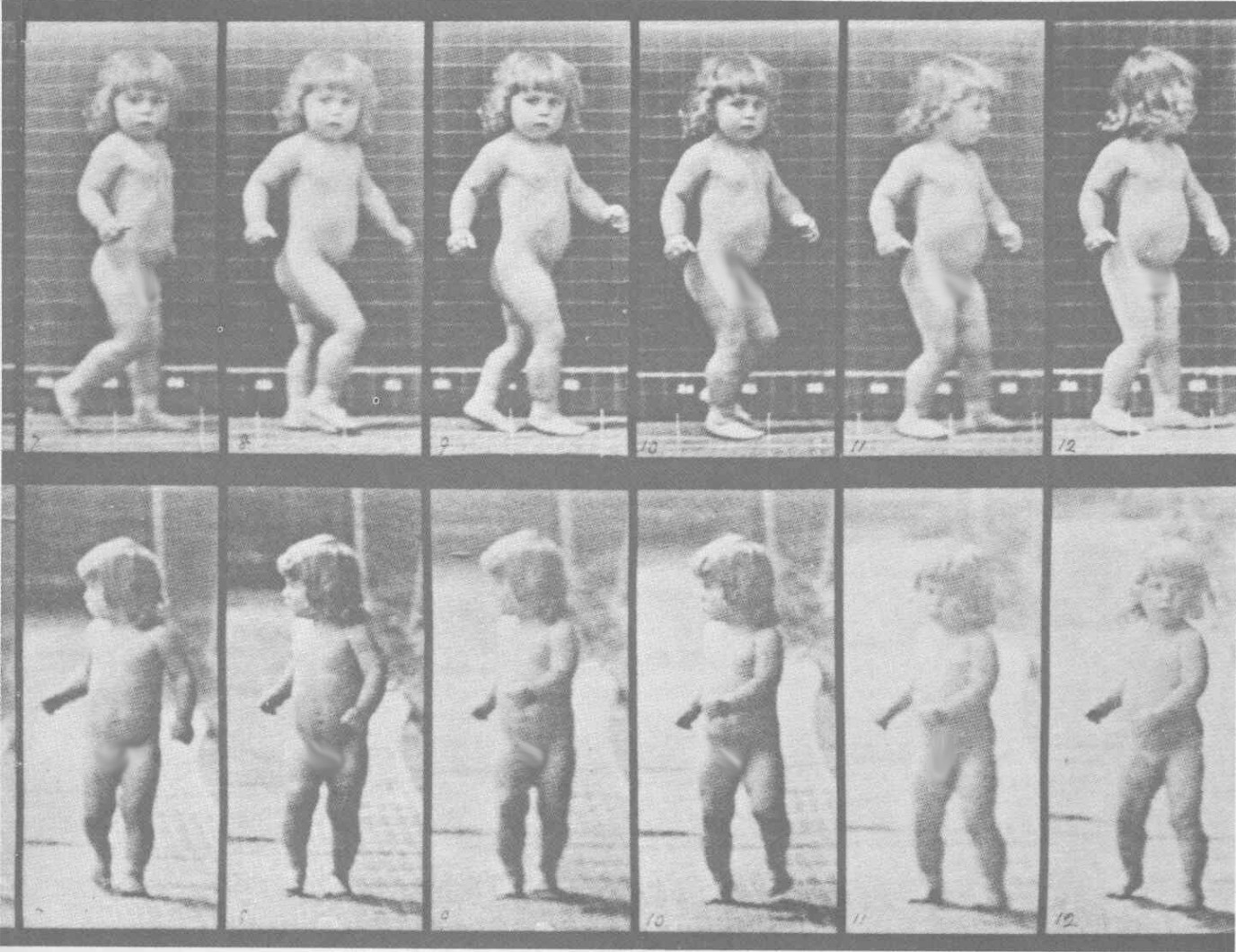
Relation to Other Modules

Each of the three modules in EXPLORING CHILDHOOD contains material that relates closely to materials in other modules. For example, the "Fieldsite Previews" from Getting Involved (Working with Children) and the "Children at Home" films (Family and Society) can supplement Seeing Development by raising questions such as "How are the children's stages of development affecting the way they react in these situations?"

Working with Children materials are designed to help adolescents who are working with children be supportive of both the children's and their own development. Seeing Development and Family and Society both look at questions about what children are like and what makes them the way they are. Each module offers a different perspective. Seeing Development starts with children: the universal patterns of their development and individual differences in these patterns caused by temperament and experience. Family and Society starts with one of these elements, experience, and looks at forces in the environment that influence children and the way they develop. The perspectives of the two modules are complementary and are both necessary for understanding and supporting children's growth.

1

ONE TEACHER'S PLAN FOR USING *LOOKING AT DEVELOPMENT* AND *MAKING CONNECTIONS* THROUGHOUT *SEEING DEVELOPMENT*

Activities	Class	Activities	Class
BEGIN MODULE WITH *LOOKING AT DEVELOPMENT* (LAD) *Organizing Theme: Development is observable and continuous.*		• read "Piaget" (MC) • view part of "All in the Game," focusing on children's understanding of rules (MC)	
Do "An Observation"; ask students to bring in photos for "Looking Backward."	Class 1		Next 2½ wks.
Do "Looking Backward." Ask students to invite mother and newborn infant for class 4; invite nurse for class 5.	Class 2	Begin *How the World Works* (HWW) and: • review "Setting Up a Situation" (LAD) before doing relative size and amount activities • review "Piaget" and "Montessori" (MC) • use "Development Is..." chart (MC) substituting examples of children's view of other people and the world in the third column	
Organizing Question: How does an infant's development begin?			Next 2½ wks.
Do "What Do You Know About a Newborn?" Show "Gabriel Is Two Days Old." Prepare questions for visiting mother.	Class 3	Begin *Fear, Anger, Dependence* (FAD) and: • read "Erikson" (MC) • view part of "All in the Game" (MC) and	
Interview mother with baby. Introduce "Directions in Development" poster; refer to poster for unanswered questions.	Class 4	"Little Blocks" (CEV); focus on exploring relationships and adult roles	
Ask nurse to discuss fetal development, labor, delivery, prenatal and infant care.	Class 5	END MODULE WITH *MAKING CONNECTIONS* *Organizing Theme: Development is "all together."*	
Show and discuss "Bill and Suzi: New Parents."	Class 6.	Do "One Child's Growth"; use with "Clean up Time" from *Getting Involved.*	Class 1
INTRODUCE OTHER UNITS		View "All in the Game" in its entirety and discuss.	Class 2
	Next 2½ wks.	*Organizing Theme: Development is "continuous."*	
Begin *Child's Play* (CP) and: • use "Collecting" (LAD) when students conduct the "Hunt for Play" (CP) • read "Montessori," *Making Connections* (MC) • view part of "All in the Game" (MC) focusing on soccer game and on joining children's play; relate to "Play Is a Chance to..." (CP)		Look again at "Development Is..."; assign a development project. Read and discuss "Development at 30...at 35...and at 29."	Class 3
	Next 2½ wks.	*Organizing Theme: Patterns in Growth.*	
Begin *Children's Art* (CA) and: • use "Collecting" before collecting children's drawings (LAD) • use "Development Is..." chart (MC), substituting examples of art and play in the third column		Do "Finding Patterns in Growth"; refer to "Development Is..." chart.	Class 4
	Next 2½ wks.	Do "Being and Becoming."	Class 5
Begin *Child's Eye View* (CEV) and: • use "Setting Up a Situation" (LAD) before asking children for their ideas about fairness (CEV); review before doing "Birthday Present Game" with children (CEV) • use "Being and Becoming" (MC)		Do "Beyond Seven."	Class 6
		Discuss "Thinking About All Three Theorists" (Teacher Guide, p. 63).	Class 7
		Do "For Discussion" (p. 18), using film, "Racing Cars" (CA).	Class 8
		Present development projects.	Class 9

LOOKING AT DEVELOPMENT

Overview

Goals

- To consider development as a continuing process of change for everyone; to present some of the general directions development takes.

- To present ways of gathering information about children and development.

- To show how understanding the process of development can help students work with children.

Materials

Looking at Development presents several activities for introducing Seeing Development: "An Observation," "Looking Backward," and "Looking Forward." Companion materials include two films, "Gabriel Is Two Days Old" and "Bill and Suzi: New Parents." The data poster, "Directions in Development," should be introduced with this booklet and used throughout the module.

Relation to Other Materials

Looking at Development is a resource for conducting the "Hunt for Play" or using the "Play File" in *Child's Play*; for collecting children's drawings in *Children's Art*; for asking questions about fairness or playing the "Birthday Present Game" in *Child's Eye View*; for interviewing children about their ideas of the world in *How the World Works*; and for observing children's feelings in *Fear, Anger, Dependence*.

Looking at Development

An Observation

Purpose: To introduce the idea of
differences in development
by comparing children of
different ages and compar-
ing children and adoles-
cents.

Materials: *Looking at Development*,
pp. 1-2.

Throughout Seeing Development students
draw on their observations and experiences
with children to learn about what children
are like at different stages of develop-
ment. The opening "observation" provides
an appropriate example of what can be
learned by watching children's activities.

The reactions of the children and the
teenagers to the puddle give clues about
what is important for each at their point
of development. The mud puddle is a new
experience for the children--a toy, some-
thing to be manipulated. But for the
teenagers a puddle is something to be
taken for granted as evidence of a storm,
to be talked about perhaps rather than
splashed through.

There are also differences in the chil-
dren's reactions to the puddle. The
three-year-olds are exploring the proper-
ties of the water and practicing their own
physical abilities. The four-year-old,
Martin, uses the puddle and his body to
create something new, a footprint, while
Ramon (also four) uses it as a context for
fantasy play. Alice at four and a half
combines fantasy with an awareness of the
actual properties of wood and metal.

Discussion

Read the text, pointing out to students
that this is a good example of what a
detailed student observation might be.

Reread the text, having different students
read each character. Note each reaction
to the puddle and list these on the board
under the character's name and age.

What differences do students notice in
each reaction?

What do they think causes these differ-
ences (age, experience, ability, way
of seeing)?

What developmental patterns do they
see revealed by the different reactions
(for instance, the progression from
physical here and now to fantasy to re-
alism to memory and verbal connection)?

Looking Backward

> Purpose: To help students begin to generate ideas about development by reflecting on their own childhood experiences.
>
> Materials: *Looking at Development*, pp. 2-3; photos of students now and from their infancy, sketching or writing materials, or collage materials (newsprint, paste, scissors, magazines); Seeing <u>Development</u> "Classroom Experiences" record.

The student material suggests that students make sketches, write paragraph descriptions or bring in current and infant photographs of themselves. Students may share photographs if they have them and wish to. Or, photos could be displayed on the bulletin board (without names if students are embarrassed or if they want to play a guessing game) in two groups, infants and teenagers.

If they make a sketch, students can draw how they think (or how others tell them) they looked as babies and how they see themselves now. An option to making a sketch would be to make two collages, choosing magazine pictures that represented qualities students had as infants and have now.

Or students can write in their journals descriptions of themselves now and as children. They might want to write about the first thing they remember, or ask someone who knew them (a parent, grandparent, aunt, or uncle) to relate an incident from their infancy.

Discussion

Students are now asked to look at their memory pictures, think about what they were like as infants, and make a list of differences between themselves as infants and themselves now. If students find it hard to talk directly about themselves in this exercise, they might talk instead about the differences between infants and teenagers in all of the photos displayed. (Sketches, collages, and stories could also be used and discussed.) Students could write journal answers to questions about themselves as infants instead of discussing these aloud or before sharing their answers in small groups.

Teachers should be aware that this experience of looking at their childhood and sharing that information might be difficult for some students. The sample list of differences noted between the two photos of an infant and an adolescent should be clearly seen as an *example* rather than as typical. Students may have felt unloved as children or loved and important as children but not as adolescents. As infants some students may have experienced one- or no-parent homes. They may not have had "fancy" clothes or seen themselves as "cute." Unlike the person in the example, students might now feel uncoordinated, frightened of the world, lonely and without friends, still subject to parental or adult authority, and insecure about what being a "person" means.

Being aware of these difficulties does not mean avoiding discussion of childhood experiences but approaching it sensitively --students care most about learning when they are personally involved. Tell students that the list is only a sample. The class might suggest some additions to the sample list before making their own lists. Listen to the <u>Seeing Development</u> "Classroom Experiences" record (Side 1, Band 3) for an example of how one teacher led this activity with her class. You might play this band in class so that students can draw comparisons between themselves and students heard on the record.

Looking Forward

What Do You Know about a Newborn?

While students work in small groups, the teacher can move from group to group, helping students to articulate their assumptions about newborns with more specific questions.

"Things babies are able to do":

What can newborn babies see? Can they hold anything? Hold their heads up? Turn over? Make sounds? Think? Recognize objects?

"What they usually do each day":

Do they get hungry every hour? Every four hours? Always at the same time? How much do they sleep? When?

"Ways they relate to and communicate with others":

Can babies recognize their parents? Others? Can they communicate their needs? Does it matter whether babies are held or not? Whether someone responds when they cry? Do they respond to laughter?

"Their fears and feelings":

What makes babies cry? Are they afraid of the dark? Of falling? Of smothering? What makes them happy?

To be sure that students do not have unrealistic expectations of babies' abilities, ask them also to list things that babies need (e.g., food, warmth, sleep, washing and drying, handling, rocking) and things babies are *unable* to do (e.g., they cannot obey, tell right from wrong, control elimination, choose to please parents).

Students can answer some of their questions about newborns by viewing "Gabriel Is Two Days Old" and talking with a mother of a new baby. Since every baby is different, many answers may be valid for some of their questions (e.g., eating and sleeping schedules). To further consider individual differences in babies, students can check the assumptions they list in this exercise against the information learned from the film and the mother's visit.

Looking Forward

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT A NEWBORN?

Working in small groups, make a list of what you think a baby is like at birth. Try to describe: things he is able to do, what he usually does each day, ways he relates to others, how he communicates, and his fears and feelings. Make a list of unanswered questions that you have about babies. Remember in trying to answer these questions that one baby differs greatly from another.

7

Gabriel Is Two Days Old

After viewing the film, discuss the questions in *Looking at Development*, page 5. When students discuss how human babies are different from other animal babies, ask them to remember baby animals they may have seen: puppies, kittens, farm animals, birds, fish.

What could these animals do themselves?

What did their parents do for them?

What did the animals have to learn?

What kinds of individual differences are there among animals of the same species?

How long does it take for the animal to be completely independent from the parent?
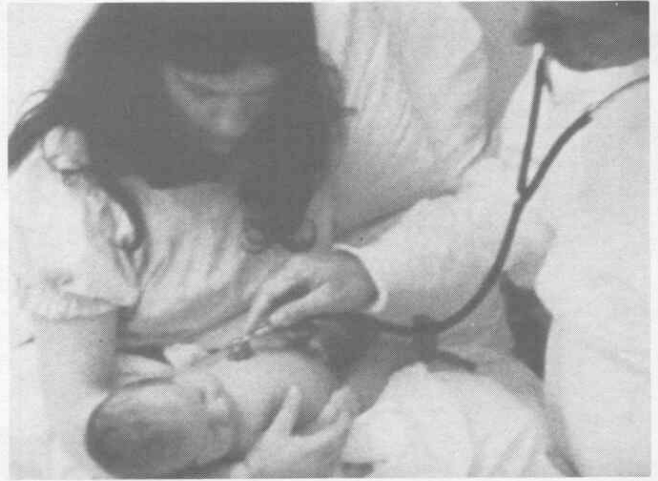
Why do humans take so much longer to develop?

During the film, Pediatrician Berry Brazelton talks with the mother about her apprehensions about the baby not being alive at delivery, or of having some defect such as weak lungs. Her fears are those of every expectant parent, but she also recalls that her own mother had babies with lung problems who died.

Your students may wish to express their concerns about prenatal care or birth problems. The discussion may lead to a conversation about heredity and the effects of nutrition, extreme weight loss or gain, smoking, or drug use while pregnant.

What special care does an expectant woman need?

What special attention must be paid to a premature baby?

What additional adjustments does the family have to make for a baby born with a birth defect? What will family and school do for this child if development in one or more areas cannot follow usual patterns?

Outside speakers, literature from prenatal clinics or the March of Dimes, and the student booklet, *No Two Alike: Children with Special Needs*, can help answer students' questions in these areas.

If you think it is appropriate, you might consider students' questions about fertilization, the stages of pregnancy, the development of the fetus, or the birth process. You might show films, or ask a nurse, doctor, or biology teacher to discuss birth.

Gabriel's mother has chosen to breast-feed him. Students could discuss breast-feeding versus bottle feeding and might invite a speaker from the LaLeche League, which advises new mothers about breast-feeding.

Film Transcript

Doctor: Gabriel is two days old. He and his mommy are having a nice time. She's nursing the 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?

Doctor: 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

9

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.

10

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 non-human 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 heart. 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 moth-
er'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 re-
assuring in terms of having a
baby?

Mother: Oh sure. Like some people think
that babies are completely help-
less. 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 suffo-
cate because there is that in-
stinct 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 al-
ready.

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 equip-
ment for? How is he going to
learn to gain control over him-
self 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?

Gabriel—What Will Become of Him?

When students make "an imaginary picture
of Gabriel when he is six," they should
note the suggestions listed on page 5 of
the student material and rely on what they
know about development in general and what
individual characteristics they know about
Gabriel and his mother from the film.
This picture could be written in the form
of a detailed description or a short
story. Or small groups might develop com-
posite descriptions and share them with
the whole class.

Students can explore differences between
Gabriel at two days and Gabriel at six
years by sharing the ideas in their de-
scriptions and then dividing into four
groups, each listing differences under one
of the four groups of suggestions in the
student booklet (p. 5). To avoid only
obvious statements like "he'll walk, talk,
make friends," you might ask how he'll do
this, in what stages, and at what ages.

Might he walk at the end of a year?

What will he have to learn in order to
be able to walk?

What movements will he make first?

How will crawling lead him to walking?

Interview of a Mother with Her Baby

Ask students if they know anyone with a
newborn baby (two to six weeks old). Be-
fore the mother visits class, ask students
to list questions about babies by refer-
ring to "What Do You Know About a New-
born?" and to the Gabriel film. (Or stu-
dents might do the activity or see the
film while the mother is in class.) Ask
students to check their assumptions about
a newborn's needs and abilities with the
visiting mother.

What differences and similarities does the class see between this baby and Gabriel?

No two children develop in exactly the same way. How is this baby different from other babies students know?

Does this mother have other children? Is this baby different? In what ways? (noisier/quieter? larger/smaller? What things is he or she doing earlier/later than the other children?)

Inviting Other Visitors to Class

Many persons are concerned with newborn babies and how they develop from birth. Students can help you think of people who know about children to invite to class. Possible speakers and topics might be:

- Pediatrician (to discuss physical and emotional needs of a particular pre-school age group)

- Red Cross instructor of prenatal care (to discuss prenatal care)

- Person from March of Dimes (to discuss causes and treatments of birth defects)

- Guidance counselor from school for young children (to discuss emotional development of preschoolers)

- Preschool teacher (to discuss individual differences in children)

- Nurse (to discuss prenatal and infant care)

- Therapist (to discuss physical or emotional handicaps and treatment)

- Social worker (to discuss how families adjust to the special needs of infants)

- Anthropologist (to discuss cultural differences in birth practices or child care)

Choose speakers who can address issues of interest to students. To help speakers focus their remarks, you should give them a student-selected topic when you make the invitation. You might ask students to write out a list of questions and give them to your guest in advance. Some questions might be:

What do they do to help a child's growth and development?

What diagnostic procedures and corrective measures do they use?

Whether the speaker makes an initial presentation or talks informally with the class, be sure to allow adequate time for questions.

Bill and Suzi: New Parents

In this film, two new parents visit their pediatrician with their baby and discuss their concerns about parenting. The film is a valuable supplement to discussions of birth and newborns generated by "Gabriel Is Two Days Old," by the visit of a mother and an infant to class, and by speakers with professional responsibility for expectant women and newborns.

Delivery

The film raises the subjects of hospital facilities for new parents, rooming-in for fathers, prenatal preparation for mothers and fathers, and natural childbirth. Students might invite someone from a local hospital to describe prenatal, obstetrical, and pediatric services offered by the hospital. The class might borrow a film on natural childbirth from a prenatal course or invite a teacher of the Lamaze method of childbirth to speak to the class. The class can discuss Bill's and Suzi's feelings about the importance of being together for Becky's birth.

Infants' Needs and Abilities

Students can compare the development of this five-week-old infant, Becky, with the newborn, Gabriel.

> Are there differences between Becky and Gabriel in what they need or can do?

Some needs evidenced in the film are feeding, changing, and being held; emerging abilities students might mention are Becky's responsiveness to handling and playing.

> Do students detect differences between Becky and other babies they have seen?

Crying

The film explores a baby's reasons for crying, ways to respond to its crying, and how crying makes parents feel. (For more information on crying, you might share "What Good Is a Theory?" by Selma Fraiberg, this guide, p. 72, or "On Individual Temperament" in the *Fear, Anger, Dependence* Teacher's Guide.) You might interview a pediatrician about infant sleeping and eating patterns, unsatisfied sucking needs, periodic fretfulness, and increased fretfulness in first-borns. Students could interview parents about crying: how much their babies cry, possible reasons, how they feel, what they do.

Concerns of Parents

Distress at Becky's crying is only one of many emotions these parents express. While the film is being shown students might be asked to list both the worries and the joys that Bill, Suzi, and the doctor discuss. Some feelings they might note are:

Joys

- Bill's closeness to Becky and Suzi

- "She was really beautiful"

- Suzi "giggled and smiled," felt "silly" when Becky was born

- Parents take her for walks outside, rides in car

- Bill mentions "things we like to do together"

- Doctor describes the fun the parents are having with her

Concerns

- Fear of labor, of what baby will look like

- Comparing Becky to other babies

- Wanting to do the "right" thing

- Felt "inexperienced," "incompetent"

- Helplessness to stop crying

- Concern that Becky is "very miserable"

- Responsibility to someone else, can't turn her over to anyone

- "Wanted to give up"

- Diaper changing upsetting when Becky squirms and cries

- Resent people's assumption that baby belongs to mother

- Concerned that roles will be unevenly
  divided, with mother doing all of
  child care and housework

- Doctor says, "Fathers feel shoved out
  when baby comes along"

Students can discuss their own reactions
to the feelings Bill and Suzi express and
add others they think new parents might
experience in adjusting to a new baby.
Students can describe changes new babies
made in their own families and can inter-
view other parents about adjustments they
have made to babies. The important point
is that students see the profound effect
babies have on the development of parents
as well as the effect parents have on the
baby. To summarize this discussion you
might ask:

    What have Bill and Suzi learned from
    Becky in five weeks?

