Child Developmental Psychology Course Notes

Child Developmental Psychology – Week 1 – Lecture and Tutorial Notes

Lecture Notes – Introduction

Unit Learning Outcomes

- On successful completion of this unit students can:
  - 1. Differentiate biological, psychological and socio-cultural explanations for child and adolescent behaviour.
  - 2. Critically evaluate competing theoretical models in child and adolescent development.
  - 3. Compare theoretical accounts of specific development processes to identify gaps in the research literature.
  - 4. Incorporate and synthesise information on child and adolescent development via library based resources.
  - 5. Communicate research using appropriate APA conventions.

Lecture Outline

- 1. Basics:
  - A. What is child development psychology?
  - B. What are some of the basic issues in child development research?
- 2. Major theories in child development research.
- 3. Research methods used to study child development.

What is Child Developmental Psychology?

- Child developmental psychology is:
  - …an area concerned with describing what aspects of a person's behaviour change and what aspects remain constant, as that person ages.
  - …an area concerned with understanding why those changes and constancies occur.
  - …an area that studies constancy and change from conception through adolescence.
- The maturation process (biological) and learning process combine to influence development.

The Domains of Development

Domain	Constancy or Changes In
Physical	- Body size and proportions, appearance - Functioning of body systems, health - Perceptual and motor capacities
Cognitive	- Intellectual abilities (e.g. attention, memory, language)
Emotional and Social	- Emotional communication - Self-understanding, knowledge about others - Interpersonal skills and relationships - Moral reasoning

- Each domain influences, and is influenced, by changes in each other domain. For example, new motor capacities (e.g., walking) contribute greatly to infant's understanding of the surroundings.

The Periods of Development

- Prenatal: conception to birth.
- Infancy and toddlerhood: birth to 2 years.
- Early childhood: 2 to 6 years.
- Middle childhood: 6 to 11 years.
- Adolescence: 11 to 18 years.

Basic Issues in Child Developmental Psychology

- 1. Theory:
  - An orderly, integrated set of statements that:
    - describes behaviour
    - explains behaviour
    - predicts behaviour.

- 1. Is development continuous or discontinuous?
- 2. Is there one course of development or many possible courses?
- 3. What is the relative influence of nature and nurture?
- 4. Are descriptions/theories of development universal or culturally bound?

1. Continuous v Discontinuous

- If continuous, differences between behaviours at age periods are in terms of the amount of complexity, e.g. height.
- If discontinuous, development occurs in stages. New ways of understanding and responding to the world emerge at specific times.

2. One Course of Development?

- Stage theorists assume that everyone follows the same sequence (i.e., course) of development.
- But, many researchers say unique combinations of personal and environmental contexts result in infinite idiosyncratic paths of development.
    - A shy child develops in very different environmental contexts compared to a child more outgoing.
    - Children in traditional (vs. industrialised) societies are embedded in cultural contexts that differ sharply from those from Western societies, for example in terms of family relations.

3. Nature v Nurture

- Nature
    - Based on genetic inheritance received from parents at the moment of conception.
    - Emphasis on stability – for example, some theories argue that children who are high in a characteristic (e.g., shyness) will remain so at later ages.
- Nurture
    - Focus on all environmental influences after conception and how they influence biological and psychological development.
    - Emphasis on plasticity-development process is open to change in response to influential experiences.
- Relative influence of nature and nurture?
    - 1. The nature-nurture controversy asks whether genetic or environmental factors are more important as underlying causes of development.
    - 2. All theories grant roles to both nature and nurture, but they vary in emphasis.
    - 3. Theorists who emphasise stability typically stress the importance of heredity and early experiences.
    - 4. Other theorists see development as having substantial plasticity throughout life.

4. Universal vs Culture-Specific?

- Fact: the vast majority of child development research has involved researchers and participants from Western cultures.
- Main problem is making assumptions about development based on the Western culture.
- Can address this problem by studying development in different cultures and comparing similarities and differences between cultures to create frameworks/theories.

