How Values Are Learned

An Introduction

This book is about "socialization"—about how new members of a group are helped by older members to acquire the values, norms, beliefs, and behaviors necessary to become successful group members. The process has been described by Bugental and Goodnow (1998) as a continuing collaboration between elders and novices, or old hands and newcomers, as the old hands help the new arrivals become part of the social community. The socialization process occurs in many settings, such as starting a new job, immigrating to a new country, becoming a parent, or joining a social club. In this book, I focus on children as the novices and their parents or primary caregivers as the old hands. It is in the family context that children are prepared to enter and become successful members of the larger social community where they will spend the rest of their lives. Although siblings, teachers, friends, group leaders, coaches, characters portrayed in the mass media, and (increasingly) persons encountered through social media also have roles to play in socializing children, parents are of particular importance because they have greater control over their children, as well as longer and more sustained periods of access to them, than any of these other people.

There are a number of reasons for parents' greater access to and control of their children. First of all, human beings have evolved to have a long period of dependency after birth, and so there is considerable time available for parents to teach values and appropriate behavior. As

well, in the majority of cultures, parents are assigned primary responsibility for this teaching. Because they spend so much time with their children, parents have the opportunity to develop relationships with them that are essential for successful socialization. They also have time and opportunity to monitor their children's activities and so to develop knowledge of what their children are doing, as well as to become familiar with their children's predispositions—another essential ingredient for effective socialization. And, possibly most important of all, parents have to live in close proximity to their children. Therefore, in order to ensure their own comfort and well-being, most parents want to be surrounded by well-behaved children who follow the norms and requirements of family and societal functioning.

Successful socialization in the family means that children must learn to regulate or temper their emotions, so that they are able to control feelings of anger, frustration, fear, and sadness that interfere with the display of socially acceptable behavior. They must also acquire the standards, attitudes, and values that direct this behavior. In the course of deliberately socializing their children, parents also less intentionally teach other skills, including ways of resolving conflict and of viewing relationships. As well, their parenting has both a direct and an indirect effect on their children's feelings of self-esteem and self-efficacy. Finally, when parenting is problematic, it can give rise not only to antisocial behavior or externalizing problems, but also to internalizing problems such as anxiety and depression.

■ THE IMPORTANCE OF PARENTING

Given all that needs to be accomplished during the course of socialization, as well as its importance, it is easily argued that childrearing is the most significant job there is. Indeed, leaving a mark on the next generation, either as a parent or in some other capacity, is central to a sense of satisfaction with one's life. In *The Children of Men,* written in 1992 and set in 2021, the novelist P. D. James describes a world in which it is no longer possible for people to reproduce. As a result, humanity has lost its future. With no children to rear, people cease caring and become depressed. Democracy is abandoned, a dictator rules, and there is no interest in the arts or other activities. Convicted criminals are sent to a penal colony where they are abandoned, and older people are

encouraged to commit suicide. This is a world with no children and no future, and it is far from a happy one—simply because investment in future replacements and in the passing on of experience is what gives meaning to existence.

■ FEATURES OF THIS BOOK

There are many books, articles, and websites about parenting in general, and specifically about how children and adolescents can be encouraged to become productive contributors to, and happy members of, society. They are of two sorts: those intended for an academic and professional audience, and those intended to offer helpful suggestions to parents on how to raise their children. In both cases, however, there can be a problem when findings from the research are mixed, or when the content of the advice is contradictory. Thus one approach may emphasize sensitive parenting that is responsive to the needs and wishes of the child. Another underlines the importance of setting limits and the utilization of rewards and punishments in promoting acceptable behavior. In the middle is an approach that encourages the setting of limits and the utilization of consequences, but that also encourages responsiveness to the child's wishes. Some writers approve of occasional spanking under specified conditions, and others see spanking as absolutely harmful under all conditions. Parents are advised to use positive reinforcement, but they are also told that positive reinforcement can be counterproductive. Time out is alleged to be an excellent form of discipline, but only if administered properly. Children should be cocooned or protected from unpleasant experiences, or they should be exposed to them and taught how to cope. It is not surprising, then, that people sometimes despair at the confusion surrounding how to carry out the most important job in the world. Nor is it surprising that an exasperated mother wrote the following about "expert parenting advice":

> Keep the room warm, but not too warm.
> Co-sleeping is the best way to get sleep, except that it can kill your baby, so never, ever do it. If your baby doesn't die, you will need to bed-share until college.
> Don't let your baby sleep too long, except when they've been napping too much, then you should wake them. Never wake a sleeping baby.
> Swaddle the baby tightly, but not too tightly.

> You should start a routine and keep track of everything. Don't watch the clock. Put them on a schedule.
>
> Put them on their backs to sleep, but don't let them be on their backs too long or they will be developmentally delayed.

This book is an attempt to sort out some of the contradictions and to organize what is currently known about the socialization of children. To do so, I survey research on the various ways in which values and associated behaviors can be acquired, when it is appropriate to use a particular way, and what that way involves or requires. This approach will, I hope, help readers to make sense of what are apparent inconsistencies and offer a way of categorizing or organizing a very large body of knowledge. The framework for organizing the research comes from a "domains-of-socialization" approach, first proposed by Bugental and Goodnow (1998) and Bugental (2000), and elaborated by Bugental and Grusec (2006) and Grusec and Davidov (2010). This approach views socialization as occurring in several different kinds of situations or contexts, with each context involving different kinds of parent–child interactions and different requirements for successful socialization.

