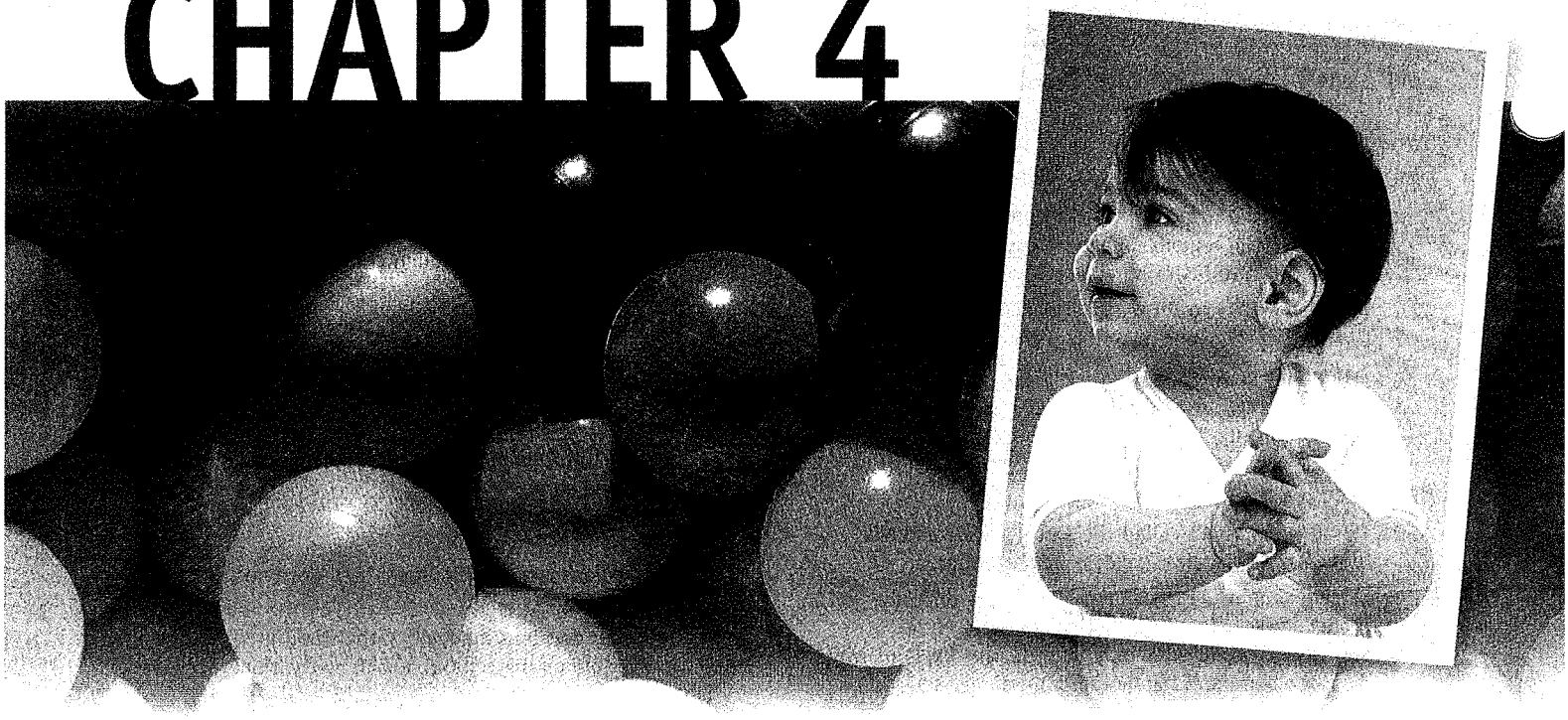
CHAPTER 4



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Emotional and Social Development in Infants and Toddlers

We've talked to Kim during pregnancy and visited when Elissa was a young baby. Now let's catch up with mother and daughter when Elissa is 15 months old.

Elissa had her first birthday in May. She's such a happy baby, but now if you take something away, it's like, "Why did you do that?" Pick her up. First everything is fine, and then she squirms and her arms go out toward me. She's busy walking, busy exploring, but she's always got an eye on me. When I make a motion to leave, she stops and races near. Elissa has a stronger connection to her dad now, because Jeff watches the baby some afternoons . . . but when she's tired or sick, it's still Mom.

It was difficult to go back to work. You hear terrible things about day care, stories of babies being neglected. I finally decided to send Elissa to a neighbor who watches a few toddlers in her home. I hated how my baby screamed the first week when I dropped her off. But it's obvious that she's happy now. Every morning she runs smiling to Ms. Marie's arms.

It's bittersweet to see my baby separating from me, running into the world, becoming her own person. The clashes are more frequent now that I'm turning up the discipline, expecting more from my "big girl." But mainly it's hard to be apart. I think about Elissa 50 million times a day. I speed home to see her. I can't wait to glimpse her glowing face in the window, how she jumps up, and we run to kiss and cuddle again.

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Imagine being Kim, with your child the center of your life. Imagine being Elissa, wanting to be independent but needing your mother close. In this chapter, I'll focus on **attachment**, the powerful bond of love between caregiver and child.

My discussion of attachment starts a conversation that continues throughout this book. After exploring this core relationship, I'll turn to the wider world, first examining how that basic marker, socioeconomic status (SES), affects children, then spotlighting day care. The last section of this chapter focuses on **toddlerhood**, the famous time lasting roughly from age 1 to 2½ years. (Your tipoff that a child is a toddler is that endearing "toddling" gait that characterizes the second year of life.)

attachment The powerful bond of love between a caregiver and child (or between any two people).

toddlerhood The important transitional stage after babyhood, from roughly age 1 to 2½.

Attachment: The Basic Life Bond

Learning Outcomes

- Describe how psychologists learned that attachment is crucial.
- List the attachment milestones.
- Contrast secure attachment and insecure attachments.
- Name three forces affecting the attachment dance.
- Evaluate the hormonal impact on attachment stability and change.
- Examine the impact of fathers on babies' development.

Perhaps you remember being intensely in love. You may be in that wonderful state right now. You cannot stop fantasizing about your significant other. Your moves blend with your partner's. You connect in a unique way. Knowing that this person is there gives you confidence. Your world depends on having your loved one close. Now you know how Elissa feels about her mother and the powerful emotions that flow from Kim to her child.

Setting the Context: How Developmentalists (Slowly) Got Attached to Attachment

During much of the twentieth century, U.S. psychologists seemed indifferent to this intense, loving bond. At a time when psychology was dominated by behaviorism, studying love seemed unscientific. Behaviorists suggested that babies wanted to be close to their mothers because this "maternal reinforcement stimulus" provided food. Worse yet, the early behaviorist John Watson seemed *hostile* to mother love:

> When I hear a mother say "bless its little heart" when it falls down, I . . . have to walk a block or two to let off steam . . . . Can't she train herself to substitute a kindly word . . . for . . . the coddling? . . . Can't she learn to keep away from the child a large part of the day?
>
> (Watson, 1928/1972, pp. 82–83)

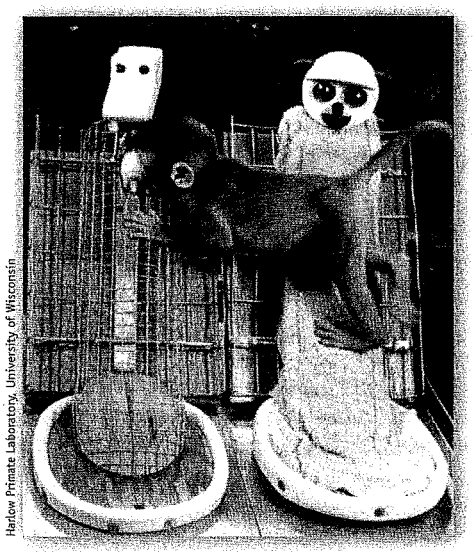
And then he made this memorable statement:

> I sometimes wish that we could live in a community of homes [where] . . . we could have the babies fed and bathed each week by a different nurse. (!)
>
> (Watson, 1928/1972, pp. 82–83)

European psychoanalysts felt differently. They believed that attachment was crucial to infant life.

Consider a heartrending mid-twentieth-century film that featured babies living in orphanages (Blum, 2002; Karen, 1998). In these sterile institutions, behaviorists would predict that infants should thrive. So why did babies lie listless on cots — unable to eat, withering away?

Now consider that ethologists — the forerunners of today's evolutionary psychologists — noticed that *every* species had a biologically programmed attachment response (or drive to be physically close to their mothers) that appeared at a specific point soon after birth. When the famous ethologist Konrad Lorenz (1935) arranged to become a group of newly hatched goslings' attachment-eliciting stimulus, Lorenz became the adored Pied Piper the geese tried to follow to the ends of the earth.


Harlow Primate Laboratory, University of Wisconsin

In Harlow's landmark study, baby monkeys clung to the cloth-covered "mother" (which provided contact comfort) as they leaned over to feed from the wire-mesh "mother" — refuting the behaviorist idea that infants become "attached" to the reinforcing stimulus that feeds them.

However, it took a rebellious psychologist named Harry Harlow to convince U.S. psychologists that the behaviorist meal-dispenser model of mother love was wrong. In a classic study, Harlow (1958) separated newborn monkeys from their mothers and raised them in a cage with a wire-mesh "mother" (which offered food from a milk bottle attached to its chest) and a cloth "mother" (which was soft and provided contact comfort). The babies stayed glued to the cloth mother, making occasional trips to eat from the wire mom. In stressful situations, they scurried to the cloth mother for comfort. Love won, hands down, over getting fed!

Moreover, as adults, the motherless monkeys were unable to have sex; they were frightened of their peers. After being artificially inseminated and giving birth, the females became uncaring, abusive parents. One mauled her baby so badly that it later died (Harlow and others, 1966; C. M. Harlow, 1986).

Then, in the late 1960s, John Bowlby put the evidence together — the orphanage findings, Lorenz's ethological studies, Harlow's research, his own clinical work with children who had been separated from their mothers during World War II (Hinde, 2005). In landmark books, Bowlby (1969, 1973, 1980) argued that there is no such thing as "excessive mother love." Having a **primary attachment figure** is crucial to development. It is essential to living fully at any age. By the final decades of the twentieth century, attachment moved to the front burner in developmental science. It remains front and center today.

primary attachment figure The closest person in a child's or an adult's life.

Exploring the Attachment Response

Bowlby (1969, 1973) made his case for the crucial value of attachment based on evolutionary theory. Like other species, he argued, we human beings have a critical period when the attachment response "comes out." As with Lorenz's geese, attachment is built into our genetics to allow us to survive. Although the attachment response is programmed to emerge during our first two years of life, **proximity-seeking behavior** — our need to make contact with an attachment figure — is activated when our survival is threatened at *any* age.

proximity-seeking behavior Acting to maintain physical contact or to be close to an attachment figure.

Bowlby believed that threats to survival come in two categories. First, they may be activated by our internal state. When a toddler clings only to her mom, you know she must be tired. When you have the flu or a fever, you immediately text your significant other.

Second, they may be evoked by wider-world dangers. During preschool, a barking dog caused us to run into our parents' arms. As adults, a professor's nasty comment or a humiliating work experience provokes a frantic call to our primary attachment figure, be it our spouse, parent, or best friend.

Although we all want to touch base with our significant others when we feel threatened, older children can be separated from their attachment figures for some time. During infancy and toddlerhood, simply being physically apart causes distress. Now, let's trace how attachment unfolds.

