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11-3 Development of Attitudes

The development of attitudes is influenced by age, cognitive development, and social experiences (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). Researchers (Brown & Bigler, 2005; Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001) suggest that attitudes about diverse cultural groups develop in the following sequence:

- Phase I—awareness of cultural differences, beginning at about age 2½ to 3
- Phase II—orientation toward specific culturally related words and concepts, beginning at about age 4
- Phase III—attitudes toward various cultural groups, beginning at about age 7

As children develop cognitively, they begin to categorize (assimilate and accommodate) similarities and differences. However, research (Quintana, 2011) shows that children acquire racial attitudes prior to developing the ability to categorize people by race; their initial attitudes reflect society's biases. Reviewing many studies of European American children's attitudes toward other groups, Aboud (1988) and colleagues (Aboud & Amato, 2001) reported that 4- to 7-year-old European American children were already aware that "White" was the cultural identity favored by their society. They referred to other groups as "bad" or with negative characteristics. Children of color were reported to have ambivalent feelings about their cultural identity. Young children understand the hierarchy of status and privilege in the United States (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001). However, Aboud (1988) and colleagues (Aboud & Amato, 2001) found that after age 7, children of all cultural groups were less prejudiced toward other groups and had more positive attitudes toward their own group. Aboud explained young children's prejudicial

had an unofficial mascot, "Bomber Man," who served for twenty years, but after 9/11, a mascot who carried explosives became less than politically correct. While there had been other unofficial mascots, including a unicorn, "Bomber Man" was the most recognizable. When college administrators sought suggestions for an official mascot, they decreed that any "war-related proposals" were out of bounds. Students and alumni found this to be a poor decision; yet they couldn't agree on one that related to the school's nickname. In the end, the administration decided to simply abandon the idea of having any mascot at all. Other schools in similar predicaments have come to similar decisions (Top Colleges Online, 2013).

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transgender an umbrella term for individuals whose gender identity or gender expression and behavior does not conform to that typically associated with the sex to which they were assigned at birth

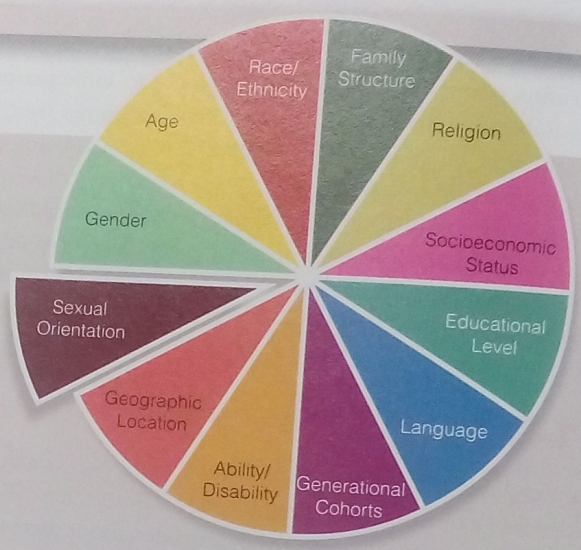
gender identity refers to a person's internal sense of being male, female, or something else

attitudes as due to cognitive immaturity rather than malice. More specifically, Aboud (2008) noted that children's ability to classify along multiple dimensions appears to correspond to a reduction in children's ethnocentrism. Early ethnocentrism based on physical attributes occurs in Piaget's preoperational stage (ages 4–7), wherein children tend toward one-dimensional thinking; decreased ethnocentrism based on behavioral and physical attributes corresponds to Piaget's concrete operational stage, wherein children can think about more than one dimension at a time.

Social experiences, including observation and interaction, provide children with a perspective of the macrosystem in which they live (Brown, 2010; Brown & Bigler, 2005). Children come to know attitudes about culture, religion, socioeconomic status (SES), gender, disability, and age by watching TV, by hearing significant adults talk and seeing how they behave, and by noticing differences in neighborhood facilities (schools, theaters, sidewalks) and practices (employment, discrimination, violence).

Dimensions of Diversity

Sexual Orientation



At the start of 2014, a law went into effect in California that allows transgender students to use school restrooms and play on sports teams based on the gender with which they identify rather than the one with which they were born. Some families, especially those with gender nonconforming kids, praise the law, but other parents and their advocates are criticizing the law, saying it's too vague and could compromise the privacy, the comfort, and the rights of other children.

According to the American Psychological Association (2011), "**transgender** is an umbrella term for individuals whose gender identity or gender expression and behavior does not conform to that typically associated with the sex to which they were assigned at birth. **Gender identity** refers to a person's internal sense of being male, female or something else; gender expression refers to the way a person communicates gender identity to others through behavior, clothing, hairstyles, voice or body characteristics. 'Trans' is sometimes used as shorthand for 'transgender.'"

Many identities fall under the transgender umbrella. Often, transsexual people alter, or wish to alter, their bodies through hormones, surgery, and other means to make their bodies as congruent as possible with their gender identities. This process of transition through medical intervention is often referred to as sex or gender reassignment, but more recently is also referred to as gender affirmation. Some individuals who transition from one gender to another prefer to be referred to as a man or a woman, rather than as transgender.

According to a report by the National Center for Transgender Equality and the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (Task Force, 2011) entitled *Injustice at Every Turn*, the pervasive and severe discrimination faced by transgender people was confirmed. Out of a sample of nearly 6,500 transgender people, the report found that transgender people experience high levels of discrimination in employment,

housing, health care, education, legal systems, and even in their families. Anti-discrimination laws in most U.S. cities and states do not protect transgender people from discrimination based on gender identity or gender expression.

Transgender people may also have additional identities that may affect the types of discrimination they experience. Groups with such additional identities include transgender people of racial, ethnic, or religious minority backgrounds; transgender people of lower socioeconomic statuses; transgender people with disabilities; transgender youth; and transgender elderly. Experiencing discrimination may cause significant amounts of psychological stress, often leaving transgender individuals to wonder whether they were discriminated against because of their gender identity or gender expression, another sociocultural identity, or some combination of all of these.

