A POLYFOCAL ANALYSIS OF THREE THEORIES OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT AND THEIR APPLICATION IN EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

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Social concerns regarding the lack of morality demonstrated by many members of society have led to discussions focused on the role of education in promoting a moral society. One of the recurring issues is the scope, or limits, of an educator's involvement in fostering the moral development of students.

This enquiry was undertaken to reveal which, if any, moral attitudes and behaviors are learned or acquired in the first five years of life and how those responsible for rearing and educating children generate, foster or inculcate moral values, beliefs and attitudes.

Three theories of child development were studied focusing on the moral component of each in order to delineate patterns and principles of moral development. A polyfocal analysis of each theory was undertaken and theoretical constructs applied to practical experiences encountered by those caring for young children.

This study will hopefully indicate the manner in which moral development components can be included in an early childhood curriculum.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Introduction

During the past two decades much educational research has been concerned with infancy and early childhood. Sociologists, economists, political and community leaders, labor and business groups and parents have expressed interest in and concern with learning in the early years which provides the foundation for later learning and development. Concern regarding the value of pre-school education, the effects of day care upon child development, the advantage or disadvantage of deliberate intervention and priorities for curriculum planning have brought into focus the need for deliberative studies of these issues. Cognitive and psychomotor development in the early years are two areas which have received much attention but, to date, little attention has been given to the development of moral attitudes and behaviors in the early years.

Social concern regarding the seeming breakdown of cultural and social standards in individual and group behaviors is beginning to focus attention on the formation and development of pro-social, ethical and moral attitudes and behaviors. Differing life-styles; the rising crime rate among children and adolescents; the

alienation of people from their culture, work and each other; and the continuing exposure of unethical political and professional activities have all contributed to social awareness and concern regarding the moral attitudes and behaviors of members of a modern society. These concerns have brought about discussion of where, how and when pro-social, moral attitudes are formed, learned, taught or instilled and who is directly responsible for the moral development of the future generation.

The role of an early childhood educator in fostering the moral development of children is a topic which requires further debate. It is generally agreed that the educator of young children is involved, whether deliberately or unintentionally, in perpetuating particular values and morals. How each individual educator fosters or inculcates certain moral aspects; the age at which a child's moral development can be shaped or encouraged; whether moral development can be incorporated into the early childhood curriculum without encroaching on parental rights are areas needing further study.

Lickona points out that any attempt to foster moral development or change moral behavior in others indicates a belief in a moral hierarchy; a belief that some attitudes or actions are more moral than others and therefore more desirable.

> One cannot ask parents to rear their children in such a way as to foster altruism and compassion, and bystanders to intervene to help persons in distress without some criteria for judging their moral tendencies to be better than cruelty and indifference.[1]

An educator deliberately engaged in generating and fostering moral development by changing the attitudes and behaviors of young children has, by implication, formed opinions and made judgments regarding that which she deems as moral. These opinions and judgments must be founded in substantive theoretical knowledge, and the application of the theoretical knowledge undertaken with sensitivity to the practical aspects of family and social philosophies and cultural values.

Studies focused on the precursory elements of 'good' or 'bad' behaviors, pro-social or anti-social activities and moral or immoral attitudes by researchers such as Rapaport (1951), Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957), Allport (1955), Aronfreed (1968), Bandura (1963), Berkowitz (1964) and Maccoby (1968) indicate that child-rearing practices and early childhood education have much influence on the moral characteristics of an adult. The areas of research have included the study of child

[1]T.Lickona. "Critical Issues in the Study of Moral Development and Behavior" in T. Lickona, Ed. Moral Development and Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1976 p.7

rearing practices, socializing techniques, modelling, educational methods and techniques, curriculum and philosophies.

As a contribution to this continuing debate this study will focus on the early stages of moral development and ways in which moral development can be positively fostered by adults caring for young children under six years of age. If educators deliberately undertake to change or foster the moral attitudes and behaviors of young children, it is important for them to determine the particulars of the moral development expected to take place, the age and stage at which to introduce moral development components as part of an on-going curriculum and which particular methods or procedures may be employed to bring about the desired development or change. Considerations concerning the feasibility of introducing moral development as a component of an early childhood curriculum must encompass not only the ideals put forth in theories but also the concrete, practical situations likely to be encountered in the organization and structure of a school or center, and the ability of the staff to understand and actualize a given theoretical format.

In the words of Wilson,

> Unless we are remorselessly clear-headed, we shall only be blown around by the winds of educational

> fashion and our own fantasy. Moral education is the last subject in the world that ought to suffer from this.[1]

The clear-headedness referred to by Wilson would seem necessary for all adults engaged in the care and education of young children. Each adult involved influences, to some degree, the development of the children. If the child's moral development is considered as a component of total development, the importance of clear-headedness by those responsible for providing the learning environment becomes a significant issue.

This study will delineate some of the major influences on developmental changes in a child's moral attitudes and behaviors and in turn clarify some possible methods an early childhood educator may use to inspire, promote or govern a child's moral development.

Polyfocal Analysis.

The determination of specific procedures, timing and method to be used to initiate, direct or enhance moral development must be founded on acceptable, defensible theory. Yet there are certain problematical aspects of the relations of theory to practice of which one must be wary in seeking theoretical guidance for

[1] J. Wilson, " The Study of Moral Development" in G.Collier, J. Wilson and P. Tomlinson, Values and Moral Development in Higher Education. London: Croom Helm 1974 p.19

practice.

Schwab, in his paper "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic." points out the difficulties encountered when theory is used to solve educational problems. He suggests that " Theory by its very character, does not and can not take into account all of the matters which are crucial to questions of what, who and how to teach."[1] He states that a theory is concerned with generalities which offer an abstract overview of a particular theorist's doctrine, whereas educational problems are practical in nature and refer to particular situations. Theories are therefore not always readily adaptable to practical concerns.

Every theory, Schwab maintains, is limited by the narrow focus taken by the author. Each theorist constructs his theory from a particular point of view, ignoring some facets of study and emphasizing others.

> Theory acheives its theoretic character, its order, system, economy, and above all, its very generality only by abstraction from such particulars, by omitting much of them.[2]

[1]J.J.Schwab, The Practical: A Language for Curriculum. Washington D.C. A National Education Association Publication. 1970 p.1

[2]J.J. Schwab,"The Practical: Arts of Eclectic." School Review Vol.79 1971 p.494

The breadth of most subject matters, if taken in its totality, makes it impossible to be completely covered by one theory.

> Each separated and simplfied subject of a behavioral science is still so complex that it affords scope for application of numerous principles of enquiry. Each such principle makes its own selection of the data relevant to its enquiry. Each one effects its own subordinates among the facets of the subject. Each asks different questions of the subject and gives rise to different answers.[1]

The outcome of myopic studies is, according to Schwab, a plurality of theories, each of which is incomplete because of its limited focus and method of enquiry.

However it cannot be denied that theory has the potential to offer insights and arguments, direction and methodology and the wealth of research, to enable the practitioner to bring the problem to a defensible solution.

Schwab suggests that the dilemma of applying theoretical considerations to particular, practical situations can be solved by a polyfocal analysis of distinct theories. He refers to 'arts' which can be used to analyse a theory.

[1] J.J.Schwab, The Practical: Arts of Eclectic p. 503

These arts

> will disclose what a given principle of enquiry does to its subject, what emphasis it induces, what perspective it takes, what it leaves clouded obscure or ignored.[1]

A student needs to master the principles of a theory, becoming knowledgeable of the terms and distinctions, and of the strengths and weaknesses inherent to the theory. The mastery and knowledge brings a clear view of the theory and this clear view allows the theory to be seen in relation to the practical problem and gives direction to the application of a theory, or parts of a theory, to the concrete educational situation.

According to Schwab, no one theory can be considered the right theory for resolution of educational problems. Several theories may be seen as equally worthy of consideration and of value within the focus, mode and method of each particular theory's framework.

Thus, each educational study, which has as its goal a practical component, must take into account the limits of any one theory and explore a plurality of theories which assume differing modes of enquiry. A study of moral development in the early years of life should not be confined to one theory but encompass a variety of doctrines and determine the practical con-

[1] J.J. Schwab, op. cit., p.503

siderations of each.

A polyfocal analysis of theories concerning the moral development of young children undertaken for this study follows the guidelines suggested by Schwab. Each theory will be analysed to determine the limits of view, the focus of interest and the methodology and range of enquiry. Examination regarding the relevance of the theory to the moral development of young children will include possible application of the theory to practical situations.

The scope of this study will be limited to three theories concerning moral development, namely the psychoanalytic theory, the behavioral theory and the cognitive-developmental theory. These three theories have been infleuntial in the development of particular philosophies and methodologies of child-rearing and teaching with chaining influences in socialization techniques, teaching theories and social expectations.

Psychoanalytic theory of moral development with its emphasis on personality development, offers a doctrine widely accepted in the fields of psychiatry and psychology. This theory has influenced educational methodology and curriculum considerations in societies where the development of personality characteristics are thought to be of some importance. Psychoanalytic

theorists suggest that personality characteristics are formed early in life and are the foundation for moral or immoral attitudes and behavior in adulthood.

Behavioral theory attends to the manner in which a child's attitudes and actions are shaped by significant others and the means by which social controls achieve the desired aims. Using controlled research techniques behaviorists demonstrate how adults, consciously and unconsciously, determine the types of social behavior which will become personality characteristics once they are established. The theory has gained acceptance in many institutions where the primary goal is to change behavior in a pre-determined direction. Teachers and educators have been encouraged by behavioral theorists to use behavioral techniques in their interaction with children to further academic learning and to control social behavior. Thus it is suggested that moral development is conditioned learning and the use of behavioral techniques is thought to determine the values and morals of society.

The cognitive-developmental theory of moral development focuses primarily on the intellectual aspects of moral development. The attainment of moral characteristics and values is believed to be dependent on, and limited by, the intellectual ability of each individual and the stage of cognitive development, which may be

attained. The theory demonstrates the sequential development of particular aspects of moral thought and reasoning and outlines levels of expectations.

Educational curriculum for young children is changing in perspective in most schools because of the current wide acceptance of cognitive-developmental theory and is therefore important to any study of curriculum development and educational methodology in the moral domain.

A polyfocal analysis of the above three theories is undertaken to indicate whether any or all of the theories can be directly applied to concrete, practical and specific situations encountered in the care and education of young children under six years of age. The study will clarify for the curriculum planner the value of the theory, its method, terms and spirit of doctrine, in the context of the known concrete particulars of specific children or specific institutions. It will indicate whether an early childhood educator has a responsibility to include moral development in the scheme of developing 'the whole child' and preparing the child to become a moral person.

Can the problem of fostering moral development in young children be solved by the direct application of a particular theory? Can the generality of each theory be brought to bear on the particularity of a practical

situation? These are two questions which this study is intended to answer.

It is anticipated that each theory will suggest means, methods and procedures to fulfill the goal of fostering moral attitudes and behaviors in young children. Each theory is expected to indicate which moral values are of concern and the outcome each theorist anticipates or projects through prescribed environmental and human interaction and relationships.

This will enable an educator to design and implement a curriculum which will include consideration of the moral development of a child using defensible theoretical constructs and methodology.

Chapter Two

Psychoanalytic Theory

Psychoanalytic Theory

The psychoanalytic theory was formulated by Sigmund Freud as an attempt to scientifically explain and chart the complexities of the function and nature of human development. He founded the theory on the data and knowledge he acquired from the treatment of neurotic and psychotic patients and included the data of thoughts and feelings as well as data of observable behavior.

Freud stressed that all humans develop particular characteristics during particular stages of development. Moral characteristics were assumed to develop in the same sequential manner and moral development was seen as an inherent component of personality. Human morality, or man's moral character, is shaped by the interplay of a developing personality with external cultural moral codes and expectations.

In order to follow the discourse of moral development expounded by psychoanalytic theorists, it is necessary to understand the underpinnings of psychoanalytic theory and the relationship of personality development to moral attitudes and behaviors. An outline of personality development, according to psychoanalytic theorists, will therefore be presented first, followed

by a study of Freud's theory regarding the development of morality.

Freud's psychoanalytic theory has been further developed, and sometimes changed, by many psychoanalytic theorists over the years. In order to give a more recent perspective of this issue, the views of psychoanalytic theorist, Eric Erikson, will also be discussed in detail.

The writings of Freud, and his discussions of psychoanalytic theory are both lengthy and complex. In broadest outline he believed that biological instincts were the predominant influence in the development of an individual's personality. He held as his basic assumption the principle of 'psychological determinism'. No behaviors are accidental but are determined by fundamental psychological factors or processes. These psychological factors and processes are activated by internal drives and react to, or act upon, the immediate environment thus making the drives a necessary condition for activity and learning.

Freud believed that the drives were psychosexually determined, and that the development of personality follows a sequence of psychosexual stages. Each individual experiences the same sequential stage patterns but differences in personality development are brought about by the variety of interactional environments encountered.

It is the satisfactory resolution of the drives which fosters development of a mentally healthy personality; non-resolution of the drives or over-gratification of the drives hinders development and causes differing degrees of mental instability.

Somewhat oversimplified, the Freudian theory of development is based on the belief of a tripartite arrangement of interlinked maturational 'structural concepts' of personality named the id, the ego and the superego. (Freud 1929). Each of these structural concepts has a distinct function but they are inexorably linked in the development of a personality.

The id is governed by the instinctual drives and represents the unorganised source of primitive instinctual impulses. The instinctual drives initiate excitation from different regions of the body and energise all human behaviors. Baldwin (1968) described the instinctual drives as having two properties, the source and the external aim. The source is the region from which excitation arises in response to an instinctual drive. Each instinctual drive has the aim to reduce excitation and obtain gratification as a result of the reduction.

The motivation to obtain gratification is seen as the 'pleasure principle'. Psychoanalytic theorists

feel that all humans are motivated in everything they do to seek as much pleasure as possible and to avoid or minimize pain. The id initiates excitement which thus brings about tension and the individual seeks ways to remove the tension. The pleasure principle implies that all behavior is solely for the pleasure of tension reduction. During the first months of life, the id governs all activities and immediate reduction of instinctual drive is the only concern of the organism.

After the first few months of life the id is tempered by the development of the second structural concept, that of the ego. The ego is viewed as the source of conscious, intellectual and self-preserving measures which enable the organism to maximize gratification of instinctual drives by utilizing influences and resources of the outer world. Development of the ego enables the organism to delay, inhibit or restrain the instinctual drive in the interest of greater gratification or more intense satisfaction. Ego controls include those which prevent unconscious thoughts from becoming conscious thus restricting some behaviors, guiding behaviors toward an acceptable goal and imposing logical thought and determining the importance of each aim. As Baldwin states, "The ego raises the threshold for drive discharge ... the individual can tolerate the

frustraion of an ungratified drive."[1]

In order to provide the controls the ego must observe and become aware of the external environment. It must accept the realities of the environment and exercise what Freud terms the 'reality principle'.[2] The pleasure principle is hindered by the realities but the controls of the ego are determined by the reality principle and offers most lasting and satisfying pleasures.

The development of the superego brings about the development of further controls and restrictive elements within the personality structure. Whereas the ego focuses on the 'self-preservation' and gratification of instinctual drives, the superego is concerned with the internalisation of social moral values and ideals which are thought necessary for the preservation of a culture, or the species. According to Freud, the superego becomes a dominant force in later stages of childhood and represents the restrictions placed on the id by social and cultural values incorporated by an individual. Freud states that, "the superego, in the form of con-

[1]A. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc. 1967 p.319

[2]S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol.XXII Trans. J. Strachey, London: Hogarth Press. 1932 p.76

science', sets itself as the harsh guardian over the ego and the tension of the conflict expresses itself in the sense of 'guilt'."[1] He further states that each individual's superego reflects the individual's concept of social expectations and cultural values and often demands more rigid and higher standards than are actually expected by society.

The source and the force of the instinctual drives, as represented by the id, become controlled, as the individual matures, by both the ego, which aims at drive gratification, and the superego, which aims at incorporating the restrictions and controls of the social milieu. The aims of an individual's id, ego and superego are often contradictory and humans unconsciously but continuously try to balance and contain the conflicting pressures and demands of the id, ego and superego. Freud suggested that a balance of these three components is necessary within a human psyche if mental health is to be sustained.

The concept of 'stages of development' was central to Freud's theory of development. He felt that the maturation of the id, ego and superego is dependent upon

[1]S. Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents. Trans. by J. Strachey. New York: W.W.Norton & Co. Ltd. 1961 p.70

a parallel developmental process which he defines in stages of psychosexual determinants. One of the characteristics of Freud's psychoanalytic theory was the assumption that sexuality is the basic and most influential drive. Labelled the 'libido' by Freud[1], this source of energy is the love and life instinct which is governed by the pleasure principle. In his later writings, Freud introduced the concept of the 'aggressive drive' with the hostile and death instinct expressed by destructive behaviors. Thus the two driving forces of human dynamics are libidinal energy and aggressive energy; life instincts which contribute to the survival of the individual and the species, and death instincts which may be directed at self or others and contribute to the destruction of the individual and the species.

The psychosexual stages are five in number, namely the oral, the anal, the phallic, the latency and the adolescent stages.

The Oral Stage.

The first psychosexual stage following birth is the oral stage which is divided into two succeeding sub groups, those of the 'oral dependent' and the 'oral aggressive' (Baldwin 1967), or the 'oral erotic' and the

[1]S. Freud, op. cit., Vol XXII p.96

'oral sadistic' (Gregory 1968). During the oral dependent period infants motivated by the hunger drive obtain libidinal satisfaction from the stimulation of the oral region through sucking activities. Gratification of the drive is attained when the infant is provided with food which is ingested by sucking. If the hunger drive is not reduced by food, Freud suggests that the libidinal drive receives satisfaction through sucking activities unrelated to food-intake. Thus, a hungry baby will find some short term satisfaction in non-nutritional sucking such as tongue or thumb sucking.

In the early months of life the objects which provide gratification are considered of value only while the instinctual drive is not satisfied. The importance of the object dissipates as drive excitation is reduced and the need satisfied. According to Freud, the lack of an infant's ability to distinguish external objects apart from the personal excitations and sensations is that of 'primary narcissism', indicating the infant feels that the universe centers on gratification of self-drives.

The oral dependent period of development is one of total dependence on others for satisfaction. The inability of the human infant to satisfy his drives through his own actions necessitates a passive, dependent posture.

Gregory (1968) points out that over or under-gratification at this stage can lead to a fixation at, or regression to, this oral need and is sometimes expressed in later life by over-eating, alcoholism, smoking and drug addication. Personality characteristics thought to develop due to deprivation of oral satisfaction are passive frustration and resentment which in turn lead to a mistrustful attitude and a pessimistic personality in later life. Adequate gratification enables the child to develop a more trusting attitude towards others and life which in turn develops an optimistic attitude with a willingness to engage in the many facets of human interaction.

The second sub-stage, the oral aggressive, occurs at the time when the growth of the teeth activates the infant's biting and chewing activities. Baldwin (1958) points out that the eruption of teeth is, in most societies, concomitant with the process of weaning and can be a time of frustration and anger for the infant.

The biting activity is both a source of satisfaction as well as an aggressive act. Lack of gratification of the oral aggressive drive manifests itself in adult personality characteristics of attacking, sadistic tendencies expressed by such behaviors as nail-biting or verbal sarcasm. If the child's oral sadistic

tendencies are increased too early or too violently, his character formation will be dominated by sadism and ambivalence. Unsatisfactory feeding increases oral-sadistic behaviors.[1] Lack of satisfaction experienced at the oral-dependent stage increases the need for satisfaction at the oral-aggressive stage and personality development becomes out of phase or unbalanced even during the first year of life. Adequate satisfaction enables the individual to enjoy human interaction, increase his confidence and reach out for continuing pleasant experiences.

The Anal Stage

The second stage of development, according to Freud, is the anal stage which indicates that the focus of pleasure shifts from the oral region to the anal region of the body. The area around the anus becomes the most important part of the body.

Anna Freud (1935) suggests that the beginning of the second stage occurs at the time when adults in the child's world become less tolerant of the lack of self-control with respect to excretory functions, start a training programme to enable the child to control these functions and inculcate the concept of cleanliness.

[1]M. Klein, The Psychoanalysis of Children. Trans. by A Strachey. New York: Delacourte. 1975 p.125

The pleasure which a child experiences when activating the sphincter muscles directs attention to the various sensations connected with the anal region, and the product released. If social restrictions inhibit outward interest and activity with the feces, the child may express the desired sensations in more legitimate games with mud, clay, sand and water. Baldwin points out that many psychoanalytic writers

> disagree with the assumption that the anal stage is inevitable or maturational. They are more inclined to attribute the shifts to the fact that during the period of toilet training, attention is focused upon anal functioning and the anal region becomes the center of frustrating and rewarding experiences.[1]

Whether or not the anal stage is maturational can be debated but children in most societies go through a period of toilet training and psychoanalytic theorists agree that the experience of this period have a significant impact on the child's interaction with adults in his immediate environment.

Freud felt that the stimulation of bowel movement or the retention of the bowel movement and the accompanying distention causes anal excitation and stimulation, affording libidinal gratification. These

[1]A. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc. 1967 p. 359

stimuli lead the child to become aware of self, the ability to withhold or control part of self and the impact this containment of self has on others.

The child becomes aware of the emotional response which he can elicit from a parent who is overly concerned about cleanliness. Lacking parental attention, the child may find that attention is forthcoming if he controls the anal functions by either refusing to release the feces and therefore becoming physically ill through chronic constipation or by rejecting toilet-training and remaining incontinent.

The passivity of the oral stage diminishes and the young child overtly expresses the desire to be more actively involved in achieving autonomy. Independence may be expressed by the child's determination to control anal functions for his own pleasure and gratification. The growing awareness of self during the anal period is expressed by the child in independence-seeking behaviors which often conflict with the controls of the interacting adults. The desire for autonomy conflicts with the adult controls but is also complicated by the child's continuing need for adult care and love which creates an additional dilemma for the child. He cannot fulfill his desires for autonomy without giving up the support system which is necessary for survival.

It is at this stage that the child usually loses the sense of omnipotence associated with the earlier stages and becomes aware of negative emotional experiences such as the sense of shyness or shame. Baldwin states,

> Shyness ... is probably based on the closely related feeling of shame... which is an emotion that seems to be aroused by the combination of two environmental factors; the exposure of one's weakness, and some defect.[1]

The awakening of the sense of self, the thrust for autonomy and the imposed controls of adults makes the child aware of limits created by his own inability to function in a self-sufficient manner. He lacks some of the necessary skills not only to undertake self-initiated activities but also to please the significant adults who assert the first demands. Needing adult's love and attention he experiences shyness or shame when their expectations are not met.

In his search for the root causes for certain behaviors, Freud determined that certain personality traits could be traced to the gratification or non-gratification of the instinctual drives of the anal stage. These included the giving or retaining of possessions; attitudes of charity or miserliness; the concept of love as a possession of an object either human

[1]A, Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. p.362

or inanimate; and obsessiveness with cleanliness or determined slovenliness. He viewed the anal period as a time when clusters of personality traits such as obstinacy, stubborness and ritualistic persistency, orderliness, excessive cleanliness, propriety and tidyness, parsimony, miserliness, avarice and hoarding become established and set a pattern for later adult behaviors.

The Phallic Stage

The third psychosexual stage of development is the phallic stage, sometimes referred to as the early genital stage. It is the period when a child's source of libidinal pleasure shifts from the anal region to the genital region. Interest and curiosity center on sex-related cavities and the process of procreation and birth.

The child becomes interested in all facets of life and the life cycle and is, according to Freud, motivated by a great desire for knowledge and investigation about the sexuality of self and others. The quest is self-directed and does not seek adult assistance. Freud says

> The sexual investigations of these early childhood years are always conducted alone; it signifies the first step toward an independent orientation of the world, and causes a marked estrangement between the child and the persons of his envir-

onment who formerly enjoyed his full confidence.[1]

Conflicts arise when the child's inquisitiveness is found unacceptable by adults and the child is then torn between the need to explore and learn, and the threat of loss of parental/adult love if he continues his exploration. Anxieties are aroused and resolution of conflict and resulting anxieties is necessary if the child is to avoid later neurotic personality disorders. (Anna Freud 1935).

Freud emphasized the importance of the penis to both sexes; a valued possession of the male and the object of concern for the lack of the organ by the female. One of the character traits believed to be the outcome of unresolved phallic concerns is that of jealousy. This trait Freud explained

> ...plays a far larger part in the mental life of women than of men and that is because it is enormously reinforced from the direction of displaced penis-envy.[2]

The female becomes aware of the importance of the penis in the continuation of the life cycle and feels that she is missing a vital organ. Envy of the male is first experienced but this is later replaced by the female

[1]S. Freud, Sigmund Freud: The Standard Edition Vol. XIX London: Hogarth Press. 1961 p.250

[2]S. Freud, op. cit., p.250

'possessing the male' and expressing jealousy if the possessed male is shared by another female such as mother, friend or child.

The psychosexual drives of the phallic period force the male child to experience the conflicts of what Freud has termed the "Oedipus complex", and the female child to experience the conflicts of the "Electra complex". These complexes refer to the love and interest a child directs to the opposite-sexed parent and the hostility the child directs to the same-sexed parent who is regarded as a competitor in the fight for affection and attention.

The period is believed to be a tumultuous, emotional one with a deep, far reaching impact on development. Freud explains,

> The Oedipus complex is such an important thing that the manner in which one enters and leaves it cannot be without effects. In boys the complex is not simply repressed, it is literally smashed to pieces by the shock of castration ... in girls it may be slowly abandoned or dealt with by repression.[1]

If the sexual, hostile feelings toward parents are not resolved they are displaced in adulthood to others of the same sex, or authority figures in society. Gregory

[1]S. Freud, "Some Physical Characteristics of the Anatomical Distinctions Between the Sexes", in G. Lind, Theories of Personality New York: J. Wiley & Sons Ltd., 1965 p.17

states

> The displacement may be seen in the case of sexual deviation, from adult individuals onto various less dangerous substitutes; or in the redirection of fear resulting in the development of various phobias.[1]

The instinctual drives of the phallic stage and the Oedipus complex bring the child into direct conflict with social and cultural limits to expressed behaviors. The desire of the male child to replace the father as the mother's sexual partner or the female child to replace the mother projects a relationship which is considered incestuous in most cultures. Society cannot permit these relationships and the child must therefore suppress the Oedipus drives. It is the development of the superego which enables the child to introject cultural and social standards and values, and to suppress instinctual drives directed at opposite-sex parent.