Attachment Milestones

Bowlby believed that, during their first three months of life, babies are in the **preattachment phase**. Remember that during this reflex-dominated time, infants have yet to wake up to the world. However, at around 2 months of age, a milestone occurs called the **social smile**. Bowlby believed that this first smile does not show true attachment. Because it pops up in response to any human face, it is an automatic reflex that evokes care from adults.

preattachment phase The first phase of John Bowlby's developmental attachment sequence, during the first three months of life, when infants show no visible signs of attachment.

social smile The first real smile, occurring at about 2 months of age.

Still, a baby's eagerly awaited first smile can be an incredible experience for a parent. Suddenly, your relationship with your child is on a different plane. Now, I have a confession to make: During my first two months as a new mother, I was worried, as I did not feel anything for this beautiful child I had waited so long to adopt. I date Thomas's first endearing smile as the defining event in my lifelong attachment romance.

At roughly 4 months old, infants enter a transitional period, called **attachment in the making**. At this time, Piaget's environment-focused secondary circular reactions are unfolding. The cortex is coming online. Babies may show a slight preference for their primary caregiver. But still, a 4- or 5-month-old is the ultimate party person, thrilled to be cuddled by anyone — from a grandparent, to a neighbor, to a stranger at the mall.

By about 7 or 8 months of age, this changes. As I discussed in Chapter 3, babies can hunt for covered objects — showing that they have the cognitive skills to miss their caregivers. Now that they can crawl, or walk holding onto furniture, children can get hurt. The stage is set for **clear-cut** (or **focused**) **attachment** — the beginning of the full-blown attachment response.

Separation anxiety signals this milestone. When a baby is about 7 or 8 months old, she suddenly gets uncomfortable if a caregiver leaves the room. Then, **stranger anxiety** appears. A child gets agitated when any unfamiliar person picks her up. So, as children approach age 1, the universal friendliness of early infancy is gone. While they may still joyously gurgle at the world from their caregiver's arms, it's typical for babies to forbid any "stranger" — a nice neighbor or even a loving Grandma who visits from another state — to invade their space.

Between ages 1 and 2, the distress reaches a peak. A toddler clings and cries when Mom or Dad makes a motion to leave. It's as if an invisible string connects the caregiver and the child. In a classic study at a playground, 1-year-olds played within a certain distance from their mothers. Interestingly, this zone of optimum comfort (about 200 feet) was identical for both the parent and the child (Anderson, 1972).

To see these changes, pick up a young baby (such as a 4-month-old) and an older infant (perhaps a 10-month-old) and compare their reactions. Then, observe 1-year-olds at a park. Can you measure this attachment zone of comfort? Do you notice the busy, exploring toddlers periodically checking back to make sure a caregiver is there?

Social referencing, the scientific term for this regular checking-back, helps alert toddlers to which situations are dangerous and which are safe. ("Should I climb up this slide, Mommy?" "Does Daddy think this object is OK to explore?") It explains why 8-month-old infants suddenly become sensitive to fearful faces (see Chapter 3). Our lifelong human *fear bias* is exquisitely timed to kick in when we first move into the world.

When does the need to be *physically* close to a caregiver go away? Although the marker is hazy, clear-cut attachment tapers off at about age 3. Children still care just as much about their primary caregiver. But now, according to Bowlby, they have the skills to carry a **working model**, or internal representation, of this number-one person in their minds (Bretherton, 2005).

The bottom line is that our human critical period for attachment unfolds during our most vulnerable time of life — when babies first become mobile and are most in danger of getting hurt. Moreover, what compensates parents for the frustrations of having a Piagetian "little scientist" is enormous gratification. Just when a toddler keeps messing up the house and saying "No!" parents know that their child's world revolves only around them.

Kevin Fitzgerald/Stone/Getty Images

A baby's first social smile, which appears at the sight of any face at about 2 to 3 months of age, is biologically programmed to delight adults and charm them into providing love and care.

Lisa5201/iStock/Getty Images

A few weeks ago, this 7-month-old child would have happily gone to this neighbor. But everything changes during the phase of clear-cut attachment when stranger anxiety emerges.

attachment in the making Second phase of Bowlby's attachment sequence, when, from 4 to 7 months of age, babies slightly prefer their primary caregiver.

clear-cut (focused) attachment Critical attachment phase, from 7 months through toddlerhood, defined by the need to have a primary caregiver nearby.

separation anxiety When a baby gets upset as a primary caregiver departs.

stranger anxiety Beginning at about 7 months, when a baby grows wary of people other than a caregiver.

social referencing A baby's monitoring a caregiver for cues as to how to behave.

working model In Bowlby's theory, the mental representation of a caregiver that enables children over age 3 to be physically apart from the caregiver.

Do children differ in the way they express this priceless connection? If so, what might these differences imply about the infant–parent bond?

Attachment Styles

Mary Ainsworth, Bowlby's colleague, answered these questions by devising a classic test of attachment — the **Strange Situation** (Ainsworth, 1967; Ainsworth and others, 1978).

Strange Situation Procedure to measure attachment at age 1, involving separations and reunions with a caregiver.

The Strange Situation procedure begins when a mother and a 1-year-old enter a room full of toys. After the child has time to explore, an unfamiliar adult enters the room. Then the mother leaves the baby alone with the stranger and, a few minutes later, returns to comfort the child. Next, everyone leaves the baby alone in the room, and finally the mother returns (see Figure 4.1). By observing the child's reactions to these separations and reunions through a one-way mirror, developmentalists categorize infants as either *securely* or *insecurely attached.*

secure attachment Ideal attachment response when a child responds with joy at being reunited with a primary caregiver.

insecure attachment Deviation from the typically joyful response of being reunited with a primary caregiver, signaling problems in the caregiver-child relationship.

Securely attached children use their mother as a secure base, or anchor, to explore the toys. When she leaves, they may or may not become highly distressed. Most important, when she returns, their eyes light up with joy. Their close relationship is apparent in the way they melt into their mothers' arms. **Insecurely attached** children react in one of three ways:

avoidant attachment An insecure attachment style characterized by a child's indifference to a primary caregiver at being reunited after separation.

- **Avoidant** infants rarely show much emotion — positive or negative — when their attachment figure leaves and returns. They seem wooden, disengaged, without much feeling at all.

anxious-ambivalent attachment An insecure attachment style characterized by a child's intense distress when reunited with a primary caregiver after separation.

- Babies with an **anxious-ambivalent attachment** are at the opposite end of the spectrum — clingy, nervous, too frightened to explore the toys. Frantic when their attachment figure leaves, they are inconsolable when a parent comes back.

disorganized attachment An insecure attachment style characterized by responses such as freezing or fear when a child is reunited with the primary caregiver in the Strange Situation.

- Children showing a **disorganized attachment** behave in a bizarre manner. They freeze, run around erratically, or even look frightened when the caregiver returns.

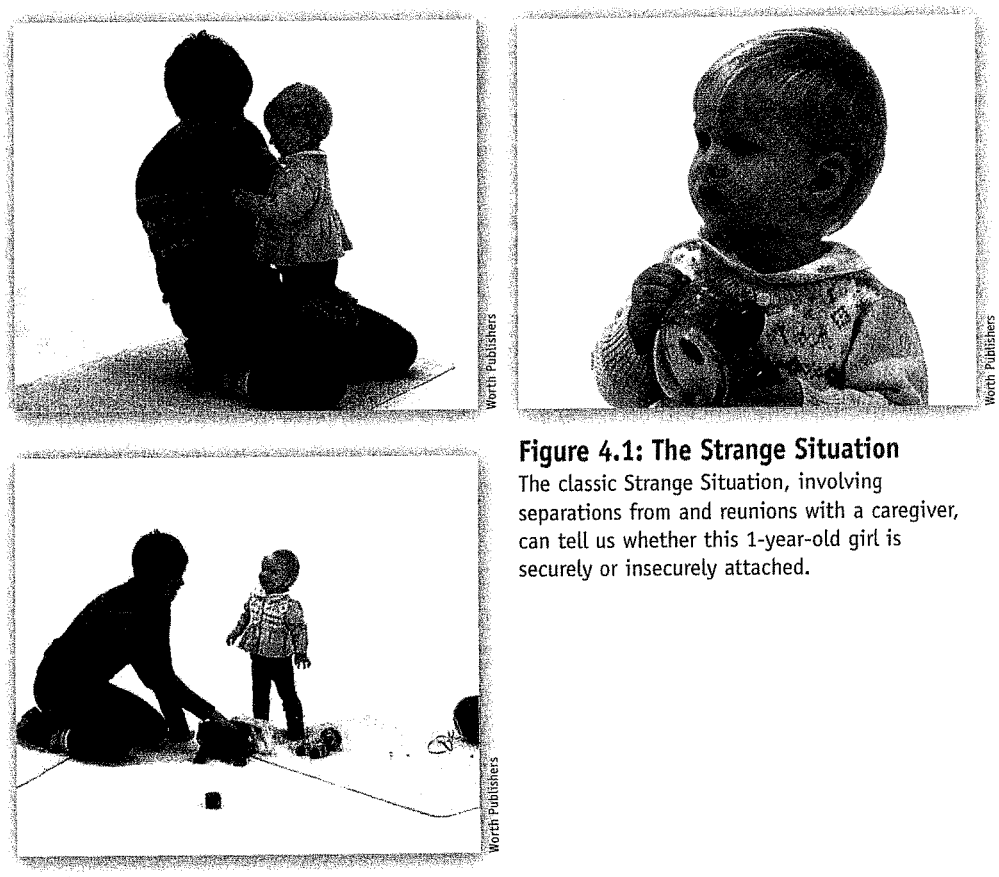


Figure 4.1: The Strange Situation
The classic Strange Situation, involving separations from and reunions with a caregiver, can tell us whether this 1-year-old girl is securely or insecurely attached.


Albert Normandin

Secure Attachment: The child is thrilled to see the caregiver.


Johner Images/Alamy

Avoidant Attachment: The child is unresponsive to the caregiver.


Ron Chapple/The Image Bank/Getty Images

Anxious-Ambivalent Attachment: The child cannot be calmed by the caregiver.


Cartina Teterin/Moment/Getty Images

Disorganized Attachment: The child seems frightened and behaves bizarrely when the caregiver arrives.

Figure 4.2: Secure and insecure attachments: A summary photo series

Developmentalists point out that insecure attachments do not show a weakness in the *underlying* connection. Avoidant infants are just as bonded to their caregivers as babies who are categorized as secure. Anxious-ambivalent infants are not more closely attached, even though they show intense separation distress. To take an analogy from adult life, when a person who cares deeply about you pretends to be indifferent, is this individual less in love? Is a lover who can't let a partner out of sight more attached than a person who allows a significant other to have an independent life? Unless they endure the grossly abnormal rearing conditions described late in this section, *every infant* is closely attached (Zeanah, Berlin, & Boris, 2011). Figure 4.2 offers a visual summary of the different attachment styles.

The Attachment Dance

synchrony The reciprocal aspect of the attachment relationship, with a caregiver and infant responding emotionally to each other in a sensitive, exquisitely attuned way.

Look at a baby and a caregiver and it is almost as if you are seeing a dance. The partners are alert to each other's signals. They know when to come on stronger and when to back off. They are absorbed and captivated, oblivious to the world. This blissful **synchrony**, or sense of being emotionally in tune, is what makes the infant–parent relationship our model for romantic love. Ainsworth and Bowlby believed that the parent's "dancing potential," or sensitivity to a baby's signals, produces secure attachments (Ainsworth and others, 1978). Were they correct?


MoMo Productions/Stone/Getty Images

The blissful rapture, the sense of being totally engrossed with each other, is the reason why developmentalists use the word *synchrony* to describe parent–infant attachment.