■ WHAT ARE THE DOMAINS OF SOCIALIZATION?

To anticipate my later, much lengthier descriptions of the socialization domains, I provide a brief summary here. The first two domains ("protection" and "reciprocity") have to do with the development of a relationship with the parent or agent of socialization that supports the teaching of values and associated behavior in the next three domains ("control," "guided learning," and "group participation"). Specifically, the domains involve the following:

1. *Protection.* Parents act as caregivers and providers of comfort when their children are distressed, as well as help them to deal with distress on their own. As a result, children become secure in the knowledge that they will be kept safe and, ultimately, that they have the ability to cope with distress on their own. The ability to cope with their own distress makes it easier for children to provide assistance to others who are distressed.

Here are two scenarios involving children who are in the protection domain.

Chris (6 years old) is invited to a neighbor's house to see their new dog. Chris hasn't had much experience with dogs, and he says he's afraid and doesn't want to go. His father tries to help him overcome his fear.

Janice (12 years old) comes home from school looking very sad and immediately goes to her room. Her mother asks if anything is wrong. Janice says that she has just had a fight with her best friend and is afraid they will never be friends again. Her mother expresses concern.

2. *Reciprocity.* An exchange or egalitarian relationship is set up, with parent and child mutually interactive and compliant. This domain reflects an inherent tendency to reciprocate favors: When one partner complies with reasonable requests, the other partner is more likely to comply with that individual's future reasonable requests.

Here are two examples in this domain:

Alan (5 years old) and his mother are waiting in the airport terminal for their boarding call. Mother is texting, and Alan is bored. He asks his mother if they can go and watch some planes taking off. Mother agrees to do so, if they don't go too far. (Later, on the plane, Alan's mother asks him to stop kicking the seat in front of him, and Alan does so immediately.)

Stella (8 years old) asks her father, who is watching the news, to play a card game with her. Dad finds this particular card game especially boring. However, he complies. (Later, Dad asks Stella to bring him the newspaper. Stella does so immediately.)

3. *Control.* Misbehavior is corrected through the use of reward and punishment, combined with reasoning and explanation. In this domain, the relationship is a hierarchical one, and children are required by their parents to learn to regulate or control their own behavior in accord with societal demands and values.

Here are two examples in the control domain:

Amanda (8 years old) is extremely difficult to get up in the morning. As a result, she makes other people late for work or school. Her parents try to get her to be more considerate of the other family members' needs.

Charlie (14 years old) is frustrated because he can't solve a math problem for school. His mother is trying to help him when his

younger brother asks if he can borrow Charlie's new baseball bat. Charlie yells at his brother and tells him to keep his grubby hands off his (Charlie's) possessions. Charlie's mother tries to get him to better control his anger.

4. *Guided learning.* Appropriate action is encouraged through teaching at the child's level of understanding. The goal here is for the child to internalize or take over the parent's way of thinking, including the parent's values.

Examples of guided learning are as follows:

Tara (8 years old) and her father walk by a homeless man lying in a doorway. Tara asks her father why he is lying there. Her father begins a discussion about people who are homeless and in need.

Jimmy (5 years old) likes to have his father read him stories at bedtime. His father especially likes to select stories that involve being kind to other people or to animals.

5. *Group participation.* Information about what is acceptable behavior is acquired through watching others and engaging in routines and rituals, as well as in socially approved activities with others. Socialization in this domain takes advantage of the child's desire to be a member of the group and to be similar to other members of the group. It includes learning by observing others, as well as acquiring values and related actions by actually engaging in desirable behavior with others.

Two examples of group participation are these:

Terry (12 years old) is not as kind and considerate as his parents would like him to be. They try to provide examples of kind behavior that will help him to change. For example, Terry and his parents routinely visit an animal shelter where they spend time walking the dogs.

Grace (8 years old) wants to watch TV with her mother. Her mother suggests they watch a well-reviewed movie about a young woman with a disability who trains hard and wins a medal at the Paralympics.

Table 1.1 summarizes each of those domains. It lists the particular kind of parent–child relationship that is elicited in each domain, what the parent needs to do to be an effective agent of socialization, and how parenting works in that domain. In some cases, the parent is reacting to something the child has done; in other cases, the parent is anticipating

TABLE 1.1. Domains of Socialization, with Type of Parent–Child Relationship, Nature of Required Parenting, and Mechanism Involved in Each Domain

Domain	Relationship	Parenting required	Mechanism
Protection	Provider–recipient of care	Alleviate child's distress	Confidence in protection
Reciprocity	Exchange	Grant reasonable requests	Innate tendency to reciprocate
Control	Hierarchical	Discipline in effective way	Learning of self-control
Guided learning	Teacher–student	Scaffold learning	Internalization of teacher's approach
Group participation	Members of the same social group	Expose to positive behavior through observation and participation	Sense of social identity

what the child might do in the future (and either encouraging or discouraging such future action, depending on its acceptability). Specifically, the protection, reciprocity, and control domains all involve an initial action on the child's part—distress, a request, or behavior of either a positive or negative nature. The guided learning and group participation domains involve parents taking the initiative and engaging in teaching or providing models of positive social behavior, as well as providing opportunities for engaging in such behavior.

