



Introduction to Social Change and Human Development

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Societal changes are associated with transformations in various spheres of human life. Many countries have undergone tremendous changes over recent decades with implications including economic restructuring, changes in societal value systems, the spread of media technology, and changes in educational systems or population composition. Such effects of distal societal events (e.g., German Reunification) or rapid social change (e.g., in China) can influence the lives of children, adolescents, and adults through, for example, changing family dynamics, changes in the exposure to opportunities and risks for positive psychosocial development, or lower social control in neighborhoods. Also, trust in institutions, school, and family may decline. On an individual level, dynamic adaptation to restructured developmental contexts and new challenges becomes necessary. Based on the influential work conducted by Glen H. Elder and others who investigated the effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s in the US on children's life course, we know that individuals under the condition of social change actively try to reduce discrepancies between their life plans and perceived resources, and that close interpersonal relationships mediate the effects of societal transformations on individual development.

With this special section we aim to present new research on the effects of social change on human development following the tradition of earlier life course research. One case of societal transformations under investigation refers to the economic restructuring in China (Chen). Additionally, cases from the United Kingdom, Turkey, Finland, and Estonia were examined. The authors used different methods to investigate how individuals are affected by macro-level changes in their environments (e.g., cohort comparisons within one country by Schoon or cross-country comparisons by Lahikainen). One study was based on an intervention study with long-term follow-up in Turkey focusing on how adaptation to new opportunities and obstacles can be supported (Kağıtçıbaşı). These four interesting feature articles are discussed by two experts in the field, Rob Crosnoe who has collaborated with Glen H. Elder, and Patricia Greenfield.

Furthermore, in the two Reports from the Lab we introduce research teams in Germany and the UK that follow unusual and exciting approaches to studying human development under conditions of social change, i.e., embedded in a large multi-disciplinary research program (Silbereisen), or focusing on the biological channels of transmission of effects on the individual (Cameron).

All contributions in this special section on social change and human development demonstrate that it is worthwhile to consider the role of societal transformations in shaping humans' lives. We are extremely grateful to all authors for their time and efforts invested in order to participate in this special section. Moreover, we thank Rainer K. Silbereisen for an expert consultation. We hope that all readers enjoy the content of the special section as well as the notes from our president Anne Petersen, the conference report, workshop announcement, and news related to our society.

You may have noticed that the name of this supplement to the *IJBD* has been changed from *ISSBD Newsletter* to *ISSBD Bulletin*. We have decided on this name change in conjunction with the president and the EC of the society. We found that 'newsletter' was a slightly under-representing label for what this supplement (and in particular the special section) in fact is, namely a collection of interesting international research papers and lab reports under a certain topic within developmental science. By doing so, we hope to honor even more the work of our authors contributing to upcoming special sections of the Bulletin of the *International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development*.

Socialization and Socioemotional Development in the Changing Chinese Society

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Over the past two decades, China has carried out massive economic reforms which have led to dramatic changes in the lives of Chinese people. As a result of these reforms, there are increased variations in individual and family income, massive population movements, a decline in government control of social welfare and protection, and a rapid rise in competition (e.g., Zhang, 2000). Along with the social and economic changes, Western values such as individual autonomy and assertiveness have been introduced into the country and increasingly accepted by many Chinese people, especially in the younger generation (Zhang, Wang, & Fuligni, 2006). The rapid and extensive changes in social structure and value systems have profound implications for socialization and socioemotional development.

The Economic Reform and Social and Cultural Conditions for Child Development in China

China has been a primarily agrarian society for thousands of years, with most people living under poor conditions during most periods of its history. Since the early 1980s when China started the economic reform, the living standard in China has substantially improved. The initial phase of the reform was the "internal vitalization" in rural areas and the "open-door" movement in some Southern regions. The full-scale reform was expanded to cities and other parts of the country in the early 1990s. In the past 15 years, the centrally planned command economy with the dominance of state-owned enterprises has rapidly been transformed into a market economy, which has led to remarkable growth in domestic and foreign private enterprises and joint ventures. The economy in China is currently one of the largest in the world and has been growing at the rate of more than 10% a year (Bulletin, 2008).

According to the National Bureau of Statistics of China (Bulletin, 2008), in comparison to the annual per capita income of 100 and 50 Yuan for urban and rural areas, respectively, in 1949, the annual per capita income was 13,786 Yuan (approx. US\$1,970) for urban residents and 4,140 Yuan (approx. US\$590) for rural residents in 2007. Over the past two decades, through economic development China has created non-agricultural jobs for more than 250 million people, with approximately 150 million laborers having been transferred from the agricultural to the non-agricultural sector. The total poverty-stricken population was approximately 250 million in 1978, but it dropped to 14.79 million in 2007.

China is working toward nine-year compulsory education. The illiteracy rate has declined rapidly in recent years (23.5% in 1978, 12% in 1997, and 8.3% in 2005). By the end of 2006, approximately 96% of school-aged children eligible for grades one through nine were attending classes. The

enrollment rate in 2006 was 99.3% at elementary or primary school, 97% at junior high school, 59.8% at senior high school, and 22% at college or university levels (The Ministry of Education, 2007). Almost all schools from kindergarten to university are public schools. However, private schools are increasing in number at all levels.

A traditional Chinese family is usually a large family, consisting of three or four generations. Over the past 20 years, the number of large families has decreased, and the number of small nuclear families has increased. The average family size was 4.79, 3.58, and 3.13 persons in 1985, 1999, and 2005, respectively (3.27 and 2.97 in rural and urban regions in 2005; Data, 2006). Since the late 1970s, China has enforced a one-child-per-family policy. This policy has been highly successful in population control in urban areas. As a result, over 95% of children in the urban areas are only children (Chen and He, 2004). Although the one-child policy has not been as successful in rural areas, most families do not have as many children today as traditional families used to have in the past.

Traditional Chinese society is relatively homogenous in its cultural background, with Confucianism serving as a predominant ideological guideline for social activities. Confucius (551–479 B.C.) was particularly concerned with social order and harmony. He believed that, to reach this goal, it is important to establish a set of moral and social standards to guide interpersonal interactions and individual behaviors in daily life. To maintain these standards, individuals in different roles should follow specific social rules. For example, the doctrine of 孝 or *Xiao* (filial piety) stipulates that, in the family, children must pledge obedience and reverence to parents. In turn, parents are responsible for "governing" (i.e., teaching, disciplining) their children. The Confucian principles emphasize the control of individual desires and behaviors; the expression of individual needs or striving for autonomous behaviors is considered socially unacceptable. Behaviors that threaten the wellbeing of the collective are strictly prohibited. Many of the traditional beliefs and values concerning individual behaviors and relationships have been maintained in contemporary collectivistic Chinese society. These cultural beliefs and values have been reflected in various social activities in the school and other settings and have had a considerable influence on socialization and child development in China.

Childrearing Beliefs and Practices in the Changing Context

A number of studies have indicated that the childrearing styles and behaviors of Chinese parents may be different from those of Western parents (e.g., Chao, 1995; Chen et al., 1998; Ho, 1986). However, traditional Chinese childrearing beliefs and practices are changing due to the different social and behavioral qualities required for adaptation to a competitive market-oriented society.

Traditional Chinese Childrearing Beliefs and Practices. The primary socialization goal in traditional Chinese society is to help children develop attitudes and behaviors that are conducive to collective well-being such as interdependence within the family, orientation to the larger group, and obedience to authority (Ho, 1986). Accordingly, the main



task of parents and other socialization agents is to train children to control individualistic impulses and to display cooperative and obedient behaviors. To help children learn collectivistic norms and group-oriented behaviors, maintaining adults' authority is believed to be essential. Thus, it has been argued that the Chinese culture endorses the use of high-power, directive, and restrictive childrearing strategies (e.g., Chao, 1995; Ho, 1986).

Empirical findings appear to support this description of traditional childrearing attitudes and practices by Chinese parents. Compared with Western parents, Chinese parents were concerned more with training children to learn appropriate conduct and less with encouraging children to be independent and exploratory (Ho, 1986). Chinese parents were more controlling and power assertive, and less sensitive and affectionate in their interactions with children. Moreover, Chinese parents were less likely to use inductive reasoning and were more authoritarian in parenting than Western parents (e.g., Chao, 1995; Chen et al., 1998; Kelley, 1992).

Changes in Parental Childrearing Beliefs and Practices in China. Traditional Chinese childrearing attitudes and practices are clearly incompatible with the requirements of the market-oriented society that emphasizes individual initiative and competitiveness. Therefore, in recent years, parents and educators in China have been encouraged to expand their childrearing and educational goals to include helping children develop new social and behavioral qualities such as expression of personal opinions, self-direction, and self-confidence (Yu, 2002). In a study concerning socialization in goal-oriented activities, Liu et al. (2005) found that, although Chinese mothers had higher scores on encouragement of relatedness and lower scores on autonomy support than Canadian mothers, mothers in both samples had significantly higher scores on encouragement of autonomy than on encouragement of relatedness.

Chen and Chen (in press) recently examined similarities and differences in childrearing attitudes between parents of elementary school children in two cohorts (1998 and 2002) in Shanghai. The 1998 cohort included 466 mothers and 442 fathers, and the 2002 cohort included 243 mothers and 236 fathers. The parents completed a measure assessing four major dimensions of parenting: *parental warmth* (e.g., "My child and I have warm, good times together", "I comfort my child when he/she is upset or afraid", "I like to play with my child"), *power assertion* (e.g., "I do not allow my child to question my decisions", "I believe physical punishment to be the best way of discipline"), *encouragement of autonomy and independence* (e.g., "I let my child make many decisions for him/herself", "When my child gets into trouble, I expect him/her to handle the problem mostly by him/herself"), and *encouragement of achievement* (e.g., "I encourage my child always to do his/her best"). The results indicated no differences between the cohorts on encouragement of academic achievement. However, both mothers and fathers in the 2002 cohort had significantly higher scores on parental warmth and lower scores on power assertion than those in the 1998 cohort. Mothers in the 2002 cohort also generated significantly higher scores on autonomy support than mothers in the 1998 cohort. These results suggest that parents in China are coming increasingly to realize the importance of socio-

emotional wellbeing and the role of affective parent-child communication and inductive reasoning in promoting children's social competence. Moreover, parents now tend to place a greater value on independence and autonomy. It is not surprising that Chinese parents attempt to create various opportunities for their children to explore challenging environments and to learn initiative-taking skills in social situations.

Children's Socioemotional Functioning in the Changing Context

The macro-level comprehensive changes in the society and new socialization beliefs and practices are likely to have a significant impact on the display and significance of socioemotional functioning in Chinese children. This has been demonstrated in a series of studies that our team conducted concerning shyness-inhibition in childhood and adolescence (e.g., Chen, Cen, Li, & He, 2005).

Shyness-Inhibition and its Functional Meaning in Chinese Children. As an anxious and restrained reaction to novel social situations or social evaluations, shyness-inhibition is considered socially immature and incompetent in Western cultures (Rubin, Coplan, & Bowker, in press). Children who display shy, wary, and vigilant behavior are likely to be rejected or isolated by peers and to develop social, school, and psychological problems such as loneliness and depression. Therefore, it has been argued that shyness represents a major aspect of internalizing problems (Rubin et al., in press).

Chinese children tend to display more shy-inhibited behavior than North American children in challenging social situations (Chen et al., 1998; Chen & Tse, in press). In traditional Chinese culture, however, shy-inhibited behavior is regarded as indicating virtuous qualities such as modesty, cautiousness, and self-control and is thus positively valued. Indeed, it has been found that shyness-inhibition is associated with social experiences in China that are different from those in North America (Chen, DeSouza, Chen, & Wang, 2006). Shy-inhibited children in China who made passive and low-power social initiations received more positive responses from peers than did their counterparts in North America. Consistently, unlike their Western counterparts, shy-inhibited children in China are accepted by peers and perform well socially and academically in childhood and adolescence. Further, shy Chinese children perceive themselves positively and do not feel lonely or depressed (e.g., Chen, Rubin, & Sun, 1992; Chen, Rubin, Li, & Li, 1999).

The Implications of Societal Change for the Adjustment of Shy-Inhibited Children in China. The comprehensive reforms in China may have altered the socialization beliefs and values not only of parents, but of other socialization agents as well. Of particular relevance to children's social development are the changes in educational policies and practices in Chinese schools. In the "Outline of the educational reform", the Ministry of Education of China has called for modifications of educational goals, models, and methods to accommodate the demands of the market-oriented economy (Yu, 2002). As a result, in many schools, whereas academic achievement continues to be emphasized, children are

encouraged to develop social skills such as independence and self-expression, which have traditionally been neglected in Chinese culture. A variety of strategies (e.g., encouraging students to engage in public debate and to propose and implement their own plans for extra-curricular activities) have been used to facilitate the development of these skills. Relative to some other aspects of socioemotional functioning, shy-inhibited behavior seems to be particularly susceptible to the influence of the macro-level changes in China because this behavior may impede exploration and self-expression and thus is unsuitable for adaptation in the contemporary competitive society. In short, the social changes in China are likely to lead to a decline in the adaptive value of shy-inhibited behavior. Consequently, shy children may be at a disadvantage in obtaining social approval, and may come to experience difficulties in social and psychological adjustment.

Chen et al. (2005) examined the relationship between shyness and adjustment among urban elementary school children ($N = 429, 390, \text{ and } 266$, respectively) in Shanghai, China, at different phases of the societal transition (1990, 1998 and 2002). The results indicated that whereas shyness was positively associated with peer acceptance, leadership, and academic achievement in the 1990 cohort, it was negatively associated with peer acceptance and school adjustment and positively associated with peer rejection and depression in the 2002 cohort. The relationship between shyness and adjustment variables was non-significant or mixed in the 1998 cohort. Thus, by the early part of the twenty-first century, as the country became more deeply immersed in a market economy, shy children, unlike their counterparts in the early 1990s, were perceived as incompetent and problematic by teachers and rejected by peers; they displayed school problems and reported high levels of depression. It should be noted that whereas the results seem to correspond to the accelerated social and economic changes in Chinese society in recent years, it is possible that the cohort differences reflect the lagged and cumulative effects of the macro-level context on individual attitudes and behaviors. An interesting finding of Chen et al.'s study (2005) was that shyness was positively associated with both peer acceptance and peer rejection in the 1998 cohort. The results indicate the ambivalent attitudes of peers toward shy-inhibited children, which, to some extent, may reflect the conflict during this transitional period between the new values of initiative in response to emerging economic pressures, and the traditional values of self-control. Another interesting finding was that peer and teacher attitudes were more sensitive to the change in social and cultural norms than were other aspects of adjustment such as academic achievement and depression. The influence of contextual forces on children's school performance and psychopathological feelings may occur through complicated and prolonged interpersonal and intrapersonal processes. Thus, social and historical changes may impact different aspects of socioemotional functioning and adjustment gradually. This finding also supports the argument that social attitudes and relationships serve as a major mediator of contextual influence on individual development (Chen & French, 2008).

Urban-Rural Differences in Social Functioning and Adjustment in Chinese Children. There are substantial regional differ-

ences, particularly between urban and rural areas, in social and economic development within China. The major social and economic reform such as the opening of stock markets in China has been largely limited to urban centers and cities. Families in rural areas have lived mostly agricultural lives, and rural children do not have as much exposure as urban children to the influence of the market economy. Parents in rural families tend to maintain socialization goals and use childrearing practices that are consistent with traditional beliefs and values such as filial piety, respect for elders, and self-sacrifice for the family (e.g., China Youth & Children Research Center, 2007). It has been reported that rural parents are less likely to display warmth toward children, are less engaged in play activities, and use more physical punishment as a response to children's misbehavior (Chen & Chen, in press; Li, Cui, & Wu, 2005).

Consistent with the urban-rural differences in the emphasis on traditional values and practices in socialization, rural children are more group-oriented and display greater family responsibility than urban children (Fulgini & Zhang, 2004; Guo, Yao, & Yang, 2005). Chen, Wang, and Wang (in press) found in a recent study in Beijing that shyness was associated with social and school problems and depression in urban children ($N = 518$), which was similar to the results in Chen et al.'s study (2005) with urban children in Shanghai. However, shyness was generally associated with indexes of adjustment such as leadership, teacher-rated competence, and academic achievement in schools for rural migrant children ($N = 411$). Similar results were found in a rural sample ($N = 780$) in the countryside of Hebei province in China. Thus, shy rural children are still not regarded as problematic, and, as was the case with their urban counterparts in the early 1990s, continue to obtain approval and social support from peers and adults and achieve success in social and academic areas. It is important to note that many rural regions of China are currently undergoing rapid changes, which provides a good opportunity for researchers to examine how rural children will adapt to the changing environment.

Future Directions

During the social and economic transformations, Western individualistic values such as assertiveness and autonomy have been introduced into China and have been exerting influence on the views and behaviors of Chinese children and adults. However, Western values are unlikely to be adopted completely in their original forms, but instead, may be integrated with Chinese cultural traditions. It will be interesting to investigate how children and adolescents in China develop integrated and sophisticated value systems.

The macro-level social, economic, and cultural changes may have pervasive effects on individual development. Moreover, urban lifestyles, increased affluence, and new cultural values that are promoted by modernization may affect the structure and function of social relationships. It has been argued, for example, that the traditional utilitarian and instrumental type of relationship, *Guan Xi*, is losing significance in China as the society moves to a market economy and stronger legal infrastructure (Tamis-LeMonda et al., 2008). Unfortunately, there is little research on the effects of the societal changes on interpersonal



relationships and peer groups in Chinese children and adolescents.