The Task Force (2011) found that 63% of participants in the survey had experienced a serious act of discrimination—events that would have a major impact on a person's quality of life and ability to sustain her- or himself financially or emotionally. These events included the following:

- lost job due to bias
- eviction due to bias
- school bullying/harassment so severe that the respondent had to drop out
- teacher bullying
- physical assault due to bias
- sexual assault due to bias
- homelessness because of gender identity/expression
- lost relationship with partner or children due to gender identity/expression
- denial of medical service due to bias
- incarceration due to gender identity/expression

Finally, according to the APA (2011), many transgender people are the targets of hate crimes. They are also the victims of subtle discrimination—which includes everything from glances or glares of disapproval or discomfort to invasive questions about their body parts.

Sources: APA, 2011; National Center for Transgender Equality and National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, 2011.

- Have you ever experienced, or known someone who did, such discrimination? Explain.
- What are your thoughts about transgender bathrooms?

11-3a Influences on Attitude Development

The family, peers, media, community, and school all play a role in the development of attitudes.

What role do significant socializing agents play in influencing children's attitudes toward those who are similar and those who are different?

Family

Parents have a large impact on children's attitudes and values. For example, a study of fourth- and fifth-grade children and their parents confirmed that children identify with their parents' attitudes (Sinclair, Dunn, & Lowery, 2005; Quintana, 2011). Cultural prejudice also follows this general pattern. The cultural prejudices of elementary schoolchildren representing diverse groups tend to resemble those of their parents. Studies of young children show that those with the most prejudicial attitudes have parents who are authoritarian, use strict disciplinary techniques, and are inflexible in their attitudes toward right and wrong (Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Amato, 2001). Thus, rigid parental attitudes foster similar attitudes in their children.

Modeling. One explanation for the resemblance of children's and parents' cultural attitudes is that children develop attitudes through role modeling. Children identify with models who are powerful and admirable. Through the process of identification, they begin to assume the attitudes of the people they would like to emulate (parents, relatives, friends, fictional heroes or heroines, television and movie characters, rock stars).

Instruction. One way children learn attitudes is by instruction. Young children accept as true the statements of their parents and others they admire because, with their limited experience, they are not apt to have heard anything different.

According to Ramsey (2004), children assimilate culturally related attitudes, preferences, and social expectations at an early age. They understand the world in terms of absolutes and believe overgeneralizations. Therefore, because of their cognitive level of development, they are receptive to global stereotypical and prejudicial comments of adults. For example, in an experiment (Bigler, Brown, & Markell, 2001), 7- to 12-year-olds attending a summer school program were randomly assigned to groups denoted by yellow or blue T-shirts. The status of each group was artificially manipulated by the teachers; posters depicted members of the yellow group as having won more spelling and athletic competitions, giving their group higher status than the blue group. Teachers called attention to the different statuses, using them as a basis for seating arrangements, task assignments, and certain class privileges. When the children were asked to evaluate each other, those in the yellow group rated each other higher than the blue group, and the blue group rated each other lower. Those children not exposed to the artificial evaluative judgment of adults did not express prejudice toward each other.

Reinforcement and Punishment. The socializing techniques of reinforcement and punishment are also involved in the way children learn attitudes. For example, it has been demonstrated that attitudes toward cultural groups can be influenced simply by associating them with positive words (reinforcement), such as *happy* or *successful*, or negative words (punishment), such as *ugly* or *failure*. Also, positive and negative remarks by friends influence prejudicial attitudes (Aboud, 1988; Aboud & Amato, 2001). For another example, negative attitudes about individuals with disabilities, such as those who are vocationally limited or socially inept, are reinforced when such individuals are excluded from the mainstream of society (Gollnick & Chinn, 2012).

IN PRACTICE How Does Prejudice Develop?

The following is a typical developmental sequence of how children become prejudiced.

- **Awareness**—being alert to, seeing, noticing, and understanding differences among people even though they may never have been described or talked about. Children model behavior they observe in adults they look up to.
- **Identification**—naming, labeling, and classifying people based on physical characteristics that children notice. Verbal identification relieves the stress that comes from being aware of or confused by something that you can't describe or no one else is talking about. Identification is the child's attempt to break the adult silence and make sense of the world. Children mimic what they see, hear, and read about.
- **Attitude**—having thoughts and feelings that become an inclination or opinion toward another person and their way of living in the world. Children may displace their feelings onto others who are less powerful.
- **Preference**—valuing, favoring, and giving priority to one physical attribute, person, or lifestyle over another, usually based on similarities and differences. Children understand the world from the perspective of their own experience.
- **Prejudice**—holding a preconceived hostile attitude, opinion, feeling, or action against a person, ethnic group, or their lifestyle without knowing them. Children generalize their personal experiences to the world.

Source: York, S. (1991). *Roots and wings: Affirming culture in early childhood programs* (pp. 169–170). St. Paul, MN: Toys 'n' Things Press.

Peers

Peers influence attitudes and behavior. Children compare the acceptability of their beliefs with those of their friends. Children compare their characteristics with those of the in group and the out group; they are more likely to be prejudiced against the out group (Brown, 2010). Because preadolescent children have a great need to identify with the peer group, someone who is culturally different or who has a disability is often excluded (Brown, 2010; Gollnick & Chinn, 2012). However, studies have shown that prejudice may be reduced by equal status contact between majority and minority groups in the pursuit of common goals (Oskamp, 2000).

Other attitudes influenced by peers involve dress, dating, personal problems, and sex (Sebald, 1986, 1989).

