Child Development
A Cultural Approach

Jeffrey Jensen Arnett
Ashley E. Maynard
Second Edition

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SECOND EDITION

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To my mom, who loved it all,
from start to finish.

—Jeffrey Jensen Arnett

I thank all my teachers, who taught me how to learn. I am especially grateful to Patricia Greenfield and Tom Weisner for helping me find my own path in the study of culture and development.

—Ashley E. Maynard

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Preface

Welcome to *Child Development: A Cultural Approach.* For us, the most important motivation in writing this book was that we wanted to provide students with a portrayal of development that would cover the whole amazing range of human cultural diversity. As professors who have taught human development courses for years and were familiar with the available textbooks, we were struck by how narrow all of them seemed to be. They focused on human development in the United States as if it were the typical pattern for people everywhere, with only the occasional mention of people in other parts of the world. If you knew nothing about human development except what you read in a standard textbook, you would conclude that 95 percent of the human population must reside in the United States. Yet the United States is actually less than 5 percent of the world's population, and there is an immense range of patterns of human development in cultures around the globe, with most of those patterns strikingly different than the mainstream U.S. model. And, even within the United States, cultural diversity is much greater than what is found in the typical textbook.

So, in writing, we decided to take a cultural approach. We set out to portray child development as it takes place across all the different varieties of cultural patterns that people have devised in response to their local conditions and the creative inspiration of their imaginations. Our goal was to teach students to *think culturally,* so that when they apply child development to the work they do or to their own lives, they understand that there is, always and everywhere, a cultural basis to development. The cultural approach also includes learning how to critique research for the extent to which it does or does not take the cultural basis of development into account. We provide this kind of critique at numerous points throughout the book, with the intent that students will learn how to do it themselves by the time they reach the end.

We know from our experience as teachers that students find it fascinating to learn about the different forms that child development takes in various cultures, but there are also practical benefits to the cultural approach. It is more important than ever for students to have knowledge of the wider world because of the increasingly globalized economy and because so many problems, such as terrorism and climate change, cross borders. Whether they travel the globe or remain in their home towns, in a culturally diverse and globalized world, students will benefit from being able to apply the cultural approach and think culturally about development, whether in social interactions with friends and neighbors, or in their careers because they may have patients, students, or coworkers who come from different cultures.

The Chinese have an expression that loosely translates as "the frog in the well knows not of the great ocean," and it is often used as a cautionary reminder to look beyond our own experience and not to assume that what is true for ourselves is true for everyone else as well. We think all of us are like that frog, in a way (which is, in case you were wondering, why a frog is featured on the cover of this book). We've grown up in a certain cultural context. We've learned to think about life in a certain way. We've learned to think about development in a certain way. And most of us don't realize how broad and diverse our world really is. Our hope is that this book will help more students lift themselves out of the well and appreciate the wonderful diversity of child development.

The cultural approach makes this textbook much different from other child development textbooks, but there are other features that make this textbook distinct. This is the only major textbook to include a separate chapter on toddlerhood, the second and third years of life. Jeff had always been puzzled by the way other textbooks gloss over toddlerhood, usually including the second year of life as part of "infancy" and the third year of life as part of "early childhood." Yet any parent knows that years 2 and 3 are a lot different from what comes before or after, and Jeff remembered this well from his own experience as a father of twins. Infants cannot walk or talk, and once toddlers learn to do both in years 2 and 3, their experience of life—and their parents' experiences—change utterly. Toddlers are also different from older children, in that their ability for emotional self-regulation and their awareness of what is and is not acceptable behavior in their culture is much more limited.

This textbook is also set apart among major textbooks in that it includes an entire chapter on the stage of emerging adulthood. Emerging adulthood, roughly ages 18 to 25, is a new life stage that has arisen in developed countries over the past 50 years, as people have entered later into the commitments that structure adult life in most cultures: marriage, parenthood, and stable work. Jeff originally proposed the theory of emerging adulthood in 2000, and it has now become widely used in the social sciences. We think it is a fascinating and dynamic time of life, and we know students enjoy learning about it because many of them are in that life stage or about to enter it.

This textbook is somewhat shorter than most other texts on child development. There is one chapter devoted to each phase of child development through emerging adulthood, for a total of nine chapters. Each chapter is divided into three major sections, which correspond to the physical, the cognitive, and the emotional and social domains of development. This is an introductory textbook, and the goal is not to teach students everything there is to know about every aspect of child development, but to provide them with a foundation of knowledge on child development that hopefully will inspire them to learn more in other courses and throughout life.

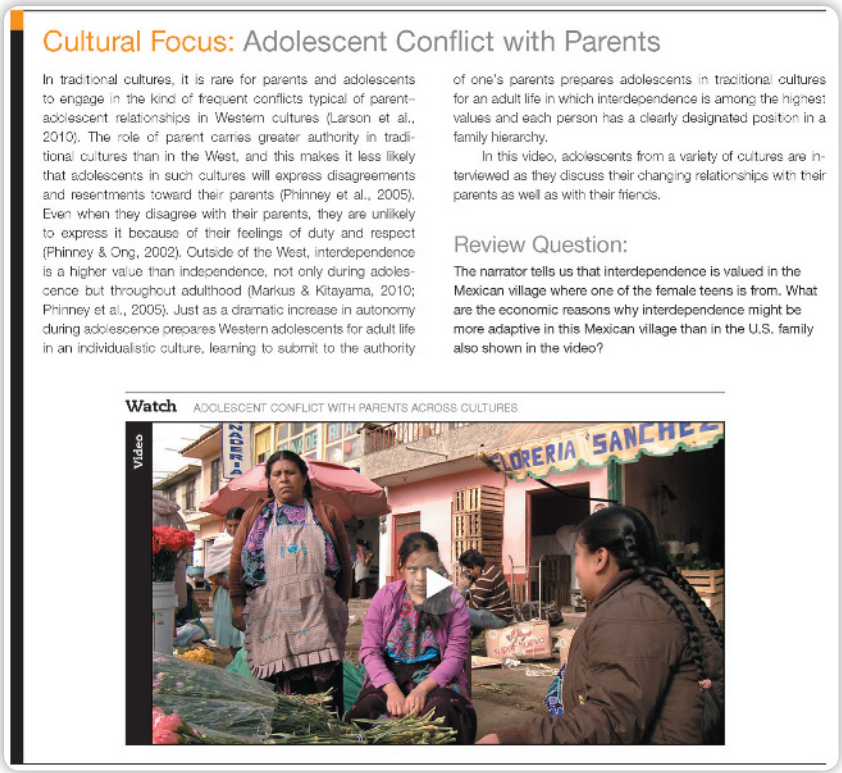
What's New in the Second Edition?

Broader Emphasis on Cultural Diversity

New "Chapter Introduction" Videos begin each chapter and provide an overview of the developmental stage being covered. The videos feature Americans from diverse backgrounds discussing their lives, experiences, and the role that culture has played in their development or the development of their children.

WORLD, THE TRANSITION FROM EARLY CHILDHOOD TO MIDDLE CHILDHOOD IS RECOGNIZED AS AN IMPORTANT SHIFT IN CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT, WHEN THE CHILDREN BECOME CAPABLE OF GREATER COGNITIVE CHALLENGES AND PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY (SAMEROFF & HAITH, 1996). In developing countries, middle childhood is often the age when children are first given important family duties, such as taking care of younger siblings, buying or selling goods, maintaining a fire, or caring for domestic animals (Gaskins, 2015; Weisner, 1996). According to Roy D'Andrade (1987), middle childhood is when children first show a grasp of **cultural models**, which are cognitive structures pertaining to common activities, for example buying something at the market, herding cattle, taking care of an infant, making bread, or delivering a message to a relative's house. Children in both developed and developing countries begin formal schooling in middle childhood, which includes cultural models of "listen to the teacher," "wait your turn," and "do as early as toddlerhood, but during middle childhood their understanding of cultural models acquires greater complexity, so that they become capable of taking on a much broader range of tasks (Gaskins, 2015; Weisner, 1996). Children in middle childhood express an industriousness that makes them want to learn and take on new tasks.

