Supplemental Notes

*The Anthropology of Childhood* was published in November, 2008, however, I delivered the current manuscript to the publisher over a year earlier. My search for cases relevant to this effort did not cease, hence the need for this supplement. It offers a foretaste of additions and revisions in the next edition. The Supplement begins with an Errata section—mercifully short. Then I provide Notes, in largely undigested form, mapped into their appropriate chapter/section from the book. Certain topics have been blessed with lots of new material, in particular, on fertility and reproduction, child labor and fosterage, apprenticeship, and child soldiers, street kids and children’s *agency*. Additionally, the reader will find color versions of the plates from the book. I hope the user finds these notes helpful and will add to this archive by calling my attention to omissions.
Errata

Ch 1
p. 1 demonstrated profound and unpredicted influences of culture and formal schooling (Lancy and Strathern 1981; Lancy 1983; Ochs and Schieffelin 1984).

p. 6 Note 7 It is interesting that childhood was shorter for Neanderthals, but then their tool technology was also simpler than that of humans and, presumably, took less time to master (Hawcroft and Dennell 2000).

p. 18 calorific=caloric

Ch 2
p. 73 Note 93 Neonatal medicine, while evolving into a multi-billion dollar industry, has also fashioned an entire culture of terms and practices to humanize or “normalize” a biologically defective organism (Isaacson 2002).

Ch 3
p. 81, high-altitude living imposes

Ch 4

Ch 5
p. 183 In Tamang (Nepal) custom, the first rite of passage – for boys only – is the chewar, a ceremony marking the first haircut. It is performed by the mother’s brother (Fricke 1994: 133).

Ch 6

Ch 7
p. 198 “. . . youngsters seem to deliberately exploit R&T. . . as a way in which to publicly exhibit their dominance over a peer. (Pellegrini 2002: 446)

p. 248 “Zapotec (Mexico) children's excellent command of ethnobotany is described as 'everyday knowledge acquired without apparent effort at an early age by virtually everyone in town'” (Hunn 2002: 610).

Ch 8
p. 272 Among the traditionally hunting and fishing North American Copper Inuit

p. 279 we frequently see the creation of distinct warrior sub-cultures into which young men are inducted (Gilmore 2001: 209).

p. 280 The Creek of North America inflicted bloody wounds

p. 301 During this profound and protracted transition, a girl’s chances of continuing her education or economic advancement may depend on her access to contraception to avoid the pregnancy that—custom demands—should end her single status

Ch 9
Ch 10
p. 357 . . . we need to balance out concerns for the rights of children with a recognition that “universal” rights are often based on ethnocentric definitions of childhood. (Holloway and Valentine 2000: 10)

Page 203 response from Marjorie Goodwin to my discussion of her work:
With respect to your footnote about my 1998 article on p. 203... I took out the example from the white Southern, middle class, (more adjectives could apply such as Unitarian, children in a school where the principal read Deborah Tannen, etc.) in my book The Hidden Life of Girls when discussing hop scotch, because I found that white middle class girls in California are also able to be quite confrontational. In fact the book deals a lot with the ways in which girls practice exclusion, play status games, and how their ways of negotiating in games are similar across ethnic groups. I compare about six different groups in the book, as compared with the 1998 article which I admit portrayed middle class in a skewed way. When I found out that Deborah Tannen was using the 1998 article in her classes I got really concerned about what implications that article had and eliminated the example of “Southern white girls.” Email received 1/5/09.

p. 205, line 18: Garry Chick
Cecylia Masłowska assisted with translations of Gerd Spittler’s *Hirtenarbeit* and the late Renate Posthofen with Barbara Polak’s work in German. Sarah Gordon assisted with material in French.
Chapter One: Where Do Children Come From?
Is There Such a Thing as Childhood?


“Generally, the concept of “childhood” as a separate group from adults did not historically exist in Korean. By the time children (infant and toddler years according to the western concept) were trained in physical self-control, children leaped into the adult world by staying with elders, by practicing anticipated roles as males and females, and by engaging in early marriage.” (Shon 2002: 141)


“‘In the Middle Ages, children were generally ignored until they were no longer children.’” (Crawford 1999: 168)


“Childhood is thus to a considerable degree a function of adult expectations.” (Heywood 2001: 9)
But Why Bother with Childhood?


Simulation study supports the thesis that slow human growth followed by a rapid adolescent growth spurt may have facilitated rising human fertility rates and greater investments in neural capital. In effect, because dependent offspring are growing slowly, their energetic needs are relatively easy to meet. By adolescence, children should be better able to acquire their own caloric needs, so a growth spurt makes sense. It provides the somatic basis for child-bearing.

My weaving together biological and cultural anthropology is currently out-of-fashion. But I would cite the late Don Tuzin’s chastisement of Marshall Sahlins—the great nay-sayer of the biological or evolutionary perspective. “Sahlins, it seems, would have us ignore these contributions and indulge in that sterile narcissism toward which anthropology is fatally tempted, viz., the reifying error entailed in the autonomy of culture…” (Gurven 2006: 67). Tuzin, Donald (1980) *The Voice of the Tambaran: Truth and Illusion in Ilahita Arapesh Religion*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
Outline of the Volume


“…during a few discussion with young men aged around eighteen. I asked them what they meant when they said—as they had been doing—that they respected older people. One of them answered: ‘The meaning of respect we have for the old is that the old are far more advanced in years than we. So, when you get nearer to them and respect them, they will reveal to you how they got to that age and they will tell you traditions and customs that will enable you also to reach that age.’” (van der Geest 2004: 53)

“I asked them how they showed respect and invited them to give concrete examples of respectful behavior in their own house. One of them said: ‘it is something that we the Akan have done over the years and which has come to stay. White men have a different lifestyle. I have some relatives who were born and bred in Canada and came back home recently. When they are engaged in work and you call them, they will not mind you because they want to use their time according to their personal plans without interruption. But Akan are not like this. Even when you are asleep and an old person calls you, you cannot ignore him. Whether you like it or not, you have to wake up and attend to his call. Respect is our tradition.” (van der Geest 2004: 54)

On the subject of neontocracy vs gerontocracy, I found this quote revealing:

Chapter Two: To Make a Child
Life in a Neontocracy
One Big Unhappy Family


Examples of male involvement in child-rearing among Primates, generally and humans, in particular. Men around pregnant and lactating women show slightly elevated levels of prolactin and a drop in testosterone.

“No one is suggesting that fathers are equivalent to mothers, male caretakers the same as female ones…. The point is: even in animals with joint caretaking, both sexes can be primed to care. Virgin females or males can be primed to nurture merely by prolonged exposure to pregnant or lactating females. “ (p. 15)

“Infants born into cooperative breeding systems, depend on a range of caretakers, and maternal commitment itself is dependent on the mother’s perception of how much support she is likely to have from allomothers. To prosper in such a system, infants have to be adept at monitoring caretakers, reading their moods and intentions and eliciting their solicitude…”theory of mind” reduces the uncertainties youngsters face, helping them predict how others…are likely to respond. Through practice and conditional rewards, infants get incrementally better at reading intentions and learning to engage caretakers. This explains why infants with older siblings are better able to interpret the feelings and intentions of others. “(p. 25)

Similarly argues (p. 26) that babbling evolved as a tool for infants to attract attention of caretakers.


“….core knowledge system, with roots in our evolutionary past, that emerge[s] in infancy…[a] system, for identifying and reasoning about potential social partners and social group members (p. 91) [evidence for such a system, includes]…Three-month-old infants show a visual preference for members of their own race compared to members of a different race… Infants also look preferentially at faces of the same gender as their primary caregiver… From birth…infants show a preference for the sound of their native language over a foreign language…(p. 92, emphasis added)

Baby-parading

“I may improve my status in the group (and my reproductive success) by caretaking, through agonistic buffering. This mechanism, repeatedly observed in monkeys, results in an increase in the status of individuals carrying infants, whether their own or adopted (Itani, 1959).” (Konner 1975: 101) Itani, Junichiro (1959). Paternal care in the wild Japanese monkey, Macaca fuscata fuscata. Primates, 2(1): 61-93.


“A man may take his five-year-old boy visiting with him when he goes to call on friends.” (Geertz 1961: 106)


“A baby of either sex likely is surrounded by women of all ages during the day, by women’s and children’s noises, their smells, their movements, their rhythms. Men rarely handle infants; they rarely provide services like feeding, washing, rocking; they rarely take infants outside. Male and female infants learn women’s patterns of living but neither learns much about the men’s. Male older infants, however, are talked to more often by men and boys than are female infants, and in more matter-of-fact ways, and will be taken into male company more frequently by their fathers.” (Friedl 1997: 115)
Love the One You’re With
Polygyny as the Great Compromise
Pregnancy and Child-Birth


“The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa.” (Hilger 1957: 4)

“The Mapuche women say that they feel better if they take this cold bath...the midwife, or one of the other women who was present at the delivery, dips the infant into the water where the mother is taking her bath. “This bath hardens the child to the hardships of life,” said a mother. “It trains the child early to physical endurance.”” (Hilger 1957: 20)


“Birth in the middle ages was a hazardous process. It was recognized as such, and there was a craving for reassurance about the outcome. Churches owned relics which, they promised, would ensure a safe delivery. Many of these were girdles or belts, perhaps because they symbolized undoing.” (Orme 1003: 16)

“Women unable to reach a relic or to have one brought to them turned to other forms of supernatural aid. One of these, by the later middle ages, was a scroll of parchment or paper, containing a cross one fifteenth the height of Jesus or a reproduction of the wound in his side. Scrolls, like girdles, could be laid across the belly during childbirth, and contained written promises that whoever viewed or wore them would have an easy delivery.” (Orme 2004: 16)

“The sequel to the baptism was the mother’s visit to church to be purified, or ‘churched’ as it was known by the fifteenth century. Old Testament law laid down that a woman who gave birth was unclean and should not touch a holy object or enter a holy place for forty days after the birth of a son, or eighty following that of a daughter.” (Orme 2003: 31)


“A birth is considered a slippery affair, and pregnant women should be avoided when one is building a trap. If the hunter has met a pregnant woman before going into the forest, it is most likely that the trap will yield no take.” (Tayanin and Lindell 1991: 22)


Kako tribe, agriculturalists.
“Women draw an analogy between the cooking of food and the cooking of children in the womb.” (Notermans 2004: 19)


“Mother and infant are treated as a unit; for about six weeks after birth they remain secluded together inside their house. A major objective of this seclusion is to build the baby's blood as it nurses at its mother's breast. In this liminal period, the sense that newborns are still in the process of coming into social being is conveyed by naming practices. Wari' babies traditionally do not receive a personal name until they are about six weeks old. Until then, in the Rio Lage-Rio Ribeirao area, babies of both sexes are called *arawet*, which translates literally as "still being made." In the Rio (Conklin 1996: 672) Dois Irmaos area, newborns are *waji*, connoting immaturity. (Green, unripe fruit is *oro-waji*). An infant receives a personal name—and the mother's name changes to that of her baby—at about the time when they begin to emerge from seclusion and interact with the wider community.” (Conklin 1996: 673)


“A woman delivered while squatting over a bed of fine sand in which a black and white bead on a blue-and-white string may be been buried to ward of djenn and the evil eye, and to make the child beautiful.” (Friedl 1997: 57)

**Couvade and infanticide to equalize the sexes (like Inuit)…**


“Huaorani Indians of Amazonian Ecuador conceptualize human sexuality as the channel through which parenthood is created and intimate relationships are formed. Childbirth rites (known in the literature as couvade) form an essential part of this process (Rival 1998: 619)...Although there is no native term for ‘couvade’, the institution exists amongst the Huaorani in ways very similar to those described in Amazonian ethnology. As elsewhere in Amazonia, Huaorani birth observances fundamentally consist in perinatal dietary and activity restriction for both parents (p. 622)...Food taboos are aimed at ‘hardening’ the body, that is, at reinforcing its intrinsic energy. The goal is to make the baby vigorous and strong, so it can grow fast and develop into an independent member of the longhouse. Men I interviewed insisted that both parents were protecting the infant’s vigour and assisting in its fast growth through fasting.” (Rival 1998: 623)

“Huaorani men do not ‘imitate’ childbirth, but take an active part in it, often acting as midwives (Rival 1998: 623)...Any man who has contributed semen may observe the taboos associated with the couvade, by which he publicly acknowledges his creative contribution to the making of the child (Rival 1998: 624)...a popular myth about a time when babies were raised by their fathers. Because women did not know the muscular movements to expel babies and feed them,
men were obliged to cut their wives open, extract the babies and feed them until they were old enough to fend for themselves.” (Rival 1998: 625)

“Most Amazonian anthropologists have insisted, like Métraux, that couvade restrictions are observed by both parents, and like him, have been primarily concerned with the active participation of the father in the birth process.” (Rival 1998: 630)

“Amazonian Indians also usually: (1) conceive of the child as the product of paternal and maternal influences (in other words, the child results from the complementarity of shape and substance, or of two substances such as blood and semen); (2) believe that repeated sexual intercourse before and throughout pregnancy is necessary for the foetus to develop and grow; (3) grant a special role to the mother’s mother during delivery, sometimes in partnership with her son-in-law; (4) equate the end of the couvade with the naming (with or without ceremony) of the child; (5) prefer to space and limit the number of their children; (6) and, finally, try to achieve (and use infanticide, if necessary) an equal number of male and female children.” (Rival 1998: 630)

Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History Metropolitan Museum of Art
www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/azss/ho_00.5.30.htm

Deity Figure (Cihuateotl), 15th–early 16th century
Mexico; Aztec
Stone; H. 26 in. (66 cm)
Museum Purchase, 1900

The Aztecs believed that the souls of women who had died in childbirth were transformed into terrifying demons called Cihuateteo, or Celestial Princesses. They resided in the west known as Cihuatlampa, or region of the women, and accompanied the sun daily from its zenith at midday to dusk on the western horizon. The Cihuateteo were the female counterparts of warriors who had perished on the battlefield and who were thought to escort the sun through the underworld to its rise each morning. On five specific days of the Aztec ritual calendar these malevolent female spirits were believed to descend to the earth and haunt crossroads hoping to snatch the young children they were never privileged to have. The sign for one of these days, "1 Calli" (1 House), is carved on the top of the figure's head. The sculpture is one of several equally fine, identical images of the goddess that have differing date glyphs on the top of their heads. The sculptures were probably once placed in a shrine dedicated to Cihuateotl in the main temple precinct in Tenochtitlan.

The fearsome goddess sits on her clawed feet, her back slightly arched and her massive clawed hands raised, ready to pounce on her prey. She is bare breasted and wears an unadorned skirt held with a belt tied in a simple knot. Her face is a skull with big staring eyes and an open fleshless mouth with prominent, bared teeth. Her hair, carved in swirls and twists, typical of the mortuary aspect of earth deities, streams down the back of her head.

“Indian Hindu children are also considered gifts from God…The fusion between mother and infant is central and starts, according to the Vedas, during the prenatal period where the fetus is considered to be chetan—conscious of having a soul…The mutual relationship is strengthened by matri-rina, or indebtedness toward the mother. This implies a lifelong relationship with the mother that includes the duties to protect and nurture the mother.” (Keller 2007: 110)


“According to the Dongria, a baby receives its soul from a deceased person and the shaman can identify the name of the soul-giver by asking the gods in a ritual called male wenbina. The sex of the baby and of the ancestor must not be identical. Usually the baby receives the soul of a person who belonged to the village community or was cremated on the cremation ground (mahanenga) of the village, but the baby and ancestor must no be direct lineal relatives. This ancestor protects the infant, but when enraged may also invoke fever and other illness in the child. To please the baby’s tutelary ancestor, parents often give the baby a share of alcohol and they may even address the baby by the ancestor’s name.” (Hardenberg 2006: 66)
Gene Roulette

“The typical English nuclear family was more or less consistent in size across the medieval centuries with two or three live children, though this number tended to increase among the wealthy. Most children did not have a large number of siblings, excluding those who died in infancy…Most children were brought up at home by their parents or their parents’ servants. There was no general practice of fostering them elsewhere, at least in their early years.” (Orme 2003: 55)…A widowed father or mother might introduce a step mother or stepfather, and sometimes stepchildren or (eventually) half-brothers and sisters…Step-mothers were believed to lack the affections of natural parents and to wish harm or their partners’ children. A meager portion of bread was called a ‘stepmother’s slice.” Stories down the ages told of their harsh or wicked ways.” (Orme 2003: 56)

“Others who lacked two full-time parents were the illegitimate, often brought up by a single mother…The common law was more discriminatory. It denied illegitimate children any right to succeed to their parents’ property and status.” Orme 2003: 56)

Parent-offspring conflict—infancy evolved to provide various strategies that allows infants to “trick” parents into providing additional resources. Parents must evaluate infant’s behavior to see through the tactics. Theory of Mind (TOM) includes a bundle of cognitive attributes that could be employed to seduce or mislead parents…


Argues that many common infant behaviors may have evolved as tactics to secure additional resources from adults. I would argue that adults defend against such tactics via swaddling, cradle boards, indifference, etc. Possible explanation for dramatic increase in Caesarean section to hasten delivery or arrange delivery to suit convenience of mother, not child…

“Triver showed that the optimal amount of investment in a current infant can be understood as a mathematical function that maximized the chance that the infant will survive to the point at which it can reproduce but minimized costs to potential future infants (or closely related kin) in contrast to parental efforts in minimizing investment, the infant should favor increases in parental investment.” (Povinelli 2005: 240)

“Efforts of fetal manipulations include actions that reduce the probability of marriage, actions that increase nutrient supply in maternal blood, and actions that increase the duration of pregnancy.” (Povinelli 2005: 240)

“At least two different means of parental exploitation are available. Triver emphasized that infants would exploit parental resources by behaving in a manner less mature, and thus in need of more resources, than their chronological age would suggest.” (Povinelli 2005: 241)
“Although some degree of crying is likely to extract a higher degree of parental investment, extreme crying might also place infants at risk. For example, crying is the most widely cited cause of “shaken baby syndrome.” ... By producing behaviors that lead to positive regard and affect, and increasing the attachment between caregiver and infant, the infant’s behaviors can reduce the very real possibilities of suffering neglect, abuse, or abandonment.” (Povinelli 2005: 242)

“The evolutionary emergence of theory of mind might have provided infants with a new avenue for recruiting additional parental investment. Once parents began to respond to the psychological states of their infants, in addition to their overt behavioral states, infants could begin to evolve behaviors that would, in effect, manipulate this ability for their own benefit.” (Povinelli 2005: 242)... Infants began to utilize smiling as facial gesture to ingratiate themselves in their parent’s eyes.” (Povinelli 2005: 247)

Parent-offspring conflict—infancy evolved to provide various strategies that allows infants to “trick” parents in effect, into providing additional resources. Parents must evaluate infant’s behavior to see through the tactics. Theory of Mind (TOM) includes a bundle of cognitive attributes that could be employed to seduce or mislead parents...

On the other hand... consider autistics as, in effect, changelings....

“Suppose that the ability of human offspring to charm their parents—perhaps through language, facial expression, creative play, and coordinated social interaction—evolved as a parentally selected fitness indicator. More articulate expressive, playful, and socially engaged offspring would give a reliable warranty of their genetic and phenotypic quality and thus would solicit higher parental investment. Offspring would vary greatly in their ability to charm parents, and that variation would correlate with underlying fitness. Autism could represent the least charming, low-fitness extreme of this variation—accounting not only for the typical symptoms of autism, but also for the frustration and alienation experienced by parents of autistic children.” (Shaner 2008: X)

“Offspring vary in genetic quality and therefore in their potential for survival and reproduction. This could lead mothers to assess offspring fitness and allocate resources accordingly. If ancestral human parents delivered more resources to babies showing indications of superior fitness, this could have lead babies to evolve traits that signal fitness. They could thereby influence how long a mother continues to breastfeed intensively enough to prevent ovulation (through lactational amenorrhea), thus delaying the appearance of a sibling rival.” (Shaner 2008: 392-93).

In Guinea-Bissau “...people begin to wonder if a particular infant may have been born without a human soul. A pregnant woman may become penetrated by a spirit when washing clothes or fetching water from a spring-water well. The spirit can enter the foetus in her womb and replace the human soul. Such an infant is either somehow abnormal or does not develop normally during the first months of life...They are typically described as boneless, pale and listless, with weird eyes and frothing mouths... There are two procedures to identify the true nature of infants suspected of being non-human, and both correspond to what in anthropological literature is referred to as infanticide. First, they can be ‘taken to the sea’ by elderly maternal relatives and the infant and a calabash... items such as an egg and distilled alcohol, are put on the beach. If the child is non-human, it will drink the egg and disappear with the other items into the sea and thereby the spirit will return to where it came from, its true home. Since colonial times, the law prohibits ‘taking children to the sea’. The second alternative is to take the infant to a ritual specialist who...asks for help from a spirit to identify the true nature of the infant. The specialist will define a test period, normally seven days, during which food will be arranged for the child, as the mother has to stop breastfeeding. Survival after the trial period is an indication of the human nature of the infant, which will be returned to its mother. (Einarsdóttir 2008: 251)

Survey of abortion in the ethnographic record...

“Women are compelled to abort:
1. Children fathered by demons (Truk, Jivaro)
2. The offspring of incest (Gunantuna, Pukapuka)
3. The children of old, ailing, or weak fathers (Masai)
4. The children of alien fathers (Cuna)
5. Adulterine bastards (Masai)
6. Legitimate children, tainted by the adultery of the pregnant mother (Ashanti)
In each of these instances there is a supposition that the birth of such children would lead to a calamity for the group, or at least for the biological family as a whole.” (Devereux 1995: 134).

Dozens of reported techniques
- Hard work, heavy loads, climbing
- Jolts
  - Jumping, diving, shaking
- Heat (applied externally)
  - Hot water, coals, stones, the sun
- Skin irritants
  - Topical preparations
- Weakening
  - Bleeding via cuts and incisions
- Mechanical abortion
  - Weight, constriction, uterine massage, hitting fetus head with stone through abdominal wall, and more…
- Genital manipulation
• Cervical and vaginal
Coitus
Inserting foreign bodies
Local medication/drugs
Magic
(Devereux 1955: 30-42).