The studies conducted by our team and others have explored the implications of social and cultural changes for socioemotional development. An important task for researchers is to explore the processes by which contextual changes play a role in determining children's socioemotional functioning and the significance of those changes. The processes likely involve factors at multiple levels, from institutional to personal. Therefore, a multi-level (individuals nested within the group or school in multiple communities), multi-disciplinary (sociological, anthropological, psychological), and multi-method (quantitative, ethnographic, historical) approach may be needed to achieve an in-depth understanding of the processes.

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Assessing Social Change from the Perspective of Child Well-being and Development

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The historical and local nature of childhood has been emphasized by sociological child studies for the last twenty years. Each period and region provides a range of experiences for children which are more or less unique while reinforcing the child's potentialities in different ways and

to different degrees. Although the generic features of being a child are culturally and socially constructed, modified and transformed, we do not know how universality and singularity are related. Nevertheless education and learning are focal points of every child's life (James, Jenks, & Prout, 2001; Corsaro, 1997; Elder, Modell, & Parke, 1993).

In times of social change the child's everyday life contexts transform and transcend traditional contexts of learning while generating new opportunities and obstacles. Since early development takes place in interaction with other people and concrete surroundings, social and structural changes necessarily have a series of connections with the child's everyday life. From the point of view of transitions and transactions between generations, those large-scale processes that induce alterations in the child's interaction partners or in interaction patterns with his/her significant others are important. In general, a comparative study of child development in different generations of children comprises several problems that must be defined and discussed (Pierson, 2004).

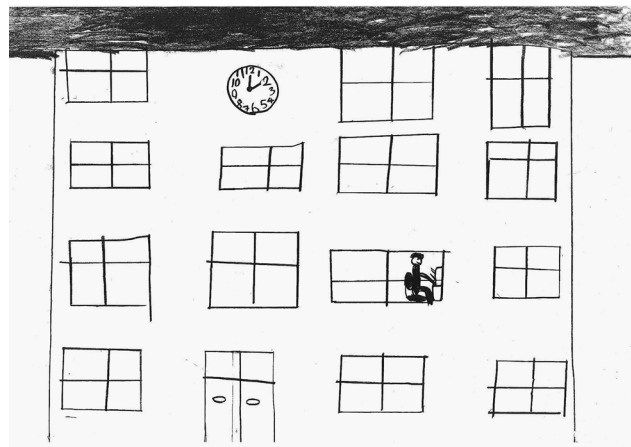
Two contemporary world-wide processes that are radically altering the conditions of children's everyday life include the intensifying demands of working life for parents and children's increasing consensual and non-consensual exposure to electronic media. As a consequence both the amount of time for interaction and the psychological availability of parents for children are declining. According to our project, "*Children's well-being and media in cultural and societal contexts*", these two areas of change play major roles in the regulation of children's subjective well-being and development.

We studied the subjective well-being of five- to six-year-old children in the Nordic welfare state of Finland and in post-socialist Estonia in 1993–1994 and in 2002–2003. We interviewed over 800 children and gathered data from their parents. The research design is reminiscent of a "natural experiment" where the main difference between the countries is political: Estonia has a 50-year history of being annexed to the Soviet Union and it regained independence in 1991. In Estonia the Iron Curtain had meant isolation from western media, although partial liberalization started as early as the 1980s. In both countries the media expansion has been striking. Between 1993 and 2003, TV exposure, the number of TV channels and the number of programs have increased considerably. For example, international children's programs have increased from 0 to 134 minutes on weekdays, and from 60 minutes to 386 minutes on weekends with a parallel decrease in national children's programs in Estonia, whereas in Finland the number of all kinds of children's programs has increased several times over. In both countries mothers' full-time participation in the labor market has been high and children usually start to attend day care outside the home at age one or two. Globalization accelerated in Estonia because of its transition from a socialist to a free-market society. The working hours of mothers and fathers increased considerably in Estonia during the process of transition (Lahikainen, Korhonen, Taimalu, & Kraav, 2007; Lagerspetz, 1993; Taimalu, Korhonen, Lahikainen, & Kraav, 2004).

How Changes in Working Life Cross Over to Family, Education and Care

Generally the main responsibility for children's care and education belongs to the family, irrespective of the amount of time and resources that parents are capable of allocating to their children and up-bringing. The intensification of work, the turbulence in the labor markets, the increasing participation of women in working life, longer working hours and the general demand to devote more time and energy to work outside the home are tendencies that all condition, contextualize and frame parenting in new ways. As a consequence, parents are more often absent from children's everyday life, and the burdens of work such as fatigue, homework and work-related worries spill over into family life. In addition to the physical absence of parents, there is an "absence of psychological presence" that children have to cope with (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 1995; Rönkä, Kinnunen, & Sallinen, 2005; Oinonen, 2008).

It is now the lot of the majority of children in post-industrial societies that they have fewer opportunities to spend time together with other family members. American sociologist Arlie Hochschild describes these "time-binds" of parents and their psychological and social ill-effects for the family life (Hochschild, 1997). In a Finnish study in 1999–2000, children aged 10–14 spent on average 7 minutes a day conversing with their parents. In a 12-year follow-up period the decreasing trend became more pronounced (Niemi & Pääkkönen, 2001, pp. 86–87). The same phenomena have been described in Estonia by Einasto (2002) and Hansson (2000). When children have fewer opportunities to be together with their parents, they also have fewer opportunities to observe them as models as well as less time to share their experiences. The changing demands concerning the adult population are reflected in talk about "quality time". In order to receive care and education, children are expected to adapt to time schedules dictated by adults and originating from production demands. In practice, "quality-time care" has become a problem for the



Typical visualisation of a parent working by an 8-year old artist. Previously published in an article *Aikuisen työ lapsen silmin* [Adults Working through Children's Eyes] by Riikka Kivimäki and Katri Otonkorpi-Lehtoranta in Lahikainen, Hietala, Inkinen, Kangassalo, Kivimäki & Mäyrä *Lapsuus mediamaailmassa* [Childhood in Media World] Gaudeamus 2005

younger generation. In our research we are concerned with how children use the increased leisure time accorded to them by parental absence. For example, the electronic media are in the process of colonizing generations of children.

How Informationalization is Reflected in the Everyday Life of Children

Electronic media have become part of the daily life of children and have made that life increasingly complex. The media supply a never-ending flow of images and sounds which compete with and alter the contents and eventually the value of primary face-to-face relationships. *The transformation of childhood by means of electronic technology* has remained largely unexplored terrain, despite its vast and growing importance. One must also recognize that the first wave of media research is largely obsolete because of the increasing number and diversity of equipment available in homes and because advanced digital technologies disseminate qualitatively and quantitatively more information than the small black-and-white television screen of the sixties. By making both pictures and sounds ever more technically perfect, more explicit and colorful, more packed with details, they actually, in Marshall McLuhan's words, make the new media "hot" rather than "cool". The accelerated pace and rhythm of "the flow of information" and the availability of the media everywhere also create new kinds of audiences, of which children are one example.

From the point of view of early socialization, the transformations of the contemporary media world can usefully be divided into three separate groups of phenomena: firstly, the general informationalization of society including globalization, changes in patterns of family and working life, and the rapid and risky expansion of information technologies; secondly, the overall increase in both consensual and non-consensual media exposure and over-exposure in various domestic or institutional contexts (e.g. day care); and thirdly, the transformations in the consciousness, feelings and sensations of the audiences, from the dreadful to the blissful, disseminated by the media. The use of images instead of and in addition to words has immeasurably intensified television's importance to younger children with their limited language capacities (Castells, 1996–1998; Webster, 1995; Buckingham, 1991, 1996, 1997, 2000; Cantor, 1991). The media penetrate young children's lives at multiple levels, psychologically and sociologically, from the level of everyday life and media-related social interaction to the level of children's own media-induced experiences.

Children as Primary Informants of Social Change

Studies on the subjective well-being of 5-to-6-year-olds in Finland and Estonia in 1993–2003 have surprised the researchers in many respects. New insights were gained mainly because both the children and their parents were used as informants on children's subjective well-being. This is exceptional in research concerning very young children. Changes concerning children's subjective well-being as reported by children themselves in semi-structured interviews were more pronounced than the changes



Original photo by Steven H. Keys, KeysPhotography.com

reported in the corresponding assessments of their parents (Lahikainen, Tolonen, & Kraav, 2008; Taimalu 2007). The following observations have theoretical and general relevance for studying social change and child development.

In the early 1990s, child-reported television-related fears turned out to be very common among young children, when such fears were reported by nearly 80 percent of children in Finland (Lahikainen, Kraav, Kirmanen, & Maijala 1995). Ten years later, this was also true for Estonian children. In ten years, TV-induced fears increased from 48 percent to 82 percent in Estonia. In addition, a parallel increase in fears of nightmares from 5 percent to 64 percent was found in Estonia (Taimalu, 2007). Not only TV but more generally, *electronic screens* play an important role in colonising children's thoughts and fantasies. This fact only became observable when children were allowed to talk freely about things that frighten them (for more about the interview technique, see Lahikainen, Kirmanen, Taimalu, & Kraav, 2003).

Child-reported television-induced fears are associated with child-reported fear of nightmares, reflecting the effectiveness of the visual image. If media images feed the child's fantasy at night, they may tend to do so in the daytime as well, at home and at school, interfering with the day's demands, and with parents' and teachers' expectations. Fears of imaginary creatures were also connected with TV-induced fears (Lahikainen et al., 2007; Korhonen & Lahikainen, 2008). This suggests that new kinds of symptoms have emerged by means of the relational virtual powers of electronic media compared with to face-to-face everyday interaction.

Parents and educators have only limited awareness of their children's fears and tend to underestimate them. Our results correlate with previous results concerning multiple informant agreement in the assessments of children. Two main interpretations have been presented. The first is the desirability-effect among parents (Bird, Gould, &

Staghezza 1992; Edelbrock, Costello, Dulcan, Conover, & Kalas, 1986), and the second is the contextual dependence of children's behavior combined with the informants' different opportunities to observe the child's behavior (Begun, Gullo, & Modell, 1992). I believe that both factors explain our results. In our study, parents particularly underestimated those fears in which they themselves were involved, like the fear of separation, fear of parental arguing and fear of punishment. In some cases children intently want to hide their fears, for instance TV-induced fears. When children infringe viewing rules, they may try to avoid restrictions on their viewing and ensuing reproaches by not reporting their fright to their parents. Children want to maintain their autonomy in relation to the media and the balance between excitement and fear. It was found that children prefer avoidance to social support as a coping strategy for TV-induced fears (Valkonen, Pennoen, & Lahikainen, 2005; Korhonen, 2008; Kirmanen 2000; Lahikainen, Kraav, Kirmanen, & Taimalu, 2006).

It seems that globalization, which can lead to greater parental work-related stress and increased electronic media exposure, tends to have general consequences for the child-adult relationship. The field of shared experiences and activities between generations tends to become narrower at the same time as the age-group relationships are strengthened. We found several indications of this kind of development. Children are exposed to and impressed more and more by things that are beyond the control of parents or other adults. This is due the simultaneous increase in media equipment, the increase in programs and channels aimed at children and the overwhelming program and channel supply for adults. Only one in three children aged five to six say they seek their parents' social support when they become frightened (Korhonen, 2008; Kirmanen 2000; Taimalu, 2007). Also, despite the careful recruitment and the training they were given for the task, our interviewers often had difficulties understanding children's talk, because the children spoke a lot about issues and used terms that were not familiar to the interviewers (Lahikainen, Partanen, Roine & Valkonen, 2004).

There are several important methodological conclusions that can be drawn from our results. The perspective of social change in research into child development draws attention to many questions concerning the validity of indicators of child development. Social changes impinge upon the child and cause problems in new ways that are not necessarily observed immediately by parents and educators. Then the child challenges himself/herself in order to cope with them. All in all, the everyday life of the child may remain hidden to adults to a greater extent than before, because it is fragmented and lived increasingly in different contexts. There are several reasons to maintain that no adult is as good a specialist on the child's everyday experiences as the child him/herself. Developing research techniques for work with children, therefore, remains the main challenge. The modified Fear Survey for Parents based on Ollendick (ref. by Bouldin & Pratt 1988) was unable to reveal new fears reported by children in semi-structured interviews, where the interviewers were provided with a few key questions and trained especially to listen to the child (Taimalu 2007; Lahikainen et al., 2003). Another research question is whether parents are the only valid informants about their children's well-being, or

whether we should also listen to the children themselves. In summary, due to the generation gap, the value of the child as informant of his/her life has increased. We also need to be aware that studying social change requires the development of new measures and methodologies.

Child Development in Changing Social Contexts

Social change affects children both directly and indirectly, in many and complicated ways. In our project three different types of outcomes were found. First, some factors that produce social change may have universal effects, which are independent of the local and cultural contexts in which the child lives. This is the case where the effects of electronic media expansion are concerned. Media expansion goes hand in hand with the increase in children's media-related fears. Certainly these are not the only effects of informationalization on child development. We also found signs of an increase in para-social relationships and media dependence. The unifying effects of electronic media expansion may be due to the freshness of the phenomenon and the lack of national social policies regulating its effects. Second, factors of social change are contextually or culturally



Tove Jansson's Moominvalley characters excite children all over the world. The Groke pictured on this cup is the most often mentioned object of fear related to TV programs in our Finnish data (picture by Marjo Pennoen, 2009)

mediated. We also found culturally dependent changes in child indicators. Children's fears related to other people changed in opposite directions among Finnish and Estonian children. Projective social fears have increased, but in the semi-structured interview children reported them less often in Finland in 2003 than in 1993, whereas the opposite tendency was found among Estonian children. Third, some cultural or contextual factors may have a stronger connection with child development than social change factors, or they may be untouched by social change, as is the case with styles of education. We also found permanent differences between children in the countries compared. The Estonian children clearly had more psychosomatic symptoms and their behavioral orientations revealed less autonomy, less emotional expressiveness, and less toleration of frustration compared with Finnish children at both points of measure. If we want to gain a better understanding of child development, it is crucial that we continue to explore and unravel the mechanisms that affect child development (Lahikainen et al., 2008).

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Children of Rural to Urban Migration: An Integrative Intervention for Adaptation to Social Change

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Social change is a significant human phenomenon that has far-reaching implications for adaptation to changing environmental demands. From economic and political changes to rural-urban and international migration, social change brings with it both challenges and opportunities for human development. Policy-relevant studies of human development need to consider this phenomenon seriously in assessing what is to be maintained and what is to change over time and why. In particular, urbanization involves changes in lifestyles such that some of the competencies that are important in the rural context lose their adaptive value while cognitively oriented school-like competencies become adaptive for success.

Rural to urban mobility is a world-wide phenomenon, to such an extent that while in 1990 twice as many youth lived in rural as in urban areas, the proportions of urban populations of youth are projected to equal and then exceed rural ones in 10 to 15 years (World Energy Council, 1999). Turkish society has experienced rural to urban shifts dramatically in the second half of the 20th century. In 1950 the rural population constituted 80% of the total population

of the country, while currently the urban population has reached a high of 67%. Generations of peasants have moved out of rural villages and have settled on the periphery of the large cities in Turkey in search of jobs; many have migrated abroad, especially to Europe.

Such mobility involves profound changes in life styles. Age-old traditions that are important in subsistence farming become obsolete with expanding schooling, services and specialized jobs. A common problem encountered in this process of social change is the mismatch between parental (traditional) beliefs/behaviors and the requirements of urban environments, especially in schools (for a review see Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007). This is a case of 'culture lag'. Given the powerful environmental influences on human development, such mismatches work as disadvantages or impediments for the children's development from an early age onwards.

Intervention and Policy Approaches

Social policies and intervention programs targeting socioeconomically disadvantaged children and youth can pursue two routes: 1. Improving environments—increasing environmental resources and decreasing environmental constraints (for example by providing better educational and employment opportunities); 2. Building individual resources—enhancing the cognitive skills and performance of children and youth in deprived circumstances. While the two routes are intertwined, the distinction here is in terms of the main focus.

Regarding the first route, the proximal environment of the child has to be the focus of attention. A great deal of empirical research notes the importance of a cognitively supportive home environment on the child's cognitive development regardless of socioeconomic standing. This research reveals the key role of the primary caretaker and the proximal environment in mediating the overall development of competence and the detrimental effects of socioeconomic deprivation. For example, results from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth (NLSY) in the United States showed the (lack of) emotional support and cognitive stimulation in the home environment to account for one third to one-half of the disadvantages in verbal, reading and math skills among persistently poor children (Korenman, Miller & Sjaastad, 1995; see Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007 for more recent studies). Interventions therefore target mostly caretakers and attempt to improve environmental conditions.

Regarding the second route, intervention needs to target the child directly to promote healthy development. Indeed, concerted efforts have been made in many countries to provide deprived children with cognitive enrichment that would enhance their ability to benefit from formal schooling. Most of this work takes on a 'center-based' approach in providing children with skills needed for school success and better socio-cultural adaptation in migration contexts. Most early intervention programs and evaluation research have been conducted in the United States. There is a continuing debate regarding the relative effectiveness of the two above routes of action in intervention programs and social policies. These have been named also as parent-focused and child-focused approaches and have been compared for their relative effectiveness

(Kağıtçıbaşı, 2007; Kağıtçıbaşı, Sunar, Bekman, Baydar, & Cemalcilar, in print). A recent meta-analysis has concluded that center-based child-focused programs produce better child cognitive outcomes (Blok, Fukkink, Gebhardt, & Leseman, 2005). Yet, these two approaches need not be alternatives but rather can be and should be combined for more optimal outcomes, to be explained below.