Thus, the turbulent period of the phallic stage sees the development of personality traits which influence an individual's ability to engage in satisfactory relationships throughout life. Unresolved conflicts become repressed but continue to govern personality development and responses to environmental experiences.

[1]I. Gregory, Fundamentals of Psychiatry. London: W.B. Saunders 1968 p.54

The Latency Stage

The later periods of latency and adolescence are beyond the scope of this paper which is concerned with young children, and are therefore only discussed briefly.

The phallic period is followed by the latency period which is a less explosive time for the child and is primarily a time when the acquisition and understanding of social values are parallelled with the development of cognitive and motor skills. It is during this period that the superego changes its function from authoritarian control to wise guidance. As social contacts are increased the child is more able to form a self-determined value system.

The Adolescent Stage.

The relatively calm stage of the latency period is followed by the turmoil of adolescence when, according to Freud, the sexual drives of the phallic period are intensified but the love object becomes non-incestuous and finds social and cultural approval.

Freud's theory of psychosexual development postulated that an individual's development is determined by the interaction of biological energy, which is the source of all basic drives, and the human and physical environment encountered. The environment may provide

gratification or non-gratification but the individual's personality is shaped by the encounters. He believed that humans were motivated by a life instinct and a death instinct though often one of those instincts was usually more dynamic than the other.

A healthy personality, according to Freud, is one that is able, in maturity, to establish and maintain a sexually gratifying love relationship with a member of the opposite sex; to use talents for the good of self and to be able to cope with life relatively free from conflict and anxiety (Freud 1963). The healthy person is one who is emotionally mature.

Psychoanalytic theory was conceived by Freud but has been modified somewhat by various theorists: Jung, Adler, Fromm, Horney, Sullivan, Klein and Erikson are a few of those who have enriched, modified or refocused some of the Freudian concepts.

One of the most influential writers in the field of child-rearing and education is Erikson. As a psychoanalyst, Erikson became interested in the developmental stages of infants and young children and the life long influence of infantile patterns of development. Accepting the basis of Freud's psychoanalytic theory, Erikson extended the range of Freud's stages and broadened the conceptual base.

His contribution to psychoanalytic theory has

modified Freudian theory in two main ways. First, Erikson viewed society and the social structures experienced by the individual as important influences on development and behavior outcomes. Secondly, he expanded Freud's five stages of psychosexual development to eight stages of psychosexual development with each stage demanding particular psychosocial interaction for satisfactory resolution. All stages are dominated by three sequential modes of interaction and assimilation, yet there is still the same emphasis on the psychosexual dynamics, and the assumption that the psychosexual drives are the forces which activate behavior. A healthy personality develops, according to Erikson, as

> a gradually accruing sense of identity, based on the experience of social health and cultural solidarity at the end of each major childhood crisis, promises that periodical balance in human life which- in integration of the ego stages - makes for a sense of humanity.[1]

It is the balance of inner dynamics with the demands of social encounters which enables humans to function satisfactorily throughout life and the balance must be established at particular periods in early childhood.

Erikson emphasized that there are critical periods for particular dimensions of development and uses the

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. New York: Norton Press. 1950 p.412

generic concept of 'mode' to describe this phenomena. During the first months of an infant's life the incorporative 'mode 1' is the form of the infant's interaction with the environment. The infant assumes a passive expectation that the environment will provide basic needs for life. The passive intake, according to Erikson, incorporates more than the oral needs and includes the visual and tactile encounters. The incorporative 'mode 2' involves an active posture towards the incorporation. This period coincides with the erruption of teeth and the development of motor skills which enable visual and tactile movements to be more controlled. Thus a baby will bite a nipple, reach and grasp a desired object and focus the eyes on a moving object.

Erikson suggests that the mode of incorporation dominates the first stage of development which he calls 'basic trust versus mistrust'. It is during this period that the foundation of attitudes of trust or mistrust is established which "remain the autogenic source of both primal hope and doom throughout life."[1]

Erikson names the second stage of development 'autonomy versus shame and doubt'. The established mode is that of elimination and retention which may

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. New York: Norton & Co. Ltd. 1950 p.80

dominate the child's interaction with the environment until the third year. The focus of the child's attention is centered on the acts of 'letting go' and 'holding on' and arouses contradictory impulses. There is a growing awareness by the child of an ability to control certain activities and to assert the self in an interactive exchange.

Thus a sense of separateness develops and deliberate attitudes of cooperation or negativism are mobilized. As the child's cognitive and motor abilities develop, it becomes possible to control the eliminative and retentive desires, selecting the time, place and expected response. It is the environment's reaction and interaction with the contradictory behaviors which determine developmental outcome. Significant adults (usually the parents) interact in ways which encourage or frustrate the child's thrust to self-awareness and self-assertiveness. Erikson points out that satisfactory resolution of the elimination and retention conflict is necessary if the previously acquired sense of trust is to continue. Lacking trust, the child will use the new found controls and abilities in negative ways to compensate. Retention of a bowel movement may be used as ammunition to be shot at people and becomes an aggressive act intended to wound the parent or significant adult and to gain autonomy.

The child desires to control his world and himself but does not have the means or the power to achieve his aims. Instead he must depend on environmental control to ease the conflict that the thrust for autonomy brings about. If environmental controls are not available or are applied too harshly, the child will develop a sense of shame and doubt. This, in turn, gives the child a poor self-image and he begins to feel negative about himself, his relations with others and his ability to function in the world.

Unresolved conflicts lead to a variety of disturbances, according to Erikson, such as paranoiac fears of threats from behind or of body substances; physical maldevelopments such as a spastic rectum or rigid or flabby muscular tone; compulsive systemization in order to control the environment and complete dependence on others are some of the outcomes anticipated. This stage states Erikson,

> becomes decisive for the ratio of love and hate, cooperation and willfullness, freedom of self-expression and its suppression. From a sense of self-control without loss of self-esteem comes a lasting sense of goodwill and pride; from a sense of loss of self-control and of foreign over-control comes a lasting propensity for doubt and shame.[1]

[1] E. Erikson, Childhood and Society p.254

Adults, therefore, need to support the child's drive towards self-awareness and assertiveness and avoid continual confrontation over the acts of elimination and retention if satisfactory development is to take place.

Following the 'elimination and retention mode' the dominant force changes to the 'intrusive mode'. For Erikson, the issue of this thrid stage is 'initiative versus guilt'. Erikson expands the Freudian sexual emphasis to include intrusiveness towards all aspects of the environment which is expressed by curiosity, initiative, exploration, aggressiveness and ambulatory exuberance.

During the stage of initiative versus guilt, the child's ambulatory and genital development generates the interest and the ability to encounter the environment in an intrusive manner. There is an urge to reach out, to grasp, to encroach upon others in the desire for knowledge and experiences and this urge is supported by an abundance of physical and mental energy.

Conflicts arise when the needs of other individuals or social groups run counter to the intrusive behaviors and the child is forced to accept limits in his search for new experiences and knowledge. Aggressiveness, jealousy, competitiveness, guilt and anxiety are a few of the emotions Erikson believes are aroused.

at this time and which may become incorporated into an adult personality if gratification of the 'initiative drives' are not achieved.[1]

Whilst the interacting environment is seen to be a major influence on an individual's increase or reduction of negative emotional components of personality, Erikson felt that the child's fantasies aid the process, both positively and negatively. He included the Freudian 'Oedipus complex' and castration anxieties in the spectrum of a child's fantasy fears experienced at this time and suggested that the inclination to 'act out' or dramatize fantasies provided an outlet for the resolution of deep conflicts.

The development of the superego during this period provides internal controls which "can be primitive, cruel and uncomprising."[2] A sense of guilt is aroused by this tyrannical superego and may or may not be exacerbated by parental domination.

It is during the period of initiative versus guilt that the child needs a balance of freedom to explore, and controls to limit the range and extent of exuberant

[1] E.Erikson, op. cit., p.256

[2] E.Erikson, op. cit., p.257

activities. Unlimited freedom may lead to an uncaring, unethical behavior lacking sensitivity for the feelings of others, or to a demanding, grasping attitude. Uncontrolled freedom may also cause the child to experience overwhelming guilt, not only for actions undertaken but also for contemplation of anti-social behaviors. Resolution of conflicts at this stage would enable the child, according to Erikson, to develop a sense of moral responsibility, to engage in a variety of challenging activities and to work cooperatively with peers and adults.

The next five stages defined by Erikson are 'industry versus inferiority'; 'identity versus role confusion'; 'intimacy versus isolation'; 'generativity versus stagnation' and 'ego integrity versus despair' which occur from the latency period through mature adulthood, and are beyond the scope of this paper.

Throughout life the social environment provides interactional opportunities for the modes to find outlets and gratification. The individual child may be over-gratified or under-gratified but patterns are established and influence learning schemas and character traits. For instance, severe undergratification of the incorporative modes can lead to a basic sense of mistrust towards the interpersonal environment and will become generalized to other interactional activities by the individual through out life. Overgratification develops a high state of

dependency; as the infant does not learn self-determining behaviors, extreme frustration is experienced when other members of society do not provide the same constant and assuaging gratification.

Satisfactory gratification, on the other hand, generates a sense of trust in self, others and the physical environment. The individual is able to live in harmony with others, feel secure and in that security is able to reach out to new experiences and is willing to take risks in exploring the unknown.

The skills learned, or not learned, at each period determine the successful, or unsuccessful, transition to the next stage and may also fix certain traits which continue throughout life. Mehrabian (1971) points out that the earlier this fixation of traits occurs the greater is the degree of psycho-pathology.

Erikson expresses concern that,

> Some writers are so intent on making an achievement scale out of these stages that they blithely omit all the 'negative' senses which are and remain throughout life the dynamic counterpart of the 'positive' ones.[1]

He lists the strengths of each stage as

> drive and hope,
> self control and will power,
> devotion and fidelity,

[1] E.Erikson, Childhood and Society p.174

affiliation and love,
renunciation and wisdom,
production and care.[1]

These strengths are balanced by the negative qualities of each stage, namely mistrust, shame and doubt, role confusion, isolation, stagnation and despair. The stages must be studied with wide vision keeping the total configuration of stages in mind. It is the balance of gratification and challenge which enables a child to develop a healthy personality achieving an active, enlightened, productive approach to life. "The problems and conflicts of feeling and desire are never solved in entirety", but resolution of conflicts at critical periods determines character tendencies which guide and influence all further personality development.[2]

[1] E.Erikson, Childhood and Society p.236

[2] J.Rosenblith & W.Allinsmith, The Causes of Behavior. Boston: Allyn & Bacon Ltd. 1970 p.289

Summary

Psychoanalytic theory views the development of an individual's personality as a continuous, sequential process which starts at birth. Psychosexual drives motivate activities which aim to gratify the drives and bring about a state of satisfaction.

The first six years of life are viewed as important years during which an individual acquires character traits which dominate all later adult behavior and attitudes of that individual. The determination of these character traits is due to the degree of equilibrium attained from human and physical environmental responses to the instinctual drives.

The growth pattern of the id, ego and superego, and the nature of the balance established are dependent upon the specific interactions between the individual and the environment. As Cohen states,

> The form taken by personality is based on biological structural principles and the developmental experiential history of each individual ... and is determined by the quality of integration achieved in the regulation of distinct and conflicting biological, social and psychological factors that become salient at different periods of life.[1]

[1]S. Cohen, Social and Personality Development in Childhood. New York: Macmillan Pub. 1976 p.27

Stages of development are seen as common to all humans but each individual develops through his interaction with his own environment. Thus, each individual develops as a unique personality with particular characteristics, or character traits, which determine all behaviors.

A healthy personality is one which has, to a great degree, experienced gratification of the psychosexual drives and developed socially acceptable methods of experiencing gratification throughout life. This healthy personality possesses Erikson's positive ego qualities and ego-integrity which enable that personality to act in a mature manner. The relationship of a mature personality, ego-integrity and moral attitudes will be examined in the next chapter which studies moral development as a component of psychoanalytic theory.

Moral Development Components of the Psychoanalytic Theory

The science of psychology is often defined as a positive discipline concerned with observing, describing, classifying and, if possible, explaining the facts of mental development. Those engaged in objective observations of expressed behaviors often state that they are not concerned with moral values as such and make no judgments on the values of behavior observed. On the other hand, psychoanalytic theory, though based on objective observations, has certain moral implications; and much of Freud's social rejection was brought about by the impact his theory had on socially accepted values.

Psychoanalytic theorists assume that persons functioning in a range of behaviors acceptable in society are acting morally and that the stronger one's personality organization is, the more able it is to stand the feelings of frustration, anxiety and temptation. (Allinsmith 1970). An individual's character traits determine his moral attitudes and behaviors. It is assumed that desirable character traits are those which support rational, socially acceptable behaviors such as consideration and concern for one's fellow man; ability

to respect social laws; and assuming responsibility for one's own decisions and actions. A state of security within a personality is necessary in order for that personality to look outward and concern itself with others; an attitude of giving and sharing generates positive interaction; respect for self will foster respect for others; and independence supports standing firm on values and beliefs.

Flugel (1945) points out that psychology cannot ignore the issue that values are part of man's mental make-up and cannot be isolated. A psychologist or a psychiatrist is engaged in an 'applied science'; she/he is assuming that certain mental states are more valuable than others and certain moral characteristics are deemed desirable for man and society. The study of child development, with the indications of cause and effect, offers the viewpoint that certain personality traits are more desirable than others, and certain behaviors express moral attributes which are part of an individual's personality. Flugel states,

> Moral action is action in accordance with values. Fundamentally, these values are determined by our biological nature and our innate psychological equipment.[1]

[1]J. C. Flugel, Man, Morals and Society. London: Penguin Books Ltd. 1945 p.23

Psychoanalytic theory stresses the impact of environmental influences in the early stages of personality development which, in turn, patterns much of the moral thought and moral action in later life. As Rieff states,

> Not only did Freud assume that certain parts of organically locatable experience can be taken for the whole, he further assumed that there is a defining tension between part and whole, between biological and moral component.[1]

The moral components of personality, as propounded by the psychoanalytic theorists, are determined by the interaction of the psychosexual drives and the encountered environment. The moral character of an individual is shaped by the degree of satisfaction the drive receives.

An individual's moral attitude and behaviors are outcomes of particular character traits and personality organization which are formed during the stages of development. Moral development is intrinsically linked to personality development and the moral precepts and principles adopted by an individual are inescapably influenced by the tripartite maturational process of the id, the ego and the superego interacting with the environment.

[1]P. Rieff, Freud: The Mind of the Moralist. New York: Doubleday & Co. Inc. 1959 p.48

Moral attitudes, behaviors and appraisals are formed by individuals within the parameters of their own unique personality. The degree of satisfaction an individual derives at a given stage of development determines the response, interpretation, action and direction of all later conflicts, moral issues and dilemmas. Only intensive intervention in later life can re-organize or change the character traits established in early childhood.

Psychoanalytic literature implies that the ability to function in a moral manner requires particular character traits. Aggressive-destructive, sadistic, narcisstic and acquisitive components of a personality are viewed by psychoanalysts as components that would hinder, if not totally inhibit, a person's ability to function as a moral individual. Furthermore, an individual who remains throughout life dependent on others and does not achieve independence or autonomy cannot acquire the ability to make moral decisions or take a moral stand in a conflict. The formation of character traits such as a loving, trusting disposition, generosity, compassion, autonomy and non- aggressivity which are viewed as positive to personality development by psychoanalytic theorists, should therefore be developed in order for a person to think and behave as a moral person.

Erikson emphasizes the positive as well as the

negative dynamics between the child and his environment. The child develops personality traits early in life and whether these traits are deemed morally valuable or unacceptable depends on the cultural definition given to the traits. Erikson stresses the value of an individual's ability to develop ego-qualities, stable enough to enable the individual to find his own integrity. Ego integrity is the outcome of successful resolution of the 'nuclear conflicts' delineated by Erikson in his stated eight stages of development, generating,

> ...love of the human ego as an experience which conveys some world order and spiritual sense, no matter how dearly paid for .... ready to defend the dignity of his own life style against all physical and economic threats.[1]

In order to achieve ego-integrity a human needs to experience satisfactory resolution of the psychosexual drives. Each individual requires some supportive positive response from the environment.

The helplessness of the human infant in the first years of life necessitates care and maintenance by an attending adult. During the oral stage the libidinal drives obtain gratification only through the interaction of others and the infant is dependent on this support.

[1] E. Erikson, Childhood and Society New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc. 2nd. Edit. 1963 p.368

The id is the motivational force which demands satisfaction but Freud stresses that "the id knows no judgment of values; no good or bad; no morality".[1] and desires gratification without understanding of consequences.

The infant, experiencing gratification and satisfactory resolution of the oral drives, develops a sense of well-being and dependence on a satisfactory environment. A sense of trust developed during the first year of life provides the foundation for trust in others as well as a trust of self, others, one's own organs and the immediate environment. A sense of well-being and trust motivates the infant to reach out, try and test the immediate environment which includes the humans who provide the means of gratification. Positive attitudes foster cooperative, caring behaviors.

Favorable environmental and social experiences which provide gratification for the instinctual drives and lessen anxieties are thus thought to be necessary conditions for the promotion of a mature and genuinely moral person as defined by Erikson. The environment, both physical and human, must foster 'basic trust' in an

[1]S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol.XXII Trans.by J. Strachey, London: Hogarth Press 1964 p.74

infant if the foundation of ego-integrity is to be established.

Lack of adequate gratification of the psychosexual oral drives leads to what Freud terms a 'fixation' of character traits which hampers the later development of moral attributes. These traits are greed, avarice, unrealistic omnipotence or over-demand of care and attention. Once these character traits are established they influence all aspects of functioning in adult life. Relationships with others are inadequate because the trait of greediness causes others to be thought of as possessions to be owned; the need to hoard becomes a desire without ability to enjoy that which is hoarded or the interest in sharing assets.

An infant who cannot trust the environment to provide adequate care and gratification sometimes spends much energy and effort demanding that oral drives are met or finds other means to satisfy the drive in some degree. These behaviors may become habitual if the environment is continually lacking in adequate libidinal satisfaction. Thus, an infant who is not provided with adequate nourishment will develop behaviors which reach out and retain that which is available (greed) and will develop a sense of anxiety. The anxiety generated by the lack of nourishment leads to behaviors intended to

avoid further stress such as hoarding and miserliness. These character traits continue throughout life and hinder, if not completely inhibit, a person's concern for the needs of others in society.

An environment which generates a continuous sense of fear, anger and anxiety for the infant provides a basis for the formation of negative character traits. Unassuaged fears and anxieties experienced during the first year of life can lead "to impulsive self-will or exaggerated self-coercion".[1] Adult compulsions, obsessions, vengeful manipulation, depression and masochism are some of the traits believed to be brought about by infant fears and anxieties experienced during the oral period.

Lack of trust leads to an adult personality which is governed by the lack of ability to make decisions in crisis situations; tendencies to bend to mob rule; inability to work in group situations for the social good and the inability to trust self to survive unpleasant experiences.

Bowlby (1953) suggests that the lack of opportunity for the baby to form an attachment to a mother, or mother figure, in the first year of life is one of the

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society p. 409

most significant aspects of deprivation leading to the development of an 'affectionless character' with anti-social attitudes. A society which is concerned with the general good of its members should therefore give consideration to the care given to infants by the interacting adults.

During the anal stage of psychosexual development, the child becomes aware of his ability to retain or give, control or not control, and differentiates between self and non-self. If a basic sense of trust has been established during the first year of life, the new experiences and sensations become the source of exciting activities of interest and experimentation.

Given an environment which supports the child in his trial and error approach with his new-found abilities the personality develops a sense of autonomy, the desire to give of self and possessions, a willingness to share and attitudes of cooperation; all of which are suggested by psychoanalytic theorists as being components of a morally functioning person. Respect for the child's interest in the functions of elimination and tactile exploration, which often includes excretory matters, enables the child to encounter the anal period with the foundations of trust complmented by a positive sense of self, a willingness to explore further and an interest in exploring relationships with the interacting

adults.

It is during this period, according to Erikson, that a child develops the potential for love, cooperation, self-control and positive self-esteem if he is given a supportive environment. Respect for self brings a sense of well-being which, in turn, enables the child to explore further and test the environment. The drive for autonomy generates positive attributes of 'holding on' and 'letting go'.

> Thus to hold can become a pattern of care; to have and to hold ... to let go can become a relaxed "to let pass" and "to let be".[1]

Careful handling of the toilet-training processes enables the child to retain the sense of control of self while at the same time responding to societal demands. Anna Freud (1935) points out that adult standards of cleanliness and propriety are often in conflict with the child's interests and occupations which may result in a battle of wills. Adults must accept the child's attitudes with understanding if the child is to develop habits of cleanliness without attendant negative reactions and possible fixations.

Lack of satisfactory resolution of the anal drives leads, according to Freud, to negative character traits

[1] E. Erikson, Childhood and Society p.251

which do not generate moral or ethical behaviors. The development of a personality whose central characteristic is meanness or miserliness with regard to both material possessions and self denies the ability to be caring and concerned about the needs of others. A personality which exhibits 'holding-on-to', hoarding, selfish, uncooperative behaviors will have little respect for the rights or desires of others or the needs of society and therefore lacks the constructs of moral attitudes and actions.

If the drive to independence is overwhelmed by too great a degree of adult control the child will become 'fixated' and throughout life will be dependent on the will of others. In later life this type of personality is unable to make autonomous decisions and succumbs to the will of a group or dominating persons. This may or may not be detrimental to society but demonstrates a lack of autonomy in an individual's character and the lack of ability to make justifiable decisions.

Erikson believed that lack of autonomy gave an individual a propensity for shame and doubt which "is essentially rage turned against self".[1] If a child experiences continual shame and doubt in his early years

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p. 252

the negative responses projected to the outer world and the reponses projected internally become established as characteristic traits in later life. As an adult, life's tasks are approached with the expected outcome of shame and doubt, and expectation of failure hinders self-initiated action.

The phallic stage of development is seen as a turbulent, conflicting and anxious period in the life of a child. Freud believed that the degree of satisfaction obtained by the instinctual drives at this time have a deep, far-reaching impact on development. An adult's relationships with peers, sexual partners, authority figures and own children are influenced by resolution or non-resolution of the phallic drives including the Oedipus conflict.

It is during this period that, Freud believed, the superego was developed, introducing a moral component to the id-ego interplay. The child's psychosexual drives conflict with the demands of society. There is, states Freud

> the urge towards happiness, which we usually call 'egoistic', and the urge towards union with others in the community, which we call 'altruistic'.[1]

[1]S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol.XXll p.61

The instinctual drives of the phallic period which are directed to the opposite-sex parent are considered incestuous and non-acceptable in most societies. The superego becomes the guardian against these anti-social instincts through the conscience and the accompanying feelings of guilt. Freud states,

> The superego applies the strictest moral standard to the helpless ego which is at its mercy; in general it represents the claims of morality, and we realize ... that our moral sense of guilt is the expression of the tension between the ego and the superego.[1]

The superego develops through the process of what Freud terms 'identification'. The child 'identifies' with a person with whom he has established a close emotional attachment, and the child's superego imitates the superego of this person. The most influential adult at the phallic stage is usually the opposite-sex parent but Freud points out that the child may 'identify' with others who assume a parental or semi-parental role.

The function of the superego is seen as one of an internal controller which provides the self with a conscience; a vehicle to perpetuate society's values, traditions and ideologies. It succeeds in its purpose when is directs the id-ego from displacement outwards to

[1]S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol. XXll p.61

objects and persons to displacement inwards to the inner self.

Some psychoanalytic theorists suggest that the formation of the superego is neither quite so abrupt nor so late in appearing. According to Klein (1948) the process of the development of the superego is a continuous, experiential one beginning in the oral stage. The projection of impulses is followed by the introjection of impulses to the internal self in a series of outward and inward experiences. Thus, the development of conscience proceeds slowly from the late oral stage to maturity.

The early beginnings of the superego are thought to be determined by the child's acceptance of an ego-ideal, and some psychoanalytic observers believe that behaviors indicating the development of an ego-ideal may be observed as early as the second year of life. Freud stressed that one important function of the superego is to act as

> the vehicle of the ego-ideal by which the ego measures itself, which it inculcates, and whose demand for ever greater perfection it strives to fulfil. There is no doubt that this ego-ideal is the precipitate of the old picture of the parents, the expression for the perfection which the child then attributed to them.[1]

[1]S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol. XXll p. 65

The parent who is extremely severe and models a tyrannical ego-ideal fosters a severe, oppressive, demanding superego in the child which may stifle personality development or invite rebellion, repression of social feelings and severe guilt. The guilt may be assuaged by harsh punishment but often leads to the development of neurotic traits of a destructive nature. A sense of inferiority and guilt is also attributed to the unrealistic standards set by the superego which demands perfection as the goal.

The formation of a weak superego is ascribed to environmental factors, the most influential of which is weakness in the moral authorities (usually the parents) whose 'introjection' gives the superego its first content but whose model for the ego-ideal is less than satisfactory. Baldwin (1967), Klein (1948), Isaacs (1930) and others suggest that a weak or inadequate superego allows the child's hostile, aggressive, anti-social and anti-self impulses to be expressed in destructive behaviors or overwhelming fears of uncontrolled impulses. A child without adequate control of a superego needs the protection of adult controls which should be consistent if the eventual development of a superego is to be satisfactory.

Inconsistent ego-ideal models generate an

environment which confuses the development patterning of the superego. The inconsistencies may be expressed by one person, by two opposing personalities within a family or by changes in environmental factors such as occurs when a young child is placed in a series of foster homes. The inconsistent model initiates the development of an erratic, schizoid personality which is unable to form a reliable, dependent system for the self-evaluation of actions and attitudes.

