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CHAPTER THREE

Social, Moral, and Emotional Development

CHAPTER OUTLINE

LEARNING OUTCOMES

At the end of this chapter, you should be able to:

- **3.1** Discuss differing views of social, emotional, and moral development
- **3.2** Identify the stages of children's social and emotional development
- **3.3** Apply knowledge of social, emotional, and moral development in considering how to solve problems in the classroom
- **3.4** Describe how knowledge of social, moral, and emotional development informs intentional teaching

At Parren Elementary/Middle School, eighth-graders are encouraged to become tutors for first-graders. They help them with reading, math, and other subjects. As part of this program, Sam Stevens has been working for about a month with Billy Ames.

"Hey, shorty!" says Sam one day when he meets Billy for a tutoring session.

"Hey, Sam!" As always, Billy is delighted to see his big buddy. But today his friendly greeting turns into a look of astonishment. "What have you got in your lip?"

"Haven't you ever seen a lip ring?"

Billy is impressed. "Awesome!"

"A lot of guys are wearing them."

"Didn't it hurt to get a hole in your lip?"

"A little, but I'm tough! Boy, was my mom mad, though. I have to take my lip ring off before I go home, but I put it back on while I'm walking to school."

"But didn't your mom . . ."

"Enough of that, squirt! You've got some math to do. Let's get to it!"

The interaction between Sam and Billy illustrates the enormous differences between the world of the adolescent and that of the child. Sam, at 13, is a classic young teen. His idealism and down-deep commitment to the positive are shown in his volunteering to serve as a tutor and in the caring, responsible relationship he has established with Billy. At the same time, Sam is asserting his independence by having his lip pierced and wearing a lip ring, against his mother's wishes. This independence is strongly supported by his peer group, however, so it is really only a shift of dependence from parents and teachers toward peers. His main purpose in wearing a lip ring is to demonstrate conformity to the styles and norms of his peers rather than to those of adults. Yet Sam does still depend on his parents and other adults for advice and support when making decisions that he knows have serious consequences for his future, and he does take off his lip ring at home to avoid a really serious battle with his parents.

Billy lives in a different world. He can admire Sam's audacity, but he would never go so far. Billy's world has simpler rules. He is shocked by Sam's daring to wear a lip ring. He is equally shocked by Sam's willingness to directly disobey his mother. Billy may misbehave, but within much narrower limits. He knows that rules are rules, and he fully expects to be punished if he breaks them.

USING YOUR EXPERIENCE

CRITICAL THINKING Teenagers assert their independence in ways that often are supported by their peer group, but not by their parents. In light of this, what kinds of clashes might you anticipate encountering in a secondary classroom, and how do you propose to handle them? What strategies could you use to prevent clashes in the first place?

WHAT ARE SOME VIEWS OF PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT?

As children improve their cognitive skills, they are also developing self-concepts, ways of interacting with others, and attitudes toward the world. Understanding personal and social development is critical to your ability to motivate, teach, and successfully interact with students at various ages (Berk, 2013; Boyd & Bee, 2012; Feldman, 2012; Squires, Pribble, Chen, & Pomes, 2013). Like cognitive development, personal development and social development are often described in terms of stages. We speak of the "terrible twos," not the "terrible ones" or the "terrible threes"; and when someone is reacting in an unreasonable, selfish way, we accuse that person of "behaving like a 2-year-old." The words *adolescent* and *teenager* are associated in Western culture with rebelliousness, identity crises, hero worship, and sexual awakening. These associations reflect stages of development that everyone goes through. This section focuses on a theory of personal and social development proposed by Erik Erikson, which is an adaptation of the developmental theories of the great psychiatrist Sigmund Freud. Erikson's work is often called a **psychosocial theory** because it relates principles of psychological and social development.

Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development

Like Piaget, Erikson had no formal training in psychology, but as a young man he was trained by Freud as a psychoanalyst. Erikson hypothesized that people pass through eight psychosocial stages

in their lifetimes. At each stage, there are crises or critical issues to be resolved. Most people resolve each **psychosocial crisis** satisfactorily and put it behind them to take on new challenges, but some people do not completely resolve these crises and must continue to deal with them later in life. For example, many adults have yet to resolve the "identity crisis" of adolescence, and then they feel compelled to buy motorcycles in their 40s or 50s.

ERIKSON'S STAGES OF PERSONAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT As people grow, they face a series of psychosocial crises that shape personality, according to Erik Erikson. Each crisis focuses on a particular aspect of personality and involves the person's relationship with other people.

Stage I: Trust versus Mistrust (Birth to 18 Months) The goal of infancy is to develop a basic trust in the world. Erikson (1968, p. 96) defined basic trust as "an essential trustfulness of others as well as a fundamental sense of one's own trustworthiness." The mother, or maternal figure, is usually the first important person in the child's world. She is the one who must satisfy the infant's need for food and affection. If the mother is inconsistent or rejecting, she becomes a source of frustration for the infant rather than a source of pleasure (Cummings, Braungart-Rieker, & Du Rocher-Schudlich, 2003; Thompson, Easterbrooks, & Padilla-Walker, 2003). The mother's behavior creates in the infant a sense of mistrust for his or her world that may persist throughout childhood and into adulthood.

Stage II: Autonomy versus Doubt (18 Months to 3 Years) By the age of 2, most babies can walk and have learned enough about language to communicate with other people. Children in the "terrible twos" no longer want to depend totally on others. Instead, they strive toward autonomy, the ability to do things for themselves. The child's desires for power and independence often clash with the wishes of the parent. Erikson believed that children at this stage have the dual desire to hold on and to let go. Parents who are flexible enough to permit their children to explore freely and do things for themselves, but at the same time provide an ever-present guiding hand, encourage the establishment of a sense of autonomy. Parents who are overly restrictive and harsh give their children a sense of powerlessness and incompetence, which can lead to shame and doubt in one's abilities.

Certification Pointer
For teacher certification tests you will probably be asked about Erik Erikson's stages of personal and social development. You should know that vigorous exploration of their physical and social behavior is a behavior typical of children in Stage III, initiative versus guilt.

Stage III: Initiative versus Guilt (3 to 6 Years) During this period, children's continuously maturing motor and language skills permit them to be increasingly aggressive and vigorous in the exploration of both their social and physical environment. Three-year-olds have a growing sense of initiative, which can be encouraged by parents and other family members or caregivers who permit children to run, jump, play, slide, and throw. "Being firmly convinced that he is a person on his own, the child must now find out what kind of person he may become" (Erikson, 1968, p. 115). Parents who severely punish children's attempts at initiative will make the children feel guilty about their natural urges both during this stage and later in life.

Stage IV: Industry versus Inferiority (6 to 12 Years) Entry into school brings with it a huge expansion in the child's social world. Teachers and peers take on increasing importance for the child, while the influence of parents decreases. Children now want to make things. Success brings with it a sense of industry, a good feeling about oneself and one's abilities. Failure creates a negative self-image, a sense of inadequacy that may hinder future learning. And "failure" need not be real; it may be merely an inability to measure up to one's own standards or those of parents, teachers, or brothers and sisters.

Stage V: Identity versus Role Confusion (12 to 18 Years) The question "Who am I?" becomes important during adolescence. To answer it, adolescents increasingly turn away from parents and toward peer groups. Erikson believed that during adolescence the individual's rapidly changing physiology, coupled with pressures to make decisions about future education and career, creates the need to question and redefine the psychosocial identity established during the earlier stages. Adolescence is a time of change. Teenagers experiment with various sexual, occupational, and educational roles as they try to find out who they are and who they can be. This new sense of self, or "ego identity," is not simply the sum of the prior identifications. Rather, it is a reassembly or "an alignment of the individual's basic drives (ego) with his or her endowment (resolutions of the previous crises) and his or her opportunities (needs, skills, goals, and demands of adolescence and approaching adulthood)" (Erikson, 1980, p. 94).

Stage VI: Intimacy versus Isolation (Young Adulthood) Once young people know who they are and where they are going, the stage is set for the sharing of their life with another. The young adult is now ready to form a new relationship of trust and intimacy with another individual, a "partner in friendship, sex, competition, and cooperation." This relationship should enhance the identity of both partners without stifling the growth of either. The young adult who does not seek out such intimacy or whose repeated tries fail may retreat into isolation.