Mass Media

Television and Movies. Children and adolescents frequently cite television as a source of information that influences their attitudes about people and things (Comstock & Scharrer, 2007; Singer & Singer, 2012). "You see so much violence that it's meaningless. If I saw someone really get killed, it wouldn't be a big deal. I guess I'm turning into a hard rock," said an 11-year-old. "When I see a beautiful girl using shampoo or a cosmetic on TV, I buy them because I'll look like her. I have a ton of cosmetics," said a 13-year-old. Several studies have reported that middle and high school students rate the mass media as their most important source of information and opinions, even more important than their parents, teachers, and friends (Singer & Singer, 2012). Television, discussed in Chapter 9, is a source of social stereotypes. To illustrate, Middle Eastern Americans have experienced negative stereotyping in movies. They are often portrayed as villains, criminals, or terrorists, as well as polygamists (Bennett, 2010).

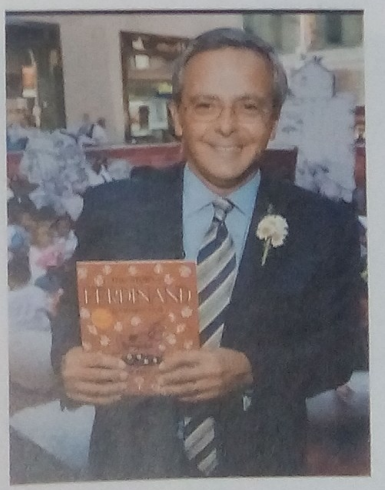
Although television and movies have generally had the reputation of perpetuating negative attitudes, they also have the potential for bringing people to new levels of empathetic understanding. TV documentaries and biographies of culturally diverse historical and sports figures, such as *Mandela, The Jackie Robinson Story*, have given viewers insight, as have movies such as *Schindler's List*, which brought awareness to the plight of Jews during World War II; *The King's Speech*, which exposed the speech disability of King George VI and his struggles to overcome it in order to give an inspiring radio address to the British people about going to war; and *Precious*, about an overweight, illiterate, African American teen from Harlem who discovers an alternate path in life after she begins attending a new school.

Books. Books are influential in attitude formation. Consider the controversy some books stir up, resulting in their removal from library shelves (Norton & Norton, 2010). For example, in the 1960s, Garth Williams' *The Rabbit's Wedding* (1982) was criticized because the illustrations showed the marriage of a black rabbit and a white rabbit. In the 1970s, Maurice Sendak's (1970) *In the Night Kitchen* was taken off some library shelves because the child in the story was nude. In the 1980s, Helen Bannerman's *The Story of Little Black Sambo*, which was first published in 1899 and had enjoyed much popularity over the years, was attacked for being offensive to African Americans because of the story line and crudely drawn figures of characters with stereotypical features.

Exemplifying how attitudes regarding people of color can be transmitted subtly, a 1993 Caldecott Honor Book (recognition given for pictures), *Seven Blind Mice* by Ed Young (1992), is about seven blind mice, each a different and brilliant color, whose task is to identify an object. The white mouse solves the riddle and correctly identifies the object as an elephant. Many have criticized the book, complaining that the white mouse is portrayed as the "savior," thereby perpetuating prejudicial attitudes of "white supremacy" (Jacobs & Tunnell, 1996). Children will abstract attitudinal concepts from their social

An example of a book defying gender stereotypes.

Joe Kohen/WireImage/Getty Images



experiences and try them out. For example, in wanting to control the space in the sandbox, 4-year-old Carla says only people who speak Spanish are allowed; experimenting with a racial epithet, Jimmy discovers he can be dominant by hurting others' feelings (Van Ausdale & Feagin, 2001).

A classic book defying gender stereotypes is *The Story of Ferdinand* by Munro Leaf (1936). Ferdinand is a bull who would rather smell the flowers than fight; the attitude portrayed is that it is OK to be yourself rather than conform to cultural role prescriptions.

Community

Community customs and traditions influence attitudes. For example, an American custom regarding privacy is to label public restrooms for Men or Women; other countries do not have such designations. This is an example of gender discrimination. (Why is the line to the ladies' room always much longer than the line to the men's?) Before the U.S. civil rights movement, it was customary in communities in the South to have signs designating racially segregated bathrooms (White, Colored). This is an example of race discrimination. Today, many community facilities are age-segregated. Signs that say "Adults Only" or charging different prices at the movies based on age are examples of discrimination. Children thus acquire attitudes that represent the status quo in their environment.

Is the community population diverse (age, SES, cultural background)? Or is it homogeneous? Do the people who live there have similar backgrounds? How do different people in the community interact? As has been discussed, research shows that positive interactions with people different from oneself foster positive attitudes toward them.

School

Schools influence attitude formation. A review of various studies (Sadker & Sadker, 1994; Sadker, Zittleman, & Sadker, 2012) illustrated how gender-role stereotyping is perpetuated in schools. Schools that separate male and female activities and encourage boys to play in the "block corner" or take science classes and girls to go to the "housekeeping" area or take English classes, for example, are teaching children which activities are gender appropriate. Teachers who project their gender-typed expectations on boys and girls reinforce traditional gender-role behavior (Good & Brophy, 2007). In other words, if a teacher *expects* boys to be more active and aggressive than girls, the teacher will tend to allow this behavior. Likewise, a teacher who *expects* girls to be passive and docile will likely encourage girls to conform to this pattern.

Classroom organization can be very effective in influencing attitudes toward others. For example, researchers (Johnson & Johnson, 1999; Johnson, Johnson, & Maruyama, 1983) tried to identify conditions in schools that led to positive attitudes regarding culturally diverse students as well as students with disabilities. They found that when members of both heterogeneous and homogeneous groups cooperated instead of competed to achieve a common goal, greater positive attitudes emerged among the group members. These positive attitudes included more realistic views of self and group members, greater expectations of success, and increased expectations of favorable future interactions with group members.

Friendship between these children is more important to them than societal attitudes about culturally diverse groups.

After leaving office, she continued her activism on behalf of Native Americans and women. She also taught for a short time at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire.

Mankiller shared her experiences as a pioneer in tribal government in her 1993 autobiography, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*. She also wrote and compiled *Every Day Is a Good Day: Reflections by Contemporary Indigenous Women* (2004).

- Have you ever been treated in a demeaning way?
- Have you served your community in some way? How?

