Unit IX

Developmental Psychology

Modules

Life is a journey, from womb to tomb. So it is for me, and so it will be for you. My story, and yours, began when a man and a woman together contributed 20,000+ genes to an egg that became a unique person. Those genes coded the protein building blocks that, with astonishing precision, formed our bodies and predisposed our traits. My grandmother bequeathed to my mother a rare hearing loss pattern, which she, in turn, gave to me (the least of her gifts). My father was an amiable extravert, and sometimes I forget to stop talking. As a child, my talking was impeded by painful stuttering, for which Seattle Public Schools gave me speech therapy.

Along with my parents' nature, I also received their nurture. Like you, I was born into a particular family and culture, with its own way of viewing the world. My values have been shaped by a family culture filled with talking and laughter, by

a religious culture that speaks of love and justice, and by an academic culture that encourages critical thinking (asking, What do you mean? How do you know?).

We are formed by our genes, and by our contexts, so our stories will differ. But in many ways we are each like nearly everyone else on Earth. Being human, you and I have a need to belong. My mental video library, which began after age 4, is filled with scenes of social attachment. Over time, my attachments to parents loosened as peer friendships grew. After lacking confidence to date in high school, I fell in love with a college classmate and married at age 20. Natural selection disposes us to survive and perpetuate our genes. Sure enough, two years later a child entered our lives, and I experienced a new form of love that surprised me with its intensity.

But life is marked by change. That child now lives 2000 miles away, and one of his two siblings has found her calling in South Africa. The tight rubber bands linking parent and child have loosened, as yours likely have as well.

Change also marks most vocational lives, which for me transitioned from a teen working in the family insurance agency, to a premed chemistry major and hospital aide, to (after discarding my half-completed medical school applications) a psychology professor and author. I predict that in 10 years you, too, will be doing things you do not currently anticipate.

Stability also marks our development: We experience a continuous self. When I look in the mirror, I do not see the person I once was, but I feel like the person I have always been. I am the same person who, as a late teen, played basketball and discovered love. A half-century later, I still play basketball and still love (with less passion but more security) the life partner with whom I have shared life's griefs and joys.

Continuity morphs through stages—growing up, raising children, enjoying a career, and, eventually, life's final stage, which will demand my presence. As I wend my way through this cycle of life and death, I am mindful that life is a journey, a continuing process of development, seeded by nature and shaped by nurture, animated by love and focused by work, begun with wide-eyed curiosity and completed, for those blessed to live to a good old age, with peace and never-ending hope.

Module 45

Developmental Issues, Prenatal Development, and the Newborn


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Module Learning Objectives

45-1 Identify three issues that have engaged developmental psychologists.

45-2 Discuss the course of prenatal development, and explain how teratogens affect that development.

45-3 Describe some abilities of the newborn, noting how researchers are able to identify their mental abilities.

developmental psychology a branch of psychology that studies physical, cognitive, and social change throughout the life span.

AP® Exam Tip

All three of these issues are important for development. Nature and nurture, of course, weaves its way through almost every module. It is one of the topics most likely to be on the AP® exam.

"Nature is all that a man brings with him into the world; nurture is every influence that affects him after his birth." -Francis Galton, *English Men of Science*, 1874

Developmental Psychology's Major Issues

45-1 What three issues have engaged developmental psychologists?

Developmental psychology examines our physical, cognitive, and social development across the life span, with a focus on three major issues:

1. *Nature and nurture:* How does our genetic inheritance (our *nature)* interact with our experiences (our *nurture*) to influence our development?
2. *Continuity and stages:* What parts of development are gradual and continuous, like riding an escalator? What parts change abruptly in separate stages, like climbing rungs on a ladder?
3. *Stability and change:* Which of our traits persist through life? How do we change as we age?

Let's reflect now on these three development issues.

Nature and Nurture

The gene combination created when our mother's egg engulfed our father's sperm helped form us, as individuals. Genes predispose both our shared humanity and our individual differences.

But it is also true that our experiences form us. In the womb, in our families, and in our peer social relationships, we learn ways of thinking and acting. Even differences initiated by our nature may be amplified by our nurture. We are not formed by either nature or nurture, but by their interrelationships—their *interaction*. Biological, psychological, and social-cultural forces interact.

Mindful of how others differ from us, however, we often fail to notice the similarities stemming from our shared biology. Regardless of our culture, we humans share the same life cycle. We speak to our infants in similar ways and respond similarly to their coos and cries (Bornstein et al., 1992a,b). All over the world, the children of warm and supportive parents feel better about themselves and are less hostile than are the children of punishing and rejecting parents (Rohner, 1986; Scott et al., 1991). Although ethnic groups differ in school achievement and delinquency, the differences are "no more than skin deep." To the extent that family structure, peer influences, and parental education predict behavior in one of these ethnic groups, they do so for the others as well. Compared with the person-to-person differences within groups, the differences between groups are small.

Stages of the life cycle

Continuity and Stages

Do adults differ from infants as a giant redwood differs from its seedling—a difference created by gradual, cumulative growth? Or do they differ as a butterfly differs from a caterpillar—a difference of distinct stages?

Generally speaking, researchers who emphasize experience and learning see development as a slow, continuous shaping process. Those who emphasize biological maturation tend to see development as a sequence of genetically predisposed stages or steps: Although progress through the various stages may be quick or slow, everyone passes through the stages in the same order.

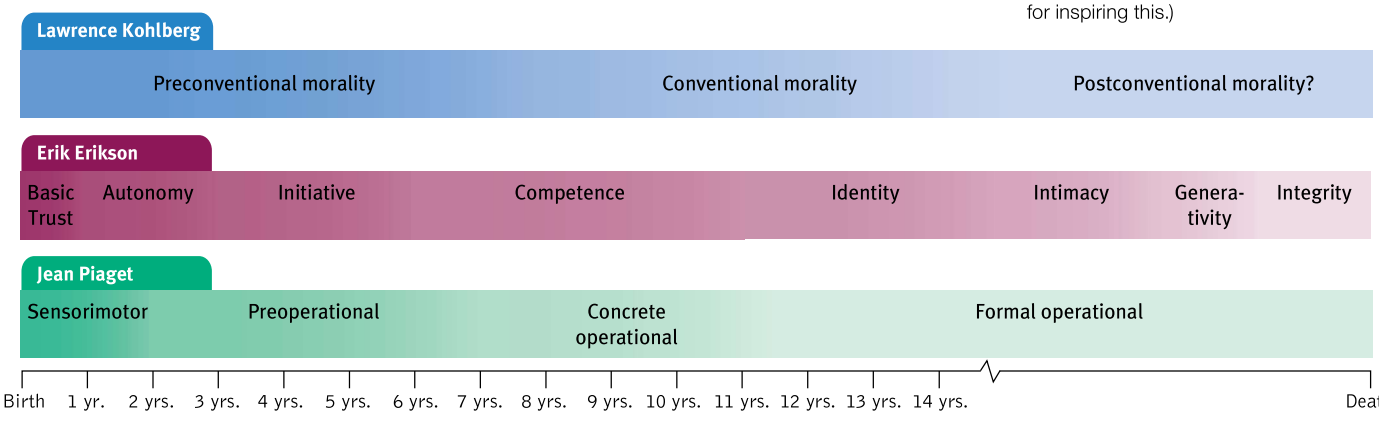
Are there clear-cut stages of psychological development, as there are physical stages such as walking before running? The stage theories of Jean Piaget on cognitive development, Lawrence Kohlberg on moral development, and Erik Erikson on psychosocial development propose that such stages do exist (as summarized in **FIGURE 45.1**). But some research casts doubt on the idea that life proceeds through neatly defined, age-linked stages. Young children have some abilities Piaget attributed to later stages. Kohlberg's work reflected a worldview characteristic of individualist cultures and emphasized thinking over acting. And adult life does not progress through a fixed, predictable series of steps. Chance events can influence us in ways we would never have predicted.

Nevertheless, the concept of *stage* remains useful. The human brain does experience growth spurts during childhood and puberty that correspond roughly to Piaget's stages (Thatcher et al., 1987). And stage theories contribute a developmental perspective on the whole life span, by suggesting how people of one age think and act differently when they arrive at a later age.

FYI

Another stage theory, Sigmund Freud's ideas about how personality develops, is discussed in Unit X.

Figure 45.1
Comparing the stage theories (With thanks to Dr. Sandra Gibbs, Muskegon Community College, for inspiring this.)



Stability and Change

As we follow lives through time, do we find more evidence for stability or change? If reunited with a long-lost grade-school friend, do we instantly realize that "it's the same old Andy"? Or do people we befriend during one period of life seem like strangers at a later period? (At least one acquaintance of mine would choose the second option. He failed to recognize a former classmate at his 40-year college reunion. The aghast classmate pointed out that she was his long-ago first wife.)

Research reveals that we experience both stability and change. Some of our characteristics, such as *temperament* (our emotional reactivity and intensity), are very stable:

- One study followed 1000 3-year-old New Zealanders through time. It found that preschoolers who were low in conscientiousness and self-control were more vulnerable to ill health, substance abuse, arrest, and single parenthood by age 32 (Moffitt et al., 2011).
- Another study found that hyperactive, inattentive 5-year-olds required more teacher effort at age 12 (Houts et al., 2010).
- Another research team interviewed adults who, 40 years earlier, had their talkativeness, impulsiveness, and humility rated by their elementary school teachers (Nave et al., 2010). To a striking extent, the personalities persisted.