This book includes five chapters (Chapters 3–7) that are devoted to each of the domains, with the intention that the categorization into domains will help to highlight central features of socialization and to show how effective parenting can be achieved in each domain. Each of these five chapters begins with a brief historical overview of how research in that particular domain came to be conducted, including its theoretical underpinnings and the way in which conceptualizations of that domain have changed over time. In real life, of course, domains do not operate in isolation, and parent and child often find themselves in more than one domain or moving from one domain into another. I defer a discussion of this to Chapter 8, after each domain has been fully described on its own.

Before I move to a discussion of domains, however, there are issues having to do with socialization in general that need to be addressed.

These are presented in the rest of this chapter and in Chapter 2. The present chapter deals, first, with the fact that parent and child influence each other's actions, and so this back-and-forth exchange has to be unpacked in order to gain a fuller understanding of how socialization happens. Next comes a discussion of the range of values that are involved in socialization, their features, and their relation to behavior. Finally, I comment on the role of culture in socialization. Chapter 2 focuses on the most important values and the ones that have received the most research attention—those having to do with morality or concern for fairness, justice, and avoidance of harm to others, and those of concern and consideration for others. I have included this chapter because moral development has been much studied by researchers who have been concerned with either moral reasoning, moral affect, or early-appearing moral behavior. I have tried to link these three areas of inquiry—reasoning, affect, and early behavior—to some of the material covered in the rest of the book.

■ ESTABLISHING DIRECTION OF EFFECT OR CAUSALITY IN PARENTING RESEARCH

A great deal of research having to do with parenting and children's socioemotional development is correlational in nature. As a result, it is difficult to make assertions about whether parenting is having an impact on the child or vice versa, whether there is an exchange of influence, or whether genetic similarity provides the explanation. Children may be aggressive because they have been socialized harshly or in an aggressive manner, or parents may be harsh because their children are aggressive and harshness is the only approach that seems to work. Or a parent and child may be promoting aggressive and harsh behavior in each other. One could ask, for example, if a child is behaving badly because that child is routinely spanked for bad behavior, or whether the child, for some set of reasons, is badly behaved and drives the parent to engage in physical punishment. It would not be surprising to see that the answer involves both possibilities: The parent does not socialize the child optimally, and the resulting problematic behavior in the child leads to further deterioration in parenting practices. An additional possibility is that both parent and child are aggressive and harsh in their exchanges because they share some of the same genes. Of course, the

impact of children on parents can also be positive. When children are kind and helpful, for example, this behavior may well have an effect on how their parents treat them.

Several methodological approaches can be taken to inferring direction of effect in parenting. These approaches include the collection of longitudinal data, experimental studies, and the use of findings from behavior and molecular genetic studies.

Longitudinal Studies

In longitudinal studies, data collected at two or more time points allow the researcher to control statistically for level of behavior exhibited at an earlier time. Should there still be changes in the outcome of interest, such as a child's antisocial behavior, it can be more justifiably inferred that some feature of parenting was the cause—although it is also possible that a third, unmeasured variable linked with the parenting variable is making the causal contribution. For example, it might not be harsh parenting that is causing a child's aggression, but poverty (a variable that is linked to harsh parenting). Nevertheless, longitudinal studies are more informative than those where information is all collected at the same point in time.

Experiments

Experiments are excellent for determining direction of effect. Their disadvantage is that it may be difficult or simply unethical to manipulate the kinds of variables that socialization theorists study. It would be a challenge, for example, to ask one randomly selected group of parents to use one form of discipline and a second group a different form, even if those forms appear to be equivalent in their desirability and acceptability. One very useful form of experimentation with respect to socialization variables, however, involves a therapeutic intervention. Parents whose children are noncompliant, for example, may seek help in modifying their children's behavior. As I describe in Chapter 4, one possible tool for promoting compliance is for parents themselves to comply with their children's reasonable requests, and this is a change in approach that can be trained. Studies described in Chapter 4 support the idea that children's compliance can be improved when parents are helped to change their approach or response to their children's reasonable wishes.

Behavior and Molecular Genetic Studies

Because children and their parents share, on average, 50% of their genetic material, a correlation between parent behavior and child outcome could be due simply to the similarity of their genetic makeups. Findings from behavior and molecular genetic studies can be used to help make inferences about direction of effect, or even to reach a conclusion that neither member of the dyad is having a direct effect on the other. The two kinds of gene–environment associations relevant for parenting and socialization are "passive" and "evocative" gene–environment correlations.

Passive gene–environment correlations occur when parent and child share a genetic composition that is driving their own behavior; in this case, the parent is not causing the child's behavior, nor is the child causing the parent's behavior. Consider, for example, the fact that parental warmth and children's prosocial behavior are often found to be correlated (Hastings, Miller, & Troxel, 2015). The usual assumption is that parental warmth sets the conditions for children's developing sensitivity to the needs of others. However, both parental warmth and children's prosocial behavior have been shown to have a significant heritability component. Should genes for these two behaviors be present in both parents and children, then a positive relation between parental warmth and children's prosocial behavior could be attributed, in part at least, to a shared genotype rather than to parenting behavior (Knafo & Jaffee, 2013).