Reference Note: The socializing effects
of children and parents on each other is
an important theme of the Family and
Society module.

Mother-Father Roles

In addition to feelings, Bill and Suzi
also discuss some of their beliefs and
values about childrearing. Students might
view the film a second time and note quo-
tations that reveal some of these values:

    (Bill) "There are lots of things that
    I can do to help Becky."

    "We didn't want Bill to be an absent
    father."

    "I didn't want Suzi to just...raise
    Becky, to take care of the home."

    "It's nice that I talk to her."

Students might then discuss what they
think Becky will learn from these values
(that men and women have equal respon-
sibility for housework and child care?
that she can turn to both her father and

mother for help?) and whether or not they
agree with these values.

    What is their reaction to seeing Bill
    change the baby's diapers?

    Do they agree that child care should be
    a shared responsibility? What makes
    this difficult?

Students can consider the expectations of
society (Bill resents people assuming that
"Becky is Suzi's child") and the require-
ments of nursing.

    Do students agree with the doctor that
    a mother is "instinctively more tied
    to a baby, perhaps, than a father be-
    cause she has to be"?

Parents' Abilities

Despite feeling inexperienced and incom-
petent, these parents also have many care-
giving capabilities. Students might list
these abilities, which include:

- distinguishing needs expressed by
  Becky's cries

- holding

- nursing

- changing her, keeping her comfortable

- talking to her

Students might then discuss what Becky
learns from the way her parents care for
her (that someone will meet her needs?
that someone will respond to her, and can
be trusted? Read Erikson on trust, p. 13,
in the Making Connections student book-
let.)

Students might be interested in reading
Infants and Mothers by T. Berry Brazelton,
M.D. (New York: Dell Publishing Company),
the doctor in this film and "Gabriel,"
which gives more examples of individual
differences in children and of the mutual
development of parents and children.

Film Transcript

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

17

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.

Doctor: Bill, you're awfully competent at this. How much, how do you get so much practice at changing diapers?

Bill: I found that changing her is important; otherwise she would get diaper rash which is very uncomfortable.

Doctor: I see that you're taking each stage very seriously...washing her off and Becky loves it. Look at her, oh you really do like all this, don't you, Becky? Do you mind if I talk to her while you're changing her?

Bill: No, no...I try to talk to her more when I'm changing her but I have trouble because I'm concentrating too much on doing it. It's nice that I talk to her so why don't you go ahead and talk to her.
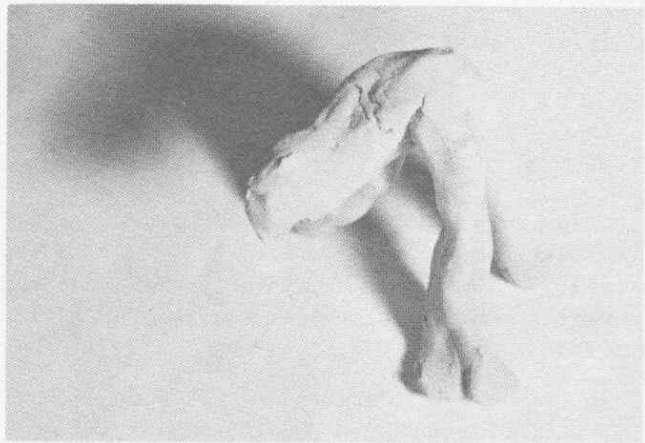
Collecting

Purpose: To add the technique of "collecting things" to the skills students have in observing patterns and directions in children's behavior.

Materials: *Looking at Development*, pp. 6-8; "Zippers" excerpt from film "Helping Is..."; *Child's Play*; *Children's Art*; *Child's Eye View*; *How the World Works*.

This section returns to the technique of observing as a way of learning about children, and introduces the concept of observing by collecting items or notes. For students who find it difficult to observe behavior and draw conclusions from it or to keep notes, collecting things can provide concrete material that can be seen and handled in order to learn more about developmental patterns. Since this technique makes it possible to keep track of change over time or to see differences and similarities in children of the same age, it is especially appropriate throughout the study of development in the course.
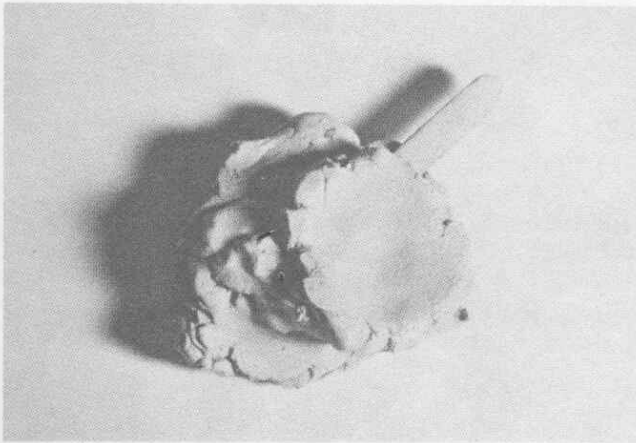
3 years

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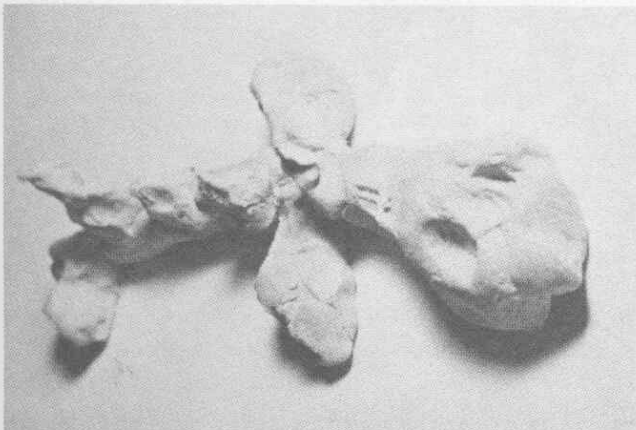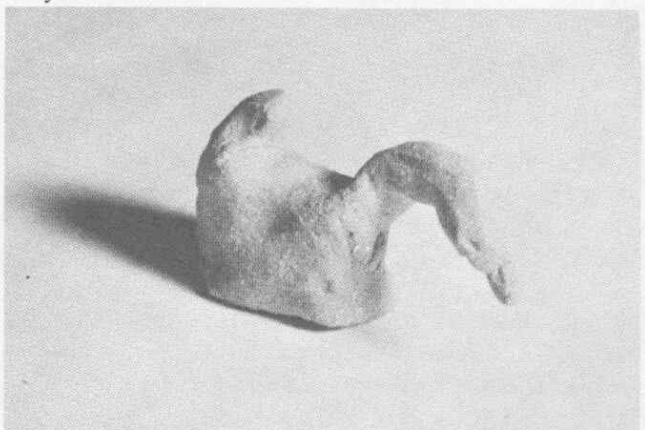
Reviewing the Technique of Observing

Detailed information on observing can be found in the Working with Children teacher's guide and in *Teaching Strategies*. Before introducing the idea of collecting, discuss with students ways that observing has (or has not) been useful at the field-site. Ask them to remember instances in which watching a child closely helped them to understand that child, and perhaps respond more appropriately. Were there things about a child that puzzled them at first? Questions that were answered as they watched the child for a while? Did their observations change the way they acted with the child? (Look at journal notes to recall.)

Can students remember mistakes they made which they might have avoided by watching the children more closely? Did they intercede in a fight and blame the wrong child? Did they plan an activity that was too long for the children's attention span? Too difficult for their physical development? Did they take over and dominate a child's activity? Discuss what they might have looked for, what "focusing questions" they could have asked that would help them respond more appropriately another time.

Once students feel comfortable with the usefulness of observing children, they are ready to look at how collecting items can tell them more about children over time or at different ages, i.e., about development.

WHEN TO USE "COLLECTING"

The technique of collecting should be introduced after students have had some experience making observations at field-sites. Throughout the module, students are asked to look for patterns of growth by analyzing data they have collected about children (e.g., the Play File in *Child's Play*, p. 24; the drawings of one child over time in *Children's Art*, p. 42; children's ideas and beliefs in *How the World Works*; or children's ideas of what is fair in *Child's Eye View*, p. 10). This section about "collecting" should be

introduced the first time students make a collection to answer one of their own questions or to do an assignment in one of the student booklets. The section can be reviewed before students carry out subsequent assignments.

Procedure

Read aloud the opening paragraph about Tony learning to button (p. 6). Explain to students that when children learn a new skill they do so because there was a readiness for it. They will use it over and over in order to practice it, to exercise the new power it gives them, and to show their pride in it. In other words, development shows and can be observed in what a child does.

Discussion

Can students think of incidents in which children at the fieldsite did something over and over?

Why do they think this happened?

Ask students to consider what would have happened if they had asked Tony to button his own coat two months before the incidents described in the student booklet.

What if they had tried to show him how? How would Tony have felt?

What if they had tried to show him how to button right before these incidents?

Show the "Zippers" section of the film, "Helping Is...," and compare it to the Tony anecdote. Together these incidents begin a collection of examples of children's emerging abilities and independence.

If students can sense when children are ready to learn something, they will know how best to help them. One way to gain this knowledge about developmental stages is through collecting things. Point out that collecting information about children helps not only to understand why a child is behaving in a certain way at any par-

ticular moment, but also to see general patterns over time--where children are coming from and what they're moving toward. With this in mind, look at the examples of things to collect in *Looking at Development* (pp. 6, 8) and discuss *why* someone might want to collect this information:

· to see what children are ready for and when

· to be able to provide the right setting, materials, and comments for development to occur

· to see children's behavior in the light of the underlying patterns shaping their development

Ask students what questions they have about children's development. Some questions might be:

At what age can I expect children to share toys?

At what age might they act out a story I read to them?

How do children of different ages respond to rules in play?

If students have trouble formulating questions, ask them to describe situations at the fieldsite that have puzzled them (are there incidents in the play file or in journals?), and help them formulate questions from these experiences. If you have observed your students at work, and have discussed their work with the fieldsite teacher, you may be aware of issues that are of concern. Adolescents are not quick to say that they are upset or would like to know something, and you need to be sensitive to their comments and moods in order to help them articulate questions. By listening for statements about children that are incomplete or inadequate, or statements about fieldsite work that indicate uneasiness, the teacher can begin to draw out the students' thoughts and feelings. Once students have formulated a *why* question that matters to them, they are ready to discuss *how* to collect information.

Notes on Making a Collection

The six steps in making a collection (student booklet, p. 6) might be copied on to the board, where all can focus on them.

1. In determining where they will look for information, students need to consider that there are always many ways that behavior shows itself. For example, in the first suggestion, students could note that children's ideas about roles people play might show up in their conversations, their pretend play, and their drawings, as well as in their stories. (Note: The meaning of "role" should be discussed with students and might be defined as a function assumed by someone. Refer to student functions in the film, "Helping Is...," as examples: playmate, protector, authority, organizer, observer.) The task here is to choose an activity that is most likely to shed light on the question students want answered and to realize that the appropriateness of the activity will vary with each child and setting.

2. In addition to deciding what to look at, students need to decide how many children to watch. The booklet points out that whom you watch and for how long (one child over several weeks, two or three children of the same age, children of different ages) depends on what you want to know. Students should realize that while some growth takes place quickly, other types of growth take a long time; they might not see the growth they are looking for even in a year of work. One way around this problem is to collect things from children who are at different stages of development. Even if a student is working with children who are the same age, there will be individual differences in levels of development. However, if such students want to look at different ages, they could compare their collections with those of students at other fieldsites.

3. Next, students need to determine how they will collect. The student booklet

suggests tape recording, note taking, photographing, collecting products as ways of collecting information. Can students think of others?

4. Before students make their collection at the fieldsite, they should be sure to consult the fieldsite teachers and enlist their advice about the project. If students want to tape record children or borrow their work, they should be sure to explain the process to the children and ask their permission.

5. When students have completed making their collections (whether in a week or several months), they should choose an order to arrange them in, depending on what they want to know. If they are looking at individual differences in children, they will make groupings labeled with each child's name. If they are interested in differences between younger and older children, they will order their collection chronologically.

6. Students can look at their collections and write descriptions in their journals of patterns they see and ways their experience might affect their work with children. In their descriptions, they should discuss:

Why did they choose the order they chose?

What evidence do they see in their collection about what a child has learned up to this time? What does the child seem to be working on now? What would they predict would be the next item in the child's work?

What differences are there among items in the collection? Similarities? What patterns seem to be developing in the child's work?

How will understanding the stages a child passes through and understanding a child's current stage of development affect the student's response to the child?

Students should share their collections and compare their own conclusions with comments from the class.

A Sample Collection

To practice drawing conclusions from a collection, students should focus on what they can learn about children from the collection of clay work. They can study the photos in sequence and then write notes in their journals or discuss changes they see. Patterns to note are:

· a progression in the children's control over and experimentation with the clay

· an increasing use of clay to symbolize something else

Students might also say that the work may have been done by progressively older children; they should know that to say this conclusively they would need to see the range of work each child was capable of and not just one piece.

Ideas for Making Collections

Students can develop their own ideas for collections, do collections called for in one of the student booklets, or choose from the suggestions for obtaining information on children's development on page 8:

· children's drawings of themselves

· samples of children's conversations

· movements children can make

· games children play

· what children can do with a musical instrument

· children's explanations about how things work

· ideas children have about time

· situations in which children show understanding of the feelings of others

To prepare for the "One Child's Growth" exercise in *Making Connections* (p. 1), students can begin now to collect observations and samples of one child's work.

In their journals students might outline the collecting process they intend to follow, using the order suggested under "Notes on Making a Collection." This individual planning process might be facilitated if the whole class works together first to plan a collection for one student's question.

Students might make a practice collection in class--samples of students' handwriting, doodles, drawings of themselves. Do these collections tell them anything about the class?

Another way students might help each other prepare for collecting is by working in small groups and soliciting ideas from each other about where to look for answers to their questions. If two students have similar questions, they might make a collection together.

Directions in Development

Purposes: To provide concrete
information about child
development.

To help students see
themselves as capable of
gathering information and
as valuable sources of in-
formation about children.

Materials: *Looking at Development*,
pp. 13-14; data poster,
"Directions in Develop-
ment."

The data poster should be hung on a class-
room wall, bulletin board, or blackboard
and kept there for the entire year.

Ask students to read "What Is a Child
Like?" and "How Does a Child Develop?"
(pp. 8-9), which discuss the data poster.
Students may want to know where the infor-
mation on the poster comes from; it has
been collected by people who have treated,
observed, and studied children. It rep-
resents an *average* description of what
changes appear in children and when. No
child will fit all the data.

As the student booklet explains, the
poster is both a tool for *finding* informa-
tion and for *sharing* information gathered
from observations, collections, and set-
ting up situations. For finding informa-
tion, the poster can be used in two ways,
depending on the direction in which it
is read.

What Is a Child Like?

The student booklet contains directions
first for reading vertically ("What Is a
Child Like?") to find out average charac-
teristics of a child at a particular age.
The three points listed in this section
introduce a theme repeated throughout the
module: there is a wide span of individ-
ual differences in children, resulting
from variations in temperament, experi-
ence, and mood.

When students read about some of the
causes of individual differences in devel-
opment in "What Is a Child Like?," they
might talk or write about examples from
the fieldsite or their own lives that bear
out these statements.

Have they seen children develop quickly
in some areas and slowly in others?
What areas?

What things and people in their own
childhood environment influenced their
development? (This question is dealt
with in depth in the Family and Society
module.)

How Does a Child Develop?

By reading horizontally, students can find
out how a particular quality changes and
develops. This section introduces another
important theme of the module: despite
individual differences, certain general

developmental patterns emerge. The four patterns listed here might be compared with the "Development Is..." chart and "Being and Becoming" in *Making Connections* (pp. 6, 7).

When students read about the general directions development takes in "How Does a Child Develop?," they could break into four groups, each group looking for information on the poster to support one of the four statements. For example, one group would look for evidence that children move from a focus on themselves to an understanding of others. They can also look for other general directions in the poster. What is the child moving toward? Away from?

Introducing the Poster

The poster is most useful for small groups or individuals who have questions about development. To practice finding information, groups of students might take turns going to the poster to compare their own assumptions about newborns with the information on the poster. Individual students could think of questions that relate to the poster and take turns finding that information. Or each student might choose an item of interest from the poster to share with the rest of the class in a one- or two-minute report.

Why did that item interest you?

What did you learn?

Students should realize that the information is incomplete and not necessarily the only answer to a question.

Directions in Development:

Using Your Data Poster

Included in the materials for this unit is a data poster, "Directions in Development." The poster maps out some aspects of growth in children. "Areas" of development are listed along the left side, and ages are marked along the lower edge

THE POSTER CAN GIVE YOU TWO KINDS OF INFORMATION ABOUT CHILDREN:

1. What are children like at different ages?

What, for instance, is a two- or three-year-old child like? What kinds of abilities does he or she have? By reading *down* the band of the poster marked "toddler" you can examine what motor skills, language abilities, understandings, social skills, fears, and daily habits are typical of many toddlers. By putting all this information together you can begin to build a picture of what working with a child this age will be like. The picture you will form is a very general one. It can't tell you very much about any one child, only something about children in general. You will see that:

- development can be uneven. At any one time a child can be moving ahead quickly in some areas, slowly in others.
- children respond to their surroundings. Maryanne's older brothers may be strong and active; to keep up with them, Maryanne may be very skilled at running and tumbling. Dawn's father and mother may spend a great deal of time reading her stories and teaching her to write. Though these two girls are the same age, they will have difference skills and interests.
- when children are excited, eager, intensely involved, they can often do things they could not do before. On the other hand, when they are tired, uncomfortable, sick, or upset, children may have a hard time doing things that are usually easy for them.
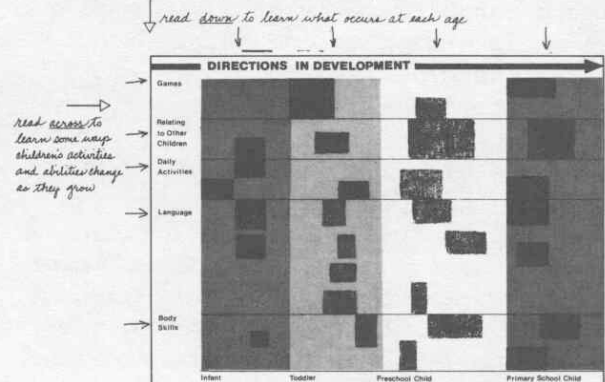
2. How do children develop?

Suppose you are interested in knowing how a child develops the ability to speak. By reading *across* the chart in the area marked "language abilities," you will see that development at one age builds upon what the child learned earlier. For example, children go from "stringing sounds together without much meaning" during infancy to learning to relate sounds to people and things as toddlers; there is an *order* in which development occurs.

Reading the entire data poster may give you a sense of the direction all areas of development take. You will see, for example, that:

- development takes children from a time when they are focused on themselves (their own bodies, their own desires, needs and fears) to a time when they can understand others as well.
- development means that children can think through and carry out more and more complicated plans.
- at first children live only in the present; gradually they come to remember the past and to think about the future.
- early in their lives, children are aware of things that affect their senses — things they can actually feel, see, touch, taste, or smell. As they mature, memories, expectations, ideas, come to affect their behavior.

ADDING TO THE DATA POSTER

The data poster provides examples of child development in several areas, like motor skills and relating to other children. As you work with children in your fieldsite, collect observations of their behavior, samples of their speech, play, fears, on 3 x 5 cards. Make a file, using the same categories as the poster, and keep it near the poster. Arrange your cards by ages within the categories. You can work as a class to build up a picture of what the children you work with are like. Or, if members of the class have special interests, the class can be divided into small groups of students whose interests are alike. Each group should look closely at some particular aspect of development in the children you know. One group might study the differences between what a three-year-old talks about and what a five-year-old talks about. Another group might look at the ways younger and older children use free play time.


12

13

Using the Data Poster

Materials: Five 3 x 5 file boxes
or shoeboxes (or long
straight pins); 3 x 5
file cards, and index
tabs if necessary.

In addition to being a source of information about developmental patterns, the poster can also raise questions, spark further investigation, and provide occasions for summarizing information collected. Emphasize to the students that they are competent observers of children and can provide valuable information to each other. The poster is one mechanism for sharing this information.

Once students are familiar with the information on the poster, they should choose an area of development they would like to know more about, perhaps as it relates to children of the age they work with.

Can the class think of areas of development other than the five on the poster (for example, feelings, senses, concepts)?

Students can also collect information in categories they think of themselves.

Students should then determine how they will collect more information (observation, collecting, setting up a situation) to supplement the data on the chart. Students can work individually, in pairs, or in small groups to add data to the poster. The class should try to cover as many categories as possible.

If students wish to collect information under more than one category, they can head a page in their journals for each category on the poster and collect information under the headings. This information could later be turned over to the small groups responsible for summarizing information in a particular category.

ORGANIZING INFORMATION

There are many ways that the class can organize the information they collect. They might write information on 3 x 5 cards, which can then be filed in boxes labeled with headings or ages from the poster (e.g., a heading on the front of the box and ages on index cards in the box, or an age on the front of the box and headings on index cards).

Or everyone working on a particular category can work together to summarize the data on one card and pin it to the poster.
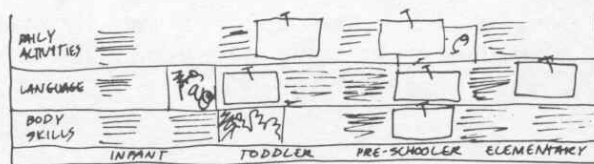
Or they can pin a series of cards to each space on the poster.
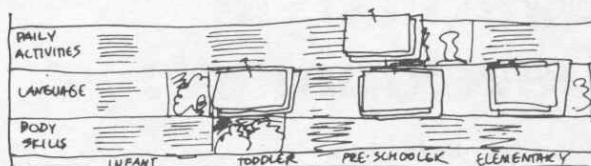
They might also reproduce and enlarge the poster on the blackboard or on a large sheet of paper, using only the headings, ages, and dividing lines from the poster, then enter their summarized data on this blank poster. If they take photographs of children at their fieldsites, these could be added to the data poster, pinned to their own posters, or added to the files.

Students collecting information in the same category should periodically compare their notes with each other and with information already on the chart. What similarities and differences do they see? How do they account for similarities? For differences? How does their information fit with patterns of development they have already seen on the poster?

USE WITH OTHER MATERIAL

Building on the information on the poster should be an ongoing assignment throughout the Seeing Development module. Students can be gathering data about children's art, play, relations with others, explanations of the world, and emotions as they are working on the relevant booklets.