12-1 Self-Regulation of Behavior

How do children learn to regulate their behavior appropriately?

Self-regulation (or *self-control*), as introduced in Chapter 2, refers to the ability to regulate or control one's impulses, behavior, and/or emotions until an appropriate time, place, or object is available for expression. Recall that self-regulation is one of the aims of socialization. Self-regulatory behavior involves the ability to delay gratification, the ability to sustain attention to a task, and the ability to plan and self-monitor a goal-directed activity, whether social or moral conduct or academic or athletic achievement (similar to self-efficacy).

Self-regulatory skills are significantly related to inhibiting antisocial or aggressive behaviors and exhibiting prosocial or altruistic ones (Lengua, 2002). Self-regulatory difficulties may be symptomatic of conduct disorders, attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), or depression (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Eggum, 2010). Figure 12.1 is an

self-regulation the ability to regulate or control one's impulses, behavior, and/or emotions until an appropriate time, place, or object is available for expression

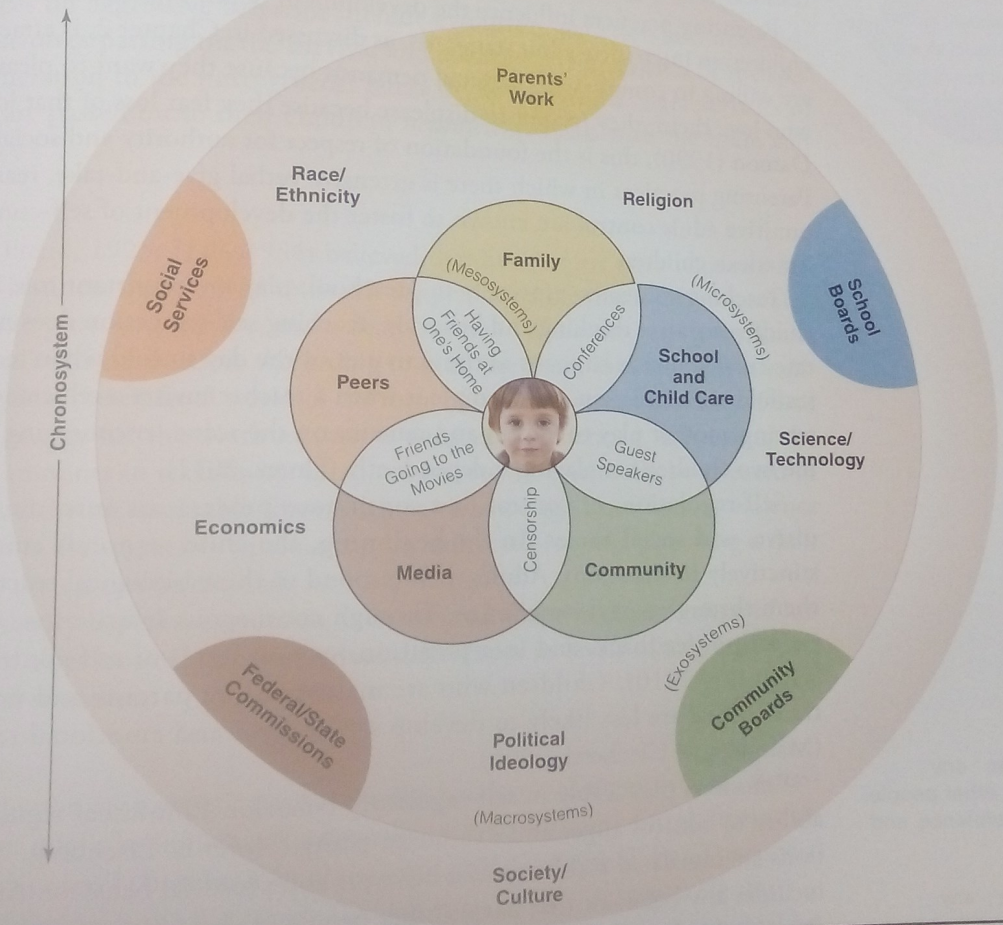


FIGURE 12.1 **A Bioecological Model of Human Development** The child's antisocial or prosocial behavior, gender role, and self-esteem are outcomes of his or her socialization.

ecological model showing the relationships between microsystems and mesosystems, influenced by exosystems and macrosystems, as they affect social and behavioral outcomes of socialization.

Self-regulation, or self-control, can be observed in children beginning about age 2 and increasing with age (Hofer & Eisenberg, 2008). To behave appropriately, children have to have the cognitive maturity to understand that they are separate, autonomous beings with the ability to control their own actions. They also have to have the language development to understand directives, the memory capabilities to store and retrieve a caregiver's instructions, and the information-processing strategies to apply them to a particular situation. In addition, children need to have some concept of the future, which expands as they get older ("If I don't tease my brother, Mommy said she would take me skating"). Children develop foundational skills for self-regulation in the first 5 years of life (Galinsky, 2010), The development of self-regulatory ability depends partly on biological factors, such as the child's temperament, and partly on contextual factors, such as parenting practices (Eisenberg, Spinrad, & Eggum, 2010; Hofer & Eisenberg, 2008) and teaching strategies (Florez, 2011).

Temperament (easy, slow-to-warm-up, difficult), discussed in Chapter 4, consists of genetically based characteristics that determine an individual's sensitivity to various experiences and responsiveness to patterns of social interaction. *Easy* children are more likely to comply with adult standards because, physiologically, they are more "relaxed." *Slow-to-warm-up* children may need time, reasoning, repetition, and patience to comply. *Difficult* children need even more of the same because they are more "tense" and, therefore, resistant to change.

Parenting practices influence the development of self-regulation in that the motive for children to internalize adult standards, as discussed in Chapter 2, is attachment. Children are willing to comply with parental demands because they want to please the individuals who love them; they try not to displease because they fear loss of that love. According to Damon (1990), this is the foundation of respect for authority and social order in society. Parenting practices in which there is extensive verbal give-and-take, reasoning, and non-punitive adult control are known to foster the development of self-control in European American children.