“Inuit have no special term to denote a fetus *in utero* and by custom do not speak about it until after its birth. The fetus is never regarded as “alive” until after it is born, so Inuit never think of it as a person.” (Guempe 1979: 40)

“Even birth does not insure that the newborn is accorded the status of a social person. Balikci (Balikci, Asen (1970) *The Netsilik Eskimo*. Garden City, NY: The Natural History Press. p.148) estimates that in some parts of the Arctic as many as 50% of all those born alive were disposed of traditionally by infanticide. An infant which was to be disposed of was not accorded the status of being a social person, though instead of being exposed or smothered it might be given in adoption to another couple who might then accord it such status. A decision had to be made with four days after parturition, for by time an infant had to be named. And, once named, the disposal of a child would be an act of murder because a named infant was regarded as a social person and exercised a powerful claim upon the living.” (Guempe 1979: 40)


“The subject of this dissertation is the spirit child phenomenon among the Nankani people living in the Upper East Region of Ghana. Although the primary causes of infant and child mortality throughout northern Ghana are parasite diseases and environmental factors, local discourse suggests that a number of infant and child deaths are facilitated through intentional poisoning by family members. In these cases, deformed or ailing children, births concurrent with tragic events, or children displaying unusual abilities are regarded as spirit children sent “from the bush” to cause misfortune and destroy the family. From the Nankani perspective, spirit children are not human, but bush spirits masquerading as such.” (Demham 2007: 1)


The wide variety of discourse featured the spirit child as a dwarfen capricious bush-spirit; purveyor of knowledge; a lustful and desirous ruffian; an agent of the moral imagination; a trickster; and, a malevolent being bent on destroying the family.
Nmah, meaning mother, is a generic name given to newborns before an ancestor chooses their name, usually occurring before the child’s first birthday. Although Nmah hardly appeared to have reached her first birthday, she was actually close to three years old. She looked fragile and malnourished; indeed, at age two, the last time she was weighed, according to her medical card, she was 16 lbs. She could not stand, crawl, or talk, and, had experienced several episodes of malaria, and, the primary cause of her current state, a serious case of meningitis when six months.

Indeed, when I asked people what a spirit child was, the common response was, “a child that does not possess the right qualities of a normal human being.” Families also scrutinize a child’s behavior, and are wary of children talking or walking before developmentally appropriate, to the extent that many families will place oil on the soles of an infant’s feet, so if it rises to visit the bush at night, they will see the dirt come morning.

The spirit child, as a diagnosis, is not just for sick or disabled children, “some are very beautiful,” one man remarked, “but those are the most dangerous.” Other spirit children “perform acts that are above expectations.” I recorded a case where a remarkably intelligent five year old was described as having too much wisdom. Thus, we see the local definitions of abnormality and the spirit child located at both tails of a standard distribution.

A habitually crying child is a commonly recognized criterion for a spirit child. According to beliefs, it cries because it wants to disturb the family, particularly at night after it has returned from roaming the bush.

Nmah's mother fled the village, alone, to the urban center of Kumasi, leaving the child behind. I was told that she feared that the child was going to kill her.

Nmah's crying and dependency prevented her parents from having intercourse, and "If a child cannot go off with the other children soon after it is weaned, to allow the mother to work and have another child, problems arise."

**Link to Daly & Wilson…**


“Center for Disease Control estimate that 1 in 50 infants in US suffer from abuse, neglect. 91,000 victims identified in a single year. Majority of cases simple neglect, also common to find infants born with drug dependency from mother's use of controlled substances.” (Stobbe 2008: A6)


Northern Thais, or Khon Müang, are a lowland wet-rice cultivating ethnic Thai society in Thailand’s northern Lanna region, north of the central basin. Lanna, or ‘land of a million rice paddies’, is a cultural region that has spanned northern Thailand (Rende 2005: 336). This sample
includes 681 individuals from Chiang Mai and Phayao villages, 52 of whom were reported to have been ‘ever fostered’ as a child (28 boys and 24 girls). (Rende 2005: 38) In environments of low paternity certainty and high marital fluidity and labour migration, parents generally trust their own lateral kin as foster caretakers for their children, regardless of distance, over close genetic kin from the other side. (Rende 2005: 348)
Pink Ribbons or Blue, Many or Few?


“According to the Tibetan tradition, there are special signs to determine the sex of a baby. If the left side of the mother’s stomach is higher during pregnancy, this indicates the child is a girl. If the baby is a boy, the right side of the stomach is higher, milk comes from the right breast, and the mother likes to lean to the right when sitting or standing. They also say it is a son when the bulge of the mother’s stomach is rather pointed and high, her body feels light, and she dreams of the birth of a boy. Dreams of horses and elephants or of meeting men also signify that the child is a boy.” (Maiden 1997: 57)

“In Tibetan culture, the folklore belief is that a baby’s sex can change either during pregnancy, right at the moment of birth, or up to a few days after birth…Tibetan parents will sometimes say a baby is a girl—even if the child is very obviously a boy. This supposed to prevent a sex change from happening and keeps the spirits or human curses from bringing harm or illness to the baby.” (Maiden 1997: 101)


“While researchers once thought education and wealth would dampen the preference for boys, the reverse has turned out to be true.” (Sullivan 2008: online)

“According to UNICEF, about 7,000 fewer girls than expected are born every day in India. According to the British medical journal The Lancet, up to 500,000 female fetuses are being aborted every year. This in a country where abortion is legal but sex-determination tests were outlawed in 1991 -- a law nearly impossible to enforce, since ultrasound tests leave no trace.” (Sullivan 2008: online)

“Researchers say pressure for smaller families is the most immediate problem. "Squeeze on family size is fueling the trend," said ActionAid researcher Jyoti Sapru. "For households expressing preference for one child only, they want to make sure it is a son."” (Sullivan 2008: online)


“My sister had six children, two boys and four burdens.” This statement reflects the general attitude toward female children in Sicily. The primary basis for it seems to be the dowry system, which makes every daughter represent a debt that sooner or later must be paid…Blessed is the door out of which goes a dead daughter, and the older she is the greater the comfort…[Contrast with] A woman would feel her lot a hard one if she had no daughters to help her in her
household.” (Chapman 1971: 30) **Suggests that daughters are only appreciated during middle childhood, when their value to their mothers is greatest**...
Promoting Survival


Study suggests that cultural models that support structured infant sleep—that is, caretakers take steps to insure infant’s sleep is lengthy and undisturbed is adaptive for the child’s long-term healthy adjustment. Laissez-faire models that may result in less sleep for infants and children predict negative outcomes, obesity risk, in particular.


“The infant was wrapped in a muslin envelope, so tightly that she could not move her arms and legs, the whole parcel, which was called the kopanec, was then fastened with pins and talismans to ward of “evil eyes.” Mimi pulled a thread from the red scarf I wore—red is the color of good health and happiness—and tucked it into the envelope, Jeta supplied a handful of new lek notes and in they went. The young mother couldn’t much enjoy this confinement (she, like her baby, was off-limits for forty days)....Babies received constant and careful attention: they were wrapped and unwrapped and washed and dusted and oiled and wrapped back up again.”
(Fonseca 1995: 44)


“Mescalero Apaches, Talamantez (1991) described numerous ceremonies within the first year of life alone, such as ear piercing and putting on the child’s first moccasins, indicative of taking the first steps along the path of life. The first haircutting ceremony occurred in the springtime, and ceremonial activities occurred when a child was presented with his or her first solid foods.”


“The high rate of infant mortality may explain the fact at all of the Attic reliefs depicting babies are dedicated to healers such as Asklepios and Pankrates or to the kourotropick Artemis.”
(Lawton 2007: 45)

“One such toddler wears a sort of chiton, but most are also distinguished by their nudity, which seems to indicate that they are not yet subject to the social norms of modest dress expected of older children” (Lawton 2007: 46)
“Like babies, toddlers are also often attended by nurses at the edge of the scene” (Lawton Cohen 2007: 46)

“The next idiographic type consists of older prepubescent children, distinguished by their dress and frequently also by their comportment.” (Lawton 2007: 50)

“They are usually dressed like the adults, the girls in chiton or peplos and himation, the boys in himation.” (Lawton 2007: 50)


“Nevertheless, the decision of Tamang women to concentrate on infant care at the risk of neglecting older children is in a sense an appropriate choice. Survival is the key issue for Tamang infants (two-thirds of childhood deaths occur before age 1), whereas for older children the concern becomes one of nutritional wellbeing.” (Panter-Brick 1997: 239)


“Parents are actually thought to give up some of their own flesh and blood to the child during pregnancy. The child grows from the mother’s and the father’s flesh and blood, not from the food that the mother ingests. **Women are thought to lose increments of their flesh and blood to each successive child they bear.** By the time a woman has finished child bearing, she should be somewhat wasted and “bloodless” (lack of blood is seen as an ailment of old age). Man also experience this gradual debilitation.” (Fajans 1997: 62)


“If old people die slowly due to a prolonged illness, Dongria may argue that the baby of a pregnant woman takes away the ‘life’ (jela) of the old person. In such cases it is believed that the person is dying while the baby grows in the maternal womb. In order to prevent this ‘theft’ of soul substance, a shaman can perform a ritual. As part of this ritual the shaman forms a ball of earth which represents the soul of the baby, which is cut into two halves. One half is said to contain the soul of the old person, while the other is an empty container for the baby’s soul. The shaman utters the names of those ancestors (mahane), whose souls have not yet been reincarnated in a child, and requests them to give their soul to the baby. With the help of this ritual the old person can retrieve his or her own soul and recover from the illness without depriving the baby of its life-soul. (Hardenberg 2006: 79)

“In preparation for conception it is common to purify oneself by seeking release from the consequences of any harm done to living beings.” (Maiden 1997: 21)

“The section of human embryology begins with a description of the three stages of human growth in the womb: the fish phase, the turtle phase, and the pig phase. According to historians, this text provides evidence that by the eleventh century a culture had identified these three evolutionary processes.” (Maiden 1997: 50)

“In Tibetan culture it is considered inauspicious to prepare too much beforehand—until they feel assured the baby will live. Sometimes new clothes and blankets are cut out, but they are not sewn together until after the birth.” (Maiden 1997: 69)

“Immediately after the birth, saffron is stamped in the form of the…seed syllable for Manjursi, the deity of wisdom…on the baby’s tongue, in order to help the child sharpen his speech and memory…As [Manjursi’s] sword symbolizes cutting through ignorance, parents symbolically bestow wisdom to their children [this] is the first step in developing the ability to speak articulately and to have clarity in communication, something that is tremendously valued in their culture.” (Maiden 1997: 81)

“Diarrhea, another common infant ailment, may be treated with mantra. Three long protection cords are entwined to form one cord. This is cut in two, and twenty knots are tied in each. The mantra YAMA CHO is recited a hundred times for each cord and blown on them. One cord is tied around the baby’s neck and the other around its wrist.” (Maiden 1997: 124)


“To have an abortion (digrogokaké, literally, “to be made thinner”) is considered a sin, especially after the first three months; before that time the fetus is considered not yet human, to be “no more alive than blood.”” (Geertz 1961:84)

“The Javanese feel that a baby is extremely vulnerable, especially to sudden shock which can lead to sickness or death. For if the baby were suddenly or severely disturbed by a loud noise, rough handling, strong taste, of physical discomfort, he would be kagét, “shocked, startled, upset,” and his weak psychic defenses would fall and evil spirits (barang alus), which hover constantly around the mother and child, could enter and the infant and cause him to be ill. All the customs of infant care can be seen as attempts to ward off this danger. The baby is handled in a relaxed, completely supportive, gentle, unemotional way. He is constantly in his mothers’ arms and lap when awake; if he is sound asleep and the mother must move around, she places him on a cushion of clean cloths, with pillows surrounding him so that he will not roll of the sleeping bench.” (Geertz 1961:92)

“Town people say that village people (who are often considered almost less than human, uncultivated, uncontrolled, unreasonable) force their babies to eat and swaddle them tightly and
uncomfortably. I have no check on the statement; its importance lies in the expression of the Javanese idea that permissiveness and gentleness are civilized attributes.” (Geertz 1961:95)

“The working women, the *bakuls*, who sell in the market nurse their babies almost on a schedule.” (Geertz 1961:95)

“She said that some children who are always carried around in a shawl and given the breast every time they indicate a desire for it may cry a good deal at weaning. Moreover, such children, she said—for instance, the only child of a couple who want children very much—grow up without any incentive to do anything; they won’t get ahead in school and won’t go to work because all they want to do is ask and receive from their parents; and sometimes eventually they go crazy. What she considered the best way (and what she did with her children and what her mother had done with her) is *takeran*, which means to measure out. She said that this is the custom among market women: to suckle the child in the morning before going to the market, then have the child brought to the market for a ten o’clock feeding, and then nurse the child again in the afternoon (one or two o’clock) and when she comes home form the market. She said that is makes the child strong to cry some when he wants to suckle.” (Geertz 1961: 96)

“Since infants are thought to not like the very peppery spicing of adult food, the nursing mother uses no strong seasoning for fear the baby will be “startled” (*kagét*) by it.” (Geertz 1961:99)

“The fetus is said to be “meditating spiritual matters” (*tapa*, the withdrawal from the world of the mystic), fasting, and going without sleep within the cave of his mother’s womb for nine months in preparation for his emergence into the disturbing world. While this is the period of highest vulnerability, especially the first seven months, the period immediately after birth is not much safer. The first five days, until the falling-off of the stump of the umbilical cord and the *pasaran* ritual meal, at which he is given a name, are the most dangerous. For the next thirty days thereafter the infant is kept in the house, especially at sunset, and various magical spirit deterrents, such as a very sharp knife, are kept by his side. The next recognized state is marked by the seventh-month *slametan*, at which the child is allowed to touch the ground for the first time. Before this ritual he is too vulnerable to the spirits, which find is particularly easy to enter people through the feet.” (Geertz 1961:104)

**Perspective of an anthropologist who brought her infant into the field…**


“They also made constant efforts to teach Jim and me how to care for her…For instance, they reprimanded us for picking her up by hooking our hands under her armpits. Fijians maintain that a cough is produced in a child by this kind of treatment. I was also berated when she developed a heat rash our first month in the village.” (Turner 1987: 105)

“…a young woman…pinched Megan’s nose as I nursed her. This woman did it because she believed, as most villagers, that a child should be weaned soon after its first birthday. Prolonging breastfeeding is said to prevent the child from eating other foods that will make it strong. There
is also the connotation that such extended nursing keeps the child in babyhood and develops a weak, simpering person. Fijians are often eager to have another child and believe the first child should be weaned before the mother becomes pregnant.” (Turner 1987:107).

**Three stages of infancy…**

“Infancy (*bala*) comprises three stages according to Hindu ethnotheory: (a) *Ksirada*, when the child depends exclusively on milk for nourishment; (b) *Ksirannada*, when the child depends on both milk and cereals for nourishment; and (c) *Annada*, when the child depends solely on cereals for nourishment.” (Keller 2007: 111).

**Interesting twist on sacred child theme…**

“This is the first full length account of the Uduk people of the Sudan, who live uneasily between the northern and southern regions of the country, in the borderland close to the Ethiopian frontier.” (preface)...subsistence way of life, based today on hoe cultivation of sorghum and maize, hunting and fishing, and the rearing of a few domestic animals. Hunting was probably far more important in the past than it is today.” (James 1979: 4)

“The Gurunya rites and practices, for example, are specifically concerned to ensure the survival of a child born to a woman who has already lost a number of children in infancy…This notion, that through special treatment children can be saved from the death which has overtaken their predecessors, finds widespread expression in eastern Africa. Among the Akamba of Kenya, for example, such a child may be given a name which will denigrate the child, and deflect the interest of the spirits which took his elder siblings, such as ‘hyena.’...Similar rites among the south-eastern Nuba …special protective rites in childhood, in the same circumstances, and who retain throughout their lives special privileges in relation to the rest of the community (James 1979: 204)

“The children involved are *gurunya* after the blue-black glossy starling.” (James 1979:205)

“But the adults who run the cult are without exception women, although male diviners may be called in to assist the *gurunya* specialists at certain points. All adults regard the cult as a whole as the business of women, and its ceremonies as occasions for the children…The great procession which passes round the hamlets of a neighborhood, singing and soliciting greetings and presents from every household…” (James 1979: 206)

“Gurunya children are given very special treatment….often given eggs, sometimes raw eggs to suck, and they are given bits of chicken when it is available….Any special snack or delicious tidbit will be saved and given to the Gurunya; and small gifts of food, especially, will be solicited from any one who is preparing a meal. If the child cries, every effort is made to comfort him; he is cuddled, given tidbits, and women sing the Gurunya song for him.” (James 1979: 210)
“The Gurunya is spoken of in more general terms as a *cinkina*: a waif, a foundling, without kin and without any hope of survival on his own…If you ask why a baby Gurunya is a *cinkina*, you are told that it is because he has lost his brothers and sisters; he has no kin. The mother, similarly, is a *cinkina* because she has lost all her children, she has no child in her hand, she is alone.” (James 1979: 211) When a woman has no children, or when they die, it is a serious matter for her whole community; the local birth-group will die out if its womenfolk fail to bear and to bring up children, especially daughters. The aim of the Gurunya rites could not be clearer: they are concerned with the saving of life and not merely that of individual women’s children, but of the whole community.” (James 1979: 212)

“The normal rite for taking a baby out consists of carrying him through the front door of the hut…but the Gurunya baby does not come out by the front door. A special hole is made in the hut wall (James 1979: 213)The child is carried round…the village and laid at the door of each hut, where he is given some little presents such as a cob of maize…Two important themes dominate this rite, which partially introduces the baby to the social world. One is the idea of his being ‘led’ carefully into it…The other important theme, which is developed through the (James 1979: 214) whole series of rites, it is that of the child being a charge upon the whole community. Everyone should contribute to his ‘rescue’ or ‘adoption.’ (James 1979: 215)


“More than 60 percent of all children born in Miang Tuu die before the age of three…The death risk is highest during the first three or four months. This grim fact may be reflected in the attitude toward infants. The major goal of their parents during the first three years is to keep them alive; the demands of enculturation are low.” (Broch 1990: 19)


“Nyasaland in Central Africa.” (Read 1960: 17)

“The falling of the cord was the signal that the baby was ready to ‘come out of the hut’ and be presented to the village.” (Read 1960: 53)
Illness and Death


“Parents and sibling are scolded by the older folks if they neglect to attend immediately to a crying child, crying being considered bad for children. Even during important affairs like religious séances, children are given much freedom to do as they please.” (Jocano 1969: 14)

“Children are often considered to be the joy of the home.” (Jocano 1969: 14)

“If within three days after birth the infant frets and cries, the father builds a bonfire underneath the house. Fretting is interpreted, as I have already indicated, as a sign that the infant is being visited by the evil spirits. Children are believed to be sensitive to the presence of these nonhumans; in fact, they can talk to them. The mother and the child are made to sit directly above the bonfire. The flame is put out to allow the smoke to rise, thus fumigating the two. This is know as *tu’ub*. The smoke “shields the doors, the windows, and the Crevices with preventive powers.” (Jocano 1969: 30)

“As already indicated, the child is not breast fed immediately after delivery, because the colostrum is considered bad for the neonate. Breast feeding takes place on the third or fourth day, depending upon the mother’s lactation.” (Jocano 1969: 31)

“The first haircuttings are kept for the medicinal use when the child develops a fever or has convulsions. It is believed that after a child has his first haircut, he becomes sickly and his own hair is the best cure. Portions of the cuttings are burned (Jocano 1969: 46) with native incense, and the sick child is fumigated with it. It is said that the smoke from the hair and native incense has strong curative power.” (Jocano 1969: 32)


“The care of newborns…the grandmother or another woman immediately dipped a finger in cow dung and stuck it deep into the newborn’s mouth. This was meant as an aid against the dangers of the child-stone, but also as a gesture of subjugation…In order to purge the child’s body from the impurities that eating the mother’s blood in the womb had produced, incisions were made with a knife or a razor blade (*tikh, tikh zadan*) on various parts of the body. A baby was said to need such purging again whenever it cried a lot.” (Friedl 1997: 59)

“Djenn are said to be after the mother’s liver (*jigar*). They are also jealous of the baby, especially during the first ten, or better, forty, days; they might steal the baby or exchange it for their own, sickly one. A baby indicates that it might be a changeling by fussiness, weakness, or lack of growth.” (Friedl 1997: 69)
“Deadly but rare is the child-stone or child-bead (*mohre baccine*), a smooth, reddish to black pebble with a hole through it for a sting. A sickly infant who dies despite all efforts is take to have been killed by some woman’s hidden child-stone.” (Friedl 1997: 70)

“Because of these dangers, pregnant women and new mothers are wise to stay at home, to avoid places where many women gather such a wedding parties.” (p. 71)

“The baby was sickly, small, weak. When she was a year old she could hardly sit. Everybody expected her to die—her father even suggested that her mother let Mozhgan die; they would make another, better child, he said. From several signs the mother came to suspect that the baby was a changeling, a djenn’s child substituted for her own when she had been left alone for a moment sometime soon after birth. An amulet-writer in Deh Koh wrote three prayer-amulets. (One to burn under the cradle; one to cover with beeswax, put in water, and then wash the child with the water; the third to be sewn into a piece of fabric and hung around the baby’s neck until the string broke). He also suggested changing her name to Masume Zahra, a religious one. Since then, as Masume Zahre, she has been doing well, and her parents like her very much; obviously, they say, the djenn had exchanged the sickly child for their real, well child again.” (Friedl 1997: 81)

“A boy infant needs less cleaning and changing of diaper-rags than a girl because his penis can be stuck into a wooden or metal pipe that drains into a can hung outside the cradle footboard. Baby girls are wet pretty much all the time—wet and uncomfortable because they do not have a penis, women explain.” (Friedl 1997: 83)

“A dead young infant is washed quickly at home, wrapped, and buried unceremoniously in a shallow, unmarked grave.” (Friedl 1997: 84)

“A mother’s first milk is said to be “very strong.” A weak newborn therefore might be fed sugar-water from a spoon or a bottle until its mother can provide regular milk.” (Friedl 1997: 85)

“In cases of a woman’s serious resentment of her husband, not nursing a child is a way of getting back at him, no matter how great the emotional costs may be to the mother…Written amulets, a hair or tooth of a wolf, the head of a rooster, something made of iron such as miniature replicas of tools or a bangle, a Qoran [spelled like this in book], all kept near the cradle or pinned to the infant’s clothing, and fumigation with the burning seeds of wild rue are said to ward of djenn.” (Friedl 1997: 87)

“A clean baby is beautiful (*tamiz*, clean, is a metaphor for beauty), yet this very beauty may attract fatal attention from a djenn or the evil eye of an admirer. A dirty, smally, “ugly” (*zesht*) baby is, in this sense, much safer than a clean, nice one “Look how dirty he is!” a mother will exclaim happily.” (Friedl 1997: 88)

