Cross-Cultural Psychology

Lifespan: The science that seeks to understand the way people change & stay the same as they grow – Kathleen Berger

Cross-Cultural Psychology: The systematic study of relationships between the cultural context of human development and the behaviors that become established in the repertoire of individuals growing up in a particular culture

Anthropology is most relevant to cross-cultural psychology

E.B. Tylor, who was the first anthropologist to define the term "culture," referred to it as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society

Goals: testing or extending the generalizability of existing theories and findings

Etic Approach: Involves studying behaviors of multiple cultures from outside the system, and compares/contrasts features using criteria thought to be absolute or universal

Emic Approach: Describes the study of cultural norms that are specific to one group of people or within one culture

Homogeneous Approach: underlying values and beliefs are shared and pervasive

in sensorimotor development, there are more similarities across cultures than there are differences

Historical Views of Children & Childhood

Original Sin = Children born into the world as evil beings

Plato Children born with innate knowledge – Sensory experiences trigger this knowledge

Aristotle Innate knowledge does not exist – Knowledge rooted in sensory experiences

Locke *Tabula Rasa* “clean slate” – Knowledge shaped by reinforcement

Rousseau Newborn endowed with sense of morality and justice – Adults help child develop in their natural capacities

Aspects of Development

Physical, Cognitive, Moral, Emotional & Social

Emotional & Social Development Themes: nature/nurture, Ecological Systems View Point–**Bronfenbrenner** (Co-founder-Head Start)

Environment=Nested Structures a.*Microsystem* Direct exposure (relationships, school, etc.) b.*Mesosystem* Interconnections between systems c.*Exosystem* Institutions of society that indirect affect child d.*Macrosystem* Cultural (values, beliefs, customs, &laws) e.*Chronosystem* time

Piaget, Kohlberg, and Erikson: Traditional or mainstream psychological theories that focus on the individual

Bronfenbrenner, Super and Harkness, and Vygotsky: Interactionist theories

The need for relating includes being loved, valued, accepted.

Assumptions of Ecological Systems Theory: Time is a limitation and a resource, Human behavior can be understood at the individual and at the population level, Humans organize their interactions within their spatial environment.

The Developmental Niche (Super & Harkness)

Physical & Social settings, Collection of Customary Practices, Caretakers’ beliefs & expectations

Attachment: Social and emotional nourishment 1.*Proximity Maintenance* 2.*Safe Haven* 3.*Secure Base* 4.*Separation Distress*

Attachment for sense of security and affects internal working model

Bowlby Leading Theorist on Attachment (draws on the work ofLorenz)

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The Developmental Niche (Super & Harkness) (cont)

Stages of Attachment *Birth-2months:* attachment presents, but directed at any person *2-7months:* Attachment becomes focused on a primary caregiver(mother); separation anxiety develops near the end of this period *7-24months:* Attachment with significant caregivers develop; Infant elicits attachment behavior by actively seeking/engaging *24months:* Increasing cognitive & social development allows the child to take others' feelings & perspectives into consideration & use these to form multiple social attachments to peers/caregivers

Believed that there is a form of imprinting in humans	Our early ancestors seem to have foraged about in small groups and were threatened by large predators. Bowlby referred to this as the environment of adaptedness
Imprinting is most precisely defined as the process by which the releasing stimuli of instincts are filled in	Occur during the same phase of attachment: the Moro reflex, cooing and babbling, social smiling
A human baby crawling after a parent is following innate, evolved tendencies, has "imprinted" on the parent, is attached to the parent	Between about 2 and 3 months, social smiles are elicited primarily by faces in the frontal position

Occurs during the same phase of attachment: separation anxiety, crying out for a departing parent, stranger anxiety

Mary Ainsworth Attachment w/12-18 month old's in "strange situations." Concluded there are two main styles of attachment: secure & insecure