Stage VII: Generativity versus Self-Absorption (Middle Adulthood) Generativity is "the interest in establishing and guiding the next generation" (Erikson, 1980, p. 103). Typically, people attain generativity through raising their own children. However, the crisis of this stage can also be successfully resolved through other forms of productivity and creativity, such as teaching. During this stage, people should continue to grow; if they don't, a sense of "stagnation and interpersonal impoverishment" develops, leading to self-absorption or self-indulgence (Erikson, 1980, p. 103).

Stage VIII: Integrity versus Despair (Late Adulthood) In the final stage of psychosocial development, people look back over their lifetime and resolve their final identity crisis. Acceptance of accomplishments, failures, and ultimate limitations brings with it a sense of integrity, or wholeness, and a realization that one's life has been one's own responsibility. The finality of death must also be faced and accepted. Despair can occur in those who regret the way they have led their lives or how their lives have turned out.

Implications and Criticisms of Erikson's Theory

As with Piaget's stages, not all people experience Erikson's crises to the same degree or at the same time. The age ranges stated here may represent the best times for a crisis to be resolved, but they are not the only possible times. For example, children who were born into chaotic homes that failed to give them adequate security may develop trust after being adopted or otherwise brought into a more stable environment. People whose negative school experiences gave them a sense of inferiority may find, as they enter the work world, that they can learn and that they do have valuable skills—a realization that may help them finally to resolve the industry versus inferiority crisis that others resolved in their elementary school years. Erikson's theory emphasizes the role of the environment, both in causing the crises and in determining how they will be resolved. The stages of personal and social development are played out in constant interactions with others and with society as a whole. During the first three stages the interactions are primarily with parents and other family members, but the school plays a central role for most children in Stage IV (industry versus inferiority) and Stage V (identity versus role confusion).

Erikson's theory describes the basic issues that people confront as they go through life. However, his theory has been criticized because it does not explain how or why individuals progress from one stage to another and also because it is difficult to confirm through research (Miller, 2011).

WHAT ARE SOME VIEWS OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT?

Society could not function without rules that tell people how to communicate with one another, how to avoid hurting others, and how to get along in life generally. If you are around children much, you may have noticed that they are often rigid about rules. Things are either right or wrong; there is no in-between. If you think back to your own years in middle school or high school, you may recall being shocked to find that people sometimes break rules on purpose and that the rules that apply to some people may not apply to others. These experiences probably changed your concept of rules. Your idea of laws may also have changed when you learned how they are made. People meet and debate and vote; the laws that are made one year can be changed the next. The more complexity you can see, the more you find exists. Just as children differ from adults in cognitive and personal development, they also differ in their moral reasoning. First we will look at the two stages of moral reasoning described by Piaget, and then we will discuss related theories developed by Lawrence Kohlberg. Piaget proposed that there is a relationship between the cognitive stages of development and the ability to reason about moral issues. Kohlberg believed

that the development of the logical structures proposed by Piaget is necessary to, although not sufficient for, advances in the area of moral judgment and reasoning.

Piaget's Theory of Moral Development

Piaget's theory of cognitive development includes a theory about the development of moral reasoning. Piaget believed that cognitive structures and abilities develop first. Cognitive abilities then determine children's abilities to reason about social situations. As with cognitive abilities, Piaget proposed that moral development progresses in predictable stages, in this case from a very egocentric type of moral reasoning to one that reflects a system of justice based on cooperation and reciprocity.

PIAGET'S STAGES OF PERSONAL AND MORAL DEVELOPMENT As people develop their cognitive abilities, their understanding of moral problems also becomes more sophisticated. Young children are more rigid in their views of right and wrong than older children and adults tend to be.

To explore moral development, Piaget posed two stories to older and younger children. In the first story, a boy broke 15 cups completely by accident. In the second story, a boy broke one cup while he was trying to steal a cookie. Piaget asked the children who was naughtier and should be punished more. Younger children of 5–10 years focused on the results of an action to make their judgments, regardless of each child's intentions—more cups broke so the first child was naughtier. This type of reasoning is called *heteronomous morality*. Older children in Piaget's experiment were able to make judgments based on the intent of an action—the second child was misbehaving, so he was naughtier. This type of reasoning is called *autonomous morality*. Piaget noted that these two phases overlap.

Recently, when presented with a similar story, one 5-year-old responded, "They are both mean because they broke cups," whereas a 10-year-old responded, "The first boy didn't do it on purpose." Table 3.1 summarizes the characteristics of heteronomous and autonomous morality, according to Piaget.

To understand children's moral reasoning, Piaget spent a great deal of time watching children play marbles and asking them about the rules of the game. The first thing he discovered was that before about the age of 6, children play by their own idiosyncratic, egocentric rules. Piaget believed that very young children were incapable of interacting in cooperative ways and therefore unable to engage in moral reasoning.

Piaget found that by age 6, children acknowledged the existence of rules, though they were inconsistent in following them. Frequently, several children who were supposedly playing the same game were observed to be playing by different sets of rules. Children at this age also had no understanding that game rules are arbitrary and something that a group can decide by itself. Instead, they saw rules as being imposed by some higher authority and unchangeable.

TABLE 3.1 • Piaget's Stages of Moral Development

HETERONOMOUS MORALITY	AUTONOMOUS MORALITY
Inflexible rules are made by authorities such as the police, parents, and teachers.	Intentions are more important than the results of one's behavior.
Rules are permanent, do not change, and must be followed.	There are times when it is ok to break rules.
Egocentrism in childhood results in children believing that others view their rule-following ideas in the same way that they do.	People may view "what is right" differently.
Degree of punishment should depend on how bad the results of one's actions were.	Degree of punishment should depend on intentions and the degree of misbehavior.
Misbehavior will always be punished. For example, if you do something bad, and then later on you fall and hurt your knee, it is because you misbehaved. This is called "immanent justice."	Coincidental bad outcomes are not seen as punishments for misbehavior.

Piaget (1964) labeled the first stage of moral development **heteronomous morality**; it has also been called the stage of "moral realism" or "morality of constraint." *Heteronomous* means being subject to rules imposed by others. During this period, young children are consistently faced with parents and other adults telling them what to do and what not to do. Violations of rules are believed to bring automatic punishment; people who are bad will eventually be punished. Piaget also described children at this stage as judging the morality of behavior on the basis of its consequences. They judge behavior as bad if it results in negative consequences, even if the actor's original intentions were good.

Piaget found that children did not conscientiously use and follow rules until the age of 10 or 12 years, when children are capable of formal operations. At this age, every child playing the game followed the same set of rules. Children understood that the rules existed to give the game direction and to minimize disputes between players. They understood that rules were something that everyone agreed on and that therefore, if everyone agreed to change them, they could be changed.

Piaget also observed that children at this age tend to base moral judgments on the intentions of the actor rather than on the consequences of the actions. Children often engage in discussions of hypothetical circumstances that might affect rules. This second stage is labeled **autonomous morality** or "morality of cooperation." It arises as the child's social world expands to include more and more peers. Through interaction and cooperation with other children, the child's ideas about rules and, therefore, morality begin to change. Rules are now what we make them. Punishment for transgressions is no longer automatic but must be administered by taking into account the transgressor's intentions and any extenuating circumstances.

According to Piaget, children progress from the stage of heteronomous morality to that of autonomous morality with the development of cognitive structures, but also because of interactions with equal-status peers. He believed that resolving conflicts with peers weakened children's reliance on adult authority and heightened their awareness that rules are changeable and should exist only as the result of mutual consent.

Research on elements of Piaget's theories generally supports his ideas, with one key exception. Piaget is felt to have underestimated the degree to which even very young children consider intentions in judging behavior. However, the progression from a focus on outcomes to a focus on intentions over the course of development has been documented many times.

Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Reasoning

Certification Pointer
Teacher certification tests are likely to require you to know the theoretical contributions of Lawrence Kohlberg to the understanding of children's development of moral reasoning.

Kohlberg's (1963, 1969) stage theory of moral reasoning is an elaboration and refinement of Piaget's. Like Piaget, Kohlberg studied how children (and adults) reason about rules that govern their behavior in certain situations. Kohlberg did not study children's game playing, but rather probed for their responses to a series of structured situations or **moral dilemmas**, the most famous of which is the following:

> In Europe a woman was near death from cancer. One drug might save her, a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The druggist was charging $2,000, ten times what the drug cost him to make. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money, but he could only get together about half of what it cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later. But the druggist said "No." The husband got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife. Should the husband have done that? Why? (1969, p. 379)
>
> *Source*: From *Handbook of socialization theory and research in stage and sequence: The cognitive-developmental approach to socialization* by L. Kohlberg, D. A. Goslin. Published by Rand-McNally, © 1969.