Teaching strategies, especially in preschool, play an important role in helping young children regulate thinking and behavior. Teaching self-regulation does not require a separate curriculum; it happens as the activities of the day unfold when teachers model and scaffold self-regulation. An example is when a teacher invites a reluctant child who is observing another play to join in and remains on the scene, encouraging interaction, until the two children are playing independently (Florez, 2011).

Self-regulation, or control, is a continuous process, an outcome of affective, cognitive, and social forces. In the beginning, the child responds emotionally and instinctively to situations. Adults then respond to these biological reactions and redefine them through social experience. Through continuous instruction, observation, participation, feedback, and interpretation, various levels of self-control are established (Galinsky, 2010). Children who are maltreated by parents and exposed to domestic violence are less likely to develop self-control and emotional regulatory abilities (Maughan & Cicchetti, 2002).

Emotions play a role in self-regulatory behavior. Emotional regulation includes the ability to control anger and exhibit empathy (Hofer & Eisenberg, 2008). These emotions are translated into antisocial behavior and prosocial behavior. **Antisocial behavior** includes any behavior that harms other people, such as aggression, violence, and crime. **Prosocial behavior** includes any behavior that benefits other people, such as altruism, sharing, and cooperation.

11-4 Changing Attitudes about Diversity

How can attitudes about diversity be changed?

Numerous studies have explored educational ways to change children's attitudes, especially regarding diversity (Aboud et al., 2012; Jones & Foley, 2003). A classic example (Katz & Zalk, 1978) of techniques used to counter the culturally biased attitudes of second and fifth graders (as determined by a test) follows.

1. *Increased positive intercultural contact.* Children worked in interethnic teams at an interesting puzzle and were all praised for their work.
2. *Vicarious intercultural contact.* Children heard an interesting story about a sympathetic and resourceful African American child.
3. *Perceptual differentiation.* Children were shown slides of a culturally diverse woman whose appearance varied depending on whether or not she was wearing glasses, which of two different hairdos she was wearing, and whether she was smiling or frowning. Each different-appearing face had a name, and the children were tested to see how well they remembered the names.

After two weeks, the children's levels of prejudice were measured again. All the groups that had been exposed to any of these techniques showed less prejudice than did children in the control groups. Four to six months after the experiment, a second posttest showed that the children who had learned to perceive differences in the culturally diverse faces and those who had heard the stories about culturally diverse children had more positive attitudes than those in the other two groups. Younger children showed more gains than older children.

Apparently, prejudicial attitudes can be changed by enabling children to have positive experiences (both real and vicarious) with cultural minorities. When an adult mediates the experience by pointing out individual differences, it is especially effective. Thus, children learn to view people as individuals rather than as representatives of a certain group with certain fixed characteristics.

One of the purposes of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act of 1990 (amended in 2004) was to include children with disabilities in public school. Teachers had to revise prior stereotypical attitudes; they might have had to emphasize *abilities* rather than *disabilities* (Heward, 2012)—for example, "Kevin is a third grader who reads in a fourth-grade book and who needs assistance with physical tasks" rather than "Kevin is wheelchair-bound and requires an aide."

Aboud and her colleagues (2012) conducted a systematic review of studies to evaluate the effects of various interventions (such as contact, media, and instruction) aimed at reducing ethnic prejudice and discrimination in young children. Articles published between 1980 and 2010 that included children 8 years old and under were analyzed in the study.

Attitude effects were found to be mixed with an overall count of the positive changes (40%), nonsignificant changes (50%), and negative changes (10%) in attitude. Most of the effects were observed with children from the majority ethnic group rather than a minority one: 67% of the attitude effects were positive, and media/instruction and contact were equally effective at influencing these changes. These findings show promising avenues for future research by highlighting the characteristics of various interventions that should be replicated and extended.

Participation of individu
disabilities in athletic events has
communicate positive
regarding their

IN PRACTICE How Do You Create an Antibias Classroom Environment?

Some basics involve including:

- pictures in the room of diverse (by culture, gender, age, disability) individuals in their daily lives—interacting with others and doing work in the community
- stories in the curriculum about the contributions of diverse individuals
- fostering cooperative activities among the children so they can experience others'

See Early Childhood and Parenting Collaborative for more specifics on an antibias classroom

do you explain
es you toward
a goal?

11-5 Motives and Attributions

A *motive*, as introduced in Chapter 2, is a need or emotion that causes a person to act. To be *motivated* is to be *moved* to do something. An *attribution*, as introduced in Chapter 2, is an explanation for one's performance. "Do you *attribute* an Olympian's athletic ability to training, genetics, or both?"

People are motivated to act by the urge to be competent or to achieve, according to famous psychologist Robert White (1959). People of all ages strive to develop skills that will help them understand and control their environment, whether or not they receive external reinforcement. The inborn motive to explore, understand, and control one's environment is referred to as *mastery motivation*, as introduced in Chapter 2. This is illustrated when infants and toddlers open cabinets, empty out drawers, drop things in the toilet. Whereas mastery motivation is believed to be inborn, *achievement motivation* is thought to be learned. Children learn via socialization what are considered acceptable and unacceptable performance standards in their culture, as well as how to evaluate their behavior accordingly. Introduced in Chapter 2, **achievement motivation**, the learned motivation to be competent, expresses itself in behavior aimed at approaching challenging tasks with the confidence of accomplishment—for example, the child who tries out for the choir saying, "Oh, I know I'll make it."

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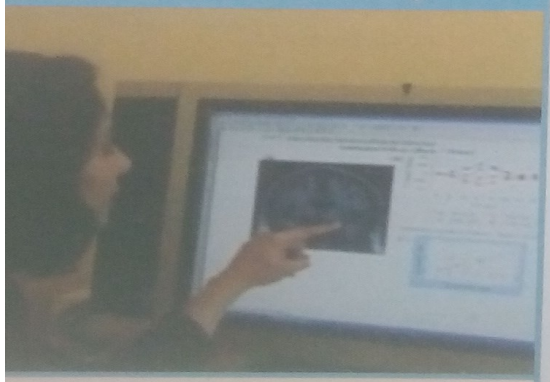
ivation to
f challenging

hSource Video Activity



entitled *Reducing Racial Prejudice.*
erienced prejudice—racial, ethnic,
ility, or other—and how did you feel?
an experience whereby you were
out someone or something and
your attitude? Explain.