Secure 1.Able to separate from parent 2.Seek comfort from parents when frightened 3.Return of parents is met with positive emotions 4.Prefers parents to stranger	**Insecure:** 1.*Resistant* a.May be wary of strangers b.Become greatly distressed when the parent leaves c.Does not appear to be comforted by the return of the parent 2.*Avoidant* a.May avoid parents b.Does not seek comfort/contact from parents c.Shows little or no preference for parent & stranger 3.*Disorganized/disoriented* a.Show a mixture of avoidant & resistant behaviors b.May seem dazed, confused, or apprehensive
According to Bowlby and Ainsworth, a one-year-old boy who uses the mother as a "base of support" behaves in a healthy manner	In their child rearing advice, Bowlby and Ainsworth say parents should take their cues from their children
The Bowlby/Ainsworth advice on child-rearing is most similar to that of Gesell	Research suggests that the parents of insecure-ambivalent children are preoccupied with winning their own parents' love

Harry Harlow 1963 Research with monkeys; study suggested social bond is more important than food & physical presence

Mary Main Developed the Adult Attachment Interview Protocol: Believed earlier experiences shape later behaviors, beliefs, and expectations about relationships.

Erik Erikson saw the task of this stage of development as achieving a sense of *trust vs. mistrust*

Strange Situation (Ainsworth)

Children aged 12-18 months & their mothers enter a room	Child plays with the toys while the mother is present
A stranger enters the room & caregiver leaves	The stranger tries to comfort the child

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Strange Situation (Ainsworth) (cont)

The caregiver returns & the stranger leaves	The caregiver comforts the child & then leaves for a second time
The child is left alone for 3 minutes	The stranger enters & interacts with the child
The caregiver enters, picks up the child & stranger leaves.	

Cognitive Development

Three Approaches: 1.*Piaget*: We develop in 4 discrete stages 2.*Information Processing Theory:* We become more efficient at processing information as we mature (like computers). 3.*Vygotsky:* Sociocultural expectations we should know at different ages, and our “apprenticeship” experiences shape development

Vygotsky

Vygotsky’s Sociocultural Perspective

Culture and society play a pivotal role in theory	Expected cognitive development to vary from society to society
Social interaction and thought, Language shapes thought	Thought changes fundamentally once we are able to think in words
Balance between internal developmental and socio-historical influences	Vygotsky was interested in speech and memory aids as psychological tools, believing that egocentric or self-directed speech is useful to children. *Self-directed speech*: begins developing after social speech, starts out spoken and gradually becomes internalized, becomes increasingly abbreviated during the ages 6 to 8 years

Zone of Proximal Development: the distance between what a learner is capable of doing unsupported, and what they can only do supported (assesses childs potential for new learning)

Vygotsky Basic Principles of Cognitive Development:

Children are active scientists or explorers of their world ii. Children make sense of the world through schemes. *Explicit Cognition:* Cognition that you are aware of (and can describe in words) *Implicit Cognition:* Knowledge that you may not be able to describe in words

Informal Learning: accurately learning/performing tasks in daily life	**Inner speech**: articulates dimly formed thoughts and feelings

Other

Vygotsky was committed to Marxism, Marx argued that people's ideas and values reflect people's economic interests	Piaget and Vygotsky most strongly disagreed over the importance of children making their own discoveries
Play involves rules. Children talk out loud to solve difficult tasks.	Vygotsky, compared to Piaget, believed it can be productive to teach concepts beyond the child's grasp
The "Tools of the Mind" project tries to teach self regulation through play	Luria found that when young children try to give themselves verbal commands. they behave as if all commands initiate behavior
Vygotsky claimed that we are born with four 'elementary mental functions' : Attention, Sensation, Perception, and Memory	Vygotsky was perhaps the first to advance: mediation, metacognition, inner speech

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Vygotsky (cont)

children first learn the social forms of behavior, then apply it to themselves themselves

Terms: mediation, metacognition, inner speech

Contemporary Vygotskians see children's make-believe play as requiring initial adult support

develops after all the others: transformations

Piaget focused on the role of objects while Vygotsky focused on the role of people

According to Piaget development leads learning; according to Vygotsky learning leads development.