To summarize their data and look for general patterns of growth, students can refer to the "Patterns of Growth" exercises in Making Connections. As they examine their collected data and theorize about development in children they might speculate about how Montessori, Erikson,

and Piaget would interpret their collection. Students can also use the poster and Making Connections to think about growth in themselves and in adults.

The poster can also be used with materials from other modules.

With Doing Things, use the poster to check what activities are appropriate for what age level: Which will encourage the potential abilities and support the feelings of a particular age group? For example, at what age could students put out four toys for eight children and expect the children to share?

When students work on problems in "Helping Skills" (p. 38, Getting Involved), the poster can be used to understand in greater depth a child's needs and feelings at a particular age.

During the Family and Society module, students can discuss how the family and the society influence the development of children as described on the poster.

Setting Up a Situation

<table>
<tr><td>Purpose:</td><td>To introduce "setting up a situation" as a method of actively investigating children's behavior.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Materials:</td><td>*Looking at Development*, pp. 8-12; film, "From My Point of View."</td></tr>
</table>

Students have thought about how observing and making collections can help answer questions about children. This section introduces a way of getting specific information about children not by waiting for the random occurrence of behavior, but by creating situations in order to observe what children will do. It offers examples of questions students might ask about children and the situations they might set up to answer those questions.

WHEN TO USE

This material should be used as students set up situations in response to assignments in the Seeing Development booklets; it can be introduced when students first do one of these assignments.

In *How the World Works*, students are asked to set up situations to see how children explain physical things ("Talking with Children at Your Field-site," *Teacher's Guide*); how they understand size, shape, and amounts

("Building Understanding," *Teacher's Guide*); and how they respond to new materials ("Considering Growth," *Teacher's Guide*).

In *Child's Eye View*, students set up and finish the story situation to test children's idea of fairness ("Finding Out for Yourself," *Teacher's Guide*) and conduct the "Birthday Present Game" to examine children's ability to consider other points of view. The film, "From My Point of View," (*Child's Eye View Teacher's Guide*) provides an example for discussion of how one woman set up two situations to test how children understand other people's point of view.

Students can also set up situations to answer their own questions about development, perhaps the same questions they are pursuing in the collecting section. They might use this technique to answer a question growing out of their use of the data poster. They might be interested in using one of the sample questions in "Setting Up a Situation." They might even want to try Marcia's question, situations, and observations in the sample journal entry and compare their results with hers.

To introduce this material, you might read "Setting Up a Situation" in the student booklet and ask students what they think of the suggestions for finding answers to questions. What other ideas can they offer? Once students have a question that will help them with something puzzling in

their work, they should read the process suggested for "Planning Your Situation," discuss how Marcia carried out the process, and outline a plan in their journals for setting up a situation at the fieldsite. They might plan in small groups or in pairs. To practice explaining the situation to children, getting their interest, and keeping it throughout the activity, students might set up and role play a situation in class and ask classmates to comment.

CONSULTING WITH FIELDSITE TEACHERS

Before students set up their situation, they should consult with the fieldsite teacher about the appropriateness of the activity and a time and space for conducting it. The children should understand the activity and be willing to participate in it. The activity should be one that is fun and interesting for the children, and students should be careful not to use the children simply as a means of finding information or completing an assignment.

THINGS YOU'VE FOUND OUT

When students have completed the assignment at their fieldsite, they should write their own journal lists of "Things I've Found Out," realizing that both their own conclusions and Marcia's are personal conclusions and not necessarily the final "truth" about children. These lists could be shared in class or small groups and discussed in terms of what new things students have learned about children and how this learning will affect what they do with children.

Once students use techniques such as observing, collecting, and setting up situations, and find them valuable in answering questions about children and their development, they may want to find other sources of information about children. (See "Helping Skills: Finding and Using Resources," in *Getting Involved*; and *The Inquirer* in Family and Society.) Having developed questions and looked for information on their own may help students to look at the information provided in EXPLORING CHILDHOOD booklets and films in a new light.

Setting Up a Situation

"My mommy is my sister, too, because she is a girl like me."

"No, he's not my father, he's my daddy."

"When I get bigger, I will be my big brother."

How do children come to understand the relationships between people? How do they see their mothers and fathers and themselves? Often you overhear the things children say and you realize that their understanding of people and situations is very different from your own. By the time they reach your age, they will understand things pretty much the way you do, but how do they get from one point to the other?

You have already learned how to gather information by observing. Up to now, you have observed what children did in response to the situations they find all around them at the fieldsite. But you could also *set up a situation* so that children share certain understandings with you, show you what they can do, or let you know how they think. First, of course, you will need a specific question — one that can be answered by seeing how the children respond to your situation. Below are some questions that might occur to you after working in the fieldsite. With them are some ideas about situations you might set up to help answer your question.

What do children feel or know about families?

You could:

- Ask children to tell you a story about a family. Tape-record what they say. Play their stories back at a time when you can listen to them carefully. What ideas do the children seem to have about each member of the family?
- Compare the stories told by two or three children of the same age or the stories told by children of different ages. If you decide to study children of different ages, ask yourself, What changes are there in the child's ideas about families as he or she grows older?
- Ask a child to draw a picture of a family all together, then collect the drawings. What does a child appear to do in a family? What is the child's relation to the parents? to brothers and sisters?

8

What are children of different ages physically able to do?

You could:

- Take children of different ages onto the playground. Ask them to play with different kinds of equipment and make notes on what each does. Compare the activities of children of different ages.
- Or, set up an obstacle course outdoors. (Confer with the fieldsite teacher about the right kind of "obstacles.") Ask children of different ages to try going through the course. Make a game of it. Take notes on how children of different ages navigate the course.

Planning Your Situation

- Choose a question that interests you.
- Plan a situation that would help you answer the question.
- Carry out your plan at the fieldsite.
- Make notes on the children's responses.
- Think over what you've seen.

In the example below, Marcia, a student, has noticed that certain children at her fieldsite seem to get left out of things more often than others. She decides to set up a situation to help her answer the question, "How do young children handle being left out?"

Marcia made the following notes in her journal:

Feb. 4, 9:00: Darrin, Pierre, Eduardo and Clara, all 3, at the reading table.

MARCIA USES A FINISH-THE-STORY ACTIVITY TO ENCOURAGE THE CHILDREN TO TALK ABOUT HOW IT FEELS TO BE LEFT OUT.

Decided to start with three-year-olds since that's who I've been observing most.

Thought that doing it one at a time would be less confusing.

Showed the kids — one at a time — this picture:
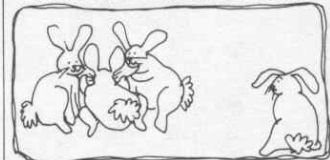
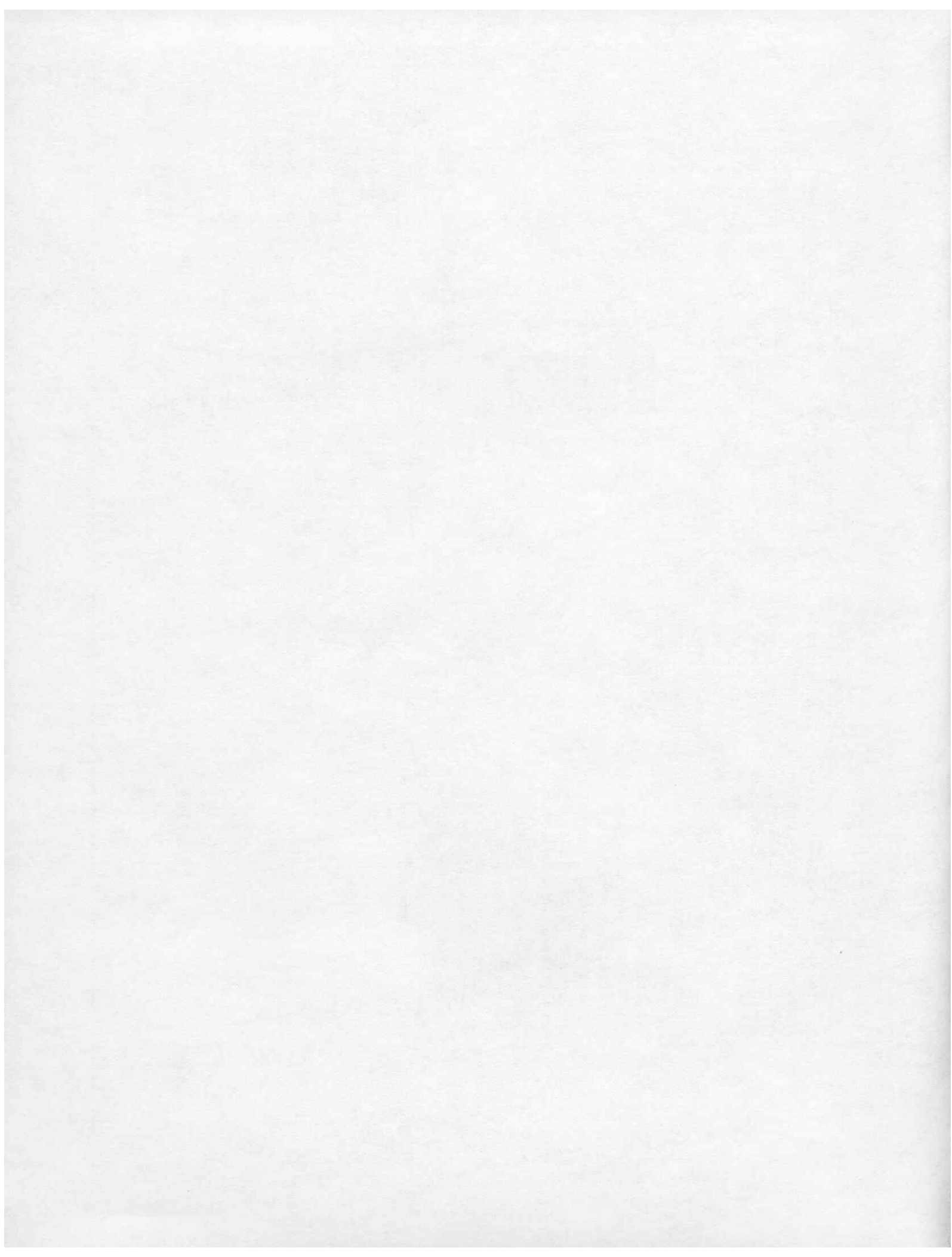and told them we were going to play a finish-the-story game.

9

Evaluation Approaches

These approaches are provided to give teachers the opportunity to build evaluation into the day-to-day activities in the EXPLORING CHILDHOOD materials. Teachers can adapt these suggested approaches to the goals and needs of their individual classes. Students and teachers should share and discuss the purposes, expected outcomes, and actual results of the evaluation approach chosen.

Approach	Description of Activity and Page References	Purpose	Evidence of Student Learning
Free Response (Essay or written dialogue done by small groups or individuals)	Use the collection of clay-work photographs (student booklet, p. 7), and the poster, "Directions in Development." Have students use the data poster as a resource to answer, "What do the photographs tell you about development?" Students can work individually or in groups, either comparing the four photographs or concentrating on one. They can prepare an expository response or present their response in the form of a dialogue a child working with clay might have with him- or herself or with the other children.	To evaluate students': · ability to use the poster as a resource; · sensitivity to the variety of information that can be gleaned from objects that are collected; · ability to see the value of sharing information and insights (if done in small groups).	Students can select categories of information from the poster to inform their reading of the photograph(s). For example, they can focus on how the photograph(s) reflect: · the child's interests · the child's motor abilities · the child's fantasies
Observation	Introduce technique of participant observation (see Working with Children teacher's guide and the sections on observing in Teaching Strategies). Have students work in teams planning an	To evaluate students' ability to: · work together in mutually supportive roles; · use alternative observation techniques; · be involved yet also aware;	Students can synthesize and analyze observational data to comment critically on (1) one or more of the following advantages and disadvantages of "outside observation," and (2) one or more of the following strengths and limitations of participant observation.

30

Approach	Description of Activity and Page References	Purpose	Evidence of Student Learning			
			Outside Observation		Participant Observation	
			Advantages	Disadvantages	Advantages	Disadvantages
	activity for children. Have each team carry out an activity in the fieldsite, with one member acting as a participant observer, the other as an outside observer. (The outside observer records observations in his or her journal while the activity takes place; the participant observer records observations after the activity is over. Repeat process on another day, having partners change roles. Ask each team to compare notes and prepare an oral report describing the activity they did, and their conclusions about the advantages and disadvantages of the two different types of observation.	· understand the notion that what is observed and remembered will depend in part on how close the observer is to the situation; · think critically about the advantages and disadvantages of different types of observation.	Can probably gather and read more detail. Can probably focus on more members of the group--obtain a global picture. Provides another perspective on children's reactions to the adult doing the activity.	Children may not act as "naturally." Cannot redirect activity if necessary. Cannot get close emotionally to children.	Can alter responses while involved in situation. Children less aware of being "watched." Probably have more "feeling" for the situation or the problems of a particular child.	May forget some critical information after activity is over. May not realize own role in influencing children's behavior. May be less sensitive to needs of all children; may not see when a different adult response is called for.

31

Making Connections

Exploring Childhood

Seeing Development

Overview

Goals

The goals of *Making Connections* are

- To use data collected about development to form a general picture of universal patterns of development.

- To consider development as a continuous process from birth to old age, which occurs on many fronts at once.

- To give students the perspectives of three theorists through which to view development.

- To help students see patterns of development in children they work with, as well as in themselves.

- To help students become more aware of their own theories about how children develop and to consider the effect of theories on their behavior with children.

Materials

Making Connections presents activities that draw on fieldwork experience ("One Child's Growth," p. 1), that offer perspectives on one's own growth ("Development is...," p. 2) and that allows students to apply what they know about development ("A Development Project," p. 8). The unit also helps students see that patterns in development are universal ("Development Is..." chart, p. 6, "Being and Becoming," p. 7). It offers the perspectives of three theorists-- Erikson, Piaget, and Montessori--for students to think about in the light of their own experience and observations.

Like *Looking at Development, Making Connections* can be referred to and used throughout the <u>Seeing Development</u> module. The "program package" of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD consists of materials selected from each module of the course. Important material from this unit that is not included in that package is the film, "All in the Game." This film may be obtained separately and used with this guide.

Relation to Other Materials

Making Connections can be used as a resource during other activities that ask students to look for patterns in development:

- "A Play File" (*Child's Play*, p. 24)

- "A Longer Look..." (*Children's Art*, p. 42)

- "Birthday Present Game" (*Child's Eye View*, p. 15)

- "Thinking About What Children Say" (*How the World Works*, p. 9)

- "Tracing Common Fears," "Tracing Common Angers...," and "Dependence in Your Own Life" (*Fear, Anger, Dependence*, pp. 9, 17, and 26)

The views of Erikson can supplement work with *Child's Play* and *Fear, Anger, Dependence*; Montessori might be considered during work with *Children's Art* and *Child's Play*; and Piaget is particularly relevant to work with *Child's Eye View* and *How the World Works*.

Patterns in Growth

<table>
<tr>
<td>Purposes:</td>
<td>To use data collected about development to form a general picture of universal patterns of development

To consider development as a continuous process from birth to old age that occurs on many fronts at once</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials:</td>
<td>*Making Connections*, pp. 1-8; film, "All in the Game."</td>
</tr>
</table>

The introductory questions in the student booklet (p. 1) should be considered throughout work in *Making Connections*.

"What changes have you noticed in any of the children?" Consider all the changes studied in booklets from the Seeing Development module:

The categories on the Data Poster: Games, Relating to Other Children, Language, Daily Activities, Body Skills.

Child's Play: muscle control, degree of pretending, involvement with friends.

Patterns in Growth

Now that you have been working with children for several months . . .

What changes have you noticed in any of the children?

What changes have you noticed in yourself?

Do you think the way change comes about is at all similar for you and for the children? Is it different?

One Child's Growth

At your fieldsite, is there one particular child who you feel has changed a great deal since you first arrived? There are many kinds of change you may have noticed:

- body control and movement
- ability to pay attention and follow directions
- ways of playing with other children
- sensitivity to other people's feelings
- emotional control

In your journal describe some of these changes in detail, using words, drawings, or photographs. What do you think made changes take place?

Afterward, share your observations with your classmates.

Did any of you observe the same changes in different children?

Did any of you observe different changes in the same child?

Does the conversation give you any more ideas about why the child you described has changed?

Do you think the child you described could have changed in the same way a year earlier? several years later?

Earlier in the year I noticed that Lee...

But lately I've noticed that Lee...

There are a lot of things that I think helped Lee to grow. First...

Children's Art: muscle control, how
a child grows in ability to use
symbols to represent real things,
ability/desire to communicate with
others, interest in finished product.

How the World Works: ability to see
the world as different from self.

Child's Eye View: egocentrism,
judging fairness, communicating
clearly, sympathizing.

Fear, Anger, Dependence: number of
options for controlling or express-
ing emotion.

All journal observations.

Consider that generalizing from the con-
crete examples you have observed is the
beginning of building a theory. Contin-
ually pointing out relationships among
students' own observations will help
them create their own theories about
children's development (and their own).

"What changes have you noticed in your-
self? Do you think the way change comes
about is at all similar for you and for
children? Is it different?" Consider
that:

- Development is continuous; change
  occurs in all the small details of
  life--for children, for adolescents,
  and for adults.

- Development may *feel* the same for
  you and for children, but the par-
  ticulars (the content) may be differ-
  ent.

Teachers should jot down their thoughts
about these questions in their own
journals so that they can share them
during the seminar meeting.

One Child's Growth

Purpose:	To help students begin to build a definition of development from their descriptions of change in children at the field-site.
Time:	One class.
Materials:	*Making Connections*, p. 1; journals.

PROCEDURE

Each student should choose a child who
seems to have grown in some way since
the fieldwork began. Students should
choose a child they feel they know well--
one they have often observed playing or
drawing, for example. In describing
change in this child, students should
concentrate on the child's personality.
Recall the "Child-size" exercise (p. 8
in *Getting Involved*), in which students
tried to *see* the world as a child sees
it. Ask students now to try to *be* the
child they are describing in order to
understand change in that child.

Are students better able to *be*
the child now than at the beginning
of the course? What have they
learned that enables them to do
this?

Urge students to describe in detail the
changes they have noted. The list of
things to consider in *Making Connections*
(p. 1) is intended to help students be
specific in their descriptions, and you
can help with other suggestions. For
example, if a student says that a child
is getting along better with others, you
might ask, "Does that mean that the child
shares toys, plays in groups rather than
alone, hits less, dominates less, etc.?
How much is the change due to development
in the child and how much to change in
the adolescent's perception? How can
you separate the difference?" Encourage

students to be creative in conveying their ideas. For example, they might include in their journals not only descriptions of the child's work, but also quotations, drawings, and photographs. At the end of their description, students should try to explain *why* they think these changes have occurred in the child. In discussing the questions on page 1 of *Making Connections*, remind students that similar changes in different children are an indication of the universality of some patterns of development.

Journal Writing

Ask students to recall an experience in which one change brought about many others. Students might find that it helps to close their eyes for a moment. You might ask them:

How old are you?

Where are you?

Who's with you?

What's happening?

How do you feel?

Students should describe this experience in detail in a journal entry. They might look ahead to the adult description of learning to drive a car (p. 4, *Making Connections*), for an example of the interconnectedness of a learning experience with the emotions.

A few students may want to share their entries with the class. Discuss:

Is development "all encompassing" for you in the same way that it is for a child? How is it the same or different?

Observing Through Film: "All in the Game"

|	
Purposes:	To provide another source of data about development in children.
	To show stages of development as an interconnected process, occurring simultaneously on a number of fronts.
Time:	Two classes.
Materials:	*Making Connections*, p. 2; film, "All in the Game" (22 minutes); journals.

PROCEDURE

Because the English accents in this BBC-TV film may be difficult to understand, you should view the film yourself before class and/or become familiar with the transcript (pp. 10-14, this book), so you can help students understand the dialogue.

With the class, read the description of the first section of the film (p. 2, *Making Connections*). Now view the film, asking the class to think about the following questions as they watch:

How has learning to play soccer helped Luke to develop in other areas?

Do students agree with the booklet's description of Luke's development? What else can they say about it?

After viewing the film once, divide the class into small groups. Ask each group to choose one child to observe throughout the film, watching for instances in which many phases of development may be occurring at once.
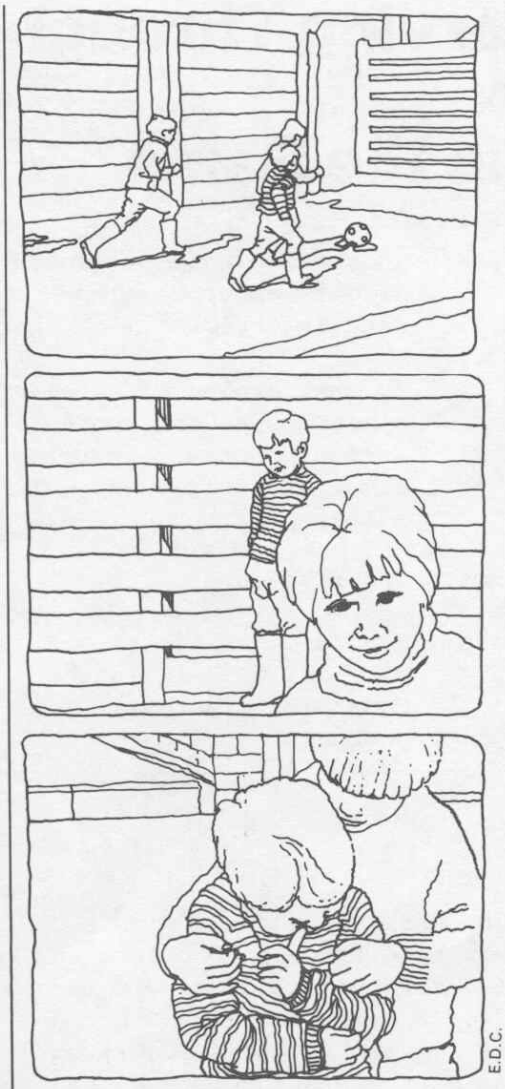
Ask each small group to share with the class what they have observed, explaining why their observations are examples of the interconnectedness of development.

Do other groups agree that the instance shows development as interconnected? Why?

What similarities or differences are there in the conclusions drawn by different groups?

How would the class define development based on these conclusions?