TEEP as a Case in Point

The Turkish Early Enrichment project (TEEP) is an example of a comprehensive early enrichment intervention research project that targeted both the child and the primary caretaker (mother) to support the enhancement of the child's individual resources and also to improve the proximal environment of the child (Kağıtçıbaşı, Sunar & Bekman, 2001; Kağıtçıbaşı et al., in press). It is the only long-term longitudinal study of intervention outside of the Euro-American context. The research and its resultant program applications derive from a 22-year longitudinal study, including an original study and its first and second follow-ups. The original research was a 4-year intervention study (1982–1986) conducted in five low-income districts of Istanbul (Turkey) with 255 mothers and their young children (3–5 years of age). Two follow-up studies were conducted in 1992 and 2004 to assess the long-term effects of the intervention.

The Intervention Program. TEEP was designed to promote overall human development in the context of rural to urban migration in Istanbul, Turkey. The families participating in the study were mostly former rural villagers. Seventy-three percent of the mothers and 74% of the fathers had been born outside of the city. Most of the mothers had only an elementary education (mean 5.36 years). About two-thirds were working as unskilled factory workers.

The study investigated the separate and combined effects of two types of enrichment of early childhood environments: a center-based education and a home-based intervention for children of preschool age. Children were in one of three alternative care environments: an educational day care center (ED), a custodial day care center (CUST), or home care (HOME). Base-line assessments were carried out

in the first year. Then approximately half of the children in each care environment were randomly assigned to the mother training group (MT) in the second and the third years; those in the other group did not receive any mother training (NMT).

The ED and CUST day care centers catered to the children of the working mothers, and were mainly conducted at the work places of the mothers. Thus, the type of center was not chosen by the parents according to their preferences, but on the basis of convenience or necessity. The ED centers provided a program of educational activities, whereas the CUST centers merely provided care. The children whose mothers were not employed were at home during the day (HOME group).

Mother Training had two components, a cognitive component and a mother support component; the whole program lasted 60 weeks over a 2-year period. The cognitive component comprised an adaptation of HIPPI (The Home Instruction Programme for Pre-school Youngsters, Lombard, 1981). It consisted of worksheets and story books, designed to promote preliteracy and prenumeracy skills to prepare children for school, focusing on language, sensory and perceptual discrimination skills, and problem solving. It was applied to mothers through biweekly home visits and group discussion sessions; mothers worked on the materials with their children at home. The Mother Support component of MT consisted of 30 biweekly guided group discussions which constituted a culturally sensitive activity, since women are used to spending time in women's groups in Turkey. Group discussions were designed to sensitize the mothers to the needs of their children as well as to their own needs. It aimed to build better communication skills, better parenting skills, and empowerment of the mothers, and it covered such topics as health and nutrition, children's developmental needs, play activities for young children, child discipline, and parent-child interaction.

Results of the post-program evaluation. Reassessments and additional measures of overall development of children, including school records, were conducted in the fourth year of the study when the children had finished one or three years of primary school. Positive effects of both preschool



Children of TEEP

care environment and mother training were observed immediately post-intervention in the form of higher IQ scores, school grades, achievement test scores, and general cognitive ability scores. The children from educational nursery schools showed better performance on most of the measures compared to those from custodial day care centers and those who were cared for at home. Also the mother training group was superior to the no-mother training group on school adjustment ratings and self-concept.

Mother training positively influenced mothers' orientation to their children. Trained mothers reported significantly greater attentiveness to and direct interaction with the child, and more involvement with their children in cognitively oriented activities and school responsibilities than the NMT mothers; they also had higher educational aspirations and expectations for their children than the NMT mothers. MT mothers also used more positive disciplinary strategies and more praise than NMT mothers. Mothers also benefited from the intervention. Their literacy skills improved, and they reported a higher sense of self-efficacy and a more positive interaction with their spouses at the end of the two year intervention (Kağıtçıbaşı et al., 2001).

Results of the First Follow-up Evaluation. To assess whether these gains in children and mothers persisted over time, 6 years after the end of the original study (7 years after the mother training intervention) a follow-up study was conducted with 217 families. Findings suggested that both types of enrichment, but particularly mother training, were associated with positive outcomes in adolescence. Mother training predicted school attainment, independent of both baseline IQ and early care environment. Eighty-six percent of children whose mothers had undergone mother training, but only 67% of those who had not were still in school (Kağıtçıbaşı et al., 2001). Compulsory schooling was only five years in Turkey at the time. Children who are not successful in school in low income areas tended to drop out after the compulsory five years of primary school. Children who were still in school at the time of the first follow-up had passed beyond compulsory schooling and were attending middle school. Mother training also positively affected school grades throughout the years of compulsory education. As schooling is the main route for social mobility in urban low-income contexts, the social implications of these findings are notable.

Both mothers and fathers in the MT group had higher expectations for their children's further education than the NMT parents. They also reported fewer problem behaviors of the child, and more positive parent-child relationships than NMT mothers. Both MT and ED children had higher scores than other groups on a standardized vocabulary test. More of the gains from mother training were sustained compared to those from educational day care. This finding is probably because of the fact that the mother training program provided a beneficial change in the mother herself, which is consequently reflected in her relation with the child, as well as in the general atmosphere of the home, which consequently helped support the continued development of the child (Bekman, 2003; Kağıtçıbaşı, 1995, 1997; Kağıtçıbaşı et al., 2001, 2007). These effects present an

example of the importance of the early proximal environment for sustained positive development.

Results of the Second Follow-up Evaluation. A second follow-up conducted 12 years after the first follow-up (19 years after the intervention) aimed to explore the continuing effects of early intervention on the participants' educational attainment, socioeconomic success, family relationships, life satisfaction and social participation and adjustment. Of the 217 participants in the first follow-up study, 132 were located and interviewed, for a response rate of 61%. Comparisons of participants and non-participants indicated no significant differences between the two groups in terms of their gender, pre-program IQ score, family socioeconomic level, and school attainment during the first follow-up, suggesting that the participants represented the original sample.

The children had become young adults by the time of the second follow-up with a mean age of 25.4 years. Almost one-third of the participants were married. Mean age at marriage was 21.9 for women and 23.6 for men. On average, females had almost two more years of schooling than males (11.8 years and 9.8 years, respectively). Group differences were investigated in terms of achievement and cognitive skills (school attainment, college attendance, vocabulary test scores), and socioeconomic success (age at beginning gainful employment, occupational status, monthly expenditures as an index of income, and indicators of integration into the modern urban world (see Kağıtçıbaşı et al., in press for details).

The results showed that compared with no early educational intervention, those young adults who experienced early enrichment in the form of either attending an educational day care center or having mother training, or both, did better in terms of several indicators of socio-cultural adaptation and social integration in modern urban life (see Figure 1).

In particular, the early enrichment group had longer school attainment (of one year) ($F(1,127) = 3.2, p = .08$, indicating a trend in the expected direction) and more university attendance ($\chi^2(1,132) = 5.0, p = .03$). In line with this higher level of schooling, they started gainful employment at a later age ($F(1,118) = 4.4, p = .04$). This is important, since later beginning of full-time employment predicts more specialized work, requiring more education, and higher lifetime earnings. Accordingly, the early enrichment group also had higher occupational status ($F(1,125) = 3.8, p = .05$). They also attained higher scores on a vocabulary measure, and owned more personal computers and credit cards ($\chi^2(1,131) = 4.0, p = .05$). Clearly, these young people were more active participants in the information society and the modern economy than those individuals who did not receive intervention (Kağıtçıbaşı et al., in press).

There were separate long-term positive effects of mother training and educational preschool attendance, as well. The overall important finding, however, is the sustained benefits accruing from early enrichment of the child's proximal environment, as well as from early support of the child's own resources through such an improved environment—the two intervention routes mentioned in the beginning. Thus this empirical study affirmed both the child-focused and the parent-focused approaches.

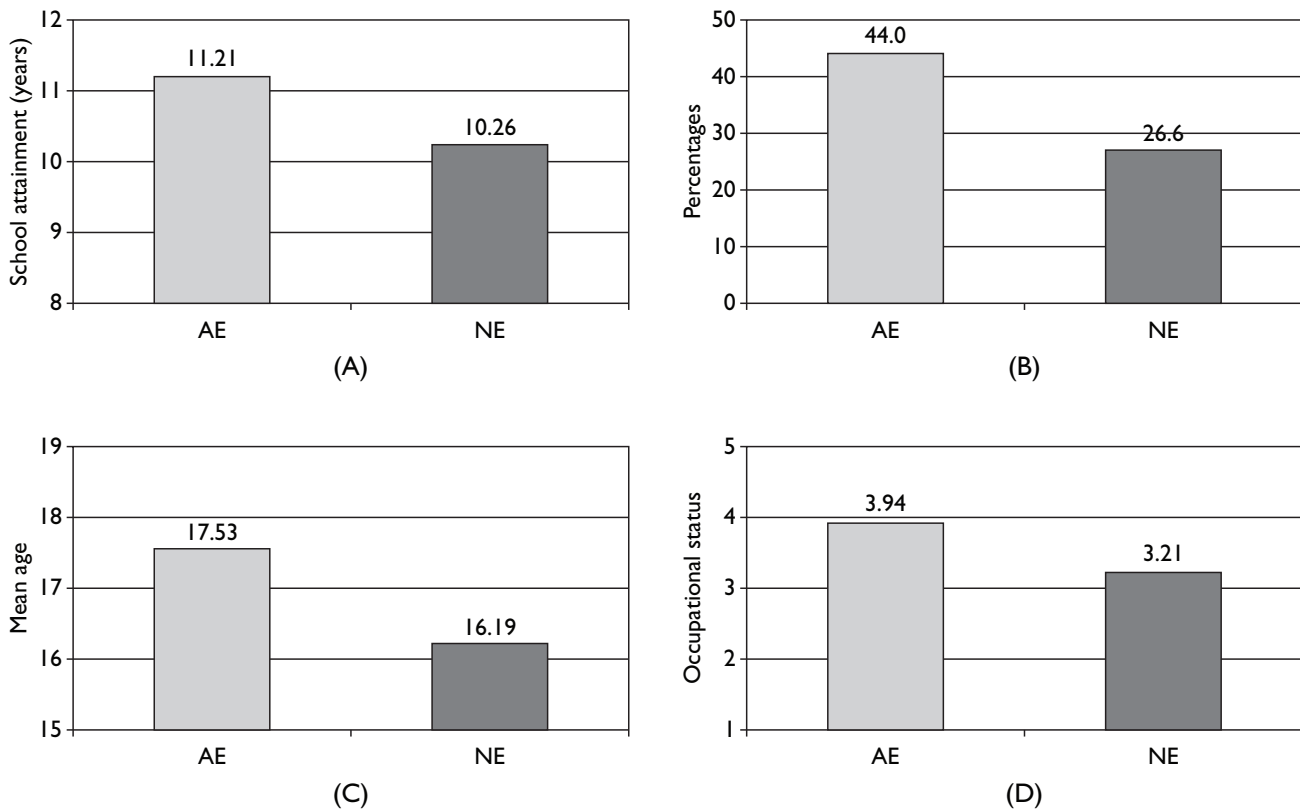


Figure 1. Comparisons between the participants who had exposure to any enrichment (AE) vs. those who had no exposure to an enriched early childhood environment (NE) on socio-cultural variables at Follow Up 2: (A) school attainment, (B) university attendance, (C) age of beginning gainful employment, (D) occupational status

Such sustained gains over time have rarely been demonstrated. Beyond just a handful of studies in the United States, they hardly exist (Campbell, Ramey, Pungello, Sparling & Miller-Johnson, 2002; Reynolds & Ou, 2004; Schweinhart et al., 2005). Even the results of some of these well-known North American projects are often less extensive than the TEEP, as shown in a recent meta-analysis (Blok et al., 2005).

Policy and Intervention Implications for Adaptation to Social Change

As mentioned before, the families participating in TEEP were rural-to-urban migrants in the process of adaptation to new lifestyles. The results showed that the adaptation of their children was facilitated by early intervention. The implications of TEEP are far-reaching, particularly for groups who have experienced comparable rural-urban or international migration, who face similar challenges in the face of changing environmental demands. For example, studies in Europe on ethnic minority children's cognitive development and school performance point to serious problems (Bornstein & Cote, 2006; Deković, Pels, & Model, 2006; Leseman, 1993). These issues could possibly be addressed by similar integrative and culturally sensitive support programs.

TEEP has led to policy and program developments in Turkey. A Mother-Child Education Foundation (ACEV), established in 1993, has substantially revised the mother-

child education program (MOCEP) and increased its reach widely (to some 300,000 mothers and children). It has been endorsed as a non-formal home-based early childhood education program by the Turkish Ministry of Education, beyond formal institutional preschool education, thus representing an educational policy change. It has been adapted to television. It is being implemented all over the country and beyond, with ethnic minorities in Belgium, France, Germany, and Switzerland, and in Arabic translation in Bahrain, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia. It has the potential for more adaptations and wider usage.

The policy relevance of research and theory is a key issue here. Some thirty years ago Bronfenbrenner (1979) wrote, "Basic science needs public policy even more than public policy needs basic science. Moreover, what is required is not merely a complementary relation between these two domains but their functional integration" (p. 8). Indeed, through culturally informed and theoretically sound approaches we can help individuals and societies to adapt to social change better, and in turn, obtain valuable feedback which this experience can contribute to our science.

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Changing Educational Aspirations in Three UK Cohorts: The Role of Gender, Parental Education, and Encouragement

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Educational aspirations are a vital expression of young people's hopes for the future and reflect their subjective assessment of how far in the educational system they would like to go. These aspirations can help youths to chart a life course, provide direction for spending time and energy during the school years, and are one of the strongest predictors of future educational and occupational attainments (Elder, 1994; Schoon, 2007; Schoon, Martin, & Ross, 2007; Schoon & Parsons, 2002; Sewell & Hauser, 1975). Since the 1970s young people have become more ambitious in their aspirations regarding further education, and more young people aim to participate in higher education, which was once the preserve of a privileged minority (Schneider & Stevenson, 1999; Schoon, 2006). In this article changes in educational aspirations will be assessed using data collected for three UK longitudinal studies, following the lives of over 30,000 young people born in 1958, 1970 and in 1989/90 respectively. The research described below is intended to give an example of the ongoing work at the Institute of Education, and to illustrate the unique potential of the UK cohort data for the study of lives over time, for comparative research, and for the study of social change.

To gain a better understanding of how and why young people's educational aspirations have shifted over time, three major influences on educational aspirations will be examined here: gender, parental education and parental aspirations for their children. One explanation for the rising educational aspirations of young people is that girls have become more ambitious and optimistic about their future, reflecting increasing gender equality in school and the workplace (Fan & Marini, 2000; Mickelson, 1989). Another explanation refers to the social backgrounds of students, which have changed over time (Goyette, 2008). As parents of students are themselves more educated the educational aspirations of their offspring are assumed to have changed. Another related explanation concerns changing parental aspirations for their children (Eccles, Jacobs, & Harold, 1990; Reynolds & Woodham-Burge, 2007; Schoon, 2006).

Gender Differences in Aspirations

In the UK gender patterns in educational attainment have been a topic of public debate since the late 1980s, following evidence suggesting that boys are failing to improve their performance at the same rate as girls, and that girls are overtaking boys in their academic motivation and the level of qualifications obtained (Arnot, 2002). The success and achievements of girls in the school system in the United Kingdom have been hailed as a story of the extraordinary success of post-war egalitarian movements. To some extent the shift in the gender balance, with girls catching up with or overtaking boys in their academic motivation and



academic attainments, has brought about something of a moral panic, leading the government to act in the name of underachieving boys to retrieve their educational standing (Epstein, Elwood, Hey, & Maw, 1998; Younger & Warrington, 2006). The threat of boys' disengagement from the educational system is of particular concern in the current era of growing knowledge economies requiring a highly skilled labor force. On the other hand, some have argued that recent gains of women in the educational system are something of an 'anomaly', a trend that should not have happened given persistent disadvantages for women regarding subject choice and opportunities in higher education and the workplace (Arnot, David, & Weiner, 1999). This report will examine whether gender differences in educational aspirations increase across the different age cohorts, and whether such ambitions persist even after adjusting for academic ability and family background factors, such as parental education and parental support for further education.

The Role of Family Background

According to theories of social reproduction, educational aspirations are circumscribed by social background characteristics, and in their consideration of which careers are possible young people orient themselves to social class reference groups (McClelland, 1990; Rosen, 1956; Sewell & Shah, 1968). Young people from less privileged social backgrounds generally report lower educational aspirations than do their more privileged peers, even after controlling for academic ability. Over recent decades educational aspirations have generally increased (Schneider & Stevenson, 1999; Schoon, 2006), and current generations of young people expect and attain more education than previous ones, in part based on the changing educational profiles of their parents (Goyette, 2008). Children born to better educated parents would thus be expected to have higher educational aspirations, whereby both the mother's and the father's education are expected to play a role (Fan & Marini, 2000).

Parental Encouragement

Parental encouragement is another crucial factor in shaping young people's aspirations (Neuenschwander, Vida, Garrett, & Eccles, 2007; Schnabel, Alfeld, Eccles, Koller, & Baumert, 2002). Parents' aspirations for their children have a significant effect on their achievement and adjustment even after other factors, such as social class, parental education and poverty have been taken into account (Desforges & Abouchar, 2003; Osborn, 1990; Schoon et al., 2007; Schoon & Parsons, 2002; Scott, 2004). Parental aspirations have also been identified as one factor underlying gender differences in educational aspirations. Surveys of students in the 1950s and 1960s show that although on average girls attained higher grades than boys, they received less encouragement from their parents and had lower educational aspirations (Alexander & Eckland, 1974; Marini & Greenberger, 1978; Sewell, Hauser, & Wolf, 1980). More recent research, however, indicates a move towards less gender biased attitudes and aspirations among both parents and their children (Schoon, 2006; Tinklin, 2003). Furthermore, increasing female participation in the work-

force and expanding opportunities for college educated women suggest that for contemporary cohorts, parental aspirations for further education no longer favor boys (Brewster & Padavic, 2000; Fan & Marini, 2000).