The Caregiver Decades of studies suggest that the answer is yes. From Peru to Poland, sensitive caregivers have babies who are securely attached (Posada and others, 2016). Parents who misread their baby's signals or are rejecting, disengaged, or depressed are more apt to have infants who are categorized as insecure (see Deans, 2020, for a review).

Moreover, an infant's attachment category, to some degree, mirrors that of Mom. Women who describe happy childhoods tend to have securely attached babies. Mothers who report dysfunctional early lives are more likely to have insecure 1-year-olds (Behrens, Haltigan, & Bahm, 2016; Verhage and others, 2016).

With the caution that this correlation could be due to shared genetics, there is some intergenerational continuity to the attachment dance.

However, there can also be a tantalizing mismatch in infant–caregiver congruence (Behrens, Haltigan, & Bahm, 2016) — which suggests that some women, despite having unhappy childhoods, step up to the plate and offer their babies loving care. On the negative side, you may know a world-class caregiver with an insecurely attached child. The reason is that the attachment dance has *two partners.*

The Child

Listen to a mother comparing her babies ("Itzel was fussy; Mateo is easier to soothe") and you will realize that not all infants have the same dancing talent. Babies differ in **temperament** — characteristic, inborn behavioral styles of approaching the world.

temperament A person's characteristic, inborn style of dealing with the world.

In a pioneering study, developmentalists classified middle-class babies into three temperamental styles: *Easy* babies had rhythmic eating and sleeping patterns; they were happy and easily soothed. More wary babies were labeled *slow to warm up.* One in ten infants was ranked as *difficult* — hypersensitive, unusually agitated, reactive to every sight and sound (Thomas & Chess, 1977; Thomas, Chess, & Birch, 1968). Here is an example:

> Everything bothers my 5-month-old little girl — a bright light, a rough blanket, a sudden noise — even, I'm ashamed to admit, sometimes my touch. I thought colic went away by month 3. I'm getting discouraged and depressed.

Alex Mares-Manton/Getty Images

Imagine the frustration of caring for a temperamentally frazzled baby — an infant who responds to every sight and sound with a frantic wail. Is it fair to blame a child's attachment issues entirely on a parent's care?

Think back to the stressful Strange Situation. Can you see why some developmentalists argue that temperamental reactivity, rather than the quality of caregiving, determines a child's attachment status at age 1? (See, for example, Kagan, 1984.)

Does a baby's biology (nature) evoke insensitive caregiving and insecure infant attachments? As you might imagine — given the *evocative, bidirectional* nature of relationships — the answer is yes. Temperamentally fussy babies (infants who rarely smile and get agitated when adults pick them up) provoke less loving caregiving (Nolvi and others, 2016). To use an analogy from real-life dancing, imagine waltzing with a partner who couldn't keep time with the music, or think of trying to soothe someone who was too upset to relate. Even a world-class dancer, or a person with exceptional social skills, would feel inept.

The Caregiver's Other Significant Others To continue the analogy, the attachment waltz has additional partners. As I discussed in Chapter 2, a woman's attachment to her baby depends in part on her partner's bonding style. If a couple has relationship problems, or a caregiver's significant other feels jealous of or ambivalent about the child, it's hard to relate to an infant in loving ways. For single parents, having other caring attachments — with family members, friends, and neighbors — is also crucial to providing sensitive care (see Chapter 7). A basic message of this book is that no parent is an island. The dance of attachment depends on a supportive wider world.

Table 4.1 summarizes these messages in a questionnaire showing the different forces that predict caregiver-to-baby bonding. My discussion shows that by viewing mothers as solely responsible for promoting secure attachments, Bowlby and Ainsworth were taking an excessively limited view. What about attachment theory in general? Is attachment to a primary caregiver universal? Do infants in different countries fall into the same categories of secure and insecure?

Table 4.1: Predicting Caregiver-to-Baby Bonding: Four Section Summary Questions

1. Did the caregiver have a happy childhood?
2. Is this baby temperamentally easy?
3. For couples: Is the caregivers' relationship loving or poisoned by ambivalence and conflict?
4. For single parents: Does this caregiver have other close attachments?

Is Infant Attachment Universal?

From Chicago to Cape Town, from Naples to New York, Bowlby's and Ainsworth's attachment ideas get high marks (van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008). Babies around the world get attached to a primary caregiver at roughly the same age. As Figure 4.3 shows, the percentages of infants categorized as secure in different countries are remarkably similar — roughly 60 to 70 percent (Sroufe, 2000; Tomlinson, Cooper, & Murray, 2005).

The most amazing validation of attachment theory comes from the Efé, a communal hunter-gatherer people in the Congo. Efé newborns nurse from any lactating woman, even when their own parent is around. They are dressed and cared for by the whole community. But Efé babies still develop a primary attachment to their mothers at the typical age! (See van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008.)

So far, you might be thinking that during the phase of clear-cut attachment, babies are connected to one person. You would be incorrect. A toddler may be attached to her father and day-care provider, as well as to her mom. And, just as you and I bond differently with each person we are close to, a baby can be securely attached to his dad and insecurely attached to his mom.

Interestingly, when babies are upset, they run to the person who spends the most time with them even if they are insecurely attached to that adult. So, the *amount* of hands-on caregiving, not its quality, evokes the biologically programmed, security-seeking response (Umemura and others, 2013). The good news is that being securely attached to *one person* may be all that matters for a child's life.

In a longitudinal study, 15-month-olds labeled as "double insecure" (insecurely attached to both parents) were prone to have behavior problems in third grade. But children who were securely attached to only one parent were insulated from poor mental health (Kochanska & Kim, 2013). How exactly *does* infant attachment relate to problems down the road?

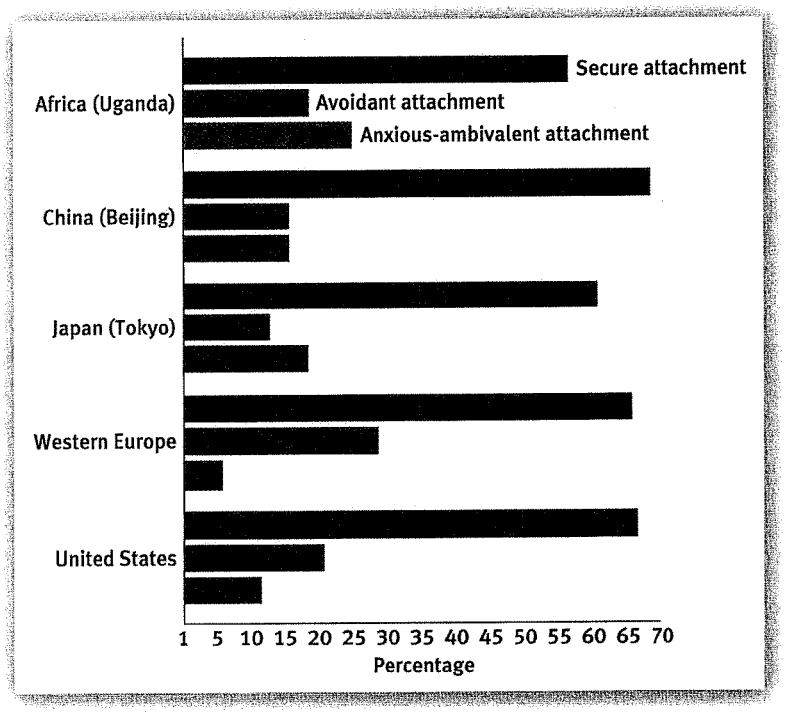


Figure 4.3: Snapshots of attachment security (and insecurity) around the world
Around the world, roughly 60 to 70 percent of 1-year-olds are classified as securely attached — although there are interesting differences in the percentages of babies falling into the different insecure categories.

Data from van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz, 2008

Does Infant Attachment Predict Later Relationships and Mental Health?

Bowlby's argument, in his working-model concept, is that our attachment relationships during infancy determine how we relate to other people and feel about ourselves (Bretherton, 2005). A baby who acts avoidant with his parents will be aloof with friends and teachers. An anxious-ambivalent infant will behave in a needy way. A secure baby is set up to succeed socially.

Again, decades of research support Bowlby's prediction (Deans, 2020). Securely attached babies are more socially competent. Insecure attachment foreshadows trouble managing one's emotions and interpersonal difficulties later on (Boldt, Goffin, & Kochanska, 2020; Girme and others, 2021; Kim & Miller, 2020). Although, as developmental systems theory predicts, many influences — from temperament, to life stress, to gravitating to deviant peers (see Chapter 9) — were involved, in one study of female inmates, insecure infant attachments were the first step down the toxic path to jail (Lindberg & Zeid, 2018).

The most potent predictor of later "acting-out" problems is the disorganized attachment style. This erratic, confused infant response is a risk factor for aggression, disobedience, and trouble with teachers and peers during the elementary and high school years (Pasco Fearon & Belsky, 2011; Zajac, Raby, & Dozier, 2020).

However, the operative phrase here is *risk factor.* Programs that train mothers to be responsive caregivers can block the pathway from infant disorganized attachment to disruptive behaviors (Deans, 2020). Longitudinal studies that measure attachment at age 1 and then track babies into adulthood suggest that, while typically there is continuity, sensitive, loving relationships — at *every stage of childhood* — can transform a baby's "attachment status" from insecure to secure. Unfortunately, however, even the most blissful babyhood does not inoculate children from attachment traumas later on (Pinquart, Feubner, & Ahnert, 2013; Zayas and others, 2011).

Consider a boy named Tony who, in one major infant-to-adult attachment study, was categorized as securely attached at age 1. In preschool and early elementary school, Tony was popular, self-assured, and still securely attached; but as a teenager, he suffered devastating attachment blows. First, his parents went through a difficult divorce. Then his mother was killed in a car accident and his father moved to another state, leaving Tony with his aunt. It should come as no surprise that as an angry, depressed adolescent, Tony was classified as insecurely attached. But by age 26, Tony recovered. He met a wonderful woman and became a father. His status slowly returned to secure (Sroufe and others, 2005).

It seems logical that life experiences would change our attachment relationships for the better or the worse. But a baby's biology is also involved.

Developmental Psychology Videos

Development of Attachment in Infancy and Toddlerhood

In this video, you will review the different types and ramifications of attachment styles through infancy, childhood, and beyond.

Achieve

Exploring the Hormones Predicting Attachment Security

Oxytocin is called the love hormone because this chemical elicits bonding, caregiving, and nurturing in human beings and other mammals (Rilling, 2013). When researchers in the infant-to-adult attachment study explored variations in a gene involved in producing oxytocin, they found that young people, like Tony, who changed in attachment status, showed one variant of this particular gene. Others, with a less environment-responsive genetic profile, were apt to stay stable in attachment from age 1.

Another study showed that biological differences in the stress hormone cortisol affect how babies respond to parents' care. Notice in Figure 4.4 that 6-month-olds with large daily spikes in cortisol showed first-grade "conduct problems" *if* subjected to insensitive mothering. Infants with a more even hormonal profile were insulated from the impact of inadequate care. Therefore, some children (and adults) are like cactuses,

more immune to the blows and blessings their significant others deliver. Others, like fragile orchids, are deeply affected by the nurturing they receive. (Stay tuned for tips on how to treat environment-reactive babies at this chapter's end.)

Wrapping Up Attachment

The message of *all* these studies is that Bowlby's ideas were incomplete. Yes, infant attachment makes a difference in development. But many forces affect parents' caregiving, and some babies are protected biologically from less-than-optimal care. Most important, human beings are malleable. Unless we endure the horrific deprivation described in the How Do We Know box, we are *not* destined to have lifelong problems if we suffer from inadequate caregiving early in life.