Now that students have described development in a child from the fieldsite and in a child from the film they should list in their journals words or phrases to describe the individual experience of development for these children. The

finished lists might be put up on the board under the heading, "Development in Children." In succeeding exercises, students will make up lists for "Development in Adolescents" and "Development in Adults"; the lists will be used to answer questions in the section entries "Finding Patterns in Growth" (p. 5, *Making Connections*). Entries to the lists should be personal, and describe how it *feels* to be developing: e.g., exciting, challenging, fun, frightening.

Other Issues and Activities

There are a number of other issues and possible activities related to "All in the Game" that you may wish to pursue if time allows.

1. Observe Luke, Kay, and Tristam, who were filmed at different ages, and discuss how they changed. What patterns of development can students see in these changes? The narrator notes some of these patterns, such as increased concentration, cooperation, imagination, sociability, coordination, and imitation of adults' roles.

2. Discuss how role play contributes to the development of children. For example, how does doll play help Preti cope with her mother's absence? What other functions does doll play serve for Preti? What functions does car play serve for Matthew? soccer for Luke?

3. Discuss the issue of individual differences in patterns of development by observing Susan and Elizabeth approach the game of dominoes, or by observing children's responses to the relay race. What differences are there in the way the children use and understand rules? Students might compare these children with Lissa and Leah in the film "Clay Play" (*Children's Art*).

4. Use the film to deal with issues involved in joining children in their play. Consider, for example,

the automobile activity shared by Matthew and his father: discuss what Matthew might be learning and what role his father plays in that learning. Or observe the relay race and discuss what happens when the adults impose rules on the children.

5. Use the film to consider Erikson's theory that at certain ages children begin to explore relationships, imitate adult roles, and differentiate sex roles. How are Timothy (cooking), Roseanna (doll play), and Matthew (car play) using play to explore sex roles?

Film Transcript

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 is he's 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.

Soccer Game

Narrator: 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.

Play and Art Activities

Narrator: 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 materials 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 sensitiveness.

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.

Tristam 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 or her physical development and his or her 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.

One Year Later

Narrator: 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.

Pretend Games: Relationships and Roles

Narrator: 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 get on.

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 separations 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 her in, 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?

Play House

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 peep-hole 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 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.

Relay Race: Rules

Narrator: 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.

Soccer Game

Narrator: 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:	Next, 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? You don't play marbles. Now what would happen if Neal made up the rules and you didn't like them? Could you change them?
Child:	Yes, you see, you have a different part. I'd still be your friend, but you could have different games.
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:	Little people, you know, like Jane, David.
Interviewer:	Are his rules good rules?
Tristam:	Sometimes.
Interviewer:	Would you play a game according to his rules?
Tristam:	Yes. Sometimes, yeah. You see, he has me get the rules for him. He knows I'm bigger.

Dominoes

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 the 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.

42

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 sim-
               ple 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.

Development Is...

Adolescents Look at Development in Themselves

Purposes: To use data collected
about development to
form a general picture
of universal patterns
of development.

To consider development
as a continuous process
from birth to old age,
which occurs on many
fronts at once.

Time: Four to five classes,
with homework.

Materials: *Making Connections*,
pp. 2-5; journals.

Development in Adolescents Is...

Previous exercises ask students to look
at development in individual children;
pages 2-5 of *Making Connections* look at
development in individual adults. The
introductory paragraph in "Development
Is..." asks students to consider changes
faced by young adults, parents whose
children have grown up, and old people.
Students might work in small groups to
compile three lists of changes faced at
each age. These lists can then be
pooled and compared. Students might con-
sider such changes as the following:

Young Adults

going to work
going to school
going into the army
getting married
having children
moving away from home
drinking
making new friends

Old People

retiring
death of marriage partner
dependence on others for physical care,
  money
poor health
lack of mobility
lack of responsibility for others
  or for work

Parents Whose Children
  Have Grown Up

moving to a smaller house
being alone
being free to take vacations
not supporting children
having more money
having fewer home and family chores

NOTE TO FIELDSITE TEACHERS

To consider the idea of continuity of
development, invite the grandparents
of some of your children, or the mem-
bers of a senior citizens group, to
spend the day at the fieldsite. Have
the adolescents observe the interaction
between the older people and the child-

ren, or work with an older person and a group of children.

> In what ways are the grandparents similar to the children in their approach to materials and people?

> In what ways do the older people put their experiences and wisdom to use as they work with children? Are their ways similar to or different from the teenagers? Can the adolescents observe these differences and/or similarities?

The second paragraph asks students to look at development in themselves. Following are suggestions of ways students can make up lists describing their own development. Some can be done in private, as journal entries; some involve class participation. In deciding which to use, it is important that no one feel pressured to discuss personal changes with others. Depending on how your students feel, the exercise can be an open class discussion, a combination of private and group work, or entirely private. You might copy and distribute, or read aloud, the three descriptions by adolescents of changes in themselves. Then ask students to write about ways they feel themselves changing.

Return to the opening exercise (p. 1), in which students described development in one child, and have them repeat the exercise for themselves. How do changes involving "body control and movement" or "being sensitive to other people's feelings" apply to them? How are these phases of development different for them? For example, "paying attention" might mean "interest" or "concentration" for an adolescent. What other phases would they add? With development, not only do particular dimensions become more complex, but the number of dimensions to consider increases.

Have students look at the data poster and consider how they have developed along the dimensions described on the poster. What are they like now? What changes did they go through to arrive at this point? How are they changing even now?

In their journals, students might compare an adolescent to one of the children they work with. Comparison can serve as a useful learning strategy to help students recognize their individual differences and capacities. Afterward, divide students into small groups and ask them to compare their entries, looking for common patterns in their descriptions of themselves as adolescents. Then bring the class together so that each group can describe the patterns it found. List these for all students to see and comment on.

> What kinds of patterns were described by all groups? For example, students might write about their increasing ability to shift their point of view to that of another person--the young child, the preschool teacher--in order to understand better and communicate with that person. Other patterns might be seen in: adolescents' desire to test and experiment, their ability to question, their physical changes, or their control and expression of feelings.

Students could write an anecdote similar to those written by adults (pp. 2-5, *Making Connections*) to describe a recent occurrence that they feel has changed them or that points to change in them. The anecdote should describe current development, rather than past development.

Students could write an anecdote (or look for a previously written journal entry) about change in themselves that has come about through participation in EXPLORING CHILDHOOD. Such an anecdote might deal with change in relation to children, teachers, peers, family, course materials, or other courses. Students need not feel that the change must reflect "getting better" at something. For example, a student who worked enthusiastically with children before the course may find that responsibility and large groups of children

make him or her impatient. What would such a change mean to the student?

Students could ask what changes other classmates have observed in them since beginning the course. The following procedure might help students organize this task.

Divide the class into groups of five or six, and ask everyone in a group to list one change he or she has seen in every other member of the group. These changes should be specific, and related to the course. For example, classmates might notice that one student speaks more in class and seems to have more self-confidence. They might feel that this change is a result of being successful at the fieldsite. Another example might be that learning patience at the fieldsite has made someone more patient with parents or siblings.

To do this it is important that each member be willing to hear what changes other members have seen in him or her. Examples should be explained, and the group should decide which of them they consider most accurate or significant. The individual described should make the final decision. As a follow-up assignment, each student might take the group's description and write about what this means to him or her. The described change can become one of ten course-related changes that they see in themselves, and can be written down in their journals.

Whichever activities students use, they should formulate lists of words for their journals describing development in themselves. Entries should describe how it *feels* to be developing: e.g., exciting, challenging, fun, frightening. If students are willing, the lists of words can be pooled and written on the board under the heading *Development in Adolescents*.

Do these activities help you understand more about yourself more clearly? In what ways?

Looking over the combined lists, can you make any generalizations about development in adolescents?

NOTE TO TEACHERS

In looking for patterns of development, whether in children or adolescents, students may be reluctant to make generalizations. They may find it difficult to understand the distinction between the universality of a theory and its tolerance for individuality. It would be worthwhile to review the idea (p. 8, *Making Connections*) that even though development is universal--follows general patterns--the rate and way in which one develops is in part determined by the uniqueness of that person. You may also review the reading by Anna Freud, in which she talks about "shifting emotional ties" (pp. 78-79). You might read excerpts to your students, or duplicate the reading and hand it out. Solicit students' reactions to it. Do they feel that the patterns described by Freud are an accurate description of adolescents? Why or why not? Is there evidence in their lives to support or deny what Freud says?

Development in Adults Is…

Development in You, the Teacher

While adolescents are writing anecdotes describing recent experiences that show growth and change in themselves, perhaps in connection with EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, you might write a similar anecdote about yourself (or look for a previous anecdote in your journal). If you decide to share this anecdote with the class, it can be added to the three adult descriptions of development in themselves on pages 2-5, and listed under *Development in Adults*.

You might also get feedback from the class about course-related changes they see in you as a teacher, just as students can get feedback from each other (see above). Each student might note one

change they see in you, being careful
to be specific. For example, they might
say that you have learned more about
child or adolescent development, that
you have more or less variety in class-
room procedure, that you give students
more (or less) time to respond to your
questions, that you give different kinds
of assignments, or talk more with stu-
dents about their personal experiences,
and that you draw on these in class dis-
cussion. Students' comments can then be
pooled on the board. You and the class
might choose the three most accurate or
significant changes on the list.

Development in Adults

Students might like to look for other
descriptions of change in adults. Stu-
dents could refer to biographies and
other readings, and television or films.
They might also interview you, the field-
site teacher, other teachers or admin-
istrators in the school, parents, rela-
tives, or neighbors. The class should
decide on appropriate questions to ask
in such interviews (with suggestions or
guidance from you), and these interviews
might then be recorded on an interview
form or on a tape recorder, if available.
Possible interview questions might be:

> What is a recent experience, or
> series of experiences, that you feel
> changed you?

> What differences do you see in your-
> self as a result? How do you feel
> about the change? afraid? glad?

> Do you ever worry that you won't
> go on changing enough?

Working from the descriptions adults
have given about themselves, each
student should make a list of words
describing how it feels for these adults
to be developing, pool these lists as a
class, and add the changes to the column
Development in Adults on the board.
For example, if students described
development for the three adults in
"Development at thirty, at thirty-five,
and at twenty-nine", they might say,

At thirty: harder now, a loss of
fearlessness, amazement,
newness ("I had to start
all over.").

At thirty-five: increased confi-
dence, challenge, in-
creased control, panic,
thrilling, slow compared
to development of young.

At twenty-nine: frustration ("I
hated it, I cried for
hours."), "terror of un-
known," taking responsi-
bility, independence.

Finding Patterns in Growth

What differences and similarities do
students see between their own and adult
development? For example, if they have
learned to drive, how do they compare
that experience to the adult's experience
in "Development at Twenty-Nine"? How
would they compare their own development
to children's development?

In considering differences between child-
ren, adolescents, and adults, students
might look for differences in the areas
in which development occurs, in what
causes the development to occur or to
be held back, etc. Discuss:

> How is learning to ride a bike
> different at ages 6, 15, 35, and
> 50?

> Do they agree with the adult in
> "Development at twenty-nine" that,
> "After a certain point, chronologi-
> cal age has very little to do with
> stages of growth?"

While students may note some differences
in how it feels to be developing at each
stage (e.g., increased physical diffi-
culty, less fearlessness), they may also
notice many similarities (newness, chal-
lenge, panic, frustration, increased
independence, control, confidence). The
universal elements of development are
the subject of the "Development Is..."
chart on page 6.

"Development Is…" Chart

Introducing the Chart

Read the chart on page 6 both vertically and horizontally with the class. Reading down the first column gives a generalized definition of development; the second column adds greater definition or detail; and the third offers an example (shoe-tying) of one phase of development in one child. Reading across the chart defines, explains, and exemplifies one characteristic of development.

Activities

To test and understand the chart's definition, you and the students might substitute examples of your own in place of the shoe-tying example:

- One group might fill in the chart with other examples they have observed at the fieldsite.

- Another group might fill it in with examples from their own, current development.

- You might fill in examples describing your own development, or that of one of your students.

- Seven small groups of students might each take one general characteristic of development from the first column and brainstorm examples that illustrate that characteristic.

- The class can refer to the chart during each Seeing Development unit and substitute examples from that unit. For example, during *Children's Art*, students could examine how Patrice in the film "Painting Time" demonstrates that "Development Is... universal, individual...", etc. Or, during *Child's Eye View*, students could apply these characteristics to Alice's game of hide and seek (p. 12).

- Ask each student to choose an example from the "Directions in Development" poster (e.g., learning words, playing with other children) and substitute it for the shoe-tying example.

Being and Becoming

Being

This exercise is designed to help
students compile everything they know
about the current stage of development
of the children with whom they are work-
ing. Throughout Seeing Development,
students collect a wide variety of in-
formation about children's development.
As a class, take about ten minutes to
list topics of students' observations,
collections, and set-up situations:

- data for the "Directions in Develop-
ment" poster

- observations of children of differ-
ent ages playing ("A Play File,"
Child's Play, p. 24)

- observations of children of differ-
ent ages drawing (*Children's Art*,
pp. 37, 42)

- information about children's ideas
of fairness and other people's
points of view (*Child's Eye View*,
pp. 10, 15)

- examples of children's explanations
of the world and reactions to new
materials (*How the World Works*)

- observations of children's differing
abilities to show and handle their
emotions (*Fear, Anger, Dependence*)

Divide the class into groups of five or
six students. Ask each group to con-
sider all of the data and to make
several statements about the children
they work with, using the data as evi-
dence. Students' statements should
address the following:

- the children's view of others

- their understanding of the physical
world

- their ways of communicating and
their ability to sympathize

- their understanding of the past,
present, and future

- their relationships with other
people

· their ways of expressing feelings

· their body skills.

Another way of doing this activity is to divide the class into groups of five or six, with each group focusing on a particular area of development (e.g., children's view of others) and using data to describe "where children are" in that area.

Whichever method is used, be sure students describe both what children can do and what is still beyond them; what interests them and what doesn't interest them.

Putting students who work at the same fieldsite together will enable them to discuss in depth the children they work with. Or students from different fieldsites could be grouped together, according to the age of the children they work with.

To bring this information together, you might ask each student to write a description of a typical four-year-old (or three- or six-year-old). Give this assignment before each group makes its report so that students can take notes on relevant information. In making these descriptions, students should concentrate not on individual differences within a group, but on how this group in *general* differs from groups of older or younger children.

Before the small groups report, you might post a version of the "Being... Becoming" chart (p. 7 of the student booklet) where everyone can see it. As each group mentions a characteristic of one developmental group, someone can add this to the "Being..." side of the chart.

Becoming

Students can return to the same groups and look again at their journals and collected observations of children for clues that the children are changing. To help the group find clues in the children's behavior, you might refer

students to the questions in the student booklet ("Becoming", p. 7) and ask others such as, "Do the children practice some skills repeatedly, or use certain words over and over?" Each group might report briefly on the indications of change they see in their children.

Many Directions

Given some indications that change is always occurring in the children they work with, the same small groups can then describe the directions in which they think the children are moving.

Remind students that the focus is on examining the data to find patterns of growth. Students can look for patterns in all phases of development--thinking, physical growth, emotional expression, interests, attentiveness. To help students review their data, you might refer back to page 35, which lists phases of development explored in each unit of Seeing Development. Examples of patterns might be: moving toward greater muscle control, change from focus on self to understanding of others, or ability to distinguish between words and the things they represent.

> Has the children's behavior always been the same? Has it changed? What is the evidence?

> Using your sources of data, what patterns of change in children can you describe? How do you know?

As the statements develop have each group list the patterns they discovered on large sheets of newsprint, which can be shown to the entire class. When the task is finished, have each group give a five-minute report to the class. At the end of all the presentations, the class should focus its attention on drawing out the similarities in each group's list. Can any conclusions be drawn from the descriptions of the patterns of growth in the young children they have worked with? Do they

need more information before they can decide? If so, how would they get it?

Now that the class has described the patterns they see in young children, ask them:

Can you predict any future changes by looking at these patterns?

Becoming: Creating a Theory of Child Development

Using the chart on page 7 of their booklet and following the directions for the exercise "Many Directions," students should respond to the ideas listed under the heading "Being." Do they agree with what is there? Why or why not? Encourage students to add to the chart their own descriptions of development in the young children they work with, or new ideas they may have learned from the theorists.

On the other side of the chart, under the heading "Becoming," students should hypothesize about the changes that might occur in the young child. The partially completed chart might look like this:

In making statements about how children change and in what directions, students should realize that they, too, are theorizing. They might compare and contrast what they have said with what the theorists said in their booklet.

You should remind students that hypotheses need to be tested; generate several methods for doing so. For example, students could interview the parents of the children they work with, or other teachers or pediatricians; they could look at data collected in observations and compare it to their hypotheses; they could make new observations (or redo previous observations in light of hypotheses) over a two- or three-month period, focusing on a particular area only.

Discussion can shift from the theory itself to the applicability of the theory.

Does having a theory about the way children will change help you work more effectively with them, or understand them better? Why or why not?

Being..........	Becoming..............
fully occupied with the "here and now."	interested in the past, aware of the future, curious about other places.
concerned with self, with satisfying his or her own strong needs, wishes, curiosities.	able to consider the needs, viewpoints, and experiences of others.
focused on just one thing at a time.	able to keep more than one thing in mind at a time, to follow a series of instructions, to make plans and carry them out.
certain that others see things from his or her point of view.	willing to offer explanations that fit his or her experience, as well as the experience of others; increasingly involved with other people and with events outside his or her immediate experience.

Here the class might create an activity for young children that supports the children's development in light of their own theories. For example, if students theorize that children are testing their own physical prowess, they might design an activity that offers a variety of physical challenges to the child.

Many Directions in Adolescent Development

Building on the previous lesson, students could create a new "Being-Becoming" chart for themselves. Following their descriptions of themselves from a previous lesson ("Development in Adolescents Is...," p. 44) and what Montessori, Piaget, and Erikson or Freud have said about adolescents (see seminar reading, p. 78), they can put together a list of characteristics under the heading "Being." Then shift the focus to the future and ask:

> In what directions are you changing? What will you become? How?

Help students pool their individual lists on the board, categorize their responses, and list them under the heading "Becoming" on the chart. From the individual responses, can a hypothesis be drawn about the directions of change in adolescents?

Moving Toward Adulthood

As students move from adolescence to adulthood, they receive mixed messages from the adult community about what an adult is. Most people would agree that taking on the role of caregiver to children is being an adult. Yet students often complain, "If I can be considered an adult at the fieldsite, why can't I be considered an adult back at the high school?" Look at the following list of adult characteristics. Discuss the list and subsequent questions.*

---

*This activity is adapted from Unit Three of EXPLORING HUMAN NATURE, a course developed at EDC.

You are recognized as an adult if:

you can vote.
you are married.
you have children of your own.
you think you are an adult.
you can get married without your
    parents' consent.
you are 16 years old.
you can buy beer.
you have a place to live away from
    your parents.
you support yourself.
you do not go to school.
other people think you are an adult.
you have a job.
you support someone else.
you are 18 years old.
you come and go as you please.
you have a clear sense of who you
    are and what you want in life.
you are in the armed forces.
you are physically mature.
you are 21 years old.
you are legally responsible for your
    own actions.
you can buy your own car.
you are 30 years old.
you are in love with someone who
    loves you.

Questions for Discussion

How do young people in America gain recognition as adults? What must an individual do to be accepted into the adult world? From the list, choose the phrases that you think describe criteria by which people in our society are recognized as adults. Add any you think are missing. Which of these do you think are the most important measures of adulthood? Which are not that important? Which of these criteria are absolutely necessary for recognition as an adult in our culture?

Beyond Seven

Following the directions for the "Beyond Seven" exercise, assist the class in adding to the original data poster. While half the class fills in the "Adolescent" column, the other half can

fill in the "Adult" column. The descriptions of children, adolescents, and adults that were done earlier should be included (see pp. 8, 19, this book). Seeing this combined data should help students understand that development occurs throughout life, that the same patterns are true of development at all ages, and that development moves in many different directions and at different rates.

DISCUSSION

The student material suggests comparing the directions in growth mapped on the Being-Becoming chart with the data added to the poster on adolescents and adults. Individual students or groups of students might take one direction and look for evidence that the pattern follows through. In the process, students may notice some areas in which growth stops or tapers off. Physical development, for example, usually reaches its peak by age 20. But most development never really stops. Refer students to the lists they made earlier of changes faced by old people (p. 2). You might mention some of the achievements of old people: Verdi's composition of "Ave Maria" and "Te Deum" at 85, Galileo's scientific discoveries made in his 90s, "Grandma" Moses's beginning to paint when she was 79, Clara Barton learning to type at 89, and Supreme Court Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes learning Greek in his 80s.

Now that students have outlined their theory of development, ask:

    Does development always mean
    "getting better"?

If students have trouble dealing with this question, you might ask:

    Do children become better able to
    deal with the environment as they
    develop? Explain.

Students should give a concrete example of one aspect of development in a child or adolescent they have observed that gave him or her more options. Finally, ask students to consider:

Is it ever possible to grow worse instead of better?

A key issue here is who decides what is worse and what is better. Is it better to grow more logical or more imaginative in thought? more symbolic or more expressive in painting? In the following excerpt, Jerome Kagan, a psychologist who has helped in the development of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD, presents the point of view that the end point of development depends not on an absolute "better" goal, but on the values of the culture we live in.

Is a child growing toward some ideal goal? Some psychologists assume that there is an ideal endpoint toward which all children move a little each day. By contrast, others assume that the child is not traveling in any special direction. Both Sigmund Freud and Jean Piaget assumed ideal goals in development; Skinner does not. For Freud the mature adult was free of anxiety surrounding sexuality, free of serious conflicts learned in childhood, and able to establish a gratifying love relationship. For Piaget, maturity was the ability to deduce conclusions and to think logically about abstract ideas. The scientist and mathematician are the ideal mature types in Piagetian theory. By contrast, psychologists committed to learning theory do not assume the child is traveling in any special direction, even though his behavior changes every day. Rather than assume that all children in the world are moving toward the same goal, it is useful to play with the notion that each child is trying to adapt to the demands of his specific psychological environment. The goal of his development will depend on where he lives. An Eskimo child must learn to inhibit all displays of temper and aggression if he is to remain on good terms with his family and friends. The ideally mature adult, therefore, is self-controlled and rarely angry. An urban American child must learn to defend himself against attack from peers and the

ideally mature adult, it is believed, should be capable of reacting with appropriate anger and aggression if attacked or threatened. Neither control nor expression of anger should be regarded as the more mature way to live. Each is appropriate to the setting in which the child and adult lives.

The foregoing discussion questions could become a debate topic in class, with several students on each side of the question presenting evidence from class discussion, course materials, readings (including Kagan), observations, fieldwork, and their experience of their own development. Perhaps several students might be asked to take the point of view expressed by Jerome Kagan. The remainder of the class should be "the audience." At the end of the presentation, hold a general discussion so that the audience can express their own points of view.