Major Theories in Child Psychology

- Psychoanalytic theories.
    - Freud's psychosexual theory.
    - Erikson's psychosocial theory.
- Learning theories.
    - Behaviourism.
    - Bandura's social learning theory.
- Piaget's cognitive-developmental theory.
- Brofenbrenner's bioecological theory.

Freud's Psychosexual Theory

- Children confront conflicts between biological drives and social expectations, and how these conflicts are resolved shapes personality.
- Freud theorised that children go through a sequence of 5 stages with sexual impulses shifting their focus. At each stage, parents walk a fine line between permitting too much or too little gratification of the sexual impulses.

- Freud's psychosexual stages of development:
  - Oral (0-2): infant achieves gratification through oral activities such as feeding, thumb sucking and babbling.
  - Anal (2-3): the child learns to respond to some of the demands of society (such as bowel and bladder control).
  - Phallic (3-7): the child learns to realise the differences between males and females and becomes aware of sexuality.
  - Latency (7-11): the child continues his or her development but sexual urges are relatively quiet.
  - Genital (11-adult): the growing adolescent shakes off old dependencies and learns to deal maturely with the opposite sex.
- Personality divided into 3 parts:
  - Id: the largest portion of the mind and is the source of basic biological needs and desires.
  - Ego: emerges in early childhood to redirect the id's impulses in acceptable ways.
  - Superego: emerges between 3-6 years of age and develops through interactions with parents and society.

Erikson's Psychosocial Theory

- In addition to mediating between id impulses and superego demands, ego makes a positive contribution to development, acquiring attitudes and skills that make the individual an active, contributing member of society.
  - Example: an infant develops sense of trust by successfully navigating the first year of life.
- One of the first to theorise lifespan (i.e., beyond childhood) nature of development.
- Considered culture and society/environment.

Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development

Stage (approximate age)	Issue	Description of Task
Infancy (to 1 year)	Trust vs. mistrust	If needs are dependably met, infants develop a sense of basic trust.
Toddlerhood (1 to 3 years)	Autonomy vs. shame and doubt	Toddlers learn to exercise their will and do things for themselves, or they doubt their abilities.
Preschool (3 to 6 years)	Initiative vs. guilt	Preschoolers learn to initiate tasks and carry out plans, or they feel guilty about their efforts to be independent.
Elementary school (6 years to puberty)	Industry vs. inferiority	Children learn the pleasure of applying themselves to tasks, or they feel inferior.
Adolescence (teen years into 20s)	Identity vs. role confusion	Teenagers work at refining a sense of self by testing roles and then integrating them to form a single identity, or they become confused about who they are.
Young adulthood (20s to early 40s)	Intimacy vs. isolation	Young adults struggle to form close relationships and to gain the capacity for intimate love, or they feel socially isolated.
Middle adulthood (40s to 60s)	Generativity vs. stagnation	In middle age, people discover a sense of contributing to the world, usually through family and work, or they may feel a lack of purpose.
Late adulthood (late 60s and up)	Integrity vs. despair	Reflecting on his or her life, an older adult may feel a sense of satisfaction or failure.

Learning Theories: Behaviourism

- John Locke viewed child as a tabula rasa, or blank slate. All aspects of child development are seen as shaped by experience with behaviours.
- Parents can shape the child in any way they wish through careful instruction, effective example, and reward for good behaviour.
- Natural science approach to psychology focusing on the effects of environmental inputs on behaviours and downplaying the importance of internal processes (e.g., feelings, thoughts).
- Pavlov, Watson, Skinner, etc.
- John Watson famous for this statement…
  - "Give me a dozen healthy infants, well-formed, and my own specialised world to bring them up in and I'll guarantee to take any one at random and train him to become any type of specialist I might select – doctor, lawyer, artist, merchant chief, and yes, even beggarman and thief, regardless of his talents, penchants, tendencies, abilities, vocations, and race."

- Watson's research showed how principles of classical conditioning can shape likes and dislikes of children.
- Watson taught Albert, an 11-month old infant, to fear a neutral stimulus – a fluffy white rabbit – by presenting it several times with loud GONG that elicits crying, resulting in the rabbit eliciting crying.