The most positive ego-ideal is generated by parents or significant adults who offer consistent controls and moral guidance in keeping with the developmental abilities of the child. The projection and introjection process can then proceed in a satisfactory manner forming a realistic superego.

The development of a superego which is neither dominant nor subservient to the id is necessary for a balanced, healthy personality which is able to function as a productive member of a social group.

Freud believed that there was a distinct difference in the quality of moral development between the sexes.

> I cannot evade the notion (though I hesitate to give it expression) that for women the level of what is ethically normal is different from what it is in man. Their superego is never so inexorable, so impersonal, so independent of its emotional origins as we require it to be in men. Character traits which critics of every epoc have brought against women - that they show less

> sense of justice than men, that they are less ready to submit to the great exigencies of life, that they are more often influenced in their judgement by feelings of affection or hostility - all these would be amply accounted for by the modification in the formation of their superego.[1]

He sees males engaged in bringing societies together to further civilization whereas females oppose civilization by their strong interests in the family unit.

> Women represent the interests of the family and sexual life. The work of civilization has become increasingly the business of man, it confronts them with ever more difficult tasks and compels them to carry out instinctual sublimations of which women are little capable.[2]

The moral capabilities of the two sexes are different both in range and achievement due to the basic instinctual drives needing different gratification and resolution.

Freud adhered to the deterministic viewpoint of personality development and believed that fixation of attitudes, habits and behaviors were caused by unresolved conflicts occurring at one or more of the psychosexual stages of development. Throughout life the 'egoistic' urge and the 'altruistic' urge need a balanced interaction to sustain a stable, social, satis-

[1]S. Freud, Theories of Personality New York: J. Wiley & Sons Inc. 1965 p. 17

[2]S. Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents. Trans. by J. Strachey. New York: W. W. Norton & Co. Ltd. 1961 p. 50

fying personality. However, Freud was convinced that "man's judgements of value follow directly his wishes for happiness"[1] which conflict in most instances with the values of civilization generating a continuing struggle between man and his society.

Erikson parallels the phallic stage of development to his third stage of initiative versus guilt. Conflicts between an individual and society provide the arena for either taking initiative for actions or developing a sense of guilt over contemplated activities.

If the child is able to satisfactorily resolve phallic conflicts he can "gradually develop a sense of moral responsibility ... and find pleasurable accomplishment ... in caring for younger children".[2] There is also potential for cooperative attitudes and the child becomes willing, even eager, to work with others in the attainment of a goal.

Unresolved conflicts may result in overwhelming guilt expressed by destructive behaviors, jealousy, intolerance of others or patterns of withdrawal from conflicting situations.

[1]S. Freud, Civilization and Its Discontents. p. 92

[2]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p. 256

The turbulent period of the phallic stage of development is therefore seen not only as a period when character traits of a moral nature are being formed but also as the time when behaviors are controlled or guided by the development of the superego and the emergence of a conscience and a sense of guilt.

As the child enters the latency period he takes with him many experiences, resolved and unresolved conflicts, basic character traits and an individualistic perspective of his world. As he becomes more physically and intellectually able and he is ready for more challenges, it is time in most societies when the child appears ready for instruction, either in family work or in a school system.

Given a supportive environment the child begins to take his place as a functional member of society and endeavors to become accepted in his own right. There is a demonstration of cooperativeness, a willingness to share and the desire to please significant adults.

The less turbulent nature of the latency stage enables the child to integrate the outcome and resolutions of the phallic stage. Positive experiences of socialization during the phallic stage enable the child to become more involved with others and more deeply committed to sharing responsibilities and work load.

Erikson notes that it is also a time when unresolved conflicts from preceding stages continue to affect the personality of the child and the place he takes in his social group. If the child has not developed a basic trust, a degree of autonomy and initiative, further experiences of an unsupportive environment can lead to a sense of inferiority, a lack of self-confidence and a poor self-image. The child will believe that he is incapable of making a contribution either to his own world or to the world of others, become apathetic and disinterested in accepting a challenge. Often an internal world provides an escape from the social world and the individual withdraws into the world of self. The danger Erikson says, is " man's restriction of himself and constriction of horizons".[1]

Further stages in development are believed to generate further re-assessment or reappearance of the unresolved conflicts of the early years. These stages, however, are beyond the scope of this paper.

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p. 260

Analysis of Psychoanalytic Theory

In order to apply theoretical considerations to practical activities justifiably, Schwab suggests that each theory be analysed and assessed to determine the particularity of the theory. It is assumed that awareness and knowledge of a theory's scope, method of enquiry and limits will clarify the possible utilization of the theory for the solution of practical pedagogical concerns. Using Schwab's suggested approach in the development of a theory for practical application the psychoanalytic theory will be analysed to determine the focus of enquiry, the methodology and structure employed and the range and limits of the scope of enquiry.

Psychoanalytic theory stems from Freud's medical approach to the treatment of neurotic and psychotic patients. Realizing that his medical and neurological background was insufficient to help all of his neurotic patients, Freud used hypnosis as a part of his treatment procedures. This gave Freud an insight into the patient's unconscious, repressed feelings and this insight gave direction to the development of techniques

enabling the patient to report every thought and every idea (Baldwin 1967).

In the treatment of adult neurotics, Freud found that when the determinants of symptoms were followed up the route "regularly led back to early childhood".[1] After extensive study of the outcomes of his work, Freud developed his theory of psychosexual stages of development. The data obtained through observation and treatment of neurotic individuals was seen as indicating the processes of normal development. Thus Freud assumed that the patients he treated were typical of all humans, and drives, responses, behaviors and attitudes could be generalized from the pathalogical to the normal.

The question of whether the sequence and direction of normal, human development can be theorized through data obtained from observation and treatment of neurotic individuals is one which is still debated by many.

Maslow rejected this assumption and stated,

> If one is preoccupied with the insane, the neurotic the psychopath ... one's hopes for the human species become perforce more modest ... more scaled down ... the study of the crippled, unhealthy specimens can yield only a cripple psychology.[2]

[1]S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol. XXII p.147

[2]A. Maslow, Motivation and Personality. New York: Harper Bros. 1954 p.180

The study of the mentally sick is valuable but not sufficient to provide a true picture of mental health.

Many of Freud's concerns seem bound by his culturally myopic viewpoint. His views on incest, the authoritarian father figure and masculine superiority reflect the social and cultural perspectives of his era and his milieu. Graham (1972) suggests that Freud's notion of conscience was based essentially on 'conditioned anxiety'which stressed the negative sanctions, authoritarian stances and sexual fears of his immediate society.

The emphasis of the theory on the instinctual drives and the affective development of the individual further limits the theory. It neglects the role that cognitive development, the acquisition of language and the function of the intellectual deliberation has in determining moral attitudes and values and overcoming undesirable personality traits. Freud suggested that changes in an individual's character traits took place only with direct intervention strategies on the part of psychoanalysis. The possibility that an individual's cognizance of his weaknesses or faults may generate self-inspired change through deliberation, reasoning and intellectual intervention is neglected.

Baldwin points out that the complexity of the theory and the psychoanalytic emphasis on thoughts and

feelings poses problems for those attempting to undertake empirical testing. He offers as an example,

> the hypotheses that all children of all cultures experience the Oedipus complex and castration fear is an empirical statement that may well be disproved. At the same time, its disproof would not invalidate the remainder of the theory. If it turns out that only particular groups of children have castration fears, then the theory is inaccurate in certain respects but its basic structure is not seriously affected.[1]

The validation of the methods used in the development of the theory is further complicated by the psychoanalytic theorists' rejection of tests conducted by scientists who are not themselves psychoanalysts. Thus those who, by virtue of their profession, subscribe to the truth of the theoretical underpinnings assert that they are the only professionals able to prove the validity of the theory.

Notwithstanding the dilemma of validation, Freud's psychoanalytic theory has been accepted and established in Western societies and has provided a foundation for other theoretical considerations in related disciplines such as psychology, sociology, pedagogy and anthropology. The terminology introduced by Freud has become implanted in everyday social communication, expressed in the arts and forms the basis of many related theories.

[1]A. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. p.375

The range of Freud's interest is both wide and complex. He was a prolific writer and his publications encompassed most facets of human and social behavior. The volume of output is somewhat marred by the lack of consistency in methodology. His writings range from scientifically tested statements to mystical generalizations, and critics have pointed out the lack of consistent terminology and the confusion caused by the lack of clarity of some of the conceptual statements.[1] The scope and complexity of this theory indicates the difficulties which may be encountered when applying theory to practical situations.

Freud himself stressed the importance of psychoanalytic theory to child-rearing and education but foresaw difficulties in application. Acknowledging his neglect in this area he felt confident that his daughter Anna would make up for his omission.

> We realize that the difficulty of childhood lies in the fact that in a short span of time a child has to appropriate the results of a cultural evolution which stretches over thousands of years, including

[1]The editors of Freud's work acknowledge this problem in their notes in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol XXVI Trans. J. Strachey. London: Hogarth Press 1953-1957

> the acquisition of control over his instincts and adaption to society. He can only achieve a part of this modification through his own development; much must be imposed on him through education.[1]

The editor of Freud's collected papers, Strachey, points out that the German word 'erziehung' originally used by Freud in the above quotation includes the wider meaning of 'upbringing'. Thus parents are seen as 'educating' their children; preparing them for their social and cultural role within the framework of the family. Parents, or parent-substitutes, have the task of helping a child control his instincts. "Education must inhibit, forbid and suppress the drives."[2]

Anna Freud (1935) suggested that parents and teachers must become more knowledgeable of the psycho-approach to child-rearing and education. She pointed out that teachers caring for small children are constantly interfering with a child's pattern of behavior but are not always able to classify or treat the behavior with scientific judgment and urged all those caring for young children to become more familiar with psychoanalytic theory.

How a parent would suppress and inhibit a child's

[1]S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol XXII p. 149

[2]S. Freud, op. cit., p. 151

insincts without causing the harm brought about by the suppression is never clearly stated by either Anna or Sigmund Freud. Anna Freud states that external controls must be offered by parents and teachers but indicates that adults must also be aware of the child's needs and the instinctual force of activities and behavior. She felt those responsible for the upbringing and education of children must respond to the development of the personality as well as the development of the intellect, but leaves the teacher and parent to develop this theme.

Although the theory covers a wide range of issues, and is complex in structure, the impact on child-rearing practices has been substantial. Focus on the development of the affective components of personality and the implications for education, (Rogers 1961, Axline 1964, Moustakas 1966, White 1966, Leeper 1970, Hendrick 1975), has directed more attention to the determinants of affective development during the first years of life.

The importance of positive affective components in personality structures on an individual's moral character has been reassessed by moral development researchers. (Allport 1955, Peters 1966, Wilson 1975, Simpson 1976 and others). Wilson includes many affective components in his analysis of moral functioning and suggests that the development of the affective domain is an area most often neglected by moral educators.

Psychoanalytic theory offers extensive guidance on the determinants of personality development. Those who use the theoretical constructs to determine their aims and methodology when designing a program to foster the development of moral attitudes and behaviors should also become cognizant of the limited perspective, the misconceptions which may have been brought about by the study of neurotic patients and the complexity of such a diverse, wide ranging theory.

Summary

The psychoanalytic theory of personality development propounds in detailed complexity the components which determine the direction and form of each individual's character. The innate motivational drives, the intensity of those drives, the sequence and the changes in behavior which occur and the influence of environmental interaction on the development of individuals, are all viewed as determinents of personality development. The theory encompasses many facets and is wide in scope. It stresses the importance of the early years as the time when characteristic traits of a personality are formed and the influence of those traits on moral attitudes and behaviors.

It would appear that the psychoanalytic theory, the body of knowledge of personality development, and the terms and distinctions which this theory used can be of value in practical matters concerning the development of moral individuals. Awareness of the limits of the theory; the perspective of Freud's view; the use of data of neurotic and psychotic patients in forming the theory; the focus on affective development and neglect of the intellect; and the complex expansion and modification to Freud's theory put forth by other psycho-

analysts would enable an educator of young children to deliberate on the need to use the theoretical proposals and constructs with caution. The educator should also be aware of the need to include the principles and methodology of other theories in order to encourage and foster optimal development of children.

Practical Application of the Psychoanalytic Theory of Moral Development in Early Childhood Education

The emphasis given by psychoanalytic theorists to the influence of experience encountered in the first five or six years of life on all later personality development and functioning, demands the attention of educators working with young children. If society is concerned about the welfare and moral conduct of tomorrow's citizen, then the importance of the quality of care and attention given to young children becomes an issue which cannot be ignored.

Both Freud and Erikson refer to the parent, or parent-substitute, as undertaking the role of authority figure, guardian, model, object for satisfactory reduction of instinctual drives, ego-ideals and the perpetuator of social and cultural values. This list indicates areas which must be studied with regard to child care and child-rearing.

The study of psychoanalytic theory with regard to moral development directs attention to the formation of certain personality characteristics during particular stages of development. Some of these characteristics

are viewed as the affective foundation for moral attitudes and action. If satisfactory psychosexual development is experienced and the characteristics of generousity, willingness to share, trust in self and others, independence, and concern for others become part of an individual's personality then it is assumed that this individual would have the affective foundation, the personality characteristics, needed to lead a moral life.

Conversely, if unsatisfactory psychosexual development is experienced and the characteristics of meanness, miserliness, unwillingness to share, mistrust of self and others, dependency and selfishness become the components of an individual's personality, then it is assumed that this individual lacks the necessary components to lead a moral life.

Early childhood educators undertake the role of parent-substitute while children are in their care and should therefore be prepared to assume the responsibility of fostering the development of children along the aforementioned lines. Hymes points out that concern for development of the child includes deliberate efforts to change behaviors and that this is the task of education.

> The inescapable fact is that every day care center, whether it knows it or not, is a school. The choice is never between custodial care and education. The choice is between planned or unplanned

education, between conscious or unconscious education, between bad education and good education.[1]

The number of hours the child is away from his parents and cared for by others will determine, to some extent, the non-parental influence on the child. In Canada, children in residential care have little or no contact with parents; children in day nurseries, day care centers and reception schools may spend up to ten hours a day, five days a week, with adults other than their parents; children in nursery classes, nursery schools and kindergartens may spend as few as six hours a week or as many as thirty hours a week with adults other than their parents.

It is with regard to the early childhood educator's role as a parent-substitute and the nurturer of all facets of development, that application of psychoanalytic theory of moral development to the practical will be considered.

Babies as young as one month old are sometimes placed in residential centers, or for a full day, five days a week in a day care center. Therefore, consideration of practical concerns must begin with the oral stage of development. During the first months of life

[1]J. Hymes, Teaching the Child Under Six. Ohio: Charles E. Merrill Pub. Co. 1968 p. 30

the inability of the baby to activate his own satisfactions and gratifications for the resolution of instinctual drives necessitates reliance on others. The educator should assume responsibility to respond to the baby's needs and provide a physical and psychological environment which is conducive to satisfactory resolution of the instinctual drives. This in turn would, according to psychoanalytic theory, enable the baby to establish a sense of trust in the environment and the nurturing adults, and provide the foundation for the later development of positive social relationships and mature social interaction.

Mussen, Congar and Kagan (1956) stress that the phenomena of trust does not depend on the quantity of food offered to satisfy the oral drives, but on the quality of care given when feeding takes place. The baby needs gentle, human contact and stimulation in order to build the first trusting social relationship. Thus, each baby should be fed cradled in an adult's arms; held comfortably by a caring adult who is able to give attention to the task of feeding the baby. During the feeding period stimulation, in the form of smiles, verbal interaction and stroking, should be given, communicating warmth, love, caring and security. The baby should never be left in a crib or a playpen to feed himself by sucking on a bottle propped up to ensure the flow of liquid. The

nutritional and oral needs of the infant, the manner in which solids and new tastes should be introduced and the possible distress which may be experienced by the infant during feeding, are some of the fundamental areas of knowledge which the educator must be familiar with if satisfactory experiences for the baby are to be provided.

Erikson stresses that the oral stage is one of 'incorporation' which "dominates the behavior of all zones, including the whole skin".[1] The baby's whole body is hungry for physical and psychological stimulation. Provision for this stimulation should therefore be provided during the baby's non-feeding, non-sleeping periods. Bathing and changing activities offer opportunities for the adult to provide verbal and tactile stimulation with consistent techniques which will generate a sense of security for the baby. The environment must also respond to the baby's needs if a sense of trust is to be fostered. Adults must ensure that the baby is physically cared for; is warm, clean and comfortable; and give attention to adequate light and shade, atmosphere and safe clothing and equipment. The baby should not be left crying for any length of time nor have hunger needs unassuaged because of schedules or lack of staff. Lack of attention

[1] E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p. 14.

to the baby's needs fosters mistrust and the feeling that the world cannot provide a security from hunger and pain. The psychological needs of the baby must also be given attention. Adults caring for babies must provide a loving, caring, cheerful environment and respond to each baby verbally, physically and emotionally.

Adults caring for infants must also be knowledgeable of the incorporating oral drive which includes the desire to bite, to take and hold onto things (during the first year of life). The eruption of the first teeth and the weaning of the infant from a liquid diet to more solid foods bring anxieties which must be handled with care. The kind of foods, and the method by which they are introduced, must be planned carefully to ensure the acceptance of the new experience by the infant.

The quality and quantity of adult attention an infant receives during his waking hours depends to a great extent on the number of adults caring for the infant; the ratio of infants to adults is generally considered adequate if two educators are responsible for not more than seven infants. The responsibility for assuring that the ratio is adequate must be assumed by all those involved in running an institution which undertakes the care of infants.

Erikson points out,

> A drastic loss of accustomed mother-love without proper substitution at this time can lead to acute infantile depression or to a mild but chronic state of mourning which may give a depressive undertone to the whole remainder of life.[1]

The research findings of Bowlby (1952), Goldfarb (1943) and others indicate that inadequate, inconsistent care-experience encountered by the infant in the first year of life hinders social relationships and may lead to the development of an 'affectionless character' who is anti-social and lacking a social responsibility. Bowlby felt that 'maternal deprivation' would occur if no 'major substitute mother' was available or if the care-giver was unable to meet the child's basic needs.

Erikson also stressed the need for the infant's care-giver to provide consistency, continuity and sameness of experience. A survey of the staffing of day care centers and nurseries suggests that the practical realities of administering these institutions make it difficult to provide consistent, continuous care. Too few staff, lack of financial resources, inadequately educated staff and parent demands all contribute to inadequate care. It thus becomes important that the educator be aware of, and sensitive to, the infant's

[1] E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p.80

psychosexual needs and be prepared to optimize the social and physical experience in somewhat less than ideal circumstances. This may be attained by constant appreciation of the physical and human environment affecting the infant, knowledge of the infant's developmental needs and sensitivity to the possible stressful situations an infant may experience.

Communication between all those who have responsibility for the infant such as parents, educators and administrators must be established. In this way the methods, routines, policies, philosophies, attitudes and values of the adults working with and for the infant can be discussed and ground rules agreed upon. Thus, caring experiences designed to resolve the tensions arising from the oral drives of the infant are established and acted upon with consistency and continuity.

The anal period of development, whether considered from Freud's maturational stance or the toilet-training period of other psychoanalytic writers, also demands the serious consideration of the educator. Two distinct features are assumed to influence the development of personality; one the attitude towards giving and retaining, the other the thrust of interdependence versus dependence. How the toilet-training procedures are planned and acted upon determines the child's

attitudes of giving and retaining. Unrealistic standards of cleanliness, harsh punishment for lack of control, misunderstanding of the interest a child shows in his excretions, shaming of the child for non-compliance with adult demands, and too great an emphasis placed on toilet-training can lead to hostile, uncooperative attitudes, miserliness, obsessiveness with cleanliness or determined slovenliness and a possible concept of self and the body as a shameful thing.

Careful handling of toilet-training and associated behaviors and sensitivity to the child's physical and psychological needs can aid a more positive development of personality. These positive attributes are ability to give and accept love, an attitude of giving both of self and objects, cooperative behaviors and the beginning of a positive feeling regarding self and self-controls.

Agreement between each child's parents and interacting educators regarding time, approach, method and expectations is important if the child's experiences of toilet-training are to be satisfactory. The educator, cognizant of the anxieties which may be generated if toilet-training is introduced too early or enforced too rigidly, should be able to establish constructive procedures and a supportive environment. Procedures may include those which allow children to observe others during toilet routines, encourage discussion and ensure

that adults offer rewards for success. A supportive environment would offer pleasant, secure and safe facilities with child-sized equipment all located to ensure ease of accessibility and supervision.

The child's need to learn more about the excretory substances by tactile exploration requires patient handling by understanding adults. Suitable, and more socially acceptable outlets must be provided to allow tactile exploration to take place. Anna Freud (1938) emphasized the importance of offering the child tactile experiences which would satisfy the interest in 'holding in' and exploring his feces. Mud, sand, clay, water and paints are some of the materials which she suggested would enable the child to explore in more socially acceptable ways.

As the child becomes mobile the environment must respond to the child's need to explore, handle, hold on to, and reject objects. Blocks to build up and knock down, soft toys to carry around, soft balls to throw and retrieve, containers to fill and empty, and possessions which can be held on to at all times are a few of the materials which must be provided in a safe, pleasant and welcoming environment if psychosexual drives are to be satisfied.

As the child becomes more aware of self in relation to others there is a thrust towards independence and

autonomy. This desire for independence conflicts with the inability of the child to achieve the aim through the lack of physical or mental maturation or the social demands of the adults. A balance between the two opposing forces offers the child a forum for the development of independence.

Attempts by the child to do things for himself must be respected and encouraged even though the effort is time consuming and not outwardly effective. It is often difficult for an adult to watch a child struggle to put on an article of clothing such as a sock or hat, try to complete a simple puzzle or attempt to wash his hands. The adult feels either sorry for the child, lacks patience to wait for the task to be completed or is impatient with the lack of competence demonstrated by the child. These negative reactions must be avoided and the child's efforts supported if developmental needs are to be met. Patient support and encouragement is required from the adult, allowing each child to fulfil the desired goal of 'doing it myself' without emphasis on correct completion of a task.

Freud points out the dilemma of the educator during this period,

> Education must inhibit, forbid and suppress ... but we have learned from analysis that precisely this suppression of instincts involves the risk of neurotic illness ... an optimum must be discovered

> which will enable education to achieve the most and damage the least.[1]

The educator should therefore encourage appropriate independence while ensuring the safety and security of the child. What must be avoided are controls and experiences which are likely to generate shame and doubt in the child, causing a lack of self esteem, withdrawal into self, inhibition and obsession.

The educator must avoid the comparison of children and their behavior, so frequently heard from both parents and educators. Pointing out 'the winner', 'the best', 'the fastest' or directing attention to 'failures' to the less able, gives a clear message that the abilities of the less able are not adequate. Such comparisons can bring distress in the form of shame and doubt to the child and this generates feelings of worthlessness. If a child's efforts to please an adult never meet with success, the child may develop such an overwhelming sense of doubt in himself and his abilities that he will refrain from action and stop trying to meet adult expectations.

The drive for independence and autonomy must therefore be respected and supported by the educator in an environment which balances the drive for autonomy

[1] S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol. XXII p. 151

with the safety and security of the child. In order to provide the balance the educator must develop skills, knowledge and understanding to oganize and maintain a satisfactory environment. This means an environment which centers on the developmental needs and interests of the child, providing a variety of tactile, exploratory, challenging experiences in comfort and security with available adult support, attention and supervision.

Erikson states that the child needs adult controls to give assurance of protection and security,

> Firmness must protect him against the potential anarchy of his (the child's) as yet untrained sense of discrimination, his inability to hold on to or let go with discretion.[1]

Adult controls must therefore be administred with understanding of the child's push towards independence; encouraging independence whenever and wherever possible, and protecting the child from overwhelming feelings of shame and doubt.

If as Klein (1948) suggests, the child of two years begins to form an ego-ideal, projecting and introjecting social experiences, the educator must become aware of self and the ego-ideal he or she is projecting.

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p. 252

Particular confusion regarding ego-ideals arises for the child if the cultural background of the parents is different from the cultural milieu of the day care center or nursery. If parents offer little of no freedom in the home and the institution offers a great deal of freedom it is possible that the shild's behavior will express the confusion by erratic, destructive and impulsive behavior when given the comparative freedom of the institution and rebel against the hitherto outwardly accepted authority of the parents. Conversely, a child encouraged to explore in a relatively free manner in the home may be confused and frustrated if placed in a highly controlled, restrictive center. Consultation between home and center is necessary, and some agreement on goals and methods needs to be established if the child is to benefit from the experience and not become a behavior problem through confused adaptation to contrasting environments. Clear explanations of reasons for rules and procedures should be given by the staff of the center to all parents with the aim of promoting understanding.

In addition the center's administrators and educators must be sensitive to the child's need for consistency. Adults providing direct care for the child should be kept as constant as possible and all adults should offer similar standards, behaviors, values and

nurturing techniques to lessen the confusion for the child. The organizational requirements of a center often make it difficult to provide even minimal consistency but nevertheless it should remain a high priority if the needs of the child are to be met.

Another facet of consistency is the cultural and social expectations the child is exposed to. In order to support the other significant adults in a child's life the educator must become aware of, and sensitive to, the cultural and social values of the families involved. Hendrick (1975) discussed the difficulties of genuinely accepting the cultural values of others and not wanting to change the attitudes of others. In writing about nursery school teachers she says,

> Most teachers either consciously or unconsciously intend that families and children will move over to the teacher's side of the value scale and never consider whether they themselves may change and grow in the direction of the families.[1]

The educator must therefore become aware of personal values, develop sensitivity to the cultural and social values of others and work towards a mutual understanding of child-rearing practices between the home and the center. The defiant, uncooperative, negative behaviors

[1]J. Hendrick, The Whole Child: New Trends in Early Education. Saint Louis: C. V. Mosby Co. 1975 p. 151

which are typical of a child during the anal stage can then be understood and responded to consistently by parents and educators.