N.B.: The *Teaching Strategies* booklet contains a valuable reading by Fred Newmann and Donald Oliver on appropriate roles for the teacher to take during discussions of conflicting value positions.

A Development Project

This activity offers each student a chance to choose an area of child development that interests him or her, and to present material in a medium that is personally pleasing.

The scheduling of this activity is not critical; it can be discussed and planned for at any time during your work on *Making Connections*, and the presentations can be done whenever the projects are completed. Many of the projects will be visual, so you might set up a display area. If other students want to present the material themselves to their classmates, a few minutes might be

allotted at the beginning of class for several days for one or two presentations and a brief discussion of the view of development that each project represented.

To plan the projects, initiate a discussion of the list of project ideas on page 8 in the student book, explaining that these and other activities can be undertaken from one of two viewpoints:

- an understanding of what the world is like. (The activity will be appropriate to or sympathetic with a particular age or stage of development.)

- an inquiry into an area that *spans* a period of development. (The activity will reflect change over that time.)

You might also use the following activities to form the basis of a discussion. How would one or more of these activities be planned and executed?

1. Build a toy or a piece of furniture for a child.

2. Plan a walk or field trip with a group of children.

3. Plan a birthday party.

4. Plan exercises to do with children.

5. Work out a baby sitter's schedule, including menus and feeding times, naps, play times, things the child may fuss about.

   What will you have to understand about children before you begin? (physical size, coordination, interests, attention span, safety needs, etc.)

   What does your understanding of development tell you about how many children to have in a group, how long and how physically demanding to make your activity, what interests the children have that would assure their interest in the activity, etc.?

Students should be allowed to work inde-
pendently or in small groups on these
projects, but the teacher should ask
each student or group to submit a plan
before beginning preparations. The plan
should include:

- a description of the project itself,
  with a statement explaining how the
  project is linked to the students'
  understanding of development. (Will
  the project describe one age or
  stage of development, or will it
  deal with development over time?)

- names of those working on the
  activity, and what each person will
  do

- the final form of the project

- how and to whom the project will be
  presented

- a time schedule.

Students should be able to work on their
projects in small groups during class
time. The class might come together
periodically to discuss how each project
is going, and to get advice from each
other's groups.

When each project is presented, allow
a few minutes for discussion:

Did the project describe develop-
ment?

Does the activity represent a view
of development that is shared by
most of the other members of the
class?

If the project is geared to one
specific stage of development, can
students suggest any ways of adap-
ting it to suit other stages of de-
velopment?

Curious about Human Change

Is There a Goal to Development?

Purpose: To look at three theo-
ries of human develop-
ment in order to help
students consider:

- that theories about
development are
created because of
curiosity about
people

- that students are
also theory builders

- that one theory cannot
explain everything
about human growth
and that there are ex-
ceptions to theories

- that the function of
theory is to under-
stand how people
change--how one age
is different from
another, and how
people learn

- that theories are
lenses through which
people can view the
world.

Materials: *Making Connections*,
pp. 9-18; film, "Racing
Cars."

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD has chosen to exa-
mine three theorists--Jean Piaget, Maria
Montessori, and Erik Erikson. Each
theory deals with only a small part of
the process of development: the growth
of mental abilities, the growth of per-
sonal identity, and developmentally
related ways of learning. It is impor-
tant to point out to students that a
single theory cannot tell them every-
thing about a person's development, but
that it may be helpful in interpreting
a small part of a person's behavior.
Many theories together can complement
each other in looking at human behavior.
To illustrate this point, we have in-
cluded a short reading by Selma Fraiberg,
"What Good Is a Theory?" and a reading
by Mrs. Max West, "Infant Care," which
was prepared for the United States
Children's Bureau in 1914 (see pp.
and). Both readings can be dupli-
cated and given to students to illus-
trate how beliefs about children have
changed, and to demonstrate how
theories can be used as guidelines for
understanding a child's behavior and
for making decisions about how to
respond to a child.

This section can also help to clarify
the theoretical perspective taken by
EXPLORING CHILDHOOD. The paper on
page 68 was prepared by Marilyn Clayton
Felt, Director of EXPLORING CHILDHOOD,
to supplement the *Overview of EXPLORING
CHILDHOOD*, which describes the pedagog-
ical approach and conceptual framework
of the course. The paper describes in
depth the program's "theory about rais-
ing children"; defines what the program

sees as its proper role in providing support, resources, and recommendations; and defines the areas in which the program feels decision-making should be left to those who know and are directly responsible for the welfare of a child. This paper appears in the materials for teachers, but since it deals with some basic issues concerning the relationship of caregivers to younger people, it may be appropriate for students, parents, and anyone involved in the EXPLORING CHILDHOOD program who is responsible for the care of children.

Three Theories of Development

The biographies of the three theorists and the descriptions of their theories of child development are included in *Making Connections* in order to give students a view of the context from which their theories came, to present specific theories students can draw on in working with children, and to help students understand the process of interpreting events.

It is important that students recognize that their own beliefs about children's behavior, which they have based on their experience as children and with children, are valid and important. Students should consider the readings an opportunity to compare their own conclusions about development with conclusions drawn by others; the readings won't supply "the right answers."

PROCEDURE

You might assign the readings to three small groups, one reading per group. Each group can report back to the class about the life and work of that theorist, and the class can draw comparisons among the theorists. The bibliography on page   of this book should prove useful to any student interested in further reading.

Since the reading level in this section may prove difficult for some classes, you could also treat the theorist readings as resources for individual students. Students who choose to read about one or more of the theorists might give an oral report to the class, or write a descriptive paper on, for example, the behavior of children at their fieldsite as seen through the eyes of the theorist.

A third procedure would be to read aloud one theorist at a time, then do some of the activities suggested below (in class and at the fieldsite) in order to make the theorists more understandable to the students. Can you and the class think of other activities that might be useful in examining the theorists?

Applying the Ideas of Maria Montessori

The following observations, activities, and discussion questions will be helpful in examining some of Maria Montessori's beliefs.

1. You and the students might invite a Montessori teacher to come to class with some materials (or with a catalogue of materials) for Montessori schools. Write to the American Montessori Society in New York, or look at illustrations of Montessori materials in *Montessori in the Home* (Jerome Study Group, Elad Press, 1963). Discuss:

> What did the toymaker intend for the child to learn from each toy? What does the toy show about the maker's beliefs about how children learn?

For example, since Montessori believed that learning comes through all of the senses, alphabet letters have textures as well as distinct shapes.

Students might then look at materials in a non-Montessori fieldsite, and consider whether they might be used in a "Montessorian manner."

2. Students can design a self-teaching toy for children at their fieldsites, one that shows children their success or mistakes, one that isolates a particular property (such as weight, shape, color), or one that teaches increasing discrimination (among color, weight, size, and shape).

3. Students could also visit a Montessori school. The appendix includes a transcript from an interview with a Montessori teacher, who discusses the application of the theory. You may wish to share the transcript with your students. After a preschool visit, or a reading of the transcript, discuss:

How are the beliefs about learning that students have seen reflected in Montessori materials also reflected in the physical organization of Montessori classrooms? in the daily schedules?

4. Questions for discussion: Students might debate some of the following questions, using examples from their experiences with children to support their arguments:

Do you agree that if a child does not make use of the appropriate skill during a "sensitive period," the child will never reach his or her full potential? (For example, do you agree that if a toddler does not experiment much with language, he or she will never be very verbal?)

Do you agree that it is abnormal for children to pretend? to give way to emotional outbursts?

Do you agree that a child who learns to distinguish the sizes of rods can draw parallel distinctions in other objects: e.g., can distinguish comparative sizes of people?

Emily McCully

Maria Montessori

In 1870, when Maria Montessori was born in Italy, children were not really taken into account until they grew up. Until then, life was a struggle to live up to adults.

During her life, Montessori struggled against this attitude. Children, she argued, are different from adults. Children are in the process of becoming, of growing, whereas adults are already set in their habits and abilities. When laughed at or ignored, Montessori would point to a child playing at something and say, "He is always playing at something. He is *working* out and making conscious something that his mind absorbed earlier." For her, it was the way children learned that made them different from, but sure to become, adults.

Montessori's fierce defense of her ideas was practically a life habit. She was an only child with a powerful, inquiring mind. As a young woman she made what was a daring decision at that time: She decided to become a doctor. Her father and the medical authorities opposed her bitterly, but she would not be discouraged. She argued her way into the classes of a medical school, only to find that the struggle had just begun. Her teachers declared that it was improper for a woman to attend dissections with male students. She was forced to learn anatomy alone, late at night in the dissecting rooms.

At twenty-six, Montessori graduated from medical school and became the first woman doctor in Italy. Her first job was in a psychiatric clinic, where one of her duties was to visit insane asylums. Here Montessori met not only people with serious mental illnesses but also young children who had been diagnosed as retarded. Montessori challenged the idea that these children should be locked in an institution and given no training. She was convinced they could learn.

But how? Montessori thought about this question for a long time, and developed some ideas. When she was appointed director of a new school for retarded children in 1899, she got her first opportunity to try them out.

Learning through doing

Montessori had a hunch that these children could only learn by using their hands and working with concrete objects. She brought them frames for buttoning and tying, blocks of different colors and sizes, and puzzles that demonstrated shape differences. Her success was astounding: "I succeeded in teaching a number of the idiots from the asylums both to read and write so well that I was able to present them at a public school for an examination together with normal children."

People were amazed. But while they praised her work with the "idiots," Montessori wrestled with another question: "I was searching for the reasons which would keep happy, healthy children on so low a plane that they could be equalled by my unfortunate pupils. How would those very same direct methods affect normal children?"

About this time a project was underway in Rome to improve the living conditions of poor people. Buildings unfit to live in were torn down and new housing built. But housing was not the only problem. Since both parents in many families worked, the streets were filled with wandering, unfed children, too young for school. For them, the Children's House was built, with Montessori as its director.

Montessori saw this new job as a chance to improve the lives of both children and their mothers. When a woman could be free to work, she believed, happy in the knowledge that her children were well cared for, a new era for women would begin: "The new woman . . . shall be liberated . . . . She shall be, like man, an individual and a free human being."

A special environment for work

Children, too, would find a new freedom — at Children's House. The furniture was small, and light enough that even a three-year-old could sit comfortably and move chairs and tables to suit himself or herself. Sinks and door handles were low, within a small child's reach. Montessori believed that freedom, for children,

"The child is in a continual state of growth, whereas the adult has reached the norm of the species."

meant being able to do things on their own, in an environment prepared to make that possible.

At Children's House, the teacher did not stand in front of a class, lecturing and directing the whole group. Instead, as in Montessori's school for the retarded, each child worked alone with special materials that Montessori designed.

Montessori firmly believed that work was the natural occupation of the young child. By "work" she meant handling and exploring concrete objects repeatedly. Far from finding this a burden, Montessori believed, the preschool child desired to spend most of his or her time working. Children who spent their time pretending or giving way to emotional outbursts of anger or destructiveness were acting "abnormally." The reason they behaved this way was because they were forced to live in an unsuitable adult world. Children would behave "normally" — working hard, being quiet, courteous, and attentive — if they were in a proper environment and given properly designed materials that made work possible and enjoyable.

Montessori's teaching materials

What are these "properly designed" teaching materials of a Montessori school? They are all *solid objects* — blocks, jigsaw puzzles, child-sized house-cleaning tools, counting beads in a frame — that can be manipulated. They are all *self-teaching*. For example, a child who is supposed to be learning about geometric shapes works with wooden cutouts of triangles and circles that fit into openings in a board. If the child does not see that the circle fits into the circular opening because it has the same shape, and tries instead to put the circle through the triangular opening, it will not fit. The material itself shows the child his or her mistake. Finally, all materials are designed to simplify the characteristics of the real world by isolating *one quality at a time* — color, shape, or weight. The ten wooden blocks children use when learning how to arrange objects from smallest to biggest are all cubes, and all the same color. There was little risk that a child might explore something other than what was intended.

Do you agree that children are naturally curious? hard working? quietly behaved?

Do you agree that children have the capacity to learn, but need to be taught (i.e., cannot learn on their own)?

Do you agree that children's environment should be specially structured to isolate factors to be learned about a complex world?

Applying the Ideas of Erik Erikson*

The following observations and activities can be helpful in examining some of Erik Erikson's beliefs. While Erikson theorizes about eight stages in the life of a person, these activities focus on the stages of childhood and adolescence.

Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust

Students can think more about Erikson's ideas on trust by trying the following "Trust Fall" activity.

One student stands in the middle of a tight circle of other students. The student in the middle stands straight, then falls backward toward the circle. It will be up to the other students to catch him or her and prevent a fall to the floor. This exercise should be done several times by each student. They should then quickly write in their journals the thoughts and feelings they had as they did the trust exercise.

What was it like the first time you fell? Did you trust the students to catch you? What encouraged you to trust them? Were there reasons that made it hard to trust them?

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*Portions of this section were adapted from *A Child's Eye View* (Copyright © 1973 Education Development Center, Inc.), developed by Susan Thomas.

What other activities do you engage in together that bring out feelings of trust or mistrust?

Consider falling with just one person behind you to catch you. Are there some people you would trust more than others to catch you? Why?

The "Trust Fall" exercise will help students concentrate on the feelings that are generated by a situation in which one must depend on others. Students who do it should be asked to think about how their sense of trust differs from that of an infant or young child, and how they think their sense of trust has developed.

According to Erikson, what circumstances influence the baby's sense of trust? What experiences might make it difficult for a child to develop trust in other people? How could a sense of trust or mistrust influence the way a child views other people?

Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt

What is autonomy? Autonomy might be considered feeling self-reliant, and being free to make your own choices without control by others.

In what ways can a two- or three-year-old be self-reliant?

How might other people help a child develop a sense of autonomy at home or in school?

Why might they interfere with his or her choices or decisions?

Autonomy is an issue for people of any age. How is autonomy an issue for teenagers in each of these areas:

· attending school?

· having a boyfriend or girlfriend?

· watching television or pursuing other leisure activities?

- going places?

- studying?

- staying up late at night?

A young child's sense of autonomy is most influenced by his or her parents.

> Who else besides your parents might restrict your autonomy?

Observation

Now that students have taken a look at the concepts of trust and autonomy, they can find out more about them by doing a short observation at their fieldsite. They should make a list of examples for each of the four questions below.

> What do children at your fieldsite seem to count on from adults? from other children?

> What examples of self-reliance and freedom of choice do the children show?

> How do people and the contents of the room encourage autonomy?

> In what ways do people or the contents of the room limit autonomy?

Finish the Story Exercise

To explore feelings in children of autonomy versus shame or doubt, or trust versus distrust, students might invent unfinished stories and ask children to finish them. For example, the story could describe a child who gets new clothes for her birthday, which she likes and is proud of, but which other children make fun of. Would the child wear the clothes again or not? What would children's responses tell students about the children's feelings?

Initiative vs. Guilt

Name as many situations as you can that require high school students to use their initiative.

The education of the senses

Most of the materials for younger children are devoted to what Montessori called the "education of the senses" — learning to make distinctions of size, shape, color, weight, musical pitch, and so on. The materials children use at first make large distinctions, such as strongly contrasting colors. Gradually the materials lead children to make finer distinctions, until finally they work with such materials as a set of 64 finely shaded, color tablets, and learn to grade, match, and name them all.

Montessori believed she was making use of a particular characteristic of the young child's mind. As children develop, she said, they pass through several "sensitive periods" when they are open to certain kinds of learning. Toddlers learn to talk effortlessly because they are in the sensitive period for language. The children to whom she offered the "education of the senses" were in the sensitive period for sensory learning. A proper education system should use each sensitive period at the time it occurred; otherwise, full development of a child's potential might never take place. Montessori compared the failure to use a sensitive period to dropping a stitch in knitting; the clothing may be finished, but the flaw will always remain.

Montessori's education of the senses

starts with prepared materials, but does not remain tied to these forever. Eventually a day comes when the child who can recognize and name the blue color tablet will say, "The sky is blue"; when the child who has worked with the cylinders of graded heights will say, "I am taller than John, and John is taller than Mary." By isolating such confusing qualities of the world as color, size, and shape, Montessori believed she helped children come to understand these qualities as concepts. In time, when the child is ready, he or she would think logically and apply these concepts to the complicated world outside the Children's House.

Montessori's view of children

What does Montessori's method tell us about her picture of what children are like and how they learn? Clearly, she expected children to be hardworking, intellectually curious, unselfish, and quietly behaved. Also, she saw children as having the *capacity* to learn, but needing direction: they could not be trusted to learn on their own, but had to be taught. The way they were taught had to be based on the special way children learn — repeatedly manipulating concrete objects designed especially for teaching. Finally, she perceived freedom for children to mean freedom to do the work they were naturally inclined to do within a specially constructed children's world.

Erik Erikson

In his work, Erik Erikson has looked at the way children develop a sense of identity: through knowing their own bodies and gaining physical ability, and through establishing secure relationships within their families and in the larger social world. Erikson views this identity-making process as something that continues throughout life, although the important issues of identity may change from one age to the next.

Erikson's special interest in questions of identity arose partly from his own history. The son of a Danish mother and a Norwegian father, his father left before he was born. His mother later married a German doctor, and the family settled in Germany. Erikson looked and felt different from the people he grew up with. When he was eighteen he decided he had had enough of school, so he set out to see the world, with the idea of becoming an artist.

Erikson's wandering lasted until he was 25, when he took a job teaching art at a private school in Vienna, Austria. At this school he met the family of Sigmund Freud, whose ideas about human development were just becoming popular. Erikson was fascinated by Freud's theory, and he decided to be psychoanalyzed by Freud's daughter Anna. In analysis he sought both a deeper understanding of himself and the

beginning of a new career that might combine his interest in psychology with his talent for working with children.

Erikson's career plans were thrown into confusion, however, when Adolf Hitler and the Nazi party rose to power in 1933. Along with many of his colleagues, Erikson fled to the United States. He settled on the West Coast, then lived with the Sioux Indians in South Dakota, and later with the Yurok in California. More recently he has visited India to collect information on the life of Mahatma Gandhi. In his career he has done play therapy with emotionally disturbed children and lectured to college students about the human life cycle. Now he is particularly interested in the question of how people may grow and change in the later years of their lives.

Out of Erikson's varied experiences

has come a view of human development that may be summarized by the following description:

Life unfolds in an observable sequence. At various points in time there are critical events. Achievements are won or failures occur and the future is to some extent better or worse for it. What is won can later be lost — and rewon. The mind is not irrevocably set or determined by any one thing — genes, the mother's behavior, the environment — but by a combination of everything and everyone, both within and outside the flesh.

The eight ages of man

Erikson divides this process of development into eight basic stages. At each stage a child learns something more about "who" he is in relation to others and the world around him.

1) *Basic Trust vs. Basic Mistrust.* During the first year of life an infant may or may not develop a sense of basic trust. This sense comes out of the knowledge that there is a person (often a mother) who can supply all needs. Without this certainty, the infant cannot experience the world as a safe and satisfying place. People need to be able to trust other people. An individual whose infancy lacks this sense of trust may not be able to make up for it in later years, although later experiences can strengthen or weaken this basic perspective.

2) *Autonomy vs. Shame and Doubt.* People need to be able to trust themselves. In the second and third years, the child's energy centers on learning to control his or her own body and "do things for himself." Toilet training is one of the major tasks of this period, and the way it is handled will partly determine how the child deals with all other issues of control. The process may be rigidly determined by parental schedules, or it may be based on the child's own ability and desire to do things in a grown-up way. A child who learns bodily control in the latter way is likely to feel pride; one who cannot meet a parent's unreasonable expectations may be burdened by shame and guilt.

12

13

What risk taking is involved in each example?

What do you think helps give a person confidence in using his or her initiative?

How might adults help young children develop a sense of initiative?

Industry vs. Inferiority

Around 2 1/2 years of age, children experimenting with materials try building things up and knocking them down, with no goal in mind. Erikson would describe their activity as exercising their "autonomy" and power over the materials. Children begin to show a sense of "industry" around age 5, when they become interested in building something to keep.

Students could set up an activity for children that involves building or making something (or they might watch children who are already engaged in some activity like block play or clay play-- see the film, "Clay Play"). Are children experimenting only with the materials, or are they using the materials to achieve a goal, a product? What do students notice about the feelings children bring to the project? Do they seem frustrated? assertive? playful? industrious?

Observation

Students can make an observation form like the following to facilitate their observation of how the sense of initiative and the sense of industry enter into children's interactions with others.

Remind students that the concomitants of trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry are mistrust, shame, guilt, and feelings of inferiority. We all have these emotions, and they can be expected to surface at moments of stress or anxiety. Thus, it should come as no surprise to see signs of these emotions in children at the fieldsite.

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Examples of risks and exploration:

Examples of ways people limit risk-taking:

Examples of ways people encourage risk-taking:

_____

_____

Attempts at mastery of skills and tools:

Examples of viewing others as sources of comparison:

Examples of viewing others as judges of competence:

Examples of viewing others as persons to learn from:

_____

Identity vs. Role Diffusion

Students might compare Erikson's description of adolescence as a period of identity-seeking and role-confusion with their descriptions of themselves ("Development Is...," p. 2, *Making Connections*).

Do they agree with Erikson? Does his theory describe at least a part of their experience as adolescents?

In *Childhood and Society* (p. 262), Erikson describes one side effect of identity seeking: clannishness. Read the following excerpt with students and see if they agree with his generalization.

Young people can be remarkably clannish, and cruel in their exclusion of all those who are "different," in skin color or cultural background, in tastes and gifts, and often in

such petty aspects of dress and gesture as have been temporarily selected as the signs of an in-grouper or out-grouper. It is important to understand (which does not mean condone or participate in) such intolerance as a defense against a sense of identity confusion. For adolescents not only help one another temporarily through much discomfort by forming cliques and by stereotyping themselves, their ideals, and their enemies; they also perversely test each other's capacity to pledge fidelity. (*Childhood and Society*, p. 262)

PLAY AS PRACTICE

Erikson's ideas about the importance of play in helping children gain skills, express emotions, and practice adult roles might be read appropriately during work with *Child's Play* or *Fear, Anger, Dependence*.

Erikson believes that, around the age of three, children begin to imitate the sex and role models they see in their society. Students might observe children of different ages playing in the doll corner or the carpentry corner in order to determine at what age children begin to limit their activity to roles expected by the society. (See also sections of the film, "All in the Game.") Or students could set up play experiences that allow children to practice adult roles in society.