On the basis of the answers he received, Kohlberg proposed that people pass through a series of six stages of moral judgment or reasoning. Kohlberg's levels and stages are summarized in Table 3.2. He grouped these six stages into three levels: preconventional, conventional, and postconventional. These three levels are distinguished by how the child or adult defines what he or she perceives as correct or moral behavior. As with other stage theories, each stage is more sophisticated and complex than the preceding one, and most individuals proceed through them in the same order (Colby & Kohlberg, 1984). Like Piaget, Kohlberg was concerned not so much with the child's answer as with the reasoning behind it. The ages at which children and adolescents

TABLE 3.2 • Kohlberg's Stages of Moral Reasoning

When people consider moral dilemmas, it is their reasoning that is important, not their final decision, according to Lawrence Kohlberg. He theorized that people progress through three levels as they develop abilities of moral reasoning.

I. PRECONVENTIONAL LEVEL	II. CONVENTIONAL LEVEL	III. POSTCONVENTIONAL LEVEL
Rules are set down by others. Stage 1: Punishment and Obedience Orientation. Physical consequences of action determine its goodness or badness. Stage 2: Instrumental Relativist Orientation. What is right is whatever satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others. Elements of fairness and reciprocity are present, but they are mostly interpreted in a "you scratch my back, I'll scratch yours" fashion.	Individual adopts rules and will sometimes subordinate own needs to those of the group. Expectations of family, group, or nation seen as valuable in own right, regardless of immediate and obvious consequences. Stage 3: "Good Boy–Good Girl" Orientation. Good behavior is whatever pleases or helps others and is approved of by them. One earns approval by being "nice." Stage 4: "Law and Order" Orientation. Right is doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining the given social order for its own sake.	People define own values in terms of ethical principles they have chosen to follow. Stage 5: Social Contract Orientation. What is right is defined in terms of general individual rights and in terms of standards that have been agreed on by the whole society. In contrast to Stage 4, laws are not "frozen"—they can be changed for the good of society. Stage 6: Universal Ethical Principle Orientation. What is right is defined by decision of conscience according to self-chosen ethical principles. These principles are abstract and ethical (such as the Golden Rule), not specific moral prescriptions (such as the Ten Commandments).

Source: From *Handbook of socialization theory and research,* by L. Kohlberg and D. A. Goslin. By Rand McNally & Company (Chicago), Copyright © 1969 reprinted with permission of Rand McNally & Company (Chicago).

go through the stages in Table 3.2 vary considerably; in fact, the same individual may behave according to one stage at some times and according to another at other times. However, most children pass from the preconventional to the conventional level by the age of 9 (Kohlberg, 1969).

ON THE WEB

The Association for Moral Education (AME) provides an interdisciplinary forum for individuals interested in the moral dimensions of educational theory and practice at amenetwork.org. An overview of moral education theories, arranged by theorist, can be found at amenetwork.org. Also see the site for *The Journal of Moral Education*.

Stage 1, which is on the **preconventional level of morality**, is very similar in form and content to Piaget's stage of heteronomous morality. Children simply obey authority figures to avoid being punished. In Stage 2, children's own needs and desires become important, yet they are aware of the interests of other people. In a concrete sense they weigh the interests of all parties when making moral judgments, but they are still "looking out for number one." The **conventional level of morality** begins at Stage 3. Here morality is defined in terms of cooperation with peers, just as it was in Piaget's stage of autonomous morality. This is the stage at which children have an unquestioning belief that one should "do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Because of the decrease in egocentrism that accompanies concrete operations, children are cognitively capable of putting themselves in someone else's shoes. They can consider the feelings of others when making moral decisions. No longer do they simply do what will not get them punished (Stage 1) or what makes them feel good (Stage 2). At Stage 4, society's rules and laws replace those of the peer group. A desire for social approval no longer determines moral judgments. Laws are followed without question, and breaking the law can never be justified. Most adults are probably at this stage. Stage 5 signals entrance into the **postconventional level of morality**, a level of moral reasoning attained by fewer than 25 percent of adults, according to Kohlberg, in which there is a realization

that the laws and values of a society are somewhat arbitrary and particular to that society. Laws are seen as necessary to preserve the social order and to ensure the basic rights of life and liberty. In Stage 6, one's ethical principles are self-chosen and based on abstract concepts such as justice and the equality and value of human rights. Laws that violate these principles can and should be disobeyed because "justice is above the law." Late in life, Kohlberg (1978, 1980) speculated that Stage 6 is not really separate from Stage 5 and suggested that the two be combined.

Kohlberg (1969) believed that moral dilemmas can be used to advance a child's level of moral reasoning, but only one stage at a time. He theorized that the way in which children progress from one stage to the next is by interacting with others whose reasoning is one or, at most, two stages above their own. Teachers can help students progress in moral reasoning by weaving discussions of justice and moral issues into lessons, particularly in response to events that occur in the classroom or in the broader society (see Sternberg, 2011).

Kohlberg found that his stages of moral reasoning ability occurred in the same order and at about the same ages in the United States, Mexico, Taiwan, and Turkey. Other research throughout the world has generally found the same sequence of stages, although there are clearly strong influences of culture on moral reasoning as well as on moral behavior (Nucci, 2009).

Criticisms of Kohlberg's Theory

Later research generally supports Kohlberg's main sequence of development (Boom et al., 2001; Dawson, 2002; Nucci, 2009), but there have also been many critiques. One limitation of Kohlberg's early work was that it mostly involved boys. Some research on girls' moral reasoning finds patterns that are somewhat different from those proposed by Kohlberg. Whereas boys' moral reasoning revolves primarily around issues of justice, girls are more concerned about issues of caring and responsibility for others (Gilligan, 1982; Gilligan & Attanucci, 1988; Haspe & Baddeley, 1991). Carol Gilligan argued, for example, that males and females use different moral criteria: Male moral reasoning is focused on people's individual rights, whereas female moral reasoning is focused more on individuals' responsibilities for other people. This is why, she argued, females tend to suggest altruism and self-sacrifice rather than rights and rules as solutions to moral dilemmas (Gilligan, 1982). Kohlberg (Levine, Kohlberg, & Hewer, 1985) revised his theory on the basis of these criticisms. However, most research has failed to find any male–female differences in moral maturity (Bee & Boyd, 2010; Jaffee & Hyde, 2000; Tangney & Dearing, 2002); nor is there convincing evidence that women are more caring, cooperative, or helpful than men (Turiel, 2006; Walker, 2004).

Another criticism of both Piaget's and Kohlberg's work is that young children can often reason about moral situations in more sophisticated ways than a stage theory would suggest (Arnold, 2000). For example, although young children often consider consequences to be more important than intentions when evaluating conduct, under certain circumstances children as young as 3 and 4 years of age use intentions to judge the behavior of others (Bussey, 1992). Also, 6- to 10-year-olds at the stage of heteronomous morality have been shown to make distinctions between rules that parents are justified in making and enforcing, and rules that are under personal or peer jurisdiction (Keenan & Evans, 2010). Finally, Turiel (2006) has suggested that young children make a distinction between moral rules, such as not lying and stealing, that are based on principles of justice, and social-conventional rules, such as not wearing pajamas to school, that are based on social consensus and etiquette. Research has supported this view, demonstrating that children as young as 2½ to 3 years make distinctions between moral and social-conventional rules.

The most important limitation of Kohlberg's theory is that it deals with moral reasoning rather than with actual behavior (Arnold, 2000). Many individuals at different stages behave in the same way, and individuals at the same stage often behave in different ways (Walker, 2004). In addition, the context of moral dilemmas matters. For example, a study by Einerson (1998) found that adolescents used much lower levels of moral reasoning when moral dilemmas involved celebrities than when they involved made-up characters. Similarly, the link between children's moral reasoning and their moral behavior may be unclear. For example, a study by Murdock, Hale, and Weber (2001) found that cheating among middle school students was affected by many factors, including motivation in school, success, and relationships with teachers, that have little to do with stages of moral development.

MyEdLab **Self-Check 3.1**

HOW DO CHILDREN DEVELOP SOCIALLY AND EMOTIONALLY?