Smiles predict marital stability
In one study of 306 college alums, one in four with yearbook expressions like the one on the left later divorced, as did only 1 in 20 with smiles like the one on the right (Hertenstein et al., 2009).


Tom Prokop/Shutterstock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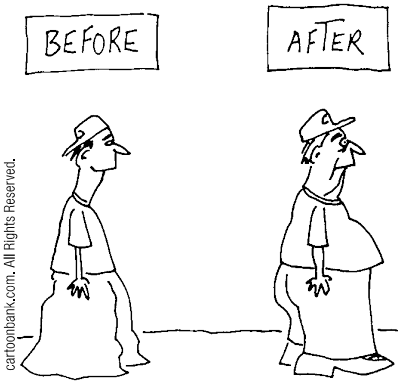
"At 70, I would say the advantage is that you take life more calmly. You know that 'this, too, shall pass'!" -Eleanor Roosevelt, 1954

"As at 7, so at 70," says a Jewish proverb. The widest smilers in childhood and college photos are, years later, the ones most likely to enjoy enduring marriages (Hertenstein et al., 2009). While one in four of the weakest college smilers eventually divorced, only 1 in 20 of the widest smilers did so. As people grow older, personality gradually stabilizes (Ferguson, 2010; Hopwood et al., 2011; Kandler et al., 2010). The struggles of the present may be laying a foundation for a happier tomorrow.

We cannot, however, predict all of our eventual traits based on our early years of life (Kagan et al., 1978, 1998). Some traits, such as social attitudes, are much less stable than temperament, especially during the impressionable late adolescent years (Krosnick & Alwin, 1989; Moss & Susman, 1980). Older children and adolescents learn new ways of coping. Although delinquent children have elevated rates of later work problems, substance abuse, and crime, many confused and troubled children blossom into mature, successful adults (Moffitt et al., 2002; Roberts et al., 2001; Thomas & Chess, 1986). Happily for them, life is a process of becoming.

In some ways, we *all* change with age. Most shy, fearful toddlers begin opening up by age 4, and most people become more conscientious, stable, agreeable, and self-confident in the years after adolescence (Lucas & Donnellan, 2009; Roberts et al., 2003, 2006, 2008; Shaw et al., 2010). Many irresponsible 16-year-olds have matured into 40-year-old business or cultural leaders. (If you are the former, you aren't done yet.) Such changes can occur without changing a person's position *relative to others* of the same age. The hard-driving young adult may mellow by later life, yet still be a relatively driven senior citizen.

Life requires *both* stability and change. Stability provides our identity. It enables us to depend on others and be concerned about the healthy development of the children in our lives. Our trust in our ability to change gives us our hope for a brighter future. It motivates our concerns about present influences and lets us adapt and grow with experience.



As adults grow older, there is continuity of self.

Before You Move On

ASK YOURSELF

Are you the same person you were as a preschooler? As an 8-year-old? As a 12-year-old? How are you different? How are you the same?

TEST YOURSELF

What findings in psychology support the concept of stages in development and the idea of stability in personality across the life span? What findings challenge these ideas?

Answers to the Test Yourself questions can be found in Appendix E at the end of the book.

AP® Exam Tip

Almost every topic in psychology holds personal relevance, but development stands out. As you work your way through this unit, think of how the material relates to you, your relatives, and your friends. The more often you do this, the easier it will be to remember the material.

Prenatal Development and the Newborn

45-2 What is the course of prenatal development, and how do teratogens affect that development?

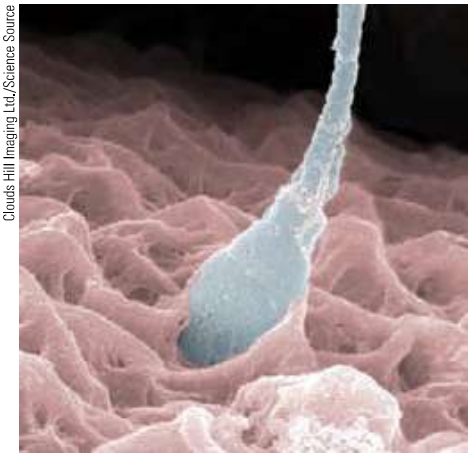
Conception

Nothing is more natural than a species reproducing itself. And nothing is more wondrous. With humans, the process starts when a woman's ovary releases a mature egg—a cell roughly the size of the period at the end of this sentence. The woman was born with all the immature eggs she would ever have, although only 1 in 5000 will ever mature and be released. A man, in contrast, begins producing sperm cells at puberty. For the rest of his life, 24 hours a day, he will be a nonstop sperm factory, with the rate of production—in the beginning more than 1000 sperm during the second it takes to read this phrase—slowing with age.

Like space voyagers approaching a huge planet, the 200 million or more deposited sperm begin their race upstream, approaching a cell 85,000 times their own size. The relatively few reaching the egg release digestive enzymes that eat away its protective coating (**FIGURE 45.2a**). As soon as one sperm penetrates that coating and is welcomed in (Figure 45.2b), the egg's surface blocks out the others. Before half a day elapses, the egg nucleus and the sperm nucleus fuse. The two have become one. Consider it your

Eye of Science/Science Source

(a)



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(b)

Figure 45.2
Life is sexually transmitted
(a) Sperm cells surround an egg. (b) As one sperm penetrates the egg's jellylike outer coating, a series of chemical events begins that will cause sperm and egg to fuse into a single cell. If all goes well, that cell will subdivide again and again to emerge 9 months later as a 100-trillion-cell human being.

most fortunate of moments. Among 200 million sperm, the one needed to make you, in combination with that one particular egg, won the race. And so it was for innumerable generations before us. If any one of our ancestors had been conceived with a different sperm or egg, or died before conceiving, or not chanced to meet the partner or . . . the mind boggles at the improbable, unbroken chain of events that produced you and me.

Prenatal Development

zygote the fertilized egg; it enters a 2-week period of rapid cell division and develops into an embryo.

embryo the developing human organism from about 2 weeks after fertilization through the second month.

fetus the developing human organism from 9 weeks after conception to birth.

Fewer than half of all fertilized eggs, called **zygotes,** survive beyond the first 2 weeks (Grobstein, 1979; Hall, 2004). But for you and me, good fortune prevailed. One cell became 2, then 4—each just like the first—until this cell division had produced some 100 identical cells within the first week. Then the cells began to differentiate—to specialize in structure and function. How identical cells do this—as if one decides "I'll become a brain, you become intestines!"—is a puzzle that scientists are just beginning to solve.

About 10 days after conception, the zygote attaches to the mother's uterine wall, beginning approximately 37 weeks of the closest human relationship. The zygote's inner cells become the **embryo** (**FIGURE 45.3a**). The outer cells become the *placenta,* the life-link that transfers nutrients and oxygen from mother to embryo. A healthy and well-nourished mother helps form a healthy baby-to-be. Over the next 6 weeks, the embryo's organs begin to form and function. The heart begins to beat.

For 1 in 270 sets of parents, though, there is a bonus. Two heartbeats will reveal that the zygote, during its early days of development, has split into two. If all goes well, two genetically identical babies will start life together some 8 months later (Module 14).

By 9 weeks after conception, an embryo looks unmistakably human (Figure 45.3b). It is now a **fetus** (Latin for "offspring" or "young one"). During the sixth month, organs such as the stomach have developed enough to give the fetus a good chance of survival if born prematurely.

At each prenatal stage, genetic and environmental factors affect our development. By the sixth month, microphone readings taken inside the uterus reveal that the fetus is responsive to sound and is exposed to the sound of its mother's muffled voice (Ecklund-Flores, 1992; Hepper, 2005). Immediately after birth, emerging from living 38 or so weeks underwater, newborns prefer her voice to another woman's or to their father's (Busnel et al., 1992; DeCasper et al., 1984, 1986, 1994). They also prefer hearing their mother's language. If she spoke two languages during pregnancy, they display interest in both (Byers-Heinlein et al., 2010). And just after birth, the melodic ups and downs of newborns' cries bear the tuneful signature of their mother's native tongue (Mampe et al., 2009). Babies born

Figure 45.3
Prenatal development (a) The embryo grows and develops rapidly. At 40 days, the spine is visible and the arms and legs are beginning to grow. (b) By the end of the second month, when the fetal period begins, facial features, hands, and feet have formed. (c) As the fetus enters the fourth month, its 3 ounces could fit in the palm of your hand.


Anatomical Travelogue/Science Source
(a)


Gary Retherford/Science Source
(b)


Petit Format/Science Source
(c)

to French-speaking mothers tend to cry with the rising intonation of French; babies born to German-speaking mothers cry with the falling tones of German. Would you have guessed? The learning of language begins in the womb.