The UK Age Cohorts

In the following report, changes in educational aspirations are assessed, drawing on data collected for three UK age cohorts: the 1958 National Child Development Study (NCDS), the 1970 British Cohort Study (BCS70), and the Longitudinal Study of Young People in England (LSYPE) born in 1989/90. To give a better understanding of the potential of these studies for the study of human development in a changing social context, I give a short outline of their design.

NCDS and BCS70 both comprise data collected from large nationally representative samples of over 16,000 individuals born in single weeks in 1958 and 1970 who have been followed from birth to adulthood, using personal interviews and a self completion questionnaire (for more details see <http://www.cls.ioe.ac.uk>). Data for cohort members in NCDS were collected at birth and at ages 7, 11, 16, 23, 33, 42 and 46 years. For BCS70 data collection sweeps have taken place at birth and when the cohort members were aged 5, 10, 16, 26, 30 and 34 years. The sampling strategy for LSYPE was different than that for NCDS and BCS70. LSYPE is a panel study of just over 21,000 young people born between 1st September 1989 and 31st August 1990, comprising annual face-to-face interviews with young people and their parents as well as administrative data, such as those held on the National Pupil Database (for more information see: <http://www.esds.ac.uk/longitudinal/access/lstype/L5545.asp>). Sample members were all young people in year 9 or equivalent in all schools in England in February 2004. Since the study's inception in spring 2004 (wave 1), when the sample members were in year 9 (aged 13-14), they and their parents were interviewed annually. For LSYPE, weights were used to account for differential selection probabilities and for non-response bias.

In all three cohorts data is available on the young people's educational attainment, their educational aspirations, family social background, and parental aspirations for their children. At age 10/11 the students' math and reading ability was tested, and at age 15/16 educational aspirations were assessed in all three cohorts. In NCDS and BCS specially designed assessments were used to test academic abilities, and in LSYPE data from the National Pupil Database was accessed. Test data has been z-standardized to enable comparison across cohorts.

Comparability of variables in the different studies is generally a primary concern for the assessment of similarity and change across cohorts. Achieving comparability between the studies sometimes demands the use of less than ideal measures. Here, the dependent variable in the analyses refers to the educational aspirations of young people aged 15/16 years, which in all three studies are indicated by a dichotomous variable stating whether a sample member wants to continue with full-time education after the end of compulsory schooling at age 16 or not.

The main independent, explanatory variables are gender, parental education, and parental educational aspirations for their child. Parental education in the three

studies is indicated by a dichotomous variable differentiating between parents who continued in full-time education after compulsory schooling and those who did not. Parental educational aspirations in the three cohorts are indicated by a dichotomized variable to indicate whether the parents expect their child to continue in full-time education after compulsory schooling or not.

Another key concern in most longitudinal studies is sample attrition over time. Here the analytic samples are large enough to remain fairly representative of the different UK age cohorts, comprising 9,835 cohort members with complete data in NCDS (52% females), 5,168 in BCS70 (55% females), and 10,370 in LSYPE (54% females). The response rates to all three surveys were above 70%.

Changing Educational Aspirations in Three UK Age Cohorts

As indicated in the introduction, it is expected that girls have become more ambitious than boys in their aspirations, that the rise in educational aspirations is in part attributable to increased parental education in the later-born cohorts, and that parental aspirations for their children play a significant role in addition to gender and education. Table 1 shows that the educational aspirations of young people have generally increased, especially among girls. More young people in the later-born cohorts want to continue in further education beyond compulsory schooling age. While the majority of young people born in 1958 wanted to leave school at age 16, about three-fifths of young men and women born in 1970 wanted to continue in further education. Among young people born in 1989/90 over 80 per cent of boys wanted to continue in further education, as did over 90 per cent of girls.

Table 1. Cohort differences in educational aspirations of boys and girls, in parental education, and parental educational aspirations for their children in %

	NCDS	BCS70	LSYPE
Year of assessment	1974	1986	2007
Educational aspirations: further education beyond compulsory schooling			
Boys	32.9	58.5	82.9
Girls	33.0	62.8	93.4
Parental education: further education beyond compulsory schooling			
Father	21.7	29.1	42.8
Mother	21.5	29.7	36.8
Parental aspirations for their child: further education beyond compulsory schooling			
Sons	44.0	57.4	78.6
Daughters	51.1	65.9	90.7
Total N	9,835	5,168	10,370

Determinants of Educational Aspirations

Table 1 also shows that the education level of parents has generally increased. While in NCDS only about a fifth of parents had enjoyed further education, this increased to nearly a third in BCS70 and about two-fifths in LSYPE. Interestingly, in LSYPE fathers appear to be generally better educated than mothers, possibly reflecting gender inequalities in educational opportunities for women growing up in the 1960s. Table 1 also shows an increase in parents' educational aspirations for their children. Parents' aspirations for their daughters are generally higher than for their sons. This might suggest persistent templates for male careers in occupations requiring fewer academic qualifications, or perceptions that boys might be less suited than girls for participation in further and higher education.

Table 2 shows the logistic regression models used to explore the relative role of gender, parental education, and parental educational aspirations for their children in shaping educational aspirations of the young people at age 15 to 16 years. The models were run separately for each cohort. All models include controls for student test scores in math and reading (measured at age 10/11), as well as family occupational status (i.e. occupational status of mother or father, whichever is higher).

The findings suggest that in all three cohorts parental aspirations are the most important predictor of the educational aspirations of their children, especially in NCDS. While in NCDS gender is not a significant predictor of teenage aspirations, after controlling for academic ability, parental occupational status, parental education, and parental aspirations, there are significant gender differences in BCS70 and particularly in LSYPE. The findings thus suggest that girls have become increasingly more ambitious than boys in their educational aspirations, in addition to and above the other variables included in the model. Parental education also plays a significant role in shaping teenage educational aspirations, especially father's education—although less so than gender and parental educational aspirations.

Conclusion and Outlook

Since the 1970s educational aspirations of teenagers have dramatically increased. In particular girls have become significantly more likely than boys to aspire to further education after compulsory school leaving age. This is the case even after controlling for academic ability and parental social status. Higher aspirations among girls might indicate that they enjoy education more than boys, that they are more optimistic about their future prospects, or that they are likely to believe that their education is to be rewarded, even if that is not necessarily in economic terms. It has been argued that girls' greater investment in school despite generally lower economic returns (compared to men) is something of an 'anomaly' (Mickelson, 1989), and that women may perceive and evaluate returns to their education differently from men, placing more value on the potential of further education to enhance the quality of their personal, familial, and community lives (Mickelson, 2003). It might however also be that women are realizing that their educational and occupational opportunities are improving.



Table 2. Logistic regression models predicting educational aspirations in the three age cohorts

	NCDS		BCS70		LSYPE	
	Odds ratios	95% CI	Odds ratios	95% CI	Odds ratios	95% CI
Gender	0.88	(0.76–1.01)	1.38*	(1.11–1.71)	2.38*	(1.98–2.87)
Father's education	1.28*	(1.06–1.55)	1.28#	(1.00–1.65)	1.34*	(1.11–1.62)
Mother's education	1.36*	(1.14–1.62)	1.96*	(1.54–2.49)	1.06	(0.87–1.28)
Parental aspirations	24.73*	(20.83–29.36)	11.52*	(8.75–15.17)	8.53*	(7.18–10.13)
Nagelkerke R ²	0.630		0.434		0.338	

* $p < .001$; # $p < .05$.

A key driver of educational aspirations of young men and women are the aspirations held by their parents. Especially young people from relatively disadvantaged families need the backing of their parents in order to succeed (Schoon, 2006). A number of studies have confirmed the crucial role that parents play in providing support and encouragement to their children, socializing them as best they can (Desforges & Abouchar, 2003; Osborn, 1990; Neuenschwander et al., 2007; Schnabel et al., 2002; Scott, 2004). High levels of parental aspirations are positively related with the child's aspiration and achievement, independent of social class factors (Sacker, Schoon, & Bartley, 2002; Schoon et al., 2007; Schoon & Parsons, 2002; Singh et al., 1995). Parental education also appears to have a significant influence on the educational aspirations of young people, yet to a lesser extent than parental encouragement.

Future research will examine in more detail the potential influences on girls' and boys' aspirations, such as interactions between the variables included in the models, the role of self-perceptions of abilities, and school motivation. Likewise the role of educational aspirations in predicting subsequent school attainment and employment opportunities will be assessed in LSYPE in order to update and confirm findings established in the earlier-born cohorts. Furthermore, comparisons of UK transitions from school to work and into family life will be made a cross the UK age cohorts, and also in relation to transition experiences in other countries. Being embedded in an international post-doctoral fellowship program 'PATHWAYS' coordinated by the Institute of Education (<http://ioeweb.server.ioe.ac.uk/ioe/cms/pathways>), and an international Collaborative for the Analysis of Pathways from Childhood into Adulthood (CAPCA) based at the University of Michigan, has provided exciting opportunities to examine the impact of social change on individual lives, and to investigate the various social structural supports and personal resources that facilitate successful transitions.

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COMMENTARY: Multiple Channels for the Developmental Implications of Social Change

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Recently, I and some colleagues planned a follow up of a longitudinal sample of American children who had been studied since birth and were set to graduate from high school this year. We ran into skepticism from some social scientists who questioned why another high school study was necessary when several first-rate comprehensive national studies of American high school students from the 1990s were already available. That the rise of the internet, the largest federal educational initiative in American history, and, now, a global economic meltdown had occurred in the interim did not suggest to these skeptics, at least at first, that perhaps those national high school studies needed to be updated. I was a little incredulous. After all, as a field, we have reached a point where uncritically generalizing from nation to nation or race/ethnic group to race/ethnic group is no longer acceptable. For many, however, generalizing from era to era or pre- to post-social change does not seem as problematic. I am being flip here, of course, in that few would deny the importance of social change for individual lives. We talk about it, however, far more than we actually study it. The four feature articles included in this special section of the bulletin go beyond talking and, as such, help to nudge the field towards real progress in understanding the link between social change and human development.

More than thirty years ago, Glen H. Elder, Jr. published a groundbreaking study, *Children of the Great Depression* (1974), which used historical data on children growing up in Northern California in the 1920s and 1930s to put forward a theoretical model for studying the effects of social change on child development. In short, the effects of economic, political, or cultural change or of major historical events (e.g., war) are filtered through close personal relations and interactions, especially intra-family dynamics. As a former post-doctoral trainee of Elder, I have always been impressed by how pervasively this model has permeated developmental research, with studies of German reunification and China's Cultural Revolution as just two examples in psychology and sociology (Silbereisen & Youniss, 2001; Zhou & Hou, 1999).

The elegant logic of this model is clearly evident in the four essays in this bulletin. In the work of Lahikainen, the combination of large-scale changes in work-family arrangements and media technology has created a situation in Finland and Estonia in which parents have less extensive knowledge of children's everyday lives and, therefore, less direct control of their developmental experiences. To be honest, I had never before thought about this child "visibility" question or its very practical implications for data collection until reading this essay. As for Chen's work, the market-based economic and political transformation of China in recent decades has led to a shift in family socialization practices towards an increased emphasis on autonomy, independence, and affect. Importantly, he has introduced an intriguing twist on this oft-discussed trend by spelling out how it has especially profound long-term consequences for shy children. A third essay featured the work of a set of Turkish researchers, Kağıtçıbaşı, Cemalçılar, and Baydar, who shift the focus somewhat by discussing a direct intervention. Similar to



the other essays, however, the maternal-child dyad is still viewed as clearly central to the link between a key aspect of social change—the rapid urbanization of Turkey—and child well-being. Finally, the British entry provides an excellent example of how historical data sets can be compared to capture cohort differences in some life course phenomena that signal the effects of social change. Specifically, Schoon used three national studies from the United Kingdom to trace out trends in the educational aspirations of boys and girls against the backdrop of economic restructuring, the expansion of the educational system, and changing norms about gender since the 1970s. Although this essay has a more demographic approach than the other three, it still highlights family dynamics—in this case, parental aspirations for their children—as the central mediator. In all four essays, therefore, the proximal environment—the family most critically—is the primary crucible in which social change is felt and lived. As the Turkish researchers write, “the proximal environment of the child has to be the focus of attention”.

This centrality of the proximal environment to studies of social change, which is itself rooted in long-standing perspectives of developmental science, is most definitely a tradition that needs to be continued. Still, I have long believed that it could be effectively and rewardingly complemented by a detailed consideration of the more macro-level structures and institutions that can convey the developmental implications of social change along with or independently of more proximal environments. Here, I am talking about population-level and sub-population-level systems of norms, values, and opportunities that are shaped by social change and, in turn, serve as the backdrop or playing field on which life course trajectories unfold. In reading the four essays in this bulletin, I got the distinct sense that the authors probably agree with me.

In the last few years, I have come to see the importance of looking at the levels above the proximal environment—both independently of and interdependently with the proximal environment—to understand why social change matters to human development, especially in the early stages of the life course. My work on the young children of Mexican immigrants and their experiences transitioning into American schools is one example (2006). Clearly, Mexicans have been migrating north for some time, and, to a certain extent, their children have always faced risks in the American educational system. Yet, this pattern is changing in qualitative ways as the sheer volume of Mexican migration (especially relative to other countries) has increased. The population of Mexican-origin families in many areas, including in my home state of Texas, has reached a critical mass that has both positive and negative consequences for children in this population. For one thing, it allows for the segregation of Mexican-origin children in Mexican-concentrated communities and schools that can bring ethnic solidarity and communalism but can also block the diversification of social networks (and concomitant development of social capital) and create extreme cross-school inequalities. As a result, the developmental trajectories of the growing number of Mexican immigrant children have to be understood at the intersection of their families' migration histories, the larger flow of migration from Mexico, and the institutions that serve them.

Another example concerns the ethnography that I conducted two years ago in a large American high school to complement my national-level research on the connection between adolescent social relations and educational pathways (2007). Even though I was only 15 years past high school myself,

I was struck by how strikingly different high school had become in the interim and how directly attributable many of these differences were to larger patterns of social change. Three specific phenomena stood out. First, the proliferation of wired and wireless media technology and the rise of social networking web sites and applications (e.g., Facebook, Twitter) has allowed the social arena of high school life to spill out beyond the school walls to an unprecedented degree. Indeed, this arena now has a 24/7 feel, which means that adolescents cannot really ever escape it no matter how far from the school they are. Second, a mixture of population change (the children of the Baby Boom coming of age) and educational policy action (sweeping curricular reorganization of and implementation of higher accountability standards) has magnified the cumulative nature of education, so that early mistakes, temporary problems, and bad decisions become much harder to reverse or overcome. Third, economic restructuring—as most clearly manifested in the full transition into the post-industrial global economy—has raised the long-term returns of higher education to such a level that the ability to use high school academic success as a jumping off point into college has become, more than ever, a make or break proposition for the life course. Put all of this together, and we see that the social ups and downs of high school life that have long been studied by developmentally-oriented researchers across disciplines (Steinberg, Brown, & Dornbusch, 1996; Rutter et al., 1979; Coleman 1961) have taken on a new form and that the already well-established risks and rewards of the high school experience for educational attainment have become more consequential in the short and long term.

Although the context is completely different, the Chinese case described by Chen has some similarities to these themes. The increasing emphasis on autonomous and independent psychosocial orientations better suited to instrumental success in a capitalist market are indeed visible in parenting processes within individual families, but this change is far more systemic. It has permeated official educational curricula and the media. Consequently, the family and peer group are primary channels of the implications of social change, but the reality is that multiple channels—distal and proximal, indirect and direct—are involved. Similarly, in the Finnish/Estonian case, the economic changes and related trends (e.g., maternal employment) of recent decades have altered the context(s) in which children are raised but have also constructed a new set of opportunities and expectations for boys and girls on the macro level that affects the meaning and consequences of their developmental experiences. This trend is especially evident in the British essay, in which Schoon spells out how large-scale social change has created different opportunity structures—in terms of what women can do in the labor market, what rewards they can accrue from education, what sacrifices they have to make in attaching themselves to the educational system and labor market—that shape their individual decision-making and its link to family life. On first glance, the cases of disadvantaged Turkish mothers of pre-schoolers and the full socioeconomic spectrum of British women seem quite dissimilar, but one unifying theme is how the experiences of both have been structured by the increasingly strong link between economic change and the rising value of educational attainment.

If, as a sociologist, I reflexively inject more macro-oriented perspectives into discussions of human development, I am also convinced of the need to think about how the effects of social change are transmitted through biological and physical channels. This field of research is not as extensive as other relevant fields,

but what has been done is quite provocative and needs to be discussed more often. Consider the anthropological studies of McDade (2001), who has demonstrated how the stress of modernization in developing societies, such as Samoa, is manifested in the immunological functioning of young people. As another example, the demographic research of Lauderdale (2006) has revealed that Arab-American women in California were more likely to experience negative birth outcomes (e.g., pre-term, low birth weight), which have major consequences for child development, in the months following 9–11. This highly intriguing pattern was attributed to the stress of living in a climate of heightened hostility towards those of Middle Eastern descent. In these cases, social change is operating on a biological or physical level, not just on a structural or interpersonal level. This valuable perspective has not been sufficiently integrated into developmental research, including my own, but that needs to change.