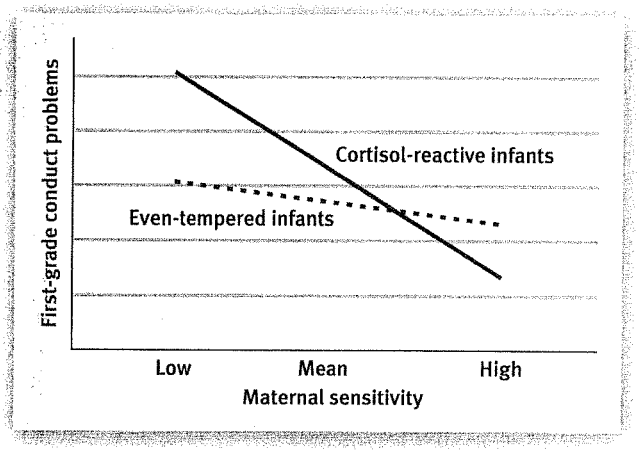


Figure 4.4: Differences in maternal sensitivity associated with first-grade conduct problems, for cortisol-reactive and even-tempered 6-month-olds In these remarkable longitudinal findings, when babies showed large daily variations in cortisol production, less sensitive mothers had long-term negative effects. But with highly sensitive caregiving, the same infants had an emotional advantage — behaving better than their placid peers in first grade!

Data from Wagner and others, 2019

HOW DO WE KNOW . . .

that early life's worst deprivation has enduring effects?

> "When I . . . walked into the . . . building (in 1990)," said a British school teacher, "babies lay three and four to a bed. . . . There were no medicines or washing facilities, . . . physical and sexual abuse were rife. . . . I particularly remember . . . the basement. There were kids there who hadn't seen natural light in years."
>
> **(McGeown, 2005, para. 4)**

This scene was not from a horror movie. It was real. This woman had entered a Romanian orphanage, the bitter legacy of the dictator Nicolae Ceauşescu's decision to forbid contraception, which caused a flood of unwanted babies that destitute parents dumped on the state.

When the Iron Curtain fell and revealed these grisly Eastern European scenes, British and American families rushed in to adopt these children. But then parents began to report distressing symptoms. Children were unable to focus their attention, and therefore couldn't learn well (McLaughlin and others, 2010). Worse yet, babies showed a strange indiscriminate friendliness that went beyond insecure attachment (see Kreppner and others, 2011). It qualified as the lack of *any* attachment response.

Babies adopted from the most negligent, worst-off institutions — such as in Romania — were most at risk for having enduring problems. In these places, damage was evident if adoption occurred after 6 months of age. In orphanages like those in Russia, classified as "socially depriving" but satisfying infants' basic health needs, the cutoff point for having lifelong deficits was close to 18 months.

Therefore, just as Bowlby would predict, the zone of attachment (7–18 months) is a sensitive period for receiving caregiving. But there is a **dose–response effect** — meaning that the intensity (dose) of deprivation predicts the impact on (response of) a given child. The risk of having enduring difficulties depends on how long a child stays in an orphanage (Almas and others, 2016) and the care that the institution provides (McCall and others, 2016).

By exploring these devastating worst-case scenarios, developmentalists learned a vital attachment lesson: Our species — just like Harlow's monkeys — isn't completely resilient. We can't bounce back if deprived of *any* human relationships early in life.

dose–response effect Term referring to the fact that the amount (dose) of a substance — in this case, the depth and length of deprivation — determines its probable effect or impact on the person. (In the orphanage studies, the "response" is subsequent emotional and/or cognitive problems.)

Still, amidst this in-depth tour of attachment, there is a missing piece — I haven't touched on the unique impact that dads make on babies' lives. Do loving fathers treat infants differently? Can men make *special* contributions to babies' lives?

Trending in Developmental Science: Babies, Dads, and Development

To tackle the first question, researchers watched husbands and wives separately while they taught 12-month-olds a challenging laboratory task. Dads did rank somewhat lower on empathy. They were slightly more disengaged. But, in general, *both* men and women provided their babies with similar loving, stimulating help (Volling and others, 2019).

Other research suggests, with their baby sons in particular, fathers are more intrusive (telling infants what to do). Mothers are more likely to follow a child's lead (Hughes, Lindberg, & Devine, 2018).

fizkes/iStock/Getty Images

Imagine being 2. Wouldn't you be thrilled if your father demanded, "Let's run around the house"?

There are compensations. Because father–child interactions more often involve stimulating play (versus being told by mom to brush your teeth), dad–baby encounters are more joyous (McDonnell, Luke, & Short, 2019; see also Chapter 11). So, infants don't mind many father–infant commands (Karberg and others, 2019).

Can men make a unique impact on development? The answer is a qualified yes.

Researchers visited 18-month-olds' homes and watched them interact with their mothers and fathers. Then they tracked these upper-middle-class children into kindergarten. High-quality paternal interactions *alone*—they discovered—predicted teachers' ratings of the child's self-control and ability to focus on school tasks at age 5 (Hertz and others, 2019). Another *naturalistic observation* (recall Chapter 1), involving low-income Latino families, showed similar effects. Fathers' sensitivity—above and beyond mothers' care—was associated with elevated scores on kindergarten math tests (Caughy and others, 2019).

Therefore, dads may have special magic at boosting school success—a gift that is doubly precious when children confront that number one external barrier to academic achievement: poverty.

Tying It All Together

1. List an example of "proximity-seeking behavior" during a stressful moment in your own life within the past few months.
2. Muriel is 2 months old, and Yu Yan is 4 years old. List each child's phase of attachment.
3. Match the term to the correct definition or example: (1) social referencing; (2) working model; (3) synchrony; (4) Strange Situation; (5) clear-cut attachment.
   a. A researcher measures a child's attachment at age 1 after several separations and reunions with the mother.
   b. A toddler keeps looking back at his parent while exploring at a playground.
   c. An elementary school child keeps an image of her parent in mind to calm herself at school.
   d. A mother and baby relate to each other as if they are totally in tune.
   e. A child gets frightened when her caregiver leaves the room.
4. Your cousin is the primary caregiver of her 1-year-old son. On a recent visit, you notice that the baby is terrified to use a new toy and can't be soothed when his mom returns after leaving the room. How might you classify this child's attachment style?
5. Manuel is arguing for the validity of attachment theory as spelled out by Bowlby and Ainsworth. Manuel should say (pick one, neither, or both): *Infants around the world get attached to a primary caregiver at roughly the same age/A child's attachment status after age 1 never changes.*
6. Sensitive dads (compared to moms) give *more/fewer* commands to their children and engage more frequently in *play/routine* interactions. Fathers may make unique contributions to babies' *social/academic* skills.

Answers to the Tying It All Together questions can be found at the end of this chapter.

Settings for Development

Learning Outcomes

- Discuss early-childhood poverty in the United States.
- Explore preschools and day care, making reference to what caregivers should look for in choosing a specific setting for a child.

What is the impact of living in poverty on children? And what about that crucial place where many young children spend their time — day care?

The Impact of Poverty in the United States

In Chapter 3, I examined the devastating physical and emotional effects of early-childhood poverty in developing nations. Now let's turn to research in the United States. What fraction of U.S. children spend their infant and preschool years in poverty? How does being poor during our earliest years of life affect later well-being?

How Common Is Early-Childhood Poverty?

As of this writing (2020), due to the COVID-19 pandemic, poverty statistics are in flux. What we do know is that, in recent years, child poverty has been alarmingly high (see Figure 4.5). Actually, for the past half-century, young children have been more likely to live in poverty than *every* other U.S. age group (Children's Defense Fund, 2020; see Chapter 13).

One cause is single parenthood. Imagine how difficult life is for a parent raising a baby alone. You need to work long hours, pay for child care, and still have enough money to feed and clothe your family. Now imagine how difficult it would be for *any* person to perform this feat at the lowest ranks of the economic scale. In 2019, 1 in 10 U.S. adults aged 25–34 lived below the poverty line (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b). So it's no wonder that serious economic disadvantage can be the price of starting a family during the very time young people are supposed to find a partner and give birth.

How Does Early-Childhood Poverty Affect Later Development?

Unfortunately, poverty affects children's physiology. Low-income toddlers and preschoolers have chronically elevated cortisol levels (Evans & Kim, 2013). One longitudinal study, measuring maternal salivary cortisol at different points during an infant's first two years of life, showed impoverished mothers also had high levels of this biological indicator of stress (Finegood and others, 2017).

Imagine arriving home exhausted from a low-wage job, or being unemployed, *food insecure*, and on the brink of getting evicted because you can't pay the rent. How would you deal with the kind of stressed-out, irritable infant discussed in the preceding section (Paulussen-Hoogeboom and others, 2007)? Although money cannot buy loving parents, it can buy any person the economic luxury to relate more sensitively to a child.

As I implied in the previous fatherhood discussion, poverty's most poisonous impact is on education. Being poor during the first four years of life dramatically lowers the odds of graduating from high school (Duncan, Magnuson, & Votruba-Drzal, 2017). And, when infants are born into poverty, economic disadvantage can become a chronic state. A family is apt to stay mired in poverty

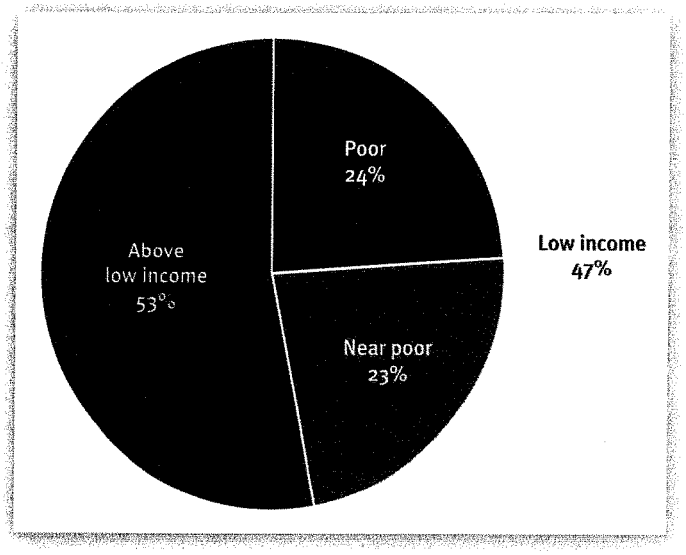


Figure 4.5: Percentage of U.S. children under 6 years old with different family incomes This astonishing chart shows just how widespread economic disadvantage was among young U.S. children before the pandemic hit.

Data from Jiang, Ekono, & Skinner, 2016

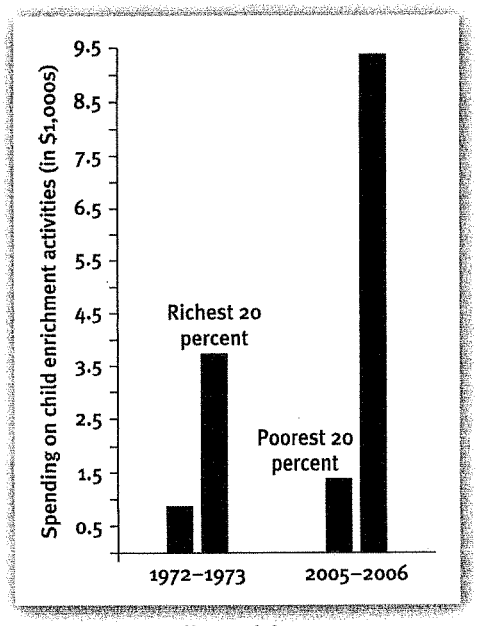


Figure 4.6: Family enrichment expenditures for children in the poorest 20 percent and richest 20 percent of U.S. families in 1972–1973 and 2005–2006 Low-income U.S. parents spent far less money on child enrichment activities, such as books and learning toys, than the richest 20 percent of families—an expenditure gap that has increased threefold since the early 1970s, and may continue to increase today.