In the 2 months before birth, fetuses demonstrate learning in other ways, as when they adapt to a vibrating, honking device placed on their mother's abdomen (Dirix et al., 2009). Like people who adapt to the sound of trains in their neighborhood, fetuses get used to the honking. Moreover, 4 weeks later, they recall the sound (as evidenced by their blasé response, compared with reactions of those not previously exposed).

Sounds are not the only stimuli fetuses are exposed to in the womb. In addition to transferring nutrients and oxygen from mother to fetus, the placenta screens out many harmful substances, but some slip by. **Teratogens,** agents such as viruses and drugs, can damage an embryo or fetus. This is one reason pregnant women are advised not to drink alcoholic beverages. A pregnant woman never drinks alone. As alcohol enters her bloodstream, and her fetus', it depresses activity in both their central nervous systems. Alcohol use during pregnancy may prime the woman's offspring to like alcohol and may put them at risk for heavy drinking and alcohol use disorder during their teens. In experiments, when pregnant rats drank alcohol, their young offspring later displayed a liking for alcohol's taste and odor (Youngentob et al., 2007, 2009).

Even light drinking or occasional binge drinking can affect the fetal brain (Braun, 1996; Ikonomidou et al., 2000; Sayal et al., 2009). Persistent heavy drinking puts the fetus at risk for birth defects and for future behavior problems, hyperactivity, and lower intelligence. For 1 in about 800 infants, the effects are visible as **fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS),** marked by lifelong physical and mental brain abnormalities (May & Gossage, 2001). The fetal damage may occur because alcohol has an *epigenetic effect:* It leaves chemical marks on DNA that switch genes abnormally on or off (Liu et al., 2009).

FYI

Prenatal development
zygote: conception to 2 weeks
embryo: 2 to 9 weeks
fetus: 9 weeks to birth

"You shall conceive and bear a son. So then drink no wine or strong drink." -Judges 13:7

teratogens (literally, "monster maker") agents, such as chemicals and viruses, that can reach the embryo or fetus during prenatal development and cause harm.

fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) physical and cognitive abnormalities in children caused by a pregnant woman's heavy drinking. In severe cases, signs include a small, out-of-proportion head and abnormal facial features.

The Competent Newborn

45-3 What are some newborn abilities, and how do researchers explore infants' mental abilities?

Babies come with software preloaded on their neural hard drives. Having survived prenatal hazards, we as newborns came equipped with automatic reflex responses ideally suited for our survival. We withdrew our limbs to escape pain. If a cloth over our face interfered with our breathing, we turned our head from side to side and swiped at it.

New parents are often in awe of the coordinated sequence of reflexes by which their baby gets food. Thanks to the *rooting reflex,* when something touches their cheek, babies turn toward that touch, open their mouth, and vigorously root for a nipple. Finding one, they automatically close on it and begin *sucking*—which itself requires a coordinated sequence of reflexive *tonguing, swallowing,* and *breathing*. Failing to find satisfaction, the hungry baby may cry—a behavior parents find highly unpleasant and very rewarding to relieve.

"I felt like a man trapped in a woman's body. Then I was born." -Comedian Chris Bliss

Lightscapes Photography, Inc./Corbis

Asia Images/Getty Images

Prepared to feed and eat Animals are predisposed to respond to their offsprings' cries for nourishment.

The pioneering American psychologist William James presumed that the newborn experiences a "blooming, buzzing confusion," an assumption few people challenged until the 1960s. But then scientists discovered that babies can tell you a lot—if you know how to ask. To ask, you must capitalize on what babies can do—gaze, suck, turn their heads. So, equipped with eye-tracking machines and pacifiers wired to electronic gear, researchers set out to answer parents' age-old questions: What can my baby see, hear, smell, and think?

habituation decreasing responsiveness with repeated stimulation. As infants gain familiarity with repeated exposure to a visual stimulus, their interest wanes and they look away sooner.

Consider how researchers exploit **habituation**—a decrease in responding with repeated stimulation. We saw this earlier when fetuses adapted to a vibrating, honking device placed on their mother's abdomen. The novel stimulus gets attention when first presented. With repetition, the response weakens. This seeming boredom with familiar stimuli gives us a way to ask infants what they see and remember.

An example: Researchers have used *visual preference* to "ask" 4-month-olds how they recognize cats and dogs (Quinn, 2002; Spencer et al., 1997). First, they showed the infants a series of images of either cats or dogs. Then they showed them hybrid cat-dog images (**FIGURE 45.4**). Which of those two animals do you think the infants would find more novel (measured in looking time) after seeing a series of cats? It was the hybrid animal with the dog's head (and vice versa if they previously viewed dogs). This suggests that infants, like adults, focus first on the face, not the body.

Figure 45.4
Quick—which is the cat? Researchers used cat-dog hybrid images such as these to test how infants categorize animals.

Indeed, even as newborns, we prefer sights and sounds that facilitate social responsiveness. We turn our heads in the direction of human voices. We gaze longer at a drawing of a face-like image (**FIGURE 45.5**). We prefer to look at objects 8 to 12 inches away. Wonder of wonders, that just happens to be the approximate distance between a nursing infant's eyes and its mother's (Maurer & Maurer, 1988).

Figure 45.5
Newborns' preference for faces When shown these two stimuli with the same elements, Italian newborns spent nearly twice as many seconds looking at the face-like image (Johnson & Morton, 1991). Canadian newborns display the same apparently inborn preference to look toward faces (Mondloch et al., 1999).

Within days after birth, our brain's neural networks were stamped with the smell of our mother's body. Week-old nursing babies, placed between a gauze pad from their mother's bra and one from another nursing mother, have usually turned toward the smell of their own mother's pad (MacFarlane, 1978). What's more, that smell preference lasts. One experiment capitalized on the fact that some nursing mothers in a French maternity ward applied a

balm with a chamomile scent to prevent nipple soreness (Delaunay-El Allam, et al., 2010). Twenty-one months later, their toddlers preferred playing with chamomile-scented toys! Their peers who had not sniffed the scent while breast feeding showed no such preference. (This makes one wonder: Will adults who as babies associated chamomile scent with their mother's breast become devoted chamomile tea drinkers?

Before You Move On

▶ ASK YOURSELF

Are you surprised by the news of infants' competencies? Remember hindsight bias from Module 4? Is this one of those cases where it feels like you "knew it all along"?

▶ TEST YOURSELF

Your friend's older sister—a regular drinker—hopes to become pregnant soon and has stopped drinking. Why is this a good idea? What negative effects might alcohol consumed during pregnancy have on a developing fetus?

Answers to the Test Yourself questions can be found in Appendix E at the end of the book.

Module 45 Review

45-1 What three issues have engaged developmental psychologists?

- *Developmental psychologists* study physical, mental, and social changes throughout the life span.
- They focus on three issues: nature and nurture (the interaction between our genetic inheritance and our experiences); continuity and stages (whether development is gradual and continuous or a series of relatively abrupt changes); and stability and change (whether our traits endure or change as we age).

45-2 What is the course of prenatal development, and how do teratogens affect that development?

- The life cycle begins at conception, when one sperm cell unites with an egg to form a *zygote.*
- The zygote's inner cells become the *embryo,* and in the next 6 weeks, body organs begin to form and function.
- By 9 weeks, the *fetus* is recognizably human.
- *Teratogens* are potentially harmful agents that can pass through the placental screen and harm the developing embryo or fetus, as happens with *fetal alcohol syndrome.*

45-3 What are some newborn abilities, and how do researchers explore infants' mental abilities?

- Babies are born with sensory equipment and reflexes that facilitate their survival and their social interactions with adults. For example, they quickly learn to discriminate their mother's smell and sound.
- Researchers use techniques that test *habituation,* such as the visual-preference procedure, to explore infants' abilities.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Alcohol is a teratogen that can slip through the _____ and damage the fetus or embryo.

a. placenta
b. nervous system
c. womb
d. brainstem
e. zygote

2. Even as newborns, we prefer sights and sounds that facilitate social responsiveness. This can be seen by a newborn's preference for

a. soft music.
b. face-like images.
c. low pitched sounds.
d. soft colors.
e. loud music.

3. As infants gain familiarity with repeated exposure to a visual stimulus, their interest wanes and they look away sooner. The decrease in an infant's responsiveness is called

a. concentration.
b. teratogens.
c. habituation.
d. stability.
e. transference.

4. Which question expresses the developmental issue of stability and change?

a. Are individuals more similar or different from each other?
b. How much of development occurs in distinct stages?
c. How much of development is determined by genetics?
d. To what extent do certain traits persist through the life span?
e. Which traits are most affected by life changes and experience?

5. What is the prenatal development sequence?

a. Zygote, embryo, fetus
b. Fetus, zygote, embryo
c. Embryo, zygote, fetus
d. Zygote, fetus, embryo
e. Fetus, embryo, zygote

6. Some people think development occurs much in the way a tree grows, slowly and steadily adding one ring each year. Others think that there are rather abrupt developmental jumps, like the transformation of a tadpole into a frog. Which of the following issues would this difference of opinion relate to?

a. Nature and nurture
b. Maturation and learning
c. Prenatal and neonatal
d. Stability and change
e. Continuity and stages

7. Which of the following is the longest prenatal stage?

a. Teratogen
b. Conception
c. Zygote
d. Embryo
e. Fetus

Practice FRQs

1. What is habituation? How is this phenomenon used by researchers in examining newborns' abilities?

Answer

1 point: Habituation is the decrease in responding with repeated stimulation.