Here as elsewhere in the human life span, how we experience a given stage of life depends greatly on cultural context. Children in all cultures become more capable of useful work in middle childhood, but the nature of their work varies greatly. For many children throughout human history it has been mainly farm work—tending the fields, herding the cows, and feeding the chickens. For today's children, it might be schoolwork or household work in developed countries, and any of a wide range of work in developing countries, from household work to factory work to feeding domestic animals. In this chapter we explore a wide range of cultural variations in children's experiences of middle childhood.



Cultural Focus: Adolescent Conflict with Parents

In traditional cultures, it is rare for parents and adolescents to engage in the kind of frequent conflicts typical of parent–adolescent relationships in Western cultures (Larson et al., 2010). The role of parent carries greater authority in traditional cultures than in the West, and this makes it less likely that adolescents in such cultures will express disagreements and resentments toward their parents (Phinney et al., 2005). Even when they disagree with their parents, they are unlikely to express it because of their feelings of duty and respect (Phinney & Ong, 2002). Outside of the West, interdependence is a higher value than independence, not only during adolescence but throughout adulthood (Markus & Kitayama, 2010; Phinney et al., 2005). Just as a dramatic increase in autonomy during adolescence prepares Western adolescents for adult life in an individualistic culture, learning to submit to the authority of one's parents prepares adolescents in traditional cultures for an adult life in which interdependence is among the highest values and each person has a clearly designated position in a family hierarchy.

In this video, adolescents from a variety of cultures are interviewed as they discuss their changing relationships with their parents as well as with their friends.

Review Question:

The narrator tells us that interdependence is valued in the Mexican village where one of the female teens is from. What are the economic reasons why interdependence might be more adaptive in this Mexican village than in the U.S. family also shown in the video?

Updated "Cultural Focus" Features highlight how culture impacts various aspects of development, such as breast-feeding practices, gross motor development, educational practices, and relationships with friends and family. Students read an overview of the topic, watch a cross-cultural video with footage from the United States, Mexico, and Botswana, and then answer a review question.

New emphasis on Weisner's ecocultural theory of development Children grow up in a remarkable diversity of settings that are marked by ecological and cultural features. Things like the subsistence patterns of parents, whether children work, whether children's play partners are relatives or other peers, and the role of fathers vary and impact the cultural pathways of development. Students read about this theory in Chapter 1 and then see references to it throughout the text.

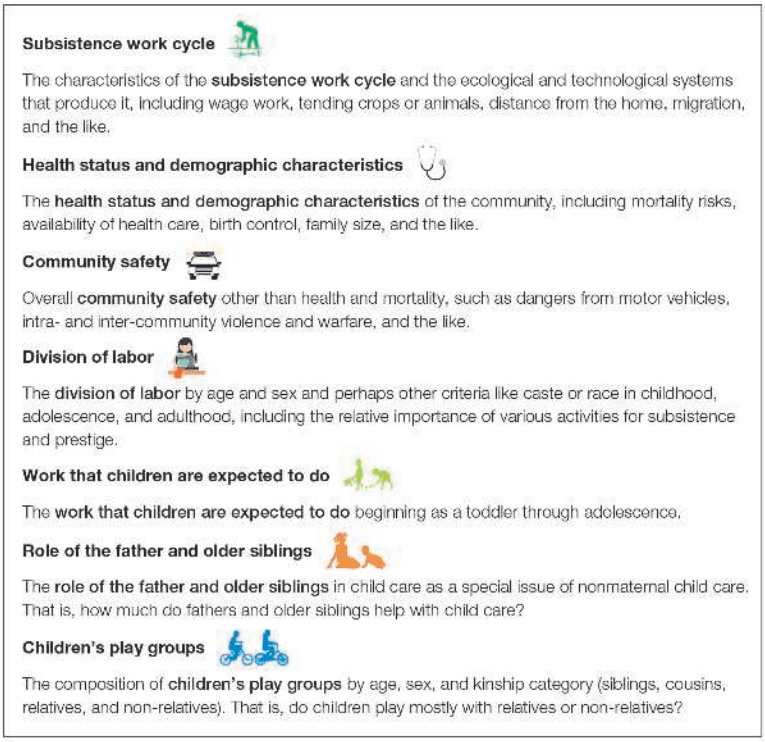


Figure 1.8 Weisner's Ecocultural Theory

Weisner's ecocultural theory of child development proposes that there are ecocultural niche features that affect a child's development. Here are a few examples.

SOURCE: Adapted from: Weisner, T. S. (1984).

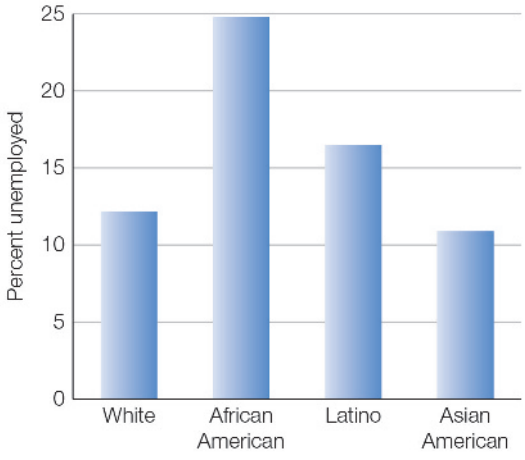


Figure 9.9 U.S. Unemployment Rates for Emerging Adults (Ages 16–24)

What explains the differences among ethnic groups?

SOURCE: Based on Bureau of Labor Statistics (2014)

New Research and Artwork have been incorporated to help students appreciate the diversity that exists within the United States, and understand the role of culture, ethnicity, socioeconomic status, and other factors in human development. In the later chapters, new sections have been added that examine the impact of globalization on cognitive change, gender roles, and political identity.

Expanded Coverage of Educational Issues

New "Education Focus" Features provide an in-depth view of educational issues from preschool through higher education. Topics include childcare options, preschool programs, achievement motivation, abstinence-only sex education programs, and study abroad programs. Updated research on education has also been incorporated throughout, including new sections on peer learning, educating children with special needs, and the transitions to middle school and high school.

Education Focus: How Does a Parent Choose Among the Many Kinds of Preschools?

When choosing a preschool, cost is a factor for many parents in many communities, but the philosophy of the program is also important to consider. Montessori, Reggio Emilia, and Waldorf are popular preschool programs, and each has a different philosophy.

The *Montessori* approach was developed by Maria Montessori in Rome in the early 1900s. Montessori programs are child-centered, with teachers serving as guides. The basic philosophy is that play is a child's work, meaning that play is central and important for development and that children ought to play the way adults generally spend time at work. The distinguishing feature of Montessori programs is that children learn at their own pace, choosing their own way through classroom centers and working at their own level. The tactile engagement of the child's senses and motor abilities is evident in a Montessori classroom. There are specially designed Montessori toys called *manipulatives* that are self-corrective; it is obvious to the child that he or she has assembled a puzzle correctly, for example, if the toy fits together, not because someone has demonstrated how to do it and then asks the child to parrot a response.

Children ages 3, 4, and 5 all learn in the same preschool classroom and in outdoor settings, when feasible. Children interact with others of different ages, and older children serve as observational models and helpers for the younger ones. This helpfulness can build self-efficacy because the older children feel a sense of accomplishment in aiding the younger ones. Montessori appeals to many parents because they believe the structure of the program encourages independent discovery in learning and solving tasks.

In Montessori settings, children learn independently in different learning centers.

The *Reggio Emilia* approach is named for the Northern Italian town where it was developed in the 1940s after World War II. A schoolteacher named Lori Malaguzzi developed the approach with members of the community with the goal of helping children to become better citizens. The philosophy behind Reggio Emilia is that children should learn together by exploring.