As a teacher, you are responsible not just for the academic achievement of your children. You also strive to develop young people who are socially and emotionally healthy (see Comer, 2010; Hamre & Pianta, 2010; Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2011; Squires, Pribble, Chen, & Pomes, 2013; Weissberg & Cascarino, 2013; Yoder, 2014). Like other aspects of development, social and emotional development depend on the experiences provided by schools and families, but they also follow predictable patterns. The following sections discuss these critical areas of development.

Socioemotional Development during the Preschool Years

A young child's social life evolves in relatively predictable ways (see Cummings et al., 2003; McHale, Dariotis, & Kauh, 2003). The social network grows from an intimate relationship with parents or other guardians to include other family members, nonrelated adults, and peers. Social interactions extend from home to neighborhood and from preschool or other child-care arrangements to formal school. Erik Erikson's theory of personal and social development suggests that during the preschool years, children must resolve the personality crisis of initiative versus guilt. The child's successful resolution of this stage results in a sense of initiative and ambition tempered by a reasonable understanding of the permissible. Early educators can encourage this resolution by giving children opportunities to take initiative, to be challenged, and to succeed (Denham, Zinsser, & Brown, 2013; Squires, Pribble, Chen, & Pomes, 2013). It is also important to emphasize self-regulation (Goodwin & Miller, 2013).

MyEdLab

Video Example 3.1

Watch as a preschool teacher steps in to help the children resolve a conflict on the playground. How does this experience help Caitlyn to develop new social and emotion regulation skills?

Connections 3.1

For suggested cooperative learning activities, see Chapter 8.

PEER RELATIONSHIPS During the preschool years, **peers** (other children who are a child's equal in age) begin to play an increasingly important role in children's social and cognitive development (Hay, Payne, & Chadwick, 2004; Ladd & Sechler, 2013). Children's relations with their peers differ in several ways from their interactions with adults. Peer play allows children to interact with other individuals whose level of development is similar to their own. When peers have disputes among themselves, they must make concessions and cooperate in resolving them if the play is to continue; unlike in adult–child disputes, in a peer dispute no one can claim to have ultimate authority. Peer conflicts also let children see that others have thoughts, feelings, and viewpoints that are different from their own. Conflicts also heighten children's sensitivity to the effects of their behavior on others. In this way, peer relationships help young children to overcome the egocentrism that Piaget described as being characteristic of preoperational thinking, helping them see that others have perspectives that are different from their own.

PROSOCIAL BEHAVIOR **Prosocial behaviors** are voluntary actions toward others such as caring, sharing, comforting, and cooperating. Research on the roots of prosocial behavior has contributed to our knowledge of children's moral as well as social development. Several factors seem to be associated with the development of prosocial behaviors (Eisenberg, 2001), including the following:

- Parental disciplinary techniques that stress the consequences of the child's behavior for others and that are applied within a warm, responsive parent–child relationship
- Contact with adults who indicate they expect concern for others, who let children know that aggressive solutions to problems are unacceptable, and who provide acceptable alternatives
- Contact with adults who attribute positive characteristics to children when they do well ("What a helpful boy you are!")

PLAY Most of a preschooler's interactions with peers occur during play (Hughes, 2010). However, the degree to which play involves other children increases over the preschool years. In a classic study of preschoolers, Mildred Parten (1932) identified four categories of play that reflect increasing levels of social interaction and sophistication. **Solitary play** is play that occurs alone, often with toys, and is independent of what other children are doing. **Parallel play** involves children engaged in the same activity side by side but with very little interaction or mutual influence. **Associative play** is much like parallel play but with increased levels of interaction in the form of sharing, turn-taking, and general interest in what others are doing. **Cooperative play** occurs when children join together to achieve a common goal, such as building a large castle with each child building a part of the structure. Children engage in more complex types of play as they grow

older, advancing from simple forms of parallel play to complex pretend play in which children cooperate in planning and carrying out activities (Berk, 2013; Hughes, 2010).

Play is important for children because it exercises their linguistic, cognitive, and social skills and contributes to their general personality development (Berk, 2013; Hughes, 2010; Johnson, Sevimli-Cellik, & Al-Mansour, 2013; Weisberg, Hirsh-Pasek, & Golinkoff, 2013). Children use their minds when playing because they are thinking and acting as if they were another person. When they make such a transformation, they are taking a step toward abstract thinking in that they are freeing their thoughts from a focus on concrete objects. Play is also associated with creativity, especially the ability to be less literal and more flexible in one's thinking. Play has an important role in Vygotsky's theories of development, because it allows children to freely explore ways of thinking and acting that are above their current level of functioning (Bodrova & Leong, 2007). Vygotsky (1978) wrote, "In play a child is always above his average age, above his daily behavior; in play it is as though he were a head taller than himself" (p. 102).

Preschoolers' play appears to be influenced by a variety of factors. For instance, preschoolers' interactions with peers are related to how they interact with their parents (Hughes, 2010). Three-year-olds who have warm and nurturing relationships with parents are more likely to engage in social pretend play and resolve conflicts with peers than are children who have less secure relationships with their parents. Children also play better with familiar peers and same-sex peers. Providing age-appropriate toys and play activities can support the development of play and peer interaction skills.

Connections 3.2
For more on Vygotsky, see Chapter 2.

Socioemotional Development during the Elementary Years

By the time children enter elementary school, they have developed skills for more complex thought, action, and social influence. Up to this point, children have been basically egocentric, and their world has been that of home, family, and possibly a preschool or day-care center. The early primary grades will normally be spent working through Erikson's (1963) fourth stage, industry versus inferiority. Assuming that a child has developed trust during infancy, autonomy during the early years, and initiative during the preschool years, that child's experiences in the primary grades can contribute to his or her sense of industry and accomplishment. During this stage, children start trying to prove that they are "grown up"; in fact, this is often described as the I-can-do-it-myself stage. Work becomes possible. As children's powers of concentration grow, they can spend more time on chosen tasks, and they often take pleasure in completing projects. This stage also includes the growth of independent action, cooperation with groups, and performing in socially acceptable ways with a concern for fair play (McHale et al., 2003).

Taken together, social-emotional factors make a significant difference in student achievement. For example, Miller, Connolly, & Macguire (2013) found an impact of psychological adjustment, school adjustment, and peer and family relationships on achievement among students ages 7–11 in Northern Ireland. Similarly, Banerjee, Weare, & Farr (2013) found that English students of teachers who fully implemented a program called Social and Emotional Aspects of Learning (SEAL) did better in achievement than students who were in classes with less of a focus on social-emotional learning.

SELF-CONCEPT AND SELF-ESTEEM Personal and social development for elementary school children also includes the important ideas of **self-concept** and **self-esteem** (Swann, Chang-Schneider, & McClarty, 2007). These aspects of children's development will be strongly influenced by experiences at home, at school, and with peers. Self-concept includes the way in which we perceive our strengths, weaknesses, abilities, attitudes, and values. Its development begins at birth and is continuously shaped by experience. Self-esteem reflects how we evaluate our skills and abilities.

ON THE WEB

For an article on how to strengthen children's self-esteem, go to askdrsears.com and type "self-confidence" into the search engine. Also see kidshealth.org and click on "Educators"; then type "self-esteem" into the search engine.

As children progress through middle childhood, their ways of thinking become less concrete and more abstract. This trend is also evident in the development of their self-concepts. Preschoolers think about themselves in terms of their physical and material characteristics, including size, gender, and possessions. In contrast, by the early elementary school years, children begin to focus

InTASC 2
Learning Differences

THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Promoting the Development of Self-Esteem

Our society promotes the idea that people, including students, are of equal worth. That is also the premise in a classroom. But students being of equal worth doesn't necessarily mean that they are equally competent. Some students are good in reading and others in math; some excel in sports and others in art.

Some classroom activities can give certain students the impression that they as individuals are of less value or worth than other students. Inappropriate competition or inflexible ability groups within the classroom may teach the wrong lesson to students (Battistich, 2010; Slavin, 2011).

This kind of research can help teachers avoid practices that may discourage children. However, it is not clear that improving self-esteem results in greater school achievement. In fact, research more strongly suggests that as a student grows more competent in school tasks, his or her self-esteem also improves, rather than the other way around (e.g., Chapman et al., 2000; Ellis, 2001b).