Students could discuss whether the roles children assume are inborn or taught to them by society. How does society teach such roles to children? Suggest looking at children's books to see what roles are described for boys and for girls. What do students' decisions about what is sex-appropriate behavior say about their own concepts of male/female roles?
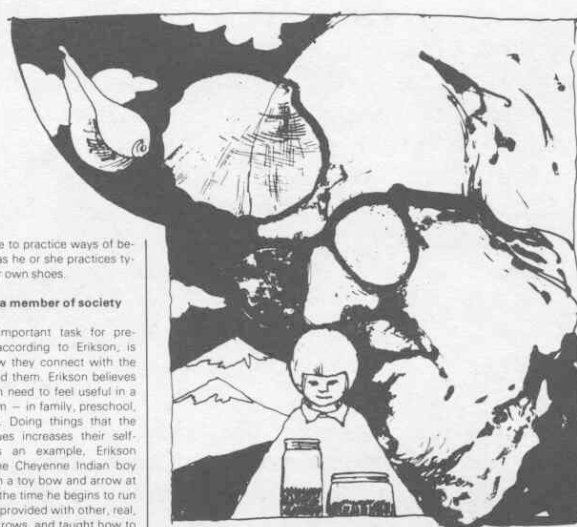
Another way to examine different perceptions of sex roles in children is to conduct informal interviews, asking children such questions as: "What do daddys do? What do mommys do?

Applying the Ideas of Jean Piaget

Students might try one or more of the following activities in order to examine some of Jean Piaget's beliefs. Piaget's theories about egocentrism are especially relevant to *Child's Eye View* and *How the World Works*, and might be read during work with these booklets.

Adaptation

1. To illustrate Piaget's theories about the way children adapt to materials in the environment, students might try giving a child an object he or she has never used before (perhaps papier mache). For example, papier mache or play dough could be introduced after work with clay. How does the child adapt the new object to his or her usual working method? How does the new object alter the usual working method?

has a chance to practice ways of behaving just as he or she practices tying his or her own shoes.

Identity as a member of society

A second important task for preschoolers, according to Erikson, is learning how they connect with the world around them. Erikson believes that children need to feel useful in a social system — in family, preschool, and culture. Doing things that the society values increases their self-esteem. As an example, Erikson describes the Cheyenne Indian boy who is given a toy bow and arrow at birth. From the time he begins to run about, he is provided with other, real, bows and arrows, and taught how to hunt. At first he hunts small animals, like squirrels and rabbits, then larger animals. When he is finally able to shoot a buffalo, he is considered a man, a full-fledged member of his society.

Erikson notes that this pattern of participating in the culture differs from that of most modern industrial societies, where children's play is considered to be entirely separate from adult responsibilities: play is not seen as preparation for adult roles but as a world apart. Erikson believes that this view of childhood can make growing up a difficult, disjointed experience. He emphasizes that play ought to provide a way of "trying things on for size," of walking in grown-up shoes to see how they feel.

Jean Piaget

Jean Piaget was born in 1896, in the Swiss university town of Neuchatel, where his father taught medieval history. Growing up in an academic environment, he developed an early interest in intellectual pursuits. He loved to make careful, detailed observations of birds, seashells, and fossils. As a teenager he did his first piece of independent research: he decided to find out how certain mollusks (animals like clams and mussels) react to changes in environment.

Piaget discovered that when he moved certain kinds of long skinny-shelled mollusks from quiet water to a river with strong currents, the animals' shells changed shape. The elongated shells became round, globe-like, and stayed that way even after they were returned to their original home.

Adaptation

As a young scientist, Piaget's interest shifted from animal adaptation to human adaptation. By "adaptation" Piaget meant the same biological process that had fascinated him in the mollusks — the way an animal changes through meeting the demands of its surroundings.

15

Compare children's reactions in this activity to Enroue's new experience with paints after working with crayons (see film, "Racing Cars"), or to their own experience with a new material in the "Eyedropper Experiment" (*Children's Art*).

2. The following activity with plants will provide an analogy to Piaget's ideas about adaptation. Bring to class some plant cuttings from easy-to-root plants such as philodendron, Swedish ivy, or passion plant. Plant some of these in water and others directly in soil. After a few weeks, roots should be well developed and growing. Comparing the cuttings, students should find that water roots are much thicker and heavier than soil roots. Cuttings that have been in water too long will not be able to adapt their roots to soil. While the roots of the plants serve the same function--to assimilate food from the medium--they have developed different structures to fulfill it. In the same way, Piaget would say that development is the process of adapting our skills and method of dealing with the environment in accordance with the particular environment. How are the child's adaptations to the environment different from those made by plants?

The Riddle of Wrong Answers

Students might do some of the activities that led Piaget to conclude that children judge by appearances rather than logic, and that they can only hold one thing in mind at a time. Working with children of different ages, they can, for example, arrange blocks of different weights and sizes and ask, "Which is heaviest?" (p. 16); they can set up a tall-thin jar and a short-fat jar with equal numbers of beans or pennies (p. 17); or they can ask children to group a collection of seashells in as many ways as possible (p. 18). Students might also try these activities with other children. In each case they should take careful notes on the students' or children's reactions and comments.

How do students solve the blocks, jars of beans, and seashell problems?

How does their answering process differ from the children's?

Do students agree with Piaget's explanations of the children's reactions?

Egocentrism

Students can collect many examples of children's "conversations," then consider:

How do the conversations show egocentric use of language (p. 17)? egocentric explanations of the way things work (p. 167; see also *How the World Works*)? egocentric views of other people (p. 18; see also *Child's Eye View*)?

Students might also collect examples of the games children of different ages like to play, or they could refer to their "Play File," collected for *Child's Play*. (See also the film, "All in the Game.") Do the games involve rules, teamwork, and competition? Or are they individual games (p. 18)?

Thinking about All Three Theorists

To consider the relationship between theorists' experiences and their theories, students might cite incidents in each theorist's life that had an influence on his or her theory. For example, Erikson's quest for a definition of who he was nationally, professionally, and personally led him to a theory about each individual's developing sense of self.

Students might look at some of the parallels and disagreements within each theory. For example, all three theorists believe that there are critical

stages in an individual's development. Montessori and Erikson disagree on a number of points:

· Montessori believed that children must be taught in a structured environment; Erikson believes that children need to experiment and to play out their feelings.

· Montessori believed that pretending is abnormal behavior for children; Erikson believes that pretending allows children to practice roles for future experiences and to express feelings they are unable to verbalize.

· Montessori suggested that adults are set in their habits and abilities; Erikson theorizes that developmental change occurs in stages to the end of the life cycle.

Students can debate these issues and cite examples from their work with children to substantiate their point of view. Can students pinpoint other areas of disagreement among the theorists? Can they suggest how the theorists' life experiences might have influenced these differences?

For Discussion
Different beliefs can help us look at similar events through different lenses, gaining different insights. To make this point, you might share the following examples with students, then ask

them to make fieldsite observations from the viewpoint of each of the three different theorists. For example, a child who repeatedly throws a ball, retrieves it, and throws it again might be, in Piaget's view, experimenting with motor abilities, learning the power of her arm, and experimenting with the nature of the ball and the relationship between throwing it and seeing it bounce (causality). Erikson, on the other hand, might feel that the same behavior shows the child intruding herself on the world and exercising the force of her ego. A similar overlap in views might be seen in children's water play or work in carpentry. Students should realize that the theorists' views may be different, but in many ways they are *complementary*. Each view is valuable, because each shows us another dimension.

Students might also make "theorist observations" of the films. *Making Connections* (p. 18) suggests reviewing the film "Racing Cars" and discussing how each of the theorists might have explained Enroue's actions. This is a sophisticated exercise, involving careful observation, thorough understanding of theory, and the application of theory to practice. You might divide the class into three groups, asking each group to be one of the theorists. After the film, each group should report back to the class about how they, and "the theorist" interpreted what they saw. Ask students to substantiate their interpretations with references to their reading on the theorists.

Selected Readings

An Interview with a Montessori Teacher

Jackie Scott is director of the Cambridge Montessori School. Her first contact with the school was as a parent: "I was commuting from Boston to Cambridge for a three-hour program for my child, and it was crazy for me to get back on the bus and go home. So I hung around and did useful things. And I was there and able to move in if they needed me--I substitute taught. I was doing all these things, which I now have labels for, with my son before I knew about Montessori. I was just amazed at his responses, and I enjoyed it. So that is why I emphasize that Montessori things must be common sense." Following are excerpts from an interview with Ms. Scott.

How can teenagers build confidence in areas that are "scary" to them?

I suggest to teenagers that they work in the very areas they tend to shy away from. I don't pressure them, because the selection is theirs. But I tell them to think of the conceptual level that they're on in comparison to a four-year-old. If they're working on earth science, I tell them to think how much more they know about it than the children do, so that they can be supportive to children.

Was Montessori more interested in pedagogy than in the nature of what a child is? And how do you compare her ideas with those of Piaget?

She was both a scientist and an educator. She believed that the human being develops physically as well as academically.

She knew that there are specific developmental processes that are universal in the human organism. And that, knowing this, there are certain things that you (as a teacher) can do to the environment that will enhance that developmental process--support it--not taking any position as to speed, and understanding that everyone has the human potential to learn and to expand.

She and Piaget were good friends, by the way, and so they consulted. They were both observationists; they really knew how to observe the actions of children, not coming out with any predetermined hypothesis. And if you know anything about kids you don't have to prove their theories; you'll just see examples as you work.

One of the things that really strikes me about Montessori is that it is common sense. If you have any sense about your children, yourself, the way you grew up, the things you went through, and then you read what she says, you say, "Oh, that's right, that makes sense!"

What was Montessori's impact on American educational thought?

She was at her peak in Europe near the beginning of the progressive educational movement here. Americans were moving away from traditional schooling to the other extreme--real chaos. And everybody was saying, "freedom, freedom, freedom." And then Montessori came and she said that the child is asking for order, that children go through a certain, natural, longitudinal progression, but that children can do it at various speeds. She said that there are also vertical progressions going on at the same time, so you can't force children

into lock-step progressions. She said you're almost on the right track when you say "freedom." But not freedom-without-license--because that creates chaos for the child, inwardly as well as in the child's environment.

Wasn't there a theory then about a kindergarten being a garden where children were "grown"?

Yes, children were "flowers." Montessori opposed that premise because it was based on the idea of the child as miniature adult. She said that is not what a child is; childhood is something else.

What implications are there in this for dealing with children?

Teenagers can see the usefulness of this idea. In rap sessions with students, they would say, "Kids are beating up on me; what should I do?" And I said, "Why are they beating you up? Have you established that you are who you are? You can't relate to a child as a peer, and turn and beat up on that child--you'd hurt him or her, because you're bigger. Are you relating to them as peers? Because, if you are, that's why they feel that they can beat you up. It's important for you to establish ground rules like, 'I will not tolerate you beating on me,' from the beginning. Once you establish that, then you create a relationship where you and the children can deal with each other."

Another ground rule we have in Montessori is that when you speak to someone, you go to them. We teach this to children by our own example. For instance, if you see two children fighting, you don't call across the room to them to stop. Instead, you must take your time walking to them and thinking about how you are going to approach the situation without heightening hostilities. By the time you get there, the children may have resolved it for themselves. Also, by refraining from shouting, you're not adding to the general noise, so that whole classroom stays quieter and calmer.

How can teenagers prepare projects to use in the classroom effectively?

Here I'm "personalizing" more than quoting the writings. Based on my experience, one of the basic things is being able to break down the whole into smaller components, and then put it back together. So one of the things I tell practice teachers is that first they must observe, to see how the children interact with each other, how the teacher interacts with the children, and how the children and the teachers interact with the materials. The next phase is to imagine themselves within that setting (where are they?) before they enter, and then discuss with the teacher how they can support what's already happening. Montessori says that teachers are much too anxious to intervene. You know, if you can catch yourself, you should sit back and check it out before you intervene. Then your actions will have meaning to the child.

Teenagers in the classroom can apply the skill of being able to observe, assess, and break down the whole into small components when they are doing a project. They should ask, "What is my goal in this project?" and then be able to abandon that goal, depending on the explorations of the child, because a child will take you to another route. I tell teenagers that the best project is one that the children can do by themselves, so that you can become a resource. Planning a project is important; four hours of planning for one hour in the classroom is worth it if children will continue that project eighteen hours beyond the first hour. Then all you have to do is keep feeding things to reinforce it.

Is there stress placed on certain subjects over others?

Everything that Montessori does is interrelated. Children do not learn math, for example, in isolation. Math is music as well. And music is writing-- if you can sing it you can record it. Even in science, though children are looking through a microscope, they're

drawing and recording and keeping records. The teachers will use their science lessons as the basis for some writing and talking, and then science becomes the basis for work in language.

What about creativity in the child?

Montessori talks about the child as having certain *universal* traits. Creativity is one of those. I think we do not have to teach the child creativity. That is a natural ability, given the tools. Or the lack of tools. A child who has no toys creates his or her own world. We do not teach the child imagination, but we can stamp it out.

Another thing about the child's imagination: Montessori says it is a bad idea for an adult to reinforce the young child's fantasies. For instance, if you show a child a flower, and the child says, "The flower can fly away," you don't say it can't, but you don't agree and add your fantasy to the child's. That's confusing. The best thing to do is to make real statements about flowers--they grow on stems; there are many colors; etc. The child will get the idea that he or she can count on adults for reliable ideas about the real world. Little children don't know the difference between real and unreal, because to a small child everything is so much bigger it's like the unreal. If you reinforce a child's imagination you help to develop fears in children.

How can teenagers learn effective techniques for working with children?

It's essential that they use their common sense and not be afraid of establishing ground rules: "I will tolerate this," and "I won't tolerate that."

When teachers or students are having difficulty, I move into the classroom and demonstrate how I would handle the particular situation. Teenagers could ask their fieldsite teachers to demonstrate ways of handling a puzzling situation. They should also talk in class about what took place, and think of different ways to handle difficulties. We've had this problem here recently: the teachers were getting harassed by the kids; they found it hard to keep the kids' attention and found themselves policing a lot. So I told them there is nothing wrong with tightening the reins. The children are here for just three hours; it is not going to kill them to be controlled if they are not capable of controlling themselves. So assign them to some seats and bring work to them, and when they have completed that they can get up and flip out awhile and then come back. And it's working.

This school seems so active. What would you advise a teenager to do if assigned to a school where the children are forced to stay in their seats all the time?

It's harder, but teenagers could use that situation to train their eyes and their ears and their minds to see the messages the children are getting--from each other and from the teacher. The thing to do is to train yourself to observe interactions in that kind of classroom. They might watch one kid for five minutes and just record everything that child does. Then watch a threesome for another five minutes; then watch the teacher for another five minutes; etc. Putting all that together will give them a message about what is wrong and what is right in that classroom.

Does Exploring Childhood Have a Theory?

Marilyn Clayton Felt, Director of the
Exploring Childhood Program.

We are often asked if we have a theory
about the right way to raise children.

Clearly, there is immense variety in
child-rearing practices around the
world. In some cultures children sleep
next to their parents every night; in
others it is considered harmful for
parents and children to sleep in the
same room. Some cultures feel physical
punishment is necessary to ensure a
child's growing up in the "right" way;
others believe that physical punishment
is damaging. Practices differ from
culture to culture, and in a society
like ours--where families come from many
cultures--practices differ from family
to family. We would be hard put to con-
clude that there is one right way to do
any one thing, especially since atti-
tudes about what you do can be as signi-
ficant as the content of the act.

Nevertheless, much specific child-care
advice is offered daily in the public
media. Although the content of this
advice often changes, pendulum-fashion,
from one generation to the next, it is
usually offered with authority, and
seems to contribute to the insecurity
people feel about their own judgment
and competence in child rearing. We
encourage people to choose the approaches
that feel right for them, because the
responsible person who knows and loves
a child and his or her life circum-
stances is best suited to make the daily
decisions that will affect that child's
future. Our theory is that, in choosing
approaches, it is helpful for any care-
giver to have insight into the forces
that shape the experience and develop-
ment of a child. We have selected four
areas in which we feel insight is impor-
tant:

- how children experience the world

- what is transmitted in human inter-
  actions

- the social forces that affect a
  family's ability to protect and
  nurture its children

- who you are and what you bring to
  caregiving.

HOW CHILDREN EXPERIENCE THE WORLD

Piaget and Erikson are two theorists
whose ideas have helped us think about
how a child's experience may be differ-
ent from an adult's experience, and
about how children learn. Parents,
teachers, and philosophers have con-
sidered these questions for centuries.
Of those who speak for our time, we
selected Piaget and Erikson because the
focus of their work is consonant with
what we feel our role should be: their
work provides ideas about what a child's
world is like, rather than prescribing
what a caregiver should do. Because
people's theories grow out of the per-
spectives of their cultures and the
needs and experience of their own lives,
we have tried to give theories a bio-
graphical context.

Piaget deals with the manner in which a
child's mind takes in and structures the
world, and suggests such factors as
egocentrism, inability to deal with two
things at one time, the slow growth of
the ability to symbolize, the vibrancy
and the limitations of being rooted in
the here-and-now. These factors have
implications not only for children's
intellectual abilities, but also for the
way they interpret all of their exper-
ience. Children cannot, for example,
feel guilt until they can hold in mind
and compare two things at once--what
they are actually doing and what they
should be doing.

Erikson illuminates for us children's
daily experience by suggesting that the
kinds of needs children have for others
change as their bodies develop, and that

children are learning different kinds of lessons about themselves and others at different points in the life cycle: for example, learning about trust in the early part of life when they need almost everything done for them, and later learning about others' reactions to their budding independence and their own success at it.

Piaget and Erikson tell us about lenses through which children take in and interpret the world, and about the dominant concerns and curiosities, emergent needs and abilities that structure the perceptions, actions, and interactions of a child's daily life. Our interest in Piaget and Erikson does not come from unquestioned agreement with their conclusions, but from what they have chosen to look at--the way in which children experience the world. Their conclusions about the nature of children's experience, however, seem reasonable to us.

Do these views of how children experience the world provide us with any guidelines for working with children? The implication of both Piaget's and Erikson's views of a child's experience is that children are "active" learners-- that is, children naturally, spontaneously, and continually set up their own opportunities to test out the things that surprise them, make them curious, worry them, or challenge their ability to control their muscles, their emotions, and the course of events in their world.

The idea that a child is "active," in contrast to the idea that all learning opportunities have to be set up for a child, raises two practical questions: How much should a caregiver plan for a child? And how much should children be allowed to control?

With respect to planning, a child is not likely to learn much from either a totally barren or chaotic environment, or from an environment whose events are planned and sequenced in a way that is unresponsive to a child's needs and interests. It follows that a critical part of a caregiver's job is to listen carefully to a child. Knowing something

about universal characteristics of development--the probable needs, perceptions, and emerging abilities and interests of a child in the early life cycle--can, of course, be very helpful in listening to children, so long as caregivers also take into account the individuality of a child.

Montessori helps us think about the issue of planning in offering the example of one approach: provide materials specifically designed to allow children to exercise some predictable, developing abilities and curiosities. For example, believing that children learn through all their senses, Montessori prepares them for reading by providing sandpaper letters that allow children to explore the letters' forms tactily as well as visually. Does this kind of approach result in too much "structuring" of a child's activity? There is disagreement on this question; even schools that follow Montessori's basic principles differ in how much to structure a child's activity.

How much to structure a child's time, and with what, is a question for the caregiver to decide, because values and beliefs about what is important are involved. What we can do is help you think about your values and your view of the future in deciding what you want a child to learn, outline developmental factors for you to consider in deciding how to meet a child's interests, and make you aware of the messages you send out in structuring what children do.

According to the "active" view of children, young children are often testing how much they can control. A second practical question, then, is how much should children be allowed to control? Children who are not allowed to control any events in their lives are likely to feel powerless. Children who are allowed to control everything are likely to be frightened by their power, and may introduce a great deal of stress into family interactions. We can help you think about what character traits you value in children and adults--such as independence, obedience, and responsibility--and we can help you think about

how the kind of freedoms and supports children may be testing at given points in the early life cycle change with development. Given this perspective and information, decisions about control include choices about values, which can only be made by those who know and are responsible for a child.

WHAT IS TRANSMITTED IN HUMAN INTER-ACTIONS?

All babies need people to love them. Not only is a baby's learning impaired when there are no loving caregivers, but "failure-to-thrive" cases show us that some babies with inadequate human attention cannot even gain weight. Early in life, the way a child's unfolding needs are met will determine the child's sense of self-identity and view of the characteristics of others. As children grow older, the function of caregivers goes beyond feeding, sheltering, and cuddling, to serving as models of the complicated entities that human beings are. Possibly as a result of their total dependence on other human beings for a large segment of their young lives, children are capable of being acutely perceptive of the reactions of others. The reactions and actions (both verbal and nonverbal) of the people children depend on carry messages that tell a child what is good and bad in the world, what is important and unimportant, who that child is.

We cannot tell you what the content of a caregiver's messages should be, because clearly this depends on what you value in a human being. We do attempt to help you become aware of the innumerable messages caregivers give to children. Because students will be working in fieldsites with children not their own, it is important for them to understand that children live with families whose love and attention is critical to their survival and sense of identity, and that children have been hearing and incorporating family messages daily since birth.

Finally, we think it important for caregivers to be aware of both the messages a child sends out and the feelings these messages evoke in them as caregivers. The second sense in which we say children are "active" is the sense that, from the moment they are born, they are sending messages about their needs. These messages evoke reactions in caregivers not only about the child's needs, but also about the caregivers' adequacy in meeting them. Messages from a child shape a caregiver's sense of competence, and can pattern the course of that relationship and any other relationship in which the caregiver is responsible for a child. Because babies differ in temperament from birth, caregivers with much the same nurturing potential may receive different messages from different babies. The caregiver of a baby who is hard to console, for example, is more likely to feel inadequate to the task. While it is important to listen carefully and be responsive to children's messages, it is also important to have some perspective about the effect of those messages on your feelings as a caregiver. One way to achieve perspective is to share experiences with colleagues; another is to learn some ways to evaluate your own work with children. EXPLORING CHILDHOOD hopes to help you do both.

THE SOCIAL FORCES THAT AFFECT A FAMILY'S ABILITY TO PROTECT AND NURTURE ITS CHILDREN

Few families in the world are isolated and able to supply all the resources each needs to survive and grow. Adults responsible for the care of children need self-esteem and a sense of security about their ability to provide for their families. Adults who are unemployed, or whose contributions are not valued by society; adults who are lonely, with no nourishing contacts in the community; and adults who were not valued as children may feel incompetent at providing the basic resources, skills, and models their children need. Child abuse,

for instance, seems to occur in families that are under emotional stress, at times when an emotional loss is suffered by a caregiver who already feels lonely, unsupported, and unable to affect the forces that control his or her life. Just as lack of love can impair an infant's ability to grow and learn, lack of nourishing contacts with family, friends, and society can impair an adult's ability to nurture a child. We believe that an awareness of the needs of families, and of the stresses on caregiving that result when these needs are not met, is important for students both in their present role as caregivers for other people's children, and in their future role as parents and people who make decisions that affect the lives of children.