Data from Duncan and others, 2019

throughout a baby's first four years of life (Yan and others, 2019). Why is poverty, *before* entering kindergarten, particularly detrimental to academic success?

Figure 4.6 offers one vivid answer. Low-income parents can't provide their infants and toddlers with the brain-stimulating activities that are the birthright of being born affluent in the contemporary United States: infant cognitive tools, baby gym visits, regular trips to museums. Moreover, notice that this gap in family "enrichment expenditures" widened dramatically by the early twenty-first century. Technology combined with accelerating income inequalities means today's disadvantaged boys and girls face daunting intellectual hurdles even before they enter the classroom doors.

What amplifies these impediments is living in crowded, dilapidated housing (Leventhal & Newman, 2010) and perhaps having to move repeatedly (Miller, Sadegh-Nobari, & Lillie-Blanton, 2011)—chaotic conditions tailor-made to impair early childhood focusing skills (Blair, 2017; Hendry, Jones, & Charman, 2016). And if families live in high-crime neighborhoods, parents may be frightened to take their sons and daughters outside because the street is apt to be a dangerous place.

The cognitive impact of this chaos appears before children toddle around. In one naturalistic study, researchers explored how well infants could focus their attention while caregivers read them a book. Even by 7 months of age, babies in poverty-level families performed worse than the average child. Moreover, this attention deficit predicted later problems paying attention to teachers in school (Brandes-Aitken and others, 2019).

Luckily, in wealthier regions of the world, low-income parents have government programs designed to help.

Giving Disadvantaged Children an Intellectual and Social Boost

Head Start A U.S. federal program offering high-quality day care at a center and other services to help preschoolers aged 3 to 5 from low-income families prepare for school.

Early Head Start A U.S. federal program that provides counseling and other services to low-income parents and children under age 3.

preschool A teaching-oriented group setting for children aged 3 to 5.

day care Less academically oriented group programs serving young children, most often infants and toddlers.

In the United States, the main government-sponsored early-childhood program is **Head Start**. This famous program, first established in 1965 by President Lyndon B. Johnson as part of his "Great Society" effort to reduce poverty, has the goal of offering the kind of learning experiences that make poverty-level preschoolers as ready for kindergarten as their middle-class peers.

Early Head Start extends this help to infants and toddlers. This federal program trains parents to be more effective caregivers, supporting low-income pregnant women by providing home visits and other services (U.S. Department of Health & Human Services, 2020).

Do these interventions work? The answer *can* be yes. Programs that train poverty-level mothers to respond sensitively to their babies help promote secure attachments (Mountain, Cahill, & Thorpe, 2017). High-quality **preschools** (teaching-oriented programs that typically begin at age 3) make a difference in *every* child's life (Lee, 2016; Miller, Sadegh-Nobari, & Lillie-Blanton, 2011; Pölkki & Vornanen, 2016).

Day care (group settings for infants and toddlers) can be a lifeline for babies and toddlers who live in disorganized, chaotic homes (Berry and others, 2014; Phillips & Lowenstein, 2011). In one fascinating dose–response finding, researchers discovered that the more hours per week *poverty-level* 1-year-olds spent in day care, the lower their average cortisol rates (Berry, Blair, & Granger, 2016).

The problem is that here, too, money matters — especially in the United States. While social welfare states like Finland and Sweden offer every child free high-quality care, as of 2020, Head Start was seriously underfunded, particularly during the COVID-19 crisis (National Head Start Association, 2020). Moreover, no one-shot intervention during early childhood can erase the impact of attending substandard schools or being raised in a dysfunctional neighborhood where it is virtually impossible to construct a middle-class life (Chetty & Hendren, 2016; much more about this topic in Chapter 7).

But I can't leave you with the stereotypical idea that *every* impoverished child's home life is deficient, or that *all* low-income neighborhoods blunt children's ability to learn. History is rife with examples of famous artists, scientists, and transformative public figures who grew up in families that could barely make ends meet — people who credit their parents with making them the successful people they became.

As you might predict, longitudinal studies show that loving care (meaning, secure infant attachments) mitigates this harm — muting toddler cortisol levels (Johnson and others, 2018), and reducing the odds that a child will get into trouble as a teen (Delker, Bernstein, & Laurent, 2018). As a student of mine commented, "I don't see my family in your description of poverty. My mom is my hero. We grew up poor, but in terms of parenting, we were very rich."

Developmental Psychology Videos

The Context of Development: The Impact of Poverty in Childhood

In this video, you will see how poverty in infancy and childhood has long-term effects across the lifespan.

Achieve

The Impact of Child Care

For some of you, this discussion of poverty can feel distant from daily life. Child care affects every family, from millionaires to middle-class urban mothers and fathers to impoverished parents in rural areas. About 8 in 10 mothers in the United States return to work after their baby's first birthday (Wallace, Saurel-Cubizolles, & EDEN Mother–Child Cohort Study Group, 2013). Unlike in European nations, where free child care is a national birthright, in the United States, with *average* annual costs of $11,000 in 2020, the expense of sending one child to day care is daunting, even for couples who are middle-class (Care.com, 2020). When we combine these economic concerns ("This is taking up a huge chunk of my paycheck!") with anxieties about "leaving my baby with strangers" and the COVID-19 pandemic, it makes sense that most U.S. parents struggle to keep child care in the family. They may rely on a close relative or juggle work schedules so that one spouse is always available (Phillips & Lowenstein, 2011).

family day care A day-care arrangement in which a neighbor or relative cares for a small number of children in his or her home for a fee.

day-care center A day-care arrangement in which a large number of children are cared for at a licensed facility by paid providers.

People who use paid caregivers have several options. Well-off families often hire a nanny or babysitter. Parents who want a less expensive option or who live in rural areas often turn to **family day care**, in which a neighbor or local parent cares for a small group of children in their homes (Anderson & Mikesell, 2019).

The big change in the child-care landscape has been the dramatic increase in licensed **day-care centers** — larger settings that cater to children of different ages. By the late twentieth century, roughly 1 in 2 U.S. preschoolers attended these facilities. The comparable figure for infants and toddlers was more than 1 in 5 (see Figure 4.7).

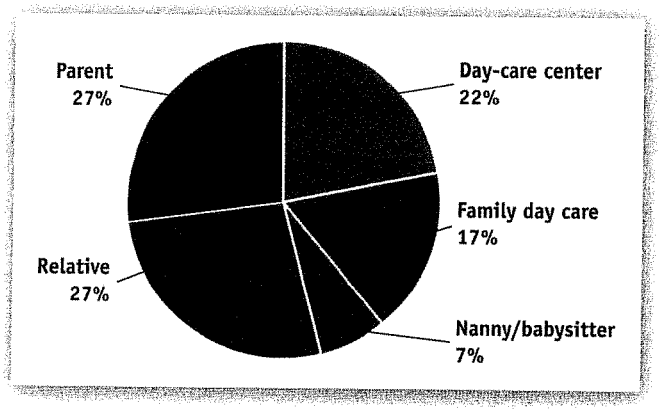


Figure 4.7: Day-care arrangements for infants and toddlers with employed mothers, late 1990s Notice that, by the end of the twentieth century, while most infants and toddlers with working mothers were cared for by other family members, 1 in 5 attended licensed day-care centers.

Data from Shonkoff & Phillips, 2000, p. 304

Child Care and Development

Imagine you are the mother of a U.S. infant and must return to a job outside of your home. You probably have heard the media messages that link full-time day care with less-than-adequate parenting. You may wonder, "Will my child be securely attached if I see her only a few hours a day?" You certainly worry about the quality of care your child would receive: "Will my baby get enough attention at the local day-care center?" Now combine these anxieties with COVID-19 pandemic-related concerns:

"Will day care cause my child to get ill and infect the family?" "Will child-care even *be* available in my town?"

To answer the first two questions, in 1989, developmentalists began the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development (NICHD) Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development. They selected more than 1,300 newborns in 10 regions of the United States and tracked the lives of these children, measuring everything from attachment to academic abilities, from mental health to mothers' caregiving skills (National Institute of Child Health and Human Development, 2019). They looked at the hours each child spent in day care and assessed the quality of each setting. The NICHD newborns are being followed as they move through adult life (Vandell, Burchinal, & Pierce, 2016).

The good news is that putting a baby in day care does not weaken the attachment bond. Most infants attending day care are securely attached to their parents. The important force that promotes attachment is the *quality* of the dance — whether a parent is a sensitive caregiver — not whether a parent works (Nomaguchi & DeMaris, 2013; Phillips & Lowenstein, 2011). Moreover, what happens at home is the crucial influence affecting how young children develop, outweighing long hours spent in day care during the first years of life (Belsky and others, 2007b; Stein and others, 2013).

However, when we look at *just* the impact of those long hours, the findings are less upbeat. In contrast to the research with poverty-level infants, middle-class toddlers show *elevated* cortisol levels when they attend full-time day care (Berry, Blair, & Granger, 2016). Worse yet, the NICHD follow-ups suggest that long hours spent in day care, beginning early in life, predict children's having a slightly higher risk of "acting-out issues" as late as in their teens (Vandell, Burchinal, & Pierce, 2016; see also Vandell and others, 2020).

These results do not offer comfort to the millions of parents who must rely on day care. Luckily, the correlations are weak (Vandel, Burchinal, & Pierce, 2016). These findings apply *only* in the United States. In Switzerland, day care has no negative effects on development (Bleiker, Gampe, & Daum, 2019). In Chile, one study revealed that, compared to children cared for by parents at home, middle-class toddlers in full-time day care had superior cognitive skills! (See Narea, Arrigada, & Allel, 2020.)

What is the trouble with U.S. day-care centers? For hints, let's scan the general state of child care in the United States.

Exploring Child-Care Quality in the United States

Visit several facilities and you will immediately see that U.S. day care varies dramatically in quality. In some places, babies are warehoused and ignored. In others, every child is nurtured and loved.

The essence of quality day care again boils down to the dance — that is, the attachment relationship between caretakers and the children. Children develop intense attachments to their day-care providers. With sensitive caregivers and teachers, children tend to be securely attached (Ahnert, Pinquart, & Lamb, 2006; De Schipper, Tavecchio, & van IJzendoorn, 2008).

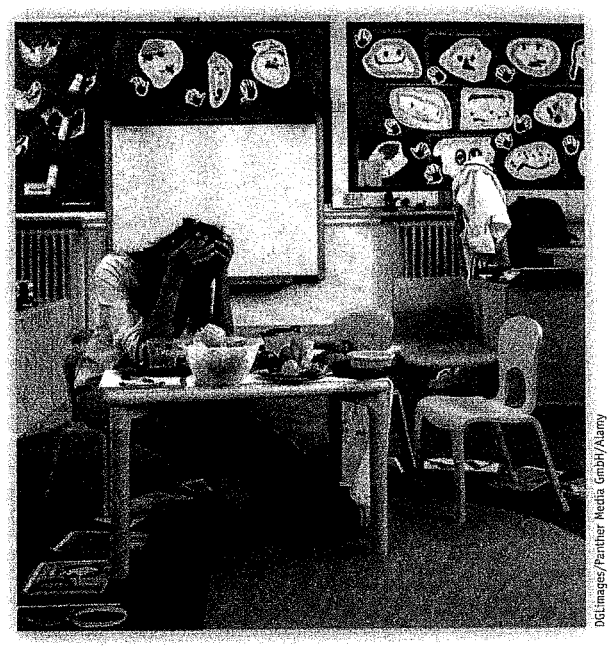
Child-care workers and parents agree: Day cares need to provide fun and laughter. Centers should offer ample time for play. They must allow children to freely express their thoughts. Providers, however, stress the importance of listening to children. Parents' priority is loving 'em up (Robson, Brogaard-Clausen, & Hargreaves, 2019).