“…2.2 million infant and child deaths are the result of dehydration caused by persistent diarrhoea.” (Mabilia 2000: 191)

“Mothers have various explanatory models for classifying diarrhoea in their offspring, and each of these represents their cultural construction. They distinguish among the ‘precipitating’ agents:

- food: that may be dirty, rotten, or can be indigestible for the child’s stomach such as beans, vegetables, stiff millet or sorghum porridge;
- exposure to seasonal changes: especially when particular trees, mpela (baobab), mnynga (unclassified), and mpululu (unclassified), bloom in the bush before the wet season starts;
- physical factors: such as milestones of physical development, especially standing up, sitting on the floor, crawling, walking, and teething;
- moral misbehavior of the parents: as when the parents, together or individually, break the traditional taboos; and Supernatural causes such as sorcery or evil eye. (Mabilia 2000: 195)

According to these causes, there are different explanations as to whether the diarrhoea is serious, and even potentially fatal, or whether it is to be considered a normal occurrence in the baby’s growth. Consequently, there will be different treatments and patterns of help-seeking.” (Mabilia 2000: 195)

“In the mind of Gogo mothers the baby should look for the breast by itself or cry when it wants to be nursed. But if a baby is affected by acute diarrhoea for several days, it may be possible that it falls into a state of apathy, due to loss of appetite and vomit, and does not cry or look for the breast by itself. The result is a reduced breastfeeding that may expose the child to the risk of severe protein-energy malnutrition. A mother, moreover, does not consider it necessary to replace the fluid lost in order to prevent dehydration because she does not recognize dehydration…In the presence of chronic diarrhoea, unresponsive to any treatment, the mother gets anxious and asks herself if there has been some change, some specific alteration in her breast milk…If a baby continues to have diarrhoea that means that the mother’s breast milk has become hot…The most important change in breast milk…is when the milk is spoiled by wrongful or neglectful parental sexual behaviour…Every breach of post-partum taboos by the parents is believed by Wagogo to be the cause of serious forms of diarrhoeal disorders in their child which can even kill it.” (Mabilia 2000: 196)

“It is common belief among the Gogo women that a new pregnancy alters the physiological equilibrium in the woman’s body and her breast milk turns into colostrum. When an infant sucks this breast milk—of the unborn baby—it will start having diarrhoea and vomit…When faced with this kind of diarrhoea a mother must immediately stop breastfeeing (kulesa) and give her baby a special medicine so that the bad milk flushes out of the baby’s stomach. This is an oil obtained by cooking a sheep’s tail…together with a medicine that a traditional healer…extracts from a particular parasitic plant…The fat tail of the sheep is supposed to have a cooling effect on the ‘hot’ stomach of the baby.” (Mabilia 2000: 197)
When this occurs “....The old women...called a meeting and with harsh words blamed the mother for not having been able to deny her favours to her husband.” (Mabilia 2000: 197)

“When a sucking baby has watery diarrhoea, with blood...a very bad smell, and...vomiting it is the sign of promiscuous affairs (mchanganyiko, literally, a mixture) of parents.” (Mabilia 2000: 198)


“The Barue do not give the first name before the child is six months old. They are particularly strict in this respect. For the first half year they call the male baby marumbra, the female ntsiye. After this the father gives the names to the boys and the mother to the girls.” (Wieschhoff 1937: 498).


“General or prolonged fussiness, a refusal to eat (p. 41) or outright sickness—all these may be diagnosed as symptomatic of the spirit’s withdrawal from the body. To secure its permanent integration with the body, the family and others make every effort to encourage it to remain. The measures necessary to insure this are thought to be the maintenance of a congenial atmosphere in which the infant spirit will be happy, expressions of concern and affection for the infant, and the creation of important ritual ties to members of the community outside the natal household.” (Guemple 1979: 42)
The Extremes of High and Low Fertility

Angela Nunes (2005) Childhood dynamics in a changing culture: Examples from the Xavante people of central Brazil. in Jacqueline Knörr (Ed) Childhood And Migration: From Experience to Agency. (pp. 207-226) Bielefeld, Germany: Transcript Verlag

Study of the Xavante living in a post-contact settlement. Increase in fertility and need to wash clothing, keeps women so busy, they “…were gradually withdrawing from participation in dances and rituals, simply because they were too tired from work. People felt this was a serious loss, especially in a society where the older generation needs to serve as examples to maintain its cultural heritage.” (Nunes 2005: 219)


“All aspects of family structure showed strong independent associations with parental care. Most importantly, both mothers and fathers can only achieve large family size at a significant cost to the quality of care provided to individual children. In fact, family size was the strongest explanatory variable considered in our analysis. Our results are therefore consistent with the position that established negative relationships between family size and offspring outcomes in modern societies are mediated by reduction in parental investment.” (Lawson and Mace 2009: 180)

“We also find that the incremental costs of each additional child tailed off in the largest families consistent with a quantity—quality trade-off model.” (Lawson and Mace 2009: 180)

“We found that family size effects on parental investment were generally not alleviated in wealthy or well educated families. In fact, our results suggest particularly in relation to paternal investment, that middle or high SES may actually increase the magnitude of trade-off effects relative to low SES families.” (Lawson and Mace 2009: 180)

“The failure of increased parental resources to reduce trade-offs may be understood by categorizing parental care into guaranteed “base investments” and “surplus investments,” which only parents of sufficient wealth are able to provide. As such children in poor families may be relatively unaffected by family size because surplus investments are beyond their reach and minimal base investments guaranteed. This model is theoretically a much better fit to modern societies in which base levels of schooling, healthcare, and social opportunity are guaranteed by the welfare state. In the context of our study, high levels of parental care, particularly from fathers, may therefore be seen as surplus investment with lower base levels guaranteed across socioeconomic strata. In fact, the particularly strong effects of SES on paternal care means that low SES fathers literally have limited ability to reduce investment any further as family size increases.” (Lawson and Mace 2009: 181)

“More than 2 million babies and mothers die worldwide each year from childbirth complications, outnumbering child deaths from malaria and HIV/AIDS, according to a study…released Tuesday at the International Federation of Gynecology and Obstetrics world congress being held in Cape Town.”

“Some 1.02 million babies are stillborn and another 904,000 die soon after birth. By comparison, 820,000 children die from malaria and 208,000 die from HIV/AIDS worldwide….About 42 percent of the world's 536,000 maternal deaths also occur during childbirth, according to the study. Deaths in Africa and South Asia account for three-quarters of the maternal and infant deaths….researchers were taken aback by the shocking figures and the lack of attention given to these mothers and their babies. “It is seen as women's business. Stillbirths don't count. Sometimes the deaths of women don't even count.”

**Epidemic of premature births. Likely proximal/distal causes 1. Shortening of the IBI. Disappearance of post-partum sex taboo and shortening of nursing period. Mothers in the Third World are resuming sexual relations (and getting pregnant) shortly after infant is born. 2. Very young girls getting pregnant, giving birth. Relaxation of parental (father absence) restraint of children’s sexual activity. 3. Women getting pregnant and bringing infant to term, even though they are too young, malnourished, refugees or otherwise in an extremely unfavorable environment. Campaign by religious organizations to deny access to reproductive alternatives, including contraception.**


“More than one million infants die each year because they are born too early, according to the just released White Paper, The Global and Regional Toll of Preterm Birth.

“The new White Paper shows that in 2005, an estimated 13 million babies worldwide were born preterm -- defined as birth at less than 37 full weeks of gestation. That is almost 10 percent of total births worldwide. About one million deaths in the first month of life (or 28 percent of total newborn deaths) are attributable to preterm birth.”

“According to the White Paper, the highest preterm birth rates in the world are found in Africa, followed by North America (United States and Canada combined)...In the United States alone, the annual cost of caring for preterm babies and their associated health problems tops $26 billion annually.”

“Worldwide, the preterm birth rate is estimated at 9.6 percent --representing about 12.9 million babies. Though all countries are affected, the global distribution is uneven: the toll of preterm birth is particularly severe for Africa and Asia, where more than 85 percent of all preterm births occur. Comparison of preterm birth rates across world regions finds the highest rate in Africa --
11.9 percent or about 4 million babies each year; followed by (in descending order) North America, Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean, Oceania (Australia and New Zealand combined), and Europe.”

“Babies who survive a preterm birth face the risk of serious lifelong health problems including cerebral palsy, blindness, hearing loss, learning disabilities, and other chronic conditions. Even infants born late preterm have a greater risk of re-hospitalization, breathing problems, feeding difficulties, temperature instability (hypothermia), jaundice and delayed brain development.”

**Almost 13 Million Preterm Births Worldwide**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Number of Preterm Births</th>
<th>Preterm Birth Rates %</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>World Total</td>
<td>12,870,000</td>
<td>9.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>4,047,000</td>
<td>11.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>North America (US &amp; Canada)*</td>
<td>480,000</td>
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<td>Asia</td>
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<td>Latin America &amp; the Caribbean</td>
<td>933,000</td>
<td>8.1</td>
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<td>Oceania (Australia/New Zealand)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>466,000</td>
<td>6.2</td>
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</tbody>
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Preterm birth rates by national income category:

- In high resource regions, 1,014,000 infants each year are born preterm, or 7.5 percent of total births.
- In middle resource regions, 7,685,000 infants are born preterm, or 8.8 percent of total births.
- In low resource regions, 4,171,000 infants are born preterm, or 12.5 percent of total births.

**Fertility reduction in spite of government/ religious authority pro-natalist policy.**


“During the Pahlavi era, public health programs, primary education for boys and girls, and the rising standard of living lowered infant mortality and increased life expectancy so that the population started to rise rapidly.” (Loefeler, 2009: 14)

“During the Iran/Iraq war (1980-88), Iran’s Islamist government adopted an aggressive pro-natalist stance. As word spread that Ayatollah Khomeini needed boys to wage war, women showed political allegiance and affirmed their identity through their fertility… The government kept contraceptive devices legally available but did not advocate them… (Loefeler, 2009: 14)
Artificially assisted reproduction becoming popular in impoverished, Third World countries. Fertility is so highly valued, the infertile are ostracized…


“In African countries with high birth rates, such as Mali, where the average number of children per woman is around 6.8, the idea of infertility could be a common problem appears to be absurd. Yet the figures speak for themselves. Reproductive Health outlook estimates that fertility problems affect 8-12% of couples globally, but that infertility rates in sub-Saharan Africa range from 7-29%.” (Hoerbst 2009: 4)

“Life without children of one’s own is neither imaginable nor desirable for Mali women and men.” (Hoerbst 2009: 4)

“There have been efforts in the private health sector, where some gynecologists try to provide ART locally.” (Hoerbst 2009: 4)

“Dr. M has managed to provide intrauterine insemination (IUI) at a reasonable local price at between €500 and €1,000 (including drugs), and in vitro fertilization (IVF) at between €1,600 and €2,000 for a single attempt.” (Hoerbst 2009: 4)


“In many ways, fertility clinics in Mexico are similar to those elsewhere in the world. They offer high-tech treatments, including in vitro fertilization and artificial insemination, intended to help people conceive.” (Braff 2009: 5)

“Recent studies conducted in the Global South…show that ARTs are increasingly used by people of limited resources who find ways to pay…such as by borrowing from friends and family. Regardless of people’s (in)ability to financially afford ARTS, in these and other societies the social pressure to reproduce can be quite high as having children is locally construed as integral to a person’s gender identity, kin relationships and societal participation.” (Braff 2009: 5)

UNICEF:
Nine of the 12 countries with the world's highest rate of child deaths are West Africa, according to the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) State of the World's Children 2008 which was released on 22 January. According to the report, the region is the only one in the world showing "no progress" on reaching the Millennium Development Goal to reduce under-five mortality by two
thirds by 2015. On average 18.6 percent of children in West Africa die before their fifth birthday, while one in 10 will die by their first.

Malnutrition is a leading cause of death in the region, killing half of all children under five, according to UNICEF. This is because it weakens children's ability to fight other diseases, such as malaria or pneumonia.

But giving birth also leads to death for simpler reasons that are easier to rectify, such as the lack of a clean blade to cut umbilical cords and cultural behaviours such as an avoidance of breastfeeding.

**Compare to Guinea-Bissau: Paradox of high fertility in an environment in which children inevitably suffer…**


“This is a place where it is not at all uncommon for children to die of starvation or sores, thirst. Add to this the rampant gun violence and civil terror that has served as the backdrop of everyday life in Haiti for the past half-century, and it becomes immediately apparent that if there is any place in the world in which children have no business growing up, it is in the Republic of Haiti.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 1)


“[Deh Koh is a] village in the high mountains of southwest Iran…The population of Deh Koh has grown steadily from a few dozen people in a small huddle of stone-and-adobe houses at the turn of the century to close to four thousand on last count, mostly by a combination of high birth rate and falling infant mortality rates. About half the people in Deh Koh are younger than fifteen years of age. This growth rates leaves its marks on the shape of the village.” (Friedl 1997: 1)

“In the summer of 1994 the local physician said that pregnant women in Deh Koh are in very poor health. With few exceptions they are anemic and malnourished. They are having too many pregnancies, too closely spaced, and many miscarriages. Newborns look like premature babies, birth weight is low, and mothers have insufficient milk. It was worse in the past, though. Women claim negative side effects for every birth control device. They use contraceptives unreliably; men reject condoms…If it is again legalized by the government women will use abortions to space children…The doctors claim that women are not serious about birth control because they are afraid that their husbands will take another wife if they do not have a child every year.” (Friedl 1997: 38)

“A woman who wants to abort a fetus is likely to swallow a handful of pills from her drug cache of unconsumed medicines….People know of a severely handicapped child in another village, the result of the mother’s failed attempt to abort it with pills.” (Friedl 1997: 45)

The Pumé are a group of native South Americans who have inhabited the llanos of southwest Venezuela for at least the past several hundred years.” (Kramer 2007: 714)

“Those who live along the Capanaparo, Cinaruco, and Riecito Rivers reside in permanent villages and have a mixed subsistence base of fish, manioc horticulture, animal husbandry, wild foods, and occasional wage labor. In contrast, the Pumé who live in the savannas between these major river courses are mobile foragers, subsisting on hunting fishing, wild root and mango collection, and, to a much lower extent, manioc horticulture.” (Kramer 2007: 714)

“The Pumé results add to these studies by demonstrating that population growth during the earliest stages of economic acculturation occurs through not only higher child survival but also an increase in birth rates.” (Kramer 2007: 721)

“Greater accessibility of agricultural and market foods improves the diets of young children, less through absolute availability than by reducing the periodicity and amplitude of nutritional stress. Cross-cultural evidence suggests that among traditional populations, improved children’s diets can introduce substantial gains in survival.” (Kramer 2007: 722)

“Nursing infants are particularly susceptible to gastrointestinal diseases after they are introduced to supplementary foods. Infants exclusively fed breast milk are at considerable reduced risk of diarrhea compared to infants who are introduced to (Kramer 2007: 722) supplementary foods.” (Kramer 2007: 723)


In Durantini’s book, there are scenes of mothers reading with children at home. The mothers are dressed rather elaborately in comfortable if not lavish surroundings, seated at ease with one child or two. These are women with the leisure to enjoy and entertain their (relatively) small broods.


“Tender domestic scenes, including fathers feeding and singing to their infants, occasionally appear in Dutch art of the seventeenth century.” (Heywood 2001: 87)


“At the end of the eighteenth century the Quakers became the first group to deliberately limit births, and by 1810 the impulse to control births spread to all parts of the country. Relying primarily upon abstinence, *coitus interruptus*, and the rhythm method, supplemented by abortion
(usually chemically induced or a result of trauma to the uterus), parents dramatically reduced the birthrate.” (Mintz 2004: 77)

“The drop in the birthrate also reflected new cultural ideals, including a rejection of the view that women were chattels who should devote their adult lives to an endless cycle of pregnancy and childbirth.” (Mintz 2004: 78)

**Demographic Transition doesn't just affect the # of children, but views on what constitutes "normal" childhood as well...**


“The article examines the concept of childhood in an African society and tracks a contemporary shift in thinking about what a child is when a major sociocultural transformation effects a large segment of that population. The Pare, traditionally patrilineal highland cultivators, have recently experienced a change in their subsistence base from hoe cultivation to wage labor. This brought about a shift away from reliance on lineage authority to more couple-centered relations in some couples. A consequence of this has been a reduction in fertility in these couples and a view on children which departs from the traditional one. The article compares the daily lives of the children and the two types of parents’ conceptualizations of childhood.” (Hollos 2002: 167)

“The data show that there are important differences in the lives of children in the two kinds of households. Children in small, so-called ‘partnership’ families work little, play a lot, rest quite a bit and study. Their experience seems to resemble the one that Zlata considered desirable and which we in the West consider to be a ‘normal’ childhood. The parents of these children consider them to be an important part of their lives in terms of the enjoyment, companionship and love they provide and want to ensure that they have a happy and fulfilled life. To them, this happiness and fulfillment comes through freedom to play and loaf and through achievement in school. They try to ensure that this opportunity is available to their children. Children in the larger, so-called ‘lineage-based’ families work a lot, play little and rest and study even less. These parents have a utilitarian view on children: they consider them to be valuable as part of a joint family enterprise and workforce and as potential support in their old age. Thus there is a convergence between the differences in the children’s daily lives and the notions their parents hold about childhood. So, in the context of this small African community we can observe two different conceptions and experiences of childhood, coexisting.” (Hollow 2002: 187)


“The cover story investigates Europe's "baby bust." Contrary to the analysis offered by social conservatives, who believe secular lifestyles based on nontraditional gender roles are to blame, sociologists attribute rapidly shrinking European populations to a lack of support for working mothers. The theory plays out in the fertility rates-countries with "greater gender equality have a greater social commitment to day care and other institutional support for working women," like the Netherlands and Norway, which have more births than more traditional countries like Italy,
where "society prefers women to stay at home after they become mothers, and the government reinforces this," even though fewer Italian women work outside the home than their Scandinavian counterparts.” (Russell 2008: online)

“When Aassve moved from Norway to Italy last year to study fertility issues, he said, he found himself with a case of culture whiplash. As women advanced in education levels and career tracks over the past few decades, Norway moved aggressively to accommodate them and their families. The state guarantees about 54 weeks of maternity leave, as well as 6 weeks of paternity leave. With the birth of a child comes a government payment of about 4,000 euros. State-subsidized day care is standard. The cost of living is high, but then again it’s assumed that both parents will work; indeed, during maternity leave a woman is paid 80 percent of her salary. “In Norway, the concern over fertility is mild,” Aassve told me. “What dominates is the issue of gender equity, and that in turn raises the fertility level. For example, there is a debate right now about whether to make paternity leave compulsory. It’s an issue of making sure women and men have equal rights and opportunities. If men are taking leave after the birth of a child, the women can return to work for part of that time.” (Russell 2008: online)

“What Aassve found in Italy was strikingly different. While Italian women tend to be as highly educated as Scandinavian women, he said, about 50 percent of Italian women work, compared with between 75 percent and 80 percent of women in Scandinavian countries. Despite its veneer of modernity, Italian society prefers women to stay at home after they become mothers, and the government reinforces this. There is little state-financed child care, especially for new mothers, and most newlyweds still find homes close to one or both sets of parents, the assumption being that the extended family will help raise the children. But this no longer works as it once did. “As couples tend to delay childbirth,” Aassve says, “the age gap between generations is widening, and in many cases grandparents, who would be the ones relied upon for child care, themselves become the ones in need of care.” (Russell 2008: online)

“If this reading of southern European countries is correct — that their superficial commitment to modernity, to a 21st-century lifestyle, is fatally at odds with a view of the family structure that is rooted in the 19th century — it should apply in other parts of the world, should it not? Apparently it does. This spring, the Japanese government released figures showing that the country’s under-14 population was the lowest since 1908. The head of Thailand’s department of health announced in May that his country’s birthrate now stands at 1.5, far below the replacement level. “The world record for lowest-low fertility right now is South Korea, at 1.1,” Francesco Billari told me. “Japan is just about as low. What we are seeing in Asia is a phenomenon of the 2000s, rather than the 1990s. And it seems the reasons are the same as for southern Europe. All of these are societies still rooted in the tradition where the husband earned all the money. Things have changed, not only in Italy and Spain but also in Japan and Korea, but those societies have not yet adjusted. The relationships within households have not adjusted yet.” Western Europe, then, is not the isolated case that some make it out to be. It is simply the first region of the world to record extremely low birthrates.” (Russell 2008: online)

“But one other factor affecting the higher U.S. birthrate stands out in the minds of many observers. “There’s much less flexibility in the European system,” Haub says. “In Europe, both the society and the job market are more rigid.” There may be little state subsidy for child care in
the U.S., and there is certainly nothing like the warm governmental nest that Norway feathers for fledgling families, but the American system seems to make up for it in other ways. As Hans-Peter Kohler of the University of Pennsylvania writes: “In general, women are deterred from having children when the economic cost — in the form of lower lifetime wages — is too high. Compared to other high-income countries, this cost is diminished by an American labor market that allows more flexible work hours and makes it easier to leave and then re-enter the labor force.” An American woman might choose to suspend her career for three or five years to raise a family, expecting to be able to resume working; that happens far less easily in Europe.” (Russell 2008: online)

**Because labor union influence is much stronger in Europe than in the US.**
Two Exceptions

Lack of effective sex education and contraception in the US takes a toll:


“Everyday in the U.S. 5 children die from abuse or neglect; more than 10,000 children died from abuse or neglect in the U.S. from 2001 through 2007, three quarters of them younger than 4, said a report based on data from the Department of Health and Human Services. “The U.S. death rate is more than double the rate in France, Canada, Japan, Germany, Great Britain and Italy, countries that have less teen pregnancy, violent crime and poverty”. The real number may be higher as the cause of death from abuse of neglect may be attributed to other causes. Funding for prevention and education programs has suffered over the last decade and with the recession the problems grows worse with many states cutting child welfare services over and above past levels. The report suggests higher levels of spending on programs to combat child poverty and abuse.” (Koch 2009: online)

http://www.google.com/hostednews/ap/article/ALeqM5g_CQ5dFodttwmt5mQB0fQiOrq_uwD9AEMF2O4

“America has some of the industrial world's worst rates of infant mortality, teenage pregnancy and child poverty, even though it spends more per child than better-performing countries such as Switzerland, Japan and the Netherlands.”