Understanding, consistent responses and careful guidance are needed, according to Erikson, to promote a sense of autonomy and to diminish a sense of shame and doubt in the child. He believed that not only must the child's thrust for autonomy be respected but that adults themselves should be able to demonstrate and model the sense of independence and the need for autonomy,

> A sense of righful dignity and lawful independence on the part of the adults around him gives to the child of good will the confident expectation that the kind of autonomy fostered in childhood will not lead to undue doubt or shame in later life.[1]

Thus, the educator of young children needs not only to provide an environment conducive to a child's development of independence and autonomy but must also accept the responsibility for her own self awareness and the further development of 'rightful dignity and lawful independence'.

The interaction between parent, educator and child needs to be positive, supportive and in some degree consistent but the realities of a situation often demonstrate the difficulties encountered. Many members of

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p. 254

society have been subject to a training or education by the state, a religion or a culture which has not promoted autonomy or independence. These members become the parents who cannot demonstrate or model a sense of autonomy for their children and attitudes become self perpetuating unless some form of intervention breaks the cycle. In some instances, therefore, the educator's responsibilities to the child must include interaction with parents and parent education if the child's development is to be positively fostered.

The anal period can therefore be viewed as a critical period for the development of positive personality characteristics and one which requires serious consideration regarding the quality of care given to the child. The environmental response, both physical and human, experienced by the child will govern the personality development and thus the moral attitudes and behaviors expressed later in life. Parents and educators need to be sensitive to and knowledgeable of their role in fostering those characteristics.

As the child progresses from the anal stage to the phallic stage the source of libidinal pleasure shifts from the anal region to the genital region. Awareness of the differences between sexes sets the stage for 'infantile genitality' (Erikson) and the conflicts of the Oedipus complex (Freud)

According to psychoanalytic theorists the emergence of a conscience occurs at this time. It is during this stage that the superego develops and thus becomes the guardian which applies internal control. It is the superego which provides a moral standard, makes self conscious of the drives which are anti-social and generates feelings of guilt and shame.

In many societies the child's expressed interest in genital activities and his drive for pleasure in genital stimulation is met with disapproval and punishment. Questions about the origin of babies, the anatomical differences of the sexes, the sexual activities of the parents are posed. Interest in observing the genitals of others, the enjoyment of 'bathroom jokes' and acts of masturbation are some of the outward expressions of the phallic drives which society often finds difficult to accept.

Anna Freud pointed out that society frequently responds in two negative ways. The first, through "threats of violence or injury to necessary and much prized parts of the body" and the second, through "threatened loss of parental love".[1] Both of these responses may be outwardly 'effective' but at the risk

[1]A. Freud, Psychoanalysis for Teachers and Parents. Trans. by B. Low. Boston: Beacon Press 1935 p. 61

of repression of insincts and the fostering of an overactive, tyrannical superego and an overwhelming sense of guilt. Bercowitz (1964) points out that concern for keeping or gaining the love and affection of parents cannot be a determining factor if the child has not received love or learned to live with, or want, love and affection, but neither lack of affection nor threatened loss of affection will foster positive development. Those caring for children aged four to six years need therefore to be aware of the behaviors likely to be exhibited and knowledgeable of techniques which can guide a child through this difficult period without undue suppression of the instinctual drives. Curiosity about anatomical differences must be given honest, factual, non-repressive responses. Acceptance, by the educator, of the child's interest in genital differences and sex roles should be conveyed by the educator's attitude and answers. Programs for the children should include materials and activities which would enable the child to satisfy his desire for knowledge. Curiosity about procreation can often be guided by the presence of pets in the classroom. Small animals such as hamsters, gerbils or guinea pigs having relatively short gestation periods offer opportunities for the child to observe the procreation process. Dolls, with male and female genitals, which can be undressed and bathed; unsegregated

toilet or swimming facilities and books which offer opportunities for discussion of sex-roles are a few of the things which an educator should provide. The child's questions need to be answered honestly but simply and as casually as all other questions are answered. Cooperation between parents and educators is essential if the child is to avoid the confusion of different messages and the guilt brought about by referring to discussions with one adult which are rejected as unacceptable by another. Erikson points out that the phallic stage, with its paralleling motor and cognitive development, enables the child to reach out and take more initiative in his exploration. Initiative so exciting and overwhelming that it sometimes leads the child to attempt dangerous activities and acts of aggressive manipulation. Because of this there is a need for the educator to provide a balance of opportunity and control; opportunities to explore, manipulate, control, experiment and accept challenge while protected from hurting self and others. Particular opportunities to encourage initiative can be provided by effecting the following activities: challenging physical activities which provide opportunities for climbing, sliding; running, jumping, punching, kicking and balancing; large mobile toys for pushing, pulling, steering and driving; construction materials to put together and take apart; large and small blocks for

building up and knocking down; tools for woodwork construction giving opportunities for hammering, cutting, sanding and sawing; child-size household equipment to encourage exploration of adult roles; and creative materials of many kinds including clay, sand and paint to explore and manipulate are needed to meet the child's energetic drives.

These opportunities for expression of initiative are seen as play but are serious activities for the child. Sigmund Freud, Anna Freud, Klein, Isaacs and others recognize the importance of play. Klein explains,

> The child turns the experience it has passively endured into an action performance ... in play the child not only overcomes the painful reality but is assisted in mastering the instinctual fears and internal dangers by projecting them into the outer world.[1]

The child, given such opportunities, also needs adults to control the unlimited exuberance which often accompanies initiative at this stage. To avoid undue guilt, limits must be set, clearly defined and carefully explained to the children. These limits should be enforced, kindly but firmly, and without verbal or physical abuse which fosters feelings of guilt. The educator with knowledge of child development, must be able to set

[1]M. Klein, The Psychoanalysis of Children. Trans. by A. Dtrachey. New York: Delacourte Press 1975. p. 246

the limits with consideration for age-appropriate behaviors deemed desirable in the formation of a moral person, during the anal period.

The child's drive to thrust himself into an activity must be met with an environment which provides challenging age-appropriate activities and a flexible schedule which, as far as is practically possible, enables a child to explore an activity for as long as the child's interest remains. An open schedule allowing the child opportunities to explore a variety of activities is more conducive to positive exploration than a fixed time for each activity. Children vary in their interests, attention span, emotional and intellectual responses and their need to balance active and quiet activities. A room set up with a wide range of age-appropriate activities for a relatively long period allows each child to individualize his program to suit particular needs.

The Oedipus/Electra complex brings with it the desire to prove oneself as superior to the rival and demand the favored position with the parent of the opposite sex. It is during this time, according to Erikson, that the child fantasizes his longing to be 'stronger', 'more powerful' or 'bigger' in order to compete with the same-sex parent. It is most important for the educator to provide opportunities for the child to act out these fantasies in a safe, secure environment.

Dressing up materials, puppets and toys which enable the child to act out his fantasies such as well-equipped doll's house with small doll family, an assortment of miniature toy animals including those generally associated with aggressive strength such as tigers, lions or bulls, and a variety of picture books are a few of the basic materials which should be available for the child.

The verbal expression of fantasy play must also be accepted if the child is to gain satisfaction from the experience. Adults must avoid rejection of the child's aggressive, sadistic statements and refrain from negating the verbal expression by responses such as,"Oh, you don't really mean that... little boys mustn't say things like that", or " Put the animals away ... you only pretend they are fighting."[1] The fostering of guilt is not conducive to the resolution of the conflicts experienced by the child, and the negation of fantasy statements will confuse the child and repress both expression and thought.

The development of the superego during the phallic stage brings the child into direct conflict with his instinctual drives; a division within the self between the drives of the id and the sanctions of society as upheld by the parents and educators. The child now begins

[1]Notes taken during observations. May 1979

to develop a conscience which guides his behavior but needs adult support and understanding in order to balance the extremes of over-regulation or excessive self-indulgence. A sense of guilt which is developing at this stage can be a source of extreme anxiety for the child. When a child is left by parents at a center he may feel that the loss of the parents is a punishment. The child may blame himself for the change in family life-style and in some cases will inflict self-punishment. Separation from parents therefore needs to be dealt with in a sympathetic, understanding manner, helping the child to resolve the stress experienced.

Before a child starts attending the center regularly visits with one or both parents accompanying the child should be arranged to introduce the child to the general environment and the educators who will be responsible for this child. The parent should be encouraged to stay for a period the first day, leaving the child for a short time and returning early to avoid fear of being left when other children leave. If it is not possible for one parent to attend with the child the first day an attempt should be made to have someone the child is familiar with take the place of the parent. This may be a grandparent, older brother or sister, or possibly a familiar neighbour, but should provide the child with a connection with his own world.

Hendrick (1975) points out that the educator must be prepared to deal with grief, fear and anger during the separation-anxiety period which may be overtly expressed or demonstrated through play activities. Too often the child whose grief is expressed in passive withdrawal[1] is the most neglected one and this may leave the child with non-trusting, anti-social attitudes. Acceptance of a child's emotions must be demonstrated by adults and not denied by well-meaning but unhelpful statements such as "Don't cry, you're alright now.", "Everyone is happy here so you will be happy also.", "You're not really angry, give me a little smile."[2] Separation anxiety must be acknowledged as a difficult, but normal, emotion for the educator to deal with; but one which can be overcome with reassurance and guidance towards developing relationships with others.

Adults need to provide an environment which allows for trial-and-error activities within a framework of guidelines which demonstrates to the child that the adult is not abdicating responsibility but only allowing more leeway as the child wishes to undertake more control of his daily activities. Freud states that

[1]This is most visually demonstrated in the film "Johnny" produced by K. and J. Johnston: London Films 1957.

[2]Notes taken during observations. December 1979

> The installation of the superego can be described as a successful instance of identification with the parental agency ... and in the course of development the superego takes on the influences of those who have stepped into the place of the parents, educators, teachers, people chosen as ideal models.[1]

The educator of young children must therefore be cognizant of the role played by each significant adult in the identification process and the confusion which may arise if conflicting models are continuously presented. Mussen (1963) states that experiments clearly indicate that children imitate the model who offers warmth, love and nurturance, and that maternal warmth and paternal acceptance correlate with strength of conscience. It would therefore seem important that all educators provide this warm, loving, caring environment.

To encourage age-appropriate acceptance of responsibility, the environment should be designed to allow the child to assume responsibility. This may include simple procedures such as providing low hooks so that each child may hang up his own outdoor clothing; child-sized toilet and washing facilities to encourage independent self-help at these times; installing low toy shelves to enable the child to make decisions about the equipment he will use, fetch and return without adult assistance; and child-size equipment for cleaning so that the child can experience

[1] S. Freud, The Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol XXII p.64

the value of his contribution to the well-being of the group.

Care must be taken to honor the decision of the child if he has been given a choice. Too often the child is offered a choice "Would you like to go out to the park?" and if the child says "No" he is then told "Of course you do, it is going to be fun" or some such remark. This situation is repeated so often in a variety of situations when the adult has already determined the outcome but feels that a polite form of command is to ask a question positively, "You would like ..." when the answer is to be yes, and negatively,"You don't want to ..." if the answer is to be no. Thus the young child, before he has learned the social game, never knows whether the choice is genuine or not. Lacking opportunities to make genuine decisions and the responsibility of following through on those decisions, the child never experiences responsible participation. This situation can be avoided if questions of choice are given only when the child's answer can be honored. For instance, if there is a choice of food the child can be asked, "What food would you like?" or if there is a choice of equipment he can be asked, "Which of these toys would you like to play with?". When there is no choice then a statement should be made. "It is packing-up time now", rather than "Would you like to pack-up?". "Today we are going to the library", not

"Would you like to go to the library?".

The same priciple of allowing a child to accept responsibilty must be applied when difficulties in carrying out the activity arise. If a child undertakes to carry a bowl of water from one place to another and drops it on the way, it is important that he be allowed to clean up the spill, with or without assistance and to try again. Adult admonition, sarcasm or punishment which generate feelings of guilt, resignation, inferiority and anxiety cannot guide the child to assume more responsibilities. Without meaningful, responsible experiences the child cannot develop the sense of responsibility which is necessary for mature, moral decisions and actions later in life.

In establishing and maintaining an environment which will help the child develop his sense of initiative the educator must be sensitive to the 'intrusive mode' (Erikson) dominating behavior:

> Intrusion into other bodies by physical attack; the intrusion into other people's ears and minds by aggressive talking; the intrusion into space by vigorous locomotion; the intrusion into the unknown by consuming curiosity.[1]

A child care center must provide activities to allow these intrusive needs to be expressed in socially accept-

[1]E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p. 87

able ways. A well-organized, well-equiped playground or gym provides experiences for 'intrusion into space'. Climbing frames, swings, a large area in which to run, tunnels to crawl through, trees to climb, ropes to slide down, balls, tricycles and wagons are just a few of the things necessary for a child's aggressive exploration of space during this stage. Hammer toys, real carpentry tools, punching bags; targets to throw objects in or at and equipment which can dismantled and taken apart are some of the materials offering outlets for intrusion. A place and time to shout, be noisy, or express exuberance is necessary; children of this age should not be expected to remain quiet throughout the day.

The intrusion into the unknown, a child's consuming curiosity, is an exciting phenomena to observe if the child is provided with a creative, explorative environment. Consuming curiosity however, brings with it a certain amount of chaos, it does not fit into packages of organized activities or environments. A child's determination to find out how a clock or telephone works by taking the object apart is often seen as destructive behavior by adults. It is important that the child is given opportunities to explore but it is also important to ensure that the child is given adequate guidelines to direct his attention to those objects which may be

dismantled and those which must not be used in this way. Exploration followed by punishment or guilt feelings does not generate constructive interest in the unknown.

Educators must also be aware that the intrusive mode brings a desire to attempt unknown experiences which may be potentially, physically dangerous. A three or four year old may be inclined to go beyond the limits of safety such as climbing on a high roof or exploring the phenomenon of electricity and the adult responsible for the children must be able to set and enforce limits and controls. Support for the child's consuming curiosity must be tempered by concern for physical and mental safety.

It is during the phallic stage that the superego emerges and its development is thought to be influenced by significant adults in the child's life. Phsycho-analytic theorists point out that the child 'identifies' with a significant adult and the ego-ideal is linked with early emotional attachments. Isaacs (1929) points out that Freud's notion of 'primary identification' probably plays a greater part in the foundation of the superego than was originally supposed. Parents are usually the primary focus and the child's superego is influenced by the attitudes, behaviors and values of the ego-ideal parent. The influence of parent substitutes on the development of the child's superego will depend

to a degree on the intensity of the emotional attachment, the conflict or agreement between parental and educator values and the contact hours with a particular adult. The educator is not likely to be able to determine the many dimensions of varying aspects affecting each child's superego development but awareness of the child's stage of development and the possible influence she may have on the children in her care behooves her to become aware of her own values, responses, attitudes and behaviors. As a significant adult in the child's milieu, the educator may become a secondary source of identification and ego-ideal but must not extend this secondary source to compete with the primary source, i.e. the parents. The educator's responsibility is to provide a secondary ego-ideal while at the same time generating an atmosphere of support and encouragement for responsible autonomy with protection for the child from insidious, guilt-forming approaches or comparisons.

The latency period following the phallic period is believed to occur at about the sixth or seventh year and is therefore beyond the scope of the early childhood years. However, as chronological age is given only as a guideline and as some children mature earlier than others, this period will be briefly considered.

The stage of development is believed to be a calmer

time in the life cycle. The tumultuous conflicts of the phallic stage have been resolved and the child consolidates the development of his personality. The superego can, to a degree, contain the impulses of the id and the ego can channel much of the individual's energy and drive into socially acceptable behaviors.

The child is "prepared to do what is required of him" and is ready for entrance into more serious, productive self-planned life.[1] Educators should therefore respond to the child's need to be meaningfully productive and provide opportunities for each child to test his skills, work with his peer group towards a goal and develop a sense of industry (Erikson 1959).

In an industrial society it is possible for the child to lose touch with the function of work and the role of the worker in the family. To enhance a sense of industry the tasks given must be seen to be worthwhile and productive with relevance to the social and cultural tasks undertaken by adults. It is at this stage that attitudes to work, either as a pleasure or as a burden, are established and the educator should start to establish a wholesome conviction that work is a

[1] A. Freud, Psychoanalysis for Teachers and Parents Trans. B. Low. New York: Emerson Books Inc. 1935 p.74

satisfying experience which gives meaning and satisfaction to life. To enable the child to understand the function of work and the type of activities parents are engaged in outside of the home, exposure to community industry and services can be offered through field-trips, movies, visitors, picture books and stories. Experiences of gardening, painting, woodwork, weaving, sewing, and cooking are just a few activities which can be introduced in a child care center offering simple, first-hand involvement, with the productive outcome a possible benefit for the group. Included in the skills to be learned from the adult are the academic skills thought necessary for survival in a modern industrial society. Erikson suggests that as the specialization of employment becomes more complex "the more indistinct are the eventual goals of initiative".[1] The learning of basic skills needs to be introduced in such a way that the child will see some connection between what he is learning and its practical usefullness in his life with the pleasure of achievement and production.

Lack of support of the thrust of the child to be involved in meaningful tasks can bring about a sense of inferiority, a feeling of inadequacy and worthlessness.

[1] E. Erikson, Childhood and Society. p.259

Believing that he lacks worth or purpose the child may develop a negative sense of self and become conforming in behaviors, lacking motivation or confidence to take a moral, decisive stand on an issue, or reluctant to take action in a crisis.

The educator should therefore offer challenges and tasks which demand effort and perserverance while at the same time ensuring some measure of personal success and satisfaction. Too many failures lead to passive acceptance of an inability to achieve a desired goal; too little challenge may result in a decline of interest and industry.

Group participation in cooperative efforts to accomplish a task should be encouraged, enabling each individual to feel that his contribution is of value to a group. The development of positive attitudes toward goal-oriented activities and contributing to the well-being of a group is thought to generate personality traits of sharing, generousity, awareness of others and their needs and a desire to participate in activities directed to enhancing the well-being of a social group. These traits, once established, form the foundation of an individual's moral stance, and will influence all decisions and behaviors in adult life.

Summary

In the consideration of practical application of the psychoanalytic theory it is evident that the development of personality characteristics deemed essential for positive moral development starts in the first few months of life. The continuing development of characteristics during the first five years of an individual's life indicates that an educator responsible for young children has some influence on the development of a moral character. Negative experiences may warp the personality and set the foundation of negative character traits in later life. Positive experiences are thought to enhance personality development and provide the foundation of positive character traits in later life.

An educator can therefore influence the moral development of a child if the affective component of morality is considered essential. By providing a supportive human and physical environment which responds to the psychosexual drives of the child in a manner which offers both satisfaction and challenge, the educator can enhance positive personality development.

Knowledge of the psychosexual stages, the desires, needs and outcomes can enable the educator to understand

not only the child's needs but also help self-understanding and self-appraisal. This knowledge, when applied to the practical situation of caring for and educating a child under six years of age, will effect a satisfactory inter-relationship for both child and educator enhancing the professional commitment.

A survey of the ways in which psychoanalytic theory can be brought to bear on the practical situations shows that the responsibility for providing an environment to enhance the personality and moral development of the child lies with all those involved in the care and education of young children, but particularly with those adults who are in continuous, constant, direct contact. The foundation for moral attitudes and action is formed in the early years. Characteristics acquired during these early years direct or guide behavior towards self and others throughout life, channelling action, or thoughts of action, to moral or immoral activities. The moral development of a young child is therefore a component which should be considered when planning a curriculum and proposing learning processes for children under six years of age.

Chapter Three

Cognitive Development Theory

Cognitive Development Theory

Jean Piaget, the acknowledged founder of the cognitive-development theory, was concerned with discovering the ontogenetic changes which occur in a human's cognitive functioning. He was interested in the pattern of individual intellectual development of an organism and spent much time observing young children and charting their patterns of development. His background in biological sciences channelled his knowledge of adaptation of biological structures to environmental demands to research of the adaptation of human behavior to environmental demands.

Piaget's observations, research and theoretical assumptions led him to believe that the path of cognitive-development is the same for all humans. Everyone experiences the same sequence of particular stages of development but the interacting or reacting environment determines the rate of development. Piaget delineates the patterns of cognitive behavior which may be observed at particular stages and from these observations knowledgeable adults are able to assess the progress of individuals.

Piaget suggests that cognitive development is brought about by the involvement and activity of each human organism with the immediate environment. As interaction occurs a learning experience is stimulated and perceptions formed. Each interaction activates the organism to use its cognitive abilities in the organization of, and adaptation to, the perceived environment. How the organism perceives, organizes or adapts the information received will depend on the level of cognitive-development attained through previous experiences. Thus each new experience is a progression from previously established perceptions and adaptations.

Piaget uses four basic concepts, namely 'schema', 'assimilation', 'accommodation' and 'equilibrium' to explain the process of intellectual organization and adaptation.

The schemata are the cognitive and sensori-motor structures which enable humans to intellectually adapt to, and organize, the encountered environment. The concept of schemata encompasses early, predictable responses as well as a complex notion encompassing both sensori-motor and refined cognitive processes (Baldwin 1968). A simple form of schema is the baby's patting of the environmental objects which may start with the hand encountering the mother's breast and used increasingly to explore other objects such a human face, bed

coverings and bathwater. A more complex schema encompasses both motor behavior patterns and thought process such as needed to solve complex numerical problems or pilot an aircraft. According to Piaget each individual's schemata are constantly and continually changing, becoming more refined and more numerous as the individual interacts with an increasingly complex environment. Every new situation brings an experience which will either reinforce the established schema or demand change to bring about satisfactory acceptance of the new phenomena encountered.

Assimilation and accommodation are the processes by which changes to cognitive development take place and adaptation occurs. Assimilation is viewed as a cognitive process placing new stimulus events into existing schema. Different experiences offer new phenomena but the individual can handle the new phenomena with the schema already formed. The act of moving an arm up and down to hit the surface of the feeding chair is repeated by the infant in many situations. Contact will be made with many hard surfaces such as a table-top, arms of chair or floor and the sensori-motor impact is assimilated. The schema for accepting the perceived information needs no change to accept the sensori-motor experience.

Accommodation is viewed as a process of change

which takes place when new stimulus events cannot be assimilated into the existing schema. The infant using the same arm movements when being bathed contacts the liquid surface of water and the existing schema cannot assimilate the new sensori-motor information. The structures of the schema must change in order to accommodate the new knowledge. Similarly a child whose schema enables him to understand certain number concepts will be able to assimilate a variety of similar numerical problems but if faced with the need to consider a more complex problem involving additional concepts the child would require different schemata to accommodate the new, different information received.

The concept of 'equilibrium' is used by Piaget to denote the necessary balance of assimilation and accommodation in order to develop new schemata, thus enabling adaptation to take place. Wadsworth points out,

> Piaget's general "hypothesis" is simply that cognitive development is a coherent process of successive qualitative changes of cognitive structures (schemata), each structure and its concommitant change deriving logically and inevitably from the preceeding one.[1]

Piaget determined that forms of schemata followed a regular pattern and that every individual progressed to

[1]B. J. Wadsworth, Piaget's Theory of Cognitive Development. New York: David McKay Comp. Inc. 1971 p. 27

more complex schemata in stages. He suggested that cognitive development could be categorized in periods and stages and these are briefly summarized.

Sensori-motor Period.

The behavior expressed during this period is primarily motor behavior. Piaget divides the period into six sub-stages with approximate age spans.

Stage 1 occurs from birth through the first four weeks of life, approximately, and is the time when an infant's behavior is primarily reflex activities. The behaviors observed are somewhat predictable and include sucking, grasping, jerking and eye movements.

Stage 2 occurs between the age of one month and four months and the infant demonstrates early, simple adaptations brought about by primary explorations. Visual, auditory, tactile and motor actions begin to become coordinated when one object is explored (Baldwin 1964).

Stage 3 occurs between the infant's fourth to eighth month and it is during this stage that the beginning of intentional adaptations are observed. The schema formed enables the infant to repeat an activity in order to bring about a rewarding response. The concept of permanence of objects begins to develop and the infant is able to search for an object which is temporarily out of sight.

Stage 4. During this stage the infant of eight to twelve months further develops the concept of object permanence and becomes more actively involved in seeking out a desired object as the motor skills are developed. The infant also becomes more aware of his ability to initiate actions and to imitate actions demonstrated by an adult. Shaking the head, repeating mouth sounds and waving goodbye are a few of the activities parents often encourage with pride.

Stage 5. The infant progresses through this stage between twelve and eighteen months and now indulges in more numerous and complex activities. Sensori-motor development enables the infant to add to the established activities, and new experiences demand ever-changing and multiplying schema, giving the infant an ever increasing knowledge of his world.

Stage 6 lasts from eighteen months to twenty-four months and it is during this time that the beginning of cognitive representation becomes evident. He can continue to imitate acts without a model present and can use past experiences to solve simple problems. Piaget believes that the infant develops the ability to picture events mentally and can use this to find solutions to new problems. It is during this stage that the child begins to reconstruct or re-enact simple activities such as going on a bus, or eating a meal, and expresses these

in simple make-believe games.

Pre-Operational Period.

The second period of Piaget's stages of development is that of the pre-operational period. This period subsumes what Pinard and Laurendeau (1969) term 'horizontal decoulage' and define as

> The notion (which) expresses a chronological difference between ages of acquisition of operations that bear on different concepts (or content), but obey identical structural laws.[1]

An example is that of the difference in age of acquisition of the conservation of substance, weight and volume. During the pre-operational period the child's internal cognitive understanding of the world grows. The period is characterized by the development of language and the gradual organization of conceptual schemata. It is a time of 'unequilibrium' with the child moving from the sensori-motor period to the more cognitively oriented period. During the early stages of this period schemata are characterized by egocentricity, that is the child can only understand an object or situation from his own point of view and cannot understand that others may have a different perspective

[1]A. Pinard and M. Laurendeau, "'Stage' in Piaget's Cognitive Development Theory: Exegesis of a Concept" in D. Elkind and J. Flavell, Studies in Cognitive Development. London: Oxford Un. Press 1969 p.130

of the same object or problem. Their perception is bound by their own concrete experiences and they lack the more complex schema which would allow them to see situations or objects from other perspectives.