Ryan and Deci (2000) distinguish between achievement motivation that is *intrinsic* (doing an activity for inherent satisfaction or enjoyment) and *extrinsic* (doing an activity to attain some separable outcome, to get a reward or avoid punishment). As people act to pursue different goals, why are some driven primarily intrinsically and others extrinsically? Explanations can be divided into two categories:

- Within-person (*intrinsic*) changes result from cognitive or emotional maturation, such as becoming more curious as one is able to learn more and becoming more competent as one is able to master more.
- Socially mediated (*extrinsic*) changes result from contexts children experience as they grow, such as family, school, or peer group, and the accompanying feelings of autonomy or control (Wigfield, Eccles, Schiefele, Rosser, & Davis-Kean, 2006).

According to Ryan and Deci (2000), home and classroom environments can "facilitate or forestall" intrinsic motivation by "supporting or thwarting" a child's psychological needs for competence and autonomy. Studies have shown that parents who respond to children's psychological needs bidirectionally (modifying their rules and incentives according to child's

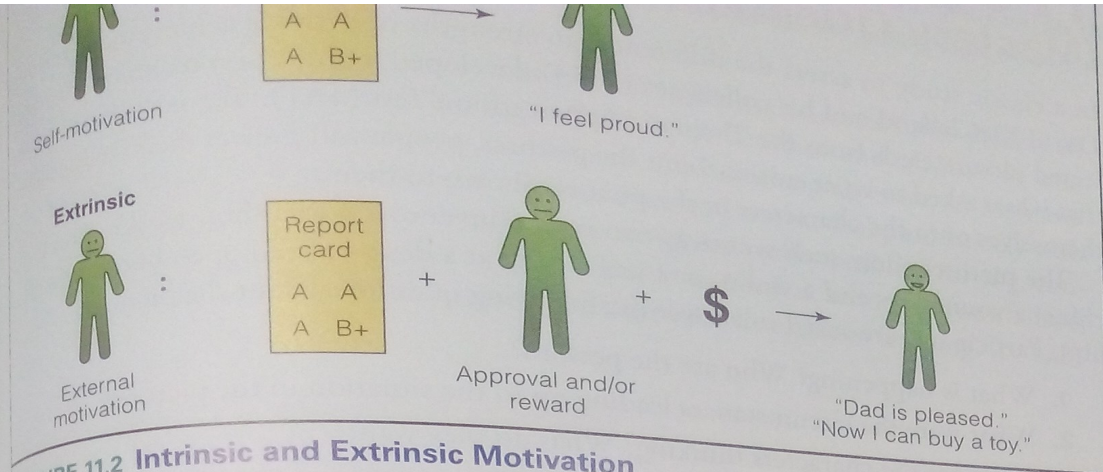


FIGURE 11.2 **Intrinsic and Extrinsic Motivation**

behavior), enhance intrinsic motivation (Pomerantz, Grolnick, & Price, 2007). Other studies (Ryan & Deci, 2000; Benabou & Tirole, 2003) have shown that tangible rewards (money, candy, toys), threats, deadlines, directives, and competition pressure related to task performance tend to diminish intrinsic motivation because they are experienced as controllers of behavior, whereas choice and the opportunity for self-direction appear to enhance intrinsic motivation because they enable a sense of autonomy. (See Figure 11.2.)

Attributions, or explanations for performance, are related to motives in that achievement motivation has been linked to **locus of control**—how people *attribute* their performance, or where they place responsibility for successes or failure. Locus of control is *internal* if one attributes responsibility inside the self; it is *external* if one attributes responsibility to forces outside the self. "Am I responsible for my grade, or is the teacher?" When individuals feel they have no control over events and, therefore, no responsibility, they are no longer motivated to achieve. *Learned helplessness*, as introduced in Chapter 7, is a phenomenon exhibited by people who no longer perform effectively in a number of situations; they have learned to be helpless as opposed to competent. The relationship of motives and attributions to actual performance is outlined in Figure 11.3.

locus of control one attribution of performan perception of responsib success or failure; may internal or external