It is not necessary to bend the truth and say that all students are equally good in reading or math. You can, however, recognize progress rather than level of ability, focusing your praise on the student's effort and growing competence. As the student experiences success in school, a feeling of earned self-esteem will result (Roeser, Eccles, & Sameroff, 2000).

on more abstract, internal qualities such as intelligence and kindness when describing themselves. They can also make a distinction between their private or inner selves and their external, public selves. This becomes especially evident as they depend more on intentions and motives and less on objective behavior in their explanations of their own and others' actions.

During middle childhood, children also begin to evaluate themselves in comparison to others. A preschooler might describe herself by saying, "I like baseball," whereas several years later this same girl is likely to say, "I like baseball more than Sally does." The trend to use **social comparison** information to evaluate the self appears to correspond with developmental changes in academic self-esteem. Preschoolers and young children tend to evaluate themselves very positively, in ways that bear no relationship to their school performance or other objective factors. By second or third grade, however, children who are having difficulty in school tend to have poorer self-concepts (Chapman, Tunmer, & Prochnow, 2000). This begins a declining spiral. Students who perform poorly in elementary school are at risk for developing poor academic self-concepts and subsequent poor performance in upper elementary and secondary school (Guay, Marsh, & Boivin, 2003).

The primary grades give many children their first chance to compare themselves with others and to work and play under the guidance of adults outside their family. These adults must provide experiences that let children succeed, feel good about themselves, and maintain their enthusiasm and creativity (Battistich, 2010; Comer, 2010).

The key word regarding personal and social development is *acceptance*. The fact is, children do differ in their abilities; no matter what teachers do, students will have figured out by the end of the elementary years (and usually earlier) who is more able and who is less able. However, you can have a substantial impact on how students feel about these differences and on the value that low-achieving students place on learning even when they know they will never be class stars.

ON THE WEB

Dr. Robert Brooks has written some useful articles on promoting self-esteem in the classroom. See greatschools.org. Click on "Great Kids" and then type "teachers foster self-esteem" into the search box. The same website has information about promoting self-esteem in children with learning disabilities.

GROWING IMPORTANCE OF PEERS The influence of the child's family, the major force during the early childhood years, continues as parents provide role models in terms of attitudes and behaviors. In addition, relationships with brothers and sisters affect relationships with peers, and routines from home either are reinforced or must be overcome in school. However, the peer group takes on added importance. Speaking of the child's entrance into the world outside the family, Ira Gordon notes the importance of peers:

> If all the world's the stage that Shakespeare claimed, children and adolescents are playing primarily to an audience of their peers. Their peers sit in the front rows and the box seats; parents and teachers are now relegated to the back rows and the balcony. (Gordon, 1957, p. 166)
>
> *Source:* From *The social system of the high school: A study in the sociology of adolescence* by Calvin Wayne Gordon, Published by Free Press, © 1957.

In the lower elementary grades, peer groups usually consist of same-sex children who are around the same age. This preference may arise because of the variety of abilities and interests among young children. By the sixth grade, however, students often form groups that include both boys and girls. Whatever the composition of peer groups, they let children compare their abilities and skills to those of others. Members of peer groups also teach one another about their different worlds. Through this sharing of attitudes and values, children learn how to sort out and form their own.

FRIENDSHIPS IN MIDDLE CHILDHOOD During middle childhood, children's conceptions of friendship also mature. Friendship is the central social relationship between peers during childhood, and it undergoes a series of changes before adulthood (Scharf & Hertz-Lazarowitz, 2003). Children's understanding of friendship changes over the years (McHale et al., 2003). Between the ages of 3 and 7, children usually view friends as momentary playmates. Children of this age might come home from school exclaiming, "I made a new friend today! Jamie shared her doll with me," or "Bill's not my friend anymore 'cause he wouldn't play blocks with me." These comments reveal the child's view of friendship as a temporary relationship based on a certain situation rather than on shared interests or beliefs. As children enter middle childhood, friendships become more stable and reciprocal. At this age, friends are often described in terms of personal traits ("My friend Mary is nice"), and friendships are based on mutual support, caring, loyalty, and mutual give-and-take.

Friendships are important to children for several reasons. During the elementary school years, friends are companions with whom to have fun and do things. They also serve as important emotional resources by providing children with a sense of security in new situations and when family or other problems arise. Friends are also cognitive resources when they teach or model specific intellectual skills. Social norms for conduct, social interaction skills, and how to resolve conflicts successfully are also learned within the context of friendships (McHale et al., 2003).

PEER ACCEPTANCE One of the important aspects of peer relations in middle childhood is peer acceptance, or status within the peer group (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2011). A popular child is one who is named most often by peers as a person they like and least often as someone they dislike. In contrast, a rejected child is one named most often by peers as a person they dislike and least often as someone they like. A child may also be classified as neglected (not named frequently as either liked or disliked). On the other hand, a controversial child is frequently named as someone who is liked but is also frequently named as someone who is disliked. Average children are those who are named as being liked and as being disliked with moderate frequency.

Children who are not well accepted or are rejected by their peers in elementary school are at high risk (Ladd & Troop-Gordon, 2003; Wentzel, Barry, & Caldwell, 2004). These children are more likely to drop out of school, to engage in delinquent behavior, and to have emotional and psychological problems in adolescence and adulthood than are their peers who are more accepted (Ladd & Troop-Gordon, 2003). Some rejected children tend to be highly aggressive; others tend to be very passive and withdrawn, and these children may be victims of bullying (Pellegrini & Bartini, 2000). Children who are rejected, whether aggressive or withdrawn, seem to be at highest risk for difficulties (Wentzel et al., 2004).

Many characteristics seem to be related to peer acceptance, including physical attractiveness and cognitive abilities (Wentzel et al., 2004). Well-accepted and popular children tend to be cooperative, helpful, and caring and are rarely disruptive or aggressive. Children who are disliked by their peers tend to be highly aggressive and to lack prosocial and conflict resolution skills. Neglected and controversial children display less distinct behavioral styles and often change status over short periods of time (Parke & Clarke-Stewart, 2011).

Connections 3.3
For more on systematically reinforcing prosocial skills, see Chapter 5. For more on mindset, persistence, and effort, see Chapter 10.

THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Developing Social-Emotional Skills

There are numerous approaches to developing social-emotional skills among children and adolescents (Blazar & Kraft, 2015; Durlak et al., 2011). Many of these focus in particular on cooperative learning, teaching students strategies for effective interactions with peers and means of solving interpersonal problems. One such example is Communities That Care (Hawkins et al., 2008; Hawkins, Kuklinski, & Fagan, 2012), which focuses on cooperative learning, proactive classroom management, and development of social skills. A long-term follow-up study of this approach found that in their 20s, people who had been in this program in middle school had higher educational and academic attainment than did those who had been in a control group. Other successful programs that focus on social-emotional learning and direct teaching of SEL strategies include James Comer's School Development Program (Brown, Emmons, & Comer, 2010), PATHS (Domitrovich, Cortes, & Greenberg, 2007), and 4Rs (Aber et al., 2010).

Another approach to building social-emotional skills supportive of motivation to achieve is to help create "mindsets" among students that convince them that effort, not just intelligence, enables them to succeed. Several studies in which teachers focused on effort, and the availability of success to all who try, found positive effects on students' motivation and learning (Dweck, 2006, 2010, 2013; Snipes, Fancali, & Stoker, 2012). Another compelling approach emphasizes building students' persistence, or "grit," by teaching students to keep at difficult tasks until they find a way to complete them and learn the content (Duckworth, Gendler, & Gross, 2014; Duckworth & Steinberg, 2015).

Because peer acceptance is such a strong predictor of current and long-term adjustment, it is important to try to improve the social skills of children (Carney et al., 2015; Hamm & Zhang, 2010). This can be done by modeling and praising prosocial skills such as helping and sharing (Austin & Sciarra, 2010).

Socioemotional Development during the Middle School and High School Years

In adolescence, children undergo significant changes in their social and emotional lives as well (Rice & Dolgin, 2008). Partly as a result of their changing physical and cognitive structures, children in the upper elementary grades seek to be more grown-up. They want their parents to treat them differently, even though many parents are unwilling to see them in new ways. They also report that although they believe that their parents love them, they do not think their parents understand them. For both boys and girls in the upper elementary grades, membership in groups tends to promote feelings of self-worth. Not being accepted can bring serious emotional problems. Herein lies the major cause of the preadolescent's changing relationship with parents. It is not that preadolescents care less about their parents. It is just that their friends are more important than ever. This need for acceptance by peers helps to explain why preadolescents often dress alike. The story of Sam Stevens's lip ring at the beginning of this chapter illustrates how young adolescents express their belongingness with other peer group members through distinctive dress or behavior.

