a *high-context* macrosystem, people tend to live in harmony with nature and with other humans who are part of their social network. Whereas individuals in *low-context* macrosystems usually develop an identity based on their personal efforts and achievements, people in *high-context* macrosystems tend to gain their identity through group associations (lineage, place of work, organizations). Members of *low-context* cultures expect personal freedom, openness, and individual choice. Members of *high-context* cultures are less open to strangers, make distinctions between insiders and outsiders, and are more likely to follow traditional role expectations.

- **Adaptive Behavior to Survive.** Both low- and high-context macrosystems illustrate adaptive behavior to survive, which includes parenting styles. *Low-context* cultures, valuing progress, provide members with ways of changing and using new knowledge that can benefit society. Parenting style influences child's independence and creativity. On the other hand, *high-context* cultures, valuing tradition, provide a strong human support network that helps guard against the alienation of a technological society. Parenting style influences child's interdependence and conformity.

IN CONTEXT

On a daylong cruise to see some glaciers in Alaska, I had the opportunity to observe the contrast in parenting styles in a high- and low-context family. The high-context family consisted of a mother and father, a baby (about 10 months old), and a grandmother and grandfather. The baby was continually held and played with by one of the adults. She was kissed and jiggled and spoken to. There were no toys to amuse her. When it was lunchtime, the mother, after distributing to the adults the food she had brought, took some food from her plate, mashed it between her fingers, and put it in the baby's mouth. After lunch the grandmother and grandfather took turns rocking the baby to sleep. The baby never cried the whole day. The care she received fostered a sense of interdependence.

In contrast, the low-context family, consisting of a mother, a father, and a baby (about 15 months old), had brought a sack of toys for the baby to play with while the parents enjoyed the sights through a nearby window. After a while, the baby began to fuss; the father picked him up and brought him to the boat's window, pointing out seals and birds and glaciers. Later, when the baby tired of his toys, the mother held his hands and walked him around the deck. The baby was given crackers and a bottle to soothe him when he cried. The care he received fostered a sense of independence.

1-9 ▶ The Chronosystem: Interaction of Ecological Systems over Time

The chronosystem involves temporal changes in ecological systems or within individuals, producing new conditions that affect development. For example, significant societal events can produce a variety of effects on children. The commonality of violent events in recent years, such as the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, the Sandy Hook Elementary School shootings in Newtown, Connecticut, in 2012, and the accessibility to knives and guns has affected many on-campus security procedures. Schools installed metal detectors, hired guards, and initiated "zero-tolerance" policies whereby aggressive students are expelled for just one offense. For another temporal example, the physical changes a child experiences during puberty can affect his or her self-esteem, depending

on how the child's developing body compares to his or her friends' as well as to the cultural ideal body type.

1-9a Chronosystem Effects: The Past

A classic, very thorough longitudinal study was conducted by sociologist Glen Elder (1974, 1979) and his colleagues of 167 California children born from 1920 to 1929 (Elder & Hareven, 1993; Elder, Van Nguyen, & Casper, 1985; Elder & Shanahan, 2006). It illustrated that changes in a macrosystem can result in changes in exosystems, mesosystems, and microsystems. Elder and colleagues compared the life-course development of children whose families had experienced a change in their socioeconomic status during the Great Depression (a period of widespread economic insecurity in the United States) and those who had not. The immediate exosystem effect was loss of a job. This in turn caused emotional distress, which was experienced in the home and affected the children (effect on a microsystem). There were also secondary exosystem effects: In families hit by the Depression, the father lost status in the eyes of the children and the mother gained in importance. The affected father's parenting behavior became more rejecting, especially toward adolescent girls. Children, especially boys, from affected families expressed a stronger identification with the peer group. Children from affected families also participated more in domestic roles and outside jobs, with girls being more likely to do the former and boys the latter.

The fact that longitudinal data were available over a period of more than 60 years gave Elder and colleagues the opportunity to assess the impact of childhood experience, within and outside the family, on behavior in later life (effects of the chronosystem). He found that the long-term consequences of the Depression varied according to the age of the child at the time. Children who were preadolescents when their families suffered economic loss did less well in school, showed less stable and less successful work histories, and exhibited more emotional and social difficulties, even in adulthood, than did those of the same socioeconomic status from families who did not suffer economically. Such adverse effects have been explained (Conger et al., 1994) as due to the impact of economic hardship on the quality of parenting and hence on the psychological well-being of children.