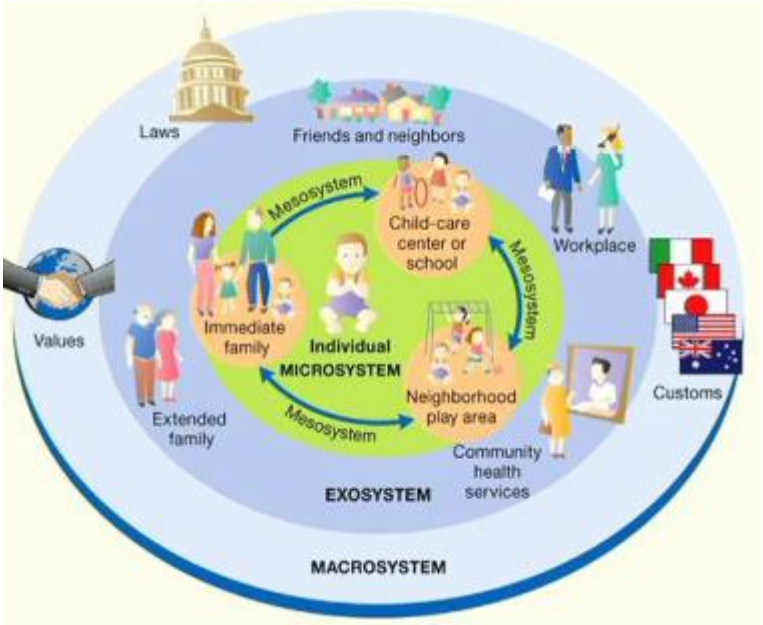
Learning Theories: Social Learning Theory
- The theory was proposed by Bandura.
- Much behaviour is learned in social contexts and by way of observing a model (e.g., parents, friends, movie character) that provides information about specific environments.
- Example: a child coming to understand how to operate a new toy by observing her friend. This was demonstrated in an experiment.

Bandura's Study on Observational Learning
- Three groups of children were tested, the groups differed only in the first part of the study. Children in one group watched an adult abuse a Bobo doll, for example, by slamming it with a mallet, kicking it, and yelling at it.
- Children in a second group watched adults play with Tinker-toys and ignore the Bobo doll.
- Children in a third group never saw a model (an adult) in the playroom.
- In the second part of the study, all the children played in a room with a variety of toys, including Bobo. Children in the first group tended to imitate what they had seen, mistreating the doll (and inventing new ways to abuse it) and being more aggressive with the other toys in the room.
- Children who observed the adult ignoring the Bobo doll were even less aggressive toward it than the control group!

Piaget's Cognitive Developmental Theory
- Children' thinking is full of faulty logic and new ways of thinking develop as they age.
- Children are constantly and actively updating knowledge about their world.
- As the brain develops and with greater experiences, children develop four qualitatively distinct ways of thinking.
- Believed development was a discontinuous process with distinct stages.

Piaget's Stages
- Sensorimotor stage: 0-2 years; the child begins to interact with the environment.
- Preoperational stage: 2-6 or 7 years; the child begins to represent the world symbolically.
- Concrete operational stage: 7-11 or 12 years; the child learns rules such as conservation.
- Formal operational stage: 12-adulthood; the adolescent can transcend the concrete situation and think about the future.

Bronfenbrenner Ecological Systems Theory
- A model that explicitly incorporates that fact that a child develops in a complex system of interrelated environments.
- Microsystem: activities/interactions in child's immediate environments. All relations are bidirectional (e.g., parenting affects child and child affects parenting).
- Meosystem: encompasses connections between microsystems. For example, a child's academic progress depends not just on classroom activities but also on parental involvement in school work.
- Ecosystem: social settings that exclude children but still influence development. For example, work settings that are supportive of child rearing.
- Macrosystem: outermost level of environment. Cultural values, laws, customs. Affects all other levels.



Comparing Child Developmental Theories
- Theories of child development can be distinguished by the domain of development on which they focus and by their differing points of view about the development process.