Jean Piaget

Scheme: Child's knowledge, representations, and ways of interacting with the world.

emphasized independent thinking

Adaptation: Relates schemes & experiences in the world *Assimilation* interprets new experience in terms of existing schemes *Accommodation* alters schemes in response to new experiences *Equilibration* assimilation & accommodation working together to enrich the child's worldview

4 Periods of Development

Period 1: Sensorimotor Intelligence (Birth-2yrs & consist of six stages) *Reflexes (1 month) Primary Circular Reactions (1 to 4 months)* Infants coordinate two body actions. Baby chances upon a new experience & tries to repeat its "construction process" *Secondary Circular Reactions (4 to 8 months)* Baby discovers & reproduces an interesting event outside themselves *The Coordination of Secondary Schemes (8 to 12 months)* Learning to coordinate two different schemes to get a result *Tertiary Circular Reactions (12-18 months)* infant experiments with different actions & observes the outcome *The Beginnings of Thought (18mo – 2 years)* Children think out situations more internally before they act, marked by deferred imitation

Period 2: Preoperational Thought (2-7 years) Symbolic function/Representational insight **The Prefrontal Cortex** *Social Thinking, Animism* Assuming that all things that move are alive and have human characteristics, *Reification* Believing that people & objects in stories and dreams are real, *Egocentrism* collective monologues,failing to realize that others can't see one's dreams, not considering another's viewpoint **Lack of conservation is a sign of this stage**

Period 3: Concrete Operations (7-11 years) *Cognitive operations* Internal mental activity to modify symbols to reach a logical conclusion. **Marked by mastery of conservation (by recognizing the contradictions in their own thought)** master conservation and classification tasks

Period 4: Formal Operations (12+) *Hypothetic-deductive reasoning* ability to generate hypotheses and use deductive reasoning (general to specific) *Inductive Reasoning* going from specific observations to generalizations

Cognitive Changes in Adolescence Hormones affect brain development, especially in the amygdala, where emotions are regulated. Risky behaviors and emotionality may be the result of brain areas developing at different rates

Cognitive Development *Emotional intelligence* Aspects of the way people handle their own emotions and others

Recent research suggests Piaget' stages are not too general across tasks

Focuses of Piaget's theory include: how we come to know something, whether objective knowledge is possible or not, whether we are born knowing specific ideas or must learn them all

Points Piaget made: logic is a very internalized form of motor action, the first symbols are motor actions, not words, the rates of development vary from child to child

When children enter the Concrete Operations stage of cognitive development, they are able to conserve liquids and may use one of three arguments: Identity, Compensation (one is taller, but the other is wider, so they cancel each other out), Inversion (you could make this row long again and make them equal)

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Jean Piaget (cont)

When two preoperational children are engaged in parallel play they are displaying egocentric play

When children consider rules fixed and unchangeable, Piaget used the term *moral heteronomy*

Piaget said most people reach the highest stages of reasoning primarily in areas of special interest or ability

Based on cross-cultural research of Piaget's preoperational and concrete operational stages of development, we can conclude that while children in different cultures have to deal with different realities, they apply all of the same operations or processes of thought.

Piaget's stage of "formal operational thinking" has been the subject of many years of cross-cultural research, revealing that there is little use of formal operational thinking

Noam Chomsky Basic Concepts

Father of Modern Linguistics

Biological Approach children are born ready to learn whatever languages they hear around them through the (LAD)

Beliefs The ability to learn language is instinctive. Children learn to talk because they are genetically equipped to do so

Theory All babies language development follows a pattern. Humans have a Language Acquisition Device (LAD)

Social Learning and Development

Pavlov: classical conditioning; dog experiments. **Classical conditioning deals with**: the pairing of stimuli that precede responses, extinction, conditioning of reflexes and innate behavior

Watson: fear and emotional conditioning; systematic desensitization *Little Albert*

Bandura Observational Process

Bandura: socialization and role modeling; children learn through imitation and modeling *Vicarious reinforcement*: learn through observing consequences of others' behaviors *Modeling*: observe behavior of others and repeat that behavior (**Types**: live, verbal, symbolic) *Self-Efficacy*: Regulation of one's own behavior (increases motivation)

Attention Developing cognitive processes to pay attention to a model- more developed processes allow for better attention, Must observe the model accurately enough to imitate behavior

Retention *Imaginal internal representation*: visual image, forming mental picture *Verbal system*: verbal description of behavior; silently rehearsing steps in behavior

Production Taking imaginal and verbal representations and translating into overt behavior- practice behaviors, Receive feedback on accuracy of behavior, Important in mastering difficult skills

Incentive and Motivation With incentives, observation more quickly becomes action, pay more attention, retain more information, Incentive to learn influenced by anticipated reinforcements