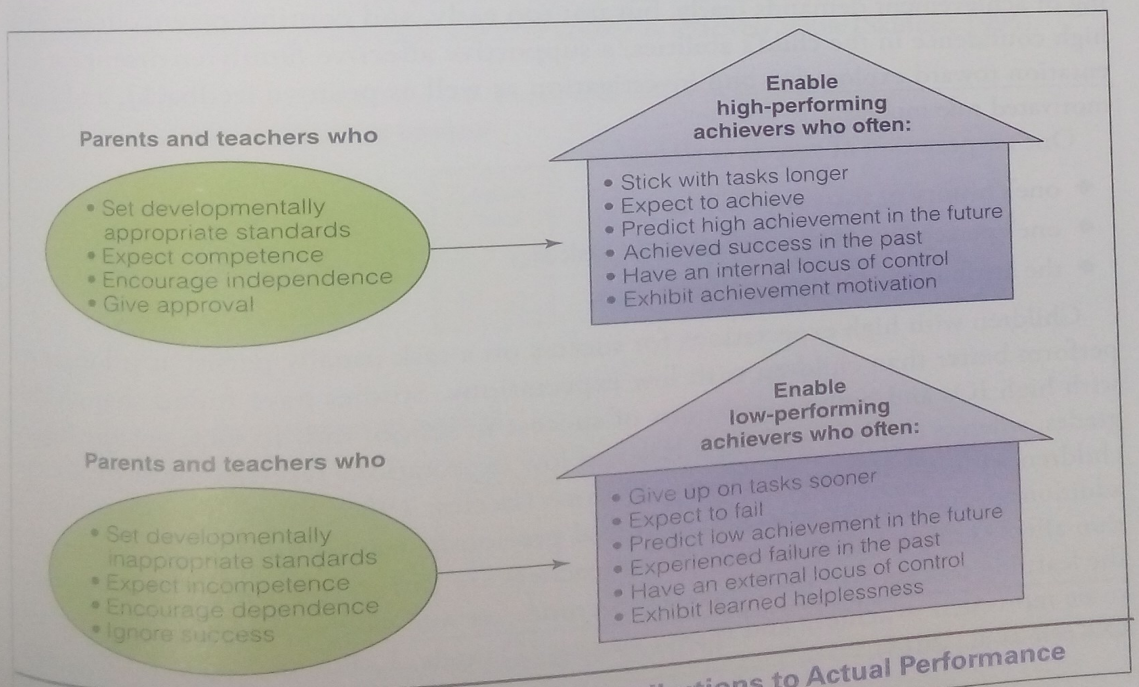


FIGURE 11.3 **Relationship of Motives and Attributions to Actual Performance**

How is achievement motivation assessed?

11-6 Achievement Motivation (Mastery Orientation)

In a classic study to assess the differences in strengths of people's achievement motives, David McClelland and his colleagues (1953) developed a projection technique using selected picture cards from the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT). The technique assumes that when asked to write stories about the pictures, people will project their feelings about themselves onto the characters in the pictures shown to them.

The pictures show such scenes as two men ("inventors") in a shop working on a machine, a young boy and a violin, or a boy sitting at a desk with an open book in front of him. Participants are asked to answer the following questions about the pictures:

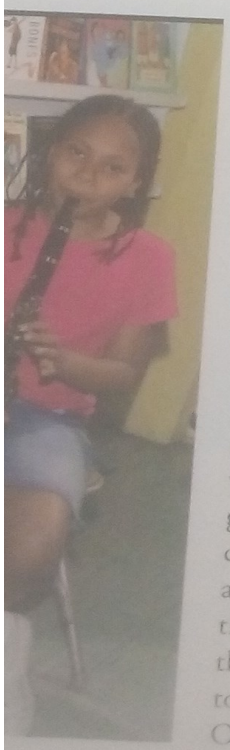
1. What is happening? Who are the persons?
2. What were the circumstances leading up to the situation in the pictures?
3. What are the characters thinking? What do they want?
4. What will happen? What will be done?

The assessment of the stories involves noting references to achievement goals (concern over reaching a standard of excellence). Subjects who refer often to achievement goals are rated high in achievement motivation; subjects who rarely or never refer to achievement goals are rated low.

Achievement motivation or mastery orientation are often correlated with actual achievement behavior (Bandura, 1997; Wigfield et al., 2006). The motivation to achieve, however, may manifest itself only in behavior that the child values. For example, a child's high motivation to achieve may be exhibited in athletics, but not in schoolwork. Thus, different situations have different achievement-attaining values for children as well as adults (O'Keefe, Ben-Eliyahu, & Linnenbrink-Garcia, 2013; Wigfield et al., 2006).

Parenting practices influence achievement motivation in that if standards set are unrealistic (too high or too low), then motivation tends to be low, whereas if standards set optimally challenge the child by providing tasks that can be done with effort (not too easy) so that the accomplishment is meaningful, motivation tends to be high (Burhans & Dweck, 1995; Pomerantz et al., 2007). Such tasks are referred to as developmentally appropriate.

ement is influenced by sponsibility to perform confidence of success.



According to Wigfield and colleagues (2006), the child-rearing environment of children who show high achievement motivation includes developmentally appropriate timing of achievement demands (early, but not too early, and continuing encouragement), high confidence in the child's abilities, a supportive affective family environment (orientation toward exploration and investigation as well as positive feedback), and highly motivated role models.

One's expectation of success is related to

- one's history of success or failure
- one's perception of how difficult the task is
- the attributions for one's performance.

Children with high expectations for success on a task usually persist at it longer and perform better than children with low expectations. Studies have found that children with high IQs and high expectations of success in school did, in fact, get the highest grades, whereas children with high IQs and low expectations received lower grades than children with low IQs and high expectations (Eccles, 1983; Wigfield et al., 2006). In addition to child-rearing practices, discussed previously, teaching styles and communication affect children's attributions. When teachers are caring, supportive, and emphasize the learning process over performance outcomes, as well as give feedback, children tend to be motivated to achieve and expect success (Daniels, Kalkman, & McCombs, 2001; O'Keefe et al., 2013).

Generally, someone who has mostly been successful in the past expects to succeed in the present and future; someone who has mostly failed in the past expects to fail in the present and future. According to Skinner and Greene (2008), the perception of control over outcomes of one's actions

is one of the most robust predictors of student resilience and academic success all across the elementary, middle, and high school years. Children and adolescents who are confident and optimistic are more likely to select challenging tasks, set high and concrete goals, initiate and maintain constructive engagement, deal productively with obstacles and setbacks, maintain access to their highest quality problem solving, concentration, and focus even under stress, seek help as needed, rebound from failure, and eventually to develop more adaptive strategies of self-regulated learning. (p. 122)

11-7 Locus of Control

Recall that *locus of control* relates to one's attribution of performance, or sense of personal responsibility for success or failure; it may be internal or external. Individuals who have strong beliefs that they are in control of their world, that they can cause things to happen if they choose, and that they can command their own rewards have an **internal locus of control**. These people attribute their success (or failure) to themselves. Individuals who perceive that others or outside forces have more control over them than they do over themselves have an **external locus of control**. These people attribute their success (or failure) to factors outside themselves.

Do you attribute responsibility for the consequences of your actions to your ability, your effort, to others, to the task difficulty, to fate, or to luck?

internal locus of control
perception that one is responsible for one's own fate

external locus of control
perception that others or outside forces are responsible for one's fate

One factor influencing people's control beliefs is the perceived relationship between their actions and their successes or failures (Skinner, 1995; Skinner & Greene, 2008). The more successful a person is at accomplishing tasks, the more likely it is that the person will feel "in control"; feeling "out of control" is more likely when failures outnumber successes. Achievement is related to whether people believe they control the outcome.