Another example of effects that result from shared genetic makeup comes from a study of offspring conceived with assisted reproductive technologies. In this study, investigators found that there was a correlation between smoking during pregnancy and children's development of attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), but that the correlation was significantly greater when the child the mother carried was genetically related rather than unrelated (Thapar et al., 2009). These results suggest, then, that a reasonable explanation for the relation between smoking and ADHD lies in the fact that a tendency to smoke and ADHD are genetically linked, rather than smoking's being a substantial causal factor.

Other approaches demonstrating the operation of passive gene–environment correlations come from studies that find associations between a parenting variable and a child outcome in related individuals (biological parents and their children), but not in unrelated individuals

(adoptive parents and their adopted children). Again, this is evidence that the direction of effect is not from parent to child, but instead that genetic similarity is driving the actions of both dyad members. Molecular genetic studies can also shed light on the direction of effect issue. For example, mothers' sensitive behavior and their children's attachment are correlated. This could reflect a causal relation between maternal sensitivity and children's feelings of security. However, variation in the oxytocin receptor gene has been associated with both maternal sensitivity and infant attachment status, thus suggesting that genetic similarity is playing a causal role in the connection between mothers' sensitivity behavior and attachment (Avinum & Knafo-Noam, 2015).

Evocative gene–environment correlations occur when children's genetically mediated behavior affects the environment or parenting that they receive. Such an effect can be established, for example, when parenting received by monozygotic twins is more similar than that received by same-sex dizygotic twins. Given that parenting is similar for monozygotic twins (who are identical in their genes), but that it differs for dizygotic twins (who share, on average, only half their genes), differences in parenting behavior have to be attributed, in part at least, to these genetic differences. Another way of studying evocative gene–environment correlations is by considering parenting in adoptive families of children with different genetic characteristics. Ge et al. (1996), for example, found that adoptive parents reacted differently to children whose biological parents had psychiatric difficulties compared to those whose biological parents did not: The former were more antisocial, and their adoptive parents were harsher. Evocative gene–environment correlations become stronger with age (Elkins, McGue, & Iacono, 1997)—a not surprising finding, given that children become more independent as they grow older and are thus in a better position to have an impact on family functioning.

■ VALUES AND SOCIALIZATION

"Values" are beliefs that are associated with emotion or affect and that motivate behavior. Individuals who value honesty, for example, are likely to act in an honest way because of the emotion or motivation aroused by lack of honesty. During the socialization process, parents help children learn values that manifest themselves in their children's actions. The word "help" is important, because actions and values are

not simply transmitted from parent to child; they are constructed by the child, based on a whole series of events that are addressed throughout this book.

I turn now to several questions that can be asked about the learning of values:

> What kinds of values do people have in general?
>
> What values do parents think are important to teach their children?
>
> Are some values better to teach than others with respect to their effects on children's well-being?
>
> Are all values taught in the same way?
>
> Are some values affected by genetic factors?
>
> What is the relation between values and behavior?

What Kinds of Values Do People Have?

Schwartz (1992) identified 10 basic values that human beings hold: self-direction, stimulation, hedonism, achievement, power, security, tradition, conformity, benevolence, and universalism. Their definitions are provided in Table 1.2.

The 10 values can be organized into a circular motivational continuum. Their ordering on the circle is determined by the degree of similarity or compatibility that exists between them. Values are considered to be compatible if actions that express or promote the goals of one also express or promote the goals of the other. Values are in conflict if actions that promote one do so at the expense of the other. The more compatible values are, the closer they are to each other on the circle. The more incompatible they are, the greater the distance between them on the circle. As examples, benevolence and universalism go together: The person who cares for others can also care for principles of social justice; there is no conflict here. On the other hand, the person who values achievement and power may have more difficulty espousing caring and concern for others. Thus these two values are distant from each other on the circle, because they have incompatible motivations. As people adapt to life experiences, their values change, but not in a random manner. Rather, the changes reflect the strength of a given value on the circular structure. As one value increases in importance, there

TABLE 1.2. Definitions for Schwartz's 10 Values	
Value	**Definition**
Self-direction	Freedom to think and act on one's own
Stimulation	Excitement, novelty, and change
Hedonism	Pleasure and sensuous gratification
Achievement	Success according to social standards
Power	Dominance through control of people and of material and social resources
Security	Personal and social safety
Tradition	Maintaining and preserving cultural, family, religious traditions
Conformity	Compliance with rules and avoidance of harming or upsetting others
Benevolence	Being reliable, trustworthy, caring toward others
Universalism	Commitment to equality, justice, and protection for all people and for nature

are compensating decreases in the importance of a value on the other side of the circle.

In 2012 Schwartz and his colleagues (Schwartz et al., 2012) made some additions to the original model (see Figure 1.1). These changes consisted of more refined breakdowns of the initial values. Nevertheless, Schwartz et al. found that the ordering of the original 10 values around the circle remained more or less unchanged. Also unchanged were four higher-order values that are also shown in Figure 1.1. On opposite sides of the circle are openness to change and conservation—a positioning that reflects conflict between independence of thought and action on the one hand, and resistance to change on the other. Also on opposite sides are self-enhancement and self-transcendence—a placement that underlines the conflict between values emphasizing concern for the welfare and interests of others, and those that involve the pursuit of one's own interests and dominance.