1 point: Researchers use habituation to see what infants recognize and remember.

2. Three major issues are addressed by psychologists in the study of human development. Identify and state how all three might be considered to explain how children's traits and abilities develop.

(3 points)

Module 46

Infancy and Childhood: Physical Development


Yuri Arcurs/Getty Images

Module Learning Objectives

46-1 Describe some developmental changes in brain and motor abilities during infancy and childhood.

46-2 Describe how an infant's developing brain begins processing memories.

46-1 During infancy and childhood, how do the brain and motor skills develop?

During infancy, a baby grows from newborn to toddler, and during childhood from toddler to teenager. We all traveled this path, with its physical, cognitive, and social milestones.

As a flower unfolds in accord with its genetic instructions, so do we. **Maturation**—the orderly sequence of biological growth—decrees many of our commonalities. We stand before walking. We use nouns before adjectives. Severe deprivation or abuse can retard development. Yet the genetic growth tendencies are inborn. Maturation (nature) sets the basic course of development; experience (nurture) adjusts it. Once again, we see genes and scenes interacting.

"It is a rare privilege to watch the birth, growth, and first feeble struggles of a living human mind." -Annie Sullivan, in Helen Keller's *The Story of My Life*, 1903

maturation biological growth processes that enable orderly changes in behavior, relatively uninfluenced by experience.

Brain Development

In your mother's womb, your developing brain formed nerve cells at the explosive rate of nearly one-quarter million per minute. The developing brain cortex actually overproduces neurons, with the number peaking at 28 weeks and then subsiding to a stable 23 billion or so at birth (Rabinowicz et al., 1996, 1999; de Courten-Myers, 2002).

From infancy on, brain and mind—neural hardware and cognitive software—develop together. On the day you were born, you had most of the brain cells you would ever have. However, your nervous system was immature: After birth, the branching neural networks that eventually enabled you to walk, talk, and remember had a wild growth spurt (**FIGURE 46.1** on the next page). From ages 3 to 6, the most rapid growth was in your frontal lobes, which enable rational planning. This explains why preschoolers display a rapidly developing ability to control their attention and behavior (Garon et al., 2008).

The association areas—those linked with thinking, memory, and language—are the last cortical areas to develop. As they do, mental abilities surge (Chugani & Phelps, 1986; Thatcher et al., 1987). Fiber pathways supporting language and agility proliferate into puberty. A use-it-or-lose-it *pruning process* shuts down unused links and strengthens others (Paus et al., 1999; Thompson et al., 2000).

AP® Exam Tip

Note that maturation, to developmental psychologists, is a biological sequence. This is much more precise than the general notion that maturation means to become more adult-like.

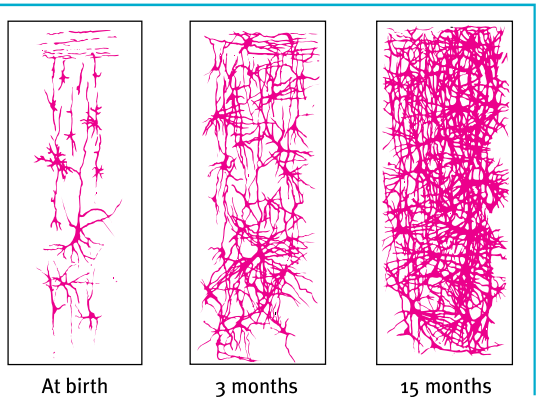

Figure 46.1
Drawings of human cerebral cortex sections In humans, the brain is immature at birth. As the child matures, the neural networks grow increasingly more complex.

Motor Development

The developing brain enables physical coordination. As an infant's muscles and nervous system mature, skills emerge. With occasional exceptions, the motor development sequence is universal. Babies roll over before they sit unsupported, and they usually crawl on all fours before they walk (**FIGURE 46.2**). These behaviors reflect not imitation but a maturing nervous system; blind children, too, crawl before they walk.

There are, however, individual differences in timing. In the United States, for example, 25 percent of all babies walk by age 11 months, 50 percent within a week after their first birthday, and 90 percent by age 15 months (Frankenburg et al., 1992). The recommended infant *back-to-sleep position* (putting babies to sleep on their backs to reduce the risk of a smothering crib death) has been associated with somewhat later crawling but not with later walking (Davis et al., 1998; Lipsitt, 2003).

FYI

In the eight years following the 1994 launch of a U.S. Back to Sleep educational campaign, the number of infants sleeping on their stomach dropped from 70 to 11 percent—and SIDS (Sudden Infant Death Syndrome) deaths fell by half (Braiker, 2005).


Renee Altier for Worth Publishers


John Lund/Annabelle Breakey/Blend Images/Corbis


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Figure 46.2
Triumphant toddlers Sit, crawl, walk, run—the sequence of these motor development milestones is the same the world around, though babies reach them at varying ages.

Genes guide motor development. Identical twins typically begin walking on nearly the same day (Wilson, 1979). Maturation—including the rapid development of the cerebellum at the back of the brain—creates our readiness to learn walking at about age 1. Experience before that time has a limited effect. The same is true for other physical skills, including bowel and bladder control. Before necessary muscular and neural maturation, don't expect pleading or punishment to produce successful toilet training.

Brain Maturation and Infant Memory

46-2 How does an infant's developing brain begin processing memories?

"This is the path to adulthood. You're here."

Can you recall your first day of preschool or your third birthday party? Our earliest memories seldom predate our third birthday. We see this *infantile amnesia* in the memories of some preschoolers who experienced an emergency fire evacuation caused by a burning popcorn maker. Seven years later, they were able to recall the alarm and what caused it—*if* they were 4 to 5 years old at the time. Those experiencing the event as 3-year-olds could not remember the cause and usually misrecalled being already outside when the alarm sounded (Pillemer, 1995). Other studies confirm that the average age of earliest conscious memory is 3½ years (Bauer, 2002, 2007). As children mature, from 4 to 6 to 8 years, childhood amnesia is giving way, and they become increasingly capable of remembering experiences, even for a year or more (Bruce et al., 2000; Morris et al., 2010). The brain areas underlying memory, such as the hippocampus and frontal lobes, continue to mature into adolescence (Bauer, 2007).

Apart from constructed memories based on photos and family stories, we *consciously* recall little from before age 4. Yet our brain was processing and storing information during those early years. In 1965, while finishing her doctoral work in psychology, Carolyn Rovee-Collier observed a nonverbal infant memory. She was also a new mom, whose colicky 2-month-old, Benjamin, could be calmed by moving a crib mobile. Weary of hitting the mobile, she strung a cloth ribbon connecting the mobile to Benjamin's foot. Soon, he was kicking his foot to move the mobile. Thinking about her unintended home experiment, Rovee-Collier realized that, contrary to popular opinion in the 1960s, babies are capable of learning. To know for sure that her son wasn't just a whiz kid, she repeated the experiment with other infants (Rovee-Collier, 1989, 1999). Sure enough, they, too, soon kicked more when hitched to a mobile, both on the day of the experiment and the day after. They had learned the link between moving legs and moving mobiles. If, however, she hitched them to a different mobile the next day, the infants showed no learning, indicating that they remembered the original mobile and recognized the difference. Moreover, when tethered to the familiar mobile a month later, they remembered the association and again began kicking (**FIGURE 46.3**).

Traces of forgotten childhood languages may also persist. One study tested English-speaking British adults who had no conscious memory of the Hindi or Zulu they had spoken as children. Yet, up to age 40, they could relearn subtle sound contrasts in these languages that other people could *not* learn (Bowers et al., 2009). What the conscious mind does not know and cannot express in words, the nervous system somehow remembers.

Figure 46.3
Infant at work Babies only 3 months old can learn that kicking moves a mobile, and they can retain that learning for a month. (From Rovee-Collier, 1989, 1997.)

Before You Move On

► ASK YOURSELF

What do you tend to regard as your earliest memory? Now that you know about infantile amnesia, has your opinion changed about the accuracy of that memory?

► TEST YOURSELF

What is the biological growth process that explains why most children begin walking by about 12 to 15 months?

Answers to the Test Yourself questions can be found in Appendix E at the end of the book.

Module 46 Review

46-1 During infancy and childhood, how do the brain and motor skills develop?

- The brain's nerve cells are sculpted by heredity and experience. Their interconnections multiply rapidly after birth, a process that continues until puberty, when a pruning process begins shutting down unused connections.
- Complex motor skills—sitting, standing, walking—develop in a predictable sequence, though the timing of that sequence is a function of individual *maturation* and culture.

46-2 How does an infant's developing brain begin processing memories?

- We have no conscious memories of events occurring before about age 3½, in part because major brain areas have not yet matured.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. As the infant's brain develops, some neural pathways will decay if not used. This use-it-or-lose-it process is known as
   a. motor development.
   b. pruning.
   c. spacing.
   d. accommodation.
   e. maturation.