- Every theory has both strengths and limitations; an eclectic position, or blend of several theories, can take into account what each individual theory has contributed to our knowledge of children.

Scientific Research
- Hypothesis: prediction drawn directly from a theory.
- Research methods: activities of participants.
- Research designs: overall plans for research studies.

Research Methods: Measures
- Key decision 1: how to measure variables?
  - Observation (naturalistic or structured).
  - Interview or questionnaire (self- or other-report).
  - Standardised test.
  - Physiological and neurological assessment.
  - Case studies.

Research Methods: Experiment
- Key decision 2: research design.
  - Our confidence that Variable X causes Variable Y to change depends on our ruling out other reasons for Y changing.
  - Experiment provides the strongest evidence for cause-effect relations via random assignment of X.

Research Methods: Correlational Design
- 2 variables measured in each participant and the degree of association between variable values assessed (e.g., self-esteem and academic achievement).
- Just because 2 things correlate does not mean one caused the other, even if it seems intuitive. Why?
  - Directional issue: Rather than X causing Y, Y might cause X (e.g., self-esteem and academic achievement).
  - Third-variable issue: Both X and Y might be caused by Z.

Research Methods: Cross-Sectional Design
- Comparing children of different ages at the same point of time.
- Strength: able to efficiently capture age differences.
- Weakness:
  - Unable to examine individual differences in development.
  - Unable to tease apart age effect vs. cohort effect.
  - Example: imagine a study comparing children born in year 2003 and 2008. The difference between the two groups could be due to one group being older than another (age effect) or it could be due to children born in 2008 being exposed to different kinds of sociocultural environment than those born in 2003 (cohort effect).

Research Methods: Longitudinal Design
- Studying the same group of children repeatedly across multiple time points.
- Strength: able to reveal age-related differences as well as individual differences in development.
- Weakness:
  - Time-consuming and costly.
  - Participants may drop out non-randomly (an issue of selective attrition).
  - Generalisability of findings to other cohorts needs to be tested.

Growing Up in Australia
- The Longitudinal Study of Australian Children (LSAC) is a major study following the development of 10,000 children and families from all parts of Australia.
- The study commenced in 2004 with two cohorts – families with 4-5 year old children and families with 0-1 year old infants.
- *Growing Up in Australia* is investigating the contribution of children's social, economic and cultural environments to their adjustment and wellbeing.
- A major aim is to identify policy opportunities for improving support for children and their families and for early intervention and prevention strategies.

The Raine Study
- Commenced 1989, KEMH.
- 2900 women recruited to examine ultrasound imaging.
- Women assessed at 18, 24, 28, 34 and 38 weeks, then birth, 1, 2, 3, 4 & 5 years of age. Follows ups now been conducted at 10, 14, 17, 20 and 22 years of age.
- Example of key findings:
    - Multiple prenatal ultrasounds are not associated with an increased risk of autism.
    - High testosterone exposure before birth affects language development differently in boys and girls; acts as a risk factor in boys, protective in girls.
    - Maternal weight influences childhood mental health.

Research Methods: Sequential Design
- Combines longitudinal and cross-sectional designs. Recruit two or more age groups and collect data from them at multiple time points.
- Can reveal cohort effects. Effective in revealing age-related effect.
- Expensive to conduct and time-consuming.

- Levels of family harmony examined in 3 cohorts (born in 1985, 1986, and 1987) and each cohort was studied for 3 years from 1998-2000.
- Findings:
    - The level of family harmony declined with grade.
    - Similar levels of family harmony were observed across cohorts at the same grade.
    - 1 and 2 combined suggests the role of age-related changes while ruling out the cohort effect.

Tutorial Notes
Cross-Sectional, Longitudinal, and Sequential Research Designs – Strengths and Limitations

Design	Description	Strengths	Limitations
Longitudinal	The investigator studies the same group of participants repeatedly at different ages.	Permits study of common patterns and individual differences in development and relationships between early and later events and behaviours.	Age-related changes may be distorted because of biased sampling, selective attrition, practice effects, and cohort effects.
Cross-sectional	The investigator studies groups of participants differing in age at the same point in time.	More efficient than the longitudinal design.	Does not permit study of individual developmental trends. Age differences may be distorted because of cohort effects.
Sequential	The investigator follows a sequence of samples (two or more age groups), collecting data on them at the same points in time.	Permits both longitudinal and cross-sectional comparisons. Reveals cohort effects. Permits tracking of age-related changes more efficiently than the longitudinal design.	May have the same problems as longitudinal and cross-sectional strategies, but the design itself helps identify difficulties.