Value hierarchies are similar across cultures (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001). Thus, in a survey of value hierarchies involving representative samples from 13 nations as well as schoolteachers in 56 nations and college students in 54 nations, benevolence consistently emerged
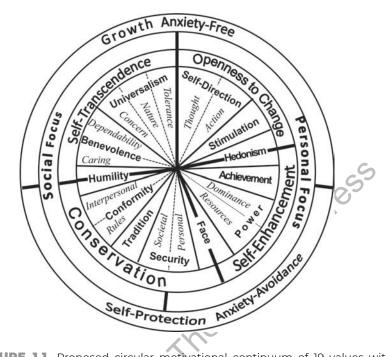
FIGURE 1.1. Proposed circular motivational continuum of 19 values with sources that underlie their order. From Schwartz et al. (2012). Copyright 2012 by the American Psychological Association. Reprinted by permission.

at the top of the hierarchy of values across nations, followed closely by self-direction and universalism. Security, conformity, and achievement appeared in the middle of the hierarchies, followed by hedonism. Stimulation, tradition, and power were at the bottom, with power consistently last. This does not mean that there were not differences in the degree of importance assigned to a given value in individual nations; there were such differences. There was, however, striking unanimity across cultures in the ranking of different values.

Schwartz and Bardi offered an explanation for this ranking in terms of three requirements social groups impose so that successful functioning can occur. I describe them here in order of importance. The first is the maintenance of cooperative and supportive relationships among group members in order to avoid conflict and facilitate survival; loyalty to and identification with the group and its members are essential. Thus benevolence (helpfulness, honesty, forgiveness, loyalty, responsibility) is of primary importance. Universalism is also

important, but not so much as benevolence, because universalism is directed to members of the out-group (it refers to equality and protection for all) and thereby endangers in-group solidarity. (It should be noted, however, that Schwartz et al. (2012) found that universalism and benevolence had changed their relative positions.) Power is harmful to the maintenance of group solidarity and hence occupies a position at the bottom of the hierarchy. The second requirement for successful group functioning is that individuals be motivated to perform productive work, solve problems, and generate new ideas and solutions. Hence the moderate importance of achievement values. Finally, some gratification of self-oriented needs and desires is critical in order to avoid individual frustration. Thus the values of hedonism and stimulation are of some significance, although these are less likely to be promoted by social agents, because they are less relevant to group survival.

What Values Do Parents Consider Important to Teach?

Surveys of Parents

In a report published in 2014, 815 American parents were asked by an American polling organization (the Pew Research Center) to consider a list of 12 values and to say what they thought were the important ones to teach children. The results are summarized in Table 1.3. The number in the first column after each value is the percentage of parents who said this value was among the three most important values to teach, and the number in the second column is the percentage who said this was the most important of these three values to teach. The results indicate that being responsible, working hard, helping others, and being well mannered were most strongly endorsed as important to teach. In Schwartz's terminology, these parents had self-direction, benevolence, universalism, and conformity as primary goals for rearing their children.

Narratives from Young Adults

In my research lab, my students and I have collected narratives from undergraduates who were asked to describe a time when they learned an important value from a parent or primary caregiver (Vinik, 2013; Vinik, Johnston, Grusec, & Farrell, 2013). The range of events our

TABLE 1.3. Percentage of American Parents Choosing a Value as One of the Three Most Important to Teach Their Children (Column 1) and Rating a Value from That Group as Most Important (Column 2)

Value	Among three most important	Most important of three chosen
Being responsible	94	54
Hard work	92	44
Helping others	86	22
Being well mannered	86	21
Independence	79	17
Creativity	72	10
Empathy	67	15
Persistence	67	11
Tolerance	62	8
Obedience	62	12
Religious faith	56	31
Curiosity	52	6

Note. Data from Pew Research Center (*www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/09/18/families-may-differ-but-they-share-common-values-on-parenting*).

undergraduates reported offers some additional insight into the kinds of values that parents teach. We did not ask what parents thought were important values for their children to have. Presumably, however, we were being told about values and associated actions that these undergraduates believed their parents felt to be important. The largest number of values reported by the students involved not behaving in an antisocial way (being honest, not harming others physically or psychologically)—similar to Schwartz's universalism. Next came working hard, or Schwartz's achievement. Although achievement is of only moderate importance in Schwartz's model, it was understandably of considerable importance for these first-year undergraduates. Next came looking after one's own health and safety—security, in Schwartz's terminology. Significantly different from universalism (not harming others), but no different in frequency from achievement and security, was concern/caring for others (benevolence).

Are Some Values More Likely Than Others to Be Linked to Positive Socioemotional Outcomes?

Researchers have compared values in order to see if some are more likely than others to be associated with positive outcomes for an individual's well-being. Kasser and Ryan (1996), for example, distinguished so-called "intrinsic" from "extrinsic" values. Intrinsic values include aspirations for personal growth, meaningful relationships, social responsibility, and physical health. Extrinsic values include financial success, physical attractiveness, and social recognition. They found that intrinsic values were more likely than extrinsic values to be associated with happiness and well-being, both in a community sample of adults and in a sample of undergraduates. One explanation for this finding is provided by self-determination theory (Ryan & Deci, 2017), which posits that people need to feel that their behavior is self-determined or autonomous, rather than directed by others. Extrinsic values depend on external rewards, praise, and evaluations by others, and so those sorts of values run counter to the basic need for self-direction (Ryan & Deci, 2000). A parallel explanation is provided by Schwartz and Bardi (2001) when they argue that self-transcendent values serve successful group functioning better than self-enhancement values.