As language skills are acquired and integrated with perceptual cognition the child becomes less egocentric and the acquisition of more complex schemata enables knowledge to be applied to an increasing variety of problems. The use of transductive reasoning during this period demonstrates the ability to reason but only in terms of one specific situation to another specific issue. Thus having to stay at home during the week because of a snow-storm instead of following the usual routine of going to the day care center may be reasoned by the child that, "Today is Saturday because I didn't go to the day care center." Reasoning from general to specific or specific to general is not yet possible.

The pre-operational period is a time when intuitive speculation is used to deal with many of the encountered problems. Often there seems to be a mental jump from the beginning of the activity to the final outcome but little understanding of process, order, logic or sequence of events. This limits the ability to arrive at meaningful answers to some problems.

Piaget declares that it is during the period of

pre-operations that the first expressions of symbolic schemata are observed. These may be internalized and non-verbal or may be verbal and communicated to others, but both are observed as the child constructs his world through play. As the sensori-motor and perceptual skills are acquired the child becomes more able to understand his environment. The view of his world is still limited however by the inability to see objects or events from a point of view or perspective other than his own.

Concrete Operations Period.

This period begins at approximately seven years of age and is therefore beyond the early childhood category. Briefly it is a time when the development of complex language skills and the growing ability to organize conceptual schemata enable the child to apply logical thought to concrete problems. The notion of reversibility of thought processes and the ability to understand the perspectives of others, which lessens the egocentric orientation of the previous period, is acquired.

Formal Operations Period.

Beginning at about eleven years of age this period is one of increasing language development leading to the ability to reason logically and scientifically.

A salient feature of Piaget's theory is that individuals go through the stages of development in the same

sequential order though at varying rates and attain different levels of cognitive-development. Each stage is the formation of a total structure that includes previous processes as a foundation. Piaget points out that the invariance of the sequence does not exclude the possiblity that acceleration or retardation may occur through involvement with, or deprivation of, positive physical, social or cultural experiences (Piaget 1956). Some individuals will pass through stages rapidly while others will follow more slowly and in some cases never reach the stage of formal operations to any great degree.

Piaget suggests that four broad factors influence the cognitive-development of a child. These factors of maturation, physical experience, social interaction and general progression of equilibrium are interdependent for cognitive-development. The importance of maturation to cognitive as well as physical development is stressed. Just as the expectations of physical achievement must be founded on the gradual maturation of the muscular system, the expectations of cognitive achievement must also be based on the gradual maturation of cognitive structures. Both mental and physical maturity are obtained through active participation of each individual with his environment. Children must experience their own learning if they are to internalize, assimilate and accommodate that which is taught by the human and physical environment.

Social interaction leads to what Piaget calls 'social transmission'. Each new social interaction brings with it a disturbance of equilibrium which motivates the child to search and reflect in order to find new solutions to a cognitive conflict. Once the cognitive conflict is resolved equilibrium is again established but at a different level; thus intellectual development takes place.

Moral Development Components of the Cognitive-Development Theory

Piaget's stages of moral development incorporate the cognitive transformations encompassed in the intellectual development. High levels of moral attainment parallel successive cognitive development stages, and moral reasoning and judgment are dependent upon cognitive structures. In his study of moral judgment Piaget investigated a child's respect for rules because he theorized that,

> All morality consists in a system of rules, and the essence of all morality is to be sought for in the respect which the individual acquires for these rules.[1]

Comparison of the manner in which children practiced rules and the ideas children expressed regarding the character of rules which form the consciousness of rules, enabled Piaget to form a view of the psychological nature of moral realities.[2]

During the sensori-motor stage of intellectual

[1]J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1932 p.1

[2]J. Piaget, op. cit., p.14

development Piaget found that the egocentrism of children limited their ability to understand or acknowledge even the most simple rules. The infant and young toddler interacts with the environment with self as the central concern and has no cognitive schemata to think beyond the core of self.

> The child cannot recognize his egocentrism; and he believes that his psychological perspective bears a direct correspondence to external events.[1]

The interaction does not include the concept of others, so rules never become part of the conscious reality. The sensori-motor period is therefore amoral, having no moral components or regard for rules.

During the first years of the pre-operations period amoral attitudes continue. For Piaget the pre-operational child is still interacting at a premoral stage. That which is good brings pleasure and enjoyment; that which is bad brings pain and displeasure. The egocentric character of a child's activities limits the awareness of others as participants in social interaction and in turn limits the awareness of the need for rules. Gradually the child becomes more aware of the

[1]J. Mancuso and T. Sarbin, " A Paradigmatic Analysis of Psychological Issues at the Interface of Jurisprudence and Moral Conduct." in T. Lickona, Moral Development and Behavior. New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1976 p.332

social expectations of others and becomes subjected to social rules. The autoritarian figures set rules and limits, and implement a system of rewards and punishments which the child encounters and reacts to. Interaction with peers also makes each child aware of social limits but young children functioning at the early pre-operational stage exhibit their egocentric perspective and involve themselves in isolated activities or parallel play. They may be together in a group and playing with the same set of materials but there is no social interaction or attempt to work together. The children do not seem to have the ability to change the direction of their thought pattern to include the thought pattern of others and bring about integrated play with defined rules.

As social rules are imposed on the child, growing awareness is expressed by the child in the form of copying and echoing the authority figure's statements. Four and five year olds will often state,"My father says ..." or "The teacher said ..." but their actions often demonstrate the lack of meaning the statements have for themselves and they do not follow the rules with any consistency. By watching the play and games of pre-operational children Piaget found that the focus of the activity was still egocentric. "There was no understanding of a rule as a construct applying to all

members of a group and no consistency between stating a given rule for a particular game and playing within the rule structure. The children had no understanding of the concept of competition, of winning or losing, of being first or last, and therefore could not understand the need for rule structure to ascertain who had won or lost.

Play, in the form of using materials to explore and consolidate the interests and needs of self, is the important focus; the process of a game or the process of using materials offers the means for enjoyment and satisfaction and the final outcome is of no concern.

It was not until children reached the stage of concrete operations that Piaget found an acceptance of rules of a game and a conscious attempt to abide by the rules set down by those in authority. Once the rules were accepted they were assumed by six and seven year old children to be sacred and unchangeable, given to mankind by the authority figures held in great esteem such as "Daddy", "God" or "The gentlemen of the Town Council" (Piaget 1932) It is at this stage that the unchanging character of rules gives the child the structures for competitive games. The rigid adherence to the rules assumed at this stage becomes a source of great frustration if younger pre-operational children are included in the game or older people try to adapt the

rules to accommodate time limits or lack of equipment. Morality is seen as obedience to the rules set by people in authority. To be good is to follow the letter of the law or follow the rules rigidly.

The period of formal operations is seen by Piaget as the time when morality begins to be established and the modification of rules is possible. The ability of an individual to conceptualize at the formal operations level enables the individual to accept and understand a rule as a changeable item which may be looked upon as law when a group consents to the rules and each member of the group respects and adheres to the agreed-upon rules.

The four stages of moral development as outlined by Piaget are as follows:

The first stage is purely motor and individualistic and the child has no knowledge or understanding of rules.

The second stage is that of egocentrism. Parallel play does not unify interaction and therefore there is no regard for rules.

The third stage usually appears between seven and eight years and is that of incipient cooperation. Children become aware of the need for mutual control but their concept of rules is still vague.

The fourth stage is that of codification of rules and begins when the child is approximately eleven or

twelve years. The code of rules begins to be acknowledged and members of a group are able to understand and adhere to the stated rules.

Children are able to respond to moral codes only within the framework of their cognitive development. For example children up to the age of eleven or twelve years respond to rules because of social expectations and pressures. They conform because it is expedient to do so. According to Piaget there is a 'moral realism' which is demonstrated by,

> The tendency which the child has to regard duty and the value attaching to it as self-subsistent and independent of the mind, as imposing itself regardless of the circumstances in which the individual may find himself.[1]

Components of moral realism are heteronomous duty, that is, adherence to the letter rather than the spirit of the law, and morality of constraint. Thus it is acknowledged that a child is unable to understand or function in any moral sense except by obeying the conditions and constraints determined and applied by persons in in authority. When a parent sets a rule it is accepted as the order of things because parents are bigger, stronger, more powerful and important. "My mother says ..." or "The policeman said ..." are the only explan-

[1]J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child.p.106

ations necessary for obedience and adherence to a rule. Once the rule is stated by those in authority the rule is seen as permanent and unchanging; and adherence to the rule is required regardless of a non-rational application or outcome. The rule is seen as 'coming from above'; it cannot be changed, and everyone in the world is thought to obey the same rule in the same way. If authoritarian persons are not in evidence then the rule is not seen as meritorious and actions are constrained only by concern of 'being found out'.

An objective conception of self-discipline and responsibility is only possible when the child has reached the stage of cognitive development which enables him to view himself as a member of society or group and perceive the needs and viewpoints of others as influential in accepting and discharging responsibilities.

Morality of constraint refers to the setting of rules by parents or persons in authority. Children obey and function morally because of the constraints imposed on them. Children accept the morality of constraint, according to Piaget, until they are about ten or eleven years old and entering the stage of formal operations.

The same process of moral development is charted by Piaget in a child's attitude towards lying and stealing. Children under seven or eight years have no concept of truth or deceit in the context of lying or

stealing. The intellectual egocentrism of the young child makes it impossible for him to distinguish between truth and expression of wishes and beliefs. A desire to go to the circus may be stated in future terms, "I am going to the circus" or in past terms "I have been to the circus" and these statements do not change even though an adult may try to show how the statement is false. Similarly a child who has broken an object will deny that he touched the object even though others were watching as he handled the said object. Piaget explains,

> What has perhaps been less generally understood is that this feature of child psychology is of an intellectual as well as of a moral order, and that it is connected with the laws of child-thought in general and with the phenomenon of intellectual egocentrism in particular. For the need to speak the truth and even seek it for oneself is only conceivable in so far as the individual thinks and acts as one of a society ... founded on reciprocity and mutual respect.[1]

Children view and evaluate lies and stealing only with respect to the extent of the expected punishment. If one is not caught or found out there is no conflict and therefore no concept of wrong doing. The lie is considered by the child as a serious act if the punishment is severe; not because truthfulness is the ideal to be aimed for but because the untruth is exposed and therefore punished.

[1] J. Paiget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. p.160

The earliest concept of justice Piaget believes, is founded on each individual's idea of retribution. The extent or unpleasantness of any punishment depends on the consequence of the act rather than the act itself. Thus a child expects greater punishment for breaking a large number of cups, even if the act was accidental and no fault of the child, and less punishment for breaking one cup even though the act be deliberate. Older children, however, are able to consider other factors such as the intentionality of the act, the motivation and the subjective responsibility, that is, the responsibility that lies with the person who undertakes the action.

For Piaget the attainment of moral attitudes and behaviors is developmentally contingent upon cognitive ability and maturation. He argues that consciousness of rules, lies, stealing and justice is not developed until the child has reached the later stage of the concrete operation period when the child is approximately ten to twelve years old. It is not until the intellectual structures for reasoning are developed that a child can be expected to demonstrate understanding of such moral concepts as truth, justice, rules and responsibility. It is only when moral consciousness has been developed that moral thought,

attitudes and behaviors can be expressed.

Kohlberg (1970) expanded Piaget's stages of moral development to six levels, each of which is experienced in hierarchical order. These stages are concomitant with the stages of cognitive development outlined by Piaget but offer a broader base for categorizing moral behavior. The following table charts the three levels of moral development by Kohlberg.[1]

(see page 130)

Kohlberg believes that moral judgments are based on the stage of logical reasoning and his first stage indicates the level attained after a child has a command of language. Before level one, stage one, the child is at a pre-moral level and cannot be considered within the parameters of stages of morality.

In his study of moral development Kohlberg (1974) found that success in the moral domain is not only dependent on cognitive stimulation, that is, direct teaching, but is influenced by moral experiences obtained through social interaction. The child needs to interact with morally functioning others in order to

[1]L. Kohlberg, "Moral Stages and Moralization", in T. Lickona, Ed. Moral Development and Behavior. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1976 p. 34, 35

Level and Stage	*Content of Stage* What Is Right	Reasons for Doing Right	*Social Perspective of Stage*
LEVEL I—PRECONVENTIONAL Stage 1—Heteronomous Morality	To avoid breaking rules backed by punishment, obedience for its own sake, and avoiding physical damage to persons and property.	Avoidance of punishment, and the superior power of authorities.	*Egocentric point of view.* Doesn't consider the interests of others or recognize that they differ from the actor's; doesn't relate two points of view. Actions are considered physically rather than in terms of psychological interests of others. Confusion of authority's perspective with one's own.
Stage 2—Individualism, Instrumental Purpose, and Exchange	Following rules only when it is to someone's immediate interest; acting to meet one's own interests and needs and letting others do the same. Right is also what's fair, what's an equal exchange, a deal, an agreement.	To serve one's own needs or interests in a world where you have to recognize that other people have their interests, too.	*Concrete individualistic perspective.* Aware that everybody has his own interest to pursue and these conflict, so that right is relative (in the concrete individualistic sense).
LEVEL II—CONVENTIONAL Stage 3—Mutual Interpersonal Expectations, Relationships, and Interpersonal Conformity	Living up to what is expected by people close to you or what people generally expect of people in your role as son, brother, friend, etc. "Being good" is important and means having good motives, showing concern about others. It also means keeping mutual relationships, such as trust, loyalty, respect and gratitude.	The need to be a good person in your own eyes and those of others. Your caring for others. Belief in the Golden Rule. Desire to maintain rules and authority which support stereotypical good behavior.	*Perspective of the individual in relationships with other individuals.* Aware of shared feelings, agreements, and expectations which take primacy over individual interests. Relates points of view through the concrete Golden Rule, putting yourself in the other guy's shoes. Does not yet consider generalized system perspective.
Stage 4—Social System and Conscience	Fulfilling the actual duties to which you have agreed. Laws are to be upheld except in extreme cases where they conflict with other fixed social duties. Right is also contributing to society, the group, or institution.	To keep the institution going as a whole, to avoid the breakdown in the system "if everyone did it," or the imperative of conscience to meet one's defined obligations (Easily confused with Stage 3 belief in rules and authority; see text.)	*Differentiates societal point of view from interpersonal agreement or motives.* Takes the point of view of the system that defines roles and rules. Considers individual relations in terms of place in the system.
LEVEL III—POST-CONVENTIONAL, or PRINCIPLED Stage 5—Social Contract or Utility and Individual Rights	Being aware that people hold a variety of values and opinions, that most values and rules are relative to your group. These relative rules should usually be upheld, however, in the interest of impartiality and because they are the social contract. Some nonrelative values and rights like *life* and *liberty*, however, must be upheld in any society and regardless of majority opinion.	A sense of obligation to law because of one's social contract to make and abide by laws for the welfare of all and for the protection of all people's rights. A feeling of contractual commitment, freely entered upon, to family, friendship, trust, and work obligations. Concern that laws and duties be based on rational calculation of overall utility, "the greatest good for the greatest number."	*Prior-to-society perspective.* Perspective of a rational individual aware of values and rights prior to social attachments and contracts. Integrates perspectives by formal mechanisms of agreement, contract, objective impartiality, and due process. Considers moral and legal points of view; recognizes that they sometimes conflict and finds it difficult to integrate them.
Stage 6—Universal Ethical Principles	Following self-chosen ethical principles. Particular laws or social agreements are usually valid because they rest on such principles. When laws violate these principles, one acts in accordance with the principle. Principles are universal principles of justice: the equality of human rights and respect for the dignity of human beings as individual persons.	The belief as a rational person in the validity of universal moral principles, and a sense of personal commitment to them.	*Perspective of a moral point of view* from which social arrangements derive. Perspective is that of any rational individual recognizing the nature of morality or the fact that persons are ends in themselves and must be treated as such.

learn the processes and principles of moral action or conduct. Cognitive maturation is necessary but cannot directly generate a high level of morality. It is possible for an individual to attain a high cognitive level but function at a low moral level as demonstrated by a ruthless, cunning but clever criminal.

The social interaction with moral adults is thought to provide the means by which a child can develop affective components of moral conduct, that is, the development of concern and empathy for others. The child becomes empathetic or sympathetic; becomes able to understand the rights of others as he experiences empathy and sympathy through his interaction with others (Kohlberg 1968). The intellectual development is never-the-less the basis for sound moral development according to Kohlberg, for without intellectual functioning there can be no reasoning and no morality. Exposure to higher levels of moral behavior is thought to stimulate moral development and accelerate the progress from one level to another. Thus, although every human proceeds through the same sequential stages of moral development the environmental resouces and social exposure will determine the rate of advancement and the ability to attain higher reaches of morality. It is thought that lack of exposure to moral functioning adults hinders the process and the result may be that some adults never reach the

higher stages of moral development.

The intellectual development of an individual is therefore seen as critical to moral development. For Piaget and Kohlberg the attainment of moral attitudes and behaviors is developmentally contingent upon cognitive ability and maturation. They argue that consciousness of rules, lies, stealing and justice is not developed until the child has reached the later stage of the concrete operations period when the child is approximately ten to twelve years old. It is not until the intellectual structures for reasoning are developed that a child can be expected to demonstrate understanding of the moral concepts such as truth, justice, rules and responsibility. It is only when moral consciousness has been developed that moral thought, attitudes and behaviors can be expressed.

Analysis of Cognitive-Development Theory

Jean Piaget began his career of the field of biological science and his interest in the developmental processes of organisms led him to study the development of intellect and reasoning in children. The terminology and structures used in his research reflect Piaget's background in biology. His search for 'adaptive structures' in the physiology of learning in the biological framework generated different questions and a new approach to the problem of intellectual development.

Observations of children in their natural environment was Piaget's methodology and he collected a vast amount of empirical data, including detailed observations of his own children. The theoretical interpretations are often substantiated by extrapolation from the data rather than the complete findings. Having assembled a great many detailed observations of his own children, Piaget formed his theory and then supported his theory by quoting from his observations.

Baldwin points out that quantity does not necessarily prove reliability and much of Piaget's empirical research "has been badly controlled from the standpoint of experimental design and has been incompletely reported".[1]

[1]A. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. p.29

The lack of controlled research structures has been overcome to a large extent by other researchers using more refined research techniques. Subsequent research based on Piaget's theoretical structures (Furth 1970, Lavetelli 1970, Flavell 1963 and others) supports Piaget's cognitive development theories and has generated further interest and continuing research.

The focus of Piaget's work was to determine and chart the origins of intellectual growth in children He was interested in how children learn, the various manifestations of intelligence and mechanisms which support intellectual development. The focus was predominately cognitive; the affective and social components of development were neglected or ignored. The same focus determined Piaget's approach to moral development.

Piaget's theory of moral development is founded in his belief that "morality consists in a system of rules"[1] Society establishes the rules and imposes moral obligations on each member of the social group to respect and abide by those rules. How a person interprets his moral obligations, and how a child learns to interpret his moral obligations were the subjects of Piaget's

[1] J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. p.1

enquiry. Children were questioned regarding their own views of rules, how they used the rules and why rules were important.

The structuring of theoretical enquiry on verbal expression of views limits the enquiry to those who have facility of language and are intellectually able to express thoughts clearly. Children who have not developed language ability are thought to lack the competencies to reason morally or to comprehend rule structure. Piaget acknowledges the limits of his enquiry and the difficulties of generalizing about an active concept of morality from data which demands verbal ability. He reasons though that, "only direct observations can settle this problem ... but we shall first have to find out the child's verbal ideas on morality".[1]

Omitted in this approach to moral development is the topic of motivation to act on moral issues and dilemmas and the likely influences which incline a person to act within or against the know social structures. Even in his observations of his own child, Piaget seems to ignore the affective influences. Illustrating how his twenty-three month old daughter was unable to understand that rules are not constant and that parents, who

[1]J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. p.115

normally expect the rule of cleanliness, may make exceptions he writes,

> In the earliest stages of life cleanliness is a constant occasion for judgment of responsibility ... parents are bound to ask their children to be careful.

He continues,

> J. at 1.11 has been put to bed and given medicine of whose effects she has been informed. In spite of her mother's precautions, specially designed to avoid any reaction of guilt, J. is greatly upset when the medicine works.[1]

Piaget's evaluates J.'s reaction of guilt in terms of the infant's lack of ability to understand that an established rule (that of not soiling the bed) can be changed if the circumstances change. It was suggested that the child's lack of intellectual development and her inability to see a rule as a flexible structure led to the child's anxiety. Psychoanalysts may suggest that the child's anxiety reaction was a direct response to the affective climate initiated by the parents' overwhelming concern with cleanliness or non-cleanliness and likely to make a sick child more upset and anxious. Piaget does not seem to take into consideration the effect of two parents, insisting that an infant's expectation of anger was inaccurate, may be contributing to an anxiety-

[1] J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. p.180

filled climate. It is the intellectual parameters of the infant's guilt on which Piaget focuses his attention.

Kohlberg's work also focuses on moral reasoning indicating that cognitive development is the critical determinant of moral development. His theory of moral development and the constructs of his research are based on Piaget's research and theory but Kohlberg identifies moral development with the priciples of justice rather than rules. He states,

> The ideal principles of any social structures are basically alike ... and most of these principles have gone by the name of justice.[1]

However, the understanding of justice is still determined by an individual's cognitive ability.

Both Piaget and Kohlberg omit the influence of affective functioning on morality. Kohlberg acknowledges the possibility of a highly intelligent person lacking a sense of morality but has not elaborated on this phenomena. By confining the theoretical principles to those cognitive pursuits of thought processes and reasoning abilities necessary for moral judgments the cognitive development theory is weakened by what Schwab terms, a partiality of view.

[1]L. Kohlberg, "The Child as a Moral Philosopher" in Readings in Psychology Today. California: C.R.M. books 1969 p. 186

I suggest that moral judgments cannot be the final criteria for evaluation of a moral person. Considerations of behavior and activites which demonstrate moral responsibilties and involvement should also be included in a comprehensive study of moral development. One may think at a high level of moral reasoning but be unable to act on an issue; a man may know it is moral to save someone from drowning but may not have the motivation, courage or interest to carry out the deed.

The areas of interpersonal relationships and peer influence on moral development is also neglected in the cognitive development theory of moral development. Piaget discusses adult/child interaction but limits this to the constraints of the adult on the child's obedience to rules.

Responding to criticism of the cognitive development approach Kohlberg suggests that "moral development depends upon stimulation defined in cognitive structural terms", but that psychoanalytic theory offers levels of ego-development which are also useful guides for understanding moral attitudes.[1] Kohlberg conceded

[1] L. Kohlberg, "Moral Stages and Moralization" in T. Lickona, Ed. Moral Development and Behavior. New York; Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1976 p. 49

> As we move ... to the more individual life experiences that seem to promote moral change, a cognitive development theory begins to seem limited and abstract. At this point one begins to draw upon theories such as Erikson's (1963) which present age-typical emotional experiences as they relate to a developing personality or self.[1]

As practical application of a theory, and the interest "to move to the more individual life experiences that seem to promote moral change" is central to this paper, the quoted statement of Kohlberg's can be seen as supporting Schwab's concern of 'limit of view'.

The cognitive development theory of moral development is also limited for the purpose of this paper which is concerned with the development of a child from birth to six years of age. Both Piaget and Kohlberg view moral reasoning as concomitant with an established facility in language. Kohlberg's stage 1 starts when the child has achieved the basic skills for formal communication at about five years of age. Before this the child is considered to be amoral, having no reasoning or judgmental ability to determine right from wrong, good from bad. Parents are the guardians of the child's morality and determine how a child behaves by their methods of discipline.

From the age of five to seven years approximately, the child is functioning at an intuitive level and grad-

[1] L. Kohlberg, op. cit., p.52

ually emerging from the amoral stage to the preconventional stage of moral development. During this period there is little understanding of rules or justice. The child behaves morally only by obedience to the significant others who provide the required directions for socially acceptable behavior. Thus a child acts on situations as he is directed with no understanding of the reason for the required behavior nor achieving self-motivation to act on a situation which is beyond the framework of given directions. The application of the cognitive development theory of moral development would therefore be limited in the early childhood context to the high-intellectually functioning child.

According to Piaget and Kohlberg the early childhood educator's role, for the most part, would be that of a guardian of children's moral behavior. The educator, by setting the rules and ensuring that the children comply, would be supporting the social structures of a society.

> The moral rules which the child learns to respect he receives from adults, which means that he receives them after they have been fully elaborated, not in relation to him and as they are needed, but once and for all and through an uninterrupted succession of earlier adult generations.[1]

[1] J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. p.13

The imposition of rules, or what Piaget terms 'moral obligations', for activities such as meals, cleanliness or bedtime enables certain behaviors to become ritualized.

Although the application of cognitive development theory is therefore limited in the context of early childhood education, the clearly defined parameters for the study of moral development delineated by the structures of 'stage-level' development have provided the avenue for scientific research. Kohlberg argues that although the limit of view can be seen as a weakness, the study of moral development, and the necessary empirical research in this area, need logical structure. These structures are those provided by his theory of stage-development. The relationship between moral development and cognitive development is clearly defined and the need for intellectual competency is substantiated.

Moral reasoning however, does not automatically follow in step with intellectual competency. Examples of intellectually superior individuals who commit crimes, condone murder, inflict harm on others or refuse to take responsibilty for their actions are numerous throughout history. It would seem that moral attitudes and actions require more than intellectual proficiency and other theoretical views are necessary to cover the areas omitted by the cognitive development theory.

Summary

The cognitive development theory is one which has influenced education in the past twenty years. The study of stages of cognitive development has made educators aware of the need to design a curriculum and gear expectations of success to the level of intellectual development attained by the children. Moral programs have based their content and methods on the stage structures of Piaget and Kohlberg.

The theory offers principles and structures which are readily adapted to empirical research. The methods of observation described by Piaget and Kohlberg can be duplicated in most centers or schools and the questioning procedures can be utilized to assess the stage attained by children.

Piaget's identification of two major stages of moral development, that of morality of constraint and morality of cooperation, indicates for early childhood educators that expectations for most children under the age of five should be contained within the morality of contraint stages. It further indicates that the amoral stance of pre-verbal children must be considered when expectations of particular behavior and responses

are determined.