In Reggio Emilia schools, children engage in projects based on their interests. For example, if children ask where a carrot comes from, the teacher encourages them to find out

Research Focus: The Daily Rhythms of Adolescents' Family Lives

Adolescent researchers have found the Experience Sampling Method (ESM) to be a helpful source of information on adolescents' social lives. The ESM involves having people wear beeper watches that randomly beep during the day so that people can record their thoughts, feelings, and behavior as events take place. Reed Larson and Maryse Richards are the two scholars who have done the most to apply the ESM to adolescents and their families.

In their classic book *Divergent Realities: The Emotional Lives of Mothers, Fathers, and Adolescents* (Larson & Richards, 1994), they described the results of their research on a sample of 483 American adolescents in 5th to 12th grades, and another sample of 55 5th to 8th graders and their parents. All were two-parent, White families. In each family, three family members (adolescent, mother, and father) were beeped at the same times, about 30 times per day between 7:30 in the morning and 9:30 at night, during the week of the study.

When beeped, adolescents and their parents paused from whatever they were doing and recorded a variety of information about where they were, whom they were with, what they were doing, and how they were feeling.

One striking finding of the study was that adolescents and their parents averaged only about an hour a day spent in shared activities, and their most common shared activity was watching television. The amount of time adolescents spent with their families dropped sharply between 5th and 12th grades. In turn, there was an increase from 5th to 9th grade in the amount of time adolescents spent alone in their bedrooms.

The study also revealed some interesting differences in mothers' and fathers' relationships with adolescents. The majority of mother–adolescent interactions were rated positively by both of them, especially experiences such as talking together, going out together, and sharing a meal.

However, adolescents' negative feelings toward their mothers increased sharply from fifth to ninth grade, and their feelings of closeness to mothers decreased.

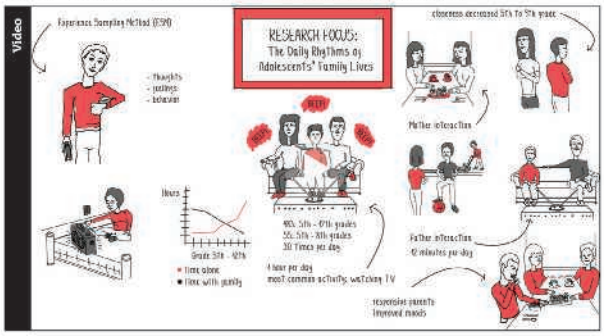
As for fathers, they tended to be only tenuously involved in their adolescents' lives. For most of the time they spent with their adolescents, the mother was there as well, and the mother tended to be more directly involved. Fathers averaged only 12 minutes per day alone with their adolescents, and 40 percent of this time was spent watching TV together.

The study showed that parents are often important influences on adolescents' emotional states. Adolescents brought home to the family their emotions from the rest of the day. If their parents were responsive and caring, adolescents' moods improved and their negative emotions were relieved. In contrast, if adolescents felt their parents were unavailable or unresponsive, their negative feelings became even worse. Even though adolescents spend less time with the parents than when they were younger, parents remain powerful influences in their lives.

Review Questions:

1. In the ESM studies of adolescents and their parents, adolescents have been found to have the most positive feelings when with _____ and the most negative feelings toward _____.
   a. Mothers; fathers
   b. Mothers; mothers
   c. Fathers; mothers
   d. Fathers; fathers

Watch RESEARCH FOCUS: THE DAILY RHYTHMS OF ADOLESCENTS' FAMILY LIVES



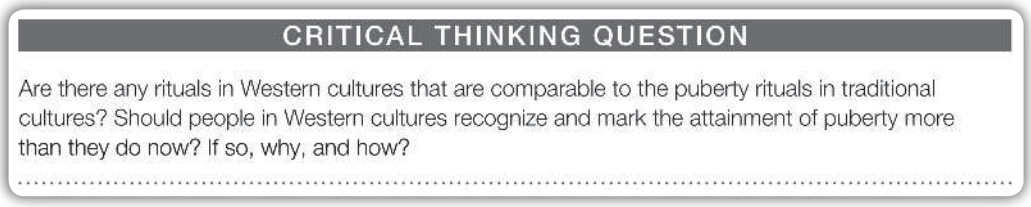
Increased Attention to Research Methodology

Updated "Research Focus" Features offer a detailed description of a research study, including its premises, methods, results, and limitations. New to this edition, each feature is available in both a traditional narrative format and as a sketch-art style video. Multiple-choice review questions appear at the end of the feature to ensure that students have a solid understanding of the research study and methodology.

New Opportunities to Apply Knowledge

New "Career Focus" Videos are offered in every chapter, allowing students to learn about a wide variety of career paths. In the videos, career professionals describe their jobs and explain how a knowledge of child development and culture influence their work on a daily basis. More than 25 careers are profiled, including a genetic counselor, a pediatric nurse practitioner, a counselor, a middle school teacher, a dance instructor, and a family court judge.

New "Critical Thinking Questions" encourage students to think more deeply and critically about a developmental topic. These questions appear in every major section and often focus on the role of culture in human development.



Teaching and Learning Aids

Learning Objectives

Learning objectives for each chapter are listed at the start of each section as well as alongside every section heading. Based on Bloom's taxonomy, these numbered objectives help students better organize and understand the material. The end-of-section summary is organized around these same objectives, as are all of the supplements and assessment material.

Neonatal Sleeping Patterns

LO 3.9 Describe neonates' patterns of waking and sleeping, including how and why these patterns differ across cultures.

Most neonates spend more time asleep than awake. The average for neonates is 16 to 17 hours of sleep a day, although there is great variation, from about 10 hours to about 21 (Peirano et al., 2003).

Section Summaries

Organized by learning objective, a summary now appears at the end of each major section.

Summary: Physical Development

LO 5.1 Describe the typical changes in physical growth that take place in toddlerhood, and explain the harmful effects of nutritional deficiencies on growth.

Toddlers' physical growth continues at a pace that is slightly reduced from infancy but is nevertheless faster than at any later time of life. Toddlers in developing countries often suffer protein and micronutrient deficiencies that impede their physical and cognitive development.

LO 5.2 Describe the changes in brain development that take place during toddlerhood, and identify the two most common methods of measuring brain activity.

The brain's synaptic density peaks at the end of toddlerhood, followed by many years of synaptic pruning. The two most common methods of measuring brain activity are the EEG and the fMRI.

LO 5.3 Describe the advances in motor development that take place during toddlerhood.

In their gross motor development, toddlers learn to walk, run, climb, and kick a ball. Toddlers in traditional cultures are often restricted in their movements to protect them from danger—especially cooking fires. Advances in fine motor development include holding a cup and building a tower of blocks. In their third year, toddlers may be able to brush their teeth, with some assistance.

LO 5.4 Compare and contrast the process and timing of toilet training in developed countries and traditional cultures.

Children vary widely in the timing of learning toilet training, but most are toilet trained by the end of toddlerhood. In traditional cultures, toddlers usually learn through observing and imitating older children.

LO 5.5 Distinguish the weaning process early in infancy from weaning later in toddlerhood.

When weaning takes place in the second or third year of life, toddlers often resist. Customs in traditional cultures for promoting weaning include sending the toddler to a relative's household for a while or coating the mother's breast with an unpleasant substance.

Chapter Quiz

A cumulative multiple-choice quiz appears at the end of every chapter to help students assess their comprehension of the material.