Another factor related to control beliefs is age. As children get older, their understanding of causality and explanations for outcomes becomes more differentiated. Whereas 7- and 8-year-olds tend to consider all possible factors—luck, effort, ability, task difficulty—in explaining performance, 11- and 12-year-olds tend to put more emphasis on external factors, such as luck and task difficulty, than on internal factors, such as ability and effort, in attributing locus of control. (See Figure 11.4.) Moreover, 7- and 8-year-olds think that ability can change with effort, whereas 11- and 12-year-olds perceive ability as relatively stable (Skinner, 1995).

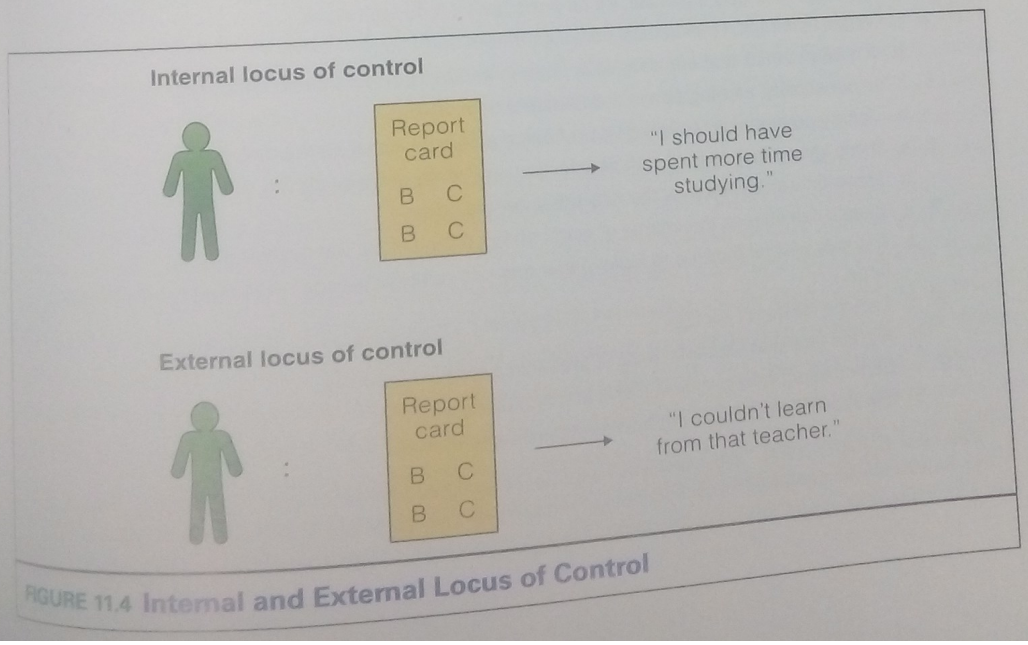


FIGURE 11.4 Internal and External Locus of Control

A classic locus-of-control scale that is used to study the internal-external dimension of personal responsibility was developed by Julian Rotter (1966, 1971). The Internal-External Scale is constructed so that each item can be scored as *internal* or *external*. Some sample items are given in the In Practice box, "Measuring Locus of Control." Subjects are to indicate, in each pair of statements, the more appropriate of the two.

Locus of control is an aspect of personality that interests educators because children with an internal locus of control generally do better academically and are more competent and effective than those with an external locus of control (Patrick, Skinner, & Connell, 1993; Skinner & Greene, 2008). One explanation for the relationship between locus of control and academic achievement is that "internals" view outcomes as within their control. Therefore, if they succeed, they can figure out what they did correctly and do it again. If they fail, they believe they can change the outcome in the future by exerting more effort to correct their mistakes (for example, study harder or differently). They develop a *mastery-oriented attribution*. "Externals," on the other hand, view outcomes as outside their control. Therefore, if they succeed, they attribute it to good luck, and if they fail, they attribute it to bad luck or lack of ability. Since they don't attribute the outcomes of their performance to their own efforts or strategies, they give up quickly. They develop a *learned-helpless orientation* (Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Dweck, 2006).

Reviews of the literature on locus of control (Wigfield et al., 2006; Young & Shorr, 1986) confirmed that internal locus of control was significantly related to age (at about age 9, there is an increase in perceptions of internal control), gender (elementary school girls are more internal than boys), SES (middle- and upper-class children are more internal than lower-class children), and achievement. In each case, the diverse socialization experiences of the group likely play a prominent part.

IN PRACTICE Measuring Locus of Control

I more strongly believe that:

1. a. Promotions are earned through hard work and persistence.
   b. Making a lot of money is largely a matter of getting the "right breaks."
2. a. There is usually a direct connection between how hard I study and the grades I get.
   b. Many times, the grades teachers give seem haphazard to me.
3. a. The number of divorces in our society indicates that more and more people are not trying to make their marriages work.
   b. Marriage is largely a gamble; it's no one's fault if it doesn't work.
4. a. When I am right, I can usually convince others that I am.
   b. It is silly to think that one can really change another person's basic attitudes.
5. a. In our society, earning power is dependent upon ability.
   b. Getting promoted is really a matter of being a little luckier than the next person.
6. a. If one knows how to deal with people, they are really quite easily led.
   b. I have little influence over the way other people behave.
7. a. People can change the course of world affairs if they make themselves heard.
   b. It is only wishful thinking to believe that one can really influence what happens in society at large.
8. a. I am the master of my fate.
   b. A great deal that happens to me is probably a matter of chance.
9. a. Getting along with people is a skill that must be practiced.
   b. It is impossible to figure out how to please some people.

Source: J. B. Rotter (1971). "Who rules you? external control and internal control." *Psychology Today*, 5, 37–42. Reprinted with permission from Psychology Today Magazine, copyright © 1971 Sussex Publishers, LLC.