2. Which of the following depends least on the maturation process?
   a. Riding a bike
   b. Writing
   c. Talking
   d. Bladder control
   e. Telling time

3. Which of the following is true of the early formation of brain cells?
   a. They form at a constant rate throughout the prenatal period.
   b. They begin forming slowly, and then the rate increases throughout prenatal development.
   c. They form slowly during the prenatal period, and then the rate increases after birth.
   d. They form at a constantly increasing rate prenatally and in early childhood.
   e. They are overproduced early in the prenatal period, and then the rate decreases and stabilizes.

4. Neural networks grow more complex by
   a. branching outward to form multiple connections.
   b. keeping the nervous system immature.
   c. controlling one another with a restricted response system.
   d. limiting connections.
   e. associating behaviors that would not normally be associated together.

Practice FRQs

1. Define and give an example of maturation. Define infantile amnesia and explain how maturation contributes to this phenomenon.

Answer

1 point: Maturation is the orderly changes in behavior that result from biological processes that are relatively unaffected by experience.

1 point: Various examples will serve here, such as the normal development of motor skills (e.g., rolling over, crawling) or bladder and bowel control.

1 point: Infantile amnesia is our inability to remember events that occurred before we are about 3½ years old.

1 point: The brain areas underlying memory need to mature before we can remember accurately. This maturation doesn't happen until after the age of 3.

2. Three types of development are listed below. Give a specific example of each.

- Brain development
- Motor development
- Infant memory

(3 points)

Module 47

Infancy and Childhood: Cognitive Development


Image Source/Getty Images

Module Learning Objectives

47-1 Describe how a child's mind develops from the perspectives of Piaget, Vygotsky, and today's researchers.

47-2 Explain how autism spectrum disorder affects development.

47-1 From the perspectives of Piaget, Vygotsky, and today's researchers, how does a child's mind develop?

Somewhere on your precarious journey "from egghood to personhood" (Broks, 2007), you became conscious. When was that, and how did your mind unfold from there? Developmental psychologist Jean Piaget [pee-ah-ZHAY] spent his life searching for the answers to such questions. He studied children's **cognitive** development—all the mental activities associated with thinking, knowing, remembering, and communicating. His interest began in 1920, when he was in Paris developing questions for children's intelligence tests. While administering the tests, Piaget became intrigued by children's wrong answers, which were often strikingly similar among same-age children. Where others saw childish mistakes, Piaget saw intelligence at work.

Jean Piaget (1896–1980) "If we examine the intellectual development of the individual or of the whole of humanity, we shall find that the human spirit goes through a certain number of stages, each different from the other" (1930).


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AP® Exam Tip

Jean Piaget is such an important person in the history of psychology that it's likely there will be at least one question about him on the AP® exam.

A half-century spent with children convinced Piaget that a child's mind is not a miniature model of an adult's. Thanks partly to his work, we now understand that children reason *differently* than adults, in "wildly illogical ways about problems whose solutions are self-evident to adults" (Brainerd, 1996).

Piaget's studies led him to believe that a child's mind develops through a series of stages, in an upward march from the newborn's simple reflexes to the adult's abstract reasoning power. Thus, an 8-year-old can comprehend things a toddler cannot, such as the analogy that "getting an idea is like having a light turn on in your head," or that a miniature slide is too small for sliding, and a miniature car is much too small to get into (**FIGURE 47.1**).

cognition all the mental activities associated with thinking, knowing, remembering, and communicating.

Piaget's core idea is that the driving force behind our intellectual progression is an unceasing struggle to make sense of our experiences. To this end, the maturing brain

Both photos: Courtesy of Judy DeLoache

Figure 47.1

Scale errors Psychologists report that 18- to 30-month-old children may fail to take the size of an object into account when trying to perform impossible actions with it (DeLoache, Uttal, & Rosengren, 2004). At left, a 21-month-old attempts to slide down a miniature slide. At right, a 24-month-old opens the door to a miniature car and tries to step inside.

builds **schemas,** concepts or mental molds into which we pour our experiences (**FIGURE 47.2**). By adulthood we have built countless schemas, ranging from *cats* and *dogs* to our concept of *love.*

Figure 47.2

An impossible object Look carefully at the "devil's tuning fork." Now look away—no, better first study it some more—and then look away and draw it. . . . Not so easy, is it? Because this tuning fork is an impossible object, you have no schema for such an image.

To explain how we use and adjust our schemas, Piaget proposed two more concepts. First, we **assimilate** new experiences—we interpret them in terms of our current understandings (schemas). Having a simple schema for *dog,* for example, a toddler may call all four-legged animals *dogs.* But as we interact with the world, we also adjust, or **accommodate,** our schemas to incorporate information provided by new experiences. Thus, the child soon learns that the original *dog* schema is too broad and accommodates by refining the category (**FIGURE 47.3**).

(a) Two-year-old Alexandra has learned the schema for *doggy* from her picture books.

(b) Alexandra sees a cat and calls it a *doggy.* She is trying to assimilate this new animal into an existing schema. Her mother tells her, "No, it's a *cat.*"

(c) Alexandra accommodates her schema for furry four-legged animals, distinguishing dogs from cats. Over time her schemas become more sophisticated as she learns to distinguish the pets of family and friends by name.

Figure 47.3

Pouring experience into mental molds We use our existing schemas to *assimilate* new experiences. But sometimes we need to *accommodate* (adjust) our schemas to include new experiences.

Piaget's Theory and Current Thinking

Piaget believed that children construct their understanding of the world while interacting with it. Their minds experience spurts of change, followed by greater stability as they move from one cognitive plateau to the next, each with distinctive characteristics that permit specific kinds of thinking. In Piaget's view, cognitive development consisted of four major stages—*sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operational,* and *formal operational.*

schema a concept or framework that organizes and interprets information.

assimilation interpreting our new experiences in terms of our existing schemas.

accommodation adapting our current understandings (schemas) to incorporate new information.

Sensorimotor Stage

In the **sensorimotor stage,** from birth to nearly age 2, babies take in the world through their senses and actions—through looking, hearing, touching, mouthing, and grasping. As their hands and limbs begin to move, they learn to make things happen.

Very young babies seem to live in the present: Out of sight is out of mind. In one test, Piaget showed an infant an appealing toy and then flopped his beret over it. Before the age of 6 months, the infant acted as if it ceased to exist. Young infants lack **object permanence**—the awareness that objects continue to exist when not perceived. By 8 months, infants begin exhibiting memory for things no longer seen. If you hide a toy, the infant will momentarily look for it (**FIGURE 47.4**). Within another month or two, the infant will look for it even after being restrained for several seconds.

Figure 47.4
Object permanence Infants younger than 6 months seldom understand that things continue to exist when they are out of sight. But for this older infant, out of sight is definitely not out of mind.

So does object permanence in fact blossom at 8 months, much as tulips blossom in spring? Today's researchers think not. They believe object permanence unfolds gradually, and they see development as more continuous than Piaget did. Even young infants will at least momentarily look for a toy where they saw it hidden a second before (Wang et al., 2004).

Researchers also believe Piaget and his followers underestimated young children's competence. Consider these simple experiments:

- *Baby physics:* Like adults staring in disbelief at a magic trick (the *"Whoa!"* look), infants look longer at an unexpected and unfamiliar scene of a car seeming to pass through a solid object, a ball stopping in midair, or an object violating object permanence by magically disappearing (Baillargeon, 1995, 2008; Wellman & Gelman, 1992).
- *Baby math:* Karen Wynn (1992, 2000) showed 5-month-olds one or two objects (**FIGURE 47.5a**). Then she hid the objects behind a screen, and visibly removed or added one (Figure 47.5d). When she lifted the screen, the infants sometimes did a double take, staring longer when shown a wrong number of objects (Figure 47.5f). But were they just responding to a greater or smaller *mass* of objects, rather than a change in *number* (Feigenson et al., 2002)? Later experiments showed that babies' number sense extends to larger numbers, to ratios, and to such things as drumbeats and motions (Libertus & Brannon, 2009; McCrink & Wynn, 2004; Spelke & Kinzler, 2007). If accustomed to a Daffy Duck puppet jumping three times on stage, they showed surprise if it jumped only twice.