Child Developmental Psychology – Week 1 – Reading Notes

Chapter 1 – History, Theory and Research Strategies

- As you begin this course in child development, perhaps you, too, are wondering about some of the same questions that crossed our minds during our café conversation:
  - In what ways are children's home, school, and neighbourhood experiences the same today as they were in generations past, and in what ways are they different?
  - How are young children's perceptions of the world similar to adults', and how are they different?
  - What determines the features that humans have in common and those that make each of us unique – physically, mentally, and behaviourally?
  - How did Julio, transplanted at age 8 to a new culture, master its language and customs and succeed in its society, yet remain strongly identified with his ethnic community?
  - Why do some of us, like Kathryn and Rick, retain the same styles of responding that characterised us as children, whereas others, like Phil, change in essential ways?
  - How do cultural changes – employed mothers, child care, divorce, smaller families, and new technologies – affect children's characteristics?
- These are central questions addressed by **child development**, an area of study devoted to understanding constancy and change from conception through adolescence. Child development is part of a larger, interdisciplinary field known as **developmental science**, which includes all changes we experience throughout the lifespan. Great diversity characterises the interests and concerns of the thousands of investigators who study child development. But all have a common goal: to describe and identify those factors that influence the consistencies and changes in young people during the first two decades of life.

Chapter 1 – History, Theory and Research Strategies – The Field of Child Development

- The questions just listed are not just of scientific interest. Each has **applied**, or practical, importance as well. In fact, scientific curiosity is just one factor that led child development to become the exciting field of study it is today. Research about development has also been stimulated by social pressures to improve the lives of children. For example, the beginning of public education in the early twentieth century led to a demand for knowledge about what and how to teach children of different ages. Paediatricians' interest in improving children's health required an understanding of physical growth and nutrition. The social service profession's desire to treat children's emotional and behaviour problems and to help them cope with challenging life circumstances, such as the birth of a sibling, parental divorce, poverty, bullying in school, or the death of a loved one, required information about personality and social development. And parents have continually sought advice about child-rearing practices and experiences that would promote their children's development and well-being.
- Our large storehouse of information about child development is **interdisciplinary**. It has grown through the combined efforts of people from many fields. Because of the need to solve everyday problems concerning children, researchers from psychology, sociology, anthropology, biology, and neuroscience have joined forces with professionals from education, family studies, medicine, public health, and social service, to name just a few. Together, they have created the field of child development as it exists today - a body of knowledge that is not just scientifically important but also relevant and useful.

Domains of Development

- To make the vast, interdisciplinary study of human constancy and change more orderly and convenient, development is often divided into three broad domains: **physical**, **cognitive**, and **emotional and social**. Within each period from infancy through adolescence, we will consider the three domains in the order just mentioned. Yet the domains are not really distinct. Rather, they combine in an integrated, holistic fashion to yield the living, growing child. Furthermore, each domain influences and is influenced by the others. For example, new motor capacities, such as reaching, sitting, crawling, and walking (physical), contribute greatly to infants' understanding of their surroundings (cognitive). When babies think and act more competently, adults stimulate them more with games, language, and expressions of delight at their new achievements (emotional and social). These enriched experiences, in turn, promote all aspects of development.
- **Physical development:** changes in body size, proportions, appearance, functioning of body systems, perceptual and motor capacities, and physical health.
- **Cognitive development:** changes in intellectual abilities, including attention, memory, academic and everyday knowledge, problem solving, imagination, creativity, and language.

- **Emotional and social development:** changes in emotional communication, self-understanding, knowledge about other people, interpersonal skills, friendships, intimate relationships, and moral reasoning and behaviour.