In contrast, those who were teenagers when the Depression hit their families did better in school, were more likely to go to college, had happier marriages, exhibited more successful work careers, and in general were more satisfied with life than youngsters of the same socioeconomic status who were not affected by the Depression. These favorable outcomes were more pronounced for teenagers from middle-socioeconomic-status backgrounds but were also evident among their lower-status counterparts.

Interestingly, adults whose families escaped economic ruin turned out to be less successful, both educationally and vocationally, than those whose families were deprived. Why was this so? According to Elder (1974):

> It seems that a childhood which shelters the young from the hardships of life consequently fails to develop or test adaptive capacities which are called upon in life crises. To engage and manage real-life (though not excessive) problems in childhood and adolescence is to participate in a sort of apprenticeship for adult life. Preparedness has been identified repeatedly as a key factor in the adaptive potential and psychological health of persons in novel situations. (pp. 249–250)

Thus, a major consequence of the Depression was that economic loss changed the relation of children to the family and the adult world by involving them in work that was necessary for the welfare of others. This early involvement contributed to deprived children's socialization for adulthood. Elder hypothesized that the loss of economic security forced the family to mobilize its human resources. Everyone had to take on new responsibilities.

What impacts do significant past events have on ecological systems and developmental outcomes over time?

In sum, Elder's study shows how ecological change over time can have varying impacts on a child's socialization depending on other variables, such as the age and gender of the child, the existing family relationships, and the socioeconomic status of the family before the change, thereby illustrating the multiplicity of variables interacting to affect socialization.

1-9b Chronosystem Effects: The Present

A very significant event occurring in the present century was the four coordinated attacks launched by the Islamic terrorist group Al-Qaeda upon the United States (New York and Washington, D.C.) on September 11, 2001. Four passenger airplanes were hijacked by Al-Qaeda suicide terrorists to crash into certain American buildings: the Twin Towers at the World Trade Center Complex, the Pentagon, and the Capitol in Washington, D.C. (the plane headed for the Capitol crashed in a field in Pennsylvania when the passengers tried to overcome the hijackers).

The immediate effects besides the loss of lives (my cousin was a victim of the Twin Towers) and damage to structures were

1. *Health:* toxic debris containing contaminants and carcinogens was spread across lower Manhattan, contributing to fatal or debilitating illnesses among people near the attacks.

2. *Economic:* stock values dropped, wages were lost, businesses had to be rebuilt, and air travel was cut back.

3. *Political:* governments across the world passed legislation to combat terrorism. The United States created the Department of Homeland Security; the USA Patriot Act gave the federal government greater powers; the Aviation and Transportation Security Act transferred security responsibility from airports, trains, and buses to the federal government.

Two studies on the effects of September 11, 2001, on mothers and children were published nine years after the attacks. One study (Chemtob et al., 2010) found that pre-school children directly exposed to the attacks (seeing the planes crash or buildings burn) whose mothers had post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and depression due to the attacks, exhibited higher rates of clinically significant behavior problems. Apparently, the mothers' psychological well-being affected how competently they helped their children cope with the disaster.

The second study (Gershoff, Aber, Ware, & Kotler, 2010) found that 12- to 20-year-olds who had direct exposure to the attacks generally had higher levels of PTSD and depression.

Thus, significant events can have lasting consequences even years after the event occurred, thereby exemplifying chronosystem effects. While the events associated with September 11, 2001, were unexpected, they forced us to think about the future and de-velop preparatory strategies.

1-9c Chronosystem Effects: The Future

Socialization must pass on cultural heritage to the next generation while also enabling that generation to become competent adults in society. Thus, every socializing agent engages in preparing children for both stability and change. Training for stability, which is implemented by passing on the cultural heritage and the status quo to children, involves making their behavior somewhat predictable and conforming; but paradoxically, preparation for change, enabling children to become competent for a future society, very likely involves disrupting some stable patterns and encouraging new ways of thinking and behaving.