The middle school years often also bring changes in the relationship between children and their teachers. In primary school, children easily accept and depend on teachers. During the upper elementary years, this relationship becomes more complex (see Roeser et al., 2000). Sometimes students will tell teachers personal information they would not tell their parents. Some preadolescents even choose teachers as role models. At the same time, however, some preteens talk back to teachers in ways they would never have considered several years earlier, and some openly challenge teachers. Others become deeply alienated from school, starting a pattern that may lead to delinquency and dropping out (Austin & Sciarra, 2010).

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Video Example 3.2
Bob Slavin talks about a family interaction involving his teenage son. Does his story remind you of your own experiences in adolescence? What are some of the learning challenges that this time period poses for teachers and students?

IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT One of the first signs of early adolescence is the appearance of **reflectivity**, the tendency to think about what is going on in one's own mind and to study oneself. Adolescents begin to look more closely at themselves and to define themselves differently. They start to realize that there are differences between what they think and feel and how they behave. Using the developing intellectual skills that enable them to consider possibilities, adolescents are prone to be dissatisfied with themselves. They critique their personal characteristics, compare themselves to others, and try to change the way they are.

Adolescents may also wonder whether other people see and think about the world in the same way they do. They become more aware of their separateness from other people and of their uniqueness. They learn that other people cannot fully know what they think and feel. The issue of who and what one "really" is dominates personality development in adolescence. According to Erikson, the stage is set during adolescence for a major concern with one's identity.

"School uniforms! That'll take away our individuality!"

JAMES MARCIA'S FOUR IDENTITY STATUSES On the basis of Erikson's work, James Marcia (1991) identified from in-depth interviews with adolescents four identity statuses that reflect the degree to which adolescents have made firm commitments to religious and political values as well as to a future occupation.

1. ***Foreclosure.*** Individuals in a state of **foreclosure** have never experienced an identity crisis. Rather, they have prematurely established an identity on the basis of their parents' choices rather than their own. They have made occupational and ideological commitments, but these commitments reflect an assessment by parents or authority figures more than an autonomous process of self-assessment. Foreclosure indicates a kind of "pseudo-identity" that generally is too fixed and rigid to serve as a foundation for meeting life's future crises.
2. ***Identity diffusion.*** Adolescents experiencing **identity diffusion** have found neither an occupational direction nor an ideological commitment of any kind, and they have made little progress toward these ends. They may have experienced an identity crisis, but if so, they were unable to resolve it.
3. ***Moratorium.*** Adolescents in a state of **moratorium** have begun to experiment with occupational and ideological choices but have not yet made definitive commitments to either. These individuals are directly in the midst of an identity crisis and are currently examining alternative life choices.
4. ***Identity achievement.*** **Identity achievement** signifies a state of identity consolidation in which adolescents have made their own conscious, clear-cut decisions about occupation and ideology. The individual is convinced that these decisions have been autonomously and freely made and that they reflect his or her true nature and deep inner commitments.

By late adolescence (18 to 22 years of age), most individuals have developed a status of identity achievement. However, adolescents' emotional development seems to be linked to their identity status. For instance, levels of anxiety tend to be highest for adolescents in moratorium and lowest for those in foreclosure (Marcia, 1991). Self-esteem also varies; adolescents in identity achievement and moratorium report the highest levels and those in foreclosure and identity diffusion report the lowest levels (Marcia, 1991; Wallace-Broscious, Serafica, & Osipow, 1994).

In general, adolescents need to experiment and remain flexible if they are successfully to find their own identity. By trying out ways to be, then testing and modifying them, the adolescent can pick the characteristics that are most comfortable and drop the others. To do this, the adolescent must have the self-confidence to experiment and to declare an experiment over, to vary behavior, and to drop characteristics that don't fit, even if the characteristics are supported by others. It helps to have a stable and accepting set of parents, teachers, and peers who will respond positively to one's experimentation.

ON THE WEB

For explorations of many aspects of adolescent development, including identity development and self-esteem, search Nancy Darling's Lab at oberlin.edu.

ENHANCING SOCIAL-EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT There are many programs designed to improve the social-emotional development of children and adolescents. A review by Durlak et al. (2011) (also see Bandy & Moore, 2011; Hsueh et al., 2014; Terzian, Hamilton, & Ericson, 2011; Yoder, 2014) found that school-based social and emotional learning (SEL) programs can make a significant difference in SEL outcomes and, in some cases, improve academic achievement as well. These programs included school-day and after-school programs, and preventive programs for all students as well as those for students already experiencing difficulties. They covered all ages and all types of schools.

A focus on social-emotional learning can have long-lasting impacts on children. A study by Hawkins et al. (2008) (also see Kosterman, Haggerty, & Hawkins, 2010) found that children who received an SEL intervention focusing on proactive classroom management, interactive teaching, and cooperative learning, as well as child social skills development and parent training, had effects that were still important 15 years later, when the students were in their 20s. They reported higher levels of educational and economic attainment and higher levels of mental health, among other outcomes. Other SEL interventions, such as Communities That Care (Hawkins, Kuklinski, & Fagan, 2012), The Responsive Classroom (Rimm-Kaufman, 2010), PATHS (Domitrovich, Cortes, & Greenberg, 2007; Sheard & Ross, 2012), and 4Rs (Aber, Brown, Jones, & Roderick, 2010), also have shown positive effects on a variety of SEL and academic outcomes, and SEL is a central feature of James Comer's School Development Program (Brown, Emmons, & Comer, 2010).

SELF-CONCEPT AND SELF-ESTEEM Self-concept and self-esteem also change as children enter and go through adolescence. The shift toward more abstract portrayals that began in middle childhood continues, and adolescents' self-descriptions often include personal traits (friendly, obnoxious), emotions (depressed, psyched), and personal beliefs (liberal, conservative) (Harter, 1998). In addition, the self-concept becomes more differentiated. Susan Harter's work has identified eight distinct aspects of adolescent concept: scholastic competence, job competence, athletic competence, physical appearance, social acceptance, close friendships, romantic appeal, and conduct (Harter, 1998). Marsh (1993) identified five distinct self-concepts: academic verbal, academic mathematical, parent relations, same-sex, and opposite sex.

Self-esteem also undergoes fluctuations and changes during adolescence. Self-esteem is lowest as children enter middle school or junior high school and with the onset of **puberty** (Jacobs, Lanza, Osgood, Eccles, & Wigfield, 2002). Early-maturing girls tend to suffer the most dramatic and long-lasting decreases in self-esteem. In general, adolescent girls have lower self-esteem than boys (Jacobs et al., 2002). Global self-esteem or feelings of self-worth appear to be influenced most strongly by physical appearance and then by social acceptance from peers.

Improving self-esteem is mainly a matter of giving all students a sense that they are valued and successful (Goodwin, 2015; Yeager & Walton, 2011). It is also essential to avoid low expectations and comparisons to others who are more successful.

MyEdLab

Video Example 3.3

Adolescent students have no trouble identifying, naming, and characterizing the cliques and crowds in the school environment. Although cliques are often portrayed as negative or exclusive, membership in a clique has many positive benefits, including helping adolescents to explore values, personal identity, and social skills.

SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS As children enter adolescence, changes in the nature of friendships take place. In general, the amount of time spent with friends increases dramatically; adolescents spend more time with their peers than with family members or by themselves. Adolescents who have satisfying and harmonious friendships also report higher levels of self-esteem, are less lonely, have more mature social skills, and do better in school than adolescents who lack supportive friendships (Kerr, Stattin, Biesecker, & Ferrer-Wreder, 2003).

During adolescence, the capacity for mutual understanding and the knowledge that others are unique individuals with feelings of their own also contribute to a dramatic increase in self-disclosure, intimacy, and loyalty among friends. As early adolescents strive to establish personal identities independent of their parents, they also look increasingly to their peers for security and social support. Whereas elementary school children look to parents for such support, by seventh grade same-sex friends are perceived to be as supportive as parents, and by 10th grade they are perceived to be the primary source of social support (Rice & Dolgin, 2008).

RELATIONSHIPS WITH PEERS In addition to their close friends, most adolescents also place high value on the larger peer group as a source of ideas and values as well as companionship and entertainment.