In addition to the way a society provides resources and social networks, a culture affects the lives of children and families by the messages it sends through its media and institutions, its fairy tales and television programs. The way in which communities and the society at large provide for the needs of families, and kinds of images valued by a culture are decisions made over long periods of time--sometimes with a great deal of thought, sometimes with little thought, and sometimes as practices that have grown out of tradition. Our role here is to provide some ways to think about the needs of families.

WHO YOU ARE AND WHAT YOU BRING TO CAREGIVING

Everyone has strong feelings and beliefs about what children and caregivers should be like. If you discuss with your colleagues your reactions to a particular child or to a particular caregiving incident, you are likely to discover that people have different reactions, and that feelings on these issues are often surprisingly strong. Where do expectations and feelings about children and caregiving come from? One source is the culture of the community and the larger society; the extent to which you and colleagues come from the

same community may determine the similarity of your views. Another source is your family--the voices that have been telling you from the time you were an infant what is good or bad behavior, what a child should be rewarded or punished for, what a parent should worry about. These voices will exert a strong influence on the kind of reaction people will have to children and their feelings about themselves when grown.

In caring for children, anyone's children, you will be making decisions every day, and you will have to learn what's right for you. As a teacher or student you can take guidance from the values of a child's family and community. As a parent you may be on your own in making your decisions. What we can do is help you be aware of some of the things that affect your decisions. You bring to caregiving a temperament, a history of experiences, a special perspective from your own point in the life cycle, and your own values, expectations, needs, and sense of identity. What are your expectations for children? Considering the stresses, hopes, needs, and conditions that shaped your family's expectations for you, which do you want to apply to the children you care for, which do you want to modify? Finally, what kind of expectations do you want to have for yourself?

EXPLORING CHILDHOOD's message about child rearing is that is is helpful:

- to be aware of the forces that affect the development of a child

- to gain perspective and ideas for your work with children from the experience of others who have studied and worked with children, from the traditions of your own family and community, and from the approaches of other families and other societies

- to build your own approach out of this understanding and perspective, and to explore what feels right for you in terms of your own beliefs, traditions, values, and identity.

What Good Is a Theory*

Selma H. Fraiberg

But now what are the practical uses of
these researches in child development?
The parent who has spent the night with
a howling infant may have little appre-
ciation for the interesting theories
which I have presented here. There are
so many practical problems in the rear-
ing of an infant, so many real demands
upon the parent. Is there any use in
knowing that an infant at one stage
experiences the world in one way and
at another stage in another way? Do we
need to know these fine points in infant
development in order to be good parents?
Well, strictly speaking, no. Good par-
ents will manage with or without a know-
ledge of the theory of child development.
But with such knowledge I believe that
the job of rearing a child can be made
easier. The unease, the uncertainty and
anxiety which is experienced by even the
best of parents when presented with a
child's incomprehensible behavior can
be alleviated at least in part by such
knowledge. Further--and now we are very
practical--it is this knowledge which
can guide the parent in handling the
difficult situations, in helping the
child overcome the typical problems of
each stage of development.

Let's begin with an illustration, one
of the practical problems which may
emerge in the first three months of
life. On behalf of the sleepless par-
ents let's take an affliction of early
infancy which creates very practical
problems for parents. We can describe
the problem in this way: The infant
cries fitfully for hours. He may doze
off after a lusty meal and wake up an
hour later whimpering, crying fretfully,

then screaming. If his mother holds him
he may subside for a while, but soon
the howling begins again. He is not
ill. He does not have colic. We'll
assume for purposes of this illustration
that a physician has examined the child
and finds no medical problem. What is
this then? "He must be hungry," his
mother says, but doubtfully, recalling
a prodigious meal. He is offered
another feeding, but after a short
time it's clear this isn't what he
wanted at all. But if he isn't hungry,
why does he make those sucking motions
with his mouth, and why does he seem to
want something in his mouth?

We need to have a theory. Let's try an
old one, first, "He is spoiled and he
just wants attention. He is using cry-
ing as a weapon against his parents, as
a means of getting his own way." Now
this theory is based on the premise
that an under-three-month-old infant has
the mental equipment to carry out a plot
against his parents, that he takes plea-
sure in disturbing their sleep and in
exercising his tyranny over them. In
order to carry out such a diabolical
scheme the infant would have to have
(1) an idea (2) a perception of events
in an objective world (3) at least a
rudimentary ability to see causal rela-
tions. Our knowledge of the mental
equipment of the under-three-month-old
infant will not support this theory.
He can't yet have an idea that his
behavior can influence events in an ob-
jective world since he has neither ideas
nor a perception of self in relation to
an objective world.

Let's try another theory which takes
into account the needs and the equipment
of the infant of this age. At this
stage his behavior is still motivated by
urgent biological needs. Any distur-
bance which he manifests will be
produced by pain or discomfort origina-
ting in a body organ. Either organic
illness or an unsatisfied body need will
produce pain or discomfort in the infant
of this age. Since we have ruled out
organic disturbance as a primary cause
in this disturbance, we need to examine
the problem as an unsatisfied body urge.

Since we have also ruled out hunger as a factor, we need to look further. But the patient won't talk.

We observe his behavior during these crying sessions. In the moments that he is not crying the mouth makes urgent sucking motions and sometimes the hand will find its way into the mouth to be vigorously sucked. This suggests the possibility that the unsatisfied need which we are searching for is connected with sucking. But how can that be? Haven't we established the fact that this infant has been fed and is not hungry? True. But we also know that sucking is experienced by the infant as a need which is independent of hunger. It is largely satisfied through nursing, especially in the breast-fed infant who has to work hard for his meal, but a large number of babies are left, even after feeding, with still unsatisfied sucking needs and this is experienced as an unbearable tension in the mouth. It is this tension which produces the disturbance we have described. Since this need is very specific we find that walking the baby, offering him more food, any of the usual means of comfort, will have little or no effect.

If we are right, if this distress is unsatisfied sucking need, then the provision of additional sucking should alleviate the discomfort. In the last few years a few very perceptive pediatricians began to try the old-fashioned pacifier with the infants who showed all these signs of unsatisfied sucking need. In all but a very small percentage of cases this disturbance, which had long baffled parents and pediatricians, cleared up in a short time!

But isn't there a danger that a pacifier might be habit-forming? Dr. Spock, who has furthered the cause of the pacifier as a specific measure for this specific need, has shown that it is rarely "habit forming" and, as a matter of fact, most babies on whom it has been tried begin to lose interest in the pacifier when the intense sucking needs begin to subside. I have observed that around three or four months there is diminished interest in the pacifier in those babies who used it and this corresponds to our observations that the sucking need also begins to lose its urgent and imperative quality around this stage. At the point where the baby himself begins to lose interest in the pacifier it's probably a good idea to withdraw it gradually and see if he can't manage without it. If he still seems to need it, one can restore it to him temporarily.

I think we might only run into difficulties in the use of a pacifier if we continue to use it in later months, quite literally as a pacifier, that is to keep the baby quiet. In the last half of the first year it is unlikely that the baby needs additional sucking from a pacifier. Its continued use, then, may be due to other causes. Perhaps a busy mother has found it too easy to quiet the baby by putting the pacifier in his mouth. Here there is a chance that the baby will become attached to the pacifier as a kind of all-purpose soother and we don't want to encourage this tendency.

The problem of unsatisfied sucking need and the use of the pacifier for supplementary sucking is a good demonstration of the relationship of theory to practice. As long as the cause of this infant disturbance was unknown or misconstrued, we could find no workable solutions. If we operate on the old theory that the infant is a cunning fellow who plots the overthrow of his parents behind the bars of his crib, then our methods of handling this disturbance will be based on principles of counter revolution. As a matter of fact that is just about what happened in the nurseries of thirty years ago. Well-intentioned parents, confronted with a screaming infant who was neither hungry, wet nor sick, maintained a siege on the other side of the nursery door, heroically resisting the onslaught from within, each parent holding the other back from the weakness of surrender, for the rebel's character was in danger if they gave an inch, and the question of Who Was To Be Master of This House was being settled this night.

Today we wince at these memories of an earlier child training. This victory over a three-month-old infant seems shabby and pointless to our modern views. And while the infant of this age does not consciously hold grudges, the urgent drives of this period are not diverted by an act of will on the part of parents. If satisfaction is denied them, the tension increases and will be discharged through crying, fretfulness, disturbances of eating, elimination, or sleep. In the end the drives are victorious in early infancy. There was no victory over them in the "let them cry it out" nursery of the '20's; the drives avenged themselves in the increase in those disturbances of infancy which derive from unsatisfied urges. There was no "discipline" achieved then or now for the tiny infant because he has no equipment to cooperate with us in the management of his drives.

Habits, Training and Discipline*

Mrs. Max West

Habits are the result of repeated actions. A properly trained baby is not allowed to learn bad habits which must be unlearned later at great cost of time and patience to both mother and babe. The wise mother strives to start the baby right.

SYSTEMATIC CARE

In order to establish good habits in the baby, the mother must first be aware what they are, and then how to induce them. Perhaps the first and most essential good habit is that of regularity. This begins at birth, and applies to all the physical functions of the baby--eating, sleeping, and bowel movements. The care of a baby is readily reduced to a system unless he is sick. Such a system is not only one of the greatest factors in keeping the baby well and in training him in a way which will be of value to him all through life, but reduces the work of the mother to the minimum and provides for her certain assured periods of rest and recreation.

As a sample of what is meant by a system in baby care the following plan is suggested, which may be variously modified to suit particular cases:

6 a.m., baby's first nursing.
Family breakfast; children off to school.
9 a.m., baby's bath, followed by second nursing.
Baby sleeps until noon.
12 to 12.30, baby's noon meal.
Out-of-door airing and nap.
3 to 3.30 p.m., afternoon nursing.
Period of waking.
6 to 7 p.m., baby's supper and bed.

It is quite feasible to have the baby's night meal at 11.30 or 12 o'clock, in order to give the mother a chance to spend an occasional evening in pleasant recreation.

PLAYING WITH THE BABY

The rule that parents should not play with the baby may seem hard, but it is without doubt a safe one. A young, delicate, or nervous baby especially needs rest and quiet, and however robust the child much of the play that is indulged in is more or less harmful. It is a great pleasure to hear the baby laugh and crow in apparent delight, but often the means used to produce the laughter, such as tickling, punching,

or tossing makes him irritable and restless. It is a regrettable fact that the few minutes of play that the father has when he gets home at night, which is often almost the only time he has with the child, may result in nervous disturbance of the baby and upset his regular habits.

The mother should not kiss the baby directly on the mouth, nor permit others to do so, as infections of various kinds are spread in this way. She needs also to be cautioned about rocking the baby, jumping him up and down on her knee, tossing him, shaking his bed or carriage, and, in general, keeping him in constant motion. All these things disturb the baby's nerves and make him more and more dependent upon these attentions. But this is not to say that the baby should be left alone too completely. All babies need "mothering," and should have plenty of it. When the young baby is awake he should frequently be taken up and held quietly in the mother's arms, in a variety of positions, so that no one set of muscles may become overtired. An older child should be taught to sit on the floor or in his pen or crib during part of his waking hours, or he will be very likely to make too great demands upon the mother's strength. No one who has not tried it realizes how much nervous energy can be consumed in "minding" a baby who can creep or walk about, and who must be continually watched and diverted, and the mother who is taking the baby through this period of his life will need to conserve all her strength, and not waste it in useless forms of activity.

EARLY TRAINING

The training in the use of individual judgment can be begun even in infancy; a child should early be taught to choose certain paths of action for himself; and if he is continually and absolutely forbidden to do this or that he is sometimes seriously handicapped later, because he does not know how to use his own reasoning faculties in making these choices. On the other hand,

obedience is one of the most necessary lessons for children to learn. A wise mother will not abuse her privilege in this respect by a too-exacting practice. For the most part she can exert her control otherwise than by commands, and if she does so her authority when exercised will have greater force and instant obedience will be more readily given.

Most of the naughtiness of infancy can be traced to physical causes. Babies who are fussy, restless, and fretful are usually either uncomfortable in some way because they have not been properly fed and taken care of, are sick or ailing, or have been indulged too much. On the other hand, babies who are properly fed, who are kept clean, and have plenty of sleep and fresh air, and who have been trained in regular habits of life, have no cause for being "bad" and are therefore "good."

It must not be forgotten that the period of infancy is a period of education often of greater consequence than any other two years of life. Not only are all the organs and functions given their primary education, but the faculties of the mind as well receive those initial impulses that determine very largely their direction and efficiency through life. The first nervous impulse which passes through the baby's eyes, ears, fingers, or mouth to the tender brain makes a pathway for itself; the next time another impulse travels over the same path it deepens the impressions of the first. It is because the brain is so sensitive to these impressions in childhood that we remember throughout life things that have happened in our early years while nearer events are entirely forgotten. If, therefore, these early stimuli are sent in orderly fashion, the habits thus established and also the tendency to form such habits will persist throughout life.

Adolescents Look at Development in Themselves

The following readings are adolescents' descriptions of changes in themselves. You might want to discuss these readings with the class.

...I figured if I don't want to get married, I won't do the things that other people do that allow them to get married. I won't listen to rock-and-roll music, because that's what other people do. They have to go to dances, and boys and girls dance together, and then they get married. This was when I was in about the fifth or sixth grade. I refused to listen to rock-and-roll music but I wanted to, inside I wanted to, but outside I wouldn't let it happen. I was afraid of winding up like my parents. In relation to women, I wanted to physically touch them and everything, feel them, but if I did, I did it from the outside. The inside of me did not do it except very rarely and with just one girl. But now I know all this and the walls have started breaking down, between the outside me and the inside me. They have started to come down and I realized that more and more I want to let people inside me.*

I still had friends; I went out visiting. But I was conscious of the fact that I wasn't as I had been before. These parties--there was a kind of very fast-moving crowd.... That really aggravated all of this, knowing--not so much being upset because there was a lot going on and I wasn't getting any--but that there were all these things going on, and all my former friends were involved in it, and I was outside of this thing.

I didn't know how to relate to it. I was treated by them as being outside of it, and socially I began to feel inferior. That was the most important thing.*

...I could feel myself becoming very independent, but at the same time I felt insecure. I believe this was the turning point of my life. Although it was a slow and painful transition, I went from complete dependence to complete independence. As I look back now, I believe this was the way father planned it. When I decided to enter college instead of the service, father didn't say anything about it. I knew he wanted me to go in the army and become a man, but when I asked him what he thought about my going to college, he said it was up to me. He said I'd have to make the decision myself, that he couldn't help me. Well, as you can see, I decided to go to college and I'm glad I did. I enjoy college very much and I'm working part time in order to put myself through. It's a great experience to realize you're on your own, and I can honestly say I wouldn't want it any other way. I am completely on my own and thinking for myself. I'm not easily influenced by other people and although I'm still not sure what I really want out of life, I feel I am quite capable of making the right decisions in order to reach the goals I have now set for myself.**

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*Reprinted from *The Music of Their Laughter*, by Roderick Thorp and Robert Blake (San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1971).

*Reprinted from *Young Radicals, Notes on Committed Youth*, by Kenneth Keniston (New York: Harcourt Brace & World, 1968).

**Reprinted from *The Experience of Adolescence*, Stephen J. Goldburgh, ed. (Cambridge: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1965).

Perspectives on Adolescence

This reading was originally compiled for Coming of Age: Managing Transitions, Unit Three 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 extremely 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, and 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 Samoa 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. Chilren 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 childre 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

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.

Adolescent Egocentrism

The following articles were by EDC staff as evaluation reports on the Exploring Childhood program. We are including them here for the information they provide on adolescent egocentrism.

Three Stages in the Adolescent's Ability to Take the Child's View

Interview material has provided "descriptive" information relevant to the goals of *Child's Eye View*....When asked to talk about learning and about problems with children, students seemed to speak from three quite different perspectives on working with children. Each perspective seems to direct students to think very differently about how children understand and view others. Though a longitudinal analysis of individual student interviews is needed to support this idea, we "theorize" here that many students may move through at least three roughly different stages in learning to understand or "take the viewpoint of" young children.*

In picturing the three different frames of reference, as they are drawn from the interview material studied, we will not be defining *what the student knows* about the child's view at each stage as much as outlining *how the student approaches* his or her interactions with children.

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*These three "stages" come from variations among student responses to the same interview question, at one point in time. To see whether students do actually move through these stages in sequence, we would need to study the *series* of four interviews (two individual and two small-group) collected over the course of the National Field Test year.

Each approach, frame of reference, or stage (however we wish to term it) affects what the student will *see* in his/her interactions with children and how those events will be interpreted.

These prototype descriptions are presented not as a way of evaluating the success of the program in promoting adolescents' growth from egocentrism to self-awareness, but as a way of identifying and defining what might in fact constitute growth for the adolescent.

Although these categorizations emerge from and are illustrated with interview data, they may also go beyond that data in an attempt to formulate a coherent picture of students' thinking. The three stages are described below.

THE EGOCENTRIC STAGE

At this stage, adolescents experience and interpret their interactions with children in terms of their *own needs*, which are generally needs for recognition, acceptance, and love. The constellation that concerns the student includes him- or herself and the child with the student in the center. Students are not good observers at this stage, and might be said not to be observing the child at all, since they are not thinking of the child as a separate, autonomous entity with individual needs and impulses. Students will assume that children's needs and perspective are the same as their own, and will experience personal disappointment and surprise when children's behavior suggests otherwise.

Students tend to *see* interactions with children in terms of whether children are moving *toward or away from* them, and to interpret the movement as personal acceptance or rejection. This is typically expressed in this boy's comment:

> It's hard to understand them. They're happy one minute...the next minute they walk away and

won't talk to you at all, and I wonder, "What did I say or do?" So I gotta watch what I say or do.

This boy assumes that the goal of his interaction with the child is to create and maintain an emotional bond. He has an unrealistic view of his influence on the child, since many other factors could have prompted the child to leave.

Since, from this perspective, the child "belongs with" the adolescent, the older student experiences a sense of betrayal if the child shifts his or her attention, whether to another person or an activity:

> You'll be talking to them and they go off to another activity and you go over there...like they'll practically kick you out on the butt... [like] "Get outta here."

Unable to reflect on what the *child* might need, the student fails to see the child's action as an expression of other interests, rather than as a rejection of the adolescent.

Rather than try to understand what children are feeling, students at this stage want the children to understand *their* feelings and to try to make the adolescent "feel good." One student expressed this perspective with the comment that if only children realized that their swearing made her feel bad, they would stop. In this case, the student herself is also beginning to question whether her view is appropriate:

> Getting them to know we have feelings *just like they do*....If they understood the way we feel about things, maybe they wouldn't do it.. ..They swear...they don't understand they're hurting your feelings.... I tell them that's not nice, but they do it anyway. I don't know whether to yell or let them know they are hurting you.

The question of *why* the children are swearing (it's probably not simply to hurt her feelings) does not occur to the "egocentric" adolescent, since her own discomfort is the focus of her attention.

Students are nonobservers at this stage, unable to "see" their own responses and behavior, and unable to accept children as separate and different people.

THE CHILD-CENTERED STAGE

At this stage, the child moves to the center and the adolescent-child constellation expands to include other people. Students are "observing" children at this stage because they assume each child is a separate person whose needs and feelings are not necessarily already apparent to them. In a sense there is more distance between adolescents and children at this stage than at the egocentric stage.

The adolescents' motives for talking with children are very different at this stage than at the egocentric stage. Rather than using communication to forge a bond between themselves and children, students talk with and listen to children in order to learn *from the children* how they feel or why they are doing something. While practically all of the students interviewed were interested in their own progress in being able to communicate with children, some were concerned with "getting children to talk to me" while others seemed aware that children's talk offers cues to children's understanding and feelings, which may in turn help to explain children's *behavior*. Some of the most striking stories in the interviews were from students who seemed to be entering the child-centered stage. In each case they were open enough to the particular child to be able to see and hear what the child had to tell them. In these stories students recount "discovering" something new about children, which was possible because they were not imposing their own needs or a predetermined interpretation on the event.

One student recounted watching a little boy run with a football in both arms

very, very slowly and deliberately across the nursery school floor.

> I looked at him and it didn't dawn on me, so I asked why. He said, "Well, this is the way they do it on TV." And I thought of slow motion. This little kid running real slow. He said, "I'm doing a touchdown." I didn't know whether to laugh.

Students at this stage are more likely to enjoy children and find them funny, because they can *see* children's constructions of the world and appreciate the incongruity that sometimes occurs between child and adult views. This student was open to considering other influences on the child's behavior besides her own, and saw questions as tools for learning the content and source of the child's understanding.

One student recounts a discovery made while helping children button their coats. When she asked them to face her, she got absolutely no response. She might have interpreted the children's blank response to her request as resistance; instead, in an almost scientific way, she asked herself, "Do these children understand the concept 'face me'?" and set about finding out by talking with other children.

It is not that students at the child-centered stage understand everything about the child's view, but that they are able to ask "Why?" if a child's behavior does not match what they expected.

THE SELF-AWARE STAGE

This stage is the most complex and advanced, since it involves the adolescent's ability to be aware of him- or herself as a member of the constellation of people interacting with the child. At this stage, adolescents see *both* themselves and children as directed by particular feelings, needs, and ideas. They become concerned—and to some extent aware—of what those feelings and

needs are in themselves and of how they may be influencing their interaction with children. They are most fully "participant-observers" at this stage, because they are close enough to their own feelings and attitudes to be able to *experience* them, while distant enough to be *aware* of them, at least when it is critical. Emotionally they are close enough to children to be able to care about the children's welfare and to empathize with the children's needs and feelings, but distant enough to be able to refrain from projecting their own needs onto the children or from imposing an explanation when more information is needed.

The focus at this stage is still, ultimately, the child, but the adolescent sees awareness of his or her own responses and biases as a necessary part of understanding and working effectively with the child.

Students at this stage are more likely to see self-observation as a *responsibility* in working with children, particularly observation and awareness of their own emotional responses. One girl felt she had learned through the program that her "bad temper" was simply an inevitable, built-in part of her personality; she felt she had to "protect" the children she worked with from it:

> If a kid does something wrong, I get mad. You know, it's normal for you to get mad—I mean if you do something wrong—but I think I need to do something about my temper. If you have a bad day...talk it over with someone and maybe they could deal with it....Then you wouldn't take it out on the kids.