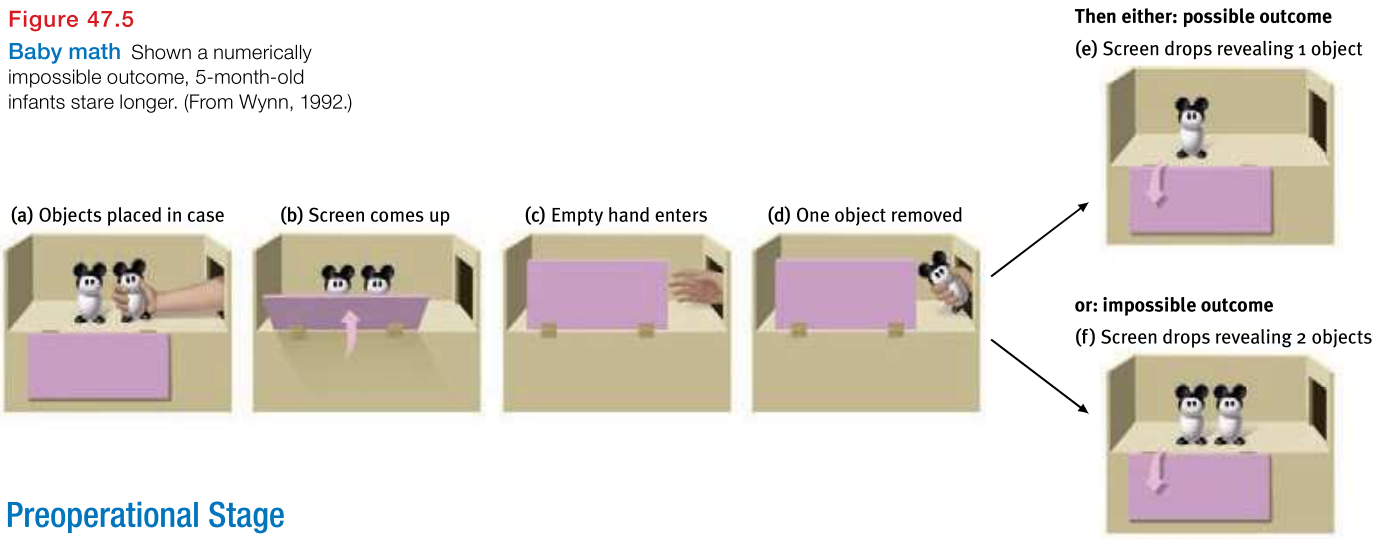
Clearly, infants are smarter than Piaget appreciated. Even as babies, we had a lot on our minds.

sensorimotor stage in Piaget's theory, the stage (from birth to about 2 years of age) during which infants know the world mostly in terms of their sensory impressions and motor activities.

object permanence the awareness that things continue to exist even when not perceived.

Figure 47.5

Baby math Shown a numerically impossible outcome, 5-month-old infants stare longer. (From Wynn, 1992.)



Preoperational Stage

Piaget believed that until about age 6 or 7, children are in a **preoperational stage**—too young to perform *mental operations* (such as imagining an action and mentally reversing it). For a 5-year-old, the milk that seems "too much" in a tall, narrow glass may become an acceptable amount if poured into a short, wide glass. Focusing only on the height dimension, this child cannot perform the operation of mentally pouring the milk back. Before about age 6, said Piaget, children lack the concept of **conservation**—the principle that quantity remains the same despite changes in shape (**FIGURE 47.6**).

Piaget did not view the stage transitions as abrupt. Even so, *symbolic thinking* (representing things with words and images) appears at an earlier age than he supposed. Judy DeLoache (1987) discovered this when she showed children a model of a room and hid a model toy in it (a miniature stuffed dog behind a miniature couch). The 2½-year-olds easily remembered where to find the miniature toy, but they could not use the model to locate an actual stuffed dog behind a couch in a real room. Three-year-olds—only 6 months older—usually went right to the actual stuffed animal in the real room, showing they *could* think of the model as a symbol for the room. Piaget probably would have been surprised.

preoperational stage in Piaget's theory, the stage (from about 2 to about 6 or 7 years of age) during which a child learns to use language but does not yet comprehend the mental operations of concrete logic.

conservation the principle (which Piaget believed to be a part of concrete operational reasoning) that properties such as mass, volume, and number remain the same despite changes in the forms of objects.

egocentrism in Piaget's theory, the preoperational child's difficulty taking another's point of view.

EGOCENTRISM

Piaget contended that preschool children are **egocentric:** They have difficulty perceiving things from another's point of view. Asked to "show Mommy your picture," 2-year-old Gabriella holds the picture up facing her own eyes. Three-year-old Gray makes himself "invisible" by putting his hands over his eyes, assuming that if he can't see his grandparents,

AP® Exam Tip

Careful! *Egocentric* is not the same as egotistical. Egocentric means you can't take someone else's point of view. Egotistical means you're pretty full of yourself.

Bianca Moscatelli/Worth Publishers

Figure 47.6

Piaget's test of conservation This preoperational child does not yet understand the principle of conservation of substance. When the milk is poured into a tall, narrow glass, it suddenly seems like "more" than when it was in the shorter, wider glass. In another year or so, she will understand that the quantity stays the same.

"It's too late, Roger—they've seen us."

Roger has not outgrown his early childhood egocentrism.

they can't see him. Children's conversations also reveal their egocentrism, as one young boy demonstrated (Phillips, 1969, p. 61):

"Do you have a brother?"
"Yes."
"What's his name?"
"Jim."
"Does Jim have a brother?"
"No."

Like Gabriella, TV-watching preschoolers who block your view of the TV assume that you see what they see. They simply have not yet developed the ability to take another's viewpoint. Even teens and adults often overestimate the extent to which others share our opinions and perspectives, a trait known as the *curse of knowledge.* We assume that something will be clear to others if it is clear to us, or that text message recipients will "hear" our "just kidding" intent (Epley et al., 2004; Kruger et al., 2005). Children are even more susceptible to this tendency.

theory of mind people's ideas about their own and others' mental states—about their feelings, perceptions, and thoughts, and the behaviors these might predict.

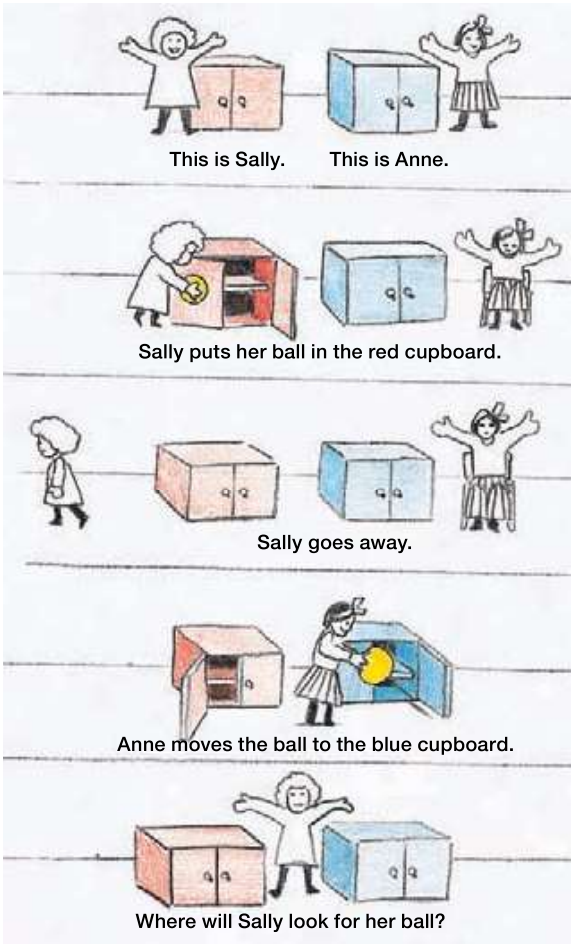
THEORY OF MIND

When Little Red Riding Hood realized her "grandmother" was really a wolf, she swiftly revised her ideas about the creature's intentions and raced away. Preschoolers, although still egocentric, develop this ability to infer others' mental states when they begin forming a **theory of mind** (a term first coined by psychologists to describe chimpanzees' seeming ability to read intentions [Premack & Woodruff, 1978]).

Infants as young as 7 months show some knowledge of others' beliefs (Kovács et al., 2010). With time, the ability to take another's perspective develops. They come to understand what made a playmate angry, when a sibling will share, and what might make a parent buy a toy. And they begin to tease, empathize, and persuade. Between about 3½ and 4½, children worldwide come to realize that others may hold false beliefs (Callaghan et al., 2005; Sabbagh et al., 2006). Researchers showed Toronto children a Band-Aids box and asked them what was inside (Jenkins & Astington, 1996). Expecting Band-Aids, the children were surprised to discover that the box actually contained pencils. Asked what a child who had never seen the box would think was inside, 3-year-olds typically answered "pencils." By age 4 to 5, the children's theory of mind had leapt forward, and they anticipated their friends' false belief that the box would hold Band-Aids.

In a follow-up experiment, children viewed a doll named Sally leaving her ball in a red cupboard (**FIGURE 47.7**). Another doll, Anne, then moves the ball to a blue cupboard. Researchers then pose a question: When Sally returns, where will she look for the ball? Children with *autism spectrum disorder* (ASD; see Close-up: Autism Spectrum Disorder and "Mind-Blindness") have difficulty understanding that Sally's state of mind differs from their own—that Sally, not knowing the ball has been moved, will return to the red cupboard. They also have difficulty reflecting on their own mental states. They are, for example, less likely to use the personal pronouns *I* and *me.* Deaf children with hearing parents and minimal communication opportunities have had similar difficulty inferring others' states of mind (Peterson & Siegal, 1999).

Figure 47.7
Testing children's theory of mind This simple problem illustrates how researchers explore children's presumptions about others' mental states. (Inspired by Baron-Cohen et al., 1985.)



Close-up

Autism Spectrum Disorder and "Mind-Blindness"

47-2 How does autism spectrum disorder affect development?

autism spectrum disorder (ASD) a disorder that appears in childhood and is marked by significant deficiencies in communication and social interaction, and by rigidly fixated interests and repetitive behaviors.