Periods of Development

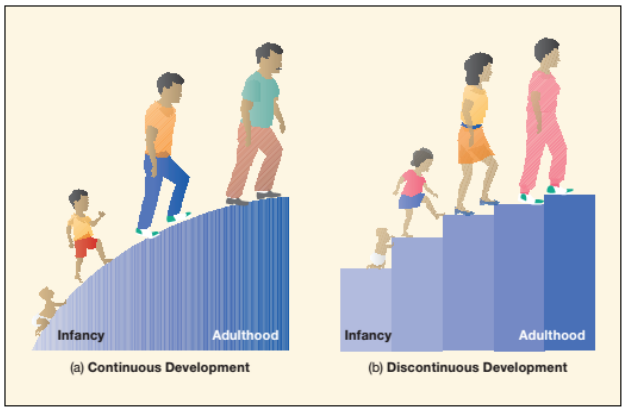
- Besides distinguishing and integrating the three domains, another dilemma arises in discussing development: how to divide the flow of time into sensible, manageable parts. Researchers usually use the following age periods, according to which we have organised this book. Each brings new capacities and social expectations that serve as important transitions in major theories:
  - **The prenatal period: from conception to birth**. In this nine-month period, the most rapid time of change, a one-celled organism is transformed into a human baby with remarkable capacities for adjusting to life in the surrounding world.
  - **Infancy and toddlerhood: from birth to 2 years**. This period brings dramatic changes in the body and brain that support the emergence of a wide array of motor, perceptual, and intellectual capacities; the beginnings of language; and first intimate ties to others. Infancy spans the first year; toddlerhood spans the second, during which children take their first independent steps, marking a shift to greater autonomy.
  - **Early childhood: from 2 to 6 years**. The body becomes longer and leaner, motor skills are refined, and children become more self-controlled and self-sufficient. Make-believe play blossoms, reflecting and supporting many aspects of psychological development. Thought and language expand at an astounding pace, a sense of morality becomes evident, and children establish ties with peers.
  - **Middle childhood: from 6 to 11 years**. Children learn about the wider world and master new responsibilities that increasingly resemble those they will perform as adults. Hallmarks of this period are improved athletic abilities; participation in organised games with rules; more logical thought processes; mastery of fundamental reading, writing, math, and other academic knowledge and skills; and advances in understanding the self, morality, and friendship.
  - **Adolescence: from 11 to 18 years**. This period initiates the transition to adulthood. Puberty leads to an adult-sized body and sexual maturity. Thought becomes increasingly complex, abstract, and idealistic, and schooling is directed toward preparation for higher education and the world of work. Young people begin to establish autonomy from the family and to define personal values and goals.
- For many contemporary youths in industrialised nations, the transition to adult roles has become increasingly prolonged – so much so that some researchers have posited a new period of development called **emerging adulthood**, extending from age 18 to the mid- to late-twenties. Although emerging adults have moved beyond adolescence, they have not yet fully assumed adult roles. Rather, during higher education and sometimes beyond, these young people intensify their exploration of options in love, career, and personal values before making enduring commitments. Because emerging adulthood first became apparent during the past few decades, researchers have just begun to study it. Perhaps it is *your* period of development.
- With this introduction in mind, let's turn to some basic issues that have captivated, puzzled, and sparked debate among child development theorists. Then our discussion will trace the emergence of the field and survey major theories. We will return to each contemporary theory in greater detail in later chapters.

Chapter 1 – History, Theory and Research Strategies – Basic Issues

- Research on child development did not begin until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But ideas about how children grow and change have a much longer history. As these speculations combined with research, they inspired the construction of *theories* of development. A **theory** is an orderly, integrated set of statements that describes, explains, and predicts behaviour. For example, a good theory of infant–caregiver attachment would (1) *describe* the behaviours of babies around 6 to 8 months of age as they seek the affection and comfort of a familiar adult, (2) *explain* how and why infants develop this strong desire to bond with a caregiver, and (3) *predict* the consequences of this emotional bond for future relationships.
- Theories are vital tools for two reasons. First, they provide organising frameworks for our observations of children. In other words, they *guide and give meaning* to what we see. Second, theories that are verified by research often serve as a sound basis for practical action. Once a theory helps us *understand* development, we are in a much better position *to know how to improve* the welfare and treatment of children.
- As we will see later, theories are influenced by the cultural values and belief systems of their times. But theories differ in one important way from mere opinion or belief: A theory's continued existence depends on *scientific verification*. Every theory must be tested using a fair set of research procedures agreed on by the scientific community, and its findings must endure, or be replicated over time.