As I reflect on past and future research on social change and human development, I see that the four essays included in this bulletin illustrate some of the significant gains we have made and also point us in new directions. We have a loose, flexible core theoretical model in place—that of the proximal environment as the critical link between change on the societal and population level and change on the child level—that can be built on by moving up (so to speak) to capture structural, institutional, and cultural process and by moving down to capture biological process. As the global economy moves into a period of great, and possibly prolonged, uncertainty, now is a good time to put all of these ideas together.

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COMMENTARY: Social Change and Human Development: A Theory for the Data

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The field of developmental psychology often assumes that developmental trajectories are timeless, unaffected by historical change. Similarly the field of cultural psychology generally assumes that cultures are static rather than dynamic. The four very interesting studies in this issue of the *ISSBD Bulletin* have special significance because they do not make either of these assumptions, but instead address the effects of sociocultural dynamism on human development. And they do so for a set of very diverse cultures and societies: two societies, Turkey (Kağıtçıbaşı) and China (Chen), that have moved from agrarian to commercial and urban in a very short span of time; one postsocialist country, Estonia, that has undergone rapid social change since the fall of the Soviet Union (Lahikainen), and two Western European countries, England (Schoon) and Finland (Lahikainen).

The plan of my commentary is to integrate and unify the results of the four studies by means of a new theory of social change and human development (Greenfield, 2009). The analysis will illuminate how very diverse data from around the world can be understood and even predicted by the theory.

Worldwide sociodemographic trends are at the heart of the theory. These trends are highly patterned; their domains include ecology (the movement from country to city), economy (the movement from agriculture to commerce), education (the movement from the importance of informal education out of school to the importance of formal education in school), technology (the movement from less technology and simpler technology to more widespread and complex technology), social geography (from more isolated groups to more contact with the outside world) and population (from homogenous to heterogenous, from large families to small families). One or more of these sociodemographic trends is central to all four papers.

Two ideal types of sociodemographic environment (Keller, 2007) can be summarized by the classic sociological terms *Gemeinschaft* (community) and *Gesellschaft* (society) (Tonnies, 1887/1957). At the extremes, *Gemeinschaft* communities constitute simple, relatively poor, socially homogenous, isolated rural subsistence environments with little technology, where education takes place in the household's everyday world and where social relations center on lifelong family ties. At the extremes, *Gesellschaft* societies constitute complex, relatively rich, socially heterogenous, predominantly urban, high tech commercial environments that are connected to the world, where education centers on schooling and where many social relations are transitory ones with strangers. But unlike Tonnies' original formulation, my theory recognizes that *Gesellschaft* is not a single endpoint: *Gesellschaft* societies can always become more so: they can become more complex, richer, more heterogenous, more commercial, more high tech, more connected, and more highly educated.

Movement toward *Gesellschaft* and toward more extreme *Gesellschaft* conditions is the dominant direction of social change in the world today; it is therefore no coincidence that all four papers discuss the movement of an array of variables



in the *Gesellschaft* direction. The theory predicts that when any of these sociodemographic variables moves in a *Gesellschaft* direction, adaptation requires that cultural values and socialization shift in an individualistic direction, and formal education and cognitive development become more highly valued at home, while developmental pathways move toward more independent social behavior; greater sense of the individual's inner psychology, and more abstract cognition—to select a few examples, relevant to the four papers under discussion, out of the many behaviors and values that respond to these sociodemographic transformations (Greenfield, 2009). The sociodemographic variables are only loosely linked to each other, but their effects are similar: movement of any of the sociodemographic variables in the *Gesellschaft* direction pushes developmental pathways in a common direction. Another way of putting this is that movement of each sociodemographic variable in the *Gesellschaft* direction triggers similar adaptations in cultural values, learning environments, socialization, and development.

Each of the four lines of research described by Chen, Kağıtçıbaşı, Lahikainen, and Schoon provides data that are relevant to the theory. At the same time, the theory provides a conceptual framework for understanding how the four research programs connect to each other: On the sociodemographic level, each of the four articles focuses on change in a different sociodemographic variable. In Turkey, it is urbanization; in China, the transition from agriculture to a market economy; in England, the expansion of formal education; and in Finland and Estonia, the expansion of the technological environment. At first glance, the changes appear unrelated. However, according to my theory, the variables are indeed related: each one—urbanization, economy, education, and technology—is, over time, moving in the same direction, toward *Gesellschaft* or more extreme *Gesellschaft* values. On the sociodemographic level, the four studies together help validate the theoretical premise of a global sociodemographic transformation towards *Gesellschaft* or more extreme *Gesellschaft* conditions around the world. These transformations and their effects are best revealed by diachronic (i.e., longitudinal) studies that compare different time periods. And this is what each of the papers gives us, albeit with widely varying time scales, in the empirical data reported by the authors.

Let me begin my analysis with a terminological issue. Majority World and Minority World are terms coined by Kağıtçıbaşı as less value-laden than First, Second, and Third World or developed/developing countries. Kağıtçıbaşı's terms call attention to the relative population numbers living in these two different types of ecology. One of the false assumptions of the prior dichotomy between developed and developing world is that the Minority World has finished developing. A false corollary is that the Majority World is moving towards a fixed target in the Minority World. My theory places both Minority and Majority Worlds in the same framework and reveals that societies Tonnie's would have classified as *Gesellschaft* in the nineteenth century have continued to move in the same direction as those he would have classified as *Gemeinschaft*. In order to call attention to this common direction of movement in both the Minority and the Majority Worlds, I have divided the four papers into these two categories.

The Majority World

Developmental Implications of Massive Urbanization: The Case of Turkey

In Turkey, Kağıtçıbaşı notes the dramatic movement to the city since 1950. In 1950, 80% of Turkey's population lived in the country; currently 67% of Turkey's population lives in the city. Like Chen, Kağıtçıbaşı identifies a "mismatch between parental (traditional) beliefs/behaviors and the requirements of urban environments, especially in schools" (Kağıtçıbaşı, ms. p. 2). Her study is an intervention designed to reduce this mismatch, thereby enhancing the development of qualities that are adaptive in a more *Gesellschaft* environment—specifically, cognitive development and school achievement.

Her research design is a unique long-term longitudinal follow-up (22 years) assessing the effects of two years of educational interventions for children (preschool education) and their mothers (mother support groups and home instruction on the cognitive stimulation of their children). The study design was such that effects of mother-focused and child-focused interventions could be separately assessed. At all points (i.e., immediately after the study, seven years after the intervention, and nineteen years after the intervention), both the child-focused and the mother-focused interventions enhanced cognitive development and length of schooling. The results of the second intervention included a significantly higher rate of university attendance, significantly higher occupational status, significantly higher scores on a vocabulary measure, more personal computers, and more credit cards. In other words, for the young adults being followed, personal sociodemographics had moved in the *Gesellschaft* direction in all major areas: education (university attendance), cognitive development (vocabulary), wealth (higher occupational status), commerce (credit cards), and technology (computers). What is so fascinating is that the interventions were purely educational, but the long-term results spread to other key domains in a *Gesellschaft* environment. Kağıtçıbaşı's stimuli were educational, but their effects were systemic. These results dramatically show the theoretical and predictive value of linking separate sociodemographic variables into the ideal types of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.

As my theory would predict, Kağıtçıbaşı's intervention model can be applied wherever large *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* shifts take place around the world, whether through relatively endogenous social change or through immigration, from a more *Gemeinschaft* to a more *Gesellschaft* environment. Indeed, through Kağıtçıbaşı's considerable efforts, her remarkable interventions and their results have led to policy and program developments in Turkey and in other countries undergoing similar sociodemographic transitions—Bahrain, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia—as well as among immigrant minorities in Belgium, France, Germany, and Switzerland; these are groups who have undergone similar sociodemographic shifts in the process of immigration.

Developmental Implications of a Market Economy: The Case of China

Although he does not use Tonnie's terms, Chen starts by describing China's rapid transformation, beginning in the 1980s, from a more *Gemeinschaft* to a more *Gesellschaft* environment. He notes that China has shifted from a primarily agrarian society to a market economy; income has increased substantially; illiteracy has greatly declined, while school attendance has

lengthened; and nuclear family size has decreased drastically as a result of the one-child policy, even as multigenerational households also declined in frequency.

Chen goes on to note that, in the past, the goal of Chinese socialization practices was “to help children develop attitudes and behaviors that are conducive to collective well-being such as interdependence within the family, orientation to the larger social group, and obedience to authority (Ho, 1986)” (Chen, ms. p. 5). According to my theory (and implied by Chen), these qualities are adaptive in an agrarian environment. Correlatively, Chen observes that these “traditional Chinese childrearing attitudes and practices are clearly incompatible with the requirements of the market-oriented society that emphasizes individual initiative and competitiveness.”

Chen continues that socialization values have changed accordingly, with parents and educators in recent years encouraged to develop more individualistic qualities in their children and pupils—qualities such as expression of personal opinions, self-direction, and self-confidence (Yu, 2002). The rapidity of the change is shown by a difference between two cohorts of parents of elementary school children, one cohort assessed in 1998, the other assessed in 1992. The second cohort, assessed only four years after the first cohort, placed a greater value on independence and autonomy and was more psychologically-minded, placing a greater importance on children’s socio-emotional well-being. In terms of child development, Chen and colleagues have focused on shyness and inhibition, pointing out that these qualities are not well adapted to the market economy because they impede independent exploration and self-expression. Comparing cohorts studied at different phases of the societal transition (1990, 1998, and 2002), Chen and colleagues (2005) found that shyness was positively associated with social adjustment in the first cohort, unrelated in the second cohort, and negatively correlated in the last cohort. This pattern indicates increasing social pressure—indeed, a cultural change—shifting child development away from shy, inhibited behavior. However, while Chen sees the market economy as the driving force, this particular research design really assesses the effect of the total demographic transition, not the effect of one particular variable.

The Minority World

Developmental Implications of Lengthening Formal Education: The Case of the United Kingdom

Schoon presents data on formal education over a span of 33 years in the United Kingdom with regard to education and educational aspirations, showing how the attainment and aspirations of one generation influence the next. On the sociodemographic level, Schoon reports large-scale survey data showing increasing educational attainment among parents at three time points, 1974, 1986, and 2007. The survey data also suggest that this sociodemographic shift towards higher parental educational levels translates, on the level of socialization, into parents’ higher educational aspirations for their children, which, in turn, translates into higher educational aspirations of the children themselves. Hence, increased education in one generation shifts the developmental trajectories of the next generation. While the authors do regression analyses to nail down the link between parental aspirations for their children and children’s aspirations for themselves, they do not test the link between parental education and parental aspira-

tions for their children’s education. I would have liked to see a structural equation model showing that actual parental education is causally linked to parental aspirations for their children’s education, which, in turn, are causally linked to the children’s aspirations for their own education. The important strength of the design is that by utilizing both parent and child data at each historical time point, they are able to reveal the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission by which the long-term historical changes take place.

Developmental Implications of Technology: Finland and Estonia

On the sociodemographic level, Lahikainen points to the striking expansion of media (e.g., number of television channels) in both countries, noting especially the manifold increase in children’s television programming in both Finland and Estonia. Most important in her research design is the acceleration of global access to information technologies in Estonia following the end of the Soviet Union. To some extent Estonia was playing catch-up to Finland, which nonetheless continued to develop in this area. In terms of children’s environments, the acceleration of global contact through technology for children is manifest in a more than eightfold increase in international children’s programming in Estonia between 1993 and 2003. Thus, group isolation, a hallmark of the *Gemeinschaft* environment and way of life, has greatly decreased, while international contact and communication, a hallmark of *Gesellschaft*, has greatly increased in both Estonia and Finland.

Lahikainen focuses on the increasingly technological environment (specifically, television) of children in both countries that has resulted not only from an increase in availability, but also from economic developments in which both parents work and work longer hours. Another characteristic of a *Gemeinschaft* environment is the relative predominance of interaction with family members. Several studies in both Finland and Estonia show children to have decreasing daily interaction with parents in both countries. Hence, technology has, to some extent replaced interaction with close family members, thus moving children’s social environment away from *Gemeinschaft* and towards more *Gesellschaft* conditions.

Lahikainen’s main concern is the effect of this shift on child well-being. Her studies show a very high frequency of television-related fears in Finland (83% of 5–6 year-old children) in her 1993 wave of data collection. The rate of children’s television-related fears was much lower in Estonia in 1993 (48 per cent of 5–6 year-old children), a time when the country had much less TV access than did Finland. However, by 2003, Estonian children had about the same rate of TV-related fears (82%) as Finnish children had had in 1991. Lahikainen’s paper is an important corrective to most research which treats social change in a *Gesellschaft* direction in terms of benefits only; this study is important and quite unusual in demonstrating developmental costs.

Conclusion

As a group, these studies demonstrate how social change directly affects children’s environments, while also reducing the adaptiveness of parenting strategies that were adaptive under different sociodemographic conditions. We see the results in the transformation of socialization values and practices and in shifting trajectories of human development. Intergenerational



transmission is revealed as a link between macro change and changing trajectories of human development. Not only does my theory of social change and human development provide a unifying framework for four sets of very interesting and important data, but the broad and innovative range of data support and enrich my theory, providing new insights into the relationship between social change and human development.

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Reports from the Lab

The Political and Economic Changes in Germany as a Laboratory for Lifespan Psychology—The CADS in Jena

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The radical political and economic transformation of the 1990s that occurred in various parts of the world, particularly in Europe and Asia, found the social and behavioral sciences rather unprepared. A case in point is the reaction by psychological researchers to German unification after the breakdown of communist rule in 1989. Given the apparently tremendous differences between eastern and western Germany in the political and economic realms (freedom versus command, as some used to say), the first studies attempted to demonstrate presumed negative consequences of unification on the well-being and health of residents of eastern Germany, by comparing samples from the two parts of the country soon after unification. Unexpectedly, the differences found were small, if significant at all, and some even pointed in the ‘wrong’ direction.

Only after this disappointment did researchers began to re-think theoretical concepts about the transformation of a political system and the conditions under which such change may have an influence on the behavior and development of the people. For our part, we in the Center for Applied Developmental Science (CADS) at the University of Jena (located in the East of Germany, with 450 years of history and roots in the Protestant reformation) took part in a Collaborative Research Center (SFB 580) project titled ‘Social Development in Post-Socialist Societies’, funded by the German National Science Foundation (DFG) starting in

2000, and mainly comprising various social sciences. Although the conceptual depth of the collaboration with other disciplines, such as sociology, took some time to emerge, it has been an exciting experience.

Growing up in East Germany before unification meant a relatively stable and protected life, with few but secure options for one’s career. This came, however, at the price of freedom for self-expression in public life, the growing gap between the East’s technological advances and those of the Western world, and the extreme difficulty in obtaining consumer goods and other life commodities. In this regard, unification left people in the East unprepared for the profound economic strains that were about to occur and which were to be exacerbated by the uncertainties looming for the entire country through globalization and the subsequent structural crises that hit first the physical economy and more recently the financial markets. Even 20 years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, differences still exist between the former East and West, particularly concerning the amount of welfare support people in the East expect from the government compared to what they see as their own responsibility.

Whereas a leading paradigm in sociology and allied disciplines holds that the process of German unification can be explained as a ‘catch-up’ modernization of societal institutions (e.g., central planning and command from above as a principle of economic activity seemed maladaptive for the era of globalization), our colleagues in the SFB 580 pointed out that this approach did not account for the full range of conditions resulting from unification which, it was held, could better be explained by factors such as the actual challenges experienced by different groups of the population and by the variation of responses, which also depended on variations in resources such as job opportunities and the educational level of residents. An approach to German unification described as the Challenge-Response Model of Social Change documented the choices made by various groups of people depending, for instance, on the flexibility of the new institutional order they encountered and the readiness for change among those groups affected. Moreover, as not all consequences would turn out to be benign in the long run, new challenges would emerge (‘post-transformation’) that called for new responses, sometimes almost implying a reinvention of the solutions to replace those the old political system had achieved. Such a process has no definite end, and the initial sequence of change followed by second order change to overcome unintended consequences of the responses seems to represent the “logic” of political and economic transformation. It also became clear that, although other societies in the process of transformation (e.g., successor states of the former Soviet Union, Vietnam, or China) were in the process of finding their own solutions, the conceptualization of change mechanisms in terms of challenge and response could also be generalized to apply to more gradual change of encountered by more stable economic systems.

Given these manifold changes on the societal level, it is



Rainer K. Silbereisen and his Research Team (from left to right): Rainer K. Silbereisen, Sebastian Grümer (front row), Martin J. Tomasik, Astrid Körner, Claudia Recksiedler (middle row), Anja Blumenthal, Matthias Reitzle, Monique Landberg (back row)



not surprising that the bulk of the SFB 580 research projects refer to issues such as the restructuring of the former East German workforce. A prominent example concerns the world of work. The loss of markets, particularly in Eastern Europe, resulted in downsizing and wide-scale unemployment, and in order to compensate for the increasing volatility of the economy, restructured and privatized firms replaced substantial parts of the remaining workforce by 'externalized' labor provided by international temporary work agencies. At the same time, the role of firms as welfare providers for their employees was reduced, with social services such as company-run day-care and kindergartens often being outsourced to the community or to private enterprise. The irony is that all these changes caused a reaction after several years, because the rapid pace of innovation also required a highly skilled work force of experts that needed to be attracted by benefits, such as day care for families with young children. This example illustrates a general feature of German unification in times of globalization—the radical structural changes in the economy and in political representation led to overambitious adjustments that required corrections, and sometimes going 'back to square one'. Among the many other issues dealt with in the SFB 580 are the consequences of the transfer of the West German model of welfare institutions or the gradual change of political elites in the transition from the communist system to a social democratic approach, resulting in an unintended cleavage between the new elites and ordinary people in the East who have remained sceptical concerning the erosion of past beliefs and habits.