Abstract modeling is a way of learning skills and behaviors by the indirect observation of others (When children pick up the rules underlying modeled behavior)

observational learning from models, compared to operant conditioning, is frequently faster

Variables strongly influencing self-efficacy appraisals: pep talks, physiological cues, vicarious experiences

Four areas in socialization: aggression, gender roles, prosocial behavior, and self-regulation

Aggression: Bobo Doll-boys more aggressive. Children watching an aggressive cartoon were more aggressie in their play.

preaching can have strong short-term effects on pro-social behavior but can backfire

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Social Learning and Development (cont)

Direct reinforcements primarily affect performances rather than the acquisition of responses

Piagetians generally believe that Bandura underestimates the power of spontaneous interests *Bandura has come to view Piaget's theory as* still wrong in major respects: that children go through general stages, learn from moderately novel events, learn through intrinsic motivation

Bandura says a positive sense of self-efficacy gives one energy to persist with tasks

Skinner's Operant Conditioning

Behavior determined by consequences. A key measure of conditioning is the rate of response

In Skinner's view, punishment often produces unwanted side effects, positive learning is more effective

Terms: *Discriminative Stimulus* a stimulus that increases the probability of a response because of a previous history, *Positive reinforcement, negative reinforcement, punishment, extinction, shaping (method of approximations)* can teach skills little by little

Skinnerian theory has lost much popularity because psychologists have become increasingly interested in cognition

In light of problems posed by the concept of drive, Premack, one of Skinner's followers, proposes we consider reinforcement as the momentary probability of a response

Responses that are intermittently rather than continuously reinforced are more difficult to extinguish

Skinner discussed emotions as the effects of reinforcement schedules

Skinner's attitude toward the theory of natural selection seemed basically positive

"Constraints" on learning refer to the finding that organisms learn some things more readily than others

The most basic difference between Skinner and the developmentalists has to do with the source of developmental change—inner or outer

Internal events such as thoughts should only be studied if they can be observed and measured

Bandura's observational learning theory differs from Skinner's operant theory on the need to directly act to learn

Erikson & Freud Psychosocial Development

Freud: Psychoanalytic

Stage 1: Oral 0-18 months, sucking, swallowing. EGO develops

Stage 2: Anal Age 18-36months, children begin potty training

Stage 3: Phallic 3-6 years, girls attached to father, boys to mother. Genitals/masturbation. SUPEREGO develops

Stage 4: Latency age 6 to puberty. repression of sexual feelings, interacting with same-sex peers.

Stage 5: Genital Puberty +, sexual intercourse

Defense mechanisms: *Denial, Repression, Regression, Sublimation Projection, Displacement*, *Reaction Formation*: converting unacceptable and dangerous impulses into something positive to reduce anxiety, *Rationalization* Defenses operate unconsciously

3 Levels of awareness: *Conscious*: working memory, contents actively thinking about; easily accessed, *Preconscious*: contents you are not currently aware of; thoughts, memories, knowledge, wishes, feelings; available for easy access when needed, *Unconscious*: contents kept out of conscious awareness; not accessible

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Erikson & Freud Psychosocial Development (cont)

Preconscious **Superego**: moralist/idealistic part of personality; begins forming at age 4/5, Unconscious **Id**: pleasure principle; generates all of personality's energy **Ego**: resides in all levels of awareness; "reality" principle; Attempts negotiation between Id and Superego to satisfy both realistically. Has no energy or its own. Delays impulses. Includes cognitive functions.

Freud first replaced hypnosis with free association

The text says the story of Hansel and Gretel illustrates conflicts at the oral stage

Eriksons Psychosocial Stages

Stage 1: Birth to age 1 *Trust vs Mistrust* Totally dependent on others; caregiver influences trust, Basic strength: Hope

Stage 2: Ages 1-3 *Autonomy vs Shame and Doubt* Able to exercise some degree of choice, Basic strength: will

Stage 3: Ages 3-5 *Initiative vs Guilt* Expresses desire to take initiative in activities, Basic strength: Purpose

Stage 4: Ages 6-11 *Industry vs Inferiority* Child develops cognitive abilities to enable in task completion (school work, play), Basic strength: Competence