- Within the field of child development, many theories offer very different ideas about what children are like and how they change. The study of child development provides no ultimate truth because investigators do not always agree on the meaning of what they see. Also, children are complex beings; they change physically, cognitively, emotionally, and socially. No single theory has explained all these aspects. But the existence of many theories helps advance knowledge because researchers are continually trying to support, contradict, and integrate these different points of view.
- Although there are many theories, we can easily organise them by looking at the stand they take on three basic issues: (1) Is the course of development continuous or discontinuous? (2) Does one course of development characterise all children, or are there many possible courses? (3) What are the roles of genetic and environmental factors – nature and nurture – in development? Let's look closely at each of these issues.

Continuous or Discontinuous Development?



- A mother reported with amazement that her 20-month-old son Angelo had pushed a toy car across the living room floor while making a motorlike sound, "Brmmmm, brmmmm," for the first time. When he hit a nearby wall with a bang, Angelo let go of the car, exclaimed, "C'ash!" and laughed heartily.
    - "How come Angelo can pretend, but he couldn't a few months ago?" his mother asked. "And I wonder what 'Brmmmm, brmmmm' and 'Crash!' mean to Angelo. Does he understand motorlike sounds and collision the same way I do?"
- Angelo's mother has raised a puzzling issue about development: How can we best describe the differences in capacities and behaviour among small infants, young children, adolescents, and adults? Most major theories recognise two possibilities.
- One view holds that infants and preschoolers respond to the world in much the same way as adults do. The difference between the immature and the mature being is simply one of *amount* or *complexity*. For example, little Angelo's thinking may be just as logical and well-organised as our own. Perhaps (as his mother reports) he can sort objects into simple categories, recognise whether he has more of one kind than of another, and remember where he left his favourite toy at child care the week before. Angelo's only limitation may be that he cannot perform these skills with as much information and precision as we can. If this is so, then Angelo's development is **continuous** – a process of gradually adding more of the same types of skills that were there to begin with.
- According to a second view, Angelo's thoughts, emotions, and behaviour differ considerably from those of adults. His development is **discontinuous** – a process in which new ways of understanding and responding to the world emerge at specific times. From this perspective, Angelo is not yet able to organise objects or remember and interpret experiences as we do. Instead, he will move through a series of developmental steps, each with unique features, until he reaches the highest level of functioning.
- Theories that accept the discontinuous perspective regard development as taking place in **stages** – qualitative changes in thinking, feeling, and behaving that characterise specific periods of development. In stage theories, development is much like climbing a staircase, with each step corresponding to a more mature, reorganised way of functioning. The stage concept also assumes that children undergo periods of rapid transformation as they step up from one stage to the next, alternating with plateaus during which they stand solidly within a stage. In other words, change is fairly sudden rather than gradual and ongoing.
- Does development actually occur in a neat, orderly sequence of stages? This ambitious assumption has faced significant challenges. Later in this chapter, we will review some influential stage theories.

One Course of Development or Many?

- Stage theorists assume that people everywhere follow the same sequence of development. For example, in the domain of cognition, a stage theorist might try to identify the common influences that lead children to represent their world through language and make-believe play in early childhood, to think more logically and systematically in middle childhood, and to reason more systematically and abstractly in adolescence.
- At the same time, the field of child development is becoming increasingly aware that children grow up in distinct **contexts** – unique combinations of personal and environmental circumstances that can result in different paths of change. For example, a shy child who fears social encounters develops in very different contexts from those of an outgoing agemate who readily seeks out other people. Children in non-Western village societies have experiences in