The role of the psychologists was to identify the individual experiences related to the macro changes and, by utilizing ideas characteristic of life-course sociology and lifespan psychology, predict and explain the implications of the responses for psychological functioning. What the political changes meant was a reshuffling of the societal scaffolding by which people negotiated their lives. An important insight of our investigation was that many aspects of societal functions were not actually changed at all, and although psychological effects were sometimes tumultuous, they were often circumscribed and limited to behaviors and aspects of psychosocial development that were influenced by social institutions. An example is the influence of schools or firms that underwent change during the political and economic transformation.

The conceptual backdrop of challenge-response on the macro level reminded us psychologists of structurally equivalent approaches under the general rubric of stress and coping. The notion was that the everyday manifestations of societal challenges at the individual level (henceforth called demands) represent the kind of experiences (ranging from sometimes crippling uncertainties, to opportunities for new behaviors) that lead to coping behaviors, reminiscent of the societal responses mentioned by our colleagues from the other social sciences. For them, the attraction lay in the promise to investigate the individual behaviors that not only represent reactions to the new challenges, but that also set the starting point for ultimate changes on the societal level, thus bridging aggregate level change across time by the behavior and development of individuals and groups. For us, the attraction was that we had an elaborate system of societal contexts and their dynamics at hand which, in theory (but until now rarely in

practice) are taken as important for a conceptualization of the contexts which developing individuals negotiate.

As already mentioned, the collaboration within the SFB 580 was no accident—actually, I and my colleagues at the CADS, and its predecessors at my former universities, had a long history of working on 'development as action in context' with models that focus on demands rooted in contextual change and that focus on action related to these demands as the central change mechanism. Inspired by Glen Elders's 'control cycle' model, we investigated how people dealt with economic hardship in Berlin and Warsaw in the early 1980s, and later in the former East and West Germany after unification; obviously this approach was also instrumental in our new line of research. As the range of topic-specific reactions to the multitude of transformation-related demands seemed endless, we relied instead on a model of developmental regulation (by Jutta Heckhausen and colleagues) that linked situational reactions to demands with long-term developmental changes. Other researchers relevant for our translation of the challenge-response model to individual behavior and development were Melvin Kohn and his series of studies on self-direction under conditions of societal change, from Poland and the Ukraine to China. And of course Stevan Hobfoll was relevant with his emphasis on resource loss as a consequence of system transformation.

Together with Martin Pinquart and others we developed a model (see Figure 1) that has guided our research since the beginning of our collaboration with the economists, political scientists and especially the sociologists enrolled in the SFB 580. According to the model, our foremost task was to gather a representative subset of demands in work, family, and public life that are characteristic of the early 2000s in both parts of Germany (meanwhile this research has inspired similar studies in Poland and Italy, thereby initiating an investigation into its generalizability). As the study is longitudinal (currently the fourth annual wave is under way), and as we also cover age groups from early to middle adulthood, we took pains not to confound emerging uncertainties related to the post-transformation situation with normative age-related demands and their change. The results were straightforward—particularly in the domain of workers living in the former communist East of the country who experienced a higher level of negative changes related to growing uncertainty concerning their job and career prospects. This effect was net of other potentially overlaying sources, such as the higher unemployment rate in the eastern part of the country. Moreover, the demands in the domain of work revealed a carry-over effect to the domain of family, in spite of the fact that family demands were more influenced by the societal challenges of individualization than by those of globalization.

Reminiscent of the theoretically ill-conceived early attempts to demonstrate a link between the East-West divide and differential well-being, we applied updated methodology to determine whether higher demand loads would correspond to lower well-being. Although the expected linkage was found, it requires a number of theoretical qualifications. First, how people cope with demands plays a role. On average, higher demands result in a higher level of engagement-type of responses (e.g., actively searching for a solution), and this in turn corresponds to higher

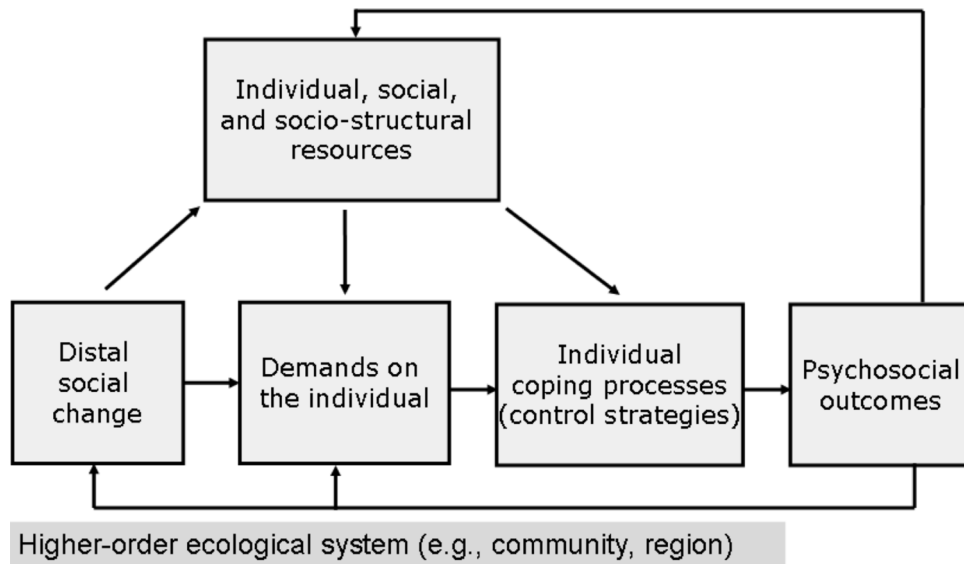


Figure 1. Theoretical model

levels of well-being. However, where the demand load was very high and opportunities were few (assessed via characteristics of the context; see below) disengagement (e.g., giving up or even blaming others) was a preferable method of maintaining one's mental health.

Second, the direct relationship between demands, coping, and well-being, as already described, holds on average. However, on closer examination, the situation is much more complicated, to the satisfaction of our colleagues from the social sciences. Our design allows the paralleling our individual-level data with aggregate-level statistics on economic prosperity. Thus, in a multilevel modelling approach, we were able to investigate, for instance, whether the relationship between demand load and well-being varied as a function of the economic situation in the wider region where the people lived. Results showed that, in economically precarious regions, people facing higher loads of uncertainty demands in work or family were better off than similarly challenged people in prosperous regions. This was also true in spite of the fact that in the less prosperous regions engagement coping was lower, probably due to fewer relevant behavioral models. How can such impressive context moderation be explained? We had two guesses that were confirmed (note, however, that the data are correlational and, so far, only concurrent data have been analyzed). Attributions of the effect of negative demands on society at large rather than on individuals' behavior seemed to play a role, and it was also relevant that people in these regions made self-serving social comparisons of their own situations to the situation of those who were doing even worse. Similar results, but without individual assessments, are known from economic research on well-being and unemployment rates.

There are other important results, and we look forward to many more in the future when we will expand the age-range studied to include the retirement years. Collaboration will also be a key next step when we will analyze particular positive phenomena, such as entrepreneurship

or civic engagement, and investigate how they are influenced by social change. Meanwhile, others have also realized the necessity to study the individual level manifestations of social change, rather than merely comparing samples presumed to represent different stages in a transformation process, and thereby overlooking the tremendous variation in exposure to new challenges.

One of the most impressive effects of interdisciplinary collaboration is that it inspires the development of further similar projects. Based on the (current) Jena Study on Social Change and Human Development and the entire research program of the CADS (basic, applied and translational research on human adaptation to challenges, often with an emphasis on motivational processes), we have become part of other, even more comprehensive endeavors related to social change. Examples are the recent "PATHWAYS" collaboration (comprising various European and U.S. universities and research institutes) with the aim of investigating life course transitions under conditions of social change (<http://www.jacobsfoundation.org/cms/index.php?id=414>), or the International Graduate School of Social and Behavioural Change (GSBC) at the University of Jena, a research and doctoral studies program that encompasses economics, psychology, sociology, and ethics, and which focuses on economic changes and their impact on lifespan development (<http://www.gsbc.uni-jena.de>). New collaborations within ISSBD concerning the effects of economic change in China have also begun.

Further information on this research program and its conceptual basis can be found in Pinquart and Silbereisen (2004) and Silbereisen (2005). A first full account in German of the entire psychological research project appeared in a book edited by Silbereisen and Pinquart (2008). A chapter in a forthcoming book edited by Silbereisen and Chen (in press) provides an overview of recent results, and also refers to journal articles that have been published to date (a full publication list can be found on the web at <http://www2.uni-jena.de/svw/devpsy/projects/sfb580.html>).



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The Centre for Human Development and Ageing at Loughborough University, UK: Maternal and Child Health in the Context of Social, Economic, and Political Change

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The Centre evolved during the last decade within the Department of Human Sciences at Loughborough University in the United Kingdom. The Department of Human Sciences was itself created from a background in cybernetics and ergonomics during the 1970s. From that very technical base the field of Human Biology emerged, grounded initially in functional anatomy and latterly in nutrition. The late Dr. Nicholas Norgan (1941–2006) was instrumental in developing a research interest in international nutrition following his Ph.D. research that had been carried out in Papua New Guinea. In 1996 Noël Cameron was recruited from his position as Professor of Anatomy & Human Biology in Johannesburg, South Africa to take the post of Professor of Human Biology at Loughborough. Professor Cameron obtained his Ph.D. in Medicine in 1977, under the supervision of James Tanner, at London University's Institute of Child Health, where he specialized in the normal and abnormal growth and development of children.

Noël Cameron's research in South Africa between 1984 and 1997 coincided with the end of apartheid and the emergence of a non-racial, post-apartheid democracy. However, 50 years of segregation and discrimination had resulted in wide disparities in all aspects of life within South Africa based almost exclusively on the color of one's skin. Whilst racial segregation was not uncommon in the 20th century, the South African experience of apartheid was the subject of particular international condemnation. In 1948, the National Party of South Africa ran for election on the platform of separate development ("apartheid" in Afrikaans). Its Group Areas Act (1950) defined four "population groups" (White, Black, Asian, and Coloured), which would be subject to separation in place of habitation, sexual and marital partners, health care, education, and labor market access. Whilst "high apartheid" was entrenched in

South African society, by the 1980s, signs of change were becoming increasingly apparent. In addition to national and international protest, and in direct opposition to the regulations of apartheid, population movement was occurring on an unprecedented scale, with 14 million blacks predicted to move into urban areas by 2000, and urban areas to double in size by 2010. Within this rapidly changing socio-political scenario in South Africa, research related to maternal and child health changed from the paternalistic imposition of research themes to self-imposed and externally mediated provisions for community control over thematic research. The identification of appropriate research questions and outcomes resulted from a conversation with the *participants in the research* rather than an edict to the *subjects of the research*.

A Short Description of Selected Research Projects

Birth to Twenty Cohort Study. It was against this socio-political background and philosophical justification that Cameron's research projects in human growth and development were initiated. In hindsight the most important study was the Birth to Twenty (Bt20) birth cohort study started in 1990. Between April and June 1990 all the women giving birth in Soweto and Johannesburg were invited to participate in this study. From its inception Bt20 was planned to be multidisciplinary, tracking the growth, health, wellbeing and educational progress of urban children across the first decade of their life. It is now a 20-year prospective longitudinal cohort study of 3,273 children and their families of whom more than 70 percent have been followed up to age 17 years. It is the largest and longest running study of child and youth development in Africa, and one of the few large-scale longitudinal studies of its kind in the world. It is linked with comparable studies in Pelotas (Brazil), Guatemala, Delhi and the Philippines through the Consortium of Health Outcome Research in Transitional Societies (COHORTS). In 1990 almost 700 participants in Bt20 were invited to participate in a more intense investigation of factors affecting bone health. The Bt20 and Bone Health studies form the basis for much of our research which are outlined below, but new initiatives in the UK provide interesting opportunities for future research.

Nutritional Transition. The population of Soweto has been dealing with the nutritional transition and this is especially true of the adolescents as they move from traditional diets to "western" diets. We have studies monitoring this change and its effect on growth and pubertal development. Importantly we are using both qualitative and quantitative methods to understand this shift in behavior i.e. we are not just measuring dietary intake but we have also conducted focus group discussions with adolescents and their carers to try to understand what causes behavioral change. This project is conducted in collaboration with Dr. Chiedza Zingoni, and the Bone Mineral Metabolism Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Urbanization, Socio-economic Status and Child Growth. Bt20 provides an extensive database from which we have been able to study the effect of the urban environment on the

growth, development, health and wellbeing of the sample. Within the context of urbanization in transitional economies the factors that we group to form measures of socio-economic status (SES) assume different importance depending on the level at which they operate i.e. household, community, city, etc. Within the context of child growth they also assume different importance depending on the age of the child. Maternal education may, for instance, be of great importance during infancy when there is a need to understand messages regarding the health and wellbeing of babies (immunization, etc.). During childhood however, income or paternal occupation may be of greater importance to satisfy the need for good educational and social facilities. Through the collection of both quantitative and qualitative data we are gaining an insight into these processes. This project is conducted in collaboration with Dr. Paula Griffiths, Dr. Zoë Sheppard, and the Bone Mineral Metabolism Unit of the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa

The Growth and Health of South Asians in the UK. British South Asians form a special group for research because they demonstrate a 40% higher risk for aspects of the metabolic syndrome, particularly among those affected by diabetes and CVD risk factors. In addition British South Asians tend to be concentrated in specific urban areas. Two of these groups, in the cities of Leicester and Bradford, are the focus for a community study of the effectiveness of intervention strategies aimed at families and a birth cohort study respectively. Of particular interest is the fact that consanguinity levels are high in the Bradford Pakistani community allowing the real possibility of studying the inheritance of risk. We collaborate on a team that is monitoring 10,000 births from June 2007 to May 2009 in Bradford—the “Born in Bradford” project. Our interests in this project will be in the determinants of risk for the metabolic syndrome as well as being able to identify the growth patterns in these immigrant children who have not been

extensively studied before. This research is conducted in collaboration with Dr. Will Johnson, Professor John Wright, Dr. Pauline Raynor and Born in Bradford research team.

Physical Activity and Sedentary Behavior. Of particular interest is the relationship between physical activity and sedentary behavior and how the balance of these two affects the health and wellbeing of children. Working with collaborators in the School of Exercise and Sports Science at Loughborough, we are involved in a number of initiatives to develop this area of research. We have already used British Heart Foundation funding to investigate sedentary behavior and by so doing have challenged the popular concept that obesity and TV viewing are directly related. This study is in collaboration with Professor Stuart Biddle, Dr Trish Gorley, Dr Simon Marshall.

Selected Publications

- Cameron, N. (2006). Human growth as an indicator of social change. *Humanbiologia Budapestensis*, 29, 39–54.
- Cameron, N. (2007). Growth patterns in adverse environments. *American Journal of Human Biology*, 19(5), 615–621.
- Gorley, T., Marshall, S.J., Biddle, S.J., & Cameron, N. (2007). Patterns of sedentary behaviour and physical activity among adolescents in the United Kingdom: Project STIL. *Journal of Behavioural Medicine*, 30(6), 521–31.
- Griffiths, P.L., Rousham, E.K., Norris, S.A., Pettifor, J.M., & Cameron, N. (2008). Socio-economic status and body composition outcomes in urban South Africa. *Archives of Disease in Childhood*, 93, 862–867.
- Norris, S.A., Sheppard, Z.A., Griffiths, P.L., Cameron, N., & Pettifor, J.M. (2008). Current Socio-Economic Measures, and Not Those Measured During Infancy, Affect Bone Mass in Poor Urban South African Children. *Journal of Bone and Mineral Research*, 23(9), 1409–1416.



Notes from The President

As I write this, it is sunny in California and we are looking forward to the inauguration of a new President in the US who we hope will put our country back on a positive trajectory, and will improve our relationships with the rest of the world. The US and world are especially challenged right now and progress will require highly effective leadership from many in the world.

What about us in ISSBD? What is our role as leaders of scholarship that will make a difference for people in the world? At some level, all human development research is likely to benefit humankind eventually. But it is not always so, as some of our ISSBD colleagues have documented. Linda Richter and Andy Dawes have documented the suppression of science as well as its destructive use in South Africa during apartheid. I have long argued that science must be left free to reach scientific conclusions, whatever they may be. At the same time, I strongly feel that as citizens we must work to protect fellow citizens from negative uses of scientific information. And those who choose to should be able to conduct science that might enhance human development. Here I think of the groundbreaking work on street children being conducted by Suman Verma and her colleagues. The popular film *Slumdog Millionaire* has made many millions of people more aware of the challenges of growing up poor in India. What the research of Verma and colleagues demonstrates is that basic survival is not a given for many children in the world, and for those who survive, their life circumstances are not usually supportive of healthy development. Fortunately, as

other colleagues, such as Ann Masten, have demonstrated, many children are resilient nonetheless, demonstrating that research on which conditions and contexts support healthy development is extremely important.

As ISSBD members know well, development continues throughout life. Research on cumulative effects of stress demonstrates its destructive effects on human biology and behavior. Much of this work also provides evidence of the role of supportive social environments and relationships. For example, the exciting research being conducted with a massive population-based study by Richard Tremblay, Tomas Paus, Marcel van Aken and colleagues will provide important information on interactions among biological, psychological, and social factors in development.

ISSBD provides a rich resource for developmental scientists. I am grateful to be connected through ISSBD to so many thoughtful and committed colleagues who are conducting important research. I hope that we can continue together to advance scientific boundaries that will improve human lives on this globe. And I continue to welcome your ideas for improving this work and ISSBD's role in it.