But in order to have the luxury of listening to each child, day-care workers need to be assigned to a small group. To demonstrate this point, researchers videotaped teachers at 64 Dutch preschools, either playing with three children or with five. Teachers acted more empathic in the three-child group. They were more likely to criticize and get angry with the group of five (De Schipper, Riksen-Walraven, & Geurts, 2006). These differences in teachers' tone and style were especially pronounced with younger children (the 3-year-olds). So group size matters, and the lower the child–teacher ratio, the better — especially earlier in life.

What other day-care features should parents look for, particularly with toddlers and 3-year-olds? The same qualities we crave from our workplace, or (hopefully) this class. We want a user-friendly physical setting. We need to know what to expect.

Excellent child-care facilities are well-designed, with defined spaces for different activities. They are well-ventilated, featuring rugs and fans to absorb background noise (Matthews & Lippman, 2020). They provide predictable, comforting routines: Children arrive and put their belongings in their own cubby; then play time, snack time, and rest time occur in a fixed sequence each day.

Caregivers, of course, are the critical ingredient. Teachers should stimulate language — asking open-ended questions, getting toddlers to reminisce about past events (Schröder and others, 2019; more about this skill in Chapter 5). They must balance consistent rules with lots of love (much more about this ideal child-rearing approach in Chapter 7).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Day-care facilities are only as good as their caregivers. So imagine what can happen if a caregiver feels overwhelmed and underpaid, as may be the case in the United States.

However, partly because of the abysmal pay (in the United States, it's often close to minimum wage), national surveys show a large fraction (sometimes more than half) of day-care workers report being under considerable stress (Smith & Lawrence, 2019). People often choose this profession to make a difference in children's lives. But no matter how much you adore babies and toddlers, you must have enough money to survive. One U.S. comparison suggested that when teachers reported having *minimally adequate* wages and paid time-off, 2-year-olds in that particular class were happier and better behaved (King and others, 2016).

Day-care providers long for nurturing work conditions: supportive colleagues, good supervision, and the freedom to make their own choices about how to arrange the class day. Perhaps that's why work autonomy is high on people's wish lists when they choose this challenging and rewarding career (Smith & Lawrence, 2019).

What makes this career unusually challenging (in a negative way) is dealing with noncompliant, angry kids (Smith & Lawrence, 2019). Imagine waking up each day and thinking, *I wanted to offer my children a calm, loving experience. But because of a few bad apples, this class has become a battle zone.* As one Norwegian study showed, having two or more highly aggressive boys in a class is contagious (Ribeiro & Zachrisson, 2019). So that common parental complaint can be true: "When I sent my child to day care, he learned to bite and hit!"

Choosing Child Care

Given these findings, what should parents do? The take-home message is not "avoid day-care," but "choose the best possible place." Look for the right physical setting and a predictable daily routine. Search for caregivers who offer stimulation, loving care, and clear rules. Make sure that the staff members feel satisfied with their workplace as well.

Finally, here, too, consider a child's biology. While attending low-quality day care is harmful for infants and toddlers with an environment-responsive hormonal profile, these same children may flourish if a program is top notch (Belsky & Pluess, 2013). So, as we learn more about genetics, making blanket generalizations — such as "day care is bad (or good)" — may not be appropriate. It depends on the quality of the program, a child's home environment, and the biology of a given child.

Table 4.2 draws on these messages in a checklist. And if you are a parent who relies heavily on day care, keep those guilty thoughts at bay. Your child may blossom at a high-quality day care. *Your* responsiveness matters most. You are your child's major teacher and the main force in making your child secure.

Table 4.2: Choosing a Day-Care Center: A Checklist

General Considerations

- Look for a low caregiver-to-baby ratio (and a small group of children overall). The ideal is one caregiver to every two or three babies and toddlers.
- Consider the physical setting. It's important to have good ventilation, not too much noise, age-appropriate play materials, such as blocks and books, and clearly marked spaces.
- Look at the daily routine. Does each day have a clear structure? Are activities clearly laid out, and do caregivers follow these plans?
- Consider the relationships between care providers and children. Do these teachers stimulate emerging language and behave in loving, predictable ways?
- And, if possible, find out how the workers feel about their job. Do they believe that, despite the low pay, they have enough money to live and the freedom to do what they want? Are they spending excessive time dealing with behavior problems? Do they enjoy working at *this* place?

Additional Suggestions

- For infants and toddlers in full-time care, limit exposure by having a child take occasional vacations, or build in special time with the child every day.
- Consider the home environment. If a toddler's family life is chaotic or the child lives in a dangerous neighborhood, it's better to spend the entire day at a stable, nurturing place.
- Consider a child's temperament. The kind of highly environment-sensitive babies I discussed earlier may have special trouble coping with less-than-optimal care; but these same toddlers may flourish in a high-quality setting.
- And for society: *Pay child-care workers decently and make day care more affordable for U.S. parents, too!*

Child Care and COVID-19

How will the landscape of U.S. child care change due to the 2020 pandemic? Given the need to drastically reduce their enrollments, and regularly sanitize their physical spaces, will most large day-care centers be forced to close? Since the cost of *any* paid day care is especially prohibitive during times of economic duress, will parents collaborate to share child care and develop infection-control approaches, such as forming "learning pods" in which two or three COVID-free families arrange to watch each other's children during the week?

The bottom line is that, for decades, both parents have needed to work to keep their families afloat. For decades, the need for high-quality, affordable child care should have been center stage in the United States. Therefore, let's hope that by the time you are reading this page, the United States will have finally entered the ranks of other affluent nations — by providing universal subsidized child care during the infant and toddler years!

Now, let's end this chapter by focusing directly on that delightful stage called toddlerhood.

Tying It All Together

1. Anneke, a teenager, spent four years of her life living in poverty. Which time frame is most important in predicting whether Anneke graduates from high school? Anneke's family *became poor over the past four years/became poor during her first four years of life.*
2. Sameera is anxious about her decision to put her 6-month-old in day care. Give a "good news" statement to ease Sameera's mind, and then be honest and give some "not-so-good news" statements about day care.
3. Imagine you are interviewing for a job at a local day-care center. What questions should you ask the director to better ensure that you will be satisfied at work?

Answers to the Tying It All Together questions can be found at the end of this chapter.

SOMETHING TO CONSIDER: Infancy: Socioemotional Development: Choosing the Best Day Care Achieve

Toddlerhood: Age of Autonomy *and* Shame and Doubt

Learning Outcomes

- Outline the emotional challenges of toddlerhood.
- Contrast exuberant and inhibited toddlers and child-rearing strategies for each temperament.
- Summarize the caregiving advice in this section.

Imagine time-traveling back to when you were a toddler. Everything is entrancing — a bubble bath, the roar of the washing machine, the dirt and bugs in the local park. You are just cracking the language barrier and thrilled to finally travel on your own two feet. Passionate to sail into life, you are also intensely connected to that number-one adult in your life. So, during our second year on this planet, the twin agendas that make us human first emerge: We need to be closely connected, and we want to be free, autonomous selves. This is why Erik Erikson (1950) used the descriptive word **autonomy** to describe children's challenge as they leave the cocoon of babyhood (see Table 4.3).

Autonomy involves everything from the thrill a 2-year-old feels when forming his first sentences, to the delight children have in dressing themselves. But it also involves those not-so-pleasant meltdowns we associate with the "terrible twos." In one study, although 1 in 3 parents labeled their child as having behavior problems that were "off the charts" (Schellinger & Talmi, 2013), this feeling may be a misperception. As you will see in Figure 4.8, difficulties "listening" and angry outbursts (Barry & Kochanska, 2010) are *typical* during that magic age when children's passion is to explore the world (recall my discussion of Piaget's little scientist behaviors in Chapter 3).

Erikson used the words *shame* and *doubt* to refer to the situation when a toddler's drive for autonomy is not fulfilled. But feeling shameful and doubtful is vital to shedding babyhood and entering the human world. During their first year of life, infants show joy, fear, and anger. At age 2, more complicated, uniquely human emotions emerge: pride and shame. The appearance of these **self-conscious emotions** is a milestone — showing that a child is becoming aware of having a self. The gift (and sometimes curse) of being human is that we are capable of self-reflection, able to get outside our heads and observe our actions from an outsider's point of view. Children show signs of this uniquely human quality between ages 2 and 3, when they feel ashamed or are clearly proud of their actions for the first time (Kagan, 1984).

SW Productions/Stockbyte/Getty Images

This toddler has reached a human milestone: She can feel shame, which shows that she is aware that she has a unique self.

autonomy Erikson's second psychosocial task, when toddlers confront the challenge of understanding that they are separate individuals.

self-conscious emotions Feelings of pride, shame, or guilt, which first emerge around age 2 and show the capacity to reflect on the self.

socialization How children are taught to behave in socially appropriate ways.

Socialization: The Challenge for 2-Year-Olds

Shame and pride are vital in another respect. They are essential to **socialization** — being taught to live in the human community.

When does the U.S. socialization pressure heat up? For answers, developmentalists surveyed middle-class parents about the rules they set for their 14-month-olds

Table 4.3: Erikson's Psychosocial Stages

Life Stage	Primary Task
Infancy (birth to 1 year)	Basic trust versus mistrust
Toddlerhood (1 to 2 years)	Autonomy versus shame and doubt
Early childhood (3 to 6 years)	Initiative versus guilt
Middle childhood (7 to 12 years)	Industry versus inferiority
Adolescence to emerging adulthood (teens into twenties)	Identity versus role confusion
Early adulthood (twenties to early forties)	Intimacy versus isolation
Middle adulthood (forties to sixties)	Generativity versus stagnation
Late adulthood (late sixties and beyond)	Integrity versus despair

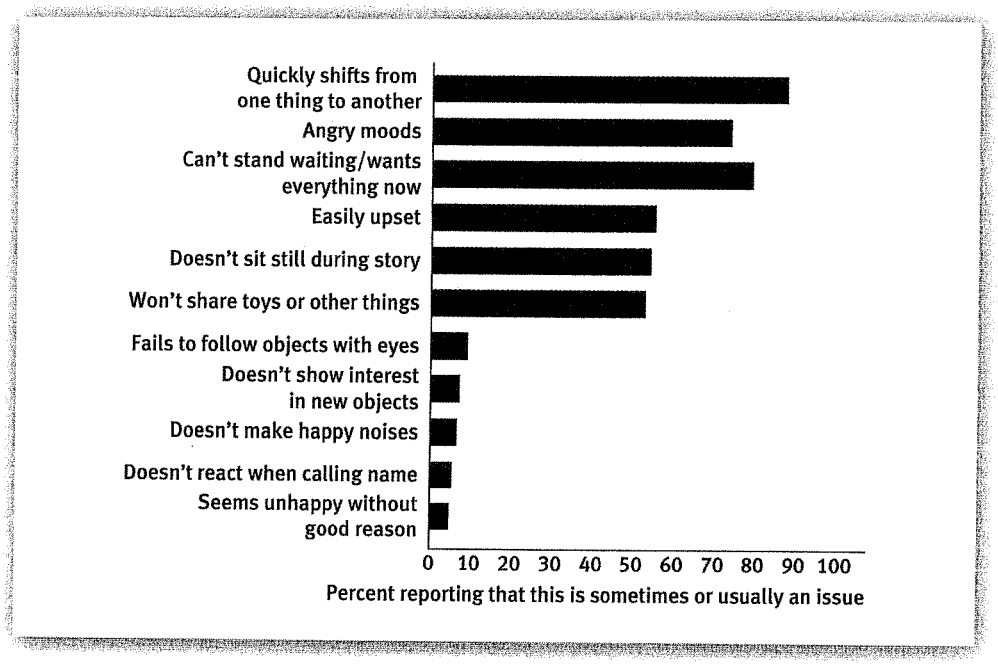

Figure 4.8: Rates of specific difficult behaviors, based on a survey of Dutch parents of 6,491 toddlers Notice that most parents say their toddlers don't listen, have temper tantrums, and refuse to sit still or share—but the unusual troubling behaviors on the bottom half of the figure are warning signs of real problems.