Some contemporary societal trends (Naisbitt & Auburdene, 1990; Toffler & Toffler, 2006) affecting the future of families and children are outlined as follows:

- **Biotechnology.** Genetic engineering can potentially cure inherited diseases by substituting normal genes for defective ones; but what about using such techniques to increase intelligence? Will children have "designer" genes? Assisted reproductive techniques (sperm donation, egg donation, in vitro fertilization, frozen embryos, surrogacy) enable adults who have fertility problems to become parents, but what about medical, legal, and ethical risks regarding the child's welfare? For example, if a male and female contribute sperm and egg for conception to take place in a dish, several resulting embryos are frozen, one or two are implanted in a surrogate who is paid to carry through with the pregnancy, and the biological parents die, what happens to the children—to whom do the babies and embryos belong? What makes one a parent—genes, prenatal environment, postnatal environment?

- **Reconceptualization of Societal and Individual Responsibilities.** Large businesses, especially electronics and computers, rarely provide on-site personalized service for problems with equipment. Instead, you, the consumer, must consult the manual and try to diagnose the problem before calling the manufacturer. How will such business practices affect how children are educated—will they need to be exposed to more "hands-on" problem solving?

    Government, too, is shifting from "paternalistic" policies (a strong authority takes care of less able citizens) to "empowerment" policies (individuals can learn to care for themselves). For example, government welfare support is waning while workfare is waxing. Government funding of Social Security plans is yielding to private insurance and investment programs. How will children whose parents must become more economically responsible be affected?

- **Information Technology.** The concept of information technology (IT) is broadening to include not only traditional computer hardware and software but also a wide range of communication tools (such as cell phones, smartphones, and scanners), media (such as television, cameras, and recorders), and data. Wireless networks allow users to work, play, and shop any time, any place. For businesses, operations can be streamlined and efficiency increased by enabling workers to make plans, make decisions, and generate sales reports without going to the office. For consumers, mobile commerce offers the ability to shop for tickets, books, or pizza while waiting in line or at the doctor's office. People can also download music, videos, and games on handheld devices. For parents, children might require less time in day care due to eliminating the work commute and having more flexible time available for family matters.

    IT enables knowledge creation and capitalization (one can get medical information from numerous Internet sources and go to the doctor requesting an advertised medication rather than allowing the doctor to diagnose and prescribe). How do individuals cope with even more choices, advertising, and distractions? How do you feel when you need information or assistance and a computer answers the phone rather than a live person? What

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about privacy issues, personal security, and information errors? Will IT foster closer connections among family and friends, or come between them, competing for time and space?

According to social forecaster John Naisbitt (2006), in his book, *Mindset!: Reset Your Thinking and See the Future*, "Technology is a great enabler, but only when in balance with needs and skills and human nature. . . . When a new technology is introduced, make it a rule to ask: What will be enhanced? What will be diminished? What will be replaced? What new opportunities does it present?" (p. 109).

Technology has enabled people to multitask. While multitasking may enhance efficiency and productivity in adults, research (Clay, 2009) shows that it actually slows children's productivity, changes the way they learn, and may reinforce superficial social relationships.

◆ **Globalism/Nationalism.** Telecommunications and transportation facilitate a global economy. Labor, production, marketing, and consumption can occur in different places in the world. Does such globalism affect standards of production? For example, in 2007, some toys made in China containing unsafe parts were recalled because some children got hurt. Does globalism affect the work families do—job competition, type of job, location of job, skills needed?

As people throughout the world are exposed to greater homogeneity through travel, media, and telecommunications, they sometimes become more nationalistic, clinging to their religious/ethnic traditions for identity. In *Jihad vs. McWorld* (Barber, 1996), the author defines *McWorld* as the "universe of manufactured needs, mass consumption, and mass infotainment." It is motivated by profits and consumer preferences. *Jihad*, or holy war, is shorthand for the "fundamentalist politics of religious, tribal, and other zealots." It is motivated by faith in a spirit that governs all aspects of life. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, were an extreme example of the fanatically defended beliefs in spiritual determinism versus self-determination. How has the fear of terrorism changed our lives? We have greater emphasis on national security, exemplified by stricter immigration laws, racial profiling, and government surveillance technology. Are children growing up with attitudes of suspicion and prejudice?

◆ **Shift in Decision-Making Responsibility.** New advances in science, medicine, education, economics, communications, media, transportation, security, privacy, and ecology require skills to cope with massive amounts of information. Recently an exterminator asked me to decide which of several available pesticides should be used in my house to get rid of ants. Even though I was informed of the varying effectiveness and safety of each, I did not really have the appropriate background knowledge on which to base such a decision; yet the responsibility for consequences was shifted to me.