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Conference Report

Report on the 11th International Institute on Developmental Science

Jena, Germany, October 3–5, 2008

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On October 3–5, 2008 the 11th International Institute on Developmental Science (IIDS) took place at the Friedrich Schiller University of Jena, Germany. In the course of this three-day meeting, major issues at the core of a developmental science perspective were discussed by an international group of expert senior researchers, post-docs, and doctoral students. The broad focus of this year's Institute was on developmental transitions. Specific subtopics included: the family context of development, youth problem behavior, educational transitions, and the promotion of positive development. In addition, there was also a strong interest in concepts and methodologies of developmental science. Over the past years, the series of Institutes has been very successful and attracted top students, young post-docs, and leading faculty researchers in many different fields. This year, a group of 14 invited faculty members and 17 young scholars with different scientific backgrounds (e.g., psychology, sociology, and criminology) took part in the IIDS. As young scholars from three different countries (Germany, Sweden, and the United States), we found that this meeting provided a unique opportunity for us to learn from, and collaborate with, colleagues from across the globe.

The workshop was held in the lovely Old Castle Dornburg close to Jena, which has been fully renovated as a conference center. The castle provided a stunning setting, situated above the Saale River, on a shell limestone plateau (see Photo 1). During the breaks we had the opportunity to relax in the rose garden (where Johann Wolfgang von Goethe once strolled) and enjoyed the panoramic view over the Saale Valley. The castle was a perfect venue, combining historic architecture with state-of-the-art conference equipment.

One of the primary aims of the Institute is to provide participating young scholars with first-hand information and advice concerning their own scholarly work. To this



Old Castle Dornburg

end, young scholars' posters were exhibited during the entire conference, thereby facilitating informal discussions of their recent work throughout the three days in Jena. In addition, each day of the workshop included an entire timeslot devoted to the work of young scholars. During this period, groups of scholars introduced themselves and their work to the audience and received suggestions, comments, and support from experienced researchers (see Photo 2). Finally, each young scholar was able to meet individually with a selected member of the faculty for individual consultations.

Conference presentations by the world-renowned faculty provided stimulating discussion for all three days. The program was striking in the breadth of interests, backgrounds, and methodological tools that were employed. Each speaker conveyed empirical, conceptual, and methodological information, as well as providing ample opportunities for questions and discussion among conference attendees (see Photo 3). Every session prompted lively and fruitful interaction among audience members and presenters. Talks were organized each day according to several themes.

The morning of Day One focused on the topic of



Young scholar poster session



Lecture by Prof. J. Douglas Coatsworth (left) and Prof. Beth Kurtz-Costes (right)

transitions and development. These presentations were particularly helpful in highlighting methodological challenges for this and future generations of developmental researchers, and the tools that may be required to meet those challenges. Lars Bergman spoke to the benefits of person-oriented analyses in developmental science, and Rolf Steyer presented techniques for determining causality and change in longitudinal data. Katariina Salmela-Aro spoke about motivation and psychological well-being during critical transitions, with a particular emphasis on the correlates of school burnout among youth. Further emphasizing the breadth of knowledge conveyed across these three days, Mike Shanahan discussed the complex interplay between social contexts and genetics. The afternoon session was devoted to the family context of development. Susan McHale's presentation highlighted within-family variability by focusing on the consequences of parents' differential treatment of siblings within the same family. Lauree Tilton-Weaver closed Thursday's session by discussing adolescents' interpretations of parental control.

Day Two featured several presentations centered on the topic of youth problem behavior. Lilly Shanahan presented data suggesting both shared and unique risk factors for child-, adolescent-, and adult-onset depression. Håkan Stattin's presentation further emphasized the importance of considering developmental timing by elucidating differential trajectories among those who demonstrate lifecourse-persistent, childhood-limited, and adolescent-starting antisocial behavior. Margaret Kerr's lecture underscored the importance of considering bidirectional relations among youth problem behavior and parents' negativity and parental control and monitoring.

The morning session of the conference's final day featured two presentations on educational transitions. Peter Noack's results suggested that both grades and parental evaluations may affect the development of children's academic self-concepts across the transition to secondary school for a sample of German youth. Beth Kurtz-Costes's work focused on African-American youth, and suggested that African-American boys may be particularly vulnerable to stereotype threats that emerge during the transition to middle school. The afternoon was devoted to the discussion of more applied endeavors, as the final



Goethe's theory of colors: painting session

presentations were organized around promoting positive development. Douglas Coatsworth presented outcome data on an intervention program that sought to alter the course of parent-child interactions. Wayne Osgood closed the formal meeting program by highlighting how a social networks perspective might benefit school-based efforts to prevent youth substance abuse.

Besides the lectures, the organizers planned a diverse and successful social program. The first day of the conference included a guided tour around the surroundings of the Dornburg Castles. The same evening, attendees were treated to dinner at a restaurant situated in a high tower with an amazing view of Jena and its surroundings. On the afternoon of the second day, the group voyaged to Weimar, a location that played a central role in the life of Johan Wolfgang von Goethe. Here we took an informative guided tour explaining who Goethe was and how he influenced the town of Weimar. Following the tour, we had the opportunity to learn more about Goethe's theory of colors. This was arranged with a short introduction to his theory and followed by an opportunity to put our own artistic skills to the test. We were given the chance to experiment with our own colors by creating original works of art (see Photo 4). It was interesting to see the great variety and unique beauty of all the paintings. The day after included a small art exhibition with the paintings at Dornburg Castle exhibited for all to admire. The last day consisted of a trip to Leuchtenburg Castle for a knight's banquet. This was truly an exciting evening filled with history, theatre, and lots of food! The social events were a much appreciated element of the conference program, as they provided the opportunity to meet and interact with other researchers in a more informal context.

This conference left us with nothing but positive experiences and fond memories of our time in Jena. The structure of the conference created a good opportunity to meet colleagues from all around the world, and the large variety of interests allowed participants to learn more about topics within and outside of their own primary area of research. We all agree that this kind of meeting is very instructive and fruitful, and the knowledge gained from these events is priceless. The organizers did a wonderful job arranging this conference! It was clear that they had



Group photo

devoted a great deal of effort and time to make this conference as successful as possible. The next IIDS meeting will take place at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, U.S.A., some time during 2009. Michael Shanahan from North Carolina gave us some information about the upcoming meeting. All plans are in the early stages, but he could tell us that there will be four main areas at this

meeting, all paying tribute to the research of Robert Cairns as one of the original founders of IIDS: 1) animal model research, 2) specific subgroups in the population, 3) social learning, and 4) prevention and intervention. In summary, we are all extremely grateful for the opportunity to experience this meeting, and we are already looking forward to the next IIDS meeting!



ISSBD Workshop Announcements

ISSBD Regional Workshop: Social and Emotional Development in Changing Societies

June 15–17, 2009

Southeast University, Nanjing, P. R. China

Social and emotional development in changing societies is an important topic that has received increased attention in recent years from researchers, professionals, and the public around the world. Research on children's and adolescents' social and emotional development has pervasive implications for the educational, physical and mental health of young people, and can also affect the broader economy and society. As a fast-growing developing country, China provides a unique opportunity to investigate the impact of a macro-level changing context on the development of individual social skills and emotional well-being. The advancement of theory and methodology in developmental science and social neuroscience now allows us to acquire a sophisticated and comprehensive understanding of the issues involving contextual factors and social and emotional functioning.

The workshop will focus on intensive and extensive communication and discussion among international scholars, especially between senior scholars in the field and junior scholars from the region, on various theoretical and methodological issues in research and practice. Participants will be encouraged to discuss the issues from multilevel and multi-disciplinary perspectives.

The Southeast University is one of the oldest institutions of higher education in China. In recent decades, it has become a comprehensive university comprising diverse colleges and departments of science, engineering, art, social science, law, economics, management, and languages. The Research Center for Learning Science (RCLS) of the university, which includes a key laboratory of the Ministry of Education of China for Child Development and Learning Science, is funded by the central government and focuses on scientific research on social competence and emotional functioning in childhood and preadolescence from a multi-level, interdisciplinary perspective. With a strong background in science and technology, the RCLS has unique strengths in adopting and integrating new concepts and state-of-the-art methodologies from psychology, neuroscience, engineering, and education in the study of child development, family interactions and broader social experiences. A number of international conferences have been held successfully by this research center in the past several years such as the Forum on Learning Science, the SINO-FRENCH Symposium on Science Education and the International Forum on Children's Emotional Development and Competence.

Topic of the Workshop: Social and Emotional Development in Changing Societies

The aim of the workshop is to provide a communication and collaboration platform for scholars from diverse fields who are dedicated to research on human development and application of the resulting knowledge to education. This workshop will emphasize an inter-disciplinary discussion of new concepts and innovative research methodologies suitable for specific regions. The workshop will address the current issues and challenges and future directions in the study of social and emotional development, especially in relation to changing societies. Tentative Themes will be: (1) The changing social and cultural context and socioemotional development, (2) Brain mechanisms in socioemotional development, and (3) Social and Emotional Development and Education.

Dates of the Workshop

June 15–17, 2009 (three days)

Location of the Workshop

Southeast University, Nanjing, P. R. China

Workshop Format

Invited presentations: In a discussion-oriented format, internationally prominent scholars in the field will present theories, research and their views related to the main themes of the workshop.

Poster presentations: Participants may present their work in the form of a poster presentation. Based on the submissions, a relatively small number of regional scholars may be invited to present in short talk sessions.

Small group discussions: Informal small group discussions, led by invited speakers, will be organized on specific topics.

Dissemination: The presentations and discussions during the workshop will be published on the website.

Participants

Participants in the workshop will include scholars from the region and international invited speakers. Invited speakers will give keynote presentations in their areas of expertise and lead group discussions. The participants from the region will be mainly junior and middle-level scholars who are interested in the study of children's and adolescents' social and emotional development.

Organizing Committee

Chair: Professor Zuhong Lu, Director, the Research Center for Learning Science, Southeast University, Nanjing, P. R. China

Co-Chair: Professor Huichang Chen, the Institute of Developmental Psychology, Beijing Normal University, P. R. China, ISSBD regional coordinator

Co-Chair: Professor Xinyin Chen, Department of Psychology, University of Western Ontario, Canada

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ISSBD Asia-Pacific Workshop: Human Development in the Context of Movement within and across National Boundaries

**July 4–5, 2009
 Flinders University, Adelaide, Australia**

This multi-disciplinary workshop will examine the implications for human development of movement by individuals and populations within the Asia Pacific region. Most countries in the Asia Pacific region experience some form of migration, whether it be voluntary or forced migration. Countries such as Australia, India and Thailand are hosts to large and diverse populations of refugees and asylum-seekers. Other countries with high levels of economic development, such as Singapore and Japan, are the targets of voluntary migration. There are also large-scale temporary movements of people within and outside the Asia Pacific region, as people relocate as overseas students and guest workers.

In addition, all the countries in the Asia Pacific region are experiencing significant within-border population movements. Countries experiencing a “resources boom” are facing large-scale movement of people from rural to urban areas. Often workers and their families are moving to regions with relatively little infrastructure. Some of the more affluent countries in the region are experiencing an outflow of the elderly from urban centres to regional areas in order to conserve their funds and improve their lifestyle during retirement. In other countries, large numbers of rural people are displaced to other rural areas as a result of large-scale infrastructure projects and natural disasters.

Migration within and across national borders have psychosocial implications for the migrating individual or family, as well as for family members of several generations who may be “left behind”. Social consequences of migra-

tion include, but are not limited to, greater cultural and ethnic diversity, de-population of rural areas, increasingly marginalized urban populations and geographic separation between generations. Among many potential psychological consequences are experiences of dislocation, loss, confusion and loneliness, discrimination on the basis of race, religion or ethnic background, disrupted schooling, and intergenerational conflict when the younger generation adopts the host society’s cultural norms more quickly than the older generation.

Workshop Program

The two-day workshop will include content and skills development components. Participants are encouraged to attend both days of the workshop but may choose to attend only one day. It is intended that an ongoing network of interested researchers will be formed at the workshop. Saturday 4th July: The content component will address current research on human development in the context of population movement in the Asia Pacific region. Highlights include keynote presentations from eminent researchers from the Asia Pacific region, poster presentations by emerging researchers, and discussion hours. Sunday 5th July: The skills development component will include sessions on generic research methods, publication, and knowledge exchange skills, in addition to sessions specific to research on human development in the context of migration.

Participants

The workshop will be of interest to researchers from various disciplinary backgrounds across the Asia Pacific region. Scholarships and fee-exempt places are available to participants. It is expected that approximately 50% of those attending will be from Australia and New Zealand. The workshop immediately precedes the biennial meeting of the Australasian Human Development Association (6th–8th July in Adelaide), and workshop participants are encouraged to stay on for the conference.

Information/Registration

For further information, including registration, scholarships and abstract submissions, please contact Nandita Vijayakumar at nvij@unimelb.edu.au.

ISSBD African Regional Workshop: Building Junior Scholars’ Capacity in Human Development Research

**November 30–December 2, 2009
 Maseno University, Kisumu, Kenya**

During the 7th Regional Workshop held at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa (November 27–29, 2006), Maseno University, Kisumu, Kenya was proposed as the venue for the 8th ISSBD Regional Workshop. It was noted during the South African workshop that African scholarship in refereed journals was



still very limited. Africa's young scholars were still invisible and were not actively involved in rigorous research probably due to their inadequate training in research methodology and limited knowledge on emergent methodological trends and required publication procedures. In addition, research outputs especially of recently graduating students were not adequately documented, disseminated and utilized. Furthermore, networking amongst African researchers and between African scholars and international ones was limited.

The proposed regional workshop aims at providing a forum for training novice researchers on a range of possible research designs and methods. In this regard, junior scholars in the field of human development and allied concentration areas with not more than 5 to 7 post-Masters and PhD experience will be the focus of the workshop. These novice researchers will be expected to arrive with fairly specific research topics but with an open mind about methods. The aim will be to equip them with skills that they might need to complete projects on their already identified topics. Experienced local researchers, who have been engaged in research (either for their Masters and PhD Degrees or because of their employment) and are willing to cover their own costs of travel and accommodation during the period of the workshop will also be allowed to attend. These experienced local researchers will be attracted to the workshop as role models who could provide a wealth of local information to the novices. These regional experts will be expected to bring their data summaries or drafts of published papers to the workshop.

Senior scientists who have widely published and are willing to come to the workshop to train junior scholars, foster mentoring, and promote networking and increased research methodological and publication knowledge amongst junior scholars have been invited. Some of the suggested sub-themes that the junior scholars will be trained on will include:

- Methodological approaches and advances in human development research
- Planning and managing qualitative and quantitative research designs
- Scientific writing skills, and publication and dissemination procedures
- Research networking and opportunities for enhancing research capacity in Africa
- Relevance of research to social policy issues in Africa
- Ethical issues in collaborative research

The workshop will be characterized by diversity of session types and parallel modes of presentation. This will be necessary so we can cover as much ground as possible. The workshop will comprise three (3) single-day sessions (30th November to 2nd December, 2009) consisting of training workshops, four parallel keynote lectures per day, poster presentations, roundtables and meet-the-senior-scientist conversation hours as well as a Young Scholars' Forum (YSF). The YSF will consist of sub-groups of about ten (10) members. Participants to be considered for the YSF will be required to submit abstracts of ongoing or completed research, or queries to organizers by 31st April,

2009. The coordinating committee will sort out the queries thematically and then forward them to outstanding scholars. These conversation hours will enable the young and upcoming scholars to meet, and discuss their research work, career aspirations, and collaboration possibilities with, the senior scholars. In addition, the young researchers will be provided with opportunities to work together, form a network and stay connected with each other after the workshop.

The workshop organizers have sent invitations to persons and relevant departments of local and regional universities. In addition, a website containing all the required information on the workshop is currently being developed. The following criteria will be used to award financial support to select junior researchers from the African region who would be sending in their requests for financial assistance: a) letter of intent to participate in the workshop, b) statement of career or research goals, c) abstract of completed or ongoing research proposal and d) introduction letter from a senior scientist, supervisor or departmental chairman confirming registration or completion of a Masters or PhD program. In addition, selected upcoming junior researchers with published research reprints will have an added advantage. Selected applicants will be notified by March 31st, 2009. A review committee, consisting of workshop organizers and representatives from participating universities will choose the participants to receive travel grants that will cover the costs of shuttle services, meals and accommodation during the period of the workshop. Transportation support will be provided to selected non-Kenyan participants who will be unable to meet their travel costs to the workshop venue. There will be no registration fee for workshop attendance. However, members will be encouraged to renew their annual subscription to ISSBD. Non-members will be expected to pay the equivalent of a \$5 registration fee to be submitted to ISSBD.

Useful Information on the Workshop Venue

All visitors to Kenya should check whether or not they require visas to visit the country. Most international airlines use Jomo Kenyatta International Airport, Nairobi. Daily flights also connect Kisumu Airport with Jomo Kenyatta International Airport.

Jomo Kenyatta Airport is about a half-hour drive from Nairobi City Centre, while Kisumu Airport is 45 minutes away from Nairobi. The workshop proceedings will be carried out at the University-owned Kisumu Hotel (www.maseno.ac.ke). The hotel has one of the best conference and lodging facilities in the Great Lakes Region. The hotel, with a capacity of over 200 participants, has hosted a number of regional and international conferences including the African Pacific Conference (APC) of stakeholders in the sugar industry and also the East African Regional Urbanization workshop. Kisumu city is also strategically placed in the Western Kenya regional tourism circuit. It is about 200 km from the world-renowned Maasai Mara National Park. It has several tourist class and affordable hotels that can cater for all categories of visitors. Those wishing to explore the rich culture, fauna and flora of Western Kenya, neighboring Uganda and Tanzania always use Kisumu as a port of call. Kisumu is also very accessible by road and



air. There are numerous shuttle bus services connecting Kisumu and the capital of Nairobi.