The emphasis on cognitive development and neglect of affective influences limits the theory to areas of moral judgments and reasoning. The lack of concern with moral actions and attitudes, especially those which may be evidenced at an early age before fluency of language is established, leaves gaps which should also be studied.

Practical Application of Cognitive Development Theory Of Moral Development in Early Childhood Education

The cognitive development theory of moral development with its emphasis on the ability of an individual to function at particular levels of intellectual competence before moral reasoning can be said to be taking place, has limited implications for early childhood education. Few children are expected to reach the stage of concrete operations before the age of seven or eight years and therefore few children under five years old will be functioning at the early moral stage of incipient operations (Piaget) or conventional level (Kohlberg). In the early years the stages of motor activites and egocentrism (Piaget) and amoral and heteronomous morality (Kohlberg) are marked by amoral characteristics. Both Piaget and Kohlberg indicate that these early stages must be understood as a time when any moral behavior expressed by the child must be determined by the authority figure in the child's immediate environment. These authority figures (usually the parents) have, according to Piaget, a responsiblity to provide young children with well defined rules and establish methods of constraint and control. Pulaski points out

that Piaget assumes that once parental authoritarianism is established and accepted by the child, the foundation has been laid for the development of morality based on coöperation.[1] From constraint and controls, the co-operative concept will emerge and guide further moral development.

Piaget states,

> This paradox is general in child behavior and constitutes ... the most significant feature of the morality belonging to the egocentric stage. Childish egocentrism far from being a-social always goes hand in hand with adult constraint.[2]

The child has a spontaneous respect for the authority figures with whom he comes in contact and sees the dictates and rules as eternal, somewhat divine and mystical. Acceptance of these rules is a necessary pre-requisite for later cooperation in the application of rules.

Ausubel (1971 supports Piaget's theory and feels that the rational component of moral behavior is either overlooked or undervalued. The actual process of acting on a moral decision through rational evaluation of the situation begins, according to Ausubel, in late childhood. Moral behaviors expressed in the early years are

[1]L. A. Pulaski, Understanding Piaget. New York: Harper and Row. 1971 p.88

[2]J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. p. 61

necessarily brought about by a regard for the authoritarian statements of significant adults.

Piaget warns that the child's respect for authority must be balanced by the adult's realization that a humanistic attitude towards the behavior of young children is required. The comprehension of social rules is limited by intellectual ability. Conceptual understanding of moral precepts and priciples is beyond the range of young children. The child's dependence on the adult for the necessities of life makes the child vulnerable to the pressures of the power-seeking adult; the child's desire to please a loved adult makes it easy for the adult to manipulate the child and demand inappropriate levels of achievement. Such authoritarianism leads, according to Piaget, to anxieties and guilt feelings in the child and is the most questionable moral training. Too much emphasis on the "moral" leads to immoral child-rearing.

Adults responsible for child-rearing should direct their efforts toward helping a child avoid immoral conduct either by warning or restraint instead of punishing the child after a misdemeanor. Piaget felt that this supportive approach would generate a more cooperative relationship between the child and the adult

Thus adults should view their child-rearing function as establishing and reinforcing necessary rules; but,

they should do so with guidance to enable the child to conform without undue stress or conflict. This, in turn, would enable the child to develop cooperative attitudes and autonomy within the adult controlled environment.

Both Piaget and Kohlberg indicate that the quality of the adult/child relationship has direct implications for the child's moral development. Communication, role-taking opportunities and encouragement of peer interaction were three factors which Bar-Yam, Reinier and Kohlberg (in preparation) found to be influential in enhancing moral development. The early childhood educator can therefore establish an environment which will offer the young child opportunities to experience the three factors.

Communication, determined to encourage adult/child cooperation, must be considered in terms of intent, method and style, and the level of reception. Directions and rules should not be offered as commands given in authoritarian tones. Rather they should communicate clearly the intent and reason in a manner which conveys support and understanding. This skill is not one which emerges naturally when an adult is confronted by twenty three year olds lacking cooperative attitudes; it involves self-assessment of values and abilities, and a determined effort to break acquired habits. Piaget points

out that observations of parents in daily situations demonstrate how lacking in communication skills most parents are.

Kohlberg refers to role-taking experiences as beneficial to moral development. He indicates that this activity occurs at an age when social cognition is established and children are able to recognize that others may have different viewpoints. I suggest that role-playing may be considered a pre-requisite experience and one that could be offerdd to pre-school children. It gives a child opportunities to try the roles of people who interest him and in this way enables the child to experience, in a limited way, the perspective of another person. Most young children under six years of age spontaneously initiate simple role-playing. In order to understand the world around them they assume the role of parents and educators, often without any direct involvement with others. After contact with other identifiable adults such as mailmen, firemen, nurses and dentists children will attempt to role-play and use the limited knowledge thay have to place this person into their social framework. In this way a child will gradually become aware of another's perspective. Educators can support these spontaneous role-playing activities by providing materials and equipment which

will encourage expansion and deepen understanding of the assumed role. Dress-up clothes, realistic tools, a space for equipment, clear pictures of specific activities and pertinent records and story books are a few of the materials which should be supplied. The educator must also answer questions or respond to the child's role-playing if approached by the role-playing child. Kohlberg warns that when encouraging role-taking the adult must ensure that his response be honest and realistic rather than moralistic. Honest, realistic responses should also be forwarded when a child is role-playing. Interaction with a 'dentist' may allow the adult to state, "I'm a little scared of you looking in my mouth but I'll sit very still and let you see my teeth", rather than "I'll be a good, brave child". This approach can also be taken when the role-playing child uses a doll as the 'child' or 'baby'. The adult may verbalize how a doll may react or feel if it were real, but must avoid teaching the child what he should be thinking or responding.

The daily program for a group of children should be flexible and open to provide adequate time for spontaneous role-playing to develop and reach a satisfactory resolution. This does not necessarily mean the child has finished his role-playing, but that he has had time to work through some of the notions and ideas. A

fifteen minute 'free play' period is not long enough for most children to work through a role-playing situation, yet in many institutions this is the only chance that the children have to initiate and develop their own ideas. The educator should also be sensitive to the fact that some children carry their role-playing throughout the day. The 'policeman' sits at the snack table, directs the traffic in the playground and sleeps with his police-badge by his cot. There is a need to try out the role in all secure situations.

Educator-directed role-playing activities should be limited to creative expression. Young children are not able to understand reverse-role activities; are not able "to distinguish between aspects of self and aspects of the external world".[1] Their egocentric stage of development limits any sense of reciprocity and it is impossible for them to take the viewpoint of others. They can, however, begin to express their own ideas of others' feelings and activities through creative movement, music and art. Care must be taken not to impose adult perspectives, (which are often rigid and steriotyped), but allow the child to explore within his own

[1] T. Lickona, "Research on Piaget's Theory of Moral Development" in T. Lickona, Moral Development and Behavior. p. 220

constructs and schemata. The children may be asked to "walk like a fireman when he is very happy" or "show me what a baby bird would do when he is just learning to fly". If there is no one determined response the children will be able to role-play within their own intellectual parameters.

The third factor of peer-interaction is also one which educators should encourage and develop. The environmental setting and the management of the setting can foster or hinder positive peer-interaction. Too often the concept of competition is introduced at a very early level and individuality is stressed as the important goal. "Who can eat their snack first?", "The first one dressed can be the leader", "The best painting will go up on the wall", are tactics often adopted by adults to facilitate routines and to improve work. The child is encouraged to be 'better than' the others in the group and rewarded if this aim is achieved. Peer interaction can be positively encouraged by planning group activities which require cooperation. This may be a simple achievement such as one child giving out cups for everyone at snack time, or children helping each other to get dressed: or it may be structured in a complex problem solving activity where all children are asked to help in some way. Competitive games and situations should be avoided and replaced

by activities which allow the child to test himself against his own past achievement. "Yesterday you were able to recognize your own name, today you know three names", rather than "You know three names, but look at Jill, she recognizes all the children's names".

Because children imitate and role-play, it is important that the adults themselves demonstrate positive peer relationships. Children soon become aware of competition between parents or educators and incorporate authority structures into their life styles. "I'm the boss" is a statement often heard in group activities with qualifying arguments such as "The daddy is always the boss" or "I'm the director so you have to do what I tell you". An adult's concern for others is expressed in many way, verbally, by gestures and by action, and the educator needs to be sensitive to the overt and hidden messages she is conveying.

Both Kohlberg (1964) and Piaget (1932) used stories to assess the level of moral development of an individual. This may seem an approach which may be used with young children to start them thinking of alternative ways of dealing with an issue and introduce them to simple beginnings of the deliberative process. In attempting to offer this structure for moral development with young children, care must be taken to ensure that the process and content is related and relevant to

the experiences of the children to ensure that the content of the story is understood.

Kohlberg suggests that fictional stories may be easier to reflect upon for older children but it may be more effective if real-life issues are discussed with younger children. This approach can only achieve effective interaction if a non-threatening, non-judgmental, trusting climate can be established. It should not be intended that the child feed the adult what she would like to hear, nor that the child be encouraged to extend glib answers in place of deep but unconscious feelings.

Care must also be taken to provide experiences or stories in understandable language. For instance, Piaget's story of a tray with fifteen cups which get broken by a swinging door in the dining room is confusing to a child who has no knowledge of a dining room and whose concept of cups is that of unbreakable plastic. The stories used by Piaget are useful when the children understand the content but the educator may need to alter the wording in some instances to ensure the story remains in context with the child's experiences.

In another of his stories the act of climbing on a chair to reach the jam is intended to indicate that the child is misbehaving but in many cultures this would not be seen as a 'bad' act but one of independence and

self-sufficiency. The boy was able to think out a way of getting to the cupboard even though an adult was not present. The stories must therefore be chosen with care.

Stories of actual experiences may be helpful to a discussion if the children are allowed to respond freely. For example the following story may start the children thinking of reacting to an accident, avoiding the accident and redistributing resources.

The story[1]

Once there was a teacher who sat on the floor and poured the juice into cups on the tray in front of her. One boy had gone to the bathroom and when he came back into the classroom he was running so fast that he fell over the tray of juice and upset some of the cups, spilling the juice.

Questions which may be asked,

a) What should the teacher do?

b) What should the boy do?

c) If there was no more juice, what should the teacher do?

d) If only one cup of juice was spilled, what should the teacher do?

If the discussion has any meaning for the children it

[1]Actual experience in a Nursery School. Montreal October 1978

it will help them in similar situations when one child disrupts another or a group activity is disturbed by an outsider.

Another approach to start children thinking of the feelings and needs of others is to intruduce a problematic situation. "What would you do if you found a super-man ring in the sand box?", "What will you do if someone won't let you have any juice?", "What would you do if someone pushed you off the swing?". Children's replies need to be accepted without comment or value judgment by the educator. After the children have explored their likely response, the educator can then ask the questions which offer a different view. "What would you do if you lost your super-man ring?", "How would you feel if no one gave you any juice?", "What would you do if you pushed someone off the swing?". Exposure to open-ended discussions gives the children the opportunity to realize that there are choices to be made and that others are involved when action is taken.

Fictional stories may also be adapted in the following way but are more appropriate for children from four to six years of age.

Betsy Rabbit

Betsy rabbit loved to play with her friends. Her mother said she could play with her friends but that she must play in the field and never go into the man's

garden because that was a dangerous place for a rabbit. Betsy told her mother that she would not go into the garden and then went off to play with her friends. They had a good time playing house and pretended to cook the supper and eat the meals. Then two of the little rabbits wanted to get some real food and have a real picnic in the play-house. Betsy remembered about the carrots and lettuce in the man's garden ...

Questions which may be asked are "What should Betsy say?" "The little rabbits were very hungry, they had not had anything to eat all day. Can Betsy help?" "Betsy told the rabbits where the carrots were and they went to get them themselves. When they came back they had many carrots. Should they give Betsy any?" "If they want to share with Betsy, what should she do?" When questioning the children in this manner it must be understood that the children's answers must be respected and the adult must not use them to moralize or chastise. The methods of Piaget and Kohlberg should not be utilized without recognition of their theoretical principles of stages of moral development. The cognitive development theory stresses the non-moral characteristics of a child under six or seven years of age and the stories used with these children can only be viewed as simple beginnings to the deliberative processes.

The day care center and nursery school provide the

child with a different experience of society. Often a young child has had limited contact with the outside world and only has experience of the social interaction within his family. At an age when his orientation is egocentric the child finds himself as a member of a group, all at approximately the same age and all at a similar level of development. The educator should be aware of the child's lack of ability to become an integrated member of the group and that rules, fairplay, justice etc. are not part of his conscious reality. Rules must be established to ensure the safety and security of the children but the adult must be prepared to continually re-state and explain the rules and the reasons for the rule. Consistent application must be encouraged but the child's lack of understanding, remembering or compliance must not be interpreted as disobedience requiring punishment. Rather, the adult must assume responsibility for ensuring that rules are adhered to but at the same time minimizing the number of rules to those which are really necessary. Positive redirection is preferable to negative recriminations and can generate a more trusting climate for primary social experiences.

Children, placed in day care situations, often have their first experience of interacting with differing ethnic backgrounds. Piaget suggests that opport-

unities to socialize give the child first hand experience required to form the cognitive structures needed to accommodate new information. Acceptance of, and respect for, all ethnic differences by the educator is necessary. By modelling non-prejudicial attitudes, the educator is able to demonstrate behavior, or as Piaget writes, "Preaches by example rather than precept" and this examplory behavior "exercises an enormous influence".[1] Children learn the rules of respect for others and see how rules set by the educator are applied to all.

Piaget stresses the importance of play to foster development in the early years. This has been interpreted in some instances as the preparation of an environment which provides particular experience designed to foster cognitive development. Kamir and Deuvries (1970), Furth and Wachs (1974) and Lavetelli (1970) have designed curriculum kits to provide sequenced activities which allow individual participation and progress. These curriculum units may be viewed as offering the necessary experience to encourage intellectual development and reasoning ability, and therefore start the child on the right path for later moral development.

[1]J. Piaget, The Moral Judgment of the Child. p.319

An educator responsible for young children needs to be cognizant of the approximate age at which a child would be expected to function at a particular stage. This knowledge would enable the educator to limit expectations of moral reasoning to the parameters outlined by Piaget and Kohlberg, and at the same time be aware of the time when the child can be helped to encounter the type of experience which will introduce the child to the beginnings of the next stage.

Knowledge of all stages of moral development would also offer personal realization of the educator's own moral development and also that of her peers, co-workers and parents with whom she comes in contact. Understanding of responses given at different levels of development may help an educator deal with moral issues which arise in the functioning of a center or school in a positive, cooperative way rather than in a spirit of conflict of ideals. Kohlberg (1969) suggests that the study of moral development itself generates new perspectives and personal development which in turn are revealed to others.

Summary

Cognitive development theory of moral development centers on the sequential levels which are apparent once the child is functioning at the concrete operation level. It is generally assumed that this level is not reached until the child is approximately seven years old. The theory is therefore somewhat beyond the scope of application for children under five years of age.

However, as moral development is believed to be a component of general cognitive development it may be argued that provision of experience thought to foster cognitive development would offer foundations for later moral development. If a child's logical thought process is delayed by the lack of stimulating, insightful experiences, then the moral development will also be retarded; certain skills and abilities are pre-requisites for more advanced learning.

It is these pre-requisite skills and abilities that an early childhood educator should foster through the medium of play as stressed by Piaget. The emphasis must be on the child experiencing the environment by interacting with it on an individualistic, self-motivating basis.

The educator must not confuse experiences of the child with adult demonstration of concrete materials or adult-directed activities with materials or graphic illustrations. The child can only experience the environment when he himself is totally involved and discovering first-hand the properties, possibilities and effects of concrete materials.

A study of the cognitive development theory would also enable the educator to determine appropriate expectations of the moral, social behavior of young children. Knowing the type of moral responses which are given at different stages of development, the educator can ensure that adult demands are kept within the realistic expectations of the child's moral development. At the same time the adult must assume responsibility for rules and limits and must not expect young children to be self-determining in moral issues.

The educator through the study of moral development will also become more aware of her own level of moral development and the differences in perspectives of her co-workers and the parents of the children.

Chapter Four

Behavioral Theory

Behavioral Theory

In contrast to the two theories previously discussed, the behavioral theory is not primarily based on the work of one scientist. Rather the theory has gained acceptance through the work of many behavioral theorists, offering a body of knowledge which is complex and wide in scope. This chapter offers a brief overview of the basic principles, providing a basis for further discussion of moral development in young children.

The behavioral theory is based on the assumption that all behavior is learned behavior and is the result of many independent learning processes. Heredity is considered of little significance as a source of behavior patterns. It is thought that the encountered environmental factors are the determinants of an individual's behavior and that personality is molded by environmental experiences.

The proponents of the behavioral theory suggest that behavior is learned through external reinforcement and that behavior can thus be manipulated and changed by a system of rewards offered as reinforcement. The question of how each particular behavior is learned and

how a behavior beomes habitual, is central to the behaviorists' enquiry. The implications of the principles of behavioral theory to child-rearing and child-development is obvious. If all behavior is learned through the interaction with environmental factors then the significant adult in the child's world can arrange or provide the necessary processes. Behavior is studied to determine which stimuli, intentionally or unintentionally applied, brings about a particular response. Scientifically controlled observations enable scientists to ascertain how individuals respond to the environment and which stimulus produces a behavior or repetition of a behavior. The determined stimulus can then be continued or increased to encourage specific behavior, or decreased to discourage the behavior. The application of stimuli is referred to as reinforcement by the theorists and it is said that the rate of desirable behavior can be increased and made habitual by reinforcement techniques. It is in this manner that the child learns appropriate social patterns and the values, beliefs and standards of a society.

The behavioral theory has many roots but the behavioristic movement in psychology is usually linked to the work of Watson (1910) who discarded the psychoanalytic concepts and focused attention on overt, observable behaviors which he believed were learned by

associationistic processes (Baldwin 1968). Later, proponents such a Skinner (1953), Bindra (1959), Bandura and Walters (1963), McGinnes (1970) and others, emphasized that each unit of behavior is an independent act and each act is independently acquired. The theorists believe in the principle that behavior is learned and, if the correct processes are used, all behavior is malleable, changeable and controllable.

One of the more simple forms of learning-behavior is through classical conditioning. The experiments of Pavlov (1927) demonstrated that a reflex response can be brought under control of a conditioned stimulus. It was found that the timing of conditioning stimulus was important in the rapidity and effectiveness of the desired result.

A second type of conditioning is that of 'instrumental conditioning', sometimes referred to as operant learning. Baldwin describes instrumental conditioning as

> An action that is not tied to any specific stimulus and which can be put under the control of a stimulus by rewarding the action consistently when it is performed in the presence of the stimulus.[1]

To bring about a desired behavior such as a child putting away his toys when he has finished playing with them, the

[1] A.L. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. p. 389

behavior is controlled by rewarding it consistently with something desirable to the child such as a candy or words of praise. Thus the child will associate the reward with putting away the toy and repeat the behavior in anticipation of the reward. The person using instrumental conditioning can therefore determine that randomly occurring activities be controlled and conditioned to become behaviors which can be activated regularly.

Skinner (1953) demonstrated that animals can be taught specific behaviors such as pigeons playing ping-pong, which are not considered part of their usual behavior repertoire. By reinforcing each desired associative behavior immediately Skinner was able to condition the pigeons to accumulate all the behaviors which corresponded to playing ping-pong.

Instrumental conditioning was found to be more effective when the reinforcement was given immediately following the response and continued in a regular pattern. Skinner was able to shape the pigeon's behavior by consistently rewarding actions which were desirable.

The stimulus which increases the frequency of behavior is identified as positive reinforcement, that is the behavior receives a response which brings satisfaction or pleasure to the organism. A behavior pattern already learned may be extinguished by repeatedly

failing to reinforce it. Baldwin points out that "empirical data reveals not all responses which have overtly disappeared are actually extinguished".[1] The behavior may be inhibited rather than extinguished.

> The currently favored hypothesis is that behavior can be extinguished by non-reinforcement ... punishment, however, teaches the child something different; he learns to inhibit the behavior. The inhibition is reinforced by the avoidance of punishment.[2]

Thus a child will repeat behaviors which bring rewards of pleasure; extinguish behavior which brings no rewards and inhibit behavior which brings pain or discomfort. In later experiments it was found that not all reinforcement needs to be applied continuously. Ferster and Skinner (1957) found that partial reinforcement could be effective and they delineated four basic schedules of reinforcement.

The 'fixed interval' schedule provides reinforcement after a fixed interval of time; the 'variable interval' schedule provides reinforcement at irregular times; the 'fixed ratio' schedule provides reinforcement after a fixed number of attempts; and the 'variable ratio' which provides reinforcement after a variable number

[1] A. L. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. p. 400

[2] A. L. Baldwin, op. cit., p. 401

of attempts.

Partial reinforcement has been found to be effective when used on humans and it is believed that anticipation of reinforcement is enough to activate some behaviors. A child, having experienced reinforcement for a particular behavior, may repeat the behavior in anticipation of a reward and an occasional reinforcer will be enough to encourage repetition.

Conversely, partial reinforcement may lead to the repetition of behaviors which the conditioner would like to eliminate. Parents, who occasionally 'give in' to undesirable behavior, may be reinforcing the very behavior they would like to extinguish.

The further complexity of behavior theory is revealed by the concepts of 'chaining', 'secondary conditioning', 'habit-family hierarchy', and 'generalization'. Skinner (1938) suggested that in a complex behavior pattern each reinforced component of the behavior is sequentially linked by the organism. Once the pattern is established, reinforcement can be with-held until part, or all, of the complex behavior is completed. For example, a pigeon is first rewarded for being close to a ping-pong ball. Once this behavior is established the reinforcement is then with-held until the pigeon touches the ball. When the pigeon consistently touches the ball the reward is again with-held until the pigeon

pushes the ball. Thus staying near, touching and pushing the ball become part of one activity and the pigeon is thought to link the ball-behaviors; and the sequence is continued until the desired behavior (in this case playing ping-pong) is achieved. This process was named 'chaining' and thought to explain many of the sequential patterns of human behavior.

Secondary conditioning is found to occur when more than one stimulus is given., The secondary stimulus may be effected simultaneously with the primary stimulus, or may precede or follow the primary stimulus. In each case the association is made by the receiver, and the secondary condition can become the reinforcing agent. Chimpanzees were taught by Wolff (1936) to accept poker-chips as rewards which could then be exchanged for food, thus responding to the primary stimulus but rewarded by the secondary stimulus. Baldwin (1968) suggests that humans value secondary reinforcement because it enables them to obtain more primary rewards; that is humans will work for a pay cheque knowing that it will provide the means to obtain the things they desire.

Behaviors become more consistent in an individual's behavior pattern and are said to become habits. Hull (1943) felt that, in a complex organism, habits become interrelated and offer alternative means to reach a goal. Berlyne (1965) expanded the habit-family theory to include

the concept of 'chaining' which suggested that cognitive processes generate multi-directional paths toward the same goal. An individual can anticipate many alternatives, using habit-family hierarchies, and retract or return to a link in the sequence of chaining if the route is obstructed or unavailable. Thus a child trying to obtain a toy may try a variety of behaviors such as taking it, asking for it, or staring at it, if these behaviors have been reinforced previously and the desired object obtained. Hull and Berlyne (1967) assumed that all of the chaining processes are responses which have been learned through stimulus-response, though the more complicated habit-family hierarchies are not demonstrative in laboratory research procedures.

The concept of generalization describes the behavior which is generated by stimuli similar to the conditioning stimulus. Having been conditioned to respond to a specific stimulus, the individual may respond whenever stimuli are similar enough to be 'generalized'. A young child; having learned that one adult will produce candy from a bag when kissed, will often kiss all adults expecting the same reward. Similarly, if a child has been scratched by a cat when petting it, he may become fearful of all furry animals, including toy ones, generalizing that all furry animals scratch.

Discrimination is another aspect of conditioning

which enables the organism to disregard generalization and attend to specifics. Through discrimination an organism will restrict the response to a specific stimulus and learn to discriminate similar stimuli from the exact stimulus. Thus, in the above examples, the first child would discriminate between those who gave candy when kissed and those who did not; while the second child would learn that not all furry animals are cats and that not all cats scratch when they are petted. Baldwin (1968) states that both generalization and discrimination are essential factors in learning a language and in developing cognitive ability. A child must be able to generalize in order to include the multiplicity of learning schemes, and must be able to discriminate to bring order to the many stimuli encountered.

In behavioral terms, child development is seen as a shaping of a child by socializing factors. The child is constantly and continuously given positive reinforcement for particular behaviors. Parents are usually the prime instigators of the child's conditioning but they themselves are conditioned by society as well as the immediate family. The consistency and appropriateness of the reinforcement will determine the effect on the child's behavior.

Bandura and Huston (1961) demonstrated by their

research with nursery school children that adults often teach through incidental learning and this may result in the child learning the very activity that the adult was trying to eliminate. A child may be told not to play with a ball in the back-yard. However, lack of parental concern may lead to the behavior being ignored at times with only the occasional conflict experienced when the parent will punish the child for disobeying. The occasional punishment may be found to be positively reinforcing if the child prefers the excitement of a confrontation; prefers punishment to being ignored or enjoys the power of upsetting a parent.

The research of Bandura, Ross and Ross (1964) indicated that learning also takes place through vicarious reinforcement. Thus seeing another person rewarded for a particular behavior can lead to the repetition of that behavior in the observer without the actual experience of either the stimulus or response. The findings of the above mentioned research suggest that some children learn more substantially through vicarious reinforcement than others. It is not clearly defined what makes one child respond to vicarious reinforcement more positively than another or whether the learning that takes place is more lasting in some children than others. The researchers suggest that further studies are required, but it cannot be ignored that learning takes

place through observation as well as through direct experiences.