“U.S. spending on children under six, a period the OECD says is key to children's future well-being, lags far behind other countries, amounting to only $20,000 per child on average compared to the OECD average of $30,000, the survey showed.”

“...infant mortality in the U.S. is the fourth-worst in the OECD after Mexico... American 15-year-olds rank seventh from the bottom on the OECD's measure of average educational achievement. Child poverty rates in the U.S. are nearly double the OECD average, at 21.6 percent compared to 12.4 percent...The rate of teen births in the U.S. is three times the OECD average, with only Mexico recording a higher rate among OECD countries.”

“Timothy Smeeding, author of "Poor Kids in a Rich Country: America's Children in Comparative Perspective," said "The parents in Europe... have children when they're ready...A lot of kids born in our country are accidents," he said. "Young women need to learn to wait to finish their education, not have a kid at 18 or 19. And it is these poor, unwed mothers having most of the babies in the U.S."”

Surplus children
“Seven-year old Landon Woodbury was “probably having the time of his life” his father said. It was just an unfortunate accident” the father said. The family still has 5 living children including an 8 year old and a 4-year old.


“In US median age of marriage now 26 women, 28 men.” (Jayson 2008: D1)


“…Fragile Families and Child Wellbeing Study. This longitudinal study is following a birth cohort of nearly 5,000 children and their parents randomly…There are 3,712 non-marital children. The typical unmarried mother and father are in their late twenties. More than one-third of the unmarried mothers are Hispanic, 44 percent are non-Hispanic African-American…The more times a mother gives birth, the more likely it is that she will have those children with different partners.” (Roberts 2008: 2)

“Black non-Hispanic mothers and fathers are much more likely to have children from more than one partner than parents of other racial/ethnic groups. Mothers who had their first child at a young age are much more likely than others to have several partners. (Corresponding data are not available for fathers). Fathers who have been incarcerated are twice as likely as fathers who have not been incarcerated to have children by more than one partner…74 percent of fathers either have children with more than one partner or have been involved with someone who has children with another partner.” (Roberts 2008: 3)


“…urban African American teen mothers.” (Burton 1998: 9)

“We began our study of [18] neighborhoods, teen parents, and multigeneration families in the summer of 1989 in a medium sized, predominately African American northeastern city.” (Burton 1998: 9)

“The baby parades consisted of young mothers strolling up and down the street, in groups, pushing their babies in carriages. The young mothers and their babies were dressed “to kill,” often sporting the latest athletic wear. The baby strollers were the best that money could buy. The higher quality of a young mother’s stroller, the higher status in the baby parade. The young mothers saw the baby parades as an opportunity to engage in “girlfriend talk” and to see and be seen by neighborhood audiences that were gathered for other purposes.” (Burton 1998: 16)
Teen pregnancy...

“But with one of the highest teen pregnancy rates in Europe, the British government is bringing sex education to all school in England—including kindergarten-age children.” (AP/SLTrib 2008: A20)


“The teen birth rate in the United States rose in 2006 for the first time since 1991.” (Ventura 2007: online)

“The largest increases were reported for non-Hispanic black teens, whose overall rate rose 5 percent in 2006. The rate rose 2 percent for Hispanic teens, 3 percent for non-Hispanic white teens, and 4 percent for American Indian or Alaska Native teens.” (Ventura 2007: online)

“The study also revealed that the percentage of all U.S. births to unmarried mothers increased to 38.5 percent, up from 36.9 percent in 2005.” (Ventura 2007: online)

“The percentage of births delivered before 37 weeks of gestation has risen 21 percent since 1990.” (Ventura 2007: online)

The low birthweight rate also rose slightly in 2006, from 8.2 percent in 2005 to 8.3 percent in 2006, a 19 percent jump since 1990.

“As a result of the increases in the birth rates for women aged 15-44, the total fertility rate — an estimate of the average number of births that a group of women would have over their lifetimes — increased 2 percent in 2006 to 2,101 births per 1,000 women. This is the highest rate since 1971 and the first time since then that the rate was above replacement — the level at which a given generation can replace itself.” (Ventura 2007: online)


“‘The children are more likely to be in foster care, less likely to graduate from high school,” he said. “The daughters are more likely to have teen births themselves, the sons are more likely to be incarcerated. There are more than 400,000 teen births annually in the United States, most of them to unmarried mothers on welfare.” (AP.SLTrib 2008: A20)

“The fact sheets from the well-respected National Campaign To Prevent Teen Pregnancy describe a bleak prospect: Even controlling for social and economic backgrounds, only 40 percent of teenage girls who bear children before age 18 go on to graduate from high school, compared with the 75 percent of teens who do not give birth until ages 20 or 21. Less than 2 percent of mothers who have children before age 18 will earn a college degree by age 30, compared with 9 percent of young women who wait until age 20 or 21 to have children.” (Hirshman 2008: online)

“Overall, teenage mothers—and their children—are also far more likely to live in poverty than females who don't give birth until after age 20. Two-thirds of the families begun by a young unmarried mother are poor. These families are more likely to be on welfare and to require publicly provided health care. Eighty percent of these young mothers do not marry, and they will get almost no support from the fathers, who are usually also poor. After 10 years, 48 percent of marriages by brides under 18 have ended. Only 24 percent of brides married at age 25 or older are so fated.” (Hirshman 2008: online)

“Also, using seven months as a marker for a premarital pregnancy, having a baby within the first seven months of marriage raises the odds of divorce in every ethnic group. Black and Hispanic couples who marry when pregnant are twice as likely to divorce as couples who marry when the bride is not pregnant; non-Hispanic whites are 50 percent more likely to divorce if the bride is pregnant than if they marry before conception. When polled, male teenagers are less supportive of having babies outside of marriage than female teens are. In the one part of the MySpace site about children, the prospective father of Bristol Palin’s Levi Johnston wrote, "I don't want kids."” (Hirshman 2008: online)

“Statistically, the children of teen mothers aren't all that well-off, either. More of their mothers smoke. The babies are more likely to be smaller at birth, suffer higher rates of abuse and neglect, and do poorly in school. They are also likelier to go to prison and to have teen pregnancies themselves, to stay back a grade, to be involved in violence, to go to foster care.” (Hirshman 2008: online)


“The U.S. infant mortality rate is just under seven for every 1,000 live births.” (McClam 2007: A14)

“In 1990, about 20 black babies died for every 1,000 born in Shelby County, and about 7 white. In 2006, the numbers were little changed: 19 black, seven white.” (McClam 2007: A14)

“Premature birth and low birth weight are by far the biggest cause of infant death.” (McClam 2007: A14)

“These are the basics. Many young mothers in Memphis are lacking prenatal care and with it they are lacking some of the most basic do’s and don’ts about carrying a child to term.” (McClam 2007: A14)
“If you raise your hands over your head your baby will become wrapped in the umbilical cord. If you feel sick, open the medicine cabinet, any bottle will do. Or just as bad: Stay away from everything in the medicine cabinet. “What makes people believe things that have no medical basis?” Taylor says, “It’s been passed down.”’’ (McClam 2007: A14)

“At the moment health leaders in Memphis are placing their faith in a relatively new idea called centering pregnancy, ” which gathers about a dozen women with similar due dates and coached them through their pregnancies as a group. Two studies have found the models led women to be better prepared to handle their pregnancies.” (McClam 2007: A14)


“Census results show Utah lead nation in growth in 2007, 2008. 64% of the growth came from an excess of births over deaths. In spite of the grim forecasts for everything from water shortages to traffic congestion to overcrowded classrooms and the loss of farmland, the State Planning Coordinator says : “We’re pleased.” (Loomis 2008: A4)


“Hoping to escape increasing scrutiny and prosecution by authorities, one fundamentalist Mormon community uprooted itself from Southern Utah and moved to an isolated compound—Yearning For Zion Ranch near Eldorado, Texas. But Texas authorities were even less forgiving of the religious group’s pro-natalist practices. In April 2008, authorities raided the sect’s compound and from that point on, TV cameras showed matriarchal figures dressed in the style of frontier farm-wives surrounded by their large broods entering and exiting various government offices as the legal investigation unfolded. In December a report was issued that documented the very high number of girls (12-15 years old) who were bred to community elders and added to polygynous households. The teenaged brides had all borne one or more children at the time the raid was conducted.” (Adams 2008: A13)
The Next Transition


“The number of Down’s syndrome pregnancies has increased by more than 70 percent in the last 20 years. Initially physicians, researchers, and educators thought that the number of these types of pregnancies would decrease with the availability of prenatal screening, education, and safer abortions. However that has not been the case. Instead the increase in the number of older women choosing to become pregnant has lead to the increase in Down’s syndrome pregnancies. The risk of giving birth to a baby with Down’s syndrome is one in 940 for a woman aged 30, but the risk increases to one in 85 by age 40.” (anon 2009: online)


Thanks to the influx of feel-good hormones and fawning from friends and family, having a baby can make you feel like a superstar. The problem: Being addicted to the adoration. Some women may like being pregnant a little too much, often driven to rapidly reproduce out of insecurity, a craving for attention, or feelings of abandonment by their own parents. "Women who are obsessed with being pregnant are literally filling an emptiness inside of them, just as alcoholics and drug addicts use substances to fill a psychological void," says Beverly Hills psychiatrist Carole Lieberman, M. D. Mother Nature prods us by making sex and its aftermath feel amazing. Oxytocin, the so-called "cuddle" hormone that promotes bonding, floods women's bodies during intercourse, pregnancy, childbirth, and breastfeeding. "[Pregnancy] is like a love drug,"

(My vote for most ironic tale of 2009. Political personality Sarah Palin’s daughter Bristol—arguably the poster child for the failure of abstinence-only sex ed—is now touring as a spokesperson for abstinence-only sex ed!


“…Iconix, a company that makes the Candie’s line of teen fashions. A couple of years ago, under fire from critics who accused him of dressing high schoolers like tarts, [the owner] established the Candie’s foundation, which fights teen pregnancy. And there he was Wednesday introducing the foundation’s new teen ambassador, Bristol Palin.” (Collins 2009, A11)

“…abstinence education is worse than useless. Texas where virtually all the schools teach abstinence and abstinence alone, is a teen pregnancy disaster zone. It’s had one of the highest rates for as long as I can remember,” said David Wiley a professor of health education at Texas State University.” (Collins 2009, A11)

“It's lunch time at Lee High School, and several young girls—some with their boyfriends—bring their sandwiches to a classroom loaded with rocking chairs, cribs, books and toys. The Houston campus opened the free day care on site a few years ago to encourage young parents to keep coming to school.”

“The offer hooked Tahys Diaz, a junior at Lee who got pregnant at 17 and now has a 1-year-old son named Anthony. Without the child care, Diaz said, she likely would have dropped out of school, just like four of her friends with babies have done. "I would have let him stay in school," Diaz said of her boyfriend and son's father, Emerson Mejicano. "I would have stayed home with the baby."

“Most teen moms don't graduate high school, and national statistics show that far fewer—only 2 percent—go on to earn a college degree before age 30.”

“Texas has the third-highest teen birth rate in the nation, according to Child Trends' analysis of 2006 federal data. The state awards $10 million a year in grants to school districts to assist teen parents -- to help subsidize daycare, transportation and parenting classes.”

“Texas often draws criticism for its approach to sex education, which state law says must "devote more attention to abstinence from sexual activity than to any other behavior." “

“Sylvia Cook, who has overseen Cy-Fair's…thinks even more pregnant girls aren't coming forward statewide….scared off because they have to register the baby's father with the Texas attorney general's office to get state aid. Cook said she'd like to see more sex education in schools. "We're only coming on board and spending millions of dollars to keep the kids in school after the deed is done," she said.”


“In 2007, the U.S. teen birth rate increased for the second year in a row after a 14-year decline. This brief report provides the most recent teen birth data for 73 of the largest cities in the U.S.”


“Over the past decade, constitutional, civil and legislative actors have intensified reproductive regulation throughout the region, coalescing around abortion, contraception, sterilization and assisted reproductive technologies…The shifts in this complex landscape can be analyzed through a framework we call “reproductive governance…Argentina, Ecuador, El Salvador and Peru, for example have revised their constitutions and civil codes to push juridical rights back from birth to conception.” (Morgan and Roberts 2009: 12)

The 60-year-old Canadian woman, Ranjit Hayer, now has diabetes and high blood pressure as a result of her pregnancy, which she achieved by traveling to India for in vitro fertilization because Canadian doctors deemed it unethical to treat her.” (Pertman 2009: online)

“Is it time for federal and state governments to consider legal rules and boundaries for the fertility industry? suggests that the answer may finally be "yes."” (Pertman 2009: online)


“A Midwestern kid believes his loving parents adopted him from India. An Indian couple says he is their son, stolen from them by kidnappers when he was a toddler. In between those two families, half a world apart, lies a shadowy exchange in which healthy, attractive children from poverty-stricken countries can become a form of merchandise.” (Carney 2009: online)

“So when Sivagama left Subash by the neighborhood pump a few dozen feet from their home, she figured someone would be watching him. And someone was. During her five-minute absence, Indian police say, a man likely dragged the toddler into a three-wheeled auto rickshaw. The next day, Subash was brought to an orphanage on the city's outskirts that paid cash for healthy children…. Under questioning, police say, the men and two female accomplices admitted they'd been snatching kids on behalf of an orphanage, Malaysian Social Services (MSS), which exported the children to unwitting families abroad. The kidnappers were paid 10,000 rupees, about $236, per child…From 1991 through 2003, note documents filed by Chennai police, MSS arranged at least 165 international adoptions, mostly to the United States, the Netherlands, and Australia, earning some $250,000 in "fees."… well-meaning American families never realize they're not adopting a child—they're buying one.” (Carney 2009: online)

“In China's Hunan province, a half-dozen orphanages were found to have purchased nearly 1,000 children between 2002 and 2005. As recently as 2008, institutions in the region were purchasing children openly for $300 to $350, many of whom ended up in foreign homes.” (Carney 2009: online)

In the book, I cited the case of a woman with a rare and debilitating condition being "miraculously" transformed into a birth mother through the costly, high-tech intervention at the Stanford Medical School. I treated her, in effect, as the poster child for our irresponsible reproductive policies. Well, that woman has been eclipsed as the poster child for our folly. “Octomom,” Nadya Suleman, a 33 year-old, unemployed, unmarried woman in California gave birth in January, 2009 to surgically implanted octuplets. She had previously birthed 6 children via costly ART=Assisted Reproductive Technology procedures…

“The woman who gave birth to octuplets this week at Kaiser Permanente Bellflower Medical Center conceived all 14 of her children through in vitro fertilization. She is not married and has been obsessed with having children since she was a teenager, her mother said.” She was expected to remain in the hospital for at least a few more days, and her newborns for at least a month.” (Dillon 2009: A12)

“While her daughter recovers, Angela Suleman is taking care of the other six children ages 2 through 7.” (Dillon 2009: A12)


“Arthur Caplan, bioethics chairman at the University of Pennsylvania. He noted the serious and sometimes lethal complication and crushing medical costs that often come with high-multiple births.” (AP/SLTrib 2009: A10)

“But Jeffrey Steinberg, who has fertility clinics in Los Angeles, Las Vegas, and New York, countered: “Who am I to say that six is the limit? There are people who like to have big families.”” (AP/SLTrib 2009: A10)

“A bioethicist at the University of Pennsylvania, Arthur L. Caplan said…” I find it a huge ethical failure that she was even accepted as a patient.” (Archibold 2009: A14)

“Ms. Suleman’s mother has filed for bankruptcy, claiming $1 million in liabilities, according to court records, and Ms. Suleman, a psychiatric technician at a hospital, stopped working at some point in her pregnancy.” (Archibold 2009: A14)

“Howard Bragman, a Hollywood publicist and author of “Where’s My Fifteen Minutes? Get Your Company, Your Cause or Yourself the Recognition You Deserve” wondered if the family would start “using the kids as an A.T.M. machine.” (Archibold 2009: A14)


UNICEF’s “millions of orphans” are not healthy babies doomed to institutional misery unless Westerners adopt and save them. Rather, they are mostly older children living with extended families who need financial support.” (Graff 2008: online)

“The exception is China, where the country’s three-decades-old one-child policy, now being loosened, has created an unprecedented number of girls available for adoption. But even this flow of daughters is finite; China has far more hopeful foreigners looking to adopt a child than it has orphans it is willing to send overseas. In 2005, foreign parents adopted nearly 14,500 Chinese children. That was far fewer than the number of Westerners who wanted to adopt; adoption agencies report many more clients waiting in line. And taking those children home has gotten harder; in 2007, China’s central adoption authority sharply reduced the number of children sent abroad, possibly because of the country’s growing sex imbalance, declining poverty, and scandals involving child trafficking for foreign adoption. Prospective foreign parents today are strictly judged by their age, marital history, family size, income, health, and even weight. That means that if you are single, gay, fat, old, less than well off, too often divorced, too recently married, taking antidepressants, or already have four children, China will turn you away. Even those allowed a spot in line are being told they might wait three to four years before they bring home a child. That has led many prospective parents to shop around for a country that puts fewer barriers between them and their children—as if every country were China, but with fewer onerous regulations.” (Graff 2008: online)

“Guatemala is a perfect case study of how international adoption has become a demand-driven business,” says Kelley McCreery Bunkers, a former consultant with UNICEF Guatemala. The country’s adoption process was “an industry developed to meet the needs of adoptive families in developed countries, specifically the United States.” (Graff 2008: online)

Contra “hooking up”…

With the increasing emphasis on abstinence the perception was that adolescents where
engaging in oral sex to preserve their virginity. Lindberg's research indicates otherwise; those who engage in vaginal intercourse also engage in oral sex and anal sex at around the same time.

"…54% of adolescent females and 55% of adolescent males have ever had oral sex, and one in 10 has ever had anal sex. Both oral sex and anal sex were much more common among adolescents who had initiated vaginal sex as compared to virgins. The initiations of vaginal and oral sex appear to occur closely together; by 6 months after first vaginal intercourse, 82% of adolescents also engaged in oral sex. White and higher SES teens were more likely than their peers to have ever had oral or anal sex.” (Lindberg 2008: abstract)


“Report that there are no takers for the “Marriage for a Lifetime” contest that would pay $10,000 to a couple who were: a. intending to marry and b. willing to forswear sex before marriage. Beside the $10k prize, there were a host of other goodies to sweeten the deal. The contest is funded from a .5 million dollar federal grant to 3 Atlanta area counties to implement an abstinence-only sex education program.” (Olivero 2008: online)

This outcome could have been predicted from studies which have consistently shown abstinence-only programs to be ineffective…

Report in Jan ’09 Pediatrics by Janet E. Rosenbaum
Large federal survey shows abstinence pledge programs do NOT reduce teen sexual activity but DO reduce the use of safe methods to prevent pregnancy and STDs.

On the other hand, while society at large and many taxpayers may be appalled by the social and economic consequences of unprotected sex among teens, a significant segment of US society, including many parents of pregnant teens, such as aspirant president Sarah Palin, seem unconcerned. The following article summarizes the politco-religious background of those who share Palin’s views…


Divide in U.S. culture. The Religious Right’s opposition to contraception and abortion, and encouragement of child-bearing and early marriage has led to higher rates of divorce, teen pregnancy, STDs and problematic births…

“Social liberals in the country’s “blue states” tend to support sex education and are not particularly troubled by the idea that many teen-agers have sex before marriage, but would regard a teen-age daughter’s pregnancy as devastating news. [Contrast with] social conservatives in “red states” [who] generally advocate abstinence-only education and denounce sex before
marriage, but are relatively unruffled if a teen-ager becomes pregnant, as long as she doesn’t choose to have an abortion.” (Talbot 2008:64)

“On average, white evangelical Protestants make their “sexual début”—to use the festive term of social science researchers—shortly after turning sixteen. Among major religious groups, only black Protestants begin having sex earlier.” ((Talbot 2008:65)

“Evangelical Protestant teen-agers are significantly less likely than other groups to use contraception.” (Talbot 2008:65)

“…Silver Ring Thing. Sometimes, they make their vows at big rallies featuring Christian pop stars and laser light shows, or at purity balls, where girls in frothy dresses exchange rings with their fathers, who vow to help them remain virgins until the day they marry. More than half of those who take such pledges—which, unlike abstinence-only classes in public schools, are explicitly Christian—end up having sex before marriage, and not usually with their future spouse.” (Talbot 2008:65)

“Communities with high rates of pledging also have high rates of S.T.D.s.” (Talbot 2008:65)

“In 2004, the states with the highest divorce rates were Nevada, Arkansas, Wyoming, Idaho, and West Virginia (all red states in the 2004 election); those with the lowest were Illinois, Massachusetts, Iowa, Minnesota, and New Jersey.” (Talbot 2008: 67)

“ The five states with the lowest median age at marriage are Utah, Oklahoma, Idaho, Arkansas, and Kentucky, all red states, while those with the highest are all blue: Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Jersey. The red-state model puts couples at greater risk for divorce; women who marry before their mid-twenties are significantly more likely to divorce than those who marry later. And younger couples are more likely to be contending with two of the biggest stressors on a marriage: financial struggles and the birth of a baby before or soon after, the wedding.” (Talbot 2008:67)


“A team of maids, cooks, and doctors looks after the women, whose pregnancies would be unusual anywhere else but are common here. The young mothers of Anand, a place famous for its milk, are pregnant with the children of infertile couples from around the world…More than 50 women in this city are now pregnant with the children of couples from the United States, Taiwan, Britain and beyond…The women earn more than many could make in 15 years…[offering their] “wombs for rent”… (Dolnick 2008: A6)

*a la carte…women electing to carry their child but not deliver:*

In the last 20 years a steady increase in pre-term births has lead to an alarming result of one in eight babies born too early. “A full-term pregnancy lasts from 38 to 42 weeks. Babies born before completion of week 37 are premature, and it is those born before 32 weeks who, despite advances in the neonatal ICU, are most likely to die or suffer devastating disabilities, such as cerebral palsy or retardation.” (Spak 2008: 6)

“Evidence is growing that pre-term births—those that occur between 34 and 37 weeks—may be due to unnecessary Caesarean sections” A study conducted by the March of Dimes and the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention point to a connection between the rise in pre-term births and the increase of Caesarean sections.” (Spak 2008: 6)