Diagnoses of **autism spectrum disorder (ASD),** a disorder marked by social deficiencies and repetitive behaviors, have been increasing, according to recent estimates. Once believed to affect 1 in 2500 children, ASD now affects 1 in 110 American children and about 1 in 100 in Britain (CDC, 2009; Lilienfeld & Arkowitz, 2007; NAS, 2011). The increase in ASD diagnoses has been offset by a decrease in the number of children considered "cognitively disabled" or "learning disabled," which suggests a relabeling of children's disorders (Gernsbacher et al., 2005; Grinker, 2007; Shattuck, 2006). A massive $6.7 billion National Children's Study now under way aims to enroll 100,000 pregnant women in 105 countries and to follow their babies until they turn 21—partly in hopes of explaining the rising rates of ASD, as well as premature births, childhood obesity, and asthma (Belluck, 2010; Murphy, 2008).

The underlying source of ASD's symptoms seems to be poor communication among brain regions that normally work together to let us take another's viewpoint. This effect appears to result from ASD-related genes interacting with the environment (State & Šestan, 2012). People with ASD are therefore said to have an *impaired theory of mind* (Rajendran & Mitchell, 2007; Senju et al., 2009). They have difficulty inferring others' thoughts and feelings. They do not appreciate that playmates and parents might view things differently. Mind reading that most of us find intuitive *(Is that face conveying a smirk or a sneer?)* is difficult for those with ASD. Most children learn that another child's pouting mouth signals sadness, and that twinkling eyes mean happiness or mischief. A child with ASD fails to understand these signals (Frith & Frith, 2001).

Ozier Muhammad/The New York Times

Autism spectrum disorder This speech-language pathologist is helping a boy with ASD learn to form sounds and words. ASD is marked by deficient social communication and difficulty grasping others' states of mind.

Miller Mobley/Redux

"Autism" case number 1 In 1943, Donald Gray Triplett, an "odd" child with unusual gifts and social deficits, was the first person to receive the diagnosis of a previously unreported condition, which psychiatrist Leo Kanner termed "autism." (After a 2013 change in the diagnosis manual, his condition is now called autism spectrum disorder.) In 2010, at age 77, Triplett was still living in his family home and Mississippi town, where he often played golf (Donvan & Zucker, 2010).

In hopes of a cure, desperate parents have sometimes subjected children to dubious therapies (Shute, 2010).

ASD (formerly referred to as "autism") has differing levels of severity. "High-functioning" individuals generally have normal intelligence, and they often have an exceptional skill or talent in a specific area. But they lack social and communication skills, and they tend to become distracted by minor and unimportant stimuli (Remington et al., 2009). Those at the spectrum's lower end are unable to use language at all.

ASD afflicts four boys for every girl. Psychologist Simon Baron-Cohen believes this hints at one way to understand this disorder. He has argued that ASD represents an "extreme male brain" (2008, 2009). Although there is some overlap between the sexes, he believes that boys are better "systemizers." They tend to understand things according to rules or laws, for example, as in mathematical and mechanical systems. Children exposed to high levels of the male sex hormone *testosterone* in the womb may develop more masculine and autistic traits (Auyeung et al, 2009).

In contrast, girls are naturally predisposed to be "empathizers," Baron-Cohen contends. They are better at reading facial

(Continued on next page)

Close-up *(continued)*

expressions and gestures, though less so if given testosterone (van Honk et al., 2011).

Biological factors, including genetic influences and abnormal brain development, contribute to ASD (State & Šestan, 2012). Childhood MMR vaccinations do not (Demicheli et al., 2012). Based on a fraudulent 1998 study—"the most damaging medical hoax of the last 100 years" (Flaherty, 2011)—some parents were misled into thinking that the childhood MMR vaccine increased risk of ASD. The unfortunate result was a drop in vaccination rates and an increase in cases of measles and mumps. Some unvaccinated children suffered long-term harm or even death.

Twin and sibling studies provide some evidence for biology's influence. If one identical twin is diagnosed with ASD, the chances are 50 to 70 percent that the co-twin will be as well (Lichtenstein et al., 2010; Sebat et al., 2007). A younger sibling of a child with ASD also is at a heightened risk (Sutcliffe, 2008). Random genetic mutations in sperm-producing cells may also play a role. As men age, these mutations become more frequent, which may help explain why an over-40 man has a much higher risk of fathering a child with ASD than does a man under 30 (Reichenberg et al., 2007). Researchers are now sleuthing ASD's telltale signs in the brain's synaptic and gray matter (Crawley, 2007; Ecker et al., 2010; Garber, 2007).

Biology's role in ASD also appears in brain-function studies. People without ASD often yawn after seeing others yawn. And as they view and imitate another's smiling or frowning, they feel something of what the other is feeling. Not so among those with ASD, who are less imitative and show much less activity in brain areas involved in mirroring others' actions (Dapretto et al., 2006; Perra et al., 2008; Senju et al., 2007). When people with ASD watch another person's hand movements, for example, their brain displays less than normal mirroring activity (Oberman & Ramachandran, 2007; Théoret et al., 2005). Scientists are continuing to explore and vigorously debate the idea that the brains of people with ASD have "broken mirrors" (Gallese et al., 2011).

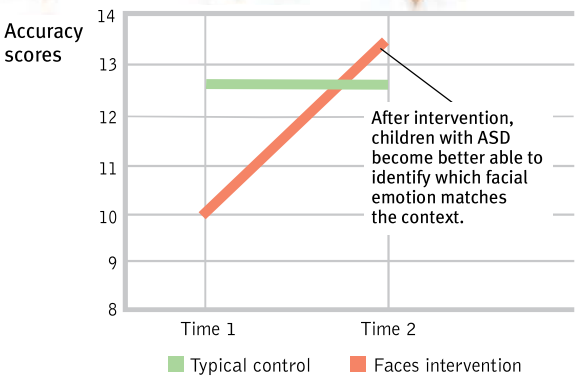
Seeking to "systemize empathy," Baron-Cohen and his Cambridge University colleagues (2007; Golan et al., 2010) collaborated with Britain's National Autistic Society and a film production company. Knowing that television shows with vehicles have been popular among kids with ASD, they created animations that grafted emotion-conveying faces onto toy tram, train, and tractor characters in a pretend boy's bedroom (**FIGURE 47.8**). After the boy leaves for school, the characters come to life and have experiences that lead them to display various emotions (which I predict you would enjoy viewing at www.thetransporters.com). The children were surprisingly able to generalize what they had learned to a new, real context. By the intervention's end, their previously deficient ability to recognize emotions on real faces now equaled that of children without ASD.

© LEE BEEL/Alamy

"The neighbor's dog has bitten people before. He is barking at Louise."

Point to the face that shows how Louise is feeling.

iStockphoto/Thinkstock/GettyImages



(b) Children matched the correct face with the story and photo. (The graph above shows data from two trials.)

Figure 47.8

Transported into a world of emotion (a) A research team at Cambridge University's Autism Research Centre introduced children with ASD to emotions experienced and displayed by toy vehicles. (b) After 4 weeks of viewing animations, the children displayed a markedly increased ability to recognize emotions not only in the toy faces but also in humans.

© Simon Baron-Cohen, Crown copyright MMI, www.thetransporters.com, courtesy Changing Media Development

(a) Emotion-conveying faces were grafted onto toy trains.

Concrete Operational Stage

By age 6 or 7, said Piaget, children enter the **concrete operational stage.** Given concrete (physical) materials, they begin to grasp conservation. Understanding that change in form does not mean change in quantity, they can mentally pour milk back and forth between glasses of different shapes. They also enjoy jokes that use this new understanding:

> Mr. Jones went into a restaurant and ordered a whole pizza for his dinner. When the waiter asked if he wanted it cut into 6 or 8 pieces, Mr. Jones said, "Oh, you'd better make it 6, I could never eat 8 pieces!" (McGhee, 1976)

Piaget believed that during the concrete operational stage, children become able to comprehend mathematical transformations and conservation. When my daughter, Laura, was 6, I was astonished at her inability to reverse simple arithmetic. Asked, "What is 8 plus 4?" she required 5 seconds to compute "12," and another 5 seconds to then compute 12 minus 4. By age 8, she could answer a reversed question instantly.

concrete operational stage in Piaget's theory, the stage of cognitive development (from about 6 or 7 to 11 years of age) during which children gain the mental operations that enable them to think logically about concrete events.

formal operational stage in Piaget's theory, the stage of cognitive development (normally beginning about age 12) during which people begin to think logically about abstract concepts.

Formal Operational Stage

By age 12, our reasoning expands from the purely concrete (involving actual experience) to encompass abstract thinking (involving imagined realities and symbols). As children approach adolescence, said Piaget, many become capable of thinking more like scientists. They can ponder hypothetical propositions and deduce consequences: *If* this, *then* that. Systematic reasoning, what Piaget called **formal operational** thinking, is now within their grasp.

Although full-blown logic and reasoning await adolescence, the rudiments of formal operational thinking begin earlier than Piaget realized. Consider this simple problem:

> If John is in school, then Mary is in school. John is in school. What can you say about Mary?

Formal operational thinkers have no trouble answering correctly. But neither do most 7-year-olds (Suppes, 1982). **TABLE 47.1** summarizes the four stages in Piaget's theory.