Chapter Quiz

1. The United States _____.
   a. is the developed country that will experience the steepest decline in population between now and 2050
   b. is one of the few developed countries that will experience an increase in population, largely as a result of immigration
   c. is expected to have approximately the same proportion of Latinos by 2050, but far fewer African Americans
   d. has a total fertility rate that is lower than most developed countries due to the availability of birth control
2. If a researcher wanted to measure the socioeconomic status (SES) of her adult participants, she would need to ask them about which of the following?
   a. Educational level
   b. Number of children
   c. Religion
   d. Ethnicity
3. Unlike early hominids, *Homo sapiens* had _____.
   a. a narrower pelvis
   b. a shorter period of dependency
   c. a slightly smaller brain
   d. smaller jaws
4. Which of the following best represents the impact of evolution on human development?
   a. Biologically, humans have changed drastically since the origin of *Homo sapiens*.
   b. Our development of bipedal locomotion is the most distinctive characteristic of our species.
   c. Cultures shape the raw material of biology into widely different paths throughout the life span.
   d. Instincts reduce humans' capacity for cultural learning more than they reduce animals' capacity for cultural learning.
   c. sees development as occurring in distinct stages
   d. ignores cognitive capacities at various points in childhood
9. The belief of many Americans in the value of individual freedom, as demonstrated in its capitalist economic system and its governmental system of representative democracy, reflects which system of Bronfenbrenner's theory?
   a. Exosystem
   b. Chronosystem
   c. Microsystem
   d. Macrosystem
10. The main tenet of ecocultural theory is that
    a. development occurs in stages
    b. development occurs because of the child's reaction to unconscious urges
    c. development happens in the context of everyday cultural activities
    d. all aspects of development are different all over the world
11. Where does the developmental life stage of emerging adulthood usually appear?
    a. In developed countries
    b. In traditional cultures
    c. In collectivistic cultures
    d. In developing countries
12. _____ generates hypotheses that can be tested in research.
    a. An unbiased sample
    b. A theory
    c. The research design
    d. The research method
13. In the famous case of Henrietta Lacks, an African American

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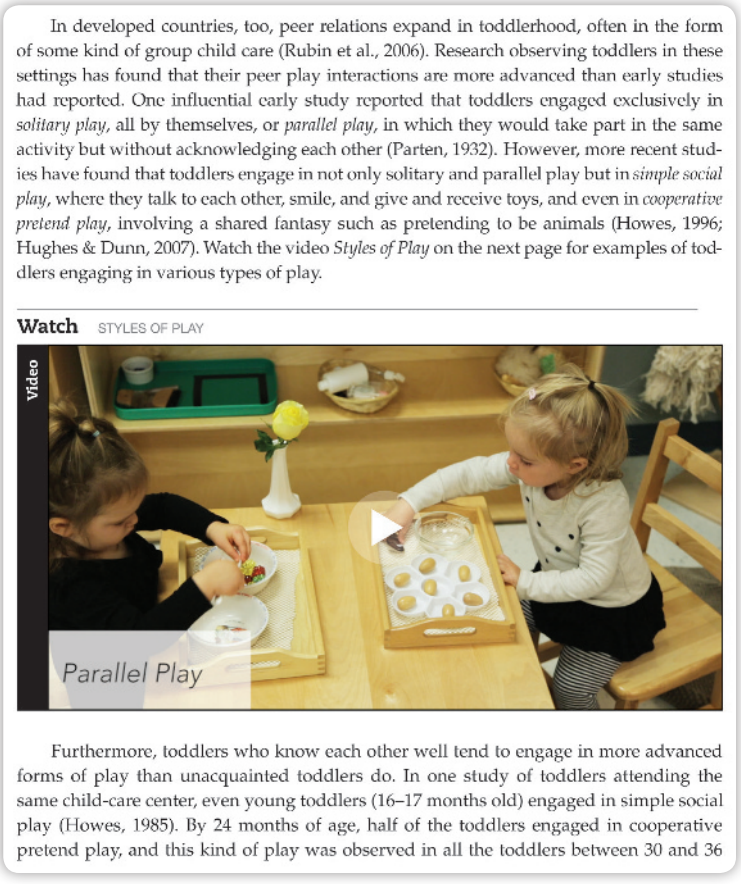
In developed countries, too, peer relations expand in toddlerhood, often in the form of some kind of group child care (Rubin et al., 2006). Research observing toddlers in these settings has found that their peer play interactions are more advanced than early studies had reported. One influential early study reported that toddlers engaged exclusively in *solitary play*, all by themselves, or *parallel play*, in which they would take part in the same activity but without acknowledging each other (Parten, 1932). However, more recent studies have found that toddlers engage in not only solitary and parallel play but in *simple social play*, where they talk to each other, smile, and give and receive toys, and even in *cooperative pretend play*, involving a shared fantasy such as pretending to be animals (Howes, 1996; Hughes & Dunn, 2007). Watch the video *Styles of Play* on the next page for examples of toddlers engaging in various types of play.

Watch STYLES OF PLAY

Furthermore, toddlers who know each other well tend to engage in more advanced forms of play than unacquainted toddlers do. In one study of toddlers attending the same child-care center, even young toddlers (16–17 months old) engaged in simple social play (Howes, 1985). By 24 months of age, half of the toddlers engaged in cooperative pretend play, and this kind of play was observed in all the toddlers between 30 and 36

The second edition includes integrated videos and media content throughout, allowing students to explore topics more deeply at the point of relevancy.

Revel also offers the ability for students to assess their content mastery by taking multiple-choice quizzes that offer instant feedback and by participating in a variety of writing assignments such as peer-reviewed questions and auto-graded assignments.

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MyPsychLab combines proven learning applications with powerful assessment to engage students, assess their learning, and help them succeed.

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- **MyVirtualChild.** MyVirtualChild is an interactive simulation that allows students to play the role of a parent and raise their own virtual child. By making decisions about specific scenarios, students can raise their children from birth to age 18 and learn firsthand how their own decisions and other parenting actions affect their child over time.
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With assessment tied to every video, application, and chapter, students get immediate feedback, and instructors can see what their students know with just a few clicks. Instructors can also personalize MyPsychLab to meet the needs of their students.

Teaching and Learning Package

A textbook is but one component of a comprehensive learning package. The author team that prepared the teaching and learning package had as its goal to deliver the most comprehensive and integrated package on the market. All supplements were developed around the textbook's carefully constructed learning objectives. The authors are grateful to reviewers and focus group members who provided invaluable feedback and suggestions for improving various elements of the program.

TEST BANK Revised by Cara Bellwood (University of Hawai'i) and Michele Cantwell (University of Hawai'i) the Test Bank contains more than 1,200 questions, many of which were class-tested in multiple classes at both 2-year and 4-year institutions across the country prior to publication. Item analysis is provided for all class-tested items. All conceptual and applied multiple-choice questions include rationales for each correct answer and the key distracter. The item analysis helps instructors create balanced tests, whereas the rationales serve both as an added guarantee of quality and as a time-saver when students challenge the keyed answer for a specific item. Each chapter of the test bank includes a Total Assessment Guide, an easy-to-reference grid that organizes all test items by learning objective and question type.

The test bank comes with Pearson MyTest, a powerful test-generation program that helps instructors easily create and print quizzes and exams. Questions and tests can be authored online, allowing instructors ultimate flexibility and the ability to efficiently manage assessments wherever and whenever they want. Instructors can easily access existing questions and then edit, create, and store using simple drag-and-drop and Word-like controls. Data on each question provides information relevant to difficulty level and page number. In addition, each question maps to the text's major section and learning objective. For more information go to www.PearsonMyTest.com.

ENHANCED LECTURE POWERPOINT SLIDES WITH EMBEDDED VIDEOS Written by Marvin Tobias (St. Charles Community College), the Enhanced Lecture PowerPoints offer detailed outlines of key points for each chapter supported by selected visuals from the textbook, and include the videos from the human development video series featured in the text. Standard Lecture PowerPoints without embedded videos are also available. A separate *Art and Figure* version of these presentations contains all art from the textbook for which Pearson has been granted electronic permissions.