The nature of peer relationships in adolescence has been characterized in terms of social status and peer crowds. Social status, or levels of acceptance by peers, is studied with respect to the same status groups that are identified in middle childhood. As with elementary school-age children, popular and well-accepted

adolescents tend to display positive conflict resolution and academic skills, prosocial behavior, and leadership qualities, whereas rejected and poorly accepted children tend to display aggressive and antisocial behavior and low levels of academic performance (Frey & Nolen, 2010; Wentzel et al., 2004; Zettergren, 2003). These socially rejected children appear to be at great risk for later academic and social problems (Frey & Nolen, 2010). Wentzel et al. (2004) found, however, that rejected middle school children who were socially submissive did not display the same school-related problems as their rejected aggressive counterparts. These findings suggest that peer rejection and negative behavior together place these children at risk.

Peer relationships in adolescence have also been studied in terms of cliques and crowds with whom adolescents associate (Barber, Eccles, & Stone, 2001). A clique is a fairly small, intimate group that is defined by the common interests, activities, and friends of its members. In contrast, a crowd is a larger group defined by its reputation. Allegiance to a clique or crowd is common during adolescence but is not necessarily long-term or stable. Although the pressure to conform can be very powerful within these groups, only adolescents who are highly motivated to belong appear to be influenced by these norms in significant ways.

Certification Pointer
Most teacher certification tests will require you to know how development in one domain, such as physical, may affect a student's performance in another domain, such as social.

EMOTIONAL DEVELOPMENT Most adolescents experience emotional conflicts at some point. This is hardly surprising; they are going through rapid and dramatic changes in body image, expected roles, and peer relationships. The transitions from elementary to middle school or from junior high to high school can also be quite stressful (Anderman & Mueller, 2010; Sparks, 2011a). For most adolescents, emotional distress is temporary and is successfully handled, but for some the stresses lead to delinquency, drug abuse, or suicide attempts (Fisher, 2006). Emotional health is also a key factor in academic success in school (Lowe, 2011).

Emotional problems related to the physical, cognitive, and social development of upper elementary school-age children are common. Though preadolescents are generally happy and optimistic, they also have many fears, such as fear of not being accepted into a peer group, not having a best friend, being punished by their parents, having their parents get a divorce, or not doing well in school.

Other emotions of this age group include anger (and fear of being unable to control it), guilt, frustration, and jealousy. Preadolescents need help in realizing that these emotions and fears are a natural part of growing up. Adults must let them talk about these emotions and fears, even if they seem unrealistic to an adult. Feelings of guilt often arise when there is a conflict between children's actions (based on values of the peer group) and their parents' values. Anger is a common emotion at this age and is displayed with more intensity than many other emotions. Just as they often tell their preadolescents that they should not be afraid, parents often tell them that they should not get angry. Unfortunately, this is an unrealistic expectation, even for adults.

PROBLEMS OF ADOLESCENCE Adolescence can be a time of great risk for many, because teenagers are now able, for the first time, to engage in behaviors or make decisions that can have long-term negative consequences (Hamm & Zhang, 2010; Rice & Dolgin, 2008).

Emotional Disorders Secondary school teachers should be sensitive to the stresses that adolescents face and should realize that emotional disturbances are common (Galambos & Costigan, 2003). They should understand that depressed, hopeless, or unaccountably angry behavior can be a clue that the adolescent needs help, and they should try to put such students in touch with school counselors or other psychologically trained adults (Fisher, 2006). There are several proven approaches to improving emotional adjustment among adolescents (see Bywater & Sharples, 2012).

Connections 3.4
For more on emotional disorders, see Chapter 12.

Bullying Taunting, harassment, and aggression toward weaker or friendless peers occur at all age levels, but they can become particularly serious as children enter early adolescence (Bluestein, 2011; Goodwin, 2011a; Lawner & Terzian, 2013; Rodkin, 2011). In fact, the amount of bullying that students think exists in their school is a key predictor of dropout (Cornell, Huang, Gregory, & Fan, 2013). For strategies for reducing bullying, see Chapter 11.

Dropping Out Dropping out of secondary school can put adolescents at considerable risk, as most dropouts condemn themselves to low-level occupations, unemployment, and poverty (Freeman & Simonsen, 2015; Rumberger, 2011). Of course, the factors that lead to dropping out begin early in students' school careers; school failure, retention (staying back), assignment to special education, poor attendance, and symptoms of depression all predict dropout (Quiroga, Janosz, Bisset, & Morin, 2013). Dropout rates have generally been declining, especially among African American and Hispanic students, although these students are still disproportionately at risk (Swanson, 2012).

Dropout rates among students at risk can be greatly reduced by programs that give these students individual attention, high-status roles, and assistance with academic deficits (Battistich, 2010; Comer, 2010; Corrin et al., 2015; MacIver et al., 2010; What Works Clearinghouse (WWC), 2015). Students in smaller and more academically focused high schools tend to drop out at lower rates than other students (Lee & Burkam, 2003), and programs designed to engage students in prosocial activities can improve graduation rates (e.g., Balfanz, 2011; Porowski & Passa, 2011).

Drug and Alcohol Abuse Substance use continues to be widespread among adolescents. Eighty percent of high school seniors have tried alcohol (Jung, 2010), and 31 percent have tried marijuana (National Institute on Drug Abuse, 2005). Not surprisingly, drug and alcohol abuse are strongly connected to school failure, but social and academic success in school greatly reduces the likelihood of drug abuse (Fletcher, 2012).

Connections 3.5
To learn about prevention of delinquency, see Chapter 11.

Delinquency One of the most dangerous problems of adolescence is the beginning of serious delinquency. The problem is far more common among males than among females. Delinquents are usually low achievers who have been given little reason to believe that they can succeed by following the path laid out for them by the school (Hawkins et al., 2000; Thio, 2010; Tolan et al., 2013). Delinquency in adolescence is overwhelmingly a group phenomenon; most delinquent acts are done in groups or with the active support of a delinquent subgroup (Austin & Sciarra, 2010; Goode, 2011). For this reason, successful programs for preventing delinquency and violence among adolescents usually involve group interventions (Coren et al., 2013; Griffin & Botvin, 2012; Haggerty & Kosterman, 2012; Hawkins, Kuklinski, & Fagan, 2012; Silvia et al., 2011).

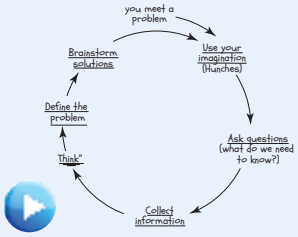
Risk of Pregnancy Pregnancy and childbirth are serious problems among all groups of female adolescents, but particularly among those from lower-income homes (Susman, Dorn, & Schiefelbein,

THE INTENTIONAL TEACHER

Taking Social, Moral, and Emotional Development into Account in Intentional Teaching

Intentional teachers are aware of the expected developmental characteristics of the students they teach, and are sensitive to the diversity among their students.

- They are aware of the key developmental tasks their students are trying to accomplish (in Erikson's scheme) and help their students toward successful resolution of these tasks.
- They are aware of their students' levels of moral development and give students opportunities to discuss and grapple with moral dilemmas appropriate to their ages.
- They work to create classroom practices that support positive socioemotional development and minimize unnecessary social comparisons or unhealthy competition.
- They help their students develop positive friendships by giving them many opportunities to work in productive groups and by reinforcing friendly, altruistic behavior.
- They find ways for parents to be involved in the school to link efforts between home and school to build positive socioemotional behaviors among all children.
- They watch for bullying and other negative interactions among students and intervene to establish classwide norms against this behavior.



MyEdLab

Application Exercise 3.1

In the Pearson etext, watch a classroom video. Then use the guidelines in "The Intentional Teacher" to answer a set of questions that will help you reflect on and understand the teaching and learning presented in the video.

THEORY INTO PRACTICE

Preventing Adolescents' Problems

Not all adolescents experience serious problems, but among those who are at risk, it is far better to prevent problems before they arise. Many programs have demonstrated success with a wide range of problem behaviors by embedding preventive strategies into the regular curriculum. For example, a number of programs have reduced high-risk behaviors by introducing "life skills training," focusing on skills such as making good decisions and resisting peer pressure (Stipek, de la Sota, & Weishaupt, 1999); others focus on building norms of cooperation, altruism, and social responsibility (Battistich, Watson, Solomon, Lewis, & Schaps, 1999). Involving community agencies to engage children in prosocial behaviors is another frequently recommended practice (Kidron & Fleischman, 2006). Comprehensive whole-school reform models can have an impact on high-risk behaviors, especially truancy and dropping out, in middle school (Balfanz & MacIver, 2000) and high school (Bottoms, Feagin, & Han, 2005; Darling-Hammond, Ancess, & Ort, 2002; McPartland, Balfanz, Jordan, & Legters, 2002; MDRC, 2013; Stiefel, Schwartz, & Wiswall, 2015).