“U.S. rates of premature births climbed steadily during the past two decades, reaching an estimated 12.8 percent of births in 2006, government figures show. More than 540,000 babies were born premature that year. Fertility treatments that result in multiple births and older mothers contributed to the rise….In the United States, there is an epidemic of preterm birth, and prevention is absolutely critical…As expected, babies born early were more likely to die during the first year of life compared to babies born at term. Surprisingly their increased risk of death persisted as they aged.” (Johnson 2008: A9)


“The risk of a Down's syndrome pregnancy is 16 times greater in a mother over 40 than in one aged 25.” (Laurance 2008: online)

**Why Russian children aren't adopted by childless Russians…**


“The Russian Children’s fund estimated in 2001 that approximately 2.5 million children were living on Russia’s urban streets and 250,000 were surviving in Moscow alone…113,000 children in Russia have been abandoned to the state each year since 1996.” (Fujimura 2005: 5)

“The Russian public views orphans as a threat. Rather than helpless victims, the children are seen as hopeless cases who threaten the well-being of society…Russians also believe that the purity and innocence are not (Fujimura 2005:16) automatically conferred upon every child. Those traits depend on the purity of the child’s parents. “Just look at the adults who abandon their children or who have them taken away!” One caretaker exclaimed. “How can the child be different? She has their blood.” Many Russians believe that orphans are inherently different from children who have homes. Neurologically they are wired differently, according to the caretakers of one home, because they have not received the same love and attention that a “normal” child receives from his or her mother…This concept of the worthlessness of an orphan is one reason
few Russians adopt children…Once a couple has adopted a child, the family will often move to another city so that no one will find out that the child was an orphan.” (Fujimura 2005: 17)


“Russian attitudes changing. Gov’t making significant increases in investments in abandoned children, encouraging domestic adoption, improving conditions in orphanages, funding foster care, providing subsidies for extended family members who care for abandoned kin. And the rate of foreign adoptions has dropped dramatically from 6000 in 2004 to 1600 in 2008. And perhaps the stigma has been lessened as well.” (Garrels 2008: online)

“Parents no longer feel they have to hide the fact that a child was adopted,” she says. "My sister adopted a 3-year-old and we don't hide that fact." (Garrels 2008: online)


“Scott and Karen Banks, former operators of the Wellsville-based adoption agency Focus on Children, are expected to enter guilty pleas related to a criminal adoption fraud case involving Samoan children.” (Geraci 2009: A3)

“According to the indictment, parents in Samoa were duped into giving up their children under the promise that they would receive an American education, return to the country at age 18, and remain in contact with their birth parents. Adoptive parents in the United States reportedly were told they were adopting orphans living in dire conditions.” (Geraci 2009: A3)

http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=1&did=1627423571&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=3&VInst=PROD&VType=PQD&RQT=309&VName=PQD&TS=1250787956&clientId=1652#indexing

“Who wants to buy a baby? Certainly not most people who try to adopt internationally. And yet too often that's how their dollars and euros are being used. The idea that the developing world has millions of healthy infants and toddlers in need of new homes is a myth. In poor countries as in rich ones, healthy babies are rarely abandoned or relinquished -- except in China, with its one-child policy. The vast majority of children who need adoption are older, sick, disabled or traumatized. But most Westerners waiting in line are looking for healthy infants or toddlers to take home. The result is a gap between supply and demand -- a gap that can be closed by Western money. In some countries, Western cash has induced locals to buy or kidnap children or defraud or coerce their families into giving them up, strip the children of their identities and transform them into orphans for Western adoption. In 2008, Vietnam stopped adoptions to the United States because of these concerns.” (Graff 2009: online)
UNICEF’s “millions of orphans” are not healthy babies doomed to institutional misery unless Westerners adopt and save them. Rather, they are mostly older children living with extended families who need financial support.” (Graff 2008: online)

“The exception is China, where the country’s three-decades-old one-child policy, now being loosened, has created an unprecedented number of girls available for adoption. But even this flow of daughters is finite; China has far more hopeful foreigners looking to adopt a child than it has orphans it is willing to send overseas. In 2005, foreign parents adopted nearly 14,500 Chinese children. That was far fewer than the number of Westerners who wanted to adopt; adoption agencies report many more clients waiting in line. And taking those children home has gotten harder; in 2007, China’s central adoption authority sharply reduced the number of children sent abroad, possibly because of the country’s growing sex imbalance, declining poverty, and scandals involving child trafficking for foreign adoption. Prospective foreign parents today are strictly judged by their age, marital history, family size, income, health, and even weight. That means that if you are single, gay, fat, old, less than well off, too often divorced, too recently married, taking antidepressants, or already have four children, China will turn you away. Even those allowed a spot in line are being told they might wait three to four years before they bring home a child. That has led many prospective parents to shop around for a country that puts fewer barriers between them and their children—as if every country were China, but with fewer onerous regulations.” (Graff 2008: online)

“Guatemala is a perfect case study of how international adoption has become a demand-driven business,” says Kelley McCreery Bunkers, a former consultant with UNICEF Guatemala. The country’s adoption process was “an industry developed to meet the needs of adoptive families in developed countries, specifically the United States.” (Graff 2008: online)
Chapter Three: A Child’s Worth
Argue that parents act as mediators or barometers of the environment (stability, resource availability) for their offspring. Insecure attachment and inter-familial stress are seen to reflect cultural and environmental instability and potential scarcity. Hence when the child encounters these negative signals they prime him/her to adopt a survivalist strategy in which they reproduce early and often, anticipating both a short life-span and uncertainty re their likely ability to fully nurture their offspring.

“Parental sensitivity, acceptance/rejection, and familial stress are significant determinants of attachment patterns in infants and children. The (Del Guidice in press: 8) general dimension of attachment security is then well suited to act as a “summary” of the quality and quantity of caregiving received by the child…Closely linked to the stress response system, the attachment system regulates the child’s feelings of distress, pain, fear, and loneliness; and while attachment security can change during the individual’s lifetime, it shows a prototype-like dynamic in which early security/insecurity (established in the first few years of life) can continue to affect behavior into adulthood.” (Del Guidice in press: 9)

These activities provide a kind of testing ground for juveniles to try out different strategies to position themselves for favorable mating opportunities.

“With the juvenile transition (which takes place around 6-8 years in industrialized societies), children dramatically increase their participation in social activities with peers, and they begin to effectively compete for place in dominance hierarchies and for ranking as socially attractive individuals.” (Del Guidice in press: 12)

Argues that the juvenile transition or middle childhood is a switching point in the life course where individuals take readings from the environment to determine possible alternative reproductive strategies. It is a period where some degree of experimentation is undertaken to evaluate and revise if necessary personal strategies for insuring fitness.

“…human juvenility (i.e., middle childhood) provides an assessment period before the actual onset of mating and reproduction; such an assessment period may be crucial for appraising the likely success of a chosen strategy, prompting strategic revision in case the strategy is unsuccessful or does not match the child’s social environment. (Del Guidice in press: 13)


“A number of food taboos had to be observed by children….We used to say, ‘Things the old people want to eat, they don’t’ want the kids to eat.’” (De Laguna 1965: 17)
Expensive Little Cherubs


**Middle-class sample**

“Fully half of those interviewed were full-time homemakers at the time, many describing themselves as having recently left previous employment in order to care for their child….A wide range of impairments was represented among their children, including mental retardation, cerebral palsy, spina bifida, speech disorders, autism, pervasive developmental disorder, Down syndrome and other genetic disorders, vision and hearing impairments, and malformed or missing limbs.” (Landsman 2009: 7)

“The profound injustice of having done “everything right,” or of having followed the experts’ advice, and still having a disabled child while other mothers who used drugs or alcohol during pregnancy have normal children, is a common theme in the stories of mothers of disabled infants.” (Landsman 2009:30)

“Telling her the story of her three-year-old who was currently hospitalized with leukemia and of her baby with Down syndrome, who had recently died during heart surgery at seven months of age, a mother commented that friends often look at her and wonder how she can do it. She explained that she responds by telling them of her belief in a poem posted on the wall at the Ronald McDonald House (housing out-of-town parents of hospitalized children) that describes how the angels choose which child will go to which parent and ensures that God gives special children to special parents.” (Landsman 2009: 32)

“The juxtaposition of the narrator, who planned her pregnancy and/or actively wanted her child, with the image of reckless teenager who carelessly let herself become pregnant and then abused her fetus or child appears repeatedly in the stories of middle-class women. Such women felt that their ability to obtain good medical care and their responsible personal behaviors before and during pregnancy should have protected them from bad birth outcomes; but they also felt that a healthy baby was their moral due, the just consequences of having made the right choices.” (Landsman 2009: 34)

“If the fetus is defined as a person, it can hold individual rights equal to that of the pregnant woman in whose body it resides….Indeed, it can be argued that the rights of the fetus have now come to supersede the rights of pregnant women themselves. ….American mothers of disabled children have given birth in a context in which the fetus is widely viewed as a potential victim threatened by its mother during pregnancy and in which women are generally held accountable for any damage done to a fetus.” (Landsman 2009: 53)

“Koreans have viewed the beginning of the child as when a couple initiates family planning. This period includes the preparation for becoming pregnant as well as cautions and prevention during pregnancy.” (Shon, 2002: 139).

When a pregnancy occurs, there are many rules and taboos that must be observed to ensure a healthy child and a safe delivery…A renowned proverb that says, “It is more effective to be educated during the ten months of pregnancy rather than the years of education after birth.” Since Koreans have believed that a peaceful mind as well as physical health is essential to being an ideal parent, the temper and characteristic of a child is believed to be decided before contraception…Even embryo and fetus are viewed as (p. 140) already independent human beings that could be enlightened by the physical and psychological practices of the parents.” (Shon, 2002: 141)


“The conversation turns to birthday parties. Tamsin, a second grader with curly brown hair, talks at length to her friends about her upcoming slumber party, her proud, happy voice, hovering over the heads of other children (boys, as well as younger and older girls) presumably not invited. Her mother always has a treasure hunt throughout her house, she announces with anticipation. Every year she thinks up little rhymes as clues, and each girl gets to solve one clue that leads to the location of the next clue, as well as to a small present. “What kind of present?” a friend asks, leaning in with curiosity. Tamsin says that last year the present was Sticky Feet, a small toy that they threw on the ceiling, and she laughed as she described the air thick with flying Sticky Feet. The year before, the presents were Slinky Toys. “I have two dogs that are new since the last party,” Tamsin said. “I hope they don’t eat up all the clues.” … Clair [near Tamsin] …pipes up about her own birthday party a few weeks ago. “It was at the Baldium,” she announces, referring to an indoor soccer stadium in nearby Atlanta that offers birthday parties starting at $300 (Pugh 2009: 49). Clair had fifteen guests at the Bladium, helping her celebrate turning seven years old. “I was the worst goalie,” she said smiling ruefully.” (Pugh 2009: 50)

“Upper-income parents talked about spending $450 on a five year old’s birthday party, thousands of dollars for a family vacation to Cambodia, and hun-((Pugh 2009: 84)dreds of dollars on Halloween costumes. And the expenses went beyond commodities, to the experiences they worked to ensure their children could have. Schools could command $15,000 for private tuition, summer camps might be $3000-$4000, and they might spend $1000 a month on extracurricular activities like carpentry, dance, soccer, horseback riding or piano lessons.” (Pugh 2009: 85)

**Compare Kusserow’s Parksiders:**

“…many understood their children’s desires were linked to their social citizenship at school, their ability to participate and belong, and most thus sought to respond to their children’s desires so that they could stand among their peers. …sought to understand their children as individuals, including their desires, as part of diagnosing their individual strengths and weaknesses—the central task of every upper-income caregiver before commencing on the path of (Pugh 2009:
“concerted cultivation.” Plumbing the depths of children’s desire was good parenting.” (Pugh 2009: 112)

“Affluent children were nothing if not different. Parents offered long diagnoses of children’s individual traits—“Dennis just constitutionally is a very empathic guy. A soft, low-toned buy, and there’s something just…sweet about him. …Donna, an Arrowhead parent, described her son Gavin as needing “constant challenges.” “I just didn’t sense that in the public school system he’d get that,” she said.” (Pugh 2009: 192)

“Affluent parents who chose private school often did so after deciding their children required a more individualized educational match for their particular needs and strengths—in other words their differences. …affluent parents were leery of the power of interactional differences—such as what children owned of experiences they could talk about—leery enough to respond to children’s desires, often despite their own ambivalence about spending. Yet at the same time many affluent parents, particularly mothers, felt responsible for searching for and recognizing their children’s psychological and intellectual differences, what we might call “personal differences. In upper-income families, this celebration of “uniqueness” was tied to spending through pathway consumption, just as the fear of interactional differences was linked to spending through commodity consumption.” (Pugh 2009: 193)


“Talking, reading aloud and singing to the belly are activities that frequently were described to me, and that I occasionally observed, during 15 months of ethnographic research with US middle-class women and men.” (Han 2009: 13)

“How belly talk is employed to turn fetuses into people and pregnant women into mothers…” (Han 2009: 13)

“Both women and men in my study stressed the significance of belly talk in terms of bonding. Bridget explained: “I read somewhere that by 16 weeks, their hearing is [developing], so as a mother, tell him or stories or just talk to them because they can bond with your voice.” Bonding itself represents both what children need (even in utero) and what expectant parents want to experience.” (Han 2009: 13)


Short article about above publication:

"…annual Expenditures on Children by Families report…U.S. Department of Agriculture…latest estimate, a child born in 2007 costs:"
- $204,060 to watch over, feed, cart around, educate, and house from birth to the age to 18 a tenfold increase in less than 50 years
- in 1960 raising a kid cost a mere $25,229" (Paul 2008: online)
“Government figures don't take into account, and the onerous repercussions for families nationwide. Take child care:”

- $1,220 to $3,020 on child care and education during each of the first two years, depending on household income (USDA figures)

However:

- National Association of Child Care Resource and Referral Agencies [NACCRRA] figures estimates the bill at $4,388 to $14,647 a year
- In urban areas like New York City, where day care centers are few and overcrowded, parents hire nannies at an average of $31,000—and that's off the books. Taxes, benefits and insurance can run an additional $6,000 a year.” (Paul 2008: online)

“The USDA doesn't include college costs in its estimates.”

- Most financial advisors urge parents to set aside a minimum of $1,000 per child a month, which alone would nearly double the government's total childrearing estimate." (Paul 2008: online)

“Though housing makes up the largest single cost [in raising a child] across income groups—33% to 37% of total expenses—the estimates do not include mortgage principal payments." (Paul 2008: online)

This figure does not include and additional extras like extracurricular activities for the child. “Nor does the report take into account the myriad other products and services that parents today consider essential to raising a child. …first year baby's gear alone clocks in at $6,300.” (Paul 2008: online)


Cost of Raising a Child in the United States Increases…

“The amount of money it takes to raise a child is increasing. The United States Department of Agriculture’s (USDA) Expenditures on Children by Families, 2007 estimated the annual expenditures on children born in 2007—from birth to 18 years old—by income group, for a two-parent, two-child family (Lino, 2008). In the lowest income group the cost of raising a child can total $196,010, in the middle income group $269,040, and in the highest income group $393,230 (Lino, 2008). “These amounts reflect a tenfold increase in the cost of raising a child in the last 50 years since the department began its annual study in 1960, when raising a kid costs a mere $25,229” (Lino, 2008, p. 1) Obviously, the cost of raising a child has soared (Lino, 2008; Paul, 2008). Ironically, these costs do not include:

- sending a child to college: a four-year private college at $23,000 per year; a public college $9,008 (Paul, 2008)
- the cost of childcare: $1,220 to $37,000 each year for the first two years depending on the parent’s income and where the family lives (Paul, 2008: online)
- Cost of first year’s equipment: $6,300 not including luxuries (Paul, 2008: online)

**Calculating the Costs**


Tamang culture. Women intensively involved in agriculture. They carry their nursing babies with them to the fields but leave weanlings behind in the village by themselves. Consequently the weanlings enjoy poor nutrition and their mortality is relatively high. Child mortality is mitigated to some degree by the long period of nursing and lengthy inter-birth intervals which reduces the rate of infant mortality.

“…mothers cease to nurse 3-year-olds during the monsoon, leaving them behind to accelerate the process of weaning, or to facilitate journeys to the fields, which are made more difficult by the rains. These children stay by themselves from dawn to dusk until adults return from the fields. They eat leftover food, which is easily contaminated by bacteria under conditions of high temperatures and humidity. In terms of nutritional status, 3-to 6-year-olds are the most vulnerable age group.” (p. 239)


Forest forager/horticulturalists:

“Korowai people of West Papua….live dispersed across several hundred square miles of lowland tropical forest.” (Stasch 2009: i=1)

“Much like the social experience of city dwellers in industrial, mass-mediated societies, Korowai lives are dominated by the perception that their society consists of large numbers of unreliable, largely anonymous others. Often these others are referred to generically by such labels as “strangers,” “far away people,” or “angry people.”” (Stasch 2009: 2)

“Most Korowai houses stand with their floors fifteen feet above the ground, supported by topped tree trunks. This remarkable architecture is itself a gesture of separation, dramatically setting domestic space apart from the surrounding world. Even more impressive than houses’ height, though, is the distance between them. Korowai build their houses standing alone or in pairs, often about a mile from the next occupied house clearing. Korowai explain residential dispersion, and the land ownership system that organizes it, as a method of maintaining autonomy and equality. By living apart on separately owned land, people avoid getting in the way of one another’s activities or being subject to other people’s political control.” (Stasch 2009: 4)
“Korowai build their dwellings high above the ground for many reasons, but the most prominent is that they fear attacks by two categories of (Stasch 2009: 4) monsters: the “demons” that humans become after death and the “witches” within the Korowai population thought to cause all deaths. People organize many aspects of their daily lives around trying to stay separated from these monsters.” (Stasch 2009: 6)

“Korowai frequently describe their overall kinship lives as boiling down to the fact that people are certain to die and that there is an imperative that they be replaced by children.” (Stasch 2009: 140)

“There are two simultaneous poles in Korowai relations to newborns: a pole of care, hope, and positive evaluation and a pole of indifference, fear, and dislike. (p. 149) A significant fraction of newborn children were asphyxiated right after birth. Male and female newborns were killed in equal proportions... The main motives for infanticide that I explore are judgments that birth processes and newborns’ bodies are repulsive, classification of newborns as nonhuman, an explicit view that attachment to children arises only through social interaction, pessimism about the world into which children are born, and hostility to the hardships of caring for a child.” (Stasch 2009: 150)

“Out of fear of substances that flow or waft from mother and child’s bodies for some days after birth, the two ideally live apart from their main household during this time, the woman sitting over a pollution-catching container fitted into the floor of her temporary shelter. The physical layout of delivery meant that in the past when Korowai killed and buried a newborn rather than caring for it, they could do so without touching it. It was a mother herself, or sometimes her attendant, who carried out infanticide, by poking leaves into the newborn’s throat with a stick while it still lay in the hole into which the mother had delivered it.” (Stasch 2009: 151)

“They did not consider infanticide itself an immoral act. The basic reason for this was the newborns are categorized as inhuman. Consistent with the perception that birth processes are repulsive and dangerous, Korowai say that a newborn is “demonic” (laleo) rather than “human” (yanop). People explain this categorization by noting that a newborn’s skin is uncannily pale, that newborns are torpid, and that their bodies are generally freakish.” (Stasch 2009: 151)

“Everyone dislikes talking about pregnancy, and people’s overt statements about actual events of delivery are generally ones of anxiety, pain, and repugnance.” (Stasch 2009: 157)

“A life stage of taking care of children is known as a time of immobility.” (Stasch 2009: 160)

The Janus attitude towards infants carries over to toddlerhood:

“For Korowai, children epitomize lack and desire. Terms such as “Famine,” “Hungry,” and “Wanting Sego” are popular children’s names. (Other names such as Himself Alone or Houseless focus on lack of kin). A child is a person in a state of pronounced want, dependent on others for well-being.” (Stasch 2009: 168)
“Parents and other adults take great pleasure in providing food for children and in having children’s company in houses or on the land. They value the physical feel and sight of children’s bodies and motions, and they value acts of mutual give-and-take with child partners.” (Stasch 2009: 141)

“Korowai take great interest in observing children’s acquisition of bodily and expressive abilities. Stages of childhood are measured not in calendric units but in actions. Does an infant see other people and smile in response? Does it climb up a house ladder pole, protected by a parents climbing at the same time? Does a child walk around by itself? Does a boy play with a toy bow and arrows, or a girl with a toy sago-pounding hammer?” (Stasch 2009: 143)

“Children’s purpose is later on they will provide food, make houses, and perform at feasts.” A boy is raised “so that he gets big, kills pigs, dams streams, digs pitfall traps, and carves bows and arrows. [He’s] for provisions [foliaum]...A daughter is to cut firewood, pound sago, cook sago, and install clay in a hearth [when a house has been newly constructed].” Through such statements adults express an expectation of pleasurably consuming the bounty of a grown child’s work.” (Stasch 2009: 143)

**The Value Attached to Infants in Antiquity**


An analysis of Etruscan child burials in Tarquinia enables one to conclude that the absence of children below the age of 5.5 years from the principal cemeteries was suggestive of a major shift at that age (Becker 2007, 292).


In Roman Britain infants below six months of age were usually buried within settlements, while children older than six months of age were interred in cemeteries together with adults.” (Lebegyiv 2009: 16)

“Phases of Childhood in Early Mycenaean Greece. Infants of less than one years of age were differentiated by their total exclusion from organized extramural cemetery areas and by the absence of complete vases in their graves. … Children of between 1-2 and 5-6 years of age were still only included in formal extramural cemeteries in exceptional cases and were not buried in complex grave types, such as shaft graves and built-cists. … Children older than 5-6 years of age were buried in greater numbers in formal, organized cemeteries and, among the grave goods of some burials, objects usually associated with adults are also resent (pins finger rings). Moreover, children of the elite were further differentiated by burial in complex grave types and by the lavish deposition of grave goods compromising several high-status objects (weapons, gold ornaments) comparable in size and quality to those found with adults.” (Lebegyiv 2009: 27)

[tender parental love for children] thought the Archbishop of Florence in the mid-fifteenth century, was leading to a situation where parents ‘because of disordered love for their children, earn damnation! Oh how many are they, who serve their children like idols!’” (Cunningham 1995: 38)

17th-19th centuries.