Stage 5: Ages 12-18 *Identity vs Role Confusion* Form ego-identity: self-image, Strong sense of identity: face adulthood with certainty and confidence, psychosocial moratorium occurs, Identity crisis: confusion of ego identity, Basic strength: Fidelity

Stage 6: Ages 18-35 *Intimacy vs Isolation* Undertake productive work and establish intimate relationship, Basic strength: Love

Stage 7: Ages 35-55 *Generativity vs Stagnation* Generativity: Active involvement in teaching/guiding the next generation, Basic strength:Care

Stage 8: Ages 55+ *Integrity vs Despair* Integrity, Look back with satisfaction, Despair, Review with anger, frustration. Basic strength: Wisdom.

Other

Common parts of the resolution of the Oedipus complex: internalization, sublimation, identification

A distinctive defense mechanism in adolescence, Anna Freud said is asceticism

Anna Freud said the most powerful defense mechanism, which frequently works in conjunction with the other defenses, is repression

Reaction-formation is the defense mechanism is most typically at play in the anal stage

Typical outcomes of the anal stage: a person who compulsively checks for errors, a person who is very neat and orderly, a person who is extremely messy

What most puzzled Freud about the girl's Oedipus complex was why girls feel a need to resolve the crisis

Freud would suggest that a young man's anxiety over competition probably reflects earlier problems at the third (phallic) stage

Clara Thompson said that penis envy in girls is actually a cry for equal opportunity

In general, the strongest fixations seem to be due to excessive frustration

Erikson's stages, compared to Freud's are more general

Erikson seems to regard identity foreclosure as impoverishing the personality

Erikson's stages, compared to Piaget's more maturationally governed

Erikson's stage of industry vs. inferiority is most closely related to Piaget's stage of concrete operations. Erikson's stage of initiative vs. guilt is most closely related to Piaget's stage of preoperational thought.

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Erikson & Freud Psychosocial Development (cont)

Erikson and Piaget are in agreement in regards to whether the stages are qualitatively different

Erikson's child rearing advice sounds most similar to that of Gesell

One of the criticisms of Erikson, advanced by Robert White, is that Erikson didn't capture all ego development in his concepts of modes

The issue of parental discipline usually first arises at Erikson's stage of autonomy vs. shame, doubt

Moral Development

3 Basic components of morality: *Affective*: feelings (guilt, concern for others' feelings, and so on) that surround right or wrong actions and that motivate moral thoughts and actions, *Cognitive*: how we conceptualize right and wrong and make decisions about how to behave (Resistance to Temptation and Self-Control), *Behavioral*: how we behave when, for example, we experience the temptation to cheat or are called upon to help a needy person

Moral reasoning the thinking process involved in deciding whether an act is right or wrong. Moral reasoning is believed to progress through a fixed and universal order of stages, each of which represents a consistent way of thinking about moral issues that is different from the stage preceding or following it

Foundational moral understanding primarily influenced by parents/caregivers/adults, Moral influences shift throughout adolescence to social peers

Piaget's Theory of Moral Development

Premoral Period During the preschool years, children show little awareness or understanding of rules and cannot be considered moral beings

Heteronomous morality Children 6 to 10 years old take rules seriously, believing that they are handed down by parents and other authority figures and are sacred and unalterable, They judge rule violations as wrong based on the extent of damage done, not paying much attention to whether the violator had good or bad intentions

Autonomous morality At age 10 or 11, most children enter a final stage of moral development in which they begin to appreciate that rules are agreements between individuals – agreements that can be changed through a consensus of those individuals, In judging actions, they pay more attention to whether the person's intentions were good or bad than to the consequences of the act

Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Development

Proposed three distinct levels of moral reasoning: preconventional, conventional, and postconventional

Each level is based on the degree to which a person conforms to conventional standards of society

Preconventional **Stage 1: Infancy: Obedience/Punishment** The child is good in order to avoid being punished. If a person is punished, they must have done wrong.

Preconventional **Stage 2: Pre-school: Individualism and Exchange: Self-interest** Interest shifts to reward to achieve greatest benefit to oneself

Conventional **Stage 3: School-age: Good Interpersonal Relationships: Conformity and Interpersonal Accord** Effort to secure approval and maintain friendship with others, aka: the good boy/girl stage "fighting is wrong because it is mean and hurts others"

Conventional **Stage 4: School-age: Authority and Social Order** orientation toward fixed rules and maintaining order

Postconventional **Stage 5: Teens: Social Contact and Individual Rights** Mutual benefit, reciprocity. Morally right and legally right are not the same. Utilitarian rules that benefit everyone.