INSTRUCTOR'S MANUAL Written and compiled by Dorothy Marsil (Kennesaw State University), the Instructor's Manual includes suggestions for preparing for the course, sample syllabi, and current trends and strategies for successful teaching. Each chapter offers integrated teaching outlines and a list of the key terms for quick reference, and includes an extensive bank of lecture launchers, handouts, and activities, and suggestions for integrating third-party videos and web resources. Answers to the in-text features are provided. Detailed critical-thinking problems with accompanying rubrics were written by Diana Joy of the Community College of Denver. A set of questions for using MyVirtualChild with the cultural approach, written by Guyla Davis of Ouachita Baptist University, is also included. The electronic format features click-and-view hotlinks that allow instructors to quickly review or print any resource from a particular chapter. This tool saves prep work and helps you maximize your classroom time.

ACCESSING ALL RESOURCES For a list of all student resources available with *Child Development: A Cultural Approach*, second edition, go to www.mypearsonstore.com, enter

the text ISBN (0134011899) and check out the "Everything That Goes with It" section under the book cover.

For access to all instructor supplements for *Child Development: A Cultural Approach*, second edition, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/irc and follow the directions to register (or log in if you already have a Pearson user name and password). Once you have registered and your status as an instructor is verified, you will be e-mailed a log-in name and password. Use your log-in name and password to access the catalog.

You can request hard copies of the supplements through your Pearson sales representative. If you do not know your sales representative, go to www.pearsonhighered.com/replocator and follow the directions. For technical support for any of your Pearson products, you and your students can contact http://247.pearsoned.com.

Acknowledgments

The second edition of this textbook has involved many talented and dedicated people. We are indebted to everyone who has contributed at each step of our writing of this book. We are especially grateful to Amber Chow, who has shown careful dedication and abundant enthusiasm for the study of culture and development and who has made this book and the related projects possible. Julie Swasey pored over drafts and provided gentle and insightful editing, the way a weaver finishes a beautiful tapestry, making sure every thread is in place. Thanks also go to Barbara Mack at Pearson and to Charles Fisher at Integra Software Services for coordinating all aspects of production. Debbie Coniglio, Joshua Johnson, Julie Tondreau, and Veronica Grupico filmed the wonderful new chapter introduction and career videos, under the direction of Ashley Maynard, as well as producing the new Research Focus videos. Katie Toulmin, Nick Kaufman, Howard Stern, and others at NKP Media, advised by Ashley Maynard and Bianca Dahl, filmed the fabulous Cultural Focus videos. Cecilia Turner, the Program Manager, oversaw all aspects of the program and its supplements package, and Pamela Weldin and Elissa Senra-Sargent, the Digital Media Project Managers, produced the MyPsychLab site and coordinated all aspects of digital media production. Lindsey Prudhomme Gill, Senior Product Marketing Manager, handled the marketing of the text and organized focus groups that provided valuable feedback on the Revel eText. Carly Bergey found the photos that do a great job of reflecting the cultural approach of the book. Kathryn Foot created the interior design and Pentagram created the cover design.

Finally, we would like to thank the hundreds of reviewers who reviewed chapters, sections, and other materials in the course of the development of the book. We benefited greatly from their suggestions and corrections, and now instructors and students reading the book will benefit, too.

—Jeff Arnett & Ashley Maynard

The Development of Child Development: A Cultural Approach

The textbook you hold in your hands is the product of the most extensive development effort this market has ever witnessed. *Child Development: A Cultural Approach* reflects the countless hours and extraordinary efforts of a team of authors, editors, and reviewers that shared a vision for not only a unique child development textbook but also the most comprehensive and integrated supplements program on the market. More than 200 manuscript reviewers provided invaluable feedback for making text as accessible and relevant to students as possible. Each chapter was also reviewed by a panel of subject matter experts to ensure accuracy and currency. Dozens of focus group participants helped guide every aspect of the program, from content coverage to the art style and design to the configuration of the supplements. In fact, some of those focus group participants were so invested in the project that they became members of the supplements author team themselves. Dozens of students compared the manuscript to their current textbooks and provided suggestions for improving the prose and design. We thank everyone who participated in ways great and small, and hope that you are as pleased with the finished product as we are!

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Allison Butler, *Bryant University*
Clare Sartori, *University of Rhode Island*

South Carolina
Bill Fisk, *Clemson University*
Brantlee Haire, *Florence-Darlington Technical College*
Salvador Macias, *University of South Carolina Sumter*
Megan McIlreavy, *Coastal Carolina University*

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Jennifer Kampmann, *South Dakota State University*
Rebecca Martin, *South Dakota State University*

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Steve Bradshaw, *Richmont Graduate University*
Lee Ann Jolley, *Tennessee Tech University*
Marvin Lee, *Tennessee State University*
Clark McKinney, *Southwest Tennessee Community College*

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Sarah Angulo, *Texas State University*
Terra Bartee, *Cisco College*
Wanda Clark, *South Plains College*
Trina Cowan, *Northwest Vista College*
Stephanie Ding, *Del Mar College*
Jim Francis, *San Jacinto College-South*
Robert Gates, *Cisco College*
Jerry Green, *Tarrant County College-Northeast Campus*
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Darla Rocha, *San Jacinto College*
Gaye Shook-Hughes, *Austin Community College*
Tyler Smith, *Baylor University*
Mario Tovar, *South Texas College*
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Canada
Lillian Campbell, *Humber College*
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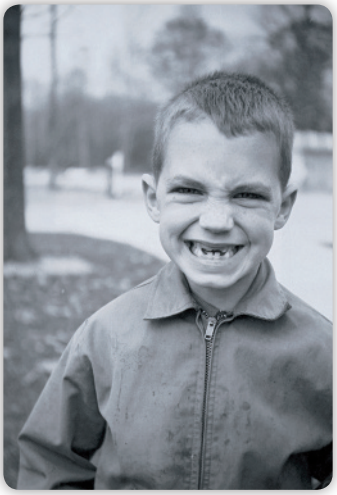

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His primary scholarly interest for the past 20 years has been in emerging adulthood. He coined the term, and he has conducted research on emerging adults concerning a wide variety of topics, involving several different ethnic groups in American society. He is the Founding President and Executive Director of the Society for the Study of Emerging Adulthood (SSEA; www.ssea.org). From 2005 to 2014 he was the editor of *the Journal of Adolescent Research* (JAR), and currently he is on the Editorial Board of *JAR* and five other journals. He has published many theoretical and research papers on emerging adulthood in peer-reviewed journals, as well as the books *Human Development: A Cultural Approach* (2016), *Adolescence and Emerging Adulthood: A Cultural Approach* (2015), and *Emerging Adulthood: The Winding Road from the Late Teens Through the Twenties* (2015).

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Her primary research interest since 1995 has been the impact of cultural change at the macro level, such as economic and sociodemographic shifts, on socialization and cognition in childhood. She also studies the development of teaching in childhood and sibling interactions. She has worked with her students on research in Mexico, Costa Rica, and Hawai'i. She has won national awards for her research, including the James McKeen Cattell Award from the New York Academy of Sciences and the APA Division 7 (Developmental Psychology) Dissertation Award. She has published many articles on culture and human development in peer-reviewed journals, and in a volume she edited with Mary Martini *Learning in Cultural Context: Family, Peers, and School* (2005).

She lives, teaches, and writes in Honolulu, Hawai'i. For more information on Dr. Maynard and her research, please see **www.ashleymaynard.com**.

Chapter 1
A Cultural Approach to Child Development

Section 1 Child Development Today and Its Origins

A Demographic Profile of Humanity Today
- Population Growth and Demographic Divide
- Variations Within Countries

The Origins of Human Diversity
- Evolution and the Birth of Culture
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Research Methods and Designs
- Research Methods
- Research Designs

THE CHINESE HAVE AN EXPRESSION FOR THE LIMITED WAY ALL OF US LEARN TO SEE THE WORLD: *jing di zhi wa*, meaning "frog in the bottom of a well." The expression comes from a fable about a frog that has lived its entire life in a small well. The frog assumes that its tiny world is all there is, and it has no idea of the true size of the world. It is only when a passing turtle tells the frog of the great ocean to the east that the frog realizes there is much more to the world than it had known.