Many of the social and cultural norms of behavior are thought to be fostered by an individual learning, through observation, which behaviors are reinforced by society at large and which members of a social group are esteemed as social models. Parents, teachers, and others use this principle by bringing to a child's attention examples of both acceptable and unacceptable behavior, and the rewards given or withheld for those who display the respective behavior. Unfortunately, in many societies, behavior which is generally acknowledged as unacceptable is rewarded by interest, attention and financial success. A criminal, convicted of an horrendous act against the state or against people, becomes famous and wealthy by writing his or her memoires or having a film or television series depict the excitment of the criminal's life-style. Similarly, anti-social acts are dramatized as exciting and daring suggesting to the observer that these anti-social acts are acceptable if one can avoid punishment or need for retribution.

Yarrow, Campbell and Burton (1968) suggest that identification of both incidental learning and observational learning is difficult. Their empirical research

of child-rearing practices in regard to the development of aggression did not substantiate stated theories. They state,

> We have come to the rather severe conclusion that many of the hypotheses that have been advanced relating the child's aggression to frustrations, punishments and rewards in the rearing practices of the mother, have not been substantially supported by consistent findings.[1]

Never-the-less there is much evidence that adults, as conditioners and role models, play a major role in conditioning children's behavior. Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957), Hartup (1958), Bandura and Huston (1961), Bandura and Walters (1963) and others have found that behaviors can be manipulated by direct reinforcement and by providing situations which can be observed. Adults influence children's behavior, either consciously or unconsciously, by stimulus-response techniques.

The human infant is physically and psychologically dependent on a nurturing adult and this dependency is thought to be the basic element in the early stages of the infant's social development through stimulus-response interaction. The infant demonstrates its needs by expressing attention-seeking behaviors and gradually learns which behaviors bring about the desired goal.

[1]M. Yarrow, J. Campbell and R. Burton, Child Rearing. San Francisco: Jossey Bass Inc. 1968 p.92

Hunger will make the infant uncomfortable, it cries and the mother appears and provides food which brings comfort. Later the child may learn that some behaviors such as babbling or smiling bring about a faster or more pleasant response and will then use these behaviors to attract attention. Most of the socialization behaviors are thought to be learned in a similar manner with an individual conditioned to express socially acceptable behaviors by selected reinforcement.

The dependency of the child on the parent makes the child concerned about the loss of love and nourishment. Parents often use this concern to bring about desired child behaviors by withdrawing love as aversive reinforcement. The conditioning of the child to behave in a socially accepted manner is termed the socialization process.

McGinnes postulates that reinforcement of particular behaviors develops behavioral habits and, once these habits are established, will influence feelings, emotions, attitudes, and values. A child goes to church to gain parental approval; the church-going becomes a habit; the habit is reinforced by other socializing agents; the habits are found to be pleasurable and the satisfaction operates to develop favorable attitudes toward going to church, toward others who perform the same activity and toward the values expressed by the

institution.

As the child grows older and interacts with many non-parental groups, other influences and reinforcements operate to shape an individual's behavior. Peer groups, for instance, often exert their own reward system which may circumvent parental controls or influence and lead to what Rakeach (1968) terms 'situational control'. A child will behave one way when with his parents and in quite a different manner when with his peer group. Individuals learn to express different behaviors in different situations.

Learning thus occurs through classical or operant conditioning and by observational acquisition. In normal child-rearing and teaching it is believed that combinations of techniques are applied. Rewards and punishments are used to condition a child to express socially acceptable behaviors and attitudes. Conditioning is believed to influence an infant in the first few weeks after birth (Mussen, Conger and Kagan 1979) and observational learning within the first year. Bandura (1963), links the influence of observational learning with the development of cognitive processes, particularly the acquisition of language and suggests that observational learning continues throughout life.

The differences in adult behavior and personality within a society, or between varying cultures, are

assumed by learning-behavioral theorists to be the outcome of conditioning.

McGinnes states,

> The basis for model behavior patterns in any society is to be found in child-rearing practices common to the society ... Certain characteristics of adults in different cultures are traceable to child-rearing practices that are distinctive to that culture.[1]

Research indicates that a child's behavior can be controlled if constant reinforcement techniques are used. As all behavior is thought to be shaped in this manner it would follow that moral behavior can therefore be fostered and maintained by knowledgable adults.

[1]E. McGinnes, Social Behavior: A Functional Analysis. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1970 p. 97

Summary

The premise that all behavior is learned and that the learning takes place as a result of many independent reinforcement processes is basic to the behavioral theory. A brief overview offered in this chapter indicates that as more complex behaviors are studied, additional concepts are introduced to explain particular behavior patterning.

It is thought that behavior is shaped not only by direct stimulus-response-reinforcement schedules but also by imitation and observation of others. Society provides the child with the reinforcement and models to imitate and observe thus enabling the child to learn the behavior patterns acceptable in that particular society.

Moral Development Components of Behavioral Theory

The focus of behavioral theory on how behavior is learned rather than which behaviors are learned circumvents to some extent the moral development issues. The task of the researcher is to determine what causes a behavior to be initiated, repeated and habituated. Once causes are identified they can be utilized by others to condition behavior.

Behavioral theorists imply that each individual accepting the role of conditioner will determine which behaviors are to be learned; which behaviors are desirable and therefore fostered by reinforcement techniques; or which behavior is unacceptable or deleterious and is to be extinguished. The value of the behavior is decided by the person or group activating the conditioning. It is assumed that child-rearing adults and parents in particular will encourage behavior which is deemed worthwhile in a particular social context, usually fostering the behavior which they themselves have learned from their own parents.

In a stable, non-mobile society, the general acceptance of a group of behaviors would enable learning to

take place with few opposing forces. Conflicts are more likely to arise in a changing, mobile society where members of different cultures intermarry, experiences are diverse, and no one group of behaviors is reinforced by the general social group.

In spite of the non-value, non-moral stance of behavior theorists, anti-social behaviors have been studied with interest from the behaviorists' perspective. The non-conformist, the deviant, the leader, and/or the deserter have exhibited behaviors which focus attention on the variables of behavior expressed in any one social group. Questions arise regarding how people from the same social group and reared in similar circumatances acquire different values and different modes of behavior. How do individuals acquire character traits, develop value systems and express particular attitudes?

McGinnes (1970) suggests that all attitudes may be expressed by overt action or verbal bahavior but are derived from latent learned behaviors. An attitude is both a response and a disposition to a response and may cover a wide range of expressed behaviors. An attitude towards a particular ethnic group is learned through a series of reinforcing activities which in turn is reflected by the way an individual reacts or interacts with the ethnic group. The prejudices exhibited in a family, the type of recreation engaged in, and the type

of restaurants avoided are a few learned behaviors which are generated by conditioning towards or against another social group.

It is thought that the emotional and cognitive components of an attitude have been formed as conditioned responses to stimuli. As an individual builds a family of attitudes many of the expressed behaviors begin to form a profile of types of activities. An individual is said to be 'an aggressive person', 'a conservative person', 'a delinquent', 'a stable person' or 'a great guy'. The labelling of an individual and society's response to the expected behavior further reinforce a person's image of self and in turn foster continuing and related behavior which reflects the label.

Skinner (1974) warns of the confusion which arises when inner causes of behaviors such as attitudes, opinions and traits of character are taken as synonymous with feelings which cannot be observed. He stressed that a person's character must not be seen as the inner cause for expressed behaviors but only as a set of conditioned behaviors shaped and maintained by the environment.

> When we are helping people to act more effectually our first task may seem to be to change how they feel and thus how they act, but a much more effective program is to change how they act and

thus, incidentally, how they feel.[1]

Human behavior is controlled by others but, according to Skinner, an organism also acts on the environment and in doing so, controls it. Every human is both controlled and a controller and sometimes those who find that being controlled is an unpleasant experience take action with countercontrol. The emergence of the countercontrol is thought to be expressed by benevolent, compassionate and pro-social behavior or by aggressive social behavior. Lack of ability to form countercontrols is exhibited by those too weak to protest social controls such as the young, the aged, the psychotic and the retarded. Those who are able to change controls to make life more satisfying for others are thought to be moral and compassionate. Those who make life unpleasant for others are thought to be immoral and anti-social. Behavioral theorists acknowledge the phenomena of countercontrol but affirm that each individual acts, morally or immorally, pre-social or anti-social, not because he is acting on principle or purpose, but because of the contingencies which have shaped his behavior and created the conditions he feels. Skinner writes,

> We sometimes say we have acted in a given way be-

[1]B. F. Skinner. About Behaviorism. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1974 p.174

> cause we knew it to be right or felt that it was right, but what we feel when we behave morally or ethically depends on the contingencies responsible for our behavior. What we feel about the behavior of others depends on its effect on us; what we feel about our own behavior towards others depends on the action others take.[1]

Skinner maintains that the difference between the behavior of animals and the so-called moral and ethical behaviors of humans is brought about by the social environment and social interactions with other humans. If we would aim for a moral world we must provide a social environment which reinforces moral behavior and extinguishes immoral behavior. If a moral society is a good; if it is desired that a social group behaves morally and justly towards each other; then morality and justice must become social contingencies and not personal possessions.

Society, through child-rearing practices, molds children, giving them what may be termed 'a national character' or 'a culturally based personality'. Government, religious leaders, teachers, and parents provide social contingencies which shape the behavior of the coming generation. McGinnes, reviewing research in the area of social behavior, states,

> Without doubt, those behavior repertoires designated as habits, attitudes, beliefs, values, and other dimensions of adult behavior have their

[1]B. F. Skinner, op. cit., p. 192.

> origins in early learning. These behaviors and behavior dispositions are developed and maintained through their consequences to the individual, and they may be understood in terms of the stimuli that come to control them and the reinforcements that are provided by both the physical environment and the social community.[1]

Habits are formed in early childhood through parental/social conditioning. It is thought (Mischel and Liebert 1966) that some habits remain active after reinforcement is discontinued through self-reinforcement. The individual, finding the environment no longer provides reinforcement, rewards himself. They feel that "...for humans self-administered reinforcers constitute powerful incentives for learning and powerful incentives for the maintenance of behavior patterns."[2] Some behavior thus becomes self-regulated and forms part of the individual's reportoire of behaviors. Self-administered controls are often regarded as a 'conscience' but behaviorists point out the antecedents are conditioned behaviors, and even self-regulating controls are supported by social contingencies and the imposition of the control on others.

Behaviorists such as Allinsmith (1960), Burton,

[1] E. McGinnes, Social Behavior: A Functional Analysis. New York: Houghton Mifflin Comp. 1970 p. 73

[2] W. Mischel and R. M. Liebert. "Effects of discrepancies between observed and imposed criteria on their acquisition and transmission." Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. 1966 Vol 3 p.45

Maccoby and Allinsmith (1961), Hoffman (1962), Bandura and Walters (1963), Rosenban, Moore and Underwood (1976) discuss the issues of the development and expression of guilt and a conscience as opposed to resistance to temptation and obedience to imposed rules. They suggest that there are two aspects of the construct 'conscience'. One is the degree to which a person resists temptation, the other is how a person atones for his mistakes. The child who resists temptation is thought to be reinforcing self by internal thoughts of self-praise, and the child who atones for mistakes may be viewed as displaying negative reinforcement to self. Self-administered reinforcements are considered learned behaviors which are acquired from the response received from significant adults. Bandura and Walters, after many studies, felt that these factors were two distinct modes of responses which are the result of different types of conditioning.

> Resistance to temptation involves the classical conditioning of emotional responses, the habit of responding self-punitively appears to result from instrumental conditioning.[1]

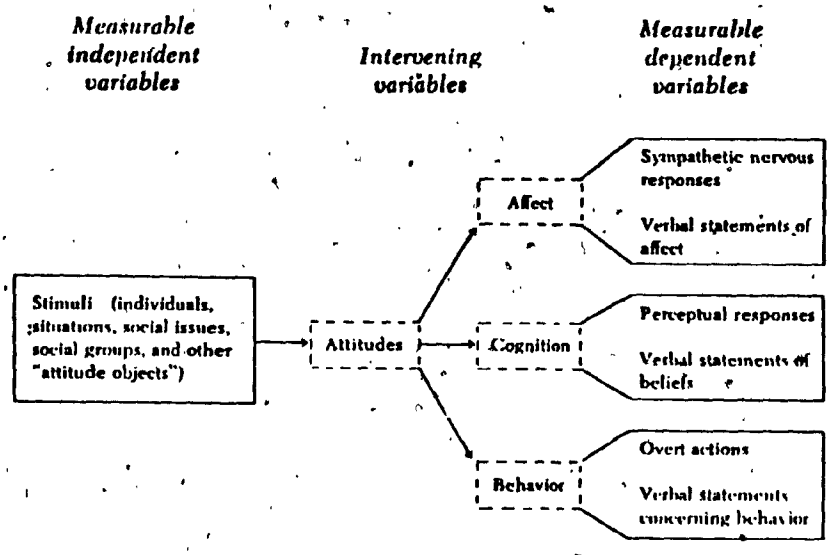
The research of Sears, Rau and Alpert (1965) supported the view that the acceptance of responsibilty for unaccpetable behavior was an outcome of operant (instrumental) conditioning. They further stated

[1]A. Bandura and R. Walters, Social Learning and Personality Development. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston Inc. 1963 p.203

that a strong conscience was the outcome of positive conditioning techniques which untilized the love relation to the parent for their effects, whereas a weak conscience was brought about by parents whose conditioning techniques were negative and administered with coolness and lack of affection.

The attitudes which humans develop are considered to be an outcome of a latent repertoire of behaviors. In turn a person's attitude is thought to influence a wide range of behaviors, and knowledge of an individual's particular attitude makes prediction of behaviors possible. These latent behaviors do not fit easily into the parameters of observable behaviors but are included in the studies of Campbell (1963), DeFleur and Westie (1963), McGinnes (1965), Rosenberg and Hovland (1960) and others, and have become a matter of much discussion in learning-behavior literature.

Rosenberg and Hovland suggest that attitudes influence expressed behaviors as shown in the following chart.



One conceptual schema for relating attitudes to stimuli and responses. (From Rosenberg and Hovland, 1960)

In determining the contingencies of moral development it would seem that attitudes, their formation and maintenance, have been found to be components of expressed moral behaviors; research findings of behavioral scientists indicate that attitudes are learned by social conditioning. McGinnes warns however,

> Deep seated attitudes are the products of extensive reinforcement histories in the natural environment, and it is unlikely that these learning experiences can be dupicated experimentally.[1]

Attempts to modify attitudes of others range from parents trying to rear their children within the frame-

[1]E. McGinnes, Social Behavior: A Functional Analysis. p.330

work of their family values; religious and political leaders trying to gain followers and supporters; social institutions trying to change so-called anti-social people such as delinquents and criminals; one culture trying to change the attitude of another culture, and advertising agents trying to change attitudes toward products.

Among certain Indian tribes Klineberg (1954) found that children as young as five years old were already inculcated with the tribes' most valued character trait. In one tribe the children expressed generousity and pleasure in sharing; in another tribe the children at five years were displaying aggressive, hostile behaviors toward others which were considered of value to this warrior tribe.

In present day society manipulation of others, their feelings, values and attitudes extend beyond merely attempting to influence current behavior and involves systematic endeavors to influence attitudes. Many of these attempts may be justified by viewing them as helpful to the moral development of others. Parents often stress they wish to bring up their children to be honest, considerate, obedient to social laws and respectful of cultural values; criminal therapists hope to change a criminal's immoral attitude towards society in order to become a more moral person and function pro-socially.

The goal in those situations is to condition others to develop moral attitudes which are expressed by moral behavior; or to reinforce moral behavior in order to generate change towards moral attitudes.

Moral development is therefore the development of behaviors deemed important by the significant others in life through the learning-behavioral process. An intent to foster moral behavior in others demands the determination by the conditioners of what is moral and desirable, and which forms of reinforcement will bring about behaviors in an effective and lasting manner.

Analysis of Behavioral Theory

One of the distinctive features of behavioral theory is the attempt by researchers to base their theoretical constructs on well defined, controlled, and scientifically testable methodology supporting clearly stated hypotheses. This rigorous approach has led to wide acceptance of the theory, influencing many people engaged in changing the behavior of others through child-rearing interaction or educational methodology.

The behavioral theorists' openness to new knowledge and research is another feature of the approach. The study of human behavior is acknowledged to be complex and it is assumed that further research will reveal knowledge which will add to the theoretical concepts already established (Baldwin 1968). What must remain constant is the scientific approach and each hypothesis must be tested with rigorous adherence to controlled experiments if it is to be accepted by other behavior theorists.

Notwithstanding the difficulties encountered when dealing with complex human behaviors, the behavioral theory and methodology of research has offered precise

structures, terminology and focus. It has enabled the study of behavior to become scientifically more valid through controlled observation and experimentation. Non-scientists, as well as scientists, became more aware of the continuous process of their own, often unacknowledged, conditioning techniques on others.

Commenting on the scientific stance of the behavioral theorists Baldwin (1967) points out that the intentions of the early theorists to ensure that theoretical principles be scientifically testable have, at times, been overlooked. As the study of behavior revealed more complex views the rigorous, objective criteria has sometimes been sidetracked and more abstract theorizing put forward.

> As evidence accumulated, both in neurophysiology and psychology, it becam increasingly apparent that the connection between stimulus and response was exceedingly complicated. Stimuli interact with each other so that the effect of a combination of them is not predictable from a knowledge of their individual impacts.[1]

More recent attempts to use behavior strategies to determine how and why children behave in particular ways have included the study of concepts such as aggression, frustration, love and caring which are elusive and ambiguous. Researchers Yarrow, Campbell and Burton

[1] A. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. p.471

(1968) suggest that the interpretation of labels given to particular components and behavior concepts makes the reading of research data extremely difficult. They found that definitions of concepts such as aggression, caring or loving cover a wide range and what may be viewed as aggressive behavior by one observer may not be considered aggressive behavior by another observer. The subjectivity of the viewer towards behavior makes empirical experimentation less valid. Baldwin argues that many behavioral theorists are using subjective concepts without acknowledging the shift from objective to subjective structures.

> The research would have been facilitated had the subjective elements been explicitly recognized and labelled. The reluctance of theory to label its subjective concepts by their subjective names has resulted in ... confusion.[1]

It would therefore be important that those attempting to change the behavior of others be aware of the difficulties likely to be encountered when dealing with subjective elements.

Yarrow, Campbell and Burton also found that much of the data gathered in research on child-rearing includes observations or statements from non-scientists, such as parents or care-givers and therefore loses to

[1] A. Baldwin, Theories of Child Development. p.479

some extent the rigorous criteria and precise objectivity of an experienced, scientific observer using controlled laboratory experiments.[1] Students of behavioral theory should be cognizant of the subjective elements likely to be evident in non-laboratory experiments and research.

The caution necessary is particularly relevant to discussions of moral attitudes and behavior. A child may be conditioned to respond in a particular manner to a stimulus but may not evidence any feelings or emotions. The area of affect-conditioning which would bring about a transfer of moral or social behavior to related situations is one that remains difficult to assess. An individual's affective domain is seemingly influenced by many stimuli and not easily tested in laboratory isolation.

It is obvious that children cannot be experimented upon in controlled conditions for long periods of time as is possible with animals. Ethical considerations make it impossible for scientists to condition children to be socially unacceptable or educationally retarded. Yet caution must be exercised when extrapolating find-

[1]This is not to suggest that scientists are never parents but that parents in general cannot be considered scientists.

ings from animal experimentation and applying them to humans.

There is considerable research evidence, however, to indicate that an adult can be instrumental in shaping a child's moral behavior. What is needed is a clear view of which behaviors are to be generated or fostered and a consistent program of reinforcement. Success is expected to be achieved faster and remain constant for a longer period if the immediate social environment provides similar rewards for the same behaviors.

Summary

The behavioral theory holds as one of its basic principles that all behavior is learned through social interaction and the response elicited from the human and physical environment. A behavior will increase and become habituated if it receives reinforcement and will decrease and become extinct if no reinforcement or aversive reinforcement is received.

Reinforcement may be the outcome of unconscious activities by the reinforcer, or may be a systematic, deliberate plan intended to change a particular behavior. It is the latter structure which is believed to bring about consistent and predictable behavioral changes which are likely to become habits.

Moral behavior is viewed as a complex behavior but one which can be changed as a result of conditioning, exposure to models and administration of rewards and punishments. If a society desires its members to be moral citizens then it must reward moral behavior. To effectively bring about this state of affairs each member must have the knowledge, skills, patience and theoretical expertise to identify, generate and maintain the desired behavior.

Practical Application of Behavioral Theory in Early Childhood Education

The focus of behavioral theorists on how behaviors are learned and become habitual in an individual's performance and activities, supports the scientific stance of objectivity. Research attempts to demonstrate empirically just how behavior is learned and what action may be taken to perpetuate, change, or extinguish a particular behavior or sets of behaviors. Aronfreed (1966), Bandura and Walters (1963), Burton, Maccoby and Allinsmith (1961), and Sears (1960, 1961, 1965) indicate that the study of child-rearing and child-development is not easily confined to laboratory environments and control; and careful measurement is not easy to establish in a natural setting with the inevitable, multiple variables. Studies have therefore indicated that some behaviors are pro-social and society wishes to encourage them, whilst other behaviors are anti-social and efforts are made to extinguish them.

Those engaged in the caring of children from birth onward, whether parents or educators, are all participants in the socializing process. The application of learning behavioral theory may therefore be assumed to

be a vehicle to ensure that the process can be established with awareness of the necessary techniques for a specific behavioral outcome. Skinner (1974) writes that it is the social environment and the social interaction that the child experiences which will determine the moral and pro-social behaviors habitualized.

As an agent in the socializing process, the early childhood educator must be cognizant of the moral and social behaviors and attitudes which she is reinforcing. A knowledge of behavioral techniques, reinforcement procedures and assessment methods are necessary for a responsible approach.

The first step, and perhaps one of the more difficult steps, in establishing a process to foster moral development is to identify which behaviors or attitudes are worthwhile and therefore to be encouraged, and which behaviors or attitudes are deleterious and should be extinguished. The identification of worthwhile behaviors must also be viewed in the context of who is expected to express the behaviors and at what age. Notwithstanding Watson's statement (1930) that all behavior can be brought about by conditioning, it is generally acknowledged that time is needed to bring about certain behaviors to an acceptable level. No one has suggested that a one year old child can be conditioned to run a mile in four minutes, or a two year old conditioned to

repeat Eistein's scientific experiments. Implicit in the writings of behavioral theorists is the notion that conditioning is attempted with maturational or age factors in mind, and that an infant cannot be expected to change all behaviors concurrently. Programs established to modify behavior of disturbed or retarded children emphasize the need to structure procedures so as to change one component of behavior at a time. The identification of behaviors thought to enhance moral development is therefore dependent upon the values of the conditioner, and the relative physical and mental maturity of the subject.

The values of the conditioner, either parent or educator working with young children are, according to behavioral theorists, usually based on the reinforcement strategies experienced in childhood by the conditioner. If an adult has found that telling the truth is reinforced and rewarded the value of the behavior is established and will be deemed important to foster in others. In a stable, relatively unchanging society, values and attitudes are transmitted from one generation to another without conflict. In a changing mobile society the identification of worthwhile behaviors to be learned by others becomes a more complex task. Too often no one moral behavior can be isolated as finding acceptance by all cultures making up the social group, all religions

represented in one social group, or all facets of a society. For example, the value of 'telling the truth' may be of importance to most religions but cannot be said to be reinforced by a society which supports false advertising, supports the expediency of twisted facts in family or social interaction, and rewards those who manipulate the truth.

Lacking an established, supportive value system, the individual must determine whether the values he or she wishes to encourage are representative of social values or are personal values which can be justified as beneficial to children as a group.

The young or inexperienced parent or educators often finds the determination of their own moral stance difficult to establish. They themselves are being conditioned to accept change as they mature, and in the present North American context, are influenced by different value systems within a social grouping. It is possible that parents may be in conflict with the educator and the child may be both rewarded and punished for the same behaviors.

To avoid this conflict it would seem essential that the identification of values to be encouraged in young children must be pursued conjointly by parents and educators. It is not suggested that complete agreement will likely be achieved (it is generally acknowledged

that even parents of the same child often have difficulty agreeing on moral issues) but rather that there is an understanding of basic values and moral attitudes and a clarification of potential conflict situations..

Conflicts are less likely to arise if an educator has a similar cultural, educational, religious , and social background to the parents of the children for whom she is responsible. It is more difficult to find a common approach if the backgrounds are different and neither the educator nor the parents have been exposed to, or included in, contrasting cultures or social groups. Sociologists refer to the 'cultural shock' experienced by many people who suddenly find themselves in a different cultural milieu. Observations of child care centers in Montreal suggest that every educator should be prepared to work with a plurality of cultures, religions and social groups, and must be sensitive to the many outlooks and approaches likely to be expressed by different families. Conditioning the child to accept narrow views of one person such as the educator, which are in conflict with parental views, could confuse the child and lead to 'situation control' (Rakeach 1968) or schizoid reaction. Damaging the child in this way defeats the intent of leading the child to develop moral attitudes.

Notwithstanding the complex situation of deter-

mining the value or moral component of behavior, educators are likely to find themselves supporting some behaviors and eliminating others. Once the decision has been made concerning which behavior is to be encouraged and which behavior is to be extinguished, the second step is to determine who demonstrates which behaviors, where these behaviors occur and what, if any, are the antecedents of each specific behavior. This step requires that an observer document the particularities and determine whether there are patterns of behavior for a child or a group.

The third step is to set up a program of conditioning; the positive reinforcement to be used; the schedule of reinforcement; and the people who are to be involved.

Aggression directed towards others is one of the anti-social behaviors that parents and educators usually agree must be controlled in a child care center. Having determined the valued behavior, that of non-aggressive socialization, the educator must then decide how the non-aggressive behavior can be encouraged and the aggressive behavior discouraged. It is necessary to determine which children express aggressive behavior and which children express non-aggressive behavior; how and when these behaviors occur and what acts as reinforcing agents for each of the behaviors.

Objective, documented observation of each child's aggressive behavior is necessary and will reveal the children who demonstrate aggressiveness and those who demonstrate non-aggressiveness; the activity where most aggressiveness takes place and the activity which encourages cooperation; and the precursors to the expression of aggressive or non-aggressive behavior. The educator can then determine which behavior she will encourage and which one she will eliminate, and design a plan of action which will detail the responses and reinforcement techniques to be used by all adults working with the children. Thus the children will learn to control their aggressive behavior and interact non-aggressively with others.