“Both abandonment and wet-nursing were associated with high mortality levels, sometimes in the case of abandonment to the point where nine out of every ten babies died before they reached their first birthday. What caused these levels of abandonment and wet-nursing? There is considerable evidence that they were associated with poverty…There is no doubt also that the increase in abandonment was associated with an increase in illegitimacy.” (Cunningham 1995: 93)

“Although they died in such numbers, children constituted a much higher proportion of the population than they did in the twentieth century. Somewhere between one-third and one-half of the total population were likely to be under fifteen. In any society before the twentieth century there were, as [a writer] expressed it, ‘crowds and crowds of little children’…A third feature of the demographic structure of these centuries which distinguishes them sharply from the twentieth century is that many children could expect one or both of their parents to die before they themselves reached adulthood.” (Cunningham 1995: 96)


“Children in medieval England, like their elders, were normally buried in churchyards beneath shallow mounds. The mounds had no permanence or lasting memorials, because the ground was constantly re-used for burials, especially in towns…Burial inside churches was restricted to adults and children of rank.” (Orme 2003: 120)


“Higham says the ancient 30-acre settlement at Ban Non Wat [Thailand] is an "extraordinary find." Thanks to the highly alkaline soil in this area, which leaves bone intact, he has uncovered a well-preserved cemetery that spans a thousand years—from Neolithic times (1750 to 1100 B.C.) through the Bronze Age (1000 to 420 B.C.) and Iron Age (420 B.C. to A.D. 500). The graves are yielding rare insights into the pre-Angkor life of mainland Southeast Asia.” (Lawler 2009: online)

“A Bronze Age skeleton with 60 shell bangles and an infant surrounded by a wealth of pots and beads. Other graves clearly held high-status individuals, as shown by the tremendous effort that went into the burials; they were deep, with wooden coffins and elaborate offerings such as rare
bronzes. The findings, Higham says, indicate that a social hierarchy was in place by the Bronze Age. Moreover, the remains of rice and pig bones, Higham says, "are evidence of ritual feasting, and an elaborate and highly formalized burial tradition." (Lawler 2009: online)

“At another nearby site, called Noen U-Loke, detailed analysis of bones found among 127 graves suggests high rates of infant mortality. One of the more poignant finds was the remains of a child who likely suffered from cerebral palsy and was adorned with ivory bangles…”(Lawler 2009: online)


“In comparing sub-adults’ grave goods with those of adults, Children and Juveniles were less often accompanied by offerings…” (McCafferty 2006: 42)


“The lower Rio Verde valley of coastal Oaxaca…” (King 2006: 170)

“The lack of individuals less than seventeen years of age buried beneath house floors may mean that these children were not yet considered full members of particular families, houses, or perhaps even the community.” (King 2006: 185)

My colleague Aaron Denham (personal communication 1/30/09) has called my attention to excavations of the Apothetai, a pit where Spartans supposedly disposed of defective infants, that failed to find evidence of such a practice…


“‘A pregnant woman has one foot in the grave’ according to a proverb from Gascony.” (Heywood 2001: 58)


“Parents sought to represent their children in art and inscriptions: as precocious achievers, loved, and dutiful (piisimi).” (Rawson 2003: 20)

“If birth was irregular, such as a breech birth, (‘feet first’, the Romans said), it was considered a bad omen. When Nero turned out badly, people remembered that he had been born this way.” (Rawson 2003: 103)
“If a baby died in its first year, no formal mourning was prescribed. Romans did not consider full mourning appropriate for children under 10 years: between 3 and 10 the mourning period was gradually increased. The young child therefore did not qualify for full recognition of its existence and individuality until the age of 10.” (Rawson 2003: 104)

“Within eight days (for girls) or nine (for boys) the infant was thought to have reached a new stage of its existence. One indication of this was its ability to open its eyes and focus them and perceive separate objects and persons. Juno watched over this stage. The end of this stage was associated with the end of the period of greatest danger and pollution, and the ceremony to mark this was the lustratio. On the eve of the lustratio a ceremony was held, which included a vigil in the house to protect the infant[by] driving off evil spirits.” (Rawson 2003: 110)

“The bulla (a pendant containing an amulet) had particular significance, as a sign of free birth. It was placed around the child’s neck and was worn until adulthood. For boys, this was until the ceremony of the toga virilis, when the boy exchanged his bordered toga for the white toga of manhood. Evidence for girls wearing the bulla is sparse…The lustratio was the first of many stages along the child’s path to an individual identity. On this day it was given a name (thus the dies lustricus or dies nominis).” (Rawson 2003: 111)…the child not long out of infancy, one ‘who can repeat words and stand firmly on the ground.’ This child is anxious to play with his peers, is quick to anger, and just as quick to change moods (Rawson 2003: 137)

“Many factors militated against close and long-lasting relationships between Roman parents and children. Mortality rates were a major factor, reducing the chances of parents and child developing their relationship together over a period of fourteen or more years.” (Rawson 2003: 220)…In any Roman family, the number of siblings close enough in age to have close interaction was quite low.” (Rawson 2003: 244)


“Hyo during the Koryo Dynasty (918 to 1392 CE) explicated “the parents’ infinite love of their children” and emphasized children’s devotion to the parents in return…Hyo is completed only when parents and children fulfill their respective roles. It is important to note that parents’ benevolence and children’s respect comes unconditionally. Therefore, children’s filial piety is neither conditioned by a father’s benevolence, nor visa versa (p. 208)…In traditional Korea, the principle of stern fatherhood and benevolent motherhood means that a father loves the children but should discipline the children sternly when they behave inadequately. On the other hand, a mother should nurture children when they do well, and also tolerate them and love them even when they behave inadequately.” (Kim 2006: 209)

My colleague Aaron Denham (personal communication 1/30/09) has called my attention to excavations of the Apothetai, a pit where Spartans supposedly disposed of defective infants, that failed to find evidence of such a practice.

“In Etruria, and other culture areas, the bodies of perinatals, infants, and even children up to the age of five may be interred in contexts that are removed from the formal cemeteries used for “adults.”” (Becker 2007: 282)

“Two points of interest emerge from the data from Tarquinia. First, perinatals are not represented at all. Second, subadults (children 5.5 to 16.5 years of age) are represented in normal numbers as an expected percentage of the total population.” (Becker 2007: 285)
Little Angels


“Every baby born is the reincarnation of some maternal relative who has died.” (De Laguna 1965: 5)

“The resemblance to a dead ancestor, the mother’s dream, the dying relative’s announcement of his intended return, or some other sign, will indicate who the baby really is; the name which he receives confirms and establishes this identity. Many babies are said to recognize the relatives in their former lives, perhaps refusing at first from shyness to suck at their new mother’s breast because she is really a sister or a niece.” (De Laguna 1965: 5)


“Children to (Berrelleza 2006: 238) be sacrificed were richly dressed and taken to the hills where a vigil was kept; if the children cried this was considered a good sign since the tears augured rain.” (Berrelleza 2006: 239)

“Offering No. 48 in the Great Temple of Tenochtitlan (Figure 9.5) was found on a small altar in the northwest corner of the temple dedicated to Tlaloc…” (Berrelleza 2006: 240)

“Forty-two children were placed inside a rectangular container made of stone blocks…” (Berrelleza 2006: 240)

Continue to see press reports from Muslim extremist groups sacrificing children and youth for their holy cause...


“A woman accused of helping recruit dozens of female suicide bombers looked into the camera and described the process: trolling society for likely candidates and then patiently converting the women from troubled souls into deadly attackers.” (AP/SLTrib 2009: A3)

“…a plot in which young women were raped and then sent to her for advice.” (AP/SLTrib 2009: A3)

“‘The Mothers of Believers’—said she would try to persuade the victims to become suicide bombers as their only escape from the shame and to reclaim their honor.” (AP/SLTrib 2009: A3)
“An Iraqi military spokesman said the suspect had recruited more than 80 women willing to carry out attacks.” (AP/SLTrib 2009: A3)


**Destined for a nunnery…**
“Jerome’s letter 107 describes a curriculum for a child.” (Katz 2007: 116)

“While pagans educated their children in preparation for their roles in society as men and women, Christian parents were concerned with their children’s salvation even in their infancy. … The future of the smallest infant was important; a child had to be instructed correctly in the faith from the child’s earliest days.” (Katz 2007: 116)

“The childhood proposed by Jerome in Ap. 107 is largely joyless. The little girl is destined for an isolated and regimented upbringing designed to guide her relentlessly toward her preordained life of chastity in a convent…Paula will be taught to read using biblical and theological texts; she will not be exposed to the more traditional school curriculum that included Classical tests.” (Katz 2007: 118)

“Jerome clearly states that little Paula represents an offering (hostia) that must be given in as untainted a state as any victim.” (Katz 2007: 120)

“Jerome advises the new mother to teach the young Paula to read and write (Ep. 107.4.2-3).
‘Let boxwood or ivory letters be made for her and let them be called by their own names. Let her play with them in order that her play be learning. … When she takes up the stylus on the wax with a trembling hand, let her tender fingers be ruled by the hand of another placed upon them…”’ (Katz 2007: 121)

Hamas Fighter with Children, Gaza 1/19/09


“In Ghana, thousands of girls are enslaved to atone for their families’ sins according to the Trokosi tradition. The terms of their servitude are not spelled out, so families may be required to
submit girls for servitude over (Bass 2004: 151) several generations. Trokosi girls, some as young as ten, are forced to become physical and sexual slaves of shrine priests to please the gods. Among the Ewe people of northern Ghana…When families were unable to atone for an offense by raising money to buy the prescribed cattle, the shrine priest was offered a virgin daughter for the wrongdoing family…In theory, the Trokosi girls are wives and servants to the gods.” (Bass 2004: 152)

“The Ghanaian government passed a law in September 1998 making it illegal to send a child away from home for a religious ritual. … few policemen will act directly against the priests. … An approach that has proved more effective is persuading priests to give up their Trokosi girls in exchange for cattle.” (Bass 2004: 152)


“Three years ago, a man wearing a skullcap came to Coli's village in the neighboring country of Guinea-Bissau and asked for him. Coli's parents immediately addressed the man as "Serigne," a term of respect for Muslim leaders on Africa's western coast. Many poor villagers believe that giving a Muslim holy man a child to educate will gain an entire family entrance to paradise.” (Callimach 2009: online)

“Middle men trawl for children as far afield as the dunes of Mauritania and the grass-covered huts of Mali. It's become a booming, regional trade that ensnares children as young as 2, who don't know the name of their village or how to return home. One of the largest clusters of Quranic schools lies in the poor, sand-enveloped neighborhoods on either side of the freeway leading into Dakar.” (Callimach 2009: online)

“In 2005, Senegal made it a crime punishable by five years in prison to force a child to beg. But the same law makes an exception for children begging for religious reasons. Few dare to cross marabouts for fear of supernatural retaliation.” (Callimach 2009: online)

“Children trafficked to work for the benefit of others. Those who lure them into servitude make $15 billion annually, according to the International Labor Organization.” (Callimach 2009: online)

“It's big business in Senegal. In the capital of Dakar alone, at least 7,600 child beggars work the streets, according to a study released in February by the ILO, the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Bank. The children collect an average of 300 African francs a day, just 72 cents, reaping their keepers $2 million a year. Most of the boys — 90 percent, the study found — are sent out to beg under the cover of Islam, placing the problem at the complicated intersection of greed and tradition. For among the cruelest facts of Coli's life is that he was not stolen from his family. He was brought to Dakar with their blessing to learn Islam's holy book. In the name of
religion, Coli spent two hours a day memorizing verses from the Quran and over nine hours begging to pad the pockets of the man he called his teacher.” (Callimach 2009: online)

“It was getting dark. Coli had less than half the 72 cents he was told to bring back. He was afraid. He knew what happened to children who failed to meet their daily quotas.” (Callimach 2009: online)

“They were stripped and doused in cold water. The older boys picked them up like hammocks by their ankles and wrists. Then the teacher whipped them with an electrical cord until the cord ate their skin.” (Callimach 2009: online)


“Kabul, Afghanistan—Sauker Ullah says he agreed to blow himself up in March. He did not know how to drive a car or read a book. His only schooling was four months in a Pakistani Islamic madrassa, where he learned to recite the Holy Quran but not the meaning of the verses. But after only a few promises, he agreed to go across the border to Afghanistan and kill foreign soldiers. Ullah was only 14. The clerics “told me if I did a suicide attack, I would not die,” said Ullah, form Barwan village in North Waziristan…Ullah, who allegedly was arrested in a car full of explosives, spoke to a Chicago Tribune reporter last month in Kabul.” (Barker 2008: A11)


“Despite the differences in the descriptions of spirit children, all these societies recognized the preexistence of children in another form. In some instances, spirit children change into “flesh and blood” children in the womb; in others, they metamorphose from frogs, fish, or birds to children at some point during gestation; in other cases, the process happens after birth. There is, however, no separation between spirit children and embodied children; they are part of the same continuum which links the supernatural and the natural world, and the latter cannot be studied without reference to the former.” (Montgomery, 2008:89)

“The malevolence and cruelty of spirit children is a recurrent theme in the literature.” (Montgomery, 2008:91)

“The ability that children have, in the spirit world to decide when they will die means that the length of time they spend in the world of the living is determined by the child. The high rate of infant mortality is explained by the pact that these children have made with their creator to remain for only a short time with their parents.” (Montgomery, 2008:93)

“In the Tibetan tradition, it is believed that babies may have special attributes or abilities that adults no longer possess, or that infants may have relations with supernatural elements.” (Maiden 1997: 127)

“Until the child is eight ears old it is believed that the child’s mind has a special clarity. Tibetans say that until the age of eight, a child’s consciousness is so fluid and clear that things can come easily into it.” (Maiden 1997: 136)

“There are twenty-four spirit disorders listed in all, along with drawings of the types of images that are believed to possess children. Some images are shaped like animals.” (Maiden 1997: 137)

“After the child sees these images for awhile, the Tibetans believe that the child begins to think he or she is that image. The child might acquire behavioral characteristics like those he sees in the spirits. This influence may be reflected in the child’s actions, speech, and general behavior.” (Maiden 1997: 137)


“An Anglo-Saxon scribe copied the Rule of Chrodegang into Old English, which stated that the adults of the monastery had to keep a strict eye on the children and youths in their care, and to maintain strict discipline, so that ‘playful youth, which loves to sing’ should find no outlet for their exuberance.” (Crawford 1999: 147)...records of saints that beatings may have been a common method of discipline within monasteries, both for adults and children.” (Crawford 1999: 151)
Save the Children

Adoption and Fosterage

This will be an added section. When we look at traditional societies, we need to distinguish between those experiencing poverty from those experiencing relative plenty. As we saw in Chapter Two, high fertility may exist in either situation. So, too the willingness to accept children—not born to household members—into the family. Motives may be entirely child-centered, they may emphasize the provision of parenting opportunities for those who’re barren, they may reflect a child-rearing philosophy that identifies non-biological parents as more effective than biological parents and they may reflect an investment for the future.


Child circulation

“Children in Botswana are usually not the ones to choose their residences. From infancy, children are cared for by various older relatives, including siblings (primarily sisters), mothers, aunts, cousins, and more distant female relatives—but especially by grandmothers. (It is not uncommon for children to call their mothers “sisi” or “ausi” [sister] and their grandmothers “mother.”) Grandmothers and the other caregivers are, themselves, often very mobile between village, cattlepost, and city. Villages are the sites of much community social activity and are where schools are located; cattleposts are thought to have more nourishing milk and meat available; and cities have hospitals and income-earning relatives. Children are also moved between these caregivers, going to live with a mother or an uncle in town for a few months, then back to a home village to stay with grandmother, then out to an arable agricultural site or a cattlepost for weeks or months.” (Durham 2008: 168)


Swedish traveler and his spouse.

“Up to the age of two or three the lives of Raroian children differ very little from those of their English and other European contemporaries, except, of course, as already stated, that they are worse cared for. But about this age a great change often takes place for many children. Adoption takes place to an extent quite unknown with us; more than a third of the children can be sure of changing their families before the age of five. Boys are more valued than girls because they always (Danielsson 1952: 119) mean more copra workers, and it is therefore commoner to hand over a girl than a boy. Curiously enough it is not only childless families who adopt; even families
who have already four or five children of their own do not hesitate to increase the number by another one or two.” (Danielsson 1952: 120)

“For Raroian children there is nothing peculiar and abnormal about this, as they have several papas and mamas from birth. There is no special words for uncle and aunt in the Polynesian language; these relations are called father and mother and are regarded and treated in the same way as the real parents. A few parents more or less, therefore, mean nothing to a Raroian child.” (Danielsson 1952: 121)


“Renee Siegfort broke the news to her three teenagers on Mother's Day last year: She was pregnant. She really wanted the baby. Her kids did, too. Her on-again, off-again boyfriend of three years did not. "We live simply," says Renee, 36, looking around the living room of her three-bedroom town home. "There wasn't much more we could simplify in our lives." As much as she wanted the baby, she says, "I didn't want to hurt my children." So after giving birth Dec. 30, she nursed Josephine Olivia Renee for six days. She then did something she would not have imagined nine months earlier: She gave her child to another family.” (Koch 2009: online)

“As parents struggle to raise children in a weak economy, a half-dozen large adoption agencies are reporting that more women with unplanned pregnancies are considering placing their babies for adoption rather than keeping them. Many of these women are in their 20s and already have at least one child, says Joan Jaeger of The Cradle, the Chicago-area agency that placed Joie. She says 30% more women are inquiring about placing a child for adoption than a year ago. In the past year... a 10% to 12% increase in women inquiring about placing a child for adoption and a 7% to 10% increase in actual placements, as strong demand for healthy infants continues to outstrip the supply.” (Koch 2009: online)

“"Finances are one of the major reasons women feel compelled to place their children for adoption," says Adam Pertman of the Evan B. Donaldson Adoption Institute, a research group.” (Koch 2009: online)


“A man can console himself with the thought that his children’s interests may better be served if he allows them to become the protégé of more influential and wealthy men.” (Barnett 1979: 54)

“A child may be adopted several times. Each time an adoption is terminated there must be a payment of money for the child.” (Barnett 1979: 54)

“The idea behind adoption is always to place the control of children in the hands of some man who is outside of the family so that they will provide a source of money for their maternal male kin. This is just what happens when the father of a child supports it and assumes financial responsibility for it.” (Barnett 1979: 55)

“When the father allows his child to be adopted, he wants to be placed in the same position himself. Consequently, the obvious thing to do is allow the child to be adopted by his sister’s
husband. The money which comes to him as a result of this arrangement must be ultimately paid to his wife’s brother of the child the mother’s brother of the child, but he can have the use of it indefinitely.” (Barnett 1979: 55).

**Children defined as “orphans” to facilitate charity…**


“Aid agencies say children in dire circumstances—even those in the inhospitable Saharan camps to which Darfur refugees have fled—need their families, not to be flown to the comforts of the West as a charity wanted to do…Authorities stopped a French group calling itself Zoe’s Ark from flying 103 African children from Chad to Europe…Zoe’s Ark said the children were orphans from Darfur…It intended to place them with French host families.” (AP/HJ 2007: A7)

“The Zoe’s Ark campaign was also condemned in a joint statement distributed by Oxfam and signed by several international aid and development organizations working in Chad.” (AP/HJ 2007: A7)


“…orphans or street children. Such children, whose ages ranged from newborn to the age of majority, have been found on city streets from the colonial era to the present….According to…novelist Esteban Echeverría, early-nineteenth-century Buenos Aires was depicted as a place where “everyone was surrounded by the poorly clad children.” (Szuchman 1982:58)


“Between 1770 and 1929 more than one hundred thousand newborns were left at Chilean orphanages, the great majority illegitimate, and from 70 to 80 percent did not survive the first seven years…One infant in ten was abandoned in Chile, and this did not include older children.” (Guy 2002: 144)

“…Buenos Aires dealt with street children. Thousands of older orphans and street children were cared for by the municipal defenders of minors, although they had no residential or educational facilities. By the mid-1880s the defenders in Buenos Aires found themselves swamped with abandoned children but unable to house them.” (Guy 2002: 147)


“During the eighteenth century, almost a quarter of all children born in Brazil were abandoned, and 80 per cent died before they age of seven.” (Kenny 2007: 100)
Ideal Parent Model…

“People think that biological fosterage is not the exception but the norm.” (Alber 2004: 33)

“It is always a single individual of the same sex who takes the rights and duties of foster parenthood. The child normally moves into the household of the social mother or father aged about three to six. This age is preferred for child fosterage for two reasons, the child is not weaned until about three, and his or her younger biological brother or sister should already be born so that the mother will not stay without a child. It is maintained that the transfer of the child should happen at a young age, before the child would be “knowing”, as the Baatombu say, a change which takes place at around six or seven. Among other things, this implies that the events and changes that happen during this period cannot cause fundamental damage to the personality of the child or adult.” (Alber 2004: 36)

“Their biological children—those whom one would call their own from a western perspective—belong to another partilineal clan and tend to be fostered by others. In this situation, foster children strengthen the position of married women. They are from the same clan as their social mothers, they are also strangers, and they belong exclusively to them.” (Alber 2004: 37)

“Her children” whom she called here “her things” were the biological children of her brothers or sisters. They belonged exclusively to her, whereas the children to whom she gave birth, which she could never call her “own”, belonged first of all to the family of their father.” (Alber 2004: 38)

“There are numerous taboos and rules of avoidance between biological parents and children. They are forbidden to call the children by their first name. Instead, they have to use nicknames or paraphrases. Even in the first hours after birth I observed mothers expressing distance towards their newborn child in the presence of a watching crowd of friends and relatives.” (Alber 2004: 40)

“Another belief in Baatombu society is important to understand fosterage—that to change location and the persons to whom one relates does not do any damage to a child. Young children are thought unable to understand and “know” what is happening, and are seen to be able to adapt quite easily to new parents and circumstances…The Baatombu believe that people are unable to act in a consistent and fair way with their biological children, and tend to be too lenient with them.” (Alber 2004: 41)


“Individual hamlet groups practiced swidden horticulture, frequently moving their hamlets when they moved their gardens.” (Fajans 1997: 16)
“In contrast to the reproduction of the family through…intercourse, conception, pregnancy, birth, and nursing, the social family is created through the process of adoption, which is the cultural transformation of the natural parent-child relationship. The Baining engage quite frequently in adoption. In my genealogies the rate of adoption was 36 percent.” (Fajans 1997: 63)

“An adopted child is said to be one’s “true” child...It is bad to hit such children: one should treat them well, and then they will grow up to be good productive members of society, and, not so incidentally, look after their adoptive parents well in old age. Parents are proud of their adopted children and will defend them from criticism or punishment from outside.” (Fajans 1997: 63)