Students at this stage may be able to observe in retrospect their own earlier, egocentric behavior, as this boy was:

> When kids don't want to act right it used to get to me. I used to say, *there must be something wrong with me*. I realized, they got moods just like we do. Sometimes they

just don't feel like doing it....
Still gives me trouble, but doesn't
bother me so much.

Another student is able to reconstruct
his own earlier irritation with children
and review it in the light of his more
recent observation and interpretation
that children need to ask questions, and
that they veiw *him* as an omniscient
source:

At first I didn't understand why
kids ask so many questions. It's
always "Why?" and you tell them
and then "Why is that?"...I thought
they did it just to be annoying, but
now I understand why they ask ques-
tions...because they are curious,
and they think we know everything
and they want to hurry up and be
able to know things too.

Students at the self-aware stage can
integrate into their analysis the aware-
ness that they once were children and
that, as older people, they have to re-
learn what it is like to be a child.

I've forgotten what it's like to
be little and not know anything.
Not just stuff like reading and
writing and chemistry...but things
about *living*.

The perspective of the self-aware
adolescent (or adult, since these stages
may describe the way we all develop in
our ability to understand and work with
children) is more complex than the ego-
centric or child-centered stages in two
respects. First, the adolescent not
only accepts him- or herself as a member
of a constellation of several people
interacting with the child and influen-
cing the child in different ways, but
can step outside that constellation in
his or her imagination and observe him-
or herself acting and reacting. Second,
as the example above illustrates,
adolescents are able to reconsider past
behavior and interactions with children
in light of what they *now* know. In a
sense, they can see not only the child
but also themselves growing.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE THREE HYPOTHETICAL
STAGES

Adolescent self-understanding and under-
standing of children have been concur-
rent goals of the EXPLORING CHILDHOOD
program since its inception. As out-
lined here, the three stages may suggest
how those two major learning goals are
interrelated. In expressing these three
"stages of thinking," students may be
illustrating the idea that a certain
level of self-awareness is essential in
order to be able to observe and learn
about the child as a separate person.
As teenagers become more able to see
and hear what children can reveal about
their understanding, abilities, and
vocabulary, teenagers may become more
aware of what they themselves know,
feel, and can do. In turn, that stron-
ger awareness opens up additional aware-
ness of what they do and feel when they
are with children, and how their behav-
ior and attitudes may be contributing
to the children's experience and under-
standing.

A group of students in an Exploring
Childhood Program recently asked their
teacher "What are you really trying to
teach us?" They decided to try to
answer the question themselves, and
articulated their answer in this way:

She's trying to help us understand
who we are, so we can understand
who kids are, so that we can create
a teaching style that works for both.

Those students seemed to be thinking
about the program from a perspective of
self-awareness which enabled them to
integrate for themselves the goals of
learning about themselves and learning
about children.

Three Adolescent Theories of Discipline

As with *Child's Eye View*, interview
materials provide information that is
"descriptive" of the kinds of thinking

students do about learning and discipline, rather than information directly related to evaluating the effectiveness of *Child's Eye View* in helping students expand or change their thinking.

Almost every student interviewed was concerned in some way with problems of controlling and motivating children. In answering the question "What things are still difficult about working with children?" students expressed considerable frustration over the problems of getting children to "behave" and learn in ways students and their fieldsite teachers thought were appropriate. While students shared a common level of frustration, their ideas about what constitutes a "discipline problem" and how to approach it vary widely. In talking about fieldwork problems, students seem to express roughly three different views of discipline, each with different assumptions about the basic nature of the child, how the child learns, and what the adult role is in that learning process. While the three views are presented here as wholly different "theories," some students seemed to hold two "theories" at once, or they may have been in the process of moving from one view to another. While the characterizations may be somewhat overdrawn, we hope that they provide a picture of the different perspectives students bring to their thinking about children, and that they suggest ways teachers may be able to help students develop their thinking further.

"TELL THE CHILD"

Assumptions About How Children Learn

In their comments about working with children, some students imply that children learn appropriate behavior through being *told* directly by adults how to behave. According to this view, children are quite passive. They may be "unruly" when they first join a preschool group, for example, but will conform to the "rules" once they come

under the influence of an adult authority. The source of energy for changes in children's behavior comes mostly from *outside* the children, from directive adults. Since children do not have complex needs of their own, the assumption goes, or since their major need may be to have approval from the adult authority figure, they can be directed the way adults wish.

Students express this view when they explain behavior changes in children in their fieldsites. Typically, students explain a child's development of more outgoing, cooperative behavior this way: "The teacher convinced him that it's right and smart to learn."

Adolescent/Adult Role in the Learning Process in Expressing This "Theory"

Students seem to assume that children conform not only because they accept the adult "role" as correct, but also because they recognize the uneven power relationship between themselves and adults. Children learn that they *have to do* what is asked:

> They learn you *have* to go along with what's asked of you.

> They seem to understand what we want from them. That he *has* to do the things we ask most of the time.

> He simply *has* to learn to sit and finish. (Said of a hyperactive boy.)

The particluar frustration of adolescents who hold this view of learning and discipline comes from knowing they do not have an authoritative role in the child's eyes, and therefore cannot really influence the child. Students who see children from this perspective feel they lack the necessary authority and power, given their age and non-professional status, to "get children to do" what they wish. One aspect of the missing authority is competence:

> I don't feel I am qualified or have the right. If a kid is out

of hand...I don't really feel I
could be able to get to him...I'll
just leave it up to the teacher.

More often it is the dimension of
teacher authority they feel they lack:

> Whatever I ask them to do, they
> say no. They realize when they say
> no, they don't have to do it...They
> don't stop fighting because you're
> not the teacher.

The frustration for the student who
assumes children learn by being told is
not only "*how to tell them* not to do it,"
as one student put it (implying that
whatever the approach is, it must in-
volve *telling*), but how to get them to
listen and obey.

Limitations of the Theory

Carried to an extreme, this perspective
severely limits students in learning
about and helping children. It directs
them to observe and interpret children's
behavior in terms of obedience and
resistance, rather than in terms of
children's needs and experiences. In
concentrating on the amount of power
and authority teachers hold in relation
to the child, students tend not to
notice the many *indirect* ways teachers
influence children, ways that are avail-
able to students as well.

"REWARD THE BEHAVIOR YOU WANT"

Assumptions About How Children Learn

Other students' comments imply that
children's behavior can be changed in
a less direct way than *telling* the
children. According to this view, one
should pay a great deal of attention to
children when their behavior is desir-
able, and withhold attention when the
behavior is not. From this viewpoint,
the child is uni-dimensional and fairly
passive, with one central need--*atten-
tion*--and the giving or withholding of
attention by older people is the reward

and punishment that brings about desir-
able behavior in the child.

Adolescent/Adult Role in the Learning Process

In explaining what they had learned in
the program, several students explained
that they had learned how to influence
children by withholding attention.
In one of many similar stories students
told about how children's behavior had
been modified in this way, one girl
reported how she keeps "calm and cool"
and ignores her little sister when the
younger girl tries to irritate her at
home. Explaining her approach, she said,
"They just walk away when they can't
get that attention they want."

Another girl explained how the preschool
staff got a boy to stop wandering around
the room and join the nursery group
during storytime:

> I think just everybody ignored him
> and let him go ahead and do what he
> wanted to. He *didn't get any atten-
> tion*.

Expressing essentially the same "theory"
of how children are controlled and
motivated, another student speculated
that a girl in her fieldsite may have
learned to write her name because:

> ...she might want to *get more
> attention* and thinks maybe if she
> does good, she'll get more attention
> than people who don't do as good.
> Maybe that's why she's trying to
> learn.

The fullest statement of this view came
from a boy who felt strongly that child-
ren are not motivated by any particular
moral sense ("I don't think they think
about if it's the right thing to do"),
or sense of what is expected, as in the
authoritarian view. He felt that as a
pleasure-seeking animal, the child will
respond to reward and punishment. He
expressed this view quite clearly in
explaining to the interviewer how he
would work with a hyperactive child:

...show him the rewards of keeping
yourself in control, by showing him
what other kids get by keeping them-
selves in control. The *satisfaction*.
If they see that, they'll learn.

This student sees reward and punishment
as integral, complementary aspects of
the teaching and disciplining process:

> They're really going after something
> that's pleasing to them. That would
> be one way to teach them, because
> there's always the punishment you
> get for not keeping yourself in
> control....

Limitations of the Theory

The theory that children conform to
desired behavior in response to giving
or withholding attention has several
limitations that may account for the
particular frustration students feel
when they attempt to utilize the theory.
The concept of "attention," as students
use it, is vague and undifferentiated.
The question, "*What kind* of attention
is needed?" or "What, more specifically,
does the child *need*?" seems never to be
voiced by students when they explain,
"He just needs attention." Used in this
way, the concept prevents further think-
ing about the child's motives and needs.
The concept also eliminates observation
and the collecting of further information
about the child, since the assumption
is that his behavior has been explained.

Taken to an extreme, this version of
"behaviorist" theory does not recognize
the multiple sources of motivation for
learning that exist *within* the child.
The only need that is recognized is a
simple desire for an adult response.
Viewing the child so narrowly, students
are not likely to match their disciplin-
ary approach to the child's real needs
and potential.

"ENGAGE THE CHILD'S INTERESTS AND NEEDS"

Assumptions About How Children Learn

Other students imply that it is child-
ren's intrinsic desire to learn, rather
than their obedience to given rules or
the satiation of their hunger for atten-
tion, that most strongly influences
children's behavior. This view also
assumes that children are pleasure-
seeking animals, but since they have
many different needs, they can be
pleased in many ways: experiencing
greater muscular control, mastering a
skill, experiencing attachment to another
person, giving form to feelings and
impulses through materials, fantasy,
movement, and stories.

Of the three theories, this one carries
the most active view of the child, since
it assumes that the energy that directs
behavior and changes comes from *inside*
the child. The theory assumes that,
depending on age and situation, children
are capable of directing much of their
own activity and of controlling much of
their own behavior.

Partial Expressions of the Theory

Though few of the students we inter-
viewed articulated this view in a total
or explicit way, many implied some
aspects of it. For example, some
students felt strongly that children
learn most effectively when they are
directed by what *interests them*:

> Kids can pick up on things that
> they really want to...they do what
> they want to do.

> She's probably improved this year
> because she's really trying to
> learn.

> They learn on their own, talk about
> what they want to talk about.

These students were assuming that
children begin to learn when they find

their own goal in an activity. Discussing a boisterous child who still had not calmed down during the students' fieldwork period, one student commented, "Maybe he doesn't understand, but I think he does. He just doesn't *want* to do it." She is suggesting that the child's *own* desire to engage in a learning activity is essential to the learning process.

In making such comments, students seldom seemed to be asking themselves *why* a child did or did not want to do something. Although students did not explicitly name the different factors that might motivate children, their observations indicated some awareness of them. For example, many students noticed that children often motivate each other, and were aware that children imitate and try to keep up with each other ("They see someone else putting on their coat and it makes them want to learn.") and that they compete with their siblings. Some of the students' stories imply an awareness that in playing together children may be supporting several of each other's needs. One student, for example, described a collaboration between a "mean" boy and a little girl who could not write her name. He recalled that the two children were painting near each other when the boy said, "Watch, I can write my name." The boy wrote his and then taught the girl how to write hers. "There was a change in both of them," the student said. Though the student did not articulate the sources of motivation for the changes he observed, his story indicates some awareness of them, which enabled him to *see* children expressing needs for friendship, mastery, and identity.

Adolescent/Adult Role in the Learning Process

If children are active, self-motivated learners, the role of the adult becomes one of encouraging their efforts and appealing to their needs for competence, friendship, and curiosity. Several students seemed to be discovering their own approaches to motivating children. In each case, they were appealing to children's desires rather than directing them. One student appealed to children's curiosity as an alternative to telling them what to do:

> I'll tell them to pick up something and they completely ignore me...(so) I'll be doing something and they come over and want to help me. I'll say, not until you get the blocks up. Most of the time that works.

Another student described how you could appeal to children's desire to express ideas in materials as a way of promoting the development of motor coordination:

> Give them something they like to do, like clay or building blocks...they know if they want to make something that looks like what they want to make, they're going to have to really develop it with their hands, and this develops their motor coordination.

Three boys in another interview group discussed three different, indirect ways they used to try to involve and maintain children's interest in a learning activity. One appealed to the children's needs for confidence and self-esteem:

> You have to make it subtle, not "do it yourself," but something like, "Well, I tried, but I just can't seem to get it right. Maybe you can show me how to do it."

A second boy described making a game out of a learning activity. The third described an approach that appeals essentially to children's need for success and mastery. If an activity is too hard and the child becomes frustrated, you

> ...do it in phases. You just do it for a few minutes one day. Little by little, they'll be telling *you* how.

Limitations of the Theory

Students who view discipline in terms of children's needs and active involvement in learning are more aware than other "theorists" of the complexity involved in motivating or controlling children. This perspective demands that we bring to working with a child a knowledge about what children are like, what the specific needs and abilities of a particular child are, and what alternative approaches are available in working with children. "Discipline" implied by this perspective calls for matching the individual needs and problems of the child with an appropriate approach. One student, in describing what she was learning in the program, stated with some insight and frustration that, "Each child is different; the same thing does *not* work with every child." Another student listed five different ways to handle a discipline problem, then acknowledged that she felt it was still very difficult to know which was best for any one child. The frustration of these students indicates an acceptance of children as active beings with complex needs.

Summary

Although students share a certain amount of frustration over the difficulties of motivating and controlling children, the particular *character* of that frustration will differ, depending on the assumptions students have about children and about how they learn. As the interview excerpts illustrate, students "reveal" these assumptions in the ways they recount their fieldwork experiences.

Teachers can help students become more aware of their own "theories." Teachers should try to recognize and respond to the assumptions about learning and discipline that are revealed in their students' talk and actions. A teacher who is able to ask "What kind of attention does Michael need?" and "What are some different ways we could give him what he needs?" in response to a student who explains Michael's tantrum as a simple "need for attention," will help to break that student out of a narrow view of learning, and move him or her toward a richer understanding of children and of the discipline process.

Bibliography

The following bibliography may be helpful to those interested in pursuing a deeper understanding of the works of the theorists presented in Seeing Development.

Erikson:

E. H. Erikson. *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1950, 424 pages. A comprehensive and eloquent statement of Erikson's theory. Contains case studies suitable for class discussion.

E. H. Erikson. *Identity: Youth and Crisis*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1968, 336 pages. A thorough study of the adolescent in society.

Robert Coles. *Erik Erikson*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970, 440 pages. A biography of Erik Erikson, including a complete summary of his theories. Well written.

Piaget:

J. Piaget. "Piaget's Theory," in *Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology*, Mussen, ed., 3rd edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1970. Latest statement of his views by Piaget himself, who acknowledges that his theory is always changing. Contrasts the Piagetian view with other prominent psychological formulations. Somewhat technical.

J. Piaget and B. Inhelder. *Psychology of the Child*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1969, 173 pages. A straightforward, condensed view of the principal developmental stages, as seen by Piaget and his principal collaborator.

Hans Furth. *Piaget for Teachers*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970, 163 pages. The pedagogical implications of Piaget's theory. Reviews principal concepts and discusses educational approaches in different subject areas. Answers questions commonly raised by teachers.

Hans Furth. *Piaget and Knowledge*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969, 265 pages. Detailed examination and interpretation of Piaget's theory. Include seminal passages from Piaget's own writings. Places Piaget's theory in its proper biological perspective. Contains excellent glossary of Piaget's terms. Technical.

Howard Gardner. *The Quest for Mind*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1973, 273 pages (chapter on Piaget, 60 pages). Readable presentation capturing the essentials of Piaget's theory.

Herbert Ginsburg and Sylvia Opper. *Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development: An Introduction*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969,

237 pages, paper. Good, basic presentation of Piaget's entire theory, clearly and simply written. Describes Piaget's work with infants, children, and adolescents.

David Elkind. *Children and Adolescents, Interpretative Essays on Jean Piaget*. New York: Oxford University Press, Inc., 1969. A well-written, easy-to-read series of essays dealing with Piaget's theories of cognitive growth, beginning with childhood and continuing into adolescence. Uses concrete examples to illustrate theory. See especially chapter 7, "Piaget and Montessori," which compares and contrasts the two theorists' work. Chapter 4, "Egocentrism in Children and Adolescents," is a reading in *Child's Eye View* Teacher's Guide.

Montessori:

Maria Montessori, *The Montessori Method*. Anne E. George, trans. New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1964, paper. The seminal, basic statement of her principles and methodology.

Maria Montessori. *The Secret of Childhood*. New York: Ballantine Books, Inc., 1972, paper. The intelligence, psyche, and work of the child.

Maria Montessori. *The Absorbent Mind*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., Inc., 1969, paper. The great powers of the child to absorb the environment, transforming it and humankind.

Paula P. Lillard. *Montessori, A Modern Approach*. New York: Schocken Books Inc., 1972. What can happen in a Montessori classroom, and why.

Elizabeth G. Hainstock. *Teaching Montessori in the Home*. New York: Random House, Inc., 1968.

Reginald C. Oren. *Montessori Today*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1971.

Edited Books:

William Kesson, ed. *The Child*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1965, 295 pages. Group of theoretical readings on education, biology, and children, drawn from a variety of Western sources. Contributors include Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Darwin, Preyer, Hall, Binet and Simon, Gesell, Watson, Freud, and Piaget. A useful glimpse of the development of ideas about children.

Tony Talbot, ed. *The World of the Child*. New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1967 (Anchor paperback, 1968), 457 pages. Good selection of readings about childhood, including general essays on the nature of childhood, specific papers on special topics (babbling, art, humor), and some discussion of education.

Dale Harris, ed. *The Concept of Development*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1957, 287 pages. Theoretical essays on the concept of development seen from the perspectives of psychologists, philosophers, natural scientists, doctors, and humanists. Contributors include Nagel, Schneirla, Heinz Werner, Robert Sears.

Other Theorists:

Jerome Bruner, Rose Oliver, and Patricia Greenfield. *Studies in Cognitive Growth*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1966, 343 pages. An American psychologist in the Piagetian tradition, Bruner presents a number of intriguing experiments, which probe the child's cognitive approaches and achievements. A stimulating commentary on the principles of cognitive growth introduces the volume.

Heinz Werner. *Comparative Psychology of Mental Development*. New York: Science Books, 1961. A comprehensive review of many aspects of mental development. Werner describes a taxonomy that he then applies to children, animals, mental defectives, and so-called "primitive" peoples. A vast source of data, though his theoretical stance is a bit limited to be useful.

Selma Fraiberg. *The Magic Years*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1959, 302 pages. A delightful book about early childhood, equally appealing to laymen and professionals. A superb interweaving of theory and practice, filled with many anecdotes suitable for class discussion.

For Alternative Views:

S. W. Biuou and D. M. Baer. *Child Development*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1961, 86 pages, paper. "Systematic and empirical theory of human psychological development from point of view of natural sciences" (Author's words).

Introductory Level:

A. Bandura and R. H. Walters. *Social Learning and Personality Development*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963, 329 pages. A view of social behavior that stresses the importance of initiation and reward while minimizing cognitive factors and developmental stages. Contrasts with the general viewpoint espoused in EXPLORING CHILDHOOD. Excellent source for comparative data suitable for class presentation.

Evaluation Approaches

These approaches are provided to give teachers the opportunity to build evaluation into the day-to-day activities in the EXPLORING CHILDHOOD materials. Teachers can adapt these suggested approaches to the goals and needs of their individual classes. Students and teachers should share and discuss the purposes, expected outcomes, and actual results of the evaluation approach chosen.

Approach	Description of Activity and Page References	Purpose	Evidence of Student Learning
Observation and Analysis	Students select a child to observe over a period of several weeks (or months if possible), as suggested in the student booklet on page 7 and the Teacher's Guide on pages 4–6. Students should attempt to observe fifteen minutes per week. Use the "Directions in Development" poster to periodically focus observation on particular areas of growth. Use student journals to record talk and actions of child around the selected foci. Students could write or present an oral summary of the observations, collaborating in pairs if they have observed the same child. Summary can be made around the following questions: · What are some things the child can do very well at this point? List as many as you can. · What changes have you observed in this child since you began observing? · What do you think may be contributing to those changes?	To evaluate students' ability to: · observe growth and change in individual children; · understand that maturation and experience together foster growth in the child; · use the "Directions in Development" poster as a resource for observing individual children.	Students' observation notes and summary focus on more than one growth area, e.g.: · body skills and coordination; · ways of playing with other children; · sensitivity to others' needs and feelings; · emotional control. Students note ways in which the child's *everyday behavior* (e.g., play, art-making, judgment about fairness) shows his abilities. Students *connect changes* in different areas, e.g., as child grows more confident about being with other children he or she can participate in and learn group games. Students draw on specific evidence of change, e.g., at first child cried when mother left, now turns to find friends. Students suggest more than one factor influencing change, e.g., not only new opportunities and people but also new capacities to understand and participate. Students select some focusing questions from categories in data poster.

Approach	Description of Activity and Page References	Purpose	Evidence of Student Learning
Interview/ Dialogue Between Student and Field Teacher	Student and fieldsite teacher hold discussion in which they exchange ideas, examples, and suggestions around the questions listed on the form for student-fieldsite teacher dialogue (see next page). Both student and fieldsite teacher may wish to prepare for the discussion by writing their responses beforehand in the space provided.	To enable students to draw on fieldsite teacher's viewpoint in evaluating their progress in working in the fieldsite. To enable the fieldsite teacher to assess the adequacy of the support being given to the student. To enable both to recognize the other's view of the student's experience.	Recommendations take both student's and teacher's views into account: . *build on agreement*: e.g., if both agree that the student needs to contact more children rather than focus on one, the teacher might recommend that the student spend part of each day with other children; . *handle disagreement*: e.g., if student feels capable of more responsibility than teacher assumed he/she could take, the teacher could recommend that the student try limited additional responsibility and discuss results periodically. Student's final comment indicates recognition of additional ideas and suggestions of fieldsite teacher. Student's role over the subsequent weeks reflects the recommended changes.

97

Fieldsite Teacher's Views

FORM FOR STUDENT-FIELDSITE TEACHER DIALOGUE

How has the student contributed to
the goals and activities of this
classroom (or center)?

How have the student's skills grown
and changed since working at the
fieldsite?

What kinds of help, experiences, re-
sources in the fieldsite may have
contributed to the student's growth?

What situations or kinds of work with
children are difficult for the student?

What kind of additional help would
enable the student to contribute more?

Are there additional responsibilities
the student could take on?

Joint recommendations for student's work:

Student's comment on ways this dialogue
has changed or expanded his/her views of
his/her work in the fieldsite:

Student's Views