Are All Values Taught in the Same Way?

Moral versus Social Conventional Values

Consider the following two problems. How do you explain to children that they shouldn't say "What the f . . k?"? And how do you explain to children that they shouldn't take a friend's toy without asking? A parent would be unlikely to give the same answer to both questions. It makes sense to say, "You shouldn't take a friend's toy without asking, because it upsets your friend, and you wouldn't like it if your friend took your toy without asking." It makes less sense to tell a child, "You shouldn't say 'What the f . . k?', because it upsets your friend, and you wouldn't like it if your friend said that to you." This comparison moves discussion into the area of domains of social knowledge (not to be confused with domains of socialization) (Turiel, 1983, 2018). Turiel and colleagues (e.g., Smetana, 2011) argue that there are different kinds of transgressions that have different origins. Among them are moral transgressions (i.e., harming others physically or psychologically) and social

conventional transgressions (i.e., violation of arbitrary rules of social conduct). In the first category are actions that are inherently wrong, such as physical aggression, lying, stealing, and treating others unfairly. These are behaviors that are absolutely prohibited even if their violation produces a positive outcome for the actor. In the second category are actions that are not inherently correct but are encouraged in everyday exchanges—actions such as practicing good table manners, wearing appropriate clothing, and using polite behavior and language. The difference between the two classes of transgressions means that reasons agents of socialization offer for acceptable behavior have to be tailored to, or appropriate for, the domain in question; the same response for all misdeeds is not effective parenting. Violations of social conventions require a reference to rules and customary ways of behaving, whereas moral misdeeds require acknowledgment of the inherent immorality of an act.

Moral versus Prosocial Values

Another distinction between different kinds of values arises when parents respond to two classes of positive social behavior. These are moral values (not harming others physically or psychologically) and prosocial values (helping or showing concern for others). Although both seem to reflect, in Schwartz's terms, universalism and benevolence, they have some distinctive properties. For example, mothers appear to react differently to antisocial behaviors (lying, stealing) and failures to be prosocial (not helping, not showing concern). They report that they are more likely to punish antisocial behaviors and to use empathic or other-oriented reasoning that focuses on the needs of others in dealing with failures to be prosocial (Grusec & Kuczynski, 1980). When asked in one study to respond to vignettes describing children's antisocial acts and children's failures to be prosocial, mothers reported that they would feel greater anger and apply more punishment in the case of antisocial acts than in the case of failures to be prosocial (Grusec, Dix, & Mills, 1982). In another study (Grusec, 1991), mothers were trained to record whenever they saw their children displaying prosocial behavior, failing to act prosocially, or failing to comply with a request for prosocial behavior, along with how the mothers and others reacted. Over the course of a month, mothers reported that children were equally likely to receive no response, acknowledgment, social approval, and praise for spontaneous prosocial behavior. When they

failed to behave prosocially, mothers were more likely to respond with empathy training—that is, talking about the effects of the children's actions on others. Failures to comply with requests for prosocial behavior, in contrast, were more likely to elicit threats and nonverbal punishment—again, an indication that failure to behave in a prosocial manner is less likely to be disapproved of than moral transgressions in the form of failure to comply with a parental request. The same pattern of socialization is revealed in Vinik's (2013) finding that narratives from undergraduates describing a time when they learned a moral value (not harming others) were more likely to involve punishment and reasoning than were narratives describing a time when they learned a prosocial value.

WHY THE DIFFERENCE?

The distinction between prosocial and moral behavior is attributable to several features of the two. Moral behavior is never wrong, given that it involves only not doing something that would harm another person. Prosocial behavior, on the other hand, is more complex. Peterson (1982) captured some of this complexity when she noted that the potential prosocial actor must learn that "I should help or give to *deserving* individuals, who are in X level of *need,* and are *dependent on me* for help, when I can *ascertain and perform* the necessary behavior and when the *cost* or *risk* to me does not exceed Y *amount* of my currently available resources" (p. 202; emphasis in original). In addition, helping others is not always correct and may be seen by recipients as a mixed blessing or even as threatening, if it makes them feel that they are inferior, failures, or dependent on others (Fisher, Nadler, & Whitcher-Alagna, 1982). Being the recipient of help also arouses feelings of obligation that are troubling, particularly if the help cannot be reciprocated. And being helpful could actually harm the recipient or have an unreasonable impact on the well-being of the donor. Trying to rescue a drowning person when one does not have the requisite skills could endanger the life of that person even more. Nor is one obligated to risk one's own life in order to save someone else's life. As a result of all these possible negative outcomes, then, it makes sense that parents would be somewhat less definite in their recommendations with respect to prosocial behavior than they are with respect to moral action.

Other features of prosocial behavior that make it more complex than moral behavior are the number of forms it takes and the number

of underlying motivations that can accompany these different forms. Prosocial behavior can include helping, comforting, reassuring, and protecting, and it can be driven by a number of motives, including empathy or sympathetic concern for the distress of another, a hope of reciprocity, and/or a wish to display mastery. It may also occur because prosocial behavior has been routinized through frequent repetition so that it occurs automatically, because of a desire to act in accord with societal norms, or because concern for others is a central part of one's identity.