“The most common form occurs after a birth, when another Baining, male or female, single or married, sees a child and takes a fancy to him or her. The prospective adopter sees that the baby is *alto* (in the sense of being pretty, healthy, does not cry a lot). If this is the case, the prospective adopter(s) may bring gifts of food, and nowadays baby items such as diapers and tee shirts, to the child’s parents and give the parents the gifts while saying, “This is my child.” The parents are expected to agree and express no sadness or regret.” (Fajans 1997: 64)

“If a woman’s children consistently die in infancy, another couple might suggest adopting the next child to see if they can break the pattern of mortality (Fajans 1997: 67)...For the Baining, being able to provide for a child is far more significant than being able to give birth to one. There is no stigma associated with sterility. If partners do not have children, they simply adopt them.” (Fajans 1997: 68)

**Infertility...**

“Among pastoral peoples in this part of the world it is quite common for infertile or childless women to adopt children from co-wives, sisters-in-law, or other close female relatives.” (Tale 2004: 64)

**Child-rearing as an investment...**

“”Her children” whom she called here “her things” were the biological children of her brothers or sisters. They belonged exclusively to her, whereas the children to whom she gave birth, which she could never call her “own”, belonged first of all to the family of their father.” (Alber 2004: 38)

“Cooking, making fire, carrying water, collecting wood, taking care of small children, being sent to neighbors with messages, and so on. Men need a boy to help them with agricultural work. However, child labor is always connected to the idea that a child should be trained to become a good farmer or a good housewife. A woman without a single foster child to send out and, most importantly, belonging in this context exclusively to her is a poor woman. The fostering person
does not only have rights, but duties as well. Possibly the most important (and the most expensive) duty is to give the child his or her first husband or wife. In the case of a girl this implies the payment of the dowry, for a boy, the payment of the brideprice. The payment of brideprice or dowry sets the child free, and is considered compensation for the work the children have done for their social parents… There is an expression for this context. When talking about marriage French-speaking Baatombu very often use the word *libération* (liberation).” (Alber 2004: 38)

“The child transfers between cities and village has become unidirectional: children are transferred from village to town but not vice versa.” (Alber 2004: 43)


“I was compelled to ask this question in the course of my work on adoption in Suau, a Southern Massim society of Papua New Guinea. Nearly every household in both of the Suau villages in which I have worked have adopted a person into or out of their generations… as a result of stress on other relationships—a dearth of girls or boys, improperly spaced children, troubled marriages, and outstanding debts…. adopted children in Suau were sent along the same ‘roads’ of exchange as brideweath pigs and the services of sorcerers.” (Demian 2004: 98)

“Nurturing work, valuables, and children are variously conceived as version of one another, which is why one can be substituted for the others.” (Demian 2004: 104)


“Javanese see many reasons for bringing the child into the family. Since children are wanted even if only to help in household tasks, a childless couple may ask a brother or sister for one of their children to bring up… Adoption of a child is said to bring good luck.” (Geertz 1961: 37)

“He explained that it was a good thing for children to go away from home… If their parents told them to work harder they wouldn’t obey, he said, whereas they would obey someone else.” (Geertz 1961: 116)


“…the Micronesian island of Kosrae…” (Ritter 1981: 45)

“Another kind of transfer in rights and duties over individuals occurs for the purpose of obtaining household service… Rights over the service of young women are particularly likely to be transferred. When a household contains no young women or when the only young women are incapacitated because of illness or childbirth, relatives may be called upon or take upon themselves to furnish a helper for their own household.” (Ritter 1981: 46)
“…nearly 25 per cent of living Utwe residents and nearly 20 per cent of the Malem residents have been adopted. Thus, adoption must be considered a common and pervasive feature of Kosraen social life; but the rates are still considerably lower than [elsewhere in Oceana]…A number of different circumstances may lead to Kosraens to ask for a child. The most common condition among potential adopters is a lack of young children (Ritter 1981: 47)…the desire to nurture is very strong, particularly among women. Kosraens appear to take genuine pleasure in cuddling and handling babies, and the mothering role is viewed very favorable. The high value placed on nurturing encourages adoption as well as high fertility.” (Ritter 1981: 49)


Ayacucho…highland town in Peru…

… child circulation, a practice in which children grow up outside of their natal homes.
“Improving oneself” is a reason for relocating children into the homes of better-off urban relatives, as well as the justification for placing children with less-well-off rural relatives so that a parent can pursue the same goal…. In child circulation, young people (ranging from approximately 4 to 18 years old) from small villages and towns are sent to live with city-based relatives. In this migration of the young, children provide assistance in the home of the receiving family, who in turn provide for their care and upbringing.” (Leinaweaver 2008: 60)

“…child circulation…There are unfortunately no reliable statistics indicating exactly how common this practice is; I can say that I chose to study it because of the frequency with which I was offered babies on one of my first trips to the region…” (Leinaweaver 2008: 64)

“Child circulation can (Leinaweaver 2008:65) involve unpaid labor (sometimes to exploitative degrees), sexual abuse, and other serious risks. Accordingly, both nongovernmental organizations and government agencies sometimes label this long-used strategy of relocating children “child trafficking,” lumping it with prostitution, panning for gold, and other fairly unvarnished forms of exploitation. In these institutions’ view, the risk to the child who is circulated to get ahead is far too great to justify the relocation. But in the unspoken understanding maintained by my interlocutors in Peru there are degrees of mistreatment, and in many cases these risks or problems are unrecognized, deliberately overlooked, or tacitly accepted by young people or their families.” (Leinaweaver 2008: 66)

“A young person may be left temporarily at an orphanage while his or her parent goes elsewhere for work, allowing the parent an opportunity for getting ahead without the danger of permanently losing a child. However, if the parent never retrieves the child, he or she is declared legally “abandoned” and made available for domestic or (Leinaweaver 2008: 68) international adoption. This situation, rather than orphanhood, is what creates the vast majority of adoptable children in Peru. Most children currently residing in the orphanages will never be defined as adoptable and will instead eventually return home. This system gives some clues as to how children are valued differently by gender, most notably the following paradox: There are more girls than boys in the orphanages, but more boys than girls are placed for adoption.” (Leinaweaver 2008: 69)
Child-centered …

“The age at which a child reached theoretical adult status was still twelve years old.” (Crawford 1999: 42)

“The early seventh-century law of Hlothere and Eadric similarly made provision for a man dying, leaving a wife and child; ‘it is right that the child should remain with the mother, and one of its father’s relatives who is willing to act, shall be given as its guardian to take care of its property, until it is ten years old’.” (Crawford 1999: 43)

“The mortality rates indicated by the cemetery studies also offer insights as to why parents felt that sending their children out to become part of other families was in their children’s best interests. Given the average adult life expectancy of thirty-three to thirty-five year, it is evident that many children would have (Crawford 1999: 129) suffered the death of one or another parent before they reached maturity.” (Crawford 1999: 130)

**Interesting reversal. In traditional societies, adults adopt in order to earn a significant return on their rather small investment. They expect the adopted child to take care of them as it grows older. In contemporary bourgeoisie society, the precious cherub who is adopted is even more precious than one's biological offspring. Adoptive parents make larger than average investments with no expectation of a return…**


Contemporary legal and scholarly debates emphasize the importance of biological parents for children’s well-being. Scholarship in this vein often relies on stepparent families even though adoptive families provide an ideal opportunity to explore the role of biology in family life. In this study, we compare two-adoptive-parent families with other families on one key characteristic—parental investment. Using data from the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, Kindergarten-First Grade Waves (ECLS-K), basic group comparisons reveal an adoptive advantage over all family types. This advantage is due in part to the socioeconomic differences between adoptive and other families. Once we control for these factors, two-adoptive-parent families invest at similar levels as two biological- parent families but still at significantly higher levels in most resources than other types of families. These… patterns suggest that adoptive parents enrich their children’s lives to compensate for the lack of biological ties and the extra challenges of adoption.


“One agency is suspected among others things of forcing or actively encouraging birthmothers to give up their babies in exchange for some kind of compensation. It also manipulates the legal
system in order to get children quickly and efficiently through the adoption process, securing a high delivery rate.” (Liefsen 2004:185)


“Medical provision, cultural attitudes and economic provision enable a pregnant women to decide whether or not to have the child. Abortion on demand has been available since 1975. Single mothers are not stigmatized and they receive sufficient financial support to enable them to bring up children on their own. These factors have led to few unwanted babies being born and, hence few Norwegian-born babies available for adoption.” (Howell 2004:227)

“Today, one increasingly hears that children arrive with a “backpack” full of past experiences. Although the amount of “baggage” in the backpack varies with each child, the implicit message of this metaphor is that the past, however, brief, has consequences for the child’s development in its new circumstances.” (Howell 2004:229)

“Many parents are developing a new-found interest in the period before the child came to them.” (Howell 2004: 229)
Little Demons


“Scheer and Groce (1988: 28) report that among the Dogon, for instance, it was believed that women who have copulated with a bush spirit give birth to disabled infants and that incestuous sexual unions are considered to the cause of disability among the Bantu.” (Landsman 2009: 15)

“Among the Songye, those defined as “bad” or “faulty” children, including albino, dwarf, and hydrocephalic children, are considered supernaturals who have been in contact with sorcerers in the anti-world; they are not believed to be human beings, and they are expected to die (Devleiger 1995: 96). (Landsman 2009: 51) Among the Nuer, it is claimed, a disabled infant was interpreted as a hippopotamus that had mistakenly been born to human parents; the child would be returned to its proper home by being thrown into the river (Scheer and Groce 1988: 28).” (Landsman 2009: 52)


The smiling boy second from right is the very same child threatened as a witch depicted on page 98 of the book. He was rescued by photographer Paul Raffaele who sent me this photo via email on February 4th, 2009.

A Toradja woman, unable to keep her female infant, would give birth alone in the forest and then “…put it in the fork of a couple of tree branches...” (Adriani 1950: 361)

"If the case is repeated, then the corpse of the second child is handled differently from that of the first: if the first child was buried under the eaves, then the second is placed in a hole in a tree."(Adriani 1950: 532)

"Stillborn children and children who lived only two or three days did not get a coffin, but were buried wrapped in a rain mat, in foeja, or in aren fiber, preferably under a rice granary or … a defective earthen pot. [Such] children were in many regions put away in a hole that was made in a large, living tree…The body was placed…on end, with the head downward… after which the hole was nailed shut with a small board. This was done so that the child's tanoana (p. 708) would not return to earth and call the tanoana of other children, so that the latter would also be stillborn or die soon after birth."It is also said that, if the head is turned upward, the soul of the child will rise to the top of the tree and spoil the fruits, make them tasteless"(p. 709).


""The witches situation started when fathers became unable to care for the children," said Ana Silva, who is in charge of child protection for the children's institute. "So they started seeking any justification to expel them from the family." Two recent cases horrified officials there. In June, Ms. Silva said, a Luanda [Angola] mother blinded her 14-year-old daughter with bleach to try to rid her of evil visions. In August, a father injected battery acid into his 12-year-old son's stomach because he feared the boy was a witch, she said. Many boys describe pasts of abuse, rejection and fear. Saldanha David Gomes, 18, who lived with his aunt until he was 12, said she turned on him after her 3-year-old daughter fell ill and died. After, he said, his aunt refused to feed him and bound his hands and feet each night, fearing that he would take another victim.” (LaFraniere 2007: A1)

“Afonso Garcia, 6, took the shelter's last empty cot in July. "I came here on my own because my father doesn't like me and I was not eating every day," he said matter-of-factly. After Afonso's mother died three years ago, he moved in with his father. His stepmother, Antoinette Eduardo, said she began to suspect that he was a witch after neighborhood children reported that he had eaten a razor. Besides that, she said, "he was getting thinner and thinner, even though he was eating well."” (LaFraniere 2007: A1)

“Sivi Munzemba said she exorcised possessed children by inserting a poultice of plants into their anuses, shaving their heads and sequestering them for two weeks in her house. Once a soothsayer or healer brands a child a witch, child welfare specialists say, even the police often back away. "Of course it was a crime," Mr. Bulio said. "But because it is witchcraft, the police do not take any responsibility." In Angola’s Bantu culture the idea of child witches has a long history. However, an alarming increase in the number of children accused of being witches is on the increase. Child advocates estimate that thousands of street children in Angola, Congo, and
the Republic of Congo have been “accused of witchcraft and cast out by their families, often as a rationale for not having to feed or care for them.” (LaFraniere 2007: A1)


“Among the Bariba (Benin) infants born prematurely or in the breech position or with anomalies like neonatal teeth or initial maxillary teeth […] natal teeth are associated with syndromes producing congenital abnormalities that may include such features as cleft lip, cleft palate, congenital heart malformation, and dwarfism […] are declared witches (*machube*) and are killed, abandoned or given to a neighboring tribe as slaves. Witch babies can cause harm including making their mother sick.” (Sergent 1988: 79-80).

“That which is defined as infanticide may vary according to cultural conceptions regarding the actual beginning of life. The point at which the child receives a name may indicate induction into society and formal recognition of existence. In Bariba society, a newborn is immediately named according to rank order (e.g., first son, second daughter) and may be given a Muslim name at Baptism eight days after birth. Formal Bariba naming for the aristocracy occurs at age four or five. Infants are said to be similar to animals, warm and playful but without reason. They become human by age two—when a child is "too big" to nurse and is therefore weaned. In some instances, children are not named until several years of age; there seem to be progressive phases of recognition of the child as a permanent member of society, key among which is the appearance of teeth. Both mothers and fathers state that they await the appearance of teeth anxiously to determine the future of the child and, in fact, to identify the child's essence—human or witch substance. (p. 82) When mothers were asked whether they would grieve for a witch baby given away or killed, they responded that a mother should not grieve because her husband and his patrilineage had been endangered by the threat of illness or death. (Sergent 1988: 83) Mothers are under considerable strain to make a determination re a newborn's status and may call in the midwife…for consultation…A decision that the child is a potential witch usually involves the household head and infanticide is most often performed by a ritual specialist.” (Sergent 1988: 84)

“The threat of witches continues to be perceived as potent by urban Bariba, although infanticide as a response to this threat is said to be increasingly rare. Ethnographic evidence from observation and key informants suggests that witches remain a danger to be reckoned with and accordingly alternative means of countering the potential power of witchcraft are emerging. One solution, mentioned above, is to give the unwanted child to a mission to be raised. The evangelical missions in the Bariba region have received abandoned witch babies for many years." (Sergent 1988: 90)

“A child may be suspected of being a witch if it is socially maladjusted or developmentally delayed.” (Sergent 1988: 92)
Children as Chattel


An estimated 70,000 children from Nepal and Bangladesh work as bonded labourers in coal mines in Jaintia Hills of Meghalaya state in India. Mine shafts, as shown in one news video, are nothing but crude holes, narrow in diameter, dug into the hills, hence they’re called “rat mines.” Every day, truck loads of coal cross the Indian border to Bangladesh. The vehicles return with children, who are lured into the mining industry with the promise of better wages and living conditions. The overwhelming number of children brought from Nepal and Bangladesh also indicates the living conditions for children in these countries. In most cases children have reported that they were sent to the mines after their parents accepted money from middlemen engaged in child trafficking. Children are also abducted and sold by gangs in Nepal and Bangladesh to the mining mafia in Meghalaya. The price for a child varies from 50 to 75 US dollars. The children have to work for free, as their work is considered as repayment of the debt they owe, which is nothing more than the price at which they were bought.

Human skeletons were recovered beneath a pile of coal in a mine in Jaintia Hills. They were the remains of children who lost their lives due to collapse of the mine shafts or in other accidents during the mining operations. The investigation also revealed that such deaths are common in the mines and the dead bodies buried in undisclosed graves near the mines, often under piles of earth.

Working hours are long, often from daybreak to nightfall without rest. They have no means to communicate to the outside world, much less to their families. The only tools the children have to extract coal or limestone are shovels or pickaxes. There are no medical facilities available near the mines.

Not all children are boys. There are considerable numbers of girls who have been bought by the mine owners. Instances of sexual abuse are rampant. It is also reported that some children are trafficked further from the mines to the cities for prostitution.


Refers to several online ads offering babies for sale and, in this case a “hard-working” teen because “we’re low on money.” (Whitehurst 2009: online)


“In the large Adjame market of Abidjan, Côte d’Ivoire, investigators discovered a “maid market” wherein young girls were being bought and sold from a shack, corrugated iron and wood shack. A small group of slaves who had been liberated from the estimated 20,000 slaves in...
Niger again showed children substantially represented. In the late 1990s the Sudanese government was implicated in the practice of allowing marauders to carry out “slave raids” in which innocent women and children were captured and then sold as domestic and agricultural slaved. Amnesty International estimates that 90,000 black Africans still live as ‘property’ of Arab Berbers in Mauritania and that 300,000 freed slaves are trapped both psychologically and economically into continued servitude under their former masters...Slave families at Taudenni in the north of Mali mine the salt blocks sold in Mopti.” (Bass 2004: 149)


“Children in pre-Conquest times were themselves often treated as products. We know that they were given to the state as a form of tax payment. In addition, they were highly valued as the most propitious of sacrifices offered at critical junctures such as epidemics, war, and the coronation of new heads-of-the-state.” (Dean 2002:44)


“In Recife, the capital of the state of Pernambuco in Northeast Brazil…” (Kenny 2007: 1)

“The boy sat on a towel on the ground while the older man talked and prepared the crowd for the performance. He told us that the boy would lie down on a blanket of broken bottles that lay a few feet from where he sat on a towel. Prior to this, the boy would put a sewing needle through is arm to show how impervious he was to pain…Most people in the crowd gasped and turned away as the pointed end of the needle came through opposite side of his arm. After the needle performance, the older man walked through the crowd soliciting money. As people rummaged through their purses and pockets for change, one woman yelled, “I’m not giving any money until he lies down on the glass!” Others repeated her demand. The boy then lay on the glass expressionless.” (Kenny 2007: 1)

“In Brazil, over six million children between the ages of 10-17 and 296,000 children between 5 and 9 are working....Children produce much of what Brazilians eat, wear, and sleep in...The cacao, gems, minerals, soybean, and grape industries have all required the use of cheap (children’s) labor.” (Kenny 2007: 2)

“Another guide, Fofao, was forced to leave his home because of “problems with my stepfather. He didn’t like me.” He was sent to live with his aunt. “I was basically one of my aunt’s employees, and I think that is exactly why I was given to my aunt.” From as far back as he can remember he was expected to work and help his family. “When I was six years old, I was selling ice-pops. It was my aunt who set me up. She bought the styrofoam box for the ice pops. It was clear to me from the beginning that I would have to work; there was never any question about it. I was forced, really, and have to say that I never really liked, it. I do not like to sell things on the street. I always wanted to study, to stay in school. However, after I moved to my aunt’s, they took me out of school because, basically, if we wanted to eat we had to work. When I was not
selling ice-pops, I was selling cocada (a coconut pastry). When I started working as a guia, it was great because, in a way, it was a form of studying. I taught myself. It was easy. I got a map and studied.” (Kenny 2007: 78)…It is my aunt who pretty much decides how the money will be spent.” (Kenny 2007: 79)

“[Gloria] “So, a man my mother knew (Kenny 2007: 91) decided to take me, because he only had a child. After I was born, my mother put me in a sack, and gave me to him. He put me together with his bananas and took me to his house.” (Kenny 2007: 92)…Gloria decided it was time to leave the favela and try their luck elsewhere. She contacted a cousin in Rio, and with her youngest son, aged two, went to stay with her. The rest of the children, aged 10-20, stayed behind with her husband. A few weeks later, he sold their house for 800 reais (about US$400), bought a bus ticket to Rio, and left the rest of the children behind.” (Kenny 2007: 95)


Book Review…
“Its analysis of the assimilation, and resistance to assimilation, of the Italians of New Haven from 1879 to 1940.” (Lassonde 2008: 289)

“For the contadini who came to New Haven, children were to be willing participants in a family compact that put claims of kin before aspirations of one’s own. Childhood was but a brief period of dependency. Youth began wherever opportunity to work and to contribute to the family economy, first presented itself. Compulsory schooling challenged the very premises of that immigrant outlook, both economically and ethically. It cost the family income it needed.” (Lassonde 2008: 289)

“Education also challenged the prerogatives of the elders in moral instruction. It instilled upon children the wrong lessons about obligations to others, and in the deepest sense it was considered amoral.” (Lassonde 2008: 290)

“A study of the Tonga people of Zambia.” (Bass 2004: 83)

“Not all child labor is bad…Ebeneezer, who works to support his family, explains, “There’s nothing wrong with working because I have to look after my mother. My father’s dead and I have four brothers and three sisters (p. 3)…I saw Emeria being beaten by her mother because she refused to go to the field. Changu, a fourteen-year-old girl, describes, “Mother beat me for not working and I was very angry.” (Bass 2004: 83)

“Mae Tonga children also work in the fields during middle childhood, but they have more time for leisure activities than their female counterparts from age eleven to age fourteen.” (Bass 2004: 84)
“Child labor can be viewed as keeping children from participating in school. Conversely, the proceeds from children’s labor often can make the difference in being able to afford the costs of school.” (Bass 2004: 99)

“Independent school migrants have become common… These children migrate from rural areas and then bear the responsibilities of being full-time students and of sustaining themselves independently in the urban milieu. These children have successfully completed their primary school education in rural areas, but must relocate to a regional city in order to access secondary and higher education. Secondary schools are not equipped with dormitories, so these children are required to rent on their own or with a group of classmates. Many of these temporary household consist only of children who are ten to thirteen years old… Children who do well in school are those who develop daily urban survival strategies. Most children try to go home on the weekends to assist their parents in the fields or collect food for the week, regardless of their academic calendar of exams and activities. Because parents often do not have cash to buy everyday school supplies such as paper and pens, children develop small businesses to earn pocket money.” (Bass 2004: 119)


“Documents the pattern whereby wealthy individuals who utilize child labor in Africa bring their “chattel” with them to USA. One particular case of a young girl whose mother had “leased” her to an Egyptian couple is described and the couple in question were prosecuted and jailed. Their children treated the maid like she was subhuman.” (Challimachi 2008: A8)

**Child workers**


The Nuer do not claim a child until they are at least six years old because “(w)hen he tethers the cattle and herds the goats… (w)hen he cleans the byres and spreads the dung to dry and collects it and carries it to the fires” he is considered a person (p. 146). It is not until the child can provide an economic contribution to the group that they are awarded with a personal identity.
**Children in Paradise**