Social Program

Arrangements will be made for interested participants to visit the world-renowned Maasai Mara National Park after the end of the workshop. Those willing to travel to the park should, however, be prepared to meet their own cost of travel and accommodation. Detailed information concern-

ing the total costs involved and other areas to be visited will be posted on the website that is currently being developed.

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News

ISSBD Developing Country Fellowships

The ISSBD Executive Committee has approved three Developing Country Fellowships (DCFs). The aim is to encourage sustainable development of activities congruent with the aims of ISSBD in developing countries, and assist the professional development of early career scholars in such countries. Full details were published in the November 2008 edition of the Newsletter, and are available on the ISSBD website.

Each DCF will provide (1) free conference attendance at ISSBD (including economy air fare and a subsistence allowance), at which the Fellow will present detailed plans for his or her work; and (2) a support grant of \$1,500 per annum for the 2 years of the Fellowship, starting in the September immediately following the ISSBD conference (conditional on satisfactory plans being presented at the conference).

Fellows should be early career researchers (normally within 10 years of their first or higher degree), and must be a member of ISSBD (at least once selected as a Fellow). They should have a post in a host country that is a developing country as defined by ISSBD membership criteria (and therefore entitled to a reduced membership fee), and normally should be a citizen of this host country. The project should be a potentially sustainable one, with benefits for the holder, the institution, and sections of the country's population. The support grant should be used for research related purposes, such as buying equipment, test materials, books, or computing facilities, or for essential travel within the country. While the funds available are limited, it is hoped that the DCF can 'pump prime' activities and possibly encourage applications for further support elsewhere.

Information and an application form are available on the ISSBD website or from the chair (p.smith@gold.ac.uk) or other members of the selection panel, who can also be approached for further information or advice. Applications should be sent to the Chair of the Selection Panel, preferably by email, or by post (Peter K Smith, Dept. of Psychology, Goldsmiths College, New Cross, London SE14 6NW, U.K.).

For this first round of DCFs, applications must be received by August 31st 2009. Decisions will be announced by December 2009. Presentations would be made at the 21st Biennial ISSBD meeting, in Lusaka, Zambia, in July 2010.

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African Developmental Scientists start warming up for the 2010 Congress

The prospect of hosting the ISSBD's next world congress in July 2010 has stimulated a surge of reflection and preparation, not only in Lusaka, Zambia, but elsewhere on the African continent as well. A regional African Research Advisory Panel has been constituted, including experienced developmental researchers in Botswana, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Kenya, Namibia, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda and Zambia. Their internet-mediated deliberations in December 2008 have been centered on how best to display for our visitors from other parts of the world the distinctive contributions from the African region to the field of behavioral development, both those already realized and others still to be expected.

Two meetings in 2009 will afford important opportunities for the panel to continue and elaborate this discussion through face-to-face interactions. In August 2009, Professor Therese Tchombe at the University of Buea in Cameroon will host an African regional conference of the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology (IACCP) (for further details contact tmtchombe@yahoo.co.uk), and in November 2009, Dr. Paul Oburu at Maseno University in Kenya will host an African regional workshop of the ISSBD (for further details contact poburu@yahoo.com).

In Lusaka, the Local Organising Committee (LOC) has been meeting regularly throughout 2008 to strategize administrative and financial aspects of the 2010 congress. By the time this article appears in the Bulletin, there will be some advance information on the congress website about the emerging scientific program, as well as links to various ancillary activities and tourism opportunities. Details of the membership of the International Scientific Programme Committee (ISPC), the African Research Advisory Panel (ARAP) and the LOC are all posted on the congress website at <http://sites.google.com/site/issbd2010lusakazambia/Home>.

Meanwhile we would like to share with you the first fruits of an ongoing audit we have been conducting of past and ongoing developmental studies in Zambia. The beginning of systematic research on behavioral development in Zambia can be traced to the formation of the Human Development Research Unit (HDRU) at the Institute for Social Research in 1965, under the Directorship of the University of Zambia's first Professor of Psychology, Alastair Heron. The HDRU generated a series of thirty limited circulation reports between 1966 and 1978, many of which were subsequently published in international journals. Authors included Jan Deregowski, Susan Goldberg, Anne Griffiths, Donald Munro, Muyunda Mwanalushi, Ogbolu Okonji and Robert Serpell.

In recent years, research on behavioral development has begun to show signs of a renaissance at the University of Zambia (UNZA), both as a priority area identified by the

Zambian Ministries of Education and Health and in collaboration with international partners. Some of the major recent projects have addressed the topics of learning disabilities (in collaboration with Prof. Elena Grigorenko of Yale University, USA and Prof. Heikki Lyytinen of the University of Jyväskylä, Finland); children's rights and the situation of street children (in collaboration with Prof. Lewis Apteckar of San Jose State University, USA), and the mental health of HIV positive youth (in collaboration with Prof. Cristine Glazebrook, University of Nottingham, UK). Several doctoral research projects by Zambian scholars on developmental topics are also currently under way at UNZA with supportive guidance from Prof. Marinus van IJzendoorn and Prof. Adriana Bus of Leiden University, Netherlands, and Dr. Dabie Nabuzoka of Leeds Metropolitan University, UK.

A sample of ongoing studies at the University of Zambia

Three members of the LOC have prepared the following outlines of their current research on child and adolescent development. HIV and AIDS is a significant health concern among children and adolescents in Zambia and Dr. Anitha Menon is involved in research in this area. Anitha Menon is a member of LOC and a Lecturer in the Department of Psychology, UNZA, specializing in the field of Health Psychology. Her recent study (Menon, Glazebrook, Campaign, and Ngoma, 2007) explored the topic, "Implications of Disclosure of HIV Status on Mental Health in HIV Positive Zambian Adolescents" and examined the acceptability of a group-based intervention to reduce stress. High rates of emotional symptoms and peer problems were found in this sample. Rates of disclosure were low but there was some evidence that disclosure was associated with fewer emotional difficulties. There was no evidence in this study that knowledge of HIV status had a negative impact on mental health. Promotion of emotional well-being in young people often involves referring them and their families to mental health services or to a psychiatrist or psychologist in private practice. But in resource-constrained countries such as Zambia both solutions above are not feasible as there are inadequate mental health services available for young people and very few mental health practitioners. However, all over the world, there is increased interest in the use of peer support programs for young people (Olsson, 2005) which may be a more realistic and practical solution for resource-constrained countries. The majority of the participants in this study had favorable views on participating in a peer-group intervention. A follow-up randomized control intervention found some evidence of the benefit of peer support and yoga-based exercises for HIV positive adolescents in improving their physical and psychological well-being (for further details contact anithamenon667@hotmail.com).

Dr. Mary Shilalukey Ngoma, formerly Head of the Department of Pediatrics and Child Health at the University Teaching Hospital, Lusaka, is currently a Consultant and Senior Lecturer in the Department of Pediatrics and Child Health at the University Teaching Hospital. Besides being a member of the LOC for the ISSBD 2010 congress, she is also a member of the ISPC. One of her current

research projects, the Community Based Newborn Care and Maternal Child Health Initiative, is a randomized control intervention study which as a first step collects baseline information on morbidity and mortality, knowledge, attitudes and practices in the continuum of care for the newborn, mother, and child under five years of age in two pilot districts in Zambia - Mpongwe and Chongwe. The interventions include essential newborn care, identification and treatment of birth asphyxia in the newborn, identification and treatment of newborn infections, prevention and care of low temperature with the Kangaroo Method of care, and prevention of hypoglycemia with timely early breastfeeding at birth. In addition, community-based agents were trained to screen the saliva of pregnant women for HIV infection with ORAQUICK, provide focused antenatal, natal and postnatal care, and treat any child under five years of age for pneumonia. It is hoped that the two districts will provide data in 2009 to support the expectation that community-based agents equipped with the named skills and closely supervised, in fact save newborn lives in particular (for further details contact docngoma@yahoo.com).

Robert Serpell, who served as Vice-Chancellor of UNZA from 2003 to 2006, is currently Professor of Developmental Psychology in the Department of Psychology at UNZA. He is also the Chairperson for the ISSBD 2010 congress. One of his current research projects is on the topic, "Developmental Outcomes of Enrolment in a Child-to-Child curriculum at a Basic School in Northern Zambia". This project addresses the question of how the experience of schooling influences the quality of childhood and its developmental consequences in a post-colonial African society characterized by sociocultural diversity, rapid social change and sharp discontinuities between the patterns of economic activity in its rural and urban areas. The project builds on a case study in the mid-1990s of educational innovation in a government primary school in Zambia's Northern Province. The program was grounded in the Child-to-Child approach, with an emphasis on the promotion of health, problem-solving and social responsibility through participatory appropriation. Short and medium term outcomes of this program included relatively strong performance on the national Grade 7 Secondary School Selection Examination, practical application of health care skills, and enduring prosocial orientation among those selected for further schooling through Grade 9 (Serpell, 2008; Pridmore & Stephens, 2000). The follow-up study seeks to document the life journeys of a cohort who completed Grade 7 in 1996 and to explore their interpretations of how the values and practices emphasized in their basic schooling have influenced the course of their subsequent lives (for further details contact robertserpell@gmail.com).

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Young Scholars' Corner

Hello and welcome to the second edition of the Young Scholars' Corner (YSC). In line with the goals of the Young Scholars' Community, the purpose of this section of the bulletin is to discuss the needs and interests of ISSBD young scholars. This section of the bulletin is still in its infancy and is currently seeking suggestions from the greater young scholar community of the ISSBD. Future editions will focus particularly on scholarly and professional development topics and current events within the research and academia relevant to young scholars. The current issue discusses the inception of the YSC and some potential future topics to be covered in this section.

Inception of the Young Scholars' Corner

The inception of the YSC came out of the first Young Scholars' Community meeting at the 20th Biennial Meeting of the ISSBD in Würzburg, Germany. Many concerns and issues were discussed at the community meeting and in an effort to address some of those concerns the YSC was established. In particular, at the community meeting, many expressed interest in having a place where the voice and

interests of young scholars would be heard and addressed. Along with the creation of the Young Scholars' Corner, a motion has also been passed to include a permanent position for a young scholar representative on the Executive Council. Furthermore, a number of new and exciting committees have been established concerning awards, fellowship, membership, publishing, and web content and communication. All of this only after the first meeting! We are well on our way to a bountiful and productive young scholar presence within ISSBD and the greater research world.

The Young Scholars' Corner, as part of the young scholar activities within ISSBD, is fully supported by ISSBD president Anne Petersen and the Executive Council. As the current author of this section, it is my goal to bring to you pertinent matters that are of concern to young scholars. I fully welcome your ideas, comments, suggestions, and requests for future editions.

Some Possible Topics for Future YSC Editions

- Creating a Mission for the Young Scholars' Community
- Building Networks: Collaboration among Young Scholars
- Creating Community at the ISSBD Biennial Meetings
- Funding and Resources to Attend ISSBD Meetings
- Becoming Involved in YSC Initiatives
- Publication: Submitting to ISSBD Journal
- Grant Writing

Please send any ideas and comments regarding the next edition of the Young Scholar's Corner to Jochebed Gayles at jgg137@psu.edu. If you are interested in becoming involved or being added to the email list, please contact Zena R. Mello at mello@berkeley.edu.

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MAJOR CONFERENCES OF INTEREST

2009 July 6–8

Conference of the Australasian Human Development Association

Location: Adelaide, Australia

Website: <http://guest.cvent.com/EVENTS/Info/Summary.aspx?i=76820f08-2fc0-4c7a-8204-22ea702e90e2>

2009 July 7–10

11th European Congress of Psychology (ECP)

Location: Oslo, Norway

Website: www.ecp2009.no

2009 August 18–22

European Conference on Developmental Psychology

Location: Vilnius, Lithuania

Website: www.esdp2009.com

2010 March 11–13

Biennial Meeting of the Society of Research on Adolescence (SRA)

Location: Philadelphia, USA

Website: www.s-r-a.org

2010 May 12–15

XI Biennial Meeting of the European Association for Research on Adolescence (EARA)

Location: Vilnius, Lithuania

Website: www.eara2010.eu

2010 July 18–22

21st Biennial Meeting of the International Society for the Study of Behavioural Development

Location: Lusaka, Zambia

Website: www.issbd.org



Berlin Declaration on the Quality of Life for Older Adults: Closing the Gap between Scientific Knowledge and Intervention

This declaration on Quality of Life for Older Adults highlights some central topics that were discussed at the New Horizons Expert Workshop on Quality of Life in Old Age held as part of the XXIXth International Congress of Psychology in Berlin, 2008.

In many countries life expectancy has dramatically increased over the past 100 years—with an average gain of 30 years. The shift in life expectancy has consequences for current aging cohorts, and for future cohorts, for the aging individual, for the relevant institutions of the welfare state, and for the science of psychology at large.

Quality of life encompasses many individual aspects of functioning, such as physical and mental health, cognitive processing, and social participation. In addition, quality of life also refers to adequate contexts and environments, such as family support, access to social and health services, environmental stimulation and safety, and a satisfying economic standing. All this concerns populations that become more and more heterogeneous in terms of their physical and mental conditions, lifestyles, ethnicities and religions. Discussions of the quality of life in old age thus need to focus on how to activate and promote resources and unused potentials, how to prevent or delay age-associated declines, and how to introduce therapeutic interventions that compensate for age-related losses and thus maintain competence and mental health.

Activate resources and potentials of older adults. There are many possibilities for increasing the quality of life by social participation, be it through volunteering or through new formats of age-fair work that avoid marginalization of the elderly without putting undue pressures on those who cannot live up to standards of activity but allowing those who are able and want to continue working after the mandatory retirement age to do so. For future cohorts we need to make sure that education, work, and leisure occur at varying levels of intensity and quality over the entire life span, rather than in a fixed linear sequence as is still common.

Promotion of competence. Solid evidence from decades of cognitive training research has shown that there is enormous plasticity of functioning—within biological limits. Particularly the ages between 60 and 80 offer a late possibility to avoid or compensate normative losses of functioning by intervention. Recent research on the role of physical activity and cognitively engaging activities on neuronal growth and plasticity in animals has shed new light on the mechanisms possibly involved in human aging. Cognitive training research has been successful to illustrate plasticity of cognitive functioning but at the same time has demonstrated very limited generalizability. The only exception so far is training of aerobic fitness and its broad effects on cognitive performance. Thus, as a next step, it is necessary to develop ecologically valid interventions (including, for instance, changes in the work environment) and to test their effects.

Promotion of mental health and autonomous functioning in old age. A growing body of evidence has shown that psychological therapy and many other interventions that are applied to a range of mental problems often related to age-associated losses, such as depression, anxiety, and psychological distress are successful in old age and that calendar age is not an important predictor for positive therapeutic outcomes. In addition, psychological intervention offers a full scope of methods able to prevent negative outcomes, foster autonomy, enhance loss management (e.g., in the situation of chronic physical illness), reduce problem behaviors in those with dementia-related disorders, and is able to positively shape possible late-life disability trajectories.

Strengthening the families of older adults. Although there has been much progress in the prevention and rehabilitation of diseases and disabilities in old age, demographic aging has led to an increase in the number of older people in need of help and care. Family members, such as spouses and adult children, are the most important supporters of the frail elderly, although many older adults also turn to their peers as a source of help. There is a need for developing and implementing effective interventions that strengthen the ability of the family and significant others to provide support and ease the burden of informal caregivers.

Ethnic/cultural diversity. Given migration and increasing ethnic diversity of the aging population, we need research on ethnic/cultural differences of the older population, the development of culturally fair assessments of older adults from different ethnic backgrounds, and measures for overcoming ethnic/cultural disparities in the use of services for older adults.

Research needs. Improving the quality of life of the elderly requires new initiatives, and in particular more experimental and interdisciplinary studies. Studies that use the new tools of neuroscience, as well as studies in real-life contexts, are especially important. We in the science of psychology should increase our research activities to investigate the causal connections between engaging experiences in education, work, and leisure in earlier years on the one hand and positive functioning and resilience in the cognitive, motivational, and social domain in old age on the other hand. Moreover, we need to know what type of intervention is optimal at what time of the life span, and how such interventions can be implemented with the greatest effectiveness and equity across all segments of the population.

Training researchers and professionals for working with older adults. Finally, in order to develop and implement effective interventions aimed at increasing the quality of life in old age and to increase scientific knowledge about aging processes, we need to improve the training of young practitioners and scientists in the fields of basic and applied research of aging. That is, the science of psychology worldwide must become more sensitive to the research and practice needs related to aging. In particular, we should strive to achieve a similar level of expertise in issues of aging across countries and regions of the world. This

should be part of a larger cross-national collaboration among research institutes and universities.

Concerning all possible ways of intervention towards improving the quality of life in old age, the major gap is not so much one of scientific knowledge but of implementation. The range of older adults in need that are reached is too small. Beyond psychological barriers, such as aging stereotypes, there is often a lack of awareness and knowledge among those in charge of health and social policies and programming about the potential of psychological interventions for older adults.

We need a new effort to integrate the activities of science, research foundations, governments, and relevant service providers to close the gap between what is possible and what is reality in promoting quality of life in old age.

This Declaration was signed by the *International Experts of the Forum on Aging* that took place on July 22, 2008, on the occasion of the 29th International Congress of Psychology in Berlin, Germany.

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