THE FIRST TWO YEARS: PSYCHOSOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

chapter seven
How do smiles, tears, anger, and fear change from birth to age 2?

Does a baby’s temperament predict lifelong personality?

What are the signs of a secure attachment between parent and infant?

What are opposing theories about the development of infant emotions?

Do babies benefit or suffer when they are placed in infant day care?
Emotional Development: Infant Emotions

Early emotions

- High emotional responsiveness
- Reactive pain and pleasure to complex social awareness

Smiling and laughing

- Social smile (6 weeks): Evoked by viewing human faces
- Laughter (3 to 4 months): Often associated with curiosity

Now Happy Asa
How does a crying baby become a happy toddler? A clue is here: devoted father and grandfather.

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Infant Emotional Development

Anger
First expressed at around 6 months
Is healthy response to frustration

Sadness
Appears in first months
Indicates withdrawal and is accompanied by increased production of cortisol
Is stressful experience for infants
Infant Emotional Development

**Fear**
Emerges at about 9 months in response to people, things, or situations

**Stranger wariness**
Seem as infant no longer smiles at any friendly face but cries or looks frightened when an unfamiliar person moves too close

**Separation anxiety**
Tears, dismay, or anger occur when a familiar caregiver leaves
If it remains strong after age 3, it may be considered an emotional disorder
## Ages When Emotions Emerge

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Emotions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>Distress; contentment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 weeks</td>
<td>Social smile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 months</td>
<td>Laughter; curiosity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 months</td>
<td>Full, responsive smiles</td>
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<tr>
<td>4–8 months</td>
<td>Anger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9–14 months</td>
<td>Fear of social events (strangers, separation from caregiver)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 months</td>
<td>Fear of unexpected sights and sounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 months</td>
<td>Self-awareness; pride; shame; embarrassment</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Toddler Emotional Development

Toddlers emotions

- Anger and fear become less frequent and more focused.
- Laughing and crying become louder and more discriminating.
- Temper tantrums may appear.

New emotions

- Pride
- Shame
- Embarrassment
- Disgust
- Guilt
Emotional Development

Self-awareness

• Person’s realization that he or she is a distinct individual whose body, mind, and actions are separate from those of other people.

First 4 months

• Infants have no sense of self and may see themselves as part of their mothers.

5 months

• Infants begin to develop an awareness of themselves as separate from their mothers.

15-18 months

• Emergence of the Me-self
• Sense of self as the “object of one's knowledge”
Emotional Development

Mirror Recognition

• Classic experiment (M. Lewis & Brooks, 1978)

• Babies aged 9–24 months looked into a mirror after a dot of rouge had been put on their noses.

• None of the babies younger than 12 months old reacted as if they knew the mark was on them.

• 15- to 24-month-olds showed self-awareness by touching their own noses with curiosity.
Brain and Emotions

Experience and culture
Promote specific connections between neurons and emotions
Shape functional anatomy of self-representation

Emotional social impulses
Directly connected to maturation of the anterior cingulate gyrus and other parts of limbic system
Related to development of preferences for specific others
Brain and Emotions

Learning about others: Social smile at 2 months

Every experience activates and prunes neurons; firing patterns from one axon to dendrite reflect past learning.

Research indicates that social anxiety has genetic and environmental influences.
Brain Maturation and the Emotions

Stress
Impairs brain particularly in areas associated with emotions
In highly stressful environment, babies (at 7 months) have higher cortisol levels in relation to challenges (Mills-Koonce and colleagues)

Synesthesia
Occurs when one sense triggers another in brain
Cross-modal perception more common in infants; may be basis for early social understanding
Emotional Development: Temperament

Temperament
Inborn differences between one person and another in emotions, activity, and self-regulation.
Temperament is epigenetic, originating in the genes but influenced by environmental influences and practices.

New York Longitudinal Study (NYLS)
Started in the 1960s
Found 4 categories of temperament
Emotional Development: Temperament

Longitudinal study of infant temperament (Fox et al., 2001)

Grouped 4-month-olds into three distinct types based on responses to fearful stimulation

- Positive (exuberant)
- Negative
- Inhibited (fearful)

Less than half altered their responses as they grew older

- Fearful infants were most likely to change
- Exuberant infants were least likely to change
- Maturation and child rearing has effect on inborn temperament
Emotional Development: Temperament

Do Babies' Temperaments Change? Sometimes.
Emotional Development: Goodness of Fit

Goodness of fit
— Similarity of temperament and values that produces a smooth interaction between an individual and his or her social context, including family, school, and community.