All of us are like that frog. We grow up as members of a culture and learn, through direct and indirect teaching, to see the world from the perspective that becomes most familiar to us. Because the people around us usually share that perspective, we seldom have cause to question it. Like the frog, we rarely suspect how big and diverse our human species really is.

The goal of this book is to lift you out of the well, by taking a cultural approach to understanding **child development**, the ways people grow and change from conception through emerging adulthood. This means that the emphasis of the book is on how people develop as members of a culture. **Culture** is the total pattern of a group's customs, beliefs, art, and technology. In other words, a culture is a group's common way of life, passed on from one generation to the next, through language or other human forms of expression. From the day we are born, all of us experience our lives as members of a culture (sometimes more than one), and this profoundly influences how we develop, how we behave, how we see the world, and how we experience life.

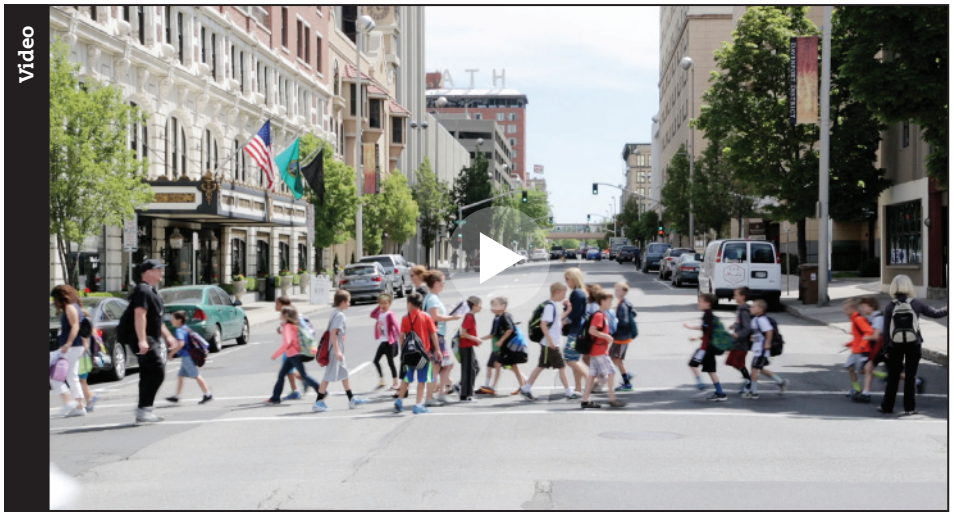
Biology is important, too, of course, and at various points we will discuss the interaction between biological and cultural or social influences. However, human beings everywhere have essentially the same biological constitution, yet their paths through the life span are remarkably varied depending on the culture in which their development takes place.

Throughout this book, we'll explore child development from the perspectives of many different cultures around the world. We'll also learn to analyze and critique research based on whether it does or does not take culture into account. By the time you finish this book, you should be able to *think culturally.*

In the course of this book we will be your fellow frogs, your guides and companions as we rise together out of the well to gaze at the broad, diverse, remarkable cultural panorama of the human journey. The book will introduce you to many variations in child development and cultural practices you did not know about before, which may lead you to see your own development and your own cultural practices in a new light. You are about to encounter cultures with assumptions quite different from your own. This will enrich your awareness of the variety of human experiences and may allow you to draw from a wider range of options of how you wish to live.

In this chapter we set the stage for the rest of the book. The first section provides a broad summary of human life today around the world as well as an examination of how culture developed out of our evolutionary history. In the second section, we look at the history of conceptions of child development along with a cultural-developmental theory that will be the framework for this book. Finally, the third section provides an overview of child development as a scientific field.

Watch CHAPTER INTRODUCTION: A CULTURAL APPROACH TO CHILD DEVELOPMENT



Section 1 Child Development Today and Its Origins

Learning Objectives

1.1 Describe how the human population has changed over the past 10,000 years and distinguish between the demographic profiles of developed countries and developing countries

1.2 Define the term *socioeconomic status* (SES) and explain why SES, gender, and ethnicity are important aspects of child development within countries.

1.3 Trace the evolutionary origins of the human species and summarize the features of the first human cultures.

1.4 Apply information about human evolution to how child development takes place today.

CHILD DEVELOPMENT TODAY AND ITS ORIGINS: A Demographic Profile of Humanity Today

Because the goal of this book is to provide you with an understanding of how child development takes place in cultures all around the world, let's begin with a demographic profile of the world's human population in the early 21st century.

Population Growth and the Demographic Divide

LO 1.1 Describe how the human population has changed over the past 10,000 years and distinguish between the demographic profiles of developed countries and developing countries.

Perhaps the most striking demographic feature of the human population today is the sheer size of it. For most of history the total human population was fewer than 10 million people (McFalls, 2007). Women typically had from four to eight children, but most of the children died in infancy or childhood and never reached reproductive age. The human population began to increase notably around 10,000 years ago, with the development of agriculture and domestication of animals (Diamond, 1992).

Population growth in the millennia that followed was slow, and it was not until about 400 years ago that the world population reached 500 million people. Since that time, and especially in the past century, population growth has accelerated at an astonishing rate (see **Figure 1.1**). It took just 150 years for the human population to double from 500 million to 1 billion, passing that threshold around the year 1800. Then came the medical advances of the 20th century, and the elimination or sharp reduction of deadly diseases such as smallpox, typhus, diphtheria, and cholera. Subsequently, the human population reached 2 billion by 1930, then tripled to 6 billion by 1999. The 7-billion threshold was surpassed just 12 years later, in early 2011.

How high will the human population go? This is difficult to say, but most projections indicate it will rise to 10 billion by about 2090 and thereafter stabilize and perhaps

child development
way people grow and change from conception through emerging adulthood; includes people's biological, cognitive, psychological, and social functioning

culture
total pattern of a group's customs, beliefs, art, and technology, transmitted through language

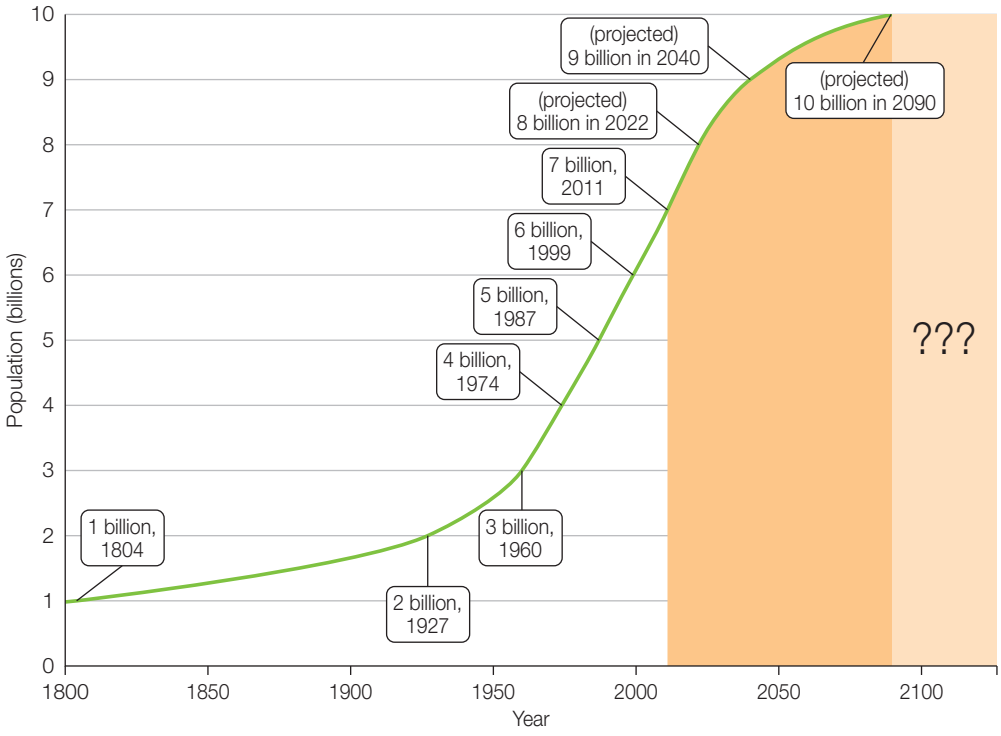


Figure 1.1 World Population Growth

What happened in recent human history to cause population to rise so dramatically?