Another example is the shift in responsibility for children's learning. The NCLBA requires that children take standardized achievement tests. Schools and teachers are held accountable for children's learning in that political leaders make decisions regarding funding based on test scores—schools producing low scores are at risk of losing public funding. Does such a system influence teachers to "teach to the test" rather than the child?

◆ **Information Intermediaries.** One way the business world has capitalized on today's information glut is to offer endorsements (celebrity), enticements (rewards), and services (consulting) to help consumers make decisions. When you buy a book, isn't it easier to choose one from the *New York Times* Best Sellers list or Amazon's recommendations than to read the book jackets? Do you choose an airline because of its rewards program or the convenience of its schedules and destinations? Do you need to hire a wedding planner or an investment counselor? Will children learn to look to others for decisions, rather than themselves?

Thus, a challenge resulting from these societal trends is the need to create caring communities in which children can learn to think—to apply, analyze, synthesize, and evaluate information, not just regurgitate facts (E. B. Fiske, 1992) or form opinions based on conformity to a celebrity. The ability to think and use knowledge becomes critical in a world plugged into machines and bombarded with information and choices (Postman, 1992). Because of new technology and new information, children will have to learn to solve problems not previously encountered. They will have to extrapolate from previous experiences. How will we guide them?

The societal trends just discussed affect how people use available resources—economic, social, and psychological—in their daily lives; their choices ultimately have consequences for children. To help predict what those consequences may be, the federal government has developed a measuring system to assess children's well-being so that areas of need can be addressed.

1-10 > Examining the Well-Being of Children

Every year, the federal government issues a report, *America's Children: Key National Indicators of Well-Being*, showing the overall status of the nation's children. Political leaders use the following indicators (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2013) to make decisions regarding what services for children will be funded and what new programs need to be developed to address their needs (examples of such services will be discussed in Chapter 10):

◆ **Family and social environment indicators** document the number of children as a proportion of the population, racial and ethnic composition, number of non-English-speaking children, family structure and children's living arrangements, births to unmarried women, child care, and child maltreatment.

◆ **Economic circumstance indicators** document poverty and income among children and basic necessities such as housing, food, and health care.

◆ **Health care indicators** document the physical health and well-being of children, including immunizations and probability of death at various ages, dental care, and number of children with health insurance.

◆ **Physical environment and safety indicators** document the number of children living in counties with excess concentration of pollutants, children living in communities with substandard water, children with elevated blood lead levels, housing problems, crime, injuries, and death.

◆ **Behavior indicators** document the number of youths who are engaged in illegal, dangerous, or high-risk behaviors such as smoking, drinking alcohol, using drugs, having sex, or committing violent crimes.

◆ **Education indicators** document success in educating the nation's children, including preschool, reading, overall achievement, completion of high school, and college attendance.

◆ **Health indicators** document the number of infants with low birth weight, children with emotional or behavioral difficulties, children who are overweight, and children with asthma.

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2-10 > Outcomes of Socialization

According to Grusec (2002; Grusec & Davidov, 2010), socialization involves the following outcomes:

1. Development of self-regulation of emotion, thinking, and behavior
2. Reciprocity and cooperation—the development of role-taking skills, strategies for resolving conflicts, and ways of viewing relationships
3. Acquisition of a culture's morals and values, including the willingness to accept the authority of others
4. Conformity to and adoption of practices and routines associated with the group

A very brief overview of major socialization outcomes follows. Each will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 11 (affective/cognitive outcomes—values, attitudes, motives and attributions, and self-esteem) and Chapter 12 (social/behavioral outcomes—self-regulation/behavior, morals, and gender roles).

2-10a Values

Values are qualities or beliefs that are viewed as desirable or important. Socializing agents in microsystems influence the internalization of values. For example, what message did your parents give you about money? Work? Spirituality? Significant societal events (chronosystem and macrosystem influences) also affect values. For example, the Depression in the 1930s made people aware of the need to be thrifty. And the September 11, 2001 terror attacks caused many people to value security over privacy.

2-10b Attitudes

Attitudes are tendencies to respond positively or negatively to certain persons, objects, or situations. Like values, attitudes are learned from socializing agents. Some methods by which they are acquired are via instructions ("Don't play with Sam; he doesn't go to our church"), modeling (the teacher shows concern when Juan says his father is sick), and direct experience (Leslie plays with Rose, who has cerebral palsy). The macrosystem influences attitudes, too. America's experiences with terrorism have resulted in homeland security measures, such as racial profiling.