Big Five dimensions of personality
— Childhood temperament is linked to parent genes and personality
— Personality often assessed using five dimensions

Do you know what these are?
Development of Social Bonds

Synchrony
Coordinated, rapid, and smooth exchange of responses between a caregiver and an infant

Synchrony in the first few months
Becomes more frequent and elaborate
Helps infants learn to read others' emotions and to develop the skills of social interaction
Usually begins with parents imitating infants
Is Synchrony Needed for Normal Development?

Experiments using the still-face technique

Experimental practice in which an adult keeps his or her face unmoving and expressionless in face-to-face interaction with an infant.

Babies are very upset by the still face and show signs of stress.

Conclusions

Parent's responsiveness to an infant aids psychological and biological development.

Infants' brains need social interaction to develop to their fullest.
Development of Social Bonds

Attachment

Involves lasting emotional bond that one person has with another

Begins to form in early infancy and influence a person's close relationships throughout life

Overtakes synchrony

Demonstrated through proximity-seeking and contact-maintaining
## Development of Social Bonds: Stages of Attachment

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Stage</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth to 6 weeks</td>
<td>Preattachment. Newborns signal, via crying and body movements, that they need others. When people respond positively, the newborn is comforted and learns to seek more interaction. Newborns are also primed by brain patterns to recognize familiar voices and faces.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 weeks to 8 months</td>
<td>Attachment in the making. Infants respond preferentially to familiar people by smiling, laughing, babbling. Their caregivers’ voices, touch, expressions, and gestures are comforting, often overriding the infant’s impulse to cry. Trust (Erikson) develops.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 months to 2 years</td>
<td>Classic secure attachment. Infants greet the primary caregiver, play happily when he or she is present, show separation anxiety when the caregiver leaves. Both infant and caregiver seek to be close to each other (proximity) and frequently look at each other (contact). In many caregiver–infant pairs, physical touch (patting, holding, caressing) is frequent.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 to 6 years</td>
<td>Attachment as launching pad. Young children seek their caregiver’s praise and reassurance as their social world expands. Interactive conversations and games (hide-and-seek, object play, reading, pretending) are common. Children expect caregivers to comfort and entertain.</td>
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# Development of Social Bonds: Stages of Attachment

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<th>Age Range</th>
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<td>6 to 12 years</td>
<td>Cultural attachment. Children seek to make their caregivers proud by learning whatever adults want them to learn, and adults reciprocate. In concrete operational thought (Piaget), specific accomplishments are valued by adults and children. Children develop loyalty to family, community, nation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>12 to 18 years</td>
<td>New attachment figures. Teenagers explore and make friendships independent from parents, using their working models of earlier attachments as a base. With formal operational thinking (Piaget), shared ideals and goals become influential.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 years on</td>
<td>Attachment reinvented. Adults develop relationships with others, especially relationships with romantic partners and their own children, influenced by earlier attachment patterns. Past insecure attachments from childhood can be repaired rather than repeated, although this does not always happen.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Development of Social Bonds: Attachment Types

Secure attachment
A relationship (type B) in which infant obtains both comfort and confidence from the presence of his or her caregiver.

Insecure-avoidant attachment
A pattern of attachment (type A) in which infant avoids connection with the caregiver, as when the infant seems not to care about the caregiver's presence, departure, or return.
Development of Social Bonds: Attachment Types

Insecure-resistant/ambivalent attachment
A pattern of attachment (type C) in which anxiety and uncertainty are evident, as when an infant becomes very upset at separation from the caregiver and both resists and seeks contact on reunion.

Disorganized attachment
A type of attachment (type D) that is marked by an infant's inconsistent reactions to the caregiver's departure and return.
## Development of Social Bonds: Patterns of Attachment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Name of Pattern</th>
<th>In Play Room</th>
<th>Mother Leaves</th>
<th>Mother Returns</th>
<th>Toddlers in Category (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Secure</td>
<td>Child plays happily.</td>
<td>Child pauses, is not as happy.</td>
<td>Child welcomes her, returns to play.</td>
<td>50–70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Insecure-resistant/ambivalent</td>
<td>Child clings, is preoccupied with mother.</td>
<td>Child is unhappy, may stop playing.</td>
<td>Child is angry; may cry, hit mother, cling.</td>
<td>10–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Disorganized</td>
<td>Child is cautious.</td>
<td>Child may stare or yell; looks scared, confused.</td>
<td>Child acts oddly—may scream, hit self, throw things.</td>
<td>5–10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Development of Social Bonds: Measuring Attachment

Strange Situation
A laboratory procedure for measuring attachment by evoking infants' reactions to the stress of various adults' comings and goings in an unfamiliar playroom.

Key observed behaviors
Exploration of the toys. A secure toddler plays happily.
Reaction to the caregiver's departure. A secure toddler misses the caregiver.
Reaction to the caregiver's return. A secure toddler welcomes the caregiver's reappearance.
Development of Social Bonds: Insecure Attachment and Social Setting

Findings
Harsh contexts, especially the stresses of poverty, reduce the incidence of secure attachment.
Insecure attachment correlates with many later problems.