SOURCE: Based on Population Reference Bureau (2014).

slightly decline. This forecast is based on the worldwide decline in birth rates that has taken place in recent years. The **total fertility rate (TFR)**, which is number of births per woman, worldwide is currently 2.5, which is substantially higher than 2.1, which is the *replacement rate* of a stable population. However, the TFR has been declining sharply for more than a decade and will decline to 2.1 by 2050 if current trends continue (Population Reference Bureau, 2014).

The population increase from now until 2090 will not take place equally around the world. On the contrary, there is a stark "global demographic divide" between the wealthy, economically developed countries that make up less than 20 percent of the world's population, and the economically developing countries that contain the majority of the world's population (Kent & Haub, 2005). Nearly all the population growth in the decades to come will take place in the economically developing countries. In contrast, nearly all wealthy countries are expected to decline in population during this period and beyond because they have fertility rates that are well below replacement rate.

For the purposes of this text, we'll use the term **developed countries** to refer to the most affluent countries in the world. Classifications of developed countries vary, but usually this designation includes the United States, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Australia, New Zealand, Chile, and nearly all the countries of Europe (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], 2014c). (The term *Western countries* is sometimes used to refer to most developed countries because they are in the Western hemisphere, except Japan and South Korea, which are considered Eastern countries.) For our discussion, developed countries will be contrasted with **developing countries**, which have less wealth than the developed countries but are experiencing rapid economic growth as they join the globalized economy. Many developing countries are changing rapidly today. For example, India is a developing country, and most of its people live on an income of less than two dollars a day (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2014). About half of Indian children are underweight and malnourished (World Bank, 2011). Less

total fertility rate (TFR)
in a population, the number of births per woman

developed countries
world's most economically developed and affluent countries, with the highest median levels of income and education

developing countries
countries that have lower levels of income and education than developed countries but are experiencing rapid economic growth

Nearly all the world population growth from now to 2050 will take place in developing countries. Pictured here is a busy street in Jodhpur, India.

than half of Indian adolescents complete secondary school. Only about half of adult women are literate and about three fourths of adult men. About two thirds of India's population lives in rural villages, although there is a massive migration occurring from rural to urban areas, led mostly by young people. However, India's economy has been booming for the past two decades, lifting hundreds of millions of Indians out of poverty (UNDP, 2014). India is now a world leader in manufacturing, telecommunications, and services. If the economy continues to grow at its present pace India will lead the world in economic production by 2050 (Price Waterhouse Coopers, 2011). Life is changing rapidly for Indians, and children born today are likely to experience much different economic and cultural contexts than their parents or grandparents have known.

The current population of developed countries is 1.3 billion, about 18 percent of the total world population, and the population of developing countries is about 6 billion, about 82 percent of the world's population (Population Reference Bureau, 2014). Among developed countries, the United States is one of the few likely to gain rather than lose population in the next few decades. Currently there are about 316 million people in the United States, but by 2050 there will be 400 million. Nearly all the other developed countries are expected to decline in population between now and 2050. The decline will be steepest in Japan, which is projected to drop from a current population of 120 million to just 97 million by 2050 as a result of a low fertility rate and virtually no immigration (Population Reference Bureau, 2014).

There are two reasons why the United States is following a different demographic path than most other developed countries. First, the United States has a TFR of 1.9, which is slightly below the replacement rate of 2.1 but still higher than the TFR in most other developed countries (Population Reference Bureau, 2014). Second, and more importantly, the United States allows more legal immigration than most other developed countries do, and there are millions of undocumented immigrants as well (Suarez-Orozco, 2015). The increase in population in the United States between now and 2050 will result entirely from immigration (Martin & Midgley, 2010). Both legal and undocumented immigrants to the United States come mainly from Mexico and Latin America, although many also come from Asia and other parts of the world. Consequently, as **Figure 1.2** shows, by 2050 the proportion of the U.S. population that is Latino is projected to rise from 16 to 30 percent. Canada, the United Kingdom, and Australia also have relatively open immigration policies, so they, too, may avoid the population decline that is projected for most developed countries (DeParle, 2010).

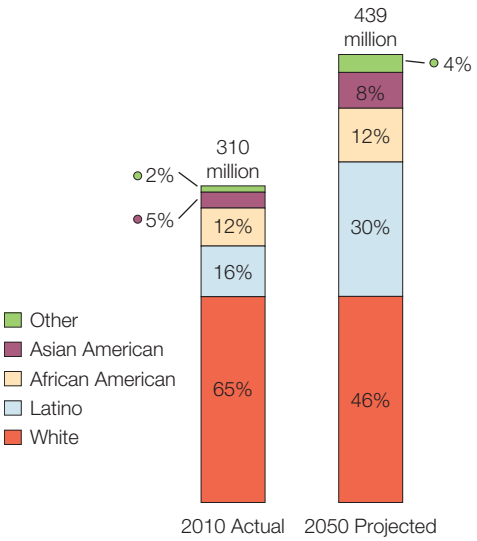


Figure 1.2 Projected Ethnic Changes in the U.S. Population to 2050

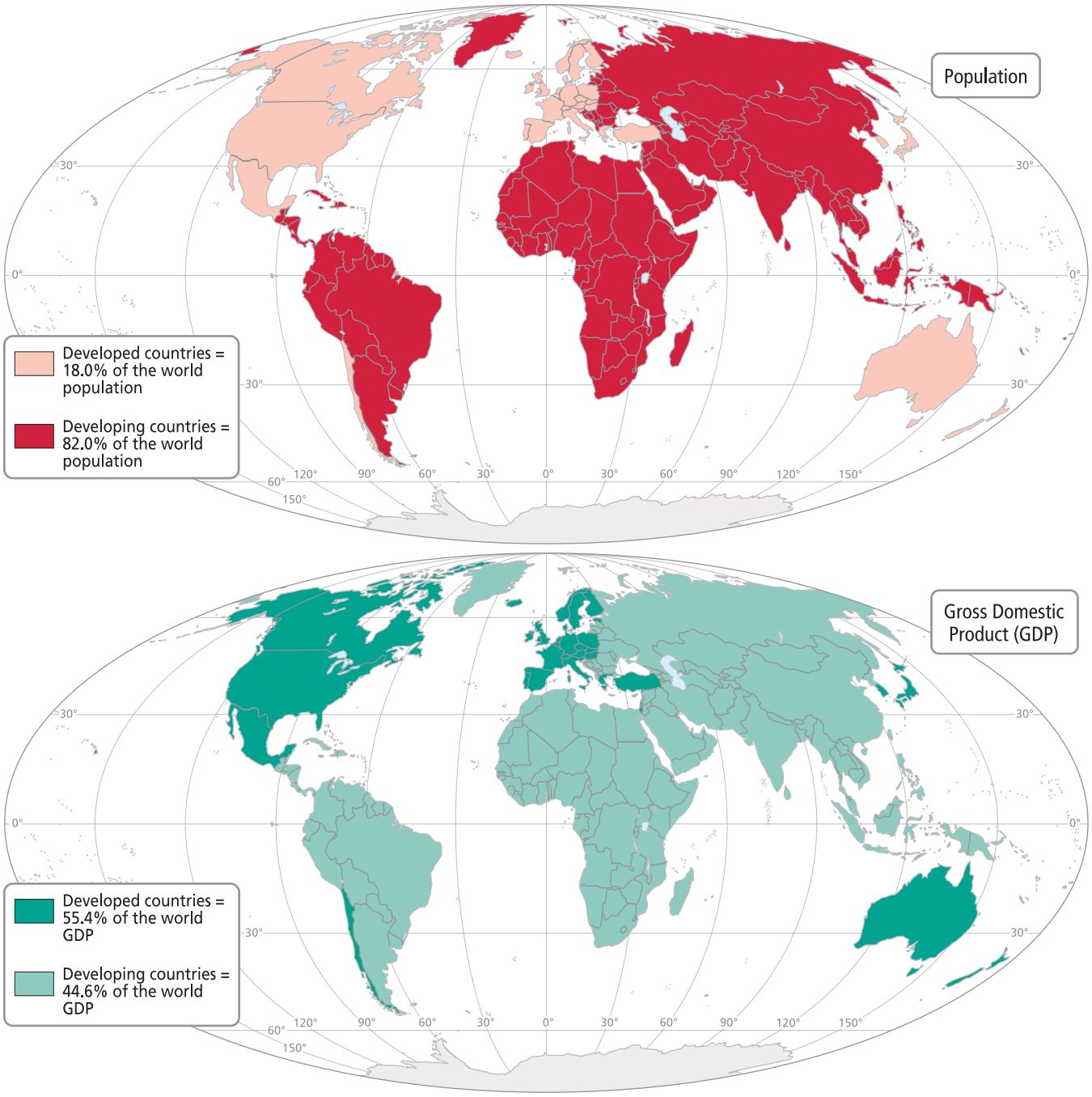
Which ethnic group is projected to change the most in the coming decades, and why?