AP® Exam Tip

One good way to master the developmental milestones in Piaget's theory is to see them in action. If you know children of various ages, you can test them using some of the ideas presented in this section. Hide a toy from an infant to see object permanence in action. Pour water between two differently shaped glasses to see if a preschooler understands conservation.

Table 47.1 Piaget's Stages of Cognitive Development

Typical Age Range	Description of Stage	Developmental Phenomena
Birth to nearly 2 years	*Sensorimotor* Experiencing the world through senses and actions (looking, hearing, touching, mouthing, and grasping)	• Object permanence • Stranger anxiety
About 2 to about 6 or 7 years	*Preoperational* Representing things with words and images (symbolic thinking); using intuitive rather than logical reasoning	• Pretend play • Egocentrism
6 or 7 to 11 years	*Concrete operational* Thinking logically about concrete events; grasping concrete analogies and performing arithmetical operations	• Conservation • Mathematical transformations
About 12 through adulthood	*Formal operational* Abstract reasoning	• Abstract logic • Potential for mature moral reasoning

Jamie Grill/Getty Images

Pretend play

James V. Wertsch/Washington University

Lev Vygotsky (1896–1934)
Vygotsky, a Russian developmental psychologist pictured here with his daughter, studied how a child's mind feeds on the language of social interaction.

An Alternative Viewpoint: Lev Vygotsky's Scaffolding

As Piaget was forming his theory of cognitive development, Russian psychologist Lev Vygotsky was also studying how children think and learn. He noted that by age 7, they increasingly think in words and use words to solve problems. They do this, he said, by internalizing their culture's language and relying on inner speech (Fernyhough, 2008). Parents who say *"No, no!"* when pulling a child's hand away from a cake are giving the child a self-control tool. When the child later needs to resist temptation, he may likewise say *"No, no!"* Second graders who muttered to themselves while doing math problems grasped third-grade math better the following year (Berk, 1994). Whether out loud or inaudibly, talking to themselves helps children control their behavior and emotions and master new skills.

Where Piaget emphasized how the child's mind grows through interaction with the physical environment, Vygotsky emphasized how the child's mind grows through interaction with the *social* environment. If Piaget's child was a young scientist, Vygotsky's was a young apprentice. By mentoring children and giving them new words, parents and others provide a temporary *scaffold* from which children can step to higher levels of thinking (Renninger & Granott, 2005). Language, an important ingredient of social mentoring, provides the building blocks for thinking, noted Vygotsky (who was born the same year as Piaget, but died prematurely of tuberculosis).

Effective mentoring occurs when children are developmentally ready to learn a new skill. For Vygotsky, a child's *zone of proximal development* was the zone between what a child can and can't do—it's what a child can do with help. When learning to ride a bike, it's the developmental zone in which a child can ride with training wheels or a steadying parental hand.

Reflecting on Piaget's Theory

What remains of Piaget's ideas about the child's mind? Plenty—enough to merit his being singled out by *Time* magazine as one of the twentieth century's 20 most influential scientists and thinkers and rated in a survey of British psychologists as the last century's greatest psychologist (*Psychologist,* 2003). Piaget identified significant cognitive milestones and stimulated worldwide interest in how the mind develops. His emphasis was less on the ages at which children typically reach specific milestones than on their sequence. Studies around the globe, from aboriginal Australia to Algeria to North America, have confirmed that human cognition unfolds basically in the sequence Piaget described (Lourenco & Machado, 1996; Segall et al., 1990).

"Assessing the impact of Piaget on developmental psychology is like assessing the impact of Shakespeare on English literature." -Developmental psychologist Harry Beilin (1992)

However, today's researchers see development as more continuous than did Piaget. By detecting the beginnings of each type of thinking at earlier ages, they have revealed conceptual abilities Piaget missed. Moreover, they see formal logic as a smaller part of cognition than he did. Piaget would not be surprised that today, as part of our own cognitive development, we are adapting his ideas to accommodate new findings.

Implications for Parenting and Teaching

"Childhood has its own way of seeing, thinking, and feeling, and there is nothing more foolish than the attempt to put ours in its place." -Philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau, 1798

Future parents and teachers remember: Young children are incapable of adult logic. Preschoolers who block one's view of the TV simply have not learned to take another's viewpoint. What seems simple and obvious to us—pestering a cat will lead to scratches—may be incomprehensible to a 3-year-old. Also remember that children are not passive receptacles waiting to be filled with knowledge. Better to build on what they already know, engaging them in concrete

demonstrations and stimulating them to think for themselves. And, finally, accept children's cognitive immaturity as adaptive. It is nature's strategy for keeping children close to protective adults and providing time for learning and socialization (Bjorklund & Green, 1992).

Before You Move On

▶ ASK YOURSELF

Can you recall a time when you misheard some song lyrics because you assimilated them into your own schema? (For hundreds of examples of this phenomenon, visit www.kissthisguy.com.)

▶ TEST YOURSELF

Use Piaget's first three stages of cognitive development to explain why children are not just miniature adults in the way they think.

Answers to the Test Yourself questions can be found in Appendix E at the end of the book.

Module 47 Review

47-1 From the perspectives of Piaget, Vygotsky, and today's researchers, how does a child's mind develop?

- In his theory of *cognitive* development, Jean Piaget proposed that children actively construct and modify their understanding of the world through the processes of *assimilation* and *accommodation.* They form *schemas* that help them organize their experiences.
- Progressing from the simplicity of the *sensorimotor stage* of the first two years, in which they develop *object permanence,* children move to more complex ways of thinking.
- In the *preoperational stage* (about age 2 to about 6 or 7), they develop a *theory of mind,* but they are *egocentric* and unable to perform simple logical operations.
- At age 6 or 7, they enter the *concrete operational stage* and are able to comprehend the principle of *conservation.*
- By about age 12, children enter the *formal operational stage* and can reason systematically.
- Research supports the sequence Piaget proposed, but it also shows that young children are more capable, and their development is more continuous, than he believed.
- Lev Vygotsky's studies of child development focused on the ways a child's mind grows by interacting with the social environment. In his view, parents and caretakers provide temporary scaffolds enabling children to step to higher levels of learning.

47-2 How does autism spectrum disorder affect development?

- ASD is marked by social deficiencies and repetitive behaviors.
- Genetic influences contribute to ASD, as does the male hormone testosterone.

Multiple-Choice Questions

1. Your friend's baby brother, Matt, loves to play with his pet cat. When he sees a puppy, he points and calls it "Mi Mi," which is what he calls his cat. Matt is demonstrating Piaget's process of

a. conservation.
b. accommodation.
c. cognition.
d. object permanence.
e. assimilation.

2. If you showed a 2-year-old that you'd hidden a toy behind the bed in a model of her bedroom, she would not be able to find the toy in her real bedroom because she lacks

a. analytical thinking.
b. random thinking.
c. symbolic thinking.
d. schematic thinking.
e. egocentric thinking.

3. Vygotsky called the space between what a child could learn with and without help the

a. theory of mind.
b. zone of abstract logic.
c. zone of abstract reasoning.
d. zone of proximal development.
e. zone of developmental readiness.

4. Which of the following is a current belief of researchers that differs from Piaget's original theories?

a. Infants simply have less information about the world than older children and adults.
b. Object permanence develops earlier than Piaget believed.
c. Infants learn more by verbal explanations than Piaget believed.
d. Accommodation is a process that doesn't occur in young children.
e. Schemas don't form until later than Piaget believed.

5. Which of the following cognitive abilities is possible only at the formal operational stage?

a. Reversing arithmetic operations
b. Using a theory of mind to predict the behavior of others
c. Using hypothetical situations as the basis of moral reasoning
d. Using symbolic thinking for pretend play
e. Understanding basic physics to recognize impossible situations

6. Which of the following identifies children's difficulty seeing another's perspective?

a. Abstract thinker
b. Role player
c. Egocentric thinker
d. A child who understands conservation
e. A child who demonstrates high mental operations

7. Which of the following would indicate that a child understood conservation?

a. She would continue to seek a toy hidden under a blanket.
b. She would "hide" in a game of hide-and-seek by covering her eyes with her hands.
c. She would believe that a clay snake would have the same amount of clay as the clay ball that was used to make it.
d. She would recognize that 7 + 3 involves the same mathematical relationship as 10 – 7.
e. She would be able to comprehend the logic of if-then statements.

Practice FRQs

1. Describe Lev Vygotsky's ideas on the role of language, scaffolding, and the zone of proximal development in cognitive development. How did his theory differ from that of Jean Piaget?

Answer

1 point: Vygotsky believed that as children grow, they increasingly use words to solve problems and think. Adults help with this process by giving them words to internalize behaviors.

1 point: Scaffolding is the way in which parents and others mentor children to promote cognitive growth, often through providing new words to describe a situation.

1 point: The zone of proximal development marks the border between what children can learn on their own or with help.

1 point: The major difference is that Piaget thought cognitive development resulted from children's interactions with their physical environment, while Vygotsky believed they learned through social interactions.

2. Define and give an example of each of the cognitive milestones listed below:

- Object permanence
- Conservation
- Theory of mind

(3 points)