In view of all these complexities, then, it is not surprising that prosocial behavior and inhibition of antisocial behavior are not opposite sides of the same coin. Thus they are not correlated with each other. They also have other different correlates, with positive emotionality a predictor of prosocial behavior, and negative emotionality and lack of constraint a predictor of antisocial behavior (Krueger, Hicks, & McGue, 2001).

Are Some Values Affected by Genetic Factors?

The question of whether some values might be affected by genetics was addressed in a study of 7-year-old Israeli twins by Uzefovsky, Döring, and Knafo-Noam (2016). The children were asked to rate the importance for them of a series of values depicted in cartoons. Benevolence, for example, was displayed in a cartoon where one child helped another who had fallen. Power was depicted by a child dressed as a king, and stimulation by a child in a parachute. Uzefovsky et al. found that (in Schwartz's terminology) values of benevolence and universalism, self-enhancement, and conformity and security were significantly affected by genetic factors, as well as by environmental experiences that were not shared by the twins. In contrast, openness to change, at least in these young children, was found to be unaffected by genetic factors and influenced by both shared and nonshared environmental factors.

How Are Values and Behavior Related?

When and how do values manifest themselves in a child's behavior? This, of course, is the most important question for parents who are concerned with how children relate to others. Self-transcendence values have been shown to predict voluntary behavior intended to help

another, whereas self-enhancement values have been shown to predict aggressive behavior (Pulfrey & Butera, 2013; Uzefovsky et al., 2016). Not only are values predictive of behavior in the immediate context, but there is also evidence that self-enhancement values are predictors of future aggression; that is, there is reason to suggest that values may be translated into action at a later point in time (Benish-Weisman, 2015). There is also evidence that behavior can play a causal role in the formation of values. For example, in a study of 10- to 12-year-olds, Vecchione, Döring, Alessandri, Marsicano, and Bardi (2016) found that over a 6-month period, values were associated with a change in behavior, and behavior was associated with a change in values. The latter outcome (behavior's predicting a change in values) was somewhat stronger than the former outcome (values' predicting a change in behavior). In essence, in order to maintain consistency between their words and deeds, these children appeared to adjust their values to match their actions. As well, engagement in particular actions may have convinced them of the merits of an underlying value.

Internalization

Values and behavior are more likely to be linked when values have been internalized—that is, when they come to be seen by the individual as inherently correct and self-generated. Under these conditions, children (and adults) are more likely to behave well even in the absence of surveillance. Otherwise, they would have to be kept under constant scrutiny.

Georg Simmel (1902), a sociologist and philosopher, wrote the following about internalization: "The tendency of society to satisfy itself as cheaply as possible results in appeals to 'good conscience,' through which the individual pays to himself the wages for his righteousness, which otherwise would probably have to be assured to him in some way through law or custom" (p. 19). Simmel thus suggested that people reward themselves for good behavior, rather than society's having to expend valuable resources for the task. Such an arrangement is an inexpensive way for maintaining conformity with societal norms and rules. In a later discussion of internalization, Hoffman (1970a) talked about guilt as a mechanism for maintaining positive behavior, with guilt that arises from knowledge that one has harmed another being more effective in promoting positive behavior than is guilt focused on disapproval of the self.

SELF-DETERMINATION THEORY

Considerable attention has been paid to the concept of internalization by self-determination theorists (Deci & Ryan, 1985; Ryan & Deci, 2000, 2017). They note that some behaviors, such as creative pursuits, are intrinsically motivated or inherently satisfying and enjoyable. Other behaviors, however, may not be so naturally desirable, and these are the ones that must be encouraged by agents of socialization. The motivation for these latter behaviors is located on a continuum ranging from "external" through "introjected," "identified," and "integrated." Externally regulated behavior is motivated by hope of external reward or fear of punishment. We do not take other people's belongings, or we will be punished. And we work hard at school so that our parents will be pleased. Regulation that is introjected results in actions taken to avoid guilt or anxiety or to experience feelings of pride; the behavior does not arise from a value that has been accepted as one's own and is not part of the self, and so it has not been internalized. In this case, we do not steal, not because we would be punished by our parents, but because we would punish ourselves by feeling guilty. Internalization is evident in the next two points on the continuum. Thus regulation through identification reflects a conscious valuing of a behavioral goal, such that the action is accepted as having personal importance. In this case, good behavior occurs because it is important to be honest. The final point on the continuum, integrated regulation, reflects full assimilation of a value so that it fits with the individual's other values and needs. Here the motivation for good behavior is, for example, the belief that one is a caring person who does not harm others or an honest person who always tells the truth.

According to self-determination theory, internalization occurs when three basic requirements for successful socialization are met. The first is "autonomy support." Autonomy-supportive parents provide children with choices that are developmentally appropriate, minimize the use of controls, and acknowledge the children's perspective and feelings. The second requirement is "structure," in which rationales and informational feedback are provided, and consequences are explained and consistently administered. Finally comes "relatedness," or interpersonal involvement that includes the provision of warmth and caring, devoting of time and resources to children, and taking an interest in the children's activities (Grolnick, Deci, & Ryan, 1997). These three basic requirements—autonomy support, structure, and relatedness—reappear in various forms throughout this book.