Cautions
Insecure attachment may be a sign but may not be the direct cause of those problems.
Attachment behaviors in the Strange Situation constitute only one indication of the quality of the parent–child relationship.

Correlation is not causation!
When Attachment Isn’t There

The DSM-5 includes a new diagnostic category for attachment.

**Reactive attachment disorder** recognizes that some children never form an attachment at all, even an insecure one.
Development of Social Bonds: Insights from Romania

• In early 1990s, thousands of children were adopted from Romanian orphanages. Many of these children displayed adverse outcomes.

• Research on them confirms that early experience, not genetics, is their main problem.

Agree or disagree? Why?
Development of Social Bonds: Social Referencing

Social referencing

- Seeking emotional responses or information from other people
- Observing someone else's expressions and reactions and using the other person as a social reference
- Utilizing referencing in constant and selective ways
Development of Social Bonds: Social Referencing

Parental social referencing

• Mothers use a variety of expressions, vocalizations, and gestures to convey social information to their infants.

• Synchrony, attachment, and social referencing are all apparent with fathers, sometimes even more than with mothers.
Infant Day Care

Proportion of infants in nonrelative care varies markedly from nation to nation. Involvement of relatives other than mothers varies. Worldwide, fathers are increasingly involved in infant care but this varies by culture. Paid leave for mother and fathers (and grandmothers!) varies by nations. In the U.S., paid leave varies by states and employers.
Theories of Infant Psychosocial Development

Psychoanalytic Theory

Freud: Oral and anal stages
Oral stage (first year)
Anal stage (second year)

Potential conflicts
Oral fixation
Anal personality (disputed by current developmentalists)
Theories of Infant Psychosocial Development

Psychosocial Theory

Erikson: Trust and autonomy stages

Trust versus mistrust
- Infants learn basic trust if the world is a secure place where their basic needs are met.

Autonomy versus shame and doubt
- Toddlers either succeed or fail in gaining a sense of self-rule over their actions and their bodies.
Theories of Infant Psychosocial Development

Cognitive Theory

Working model: Set of assumptions that the individual uses to organize perceptions and experiences

- A person might assume that other people are trustworthy and be surprised by evidence that this working model of human behavior is erroneous.

- The child's *interpretation* of early experiences is more important than the experiences themselves.

- New working models can be developed based on new experiences or *reinterpretation* of previous experiences.
Theories of Infant Psychosocial Development

Sociocultural theory
Infant emotional development shaped by entire social and cultural context

Ethnotheories
Theory underlying values and practices of a culture but is not usually apparent to the people within the culture

Personal theories
Theories arising from family and personal history

Stranger Danger
Some parents teach their children to be respectful of any adult; others teach them to fear any stranger.
Theories of Infant Psychosocial Development

Proximal parenting
Caregiving practices that involve being physically close to the baby, with frequent holding and touching

Distal parenting
Caregiving practices that involve remaining distant from the baby, providing toys, food, and face-to-face communication with minimal holding and touching
Proximal and Distal Parenting

Research findings (Keller and colleagues)

• Notable cultural difference exists with newborns and older children. Culture is especially pivotal for the proximal/distal response.

  • Distal parenting results
    – May produce children who were self-aware but less obedient
  
  • Proximal parenting results
    – May produce toddlers who were less self-aware but more compliant
Proximal and Distal Parenting

Summary

• Every aspect of early emotional development interacts with cultural beliefs, expressed in parental actions.

• No culture anywhere encourages caregivers to be indifferent to infant emotions.

• Cultural differences may become encoded in the infant brain, called “a cultural sponge” by one group of scientists.
Types of Nonmaternal Care

Family day care
Child care that includes several children of various ages and usually occurs in the home of a woman who is paid to provide it.

Center day care
Child care that occurs in a place especially designed for the purpose, where several paid adults care for many children.
Usually the children are grouped by age, the day-care center is licensed, and providers are trained and certified in child development.
Effects of Infant Day Care

Infants who were not exclusively in their mothers' care were less advanced emotionally at age 5 (Fergusson et al., 2008).

Center care is beneficial for low-SES families (Peng & Robins, 2010).

There are many cognitive benefits of early day care, especially in language development.
Effects of Infant Day Care

Infant day care is detrimental when the mother is insensitive and the infant spends more than 20 hours a week in a poor-quality program.

Family income, culture, religion, and education affect choice of care and child development.

Some studies found boys are more affected than girls.
The Same Situation, Far Apart: Instead of Mothers

Casper, Wyoming (left), is on the opposite side of the earth from Dhaka, Bangladesh (right), but day care is needed in both places, as shown here.