It is often difficult in a child care center to achieve the team-work approach necessary for success in modifying behavior. When many people are involved and work in shifts or on different days, coordinating and controlling the conditioning program becomes a demanding task. Mutual understanding of goals, values, techniques and criteria can only be achieved if all the members of the staff are prepared to study the issues and work together for solutions. In his work with emotionally disturbed children Bettleheim (1950) found that it was necessary for all members of the school, including office workers, cooks, cleaning maids and janitors to be part

of the team in order to give the children consistent messages. Ideally a child care center should offer the same approach but this seems rather unrealistic when it is sometimes difficult to obtain adequate staff, let alone a dedicated, caring team.

The conditioning that takes place in a child care center is therefore more likely to be confined to the educators working directly with children. Given a high ratio of educators to children it would be possible to follow a determined sequence of reinforcement and chart the extent of the changes in behavior which are demonstrated in the center. For instance, if one child has been found to hit children with a hammer when playing at the woodwork bench, the educator may design a modification program which ensures that the child will be praised each time he uses the hammer constructively (positive reinforcement) but is removed from the activity and the hammer taken away (aversive reinforcement) as soon as he demonstrates a behavior which indicates that he may hit another person with the hammer. How long a period he is suspended from the activity must be predetermined and consistently applied until the unacceptable behavior is eliminated. The reinforcement procedures for acceptable behavior are then continued on a 'variable interval' schedule until the behavior becomes a habit and is integrated into the child's behavior

pattern. This behavior is only situational unless parents also follow the same procedure at home. It may become generalized if other reinforcement is supportive, for example, if peers refuse to play with the aggressor, but these contingencies cannot be controlled to any extent by the educator.

The above example of modifying a particular aggressive behavior can be repeated for each behavior which is deemed unacceptable by the educator. It is a specific program to extinguish a specific behavior.

A more general approach may also be considered by an educator working with young children. Hilgard and Bowen's research (1966) demonstrated that the application of general positive reinforcement using verbal rewards, smiles and friendly gestures brings favourable results by encouraging acceptable behavior. Telling a child that his contribution to the group has been helpful, "Thank you, we liked the way you gave out the apples" or "You really helped us tidy up by putting all the paper scraps in the garbage" reinforces the behavior. The educator applies general reinforcing techniques, thus conditions the group and modifies their socialization. When undesirable behavior is expressed it is useful to observe the reinforcement obtained. Often undesirable behavior unwittingly receives positive reinforcement. For instance, one of the 'punishments'

sometimes used in a group situation in a child care center is to require a child disturbing the group to sit next to the educator for the remainder of the group activity. As young children are often looking for physical contact with an adult this 'punishment' actually offers the child a reward and thus encourages the child to disrupt the group another time. Similarly laughing or smiling at a child's 'silly' behavior encourages the child to repeat the behavior. Much to the child's surprise, the same behavior repeated is then declared unacceptable by the adult who smiled encouragingly in the first place. These situations can be avoided if the educator is aware of the rewards she is transmitting and how reinforcement processes increase the rate of behavior.

When working with children in a group situation it must be remembered that the positive reinforcement of one child's behavior encourages others in the group to imitate the behavior. An educator, laughingly benevolently at a child putting his fingers in his ears may find herself confronted by twenty children sitting with fingers in their ears; a situation much harder to deal with than anticipated by a smile at one child, and one which is often dealt with by reversing the reward. What has been acceptable at one moment becomes unacceptable the next, confusing the children who are responding to both positive and negative reinforcement.

Behaviors which are usually viewed as morally significant can similarly be positively reinforced in a child care center. This may include concern for others, a capability to share objects or self, an ability to work and play with others, honesty, obedience to group rules, acceptance of age-appropriate responsibility and willingness to make reparation if deviant. Proponents of Piaget's theories may reject some of the mentioned components as inappropriate for young child but they are nevertheless typical of parental and teacher expectations, and are considered controllable by reinforcement.

It was suggested in the previous chapters that attitudes can also be shaped by reinforcement techniques. How a child feels about others of a different skin colour, who dress differently, who speak another language or eat different foods is influenced by the reinforcement received for behaviors related to one of the above factors. An educator, often unconsciously, rewards outward signs of rejection while verbally stating a moralistic view. For example, a white child may notice the colour of another child's skin and his first response of curiosity may be turned into rejection of colour unless the situation is handled sensitively by the educator without prejudice in her tone, gesture or verbal response.

As children are thought to learn attitudes by observation, the educator must be seen to demonstrate

acceptable moral behaviors as well as verbally state her moral values. If she always avoids physical contact with a retarded child or ignores parents from a particular ethnic group, the children will observe and follow the example given, incorporating negative attitudes toward retarded children or ethnic groups, even though the educator may repeatedly state her views of equality. This dichotomy may be the outcome of society itself reinforcing equality statements but non-reinforcing equality action; or may be a demonstration of a behavior (prejudice) in the process of being conditioned but not yet completely modified or habituated. Both processes have the same confused message for the child who is subjected to inconsistent conditioning.

Development of a 'conscience' is viewed as important in the moral domain. The two aspects of the conscience, that of resistance to temptation and atonement for misconduct, are thought to be shaped by behavior techniques. Parents and educators are likely to include both aspects of conscience in their goals for child-rearing and education. It may be thought important for a child's physical safety for rules to be obeyed. Rules for crossing busy streets, for curbing curiosity in potentially dangerous situations, and for the well being of the group, are just a few continuously cited as

necessary for a child's healthy survival. How many rules are applied and which rules are seen as necessary for the functioning of the child care center and the safety of the children are two aspects which must be decided by the educator, either in conjunction with parents and other staff, or as a self-determined pattern of social needs.

Once the rules are determined the educator must ensure that each child knows what the rule is and why it is thought necessary. Short, direct explanations are most helpful to the child and will avoid the confusion brought about by lengthy, complicated explanations. Each rule must be repeated many times throughout the year when young children are involved, and conditioning techniques kept consistent. Young children should not be expected to remember and act on instructions after one verbal direction but must be conditioned to respond appropriately. Positive reinforcement must be given each time the rule is obeyed during the early period of learning, then variable scheduling of reinforcement can be used until it is observed that the rule has become habituated. Averse reinforcement is applied when the rule is broken and again the child should be made more aware of the rule and the adverse consequences which can be expected. For instance, a child who pushes others when on a high slide may be barred from using the slide for a specific time.

Skinner's experiments indicate that immediate consequences have more impact than delayed consequences, so the educator should endeavor to ensure that reinforcement, both positive and averse, is directly related to the behavior and carried out immediately. Making a child go without an afternoon snack for breaking a road-rule in the morning has little or no impact on changing a behavior. Learning-behavioral respondent conditioning techniques correctly applied ensures that children obey the rules set by those in authority.

The second aspect of conscience is the affective component which determines the degree of guilt an individual feels and the patterns of atonement activated. These responses are believed to be conditioned by operant conditioning and the most positive response brought about by a loving, caring adult (Sears, Rau and Alpert 1965). Thus an educator can be instrumental in conditioning a child to respond to situations with self-initiated reinforcement. Feelings of guilt would control unacceptable behaviors and motivate action for atonement. Establishment of a warm, caring environment, together with a well defined operant conditioning program would effect more lasting changes according to behavioral theorists. The research findings of Mischel and Liebert (1966) indicated that children also modify their behavior when the consequences are the same for both the adult model and the

child observer. An educator must then ensure that both adults and children in a child care center receive the same consequences for behavior. An adult who spanks a child for hitting a peer or shouts at a child to make him be quiet is demonstrating a lack of consistency and will therefore have little influence on a child's self- regulating behavior.

McGinnes (1970) suggests that inconsistent reinforcement patterns may be the precursor of rebellious, anti-social behavior. He states,

> Inconsistencies between the behavior of adult models and the performances they require of their children and pupils may be an additional factor contributing to ... the perplexing ecology of delinquency or even simple youthful rebellion.[1]

Inconsistencies between a group of staff members or between parents and educator may be difficult to resolve but should nevertheless be delineated and attempts made to resolve areas of conflict. If a society has as its goal a socialized, moral social group then efforts must be made to ensure that young children learn behaviors which are aligned, not in conflict, with society's goals. Parents and educators must therefore offer a basic core of reinforced behavior for both adults and children if they are to succeed in fostering non-deviants.

[1]E. McGinnes, Social Behavior: A Functional Analysis. p. 314

The role of models and observed behavior cannot be ignored when caring for, and educating, young children. The influence of significant adults on the behavior of young children is pervasive. Educators must therefore be cognizant of their own behavior and controls. By controlling one's own temper one provides a model of self-control. By voicing felt emotion and acknowledging that it needs deliberate effort to control it, the educator is modelling the process as well as the result; a valuable experience for children. "I'm very upset that some children injured the hampster. Please wait until I am a little calmer before you ask me questions" shows children how adults deal with unacceptable situations and strong emotions.

Bandura and Walters (1963) pointed out that most parents and educators deliberately or unwittingly use conditioning techniques but few program or plan the reward system or the modelling observed. Demonstrated behavior is often at variance with stated values, parents and educators at variance with their established values, and different cultures perpetuate divergent values. The child nevertheless is exposed to many, if not all, of these confusing variants and an educator desiring to modify behavior towards that which she feels morally justifiable, must endeavour to bring some consistency and commonality to the child's experiences.

Summary

Moral development is not isolated as an issue by behavioral theorists. The assumption is that those behaviors deemed moral respond to reinforcement in the same manner as all other behaviors. The determination of a child's moral development is the value society places on moral behavior. If moral acts are valued then they will be reinforced consistently and will become part of a reportoire of behaviors.

The educator caring for young children is able to reinforce behavior which she considers moral and extinguish behavior which she considers immoral. This can be achieved when she is working directly with the children, but if the moral behavior is to be generalized all significant adults in the child's life should be reinforcing the same behavior. Differences in adult response make the behavior situational and the child learns to behave differently in changing circumstances.

One of the issues an educator must resolve before applying the behavioral theory to practical situations is the need for clear understanding of the moral behavior she wishes to foster and the ways in which a child may express the behavior. Only then can positive action be taken.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

Conclusion

This study has been undertaken as an attempt to determine whether the inclusion of moral development, as a component of a child's total development, can be justified in a curriculum or program designed for use with children from birth to five years. Should an educator responsible for the care and education of young children be concerned with a child's moral development? If so, which processes and procedures should be emphasized, or which theory of child development should be followed?

The study of three theories of moral development presented in this paper has followed a structure suggested by Schwab. He believes that solutions to educational problems are practical in nature and cannot be achieved by the application of one theoretical construct. Each theory, Schwab maintains, is limited by its method, perspective, generality and abstract resolutions and must be examined for its weaknesses and strengths, its distortions and its focus. Mastery and analysis of a theory must be achieved in order to prepare a theory for practical use.

Schwab suggests four steps are necessary to

complete the process. First the problem must be defined. Next a selection of scientifically accepted theories pertaining to the problem must be studied in order to reveal the priciples of each theory which distinguishes it from others, and to examine the methods of scientific enquiry used. The theory must then be analysed to determine the range of deliberations, the limit of view and the strength of argument. Lastly, each theory must be assessed regarding its value to the educational problem and the practical solutions. The assessment should then determine the feasibilty of application, the parts which can be directly applied to the practical - the pupil and the learning environment - in order to bring about desired change.

In attempting to apply the constructs of three particular theories to the practical problem of how to foster moral development each theory of moral development has been studied; weaknesses and strengths analysed; partiality of view declared and the possible application of the theory to the practical explored.

Deliberations such as these can only be considered practical in general terms. They are, in Schwab's terminology, 'quasi-practical' offering application to a wide range of circumstances and given in the context of the writer's view. The actual application of theory or its parts will vary with each individual, each particuar

concrete situation and in each social context.

It must be acknowledged that this study is also limited by its partiality of view. In considering moral development of children only the psychological perspective has been presented. Omitted are sociological, anthropological and philosophical theories of moral development all of which require consideration if a composite approach is desired. Each of these disciplines is likely to provide further plurality of theories in the areas of child development and morality which in turn requires study, analysis and preparation for the practical.

Indeed, Schwab's approach reveals the wide scope of resources relevant to a relatively small component of a child's development. If an educator is to become equally knowledgable about all facets of the work it may be asked when is the educator finally qualified to care for and educate young children. Jessie Stanton, one of the founders of the original Bank Street Nursery School, once stated that in order to become qualified to work with young children an individual should study and obtain experience in a variety of disciplines and "then at eighty-three, she is ready to work with young children".[1]

[1]J. Stanton, Quoted by E. Beyer, in Teaching Young Children. New York: Pegosus. 1968 p.81

It is hoped that educators of young children so not have to delay the pleasure of experiencing their profession to this extent but it indicates the need to ensure that those working with young children are adequately prepared.

Views of Moral Development.

Studies of three theories and the perspective of each theory towards moral development reveals the diversity of views of morality. Psychoanalytic theorists view moral development as a matter falling primarily in the affective domain. An individual has aquired the antecedents of morality if particular character traits are developed. A disposition to moral behavior is an outcome of how one feels about self and others, attitudes that are formed early in life and predominant personality traits which develop at particular stages.

Cognitive development theorists view morality as the outcome of rational, cognitive activity with the ability to recognize problems and use reasoning to determine the action needed. The intellect is viewed as the agent for moral judgments and decisions.

Behavior thoerists choose not to differentiate one particular domain as predominant in moral functioning. All behavior, whether affective, cognitive or psychomotor, is conditioned by the environment. The

conditioning is brought about by significant others in the immediate social environment and is an ongoing experience. To bring about moral behavior, society must reward morality; to foster morality in a child, the significant adult must reinforce the desired behavior.

It is evident that each of the theories studied in this paper has a particular view. They provide a plurality of theoretical constructs which can be applied to the practical problem at hand. Each theory revealed a different approach to the problem of fostering moral development and it was possible to identify concrete situations where each theory could be applied to the practical.

The question now arises as to which of the theories can be viewed as most effective or most helpful to the child's moral development. Which, or which parts of a theory should the educator include in the curriculum or program for young children?

Wilson (1974) in his attempt to define the moral, set down a list of components necessary for success in the moral area, giving the components exotic titles of PHIL, EMP, GIG, and KRAT. He offers a taxonomy of "logical requirements for success in this (moral) area".[1]

[1]G. Collier, P. Tomlinson, and J. Wilson, Values and Moral Development in Higher Education. London: Croome Helm Ltd., 1964 p. 10

These components include the need for positive emotions, attitudes and feelings as well as the intellectual ability to recognize the affective components, be cognizant of relevant facts and be able to use reason to come to a defensible solution of a moral problem. Peters (1965) also views moral development as learning beliefs, purposes and feelings, as well as cognitive attributes of reasoning, planning and problem solving.

The views of Wilson and Peters suggest that morality is a complex affair and that both cognitive and affective issues must be pursued if the subject is to be adequately studied. Those engaged in fostering a child's moral development need diverse abilities and a variety of approaches in their teaching methodology. It has been shown in the study of three theories that each is applicable to different aspects of moral education.

Coming to a similar conclusion Flower, a moral educator, warned against the consideration of moral behavior from one view point only.

> When we grapple with matters of value, we must guard against overemphasis on the cognitive, on concepts and ideas, and against a possible serious underemphasis on the affective, on emotions and feelings ... Values are circumstantial. Certainly reason is by no means the only

component in the circumstances of the environment,[1]

If moral development is to be considered as a component of the curriculum, it would seem that both the affective and cognitive domains must receive consideration. Practical application of both the psychoanalytic theory and the cognitive theory is necessary to provide a child with an holistic learning experience. There is a need to include both components when designing a curriculum and program for young children attending a day care center, nursery, or related institution.

The behavioral theory details methods by which both affective and cognitive moral behavior can be generated. An educator, cognizant of the reinforcement techniques which can increase the rate of a desirable behavior can include specific procedures in her program.

Age-appropriate curriculum.

Consideration of the age-group of the children, and the stage of development the children are likely to have achieved must be undertaken. In planning to foster moral attributes in children from birth to five years of age each theory must be viewed in relation to

[1]G. Flower, "The Choices Before Us", presented at the Fourth International Curriculum Conference. National Education Association 1970 p. 130

the age and stage of development of the children.

Child-rearing and education of children during the first five years would appear to be highly influenced by the application of psychoanalytic theories. During these years psychosexual drives are most active and the need for environmental response is high. Educators responsible for babies and children under five years old should be willing and able to apply parts of the theory to the practical situation.

The cognitive theory can be applied most directly to the practical problem only after children have reached a stage of reasoning. A five year old child may be introduced to some of the more simple practical applications as suggested in chapter two, but the educator must be cognizant of the child's abilities at this age and avoid too high expectations or too much emphasis on moral reasoning. The educator would foster a child's development if she is knowledgable of the stages of moral development, can recognize the child's level of development, and respond appropriately.

The behavioral theory indicates that conditioning of a child's behavior starts soon after birth. The responses of the environment are experienced as soon as the first needs for food, security and warmth are evidenced. When placed in a day care center the child will experience different environmental responses but the

conditioning continues. The educator must therefore know the ways of positively reinforcing some behaviors and aversely conditioning others, and use this knowledge with all aged children.

Application of theoretical considerations.

The purpose of this study was to determine at what age can moral development be fostered, generated and sustained, and whether an educator of young children should include moral development as an integral part of an early childhood curriculum or program.

The first problem, that of determining how early in life does moral development commence, is viewed from differing perspectives. The psychoanalytic theorists propound that moral character traits are formed early in life and that all interaction between the infant and the environment influences personality development. The basic foundation for moral behavior, the elements of moral functioning, and the structures for moral attitdes and action are formed in the first five or six years of life. The behavioral theorists also suggest that formation of habits can be conditioned early in life and patterns of behavior are shaped by the significant adults in the child's life. The emphasis of the above theories on early learning and development and the impact of this learning on moral functioning later in life cannot be

ignored.

The third view, that of cognitive development, suggests that early cognitive development is a necessary foundation for moral development but that moral reasoning and moral cognition do not develop until the child reaches the age of approximately seven years.

The second problem, that of establishing how the theoretical constructs can be applied to concrete, practical situations, is also viewed within the framework of each theory. Each theory provides principles and methods which, as detailed in previous chapters, can be applied to the practical situations encountered in a home, day care center or nursery school. It is possible, to use Schwab's term, "to ready theory for practical use".

Study of the psychoanalytic theory shows that theorists believe positive affective development is the most influential in determining moral attitudes, dispositions, emotional motivation and courage for action. Early childhhod educators are, depending on the length of time they are involved with each child, responsible for personality development to some extent. Parents obviously have much influence also but if an infant or young child is placed in a day care center for ten hours a day, five days a week, the waking hours left to be shared with parents are less than those spent with an educator, or group of educators. The often-repeated cry

of "it's the quality of care that counts, not the number of hours" has merit but must then also be applied to the quality of care given by others. Quality of care for six hours a week will not compensate for fifty hours of neglect. Acceptance of the psychoanalytic theory of moral development demands that adults respond to the child's needs with knowledge, understanding and alacrity, knowing that events of each day contribute to the child's future attitudes and behavior.

Piaget and Kohlberg suggest that functional moral development begins with moral reasoning at the stage of concrete-operations. During the sensori-motor stage what is good is that which brings pleasure, what is bad is that which brings pain. Adult constraints expand the notion that good is when adults approve, bad is when adults give punishment. Adult approval brings pleasure, adult punishment brings pain. Educators of young children should be knowledgable of the stages of moral development in order to avoid imposing unrealistic demands. At the same time provision of an experiential environment would allow children to build ever-increasing intellectual schemata and a foundation for later moral reasoning.

Socialization of young children into socially accepted behaviors begins early in life, according to the behavioral theorists. Each response to an infant's

action is part of the socializing process. The educator of young children must therefore be knowledgable of the conditioning process and aware of personal values and goals which determine the responses given to children. Again, the length of time any one person is responsible for, and interacting with, each child will determine the extent and completeness of the conditioning. The influence of the educator in encouraging or changing behaviors will be also intensified if both educator and parent are rewarding the same behavior or discouraging the same behavior. The commonality of adult requirements will give the child a firm understanding of social expectations. However, my own survey of day care centers in cities like Montreal reveals that many ethnic, cultural, religious and economic differences exist. Even in a relatively stable ethnic grouping there are conflicting values between generations, between recent immigrants and first generation Canadians. The task of delineating common values, determining common reinforcement techniques and communicating schedules and progress is a demanding one, which can only be attempted when good communication between parents and educators exists.

An educator conditions a child's behavior and should therefore be aware and knowledgable of the intent and procedure as soon as the child becomes part of the educator's responsiblity. The long term goal of moral

development cannot be achieved, however, if the values encouraged in a day care center or nursery remain situational and specific, and cannot be generalized in other life experiences.

An Educator's Choice.

Definition of parts of a theory which can be applied to a practical situation gives a choice to the practitioner. Not all theories, or parts of theories, can be satisfactorily applied over the same period of time, even if they appear to be age-appropriate, defensible constructs. A choice must be made.

I submit that the final choice must be made by the educator who will implement the procedures and be directly involved in attempting to foster moral development. Each individual's beliefs, values, motivation, knowledge and experience will influence his or her aim, mode of operation and intensity of involvement. Differences in teaching strategies in both form and content, while using the same theoretical base, would result in different outcomes. Those who believe in the 'drive-from-within' would lean toward the psychoanalytic theory and interact in a different way from those who feel that the outward control of behaviors is the procedure to bring about effective change in behavior.

A thorough study of an accepted, defensible theory

brings new knowledge, insights and understanding which cannot be easily forgotten even if not totally accepted. It may therefore be possible that application of a theory be partially swayed by the knowledge of another theory. Attempts to condition a three year old child to accept another's point of view may be tempered by knowledge of Piaget's stages of development, or response to an infant's psychosexual needs may be guided by knowledge of behavioral techniques.

What cannot be avoided when suggesting an educator will make a choice is the question of the educator's competence to choose ethical and defensible priciples and methods. The ability to make rational choices implies a knowledge of the alternatives in the moral domain; knowledge which should be attained during the period when a person is preparing to become an educator. Colleges and Universities must also include the study of moral development in early childhood education and ensure competence in this area.

Schwab reminds us that practical problems "which arise in the whole web of the original complexity" may require " temporary and textative bridges" to support the application of more than one theory.[1] These bridges would link particular aspects or points of different

[1] J. Schwab, "The Practical: Arts of Eclectic." School Review. August 1971 p. 502

theories; weaving threads from each theory into a whole.

One such bridge may be the factor of the importance of play as a medium for experiential learning. Freud, Erikson, Piaget and Kohlberg all stress the need for the child to explore his own world and learn from self-initiated activities. First hand experience of a supportive and enriching environment is propounded as beneficial to the developmental processes by all three theories studied. It is necessary to allow the child to explore his world and learn fron his own activites. The curriculum should therefore be planned to provide experiential learning in a stimulating environment. Play is regarded as the medium by which a child learns to deal with the world.

Modelling is another factor which can be seen as a link between facets of the theories. A child's attempt to emulate an adult's behavior may be considered one of identification with a moral adult (psychoanalytic); a demonstration of an adult learning as she interacts with the environment (cognitive development) or a situation which enables the child to learn vicariously (behavioral) but nevertheless requires an adult model.

Other bridges, or links, should be identified as program design is outlined and each educator expected to identify them from her own personal perspective.

An individual's approach to the solution of the

problem will be limited also by personal functioning stages of moral development. A compulsively clean person who has not resolved some psychosexual need may find it difficult to undertake some of the suggested 'messy' activites; an adult operating at a low stage of moral development would be unable to foster further development in others; and a spontaneous, intuitive person may find the rigid structures of a behavioral program overwhelming. Mastery of a theory would develop intellectual understanding but does not guarantee ability to overcome established habits or ingrained reactions.

The choice must therefore be made by the educator but this choice should be guided by the considerations of theoretical writings and also be guided by the values, goals and practices of the parents. We must avoid using the children as a vehicle for the expression of adult needs and avoid giving the children two, or more, inconsistent or conflicting life-experiences. During the past few decades, many people held the staunch belief that educational institutions could provide a remedy for all society's ills and shortcomings. Unfortunately it has been demonstrated that such institutions cannot, in isolation, bring about miraculous changes. Communication and cooperation between educators and parents, institutions and populations, is vital if social change is to be more than a flash of inspiration with

no permanent foundation. This communication and cooperation appears even more important between those who undertake child-rearing responsibilities of young children if optimal development of the child is the primary goal.

In seeking answers to the age-old questions regarding the improvement of mankind it is disarmingly easy to relax in the philosopher's chair and plan sweeping reforms for a utopian society. Attempting to find a solution to social problems and ills in the context of a child care center would be naive if the attempts are not seen as minute steps supporting other social efforts to guide young children toward a moral society; an attempt to develop in a few of society's future adults an awareness, an attitude, a feeling, a knowledge and an understanding of that which is moral.

Gabrielle Roy warns that as we seek answers to the continuous need for an improved, if not utopian, society we face realities of the present and often find hope for the future in new beginnings for children. She recognizes

> the vulnerability, the fragility of the children of the world, nonetheless, on their frail shoulders we load the weight of our weary hopes and eternal new beginnings.[1]

[1]G. Roy, Children of My Heart. Trans. A. Brown, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart. 1977 p. 81

However, enquiry into the development of a moral person inevitably leads to the foundations of morality and thus to early childhood development and education.

It would seem that the current thrust for moral education in high schools and colleges is somewhat misplaced if we do not at the same time make an effort to provide all young children, from birth onward, with an environment conducive to positive moral development. The old adage 'prevention is better than cure' must be seen as an aim in all areas of development, including the moral. Neglecting the care and education of young children cannot be condoned if society desires tomorrow's citizen to think and act in a morally responsible manner. In a society where more and more mothers are entering the labour market, leaving their children at increasingly early ages to be cared for by others, consideration must be given to the need for optimal, or at least adequate, care for these young children.

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