Data from Beernick, Swinkels, & Buitelaar, 2007

and 2-year-olds (Smetana, Kochanska, & Chuang, 2000). While rules for younger toddlers centered on safety issues ("Stay away from the stove!"), by age 2, parents were telling their children to "share," "sit at the table," and "don't disobey, bite, or hit." Therefore, we expect children to begin to act "like adults" around their second birthdays. No wonder 2-year-olds are infamous for those tantrums called the "terrible twos"!

Figure 4.8 illustrates just how difficult it is for toddlers to control themselves and to follow socialization rules when their parents are around. When can children follow unwanted directions when a parent *isn't* in the room? To answer this question related to early *conscience* — the ability to adopt internal standards for our behavior, or have that little voice inside us that says, "Even though I want to do this, it's wrong" — researchers devised an interesting procedure.

Accompanied by their mothers, children enter a laboratory full of toys. Next, the parent gives an unwelcome instruction — telling the child either to clean up the toys or not to touch another easily reachable set of enticing toys. Then the mother leaves the room, and researchers watch the child through a one-way mirror.

Not unexpectedly, children's ability to "listen to a parent in their head" and stop doing what they want improves dramatically from age 2 to age 4 (Kochanska, Coy, & Murray, 2001). Who is better or worse at this feat of self-control?

As you might expect, the marked differences in self-control we see in young children have genetic roots (Gartstein and others, 2013; Wang & Saudino, 2013). Some of us are biologically better able to resist temptation at any age! Parenting makes a difference. Caregivers who listen respectfully and label a child's feelings help teach their sons and daughters the self-control skills critical to a successful life (Neppl and others, 2020).

What temperamental traits provoke early compliance? The answer comes as no surprise. Fearful toddlers are more obedient (Aksan & Kochanska, 2004; see also the How Do We Know box). Exuberant, joyful, fearless, intrepid toddler-explorers are especially hard to socialize! (See Kochanska & Knaack, 2003.)

HOW DO WE KNOW . . .

that shy and exuberant children differ dramatically in self-control?

How do researchers measure toddler temperaments? How do they test later self-control? Their first step is to design situations tailored to elicit fear, anger, and joy, and then observe how toddlers act.

In the fear-eliciting "treatment," a child enters a room filled with frightening toy objects, such as a dinosaur with huge teeth or a black box covered with spider webs. The experimenter asks that boy or girl to perform a mildly risky act, such as putting a hand into the box. To measure anger, the researchers restrain a child in a car seat and then rate how frustrated the toddler gets. To tap into exuberance, the researchers entertain a child with a set of funny puppets. Will the toddler respond with gales of laughter or be more reserved?

Several years later, the researchers set up a situation provoking noncompliance by asking the same child, now age 4, to perform an impossible task (such as throwing Velcro balls at a target from a long distance without looking) to get a prize. Then they leave the room and watch through a one-way mirror to see if the boy or girl will cheat.

Toddlers at the high end of the fearless, angry, and joyous continuum show less "morality" at age 4. Without the strong inhibition of fear, their exuberant impulses to "get closer" are difficult to dampen down. So they succumb to temptation, sneak closer, and look directly at the target as they hurl the balls (Kochanska & Knaack, 2003).

Being Exuberant and Being Shy

> Adam [was a vigorous, happy baby who] began walking at 9 months. From then on, it seemed as though he could never stop.
>
> *(10 months)* Adam . . . refuses to be carried anywhere. . . . He trips over objects, falls down, bumps himself.
>
> *(12 months)* The word *osside* appears. . . . Adam stands by the door, banging at it and repeating this magic word again and again.
>
> *(19 months)* Adam begins attending a toddler group. . . . The first day, Adam climbs to the highest rung of the climbing structure and falls down. . . . The second day, Adam upturns a heavy wooden bench. . . . The fourth day, the teacher [devastates Adam's mother] when she says, "I think Adam is not ready for this."
>
> *(13 months)* [Erin begins to talk in sentences the same week as she takes her first steps.] . . . Rather suddenly, Erin becomes quite shy. . . . She cries when her mother leaves the room, and insists on following her everywhere.
>
> *(15 months)* Erin and her parents go to the birthday party of a little friend. . . . For the first half-hour, Erin stays very close to her mother, intermittently hiding her face on her mother's skirt.
>
> *(18 months)* Erin's mother takes her to a toddlers' gym. Erin watches the children . . . with a "tight little face." . . . Her mother berates herself for raising such a timid child.
>
> (Lieberman, 1993, pp. 83–87, 104–105)

Observe 1-year-olds and you will immediately pick out the Erins and the Adams. Some children are wary and shy. Others are whirlwinds of activity, constantly in motion, bouncing off the walls. I remember my own first toddler group, when — just

Courtesy of Janet Belsky

My exuberant son—shown enjoying a sink bath at 9 months of age—began to have problems at 18 months, when his strong, joyous temperament collided with the need to "please sit still and listen, Thomas!"

like Adam's mother—I first realized how different my exuberant son was from the other children his age. After enduring the horrified expressions of the other mothers as Thomas whirled gleefully around the room while everyone else sat obediently for a snack, I came home and cried. How was I to know that the qualities that made my outgoing, joyous, vital baby so charismatic during his first year of life might go along with his being so difficult to tame?

Readers will learn if my own anxieties were legitimate later in this book. Now let's explore what *science* reveals about whether infant activity and shyness are stable traits.

Exploring the Stability of Shyness and Exuberance

Psychologist Jerome Kagan carried out classic longitudinal studies following toddlers with shy temperaments. Kagan (1984; see also Buck, 2020) classifies about 1 in 5 middle-class European American toddlers as inhibited. Although they are comfortable in familiar situations, these 1-year-olds, like Erin, get nervous when confronted with anything new. Inhibited 13-month-olds shy away from approaching a toy robot, a clown, or an unfamiliar person. They take time to venture out in the Strange Situation, get agitated when the stranger enters, and cry bitterly when their parent leaves the room.

Intense shyness is also moderately "genetic" (Smith and others, 2012), and we can see clues to this temperament early in life. At 4 months of age, inhibited toddlers excessively fret and cry (Marysko and others, 2010; Moehler and others, 2008). At month 8 or 9, they have special trouble ignoring unpleasant stimuli such as flashing lights or background noise (Pérez-Edgar and others, 2010a).

Inhibited toddlers tend to be fearful throughout childhood (Degnan, Almas, & Fox, 2010). They overfocus on threatening stimuli in their teens (Pérez-Edgar and others, 2010a). Using brain scans, Kagan's research team found that his inhibited toddlers, as young adults, showed more activity in the part of the brain that codes negative emotions when shown a stranger's face on a screen (Schwartz and others, 2003; see also Dan, Zreik, & Raz, 2019). So, for all of you formerly very shy people (your author included) who think you have shed your childhood wariness, you still carry your physiology inside.

Still, if you think you have come a long way in conquering your *overpowering* childhood shyness, you are probably correct. Many anxious toddlers (and exuberant explorers) get less inhibited as they move into elementary school and their teens (Degnan, Almas, & Fox, 2010; Pérez-Edgar and others, 2010b).

Providing the Right Temperament–Socialization Fit

Faced with a temperamentally timid toddler such as Erin or an exuberant explorer like Adam or Thomas, what can parents do?

Socializing a Shy Baby

In dealing with fearful children, parents' impulse is to back off ("Erin is emotionally fragile, so I won't pressure her to go to day care or clean up her toys"). This "treat 'em like glass" approach is apt to backfire, provoking more wariness down the road (Natsuaki and others, 2013). With shy children, be caring but provide a gentle push. Exposing a shy toddler to *supportive* new social situations—such as a small family day care—helps teach that child to cope.

power assertion An ineffective socialization strategy that involves yelling, screaming, or hitting a child.

Raising a Rambunctious Toddler

When fearless explorers can't stop bouncing off the walls, parents often resort to a discipline strategy called **power assertion**—yelling, screaming, and hitting. While parental meltdowns (no surprise) are not uncommon, regardless of gender, the temptation

to hit active babies is more prevalent among dads (Rodriguez, Wittig, & Christl, 2019). Another response — more typical with mothers — is to give up, abandoning any attempt to discipline a child (Wittig & Rodriguez, 2019a and 2019b).

Both reactions are counterproductive. Relying on power assertion strongly predicts behavior problems down the road (Brotman and others, 2009; Kochanska & Knaack, 2003; Leve and others, 2010; Rodriguez, Wittig, & Christl, 2019). Disengaging from discipline robs the child of the tools to modify his behavior. Plus, it conveys the message, "You are out of control and there is nothing I can do." When dealing with toddler defiance, what kind of discipline works best?

This brings me to a fascinating study tracking the usefulness of different child-rearing strategies when toddlers act up (Larzelere & Knowles, 2015). If 2-year-olds whine, reasoning is most effective. But for disruptive behavior, such as hitting or biting, it's best to set firm limits, such as immediately putting the child in time-out.

The ultimate all-purpose socializer, however, is using an approach called **mind-mindedness** — responding in a caring way to a child's upset feelings even when you put that son or daughter in time-out (Lunkenheimer and others, 2020). One study showed that adopting this respectful child-centered strategy at age 3 provoked a more enduring secure attachment in kindergarten and first grade (Miller and others, 2019). I believe mind-mindedness — practiced from infancy onward — helps cement a parent–child bond that endures throughout life. In my husband's insightful words: "Punishment doesn't matter much to Thomas. What he does, he does for your love."

mind-mindedness An ideal parenting strategy involving empathically responding to and labeling a young child's feelings, and treating a baby respectfully, like a "real person."

Table 4.4 offers a summary of this discussion, listing these different toddler temperaments, their infant precursors, pluses and minuses, and lessons for socializing each kind of child. Now let's look at some general temperament-sensitive lessons for raising every child.

Table 4.4: Exuberant and Inhibited Toddler Temperaments: A Summary

Inhibited, Shy Toddler


John Birdsall/Alamy

- **Developmental precursor:** Responds with intense arousal to external stimulation in infancy.
- **Plus:** Easily socialized; shows early signs of conscience; not a discipline problem.
- **Minus:** Shy, fearful temperament can persist into adulthood, making social encounters painful.
- **Child-rearing advice:** Don't overprotect the child. Expose the baby to unfamiliar people and supportive new situations.

Exuberant Toddler


Radius Images/Design Pics/Alamy

- **Developmental precursor:** Emotionally intense but unafraid of new stimuli.
- **Plus:** Fearless; outgoing; adventurous.
- **Minus:** Less easily socialized; at risk for having later "acting-out" behavior issues.
- **Child-rearing advice:** While calm reasoning works best to quell whining, employ time-outs for defiant behavior. But, above all, respond empathically to the child's feelings and use lots of love.

An Overall Strategy for Temperamentally Friendly Child-rearing

goodness of fit An ideal parenting strategy that involves arranging children's environments to suit their temperaments, minimizing their vulnerabilities, and accentuating their strengths.