2-10c Motives and Attributions

Motives are needs or emotions that cause a person to act, such as the need for achievement or the emotion of anger. Sources of motives are generally classified as extrinsic (outside the person), such as the need for approval, or intrinsic (inside the person), such as the need to understand something. Attributions are explanations for one's performance on a task, such as "I failed the test because there were trick questions" (*external* attribution) or "I failed because I didn't study" (*internal* attribution).

Most developmental psychologists agree that there is an inborn motive to explore, understand, and control one's environment (Mayes & Zigler, 1992; R. W. White, 1959), known as **mastery motivation**. Ryan and Deci (2000) interpret this motive as driven by autonomy, competence, and relatedness needs. Some children are also motivated to achieve mastery of challenging tasks, known as **achievement motivation** (Boggiano & Pittman, 1993; McClelland, Atkinson, Clark, & Lowell, 1953; Wigfield et al., 2006).

Socialization agents, individual abilities and beliefs, and task-related experiences with challenge, effort, success, and failure contribute to the motive to achieve.

How would you describe your affective, cognitive, social, and behavioral characteristics?

What matters most to you in life?

values qualities or beliefs that are viewed as desirable or important

What are your views on racial profiling?

attitudes tendencies to respond positively (favorably) or negatively (unfavorably) to certain persons, objects, or situations

What efforts and activities do you engage in to be successful?

motives needs or emotions that cause a person to act

attributions explanations for one's performance on a task

mastery motivation the inborn motive to explore, understand, and control one's environment

achievement motivation motivation to achieve mastery of challenging tasks

2-10d Self-Esteem

Recall that *self-esteem* is the value one places on one's identity. Why do some children come to view themselves as competent and worthy, whereas others view themselves as incompetent and unworthy? Interactions with parents, peers, and significant adults who communicate approval, validation, and support influence self-esteem. Until recently, self-esteem has been viewed as a unitary, global construct. Susan Harter (2006; Harter & Bukowski, 2012) has examined more specific domains, including physical competence, academic competence, behavioral competence, and social acceptance, as well as a general global self-worth. Harter's theory states that children will gravitate to domains in which they perceive personal competence and avoid domains/activities in which they perceive no sense of accomplishment. She hypothesized that children do not feel competent in every skill domain equally, and she sought to construct a scale that would specify major competence domains relevant to elementary children, beginning at age 8. She later developed a scale for adolescents.

2-10e Self-Regulation/Behavior

Self-regulation is the process of bringing emotions, thoughts, and/or behavior under one's control. **Behavior** consists of what one does or how one acts in response to a stimulus.

Behavior in infancy consists mostly of biological reflexes (sucking to get nourishment, defecating to rid the body of waste), but as children mature physically and cognitively, they become more capable of directing external behavior and internal thought processes (eating at regular intervals rather than on demand, using the toilet instead of diapers). A number of theories (relating to emotions, learned behavior, social experiences, cognitive development, and cultural activities) have been offered to explain the influence of socialization on the development of self-regulation (Bronson, 2000; Eisenberg, Smith, & Spinrad, 2013).

2-10f Morals

Morals are an individual's evaluation of what is right and wrong. Morals involve acceptance of rules and govern one's behavior toward others.

Theories of moral development involve (1) an *affective*, or emotional, component (moral feelings such as guilt, shame, and empathy); (2) a *cognitive* component (moral reasoning, such as a conceptualization of right and wrong and related decision making); and (3) a *behavioral* component (moral action, how one responds to temptations to violate moral rules such as lying, cheating, or stealing). Socialization influences include relationship with parents, experiences in school, peer interaction, and role models and experiences in the culture and community.

2-10g Gender Roles

Gender roles are qualities that individuals understand to characterize males and females in their culture. The term *gender* usually refers to psychological attributes, whereas the term *sex* usually refers to biological ones.

Biologically, males and females differ in their chromosomes (male—XY, female—XX), their hormones, and their physiques. They also differ in the social roles they assume based on societal expectations. The female's biological capacity to bear children is associated in many societies with the expectation that she will assume a nurturing, cooperative role. The male's hormones (testosterone) and his muscular physique are associated in many societies with the expectation that he will assume an assertive, dominant role.

Theories of gender-role development, explaining how children are socialized to assume behaviors, values, and attitudes considered appropriate for their sex, relate to feelings, behavior, cognitive development, and information processing.