SOURCE: Based on Kaiser Family Foundation (2013).

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTION

What kinds of public policy changes might be necessary in the United States between now and 2050 to adapt to nearly 100 million more immigrants and a rise in the proportion of Latinos to 30 percent?

The demographic contrast of developed countries compared to the rest of the world is stark not only with respect to population but also in other key areas, such as income and education (see **Map 1.1**). With respect to income, about 40 percent of the world's population lives on less than $2 per day, and



Map 1.1 Worldwide Variations in Population and Income Levels

Developed countries represent only 18 percent of the world population yet they are much wealthier than developing countries. At what point in its economic development should a developing country be reclassified as a developed country?

80 percent of the world's population lives on a family income of less than $6,000 per year (Population Reference Bureau, 2014). At one extreme are the developed countries, where 9 of 10 persons are in the top 20 percent of the global income distribution, and at the other extreme is southern Africa, where half of the population is in the bottom 20 percent of global income. Africa's economic growth has been strong for the past decade, but it remains the poorest region in the world (McKinsey Global Institute, 2010; UNDP, 2015).

A similar contrast between rich and poor countries exists regarding education. Your experience as a college student is a rare and privileged status in most of the world.

By age 10, many children in developing countries are no longer in school. Here, a child in Cameroon helps his mother make flour.

In developed countries, virtually all children obtain primary and secondary education, and about 50 percent go on to tertiary education (college or other postsecondary training). However, in developing countries about 20 percent of children do not complete primary school and only about half are enrolled in secondary school (UNDP, 2014). College and other tertiary education are only for the wealthy elite.

There are also some broad cultural differences between developed and developing countries, even though each category is diverse. One important difference is that the cultures of developed countries tend to be based on **individualistic** values such as independence and self-expression, especially in Western developed countries (Greenfield, 2005). In contrast, developing countries tend to prize **collectivistic** values such as obedience and group harmony (Sullivan & Cottone, 2010). These are not mutually exclusive categories and each country has some balance between individualistic and collectivistic values. Furthermore, most countries contain a variety of cultures, some of which may be relatively individualistic whereas others are relatively collectivistic. Nevertheless, the overall distinction between individualism and collectivism is useful for describing broad differences between human groups.

Within developing countries there is often a sharp divide between rural and urban areas, with people in urban areas having higher incomes and receiving more education and better medical care. Often, the lives of the middle-class in urban areas of developing countries resemble the lives of people in developed countries in many ways, yet they are much different than people in rural areas of their own countries (UNDP, 2014). In this book, the term **traditional cultures** will be used to refer to people in the rural areas of developing or developed countries, who tend to adhere more closely to the historical traditions of their culture than people in urban areas do. (The same kind of sharp divide exists in some developed countries as well.) Traditional cultures tend to be more collectivistic than other cultures are, in part because in rural areas close ties with others are often an economic necessity (Sullivan & Cottone, 2010).

individualistic
cultural values such as independence and self-expression

collectivistic
cultural values such as obedience and group harmony

traditional culture
a rural culture that adheres more closely to cultural traditions than people in urban areas; may be found in developing countries or rural areas of developed countries

globalization
increasing connections between different parts of the world in trade, travel, migration, and communication

This demographic profile of humanity today demonstrates that if you wish to understand human development, it is crucial to understand the lives of people in developing countries, who comprise the majority of the world's population. The tendency in most human development research, especially in psychology, has been to ignore or strip away culture in pursuit of universal principles of development (Jensen, 2011; Rozin, 2006). Most research on human development is on the 18 percent of the world's population that lives in developed countries—especially the 5 percent of the world's population that lives in the United States—because research requires money and developed countries can afford more of it than developing countries can (Arnett, 2008). This is changing, and over the past 50 years there has been increasing attention paid in psychology and other social science fields to the cultural context of human development (Jensen, 2015b; Shweder et al., 2011). By now, researchers have presented descriptions of human development in places all over the world, and researchers studying U.S. society have increased their attention to cultures within the United States that are outside of the White middle class.

Expanding our awareness of the other 95 percent of humanity also has many practical applications. Increasingly the world is approaching the *global village* that the social philosopher Marshall McLuhan (1960) forecast more than half a century ago. In recent decades there has been an acceleration in the process of **globalization**, which refers to the increasing connections between different parts of the world in trade, travel, migration, and communication (Arnett, 2002; Jensen et al., 2012; Hermans, 2015). Consequently,

wherever you live in the world, in the course of your personal and professional life you are likely to have many contacts with people of other cultures. Those of you going into the nursing profession may one day have patients who have a cultural background in various parts of Asia or South America. Those of you pursuing careers in education will likely teach students whose families emigrated from countries in Africa or Europe. Your coworkers, your neighbors, possibly even your friends and family members may include people from a variety of different cultural backgrounds. Through the Internet you may have contact with people all over the world, via e-mail, Facebook and other social media, YouTube, and new technologies to come. Thus, understanding the cultural approach to child development is likely to be useful in all aspects of life, helping you to communicate with and understand the perspectives of others in a diverse, globalized world. The video *Culture in Development* illustrates different people's understandings of culture, including individualism and collectivism.

Watch CULTURE IN DEVELOPMENT

Variations Within Countries

LO 1.2 **Define the term *socioeconomic status* (SES) and explain why SES, gender, and ethnicity are important aspects of child development within countries.**

The contrast between developed countries and developing countries will be used often in this book, as a general way of drawing a contrast between child development in relatively rich and relatively poor countries. However, it should be noted that there is substantial variation within each of these categories. All developed countries are relatively wealthy, but child development in Japan is quite different from child development in France or Canada. All developing countries are less wealthy than developed countries, but child development in China is quite different than child development in Brazil or Nigeria. Throughout the book we will explore variations in child development within the broad categories of developed countries and developing countries.

Not only is there important variation in child development within each category of "developed" and "developing" countries, but there is additional variation within each country. Most countries today have a **majority culture** that sets most of the norms and standards and holds most of the positions of political, economic, intellectual, and media power. In addition, there may be many **microcultures** defined by ethnicity, religion, language, or other characteristics.

majority culture
within a country, the cultural group that sets most of the norms and standards and holds most of the positions of political, economic, intellectual, and media power

microculture
within a country, groups whose members share characteristics such as ethnicity, religion, or language