SUMMARY▪ ▪

So what can be said about values? We know that people, on the whole, think more highly of self-transcendent values such as fairness and justice than they do of self-enhancement values such as achievement and power, both for themselves and for their children. In parallel fashion, self-transcendent values are associated with higher levels of happiness and well-being compared to self-enhancement values, presumably because the latter rely on the approval of others and so violate a basic human need for autonomy. Values are not all equivalent in other respects as well. Thus moral values, prosocial values, and social conventional values have different features and are socialized differently. And some values are more likely to be at least partially genetically mediated than are others. Finally, in order to be truly effective guides for behavior, values need to be internalized or become part of an individual's self-identity. Internalization is promoted by parental minimization of control, taking of the child's perspective, and setting of clear rules, and by a warm and caring parent–child relationship.

▪ CULTURE AND SOCIALIZATION

Much of the research cited in this book has been carried out with children and parents from Western countries. Fortunately, research involving individuals from other parts of the world is becoming more plentiful. This expansion, of course, is vital for an understanding of socialization processes—allowing investigators, among other things, to determine what aspects of socialization are universal. Thus parental acceptance (Lansford et al., 2010), learning from parental example (Rogoff, Moore, Correa-Chavez, & Dexter, 2015), some level of personal autonomy (Helwig, 2006), and alleviation of distress in time of need (Bugental, 2000) are present in many cultures. Cultural research also allows for the identification of what is not universal and of how different parenting beliefs affect approaches to parenting. These beliefs include the nature of appropriate behavior for children, the age at which such behavior can be expected to appear, what are effective childrearing strategies, and the meaning of different parenting interventions. I consider each of these in turn.

Parents in different cultural contexts can have different goals, depending on the behaviors they believe their children need to display in order to get along well with others in their society or group.

One frequently cited example is the extent to which autonomy from the group is stressed as opposed to interdependence, with these two features often characterized as an "individualist" versus "collectivist" orientation. The former emphasizes children's self-esteem and confidence, whereas the latter emphasizes being part of the group and having respect for elders (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). These different orientations lead to different parenting practices and different child outcomes. For example, although agents of socialization emphasize prosocial behavior regardless of culture (Schwartz & Bardi, 2001), the way in which it is encouraged can vary. Thus American undergraduates value spontaneous prosocial behavior, whereas Hindu Indian undergraduates place greater emphasis on the importance of responding to a request or on reciprocity (Miller & Bersoff, 1994). Similarly, when responding to moral dilemmas, Hindu Indians are more likely to give priority to interpersonal responsibilities, whereas Americans are more likely to respond with considerations for justice (Miller & Bersoff, 1992).

Cultures also differ in their expectations with respect to developmental timetables. Japanese mothers, for example, expect their children to be able to control their emotions, be polite, and comply with adult requests at younger ages than do American mothers, whereas American mothers expect their children to be assertive and to master social skills at younger ages than do Japanese mothers (Hess, Kashiwagi, Azume, Price, & Dickson, 1980). Yet another distinction among cultural groups has to do with beliefs about effective childrearing practices. These include the way in which parental authority should be implemented, the amount of autonomy that should be granted, and whether children should be played with (Bornstein, 2007; Chao, 1994; Harkness & Super, 1996). Keller et al. (2006), for example, have shown how mother–child interactions are differently structured in different groups, with Western babies having more face-to-face interactions (a distal interaction style), and rural African children being more likely to have greater body contact (a proximal interaction style). The two styles, then, reflect different views of the self: as either autonomous and separate, or interdependent and compliant.

A final example of cultural effects has to do with the meaning assigned to a particular intervention. Chao (1994, 2001), for example, has pointed out that authoritarian parenting has a different meaning in Asian cultures than it does in Western ones. In Western cultures, it signifies lack of autonomy support and of caring responsiveness. In Asian cultures, it means "training"; strict parental control is seen as a

manifestation of parental involvement, concern for the child's future, and caring and love. As a result, the consequences of authoritarian parenting are different and less negative in Asian than in Western contexts.

Cultural comparisons are important. Nevertheless, it is also essential to remember that there is substantial variability in socialization practices within each culture, and that this may even surpass variability between cultures (Carlo, Roesch, Knight, & Koller, 2001). Immigration increases the heterogeneity of parenting in Western countries, and globalization introduces Western ideas to other parts of the world. Moreover, the attitudes and beliefs of individuals who decide to immigrate may well be different from those who do not. Thus a Chinese Canadian or a Lebanese American may well differ not only from a Canadian or American of Western European descent, but from Chinese or Lebanese individuals still living in their home country.

■ MOVING ON

Most of the remainder of this book is devoted to how the internalization of values is best achieved, with the argument that this internalization is accomplished in different ways in different domains of social functioning. The focus is on agents of socialization and, in particular, on what the research evidence reveals about their role in socialization. Before moving into this discussion, however, I devote the next chapter to a discussion of two singularly important values—moral and prosocial (or universalism and benevolence). I do this because so much has been written about the development of these forms of positive social behavior, as well as about the reasoning and affect associated with them, that it is important to see how those writings fit with or contribute to an understanding of domains of socialization.