In the classic study discussed earlier, in which developmentalists classified babies as easy, slow-to-warm-up, or difficult, researchers found that difficult infants were more likely to have problems with their teachers and peers (Thomas & Chess, 1977; Thomas, Chess, & Birch, 1968). However, some children learned to compensate for their biology and shine. The key, researchers discovered, lay in a parenting strategy they labeled **goodness of fit**. Parents who carefully arranged their children's lives to minimize their vulnerabilities and accentuate their strengths had infants who later did well.

Understanding that their child was overwhelmed by stimuli, these parents kept the environment calm. They may have offered a quiet environment for studying and encouraged their children to do activities that took advantage of their talents. They went overboard to provide a placid, nurturing, low-stress milieu.

Here, too, genetically informed research suggests these parents were right. As I discussed earlier, certain babies are predisposed to be highly responsive or relatively immune to external events (Ellis and others, 2011). In standard conditions, reactive babies may be categorized as difficult because they are wired to react negatively to changes. These same infants, however, flourish when the environment is exceptionally calm (for review, see Belsky & Pluess, 2009).

The lesson again is that making assumptions about the enduring quality of infant attachment, seeing full-time day care as a universal stress, or, in this case, labeling a baby (or person) as "difficult" or "easy" is not appropriate. As Figure 4.4 earlier in the chapter implies, if you have an orchid infant, your challenge — while far more difficult — can provide world-class rewards.

Final Thoughts: Giving Is Built into Being Human, Too

In this section, I've been emphasizing how confrontation comes on strongly during our second year on this planet. But I cannot leave you with the impression that angry independence is the sum total of toddlers' emotional lives.

Two-year-olds will step in to help a researcher retrieve an out-of-reach object; they comfort that person when she bangs her finger and says, "Ouch!" (Dunfield & Kuhlmeier, 2013; Hepach, Vaish, & Tomasello, 2013; Thompson & Newton, 2013). Eighteen-month-olds even perform sharing acts that go beyond our adult norm, giving some of their own stickers to an experimenter when that person acted selfishly in a previous trial (Sebastián-Enesco, Hernández-Lloreda, & Colmenares, 2013).

This impulse to help, comfort, and share, which blossoms during toddlerhood, appears in cultures worldwide (Dahl, 2018; House and others, 2013). And doing good makes young children feel good. Toddlers look happier after giving a treat to another person than when they get that treat for themselves. They seem especially joyous when engaging in costly giving — giving up something they *wanted to get* (Aknin, Hamlin, & Dunn, 2012). So the principle that it feels better to give than to receive doesn't need to be vigorously instilled in us at a mosque, synagogue, or church. Caring is also baked into humanity, beginning before age 2 (Hepach, Vaish, & Tomasello, 2013)!

lostinbids/iStock/Getty Images

The fact that toddlers naturally take joy in giving suggests that giving is built into being human.

How do sharing and kindness evolve during childhood, and how do infants' attachments to parents spread to peers? What happens to babies who are shy or exuberant, difficult or easy, as they journey into elementary school? Stay tuned for answers to these questions (and many more) as we enter the childhood years.

Tying It All Together

1. If Amanda is 2½, which prediction is *false*? *Amanda wants to be independent, yet is closely attached. / Amanda can possibly feel shame. / Amanda's parents haven't begun to discipline her.*
2. To a colleague who confides that he's worried about his timid toddler, what comforting words can you offer?
3. Think back to your own childhood: Did you fit into either the shy or exuberant temperamental type? How did your parents cope with your personality style?

Answers to the Tying It All Together questions can be found at the end of this chapter.

SUMMARY

Attachment: The Basic Life Bond

For much of the twentieth century, behaviorists minimized the mother–child bond. European psychoanalysts such as John Bowlby found, however, that attachment was a basic human need. Harlow's primate studies convinced U.S. developmentalists of the importance of **attachment**, and Bowlby transformed developmental science by arguing that having a loving **primary attachment figure** is biologically built into our species and crucial to development. Although threatening situations evoke **proximity-seeking behavior** at any age, during **toddlerhood**, just being physically apart from an attachment figure elicits distress.

According to Bowlby, life begins with a 3-month-long **pre-attachment phase**, characterized by the first **social smile**. After an intermediate phase called **attachment in the making**, at about 7 months of age, the landmark phase of **clear-cut (focused) attachment** begins, signaled by **separation anxiety** and **stranger anxiety**. During this period spanning toddlerhood, children need their caregiver to be physically close, and they rely on **social referencing** to monitor their behavior. After age 3, children can tolerate separations, as they develop an internal **working model** of their caregiver—which they carry into life.

To explore individual differences in attachment, Mary Ainsworth devised the **Strange Situation**. Using this test, which involves separations and reunions, developmentalists categorize 1-year-olds as **securely** or **insecurely attached**. Securely attached 1-year-olds use their primary attachment figure as a secure base for exploration and are delighted when their caregiver returns. **Avoidant** infants seem indifferent. **Anxious-ambivalent** children are overly frantic and inconsolable. Children with a **disorganized attachment** react in an erratic way and may show fear when their parent reenters the room.

Caregiver–child interactions are characterized by a beautiful **synchrony**, or attachment dance. Although a baby's attachment style can sometimes mirror the caregiver's own working model of attachment, attachment is also affected by the child's **temperament** and depends on the caregiver's other close relationships as well.

Cross-cultural studies support the idea that attachment to a primary caregiver is universal, with similar percentages of babies in various countries classified as securely attached. When distressed, babies run to the caregiver who spends the most time with them, but infants can be attached to several people, and having a secure attachment to only one caregiver may be all that infants need for optimal development.

As Bowlby predicted in his working-model concept, securely attached babies have superior mental health. Infants with insecure attachments (especially disorganized attachments) are at risk for later problems. However, the good-news/bad-news finding is that, when the caregiving environment changes, attachment security can change for the better or worse. Biological differences in specific hormones may make infants more or less vulnerable to variations in the quality of care. Babies exposed to the worst-case attachment situation, living in an orphanage with virtually no caregiving, may never fully recover. But here there is a **dose–response effect**. The chance of lifelong impairments depends on the depth of the deprivation and the age at which a child leaves that institution. Loving dads have a unique impact in promoting school success.

Settings for Development

Early-childhood poverty—widespread in the United States—affects children's physiology and ability to focus their attention. It compromises caregiver sensitivity and—most important—school success. **Head Start** and **Early Head Start** programs help impoverished young children in the United States. Poverty-level babies and toddlers benefit from full-time **day care**. **Preschool** has positive effects for every child. Low-income parents who promote secure attachments buffer children from poverty's effects.

Day care is important, because most U.S. parents must go back to work during a child's first three years; but due to its expense, anxieties about leaving their child with strangers, and health concerns, parents in the United States prefer to keep infant care in the family. Paid child-care options include nannies (for affluent parents), **family day care** (in which a person cares for a small number of children in a home), and larger **day-care centers**.

The NICHD Study of Early Child Care and Youth Development showed that the best predictor of being securely attached at age 1 is having a sensitive parent. But middle-class children who

attend day-care centers full time have elevated cortisol levels and higher risk of acting out as teens.

In choosing day care, search for low child-to-caregiver ratios, a well-planned physical space, and a predictable routine. Workers want supportive colleagues and supervisors, the freedom to plan their day, and enough income to live. Abysmally low salaries and disruptive toddlers may poison the quality of this job. Environment-responsive infants are especially vulnerable to low-quality care. Because the COVID-19 pandemic may make traditional day care less available and more financially out of reach, the United States needs to finally pay attention to helping new moms and dads pay for this vital support.

Toddlerhood: Age of Autonomy *and* Shame and Doubt

Erikson's **autonomy** captures the essence of toddlerhood, the landmark age when we shed babyhood, first observe the self, and enter the human world. **Self-conscious emotions** such as pride and shame emerge and are crucial to **socialization**, which begins in earnest at around age 2. Difficulties with focusing and obeying are typical during toddlerhood, but even at this age children differ in their ability to control themselves. Temperamentally fearful children show earlier signs of "conscience." Exuberant, active toddlers are especially hard to socialize.

As young babies, shy toddlers react with intense motor activity to stimuli. They are more inhibited in elementary school and adolescence and show neurological signs of social wariness as young adults. Still (with sensitive parenting), many shy toddlers and fearless explorers lose these extreme tendencies as they grow older.

To help an inhibited baby, don't overprotect the child. With exuberant toddlers, **power assertion** is a serious danger. For acts of defiance, like hitting, it is vital to set limits, as long as parents use discipline along with lots of love. **Mind-mindedness** and promoting **goodness of fit** are the keys to offering children (and humans!) high-quality care. Giving, helping, and sharing — not just confrontation — are built into toddlerhood, too.

KEY TERMS

anxious-ambivalent attachment, p. 108
attachment, p. 105
attachment in the making, p. 107
autonomy, p. 121
avoidant attachment, p. 108
clear-cut (focused) attachment, p. 107
day care, p. 116
day-care center, p. 117
disorganized attachment, p. 108
dose–response effect, p. 113
Early Head Start, p. 116
family day care, p. 117
goodness of fit, p. 126
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ANSWERS TO Tying It All Together QUIZZES

Attachment: The Basic Life Bond

1. Your responses will differ, but any example you give, such as "I called Mom when that terrible thing happened at work," should show that under stress your impulse is to immediately contact your attachment figure.
2. Muriel = preattachment; Yu Yan = working model
3. (a) 4; (b) 1; (c) 2; (d) 3; (e) 5
4. The child has an anxious-ambivalent attachment.
5. Manuel should say: Infants around the world get attached to a primary caregiver at roughly the same age.
6. Sensitive dads give *more* commands to their children and engage more frequently in *play*. Fathers may make unique contributions to babies' *academic* skills.

Settings for Development

1. Anneke is at highest risk if her family *became poor during her first four years of life.*
2. The good news is that Sameera's parenting is the main force in determining her child's attachment (and emotional health). The bad news is that U.S. day-care centers may leave much to be desired, and long hours spent in day care are tied to a slightly higher risk of later acting-out issues.
3. To supplement the critical question of how much the job pays, ask a prospective employer: Does this position offer good supervision? Will I have freedom to structure the day? How many babies and toddlers will be in my group (the fewer, the better)? Then linger and question your prospective coworkers. Ask yourself, *Do I like these people? Will I fit in at this place? Do these people like this particular job?*

Toddlerhood: Age of Autonomy *and* Shame and Doubt

1. Parents typically discipline their 2-year-olds (the last option is wrong).
2. You might tell him that most children grow out of their shyness, even if they do not completely shed this temperamental tendency. But stress the advantages of being shy: His baby will be easier to socialize and may have a stronger conscience.
3. These answers will be your own.

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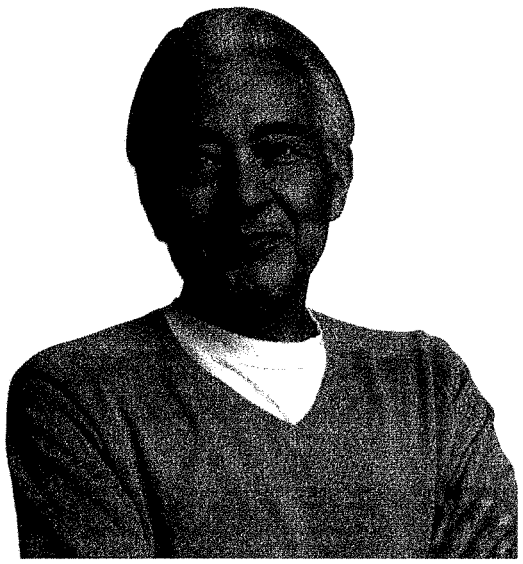

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