InTASC 3

Learning Environments

Certification Pointer

On your teacher certification test, you may be asked about the impact of students' physical, social, emotional, moral, and cognitive development on their learning.

2003). Just as many adolescents engage in delinquent behavior to try to establish their independence from adult control, adolescent females often engage in sex, and in many cases have children, to force the world to see them as adults. Because early childbearing makes it difficult for adolescent females to continue their schooling or get jobs, it is a primary cause of the continuation of the cycle of poverty into which many adolescent mothers were themselves born. Of course, the other side of teen pregnancy is teen fatherhood. Teen fathers also suffer behavioral and academic problems in school. Many programs intended to delay intercourse and reduce pregnancy exist. Research on these programs finds that sex education programs that emphasize both abstinence and the use of condoms and other birth control methods are more effective than those that emphasize abstinence only (Card & Benner, 2008).

Risk of Sexually Transmitted Diseases Compounding the traditional risks of early sexual activity is the rise in AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. AIDS is still rare during the adolescent years (National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, 2002). However, because full-blown AIDS can take 10 years to appear, unprotected sex, needle sharing, and other high-risk behaviors among teens contribute to the high rates of AIDS among young adults. The appearance of AIDS has made the need for early, explicit sex education a critical, potentially life-or-death matter. However, knowledge alone is not enough; sexually active adolescents must have access to condoms and realistic, psychologically sophisticated inducements to use them.

Sexual Identity It is during adolescence that people begin to explore their sexual identity, including young people who begin to identify with a gay or lesbian orientation. Gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgendered adolescents can experience great stress and difficulties with their parents (Robinson & Espelage, 2011). They can especially have problems with peers, who might have strong norms against homosexuality and may engage in taunting, rejection, or even violent behavior toward gay or lesbian peers (GLSEN, 2009). Teachers need to model acceptance of gay and lesbian students and strictly enforce school rules forbidding disrespect toward anyone, gay or straight (Koppelman & Goodhart, 2008).

MyEdLab **Self-Check 3.2**

SUMMARY

What Are Some Views of Personal and Social Development?

Erikson proposed eight stages of psychosocial development, each dominated by a particular psychosocial crisis precipitated through interaction with the social environment. In Stage I, trust versus mistrust, the goal is to develop a sense of trust through interaction with caretakers. In Stage II,

autonomy versus doubt (18 months to age 3), children have a dual desire to hold on and to let go. In Stage III, initiative versus guilt (3 to 6 years of age), children elaborate their sense of self through exploration of the environment. Children enter school during Stage IV, industry versus inferiority (6 to 12 years of age), when academic success or failure is central. In Stage V, identity versus role confusion (12 to 18 years), adolescents turn increasingly to their peer group and begin their searches for partners and careers. Adulthood brings Stage VI (intimacy versus isolation), Stage VII (generativity versus self-absorption), and Stage VIII (integrity versus despair).

What Are Some Views of Moral Development?

According to Piaget, children develop heteronomous morality (obedience to authority through moral realism) by around age 6 and later advance to autonomous morality (rational morality based on moral principles). Kohlberg's stages of moral reasoning reflect children's responses to moral dilemmas. In Stages 1 and 2 (the preconventional level), children obey rules set down by others while maximizing self-interest. In Stages 3 and 4 (the conventional level), the individual adopts rules, believes in law and order, and seeks the approval of others. In Stages 5 and 6 (the postconventional level), people define their own values in terms of abstract ethical principles they have chosen to follow.

How Do Children Develop Socially and Emotionally?

During the Preschool Years

Socioemotional development in early childhood can be partly described in terms of Erikson's psychosocial stage of initiative versus guilt. Peer relationships help children overcome the egocentrism that Piaget described as characteristic of preoperational thinking. Prosocial behavior includes caring, sharing, comforting, and cooperating. Parten identified four categories of play—solitary, parallel, associative, and cooperative—that reflect increasing levels of social interaction and sophistication. Play hones children's linguistic, cognitive, social, and creative skills.

During the Elementary Years

In middle childhood, children may be seen as resolving the psychosocial crisis that Erikson described as industry versus inferiority. School becomes a major influence on development, a place where the child develops a public self, builds social skills, and establishes self-esteem on the basis of academic and nonacademic competencies. In preadolescence, between ages 9 and 12, conformity in peer relations, mixed-sex peer groupings, and challenges to adult authority become more important.

During the Middle School and High School Years

Adolescents may be seen as resolving Erikson's psychosocial crisis of identity versus role confusion. They pay attention to how other people view them, search the past, experiment with roles, act on feelings and beliefs, and gradually seek greater autonomy and intimacy in peer relations. Foreclosure occurs when the individual chooses a role prematurely, but by late adolescence, most individuals have developed a state of identity achievement. Many factors, such as dropping out, substance abuse, and AIDS, place adolescents at risk.

KEY TERMS

Review the following key terms from the chapter.

associative play 52
autonomous morality 49
conventional level of morality 50
cooperative play 52
foreclosure 57
heteronomous morality 49
identity achievement 57
identity diffusion 57
moral dilemmas 49
moratorium 57
parallel play 52
peers 52
postconventional level of morality 50
preconventional level of morality 50
prosocial behaviors 52
psychosocial crisis 46
psychosocial theory 45
puberty 58
reflectivity 57
self-concept 53
self-esteem 53
social comparison 53
solitary play 52

SELF-ASSESSMENT: PRACTICING FOR LICENSURE

Directions: The chapter-opening vignette addresses indicators that are often assessed in state licensure exams. Reread the chapter-opening vignette, and then respond to the following questions.

1. As noted in the interaction between Sam and Billy, there are enormous differences between students several years apart. According to the information presented in the chapter, which of the following behaviors is more likely to be exhibited by Billy than by Sam?
   a. Obey parents
   b. Conform to peer demands
   c. Assert independence
   d. Be idealistic
2. According to the information presented in the chapter, which of the following behaviors is more likely to be exhibited by Sam than by Billy?
   a. Follow simple rules
   b. Defy convention
   c. Expect punishment for disobedience
   d. Be dependent on parents
3. Typically, a young child's social life evolves in relatively predictable ways. The social network grows from an intimate relationship with parents or other guardians to relationships with
   a. nonrelated adults, peers, and then other family members.
   b. peers, nonrelated adults, and then other family members.
   c. other family members, peers, and then nonrelated adults.
   d. other family members, nonrelated adults, and then peers.
4. For students like Sam Stevens, who is entering the stage of what Piaget terms "formal operations," which of the following instructional strategies would be considered developmentally appropriate?
   a. Teach Sam to hear specific sounds as he reads (phonemic awareness).
   b. Allow Sam to invent spellings by making judgments about sounds and by relating the sounds to the letters he knows.
   c. Help Sam to resolve the personality crisis of initiative versus guilt.
   d. Require Sam to write assignments that require debate (argue pro or con on an issue).
5. One of the first signs of early adolescence is the appearance of reflectivity. What is this?
   a. A return to egocentric thought
   b. The development of initiative
   c. The ability to think about one's own mind
   d. Joining others in working toward a common goal
6. Design a lesson that would be considered developmentally appropriate for someone Billy's age. Explain why you believe it would be appropriate.
7. Design a lesson that would be considered developmentally appropriate for someone Sam's age. Explain why you believe it would be appropriate.
8. One of the most serious problems of adolescence is delinquency. Delinquents are usually
   a. high achievers who turn to delinquency out of boredom.
   b. socially adept at leading others into crime.
   c. low achievers who feel they can't succeed in school.
   d. late-maturing adolescents.
9. According to Kohlberg's theory of moral development, how can a teacher help her third-graders move past their belief that "rules are rules with no exceptions"?
   a. Challenge the students' reasoning with explanations from the next higher stage.
   b. Discuss moral dilemmas.
   c. Read books to the class about moral behavior.
   d. Ask each student to write a story about someone who did not follow the rules.

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