Postconventional **Stage 6: Adulthood: Universal Principals** Morality is based on principals that transcend mutual benefit

Kohlberg's stage 7 may include a spiritual sense of oneness with the cosmos

Kohlberg said each stage in his theory is more cognitively adequate than the preceding stage

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Moral Development (cont)

In Kohlberg's just community approach the moral thinking of high school students advances somewhat, primarily from stage 2 to 3

Most urban middle class adults in the United States reason at Kohlberg's stage 4

Moral reasoning is an emic (culture specific) process. One's moral compass is developed and sharpened within one's societal context. (Different cultures have different moral orientations).

Carol Gilligan on Women and Moral Development: argued that women's morality is more relationship-oriented than men's

Mahler

Normal Autistic Phase: Birth to 1 Month A newborn infant is blissfully unaware of anything but its own needs. At this stage, the mother needs to be available to lovingly meet the baby's needs and introduce tender, caring interaction.

Normal Symbiotic Phase: 1 to 5 Months Babies begin to learn about their world and develop their very first human bond with the mother. Positive stimuli (cuddling, smiling, engaged attention) and relief of discomfort (feeding promptly when hungry, changing of soiled nappies, providing an appropriate sleep environment) all help the infant to develop a trust that their needs will be met, building a basis for security and confidence.

Sub-phase One: Differentiation 5 to 10 Months Baby develops an increased interest in both the mother and the outside world. The baby continually "checks back," looking at other things but then looking for the mother as a reassurance that she is still present.

Sub-phase Two: Practicing 10 to 16 Months Still not ready for extended separation toddlers will sometimes choose to separate briefly from mom, but will typically return quickly for assurance and comfort. Some independent play time is enjoyed, but often the baby is only comfortable to play on their own when the mother is within the child's line of sight. Mahler described this "hatching" as the true birth the individual occurs, with the child beginning to have a basic sense of self not directly connected to the mother.

Sub-phase Three: Rapprochement 16 to 24 Months One minute, they are running from their mothers, refusing her attention or wishes, and the next they are anxiously clinging to her. Mahler referred to this as "ambitendency" and explained that this behaviour is representative of a toddler's sometimes opposing desires and needs. It is during these months that children first get a real sense that they are individuals, separate from their mothers

Sub-phase Four: Consolidation and Object Constancy 24 to 36 Months At some point around the second birthday, children begin to be more comfortable separating from their mothers, knowing that they will return (object constancy). This ability makes it possible for two year olds to accept that they are unique from their mothers without anxiety, allowing the child to engage substitutes for the mother when she is absent.

Mahler's normal autism: inner focus, still achieving physiological balance, stimulus barrier

In therapy with severely disturbed children, one of Mahler's most common goals was to promote a more pleasurable symbiosis

Mahler's belief in the caretaker's patient availability is similar to the view of both Montessori and Ainsworth

Mahler's concept of object constancy is an internal image of the mother

Other Terms

Guided Participation: the child themselves has a great impact on a child's socialization

Adaptive Logic: adapting to the environment and the ability to do things independently

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Other Terms (cont)	
Dialectical Thinking: the ability to view issues from multiple perspectives	The "Tools of the Mind" project tries to teach self-regulation through play
research on televised aggression as fairly conclusive	reciprocal interweaving: A 4-year-old who had begun drawing in a clockwise direction shifts to a counterclockwise preference.
illustrates the principle of functional asymmetry: tonic neck	A pediatrician expects the infant to demonstrate the pincer grasp at ten months
Bell and Ainsworth: infants at one year of age are relatively independent	Some contemporary ethologists prefer the term "sensitive period" to "critical period" to convey more flexible boundaries
Scaffolding gradually removes assistance to the child	
Learning is a relatively permanent change in an organism's behavior due to experience. 1) In associated learning, we learn to associate two stimuli or a response and its consequences. 2) In observational learning, we learn by watching others' experiences and examples	

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