“Huaorani people consider learning an integral part of growing. Children, who progressively become full members of the longhouse through their increased participation in ongoing social activities, learn to be Huaorani experientially be getting food and sharing it, by helping out in the making of blowguns, pots, or hammocks, and by chanting with longhouse co-residents.” (Rival 2000: 115)

“Why adults never order children around; they do not command, coerce, or exercise any kind of physical or moral pressure, but simply suggest and ask, without getting annoyed when the answer is “No, I won’t do it, I don’t feel like doing it now” (ba amopa). The (Rival 2000: 115) belief that harmonious social life should be based on the full respect of personal expression and free choice to act…As adults do not have a sense of hierarchical superiority, and are not overprotective, relations between what a non-Huaorani would call “adults” and “children” are totally devoid of authority.” (Rival 2000: 116)


“Bonerate belongs to Kabupaten (district) Selayar in the province of South Sulawesi in Indonesia….The island, formed of coral, is almost circular in shape and is fringed by extensive reefs.” (Broch 1990: 1)

“In the past a combination of trading, slaving, and piracy formed (Broch 1990:1) the based of the island economy (p. 2)…Although some fishing and agriculture go on, the major economic activity…is shipbuilding.” (Broch 1990:3)

“A crying baby is rarely heard. Miang Tuu villagers say that they all feel uncomfortable at the sound and will try to do something about it, no matter whose baby it is. If the mother is close, the baby will be nursed. If that does not calm the baby down, he or she is rocked in somebody’s arms, and talked to (in baby language). Adults often fiddle with the genitals of the baby to make it smile.” (Broch 1990:29)

“It is extremely rare to see expressions of physical aggression, even among children in the village.” (Broch 1990:42)

“Before the age of four to five years, boys and girls are treated alike in most contexts…and both run naked most of the time.” (Broch 1990:62)

“Children are not burdened by too many chores and are given the best of many aspects of life. They sleep with they want to, cook their own small meals, and often receive the best pieces of
food and fruits gathered for the household. During the season, children gather lots of sweet mangoes that they may or may not share with their parents. Generally children are reluctant to share their goodies with adults but are more generous with their playmates.” (Broch 1990:74)
The Priceless Child


**Portrait of family life where the mom is the virtual servant to the 3 kids—teenagers.**

“Developmental Story 3: Middle-Class Los Angeles. … Middle-class U.S. parents are highly child-centric and accommodating starting from infancy and continuing through middle childhood and into adolescence.” (Ochs 2009: 398)

“Across 30 families observed, no child routinely assumed responsibility for household tasks without being asked (Klein et al. 2008). Children were assigned tasks and intermittently made their bed, or cleared the table, or got dressed on their own. But the overall picture was one of effortful appeals by parents for help with practical matters, relying on politeness markers such as, “please,” offers of rewards, or veiled threats. Directives were often cast as suggestions, such as “You know what you can do, Alex? You can wash your hair in the bathroom. Do you want to do that?” Parents also frequently directed a child to help then backtracked and did the task themselves, as when a mother asked her daughter to do laundry then told her to dry her hair instead and that she will do the laundry (not expecting the daughter to do both). Although some children resisted or flatly refused.” (Ochs 2009: 399)

**Numerous stories of parents being ordered around by their kids who are tyrannical.**

“Resonating with repeated observations in other families, the parent in this exchange retreats from no-nonsense authority figure to a valet for the child.” (Ochs 2009: 400)

http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/uk/health/article3087367.ece

“DEAF parents should be allowed to screen their embryos so they can pick a deaf child over one that has all its senses intact, according to the chief executive of the Royal National Institute for Deaf and Hard of Hearing People (RNID). Jackie Ballard, a former Liberal Democrat MP, says that although the vast majority of deaf parents would want a child who has normal hearing, a small minority of couples would prefer to create a child who is effectively disabled, to fit in better with the family lifestyle. Current legislation is discriminatory, because it gives parents the right to create “designer babies” free from genetic conditions while banning couples from deliberately creating a baby with a disability. Next month a coalition of disability organisations will launch a campaign to amend the bill to make it possible for parents to choose the embryos that carry a genetic abnormality.” (Templeton 2007: online)

**Sarah Palin syndrome where expectant mother gains a great deal of social capital in martyring herself to an expensive and difficult child…**

“Following the widespread introduction of pre-natal testing for the syndrome, the number of babies born with Down's fell from 717 in 1989 to 594 at the start of this decade. But during the current decade the birth rate has increased, reaching 749 births of children with Downs Syndrome in 2006, the latest year for which figures are available. In general, the overall birth rate has been increasing in recent years. But figures from the National Down's Syndrome Cytogenetic Register suggest Down's births have risen by approximately 15% as a proportion of all live births since 2000.” (Anon/BBC 2009: online)

“The Down's Syndrome Association (UK) surveyed 1,000 parents to find out why they had pressed ahead with a pregnancy despite a positive test result. Most respondents said they felt supported by their family and friends and considered that the future was far better today for those with Down's syndrome.” (Anon/BBC 2009: online)


“His parents pay $3,000 for the special day. Eyes wide, "Prince" Clayburn Reed looked around astonished at the nearly 60 faces as they sang happy birthday in unison. To celebrate his first birthday, his mother, Sheila Chapman, rented the Palms Room at the Tampa Palms Golf and Country Club and invited friends and family for his special day.” (Michell 2008: online)

"I think it's one way of a person having a gala for themselves, using the child's birthday,” If Chapman has her way, though, young Clayburn will be feted this way every year. "These are the memories I want him to have," she said. "I want him to know how important and special I think he is." (Michell 2008: online)


“Parents reported that they tried to honor the child’s selection of role by cooperating in purchasing or constructing a costume, and through assistance with hair, make-up and/or prop. Even if they needed to visit several stores to find a particular costume, mothers generally sought to fulfill children’s expressed role choice.” (Clark 2007: 292)

“The adult role as an appreciative audience was amply noted by young informants who reportedly “showed off” their fictive selves and were generally praised for the display.” (Clark 2007: 293)
“Adults were said to be a receptive, supportive audience. Children generally liked having parents present during the “march” around school, and admitted to disappointment when a parent missed the parade. The Halloween parade, I was told time and again, is fun for children in large part because of providing a chance to see and be seen in costume.” (Clark 2007: 293)
Chapter Four: It Takes a Village
Who’s Your Mommy?


“Despite the fact that Aka[forager] and Ngandu[farmer] mothers carry their infants with them during subsistence activities, the frequency of maternal caregiving and maternal intimacy is negatively associated with work activities.” (Meehan 2009: 389)

“…older infants being larger, heavier, and more costly in terms of energy expenditure, thereby making it more difficult for mothers to perform subsistence-related tasks and engage in caregiving simultaneously—making allomaternal assistance all the more necessary.” (Meehan 2009: 389)

“…when high-quality allomaternal care is available, Aka mothers reduce caregiving and spend more time in subsistence-economic activities. Contrary to predictions, this trend was not apparent among the Ngandu. However, as predicted, allomothers in both populations target their investment during an infant’s time of need.” (Meehan 2009: 389)


“Some lower-class Venezuelans who live in the desert south side of Margarita island also are *Indígenas Guayqueries*, or Native Guayqueries of the island of Margarita.” (McCorkle 1965: 11)

“Their community is called *El Poblado*, the inhabited place. It consists of several miles of rolling, desert land that has xerophytic vegetation and supports few animals other than insects
and lizards. It includes about five miles of coastline on the south shore of the island.” (McCorkle 1965: 11)

“The Guayqueries make their living by selling fish, hammocks, and pottery, melons and vegetables, and their personal services to the peoples of the adjacent city of Porlamar and of continental eastern Venezuela.” (McCorkle 1965: 11)

“Infants spend a good deal of time lying in tiny hammocks especially made for them, others are continually being handed about from one to another member of the house group, including boys ages as young as five or six years. During the first year of life the child acquires two or four godparents.” (McCorkle 1965: 72)

“Small children of both sexes run about naked. Margaritans of any age are rarely alone and children, especially, are almost continuously in direct touch with the skin of some other person. A toddler is put under the charge of some relative six or seven years old who is a member of his house group and who is responsible for his safety, for amusing him, and for keeping him reasonably clean. When I told one informant that my own children spend a good deal of time alone and have separate rooms of their own he said that this would drive a Margaritan crazy.” (McCorkle 1965: 73)


“Infants are present when neighbors visit the home. On these occasions relatives, identified by kinship terms, are repeatedly indicated to the child.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 29)

“Children are also taught to teach their younger brothers and sisters. A mother may ask her daughter, for example, to assist in teaching a baby to walk.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 32)

“Older brothers initiate Guarani children in the art of fishing. Youngsters of about five years of age are taken by their older brothers to fish for arenca at the side of the caño.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 35)

Infant care


“Cradles varied in shape and elaboration, poor households perhaps affording only a box or a casket…occupants were prone to accidents. …In one case, a girl of sixteen weeks was found, apparently dead, dangling from her cradle by an arm; in another a baby was improperly secured and fell out, hanging from the object by its feet from dawn till prime.” (Orme 2003: 62)

Wealthy had lower child mortality higher fertility.

“By about the age of six months, children are on the move: rolling, crawling, and finally standing and walking. This is both joyous and dangerous, for them and their elders. In a wealthy medieval household, there would be servants to keep watch.” (Orme 2003: 66)
“The baby in the cradle might be caught in straps or cords, crushed by the fall of stones from the wall, burnt in a fire, choked by smoke, or attacked by an animal...pigs were a particular source of danger, wandering into houses through open doors.” Orme 2003: 99)...When accidents happened, the question arose what the parents were doing...gone on long errands: to fetch ale, to attend church, or to work in the fields. Absent parents might provide a suitable baby-sitter; one hears of a girl watching a child in its cradle while the mother met with a fatal accident outside. At other times the guardian was too young, like John Cok, a boy of five who was left to look after his one-year-old brother William at Hilperton in 1369. While he was in charge, the cradle caught fire and the baby died...Coroners’ inquests did not usually criticize parents.” (Orme 2003: 100)


**Note** Bilum is ubiquitous string bag found throughout the New Guinea Highlands.

“After a woman has given birth, the baby remains in close contact with the mother, nestled within, the airy but secure space, *men am* [inside of the bilum, literally bilum house] which hangs constantly from the mother’s head, providing the external equivalent of the *man am* [womb, literally child house] from which the infant originated. Often the ‘cradle’ is worn hanging above the chest, somewhat in the manner of a marsupial pouch (a natural object which, it will be remember is also referred to by the term bilum in Melanesian pidgin) so that the infant is not jostled against taro tubers, and can if necessary be suckled in route while the mother’s hands remain free for foraging. (MacKenzie 1991: 130)...The fabric of the women’s bags was believed to create a sanctuary which offered asylum from powerful external forces.” (MacKenzie 1991: 131)


"Once past early infancy babies must do more than cry to produce the situation that will satisfy their hunger; they must take the initiative and find their way to a mother's breast. Even when a mothers holds a nursing baby in her arms she frequently has a distracted air and pays almost no attention to the baby." (Paradise 1996: 382)

"A heavy-set woman is seated on the ground behind the produce she is selling, her legs stretched out straight in front of her. Two boys, a 2-year-old and a 3-year-old are playing on top of her legs. The older boy is lying on his back lengthwise along the woman's legs, the younger sitting astride him at his waist "galloping," both laughing. Their movements are irregular and they occasionally slide off the woman's legs. When this happens they stop their play long enough to get back in position and then start it again. The woman meanwhile chews on something, brows knit lightly, hands unengaged. She looks at what's going on around her and occasionally at the children on her legs, either with no change of expression or with a fleeting smile." (Paradise 1996: 382)
"Her explicit behavior, however, is clearly of passive nature as regards the play itself: she does not join in, her observance of it is intermittent, and she maintains an emotional distance." (Paradise 1996: 382)

"A mother is sitting on the ground within the marked-off space from which she sells her produce. Her 3 to 3-and-a-half year old boy...moved to a spot directly in front of her, in between her and the produce, and sits on the ground facing her. He places all his attention on peeling green tomatoes from a pile on the ground in front of him." (Paradise 1996: 383)


“Nso villagers understood themselves as a collective with a strong opinion about what is right and wrong with respect to childrearing goals. This commonality is important because children are regarded as communal obligations. There is a saying: “A child belongs to a single person while in the womb, and after birth he or she belongs to everybody.” Interdependence is the thread of the communal social fabric.” (Keller 2007: 105)

**Authors conclude from modeling studies that, when conditions are stable, vertical (from parents) learning is more efficient, when unstable, oblique (from others) is favored.**

(McElreath 2008: 315)


“Given the tremendous attention paid to parents and parenting in popular culture, one might think that the science of parents’ social influence had been worked out long ago. In contrast to the situation in the genetic arena, where the fact that every child has exactly two biological parents who contribute approximately equal amounts of hereditary material has led to powerful deductions about behavior and evolution, in the cultural arena surprisingly little is known about how much behavior and belief children acquire from their parents via social learning.”

(McElreath 2008: 307)

“Some anthropologists have claimed evidence of the importance of transmission of culture from parents to children (vertical transmission), at least in some domains [but] parent-offspring correlations observed in young children may not persist when the children are older and have been exposed to many other cultural models. In one [study of] the transmission of food taboos in the Ituri Forest, the analysis suggests that, while initial taboos are acquired from parents, later horizontal adult transmission has a huge effect on the resulting pattern of variation [the author] further argued that self-report of parental influence often reflects a normative reporting bias.”

(McElreath 2008: 307)


“Our results indicate that related allomothers spend the largest percentage of time holding children. The higher the degree of relatedness among kin, the more time they spend holding, supporting the hypothesis of nepotism as the strongest motivation for providing allomaternal
care. Unrelated helpers of all ages also provide a substantial amount of investment, which may be motivated by learning to mother, reciprocity, or coercion.” (Crittenden 2008: 249)


Summary: # of allomothers high among Ngandu farmers and Aka foragers. Aka babies have more caretakers, average over 19, Ngandu = nearly 12. Meehan makes the point that mothers rely on a network of allomothers, not just one or two key substitute caretakers. All older kin, fathers, grandmothers, brothers, sisters, aunts and uncles can provide adequate care but no single relative is vital, the mothering role can be traded off.


Summary: Evidence of non-longer reproducing grandmothers nursing infants whose mothers had died or were ill and their milk glands were activated.


“When Miang Tuu babies are awake, they are constantly in the care of close relatives and are for long periods the focus of attention. Babies are often hugged and kissed by their mothers, fathers, grandparents, and young caretakers.” (Broch 1990: 29)
Infant Care


“Every baby born is the reincarnation of some maternal relative who has died.” (De Laguna 1965: 5)

“The resemblance to a dead ancestor, the mother’s dream, the dying relative’s announcement of his intended return, or some other sign, will indicate who the baby really is; the name which he receives confirms and establishes this identity. Many babies are said to recognize the relatives in their former lives, perhaps refusing at first from shyness to suck at their new mother’s breast because she is really a sister or a niece.” (De Laguna 1965: 5)

“Over the entire carrier was a skin cover that laced down the front, within which the baby was rigidly confined, leaving only the head free. “It keeps them straight so they don’t get broken bones.” (De Laguna 1965: 6)

“During the day while the mother worked, the baby carrier might be propped up against a box beside her.” (De Laguna 1965: 6)

“The first carrier was used for about three or four months; then a larger one was made in which the child was kept until he was big enough to learn to walk.” (De Laguna 1965: 6)

“Thus the tendon from the hind leg of a wolf might be tied around his ankle so he would be swift when chasing bears and mountain goats. Or a tiny splinter of wolf bone might be broken over his forehead, or his hammock might be made of wolf skin. The slime from a bear’s mouth rubbed on a boy would make him brave.” (De Laguna 1965: 7)

““Nowadays people realize children should be active. In the old days they wanted the child to be quiet.”” (De Laguna 1965: 9)


Author claims there’s a dearth of anthropological research on infancy.


“The Baining use mode of locomotion as a means of delineating physical age. A newborn baby is carried in an adult’s arms or in a cloth tied across the chest. In answer to the question “how old is he [or she]?” a child of this age is described as *ta tal ka (ki)* (they carry him [her]). After the age of five or six months, parents begin to carry their children on their shoulders. This form of transportation requires that the child have some sense of balance and support, and take some part in maintaining his or her posture, usually by grasping his or her parent’s hair (although parents
frequently support the child with one hand if needed (Fajans 1997: 86)...A toddler goes on his own legs. An older child who has become even more independent (e.g., boys and girls of the seven to nine range) is said to ka (ki) tit mas (he [she] goes fully), meaning that he or she goes for water, firewood, gathering, wandering in the bush.” (Fajans 1997: 87)

“A baby is a bundle of uncontrolled natural processes, constantly carried by the parents. An infant starts out as a “physical” extension of the mother and father. First he or she is carried in their arms, still close to their bodies...The Baining do not encourage their children to crawl; in fact more often than not, even when a child is at the crawling state, he or she spends most of the time on an adult’s lap of being carried by a sibling...Crawling and toddling are not periods of exploration and learning for a Baining child; they are periods of passivity. In addition to physical immobility, a baby does not understand the spoken word that is used to restrain, educate, and socialize, “When I was small, they spoke to me, but I did not hear...Children are socialized in clear places, either the village or the garden...They are carried through the bush, an unclear place, until they reach the gardens.” (Fajans 1997: 89)


Negev Bedouins keep their infants in dark areas of the tents to protect them from the sand and the wind of the desert, thereby also avoiding almost all social contact with other persons Cited in Schölmerich, Axel, Leyendecker, Birgit, and Keller, Heidi (1995) The study of early interaction contextual perspective: Culture, communication, and eye contact. In Child Development Within Culturally Structured Environments: Comparative—Cultural and Constructivist Perspectives, Edited by Jaan Valsiner, (pp. 29-50). Norwood, NJ: Ablex. (p. 31)


“Food was therefore offered to crying infants even when it seemed clear to field workers that the child was not hungry, but distressed for other reasons. There were even some reports of infants being fed when their distress was more likely to be the result of overeating.” (Howard 1973: 118).


“The cradle, takhte (which also means board, platform, bed), is made ready after the baby is born.” (Frield 1997: 82)

“A baby may be strapped onto the cradle for many hours even while it is awake. Its field of vision is free of bed boards or other boundaries, unless it is covered by a blanket, but movement is limited to the head...One of a cranky toddler’s options to deal with discontent is to crawl to the cradle and hug it or to demand to be strapped to it...A boy infant needs less cleaning and
changing of diaper-rags than a girl because his penis can be stuck into a wooden or metal pipe that drains into a can hung outside the cradle footboard. Baby girls are wet pretty much all the time—wet and uncomfortable because they do not have a penis, women explain.” (Frield 1997: 83)


“Modjukoto, the town in which this study was undertaken, lies within the culture-area of central Java, but as its eastern edge and some distance from the influence of the courts of Djokjakarta and Surakarta.” (Geertz 1961: 5)

“The child is carried on the left hip of the mother (in order to free her right hand for polite giving and receiving and eating), which means that his right hand and arm are pinned between his body and his mother’s, and the natural gesture in this position is to reach for things with the free left hand.” (Geertz 1961: 100)

“As his muscles begin to develop he is dandled on his mother’s or father’s lap a good deal and given a chance to try to stand, but only when he can actually stand and squat and totter along by himself is he permitted any freedom…Toilet training is a matter of little concern.” (Geertz 1961: 101)

“A mother when nursing her little boy will often pat him gently on the penis, or, if she is bathing him, affectionately rub it. A baby’s erection is received with pleasure and more ruffling. Little girls’ genitals seem to receive less attention, yet even then get an occasional playful pinch. An infant’s handling of the genitals receives no attention; but when a little boy receives trousers (at the age of about four or five) there begins a steady teasing to teach him modesty of dress, and girls receive this treatment even earlier. I observed no genital manipulation by children over five or so; and no sexual play between children.” (Geertz 1961: 102)


“The “3 Rs” of child-rearing, which in Dutch are expressed as rust (rest), regelmacht (regularity, and reinheid (cleanliness). With the last of these easily taken care of by the daily bath, parents focused on a great deal of care and attention on providing adequate rest or sleep in a regularly scheduled day.” (Harkness 2006: 68)

“The American parents described their child’s sleep patterns as innate and developmentally driven, the Dutch parents hardly mentioned these ideas and instead spoke frequently about the importance of a regular sleep schedule, which they saw as fundamental to healthy growth and development…“He wakes up a couple of times a night.” (Harkness 2006: 68)...“He was up most of the night as a brand-new baby…So the doctor said to let him cry. That was effective when we
could stand it, but both of us—it drives us crazy. He could cry for 45 minutes. There were nights when he would not cry, but scream and shriek for 45 minutes…” (Harkness 2006: 69)

Many parents stressed the importance of a regular schedule, including a set time for both meals and bed…The Dutch babies were more often in a state of “quiet alert,” in contrast to the American babies who were more frequently in an “active alert” state. The higher state of arousal of the American babies corresponded to differences in their mothers’ behavior: the American mothers touched and talked to their babies more than the Dutch mothers did.” (Harkness 2006: 69)

“The highest frequency American description included “intelligent” and “cognitively advanced” as well as “asks questions.” Along with these qualities, the American parents described their children as “independent” and even “rebellious.” At the opposite extreme were the Italian parents, who described their children as intelligent and never characterized them as cognitively advanced. Instead, these parents talked about their children as being easy, even-tempered, well-balanced, and “simpatico,” a group of characteristics suggesting social and emotional competence further supported by the characterization “asks questions,” which for these families was an aspect of being sociable and communicative.” (Harkness 2006: 73)

“The Spanish focus seems to go beyond this, however, as indicated by the high frequencies of the descriptors, “socially mature” and “good character,” suggesting that the cultural model of the child may center around an ideal of the good citizen and family member.” (Harkness 2006: 75)


“…milk, yogurt, butter, walnuts, dates, eggs—usually is in short supply, but there is always tea and sugar. By age two, children are addicted to tea and sugar. Tea is available at breakfast, lunch, dinner, and in between; it is served to visitors always. At such an occasion, a two-year-old boy drank three small glasses of strong tea with nine lumps of sugar within minutes. Three-year-old Nilufar burned herself when she tried to pour tea for herself.” (Friedl 1997: 123)

“According to various physicians who have practiced in Deh Koh over the years, children suffer from avitaminoses, protein deficiencies, subnutrition, chronic internal parasitic infections including giardiasis and amebiasis (in 1994, 100 percent of Deh Koh’s children were infected, many with multiple intestinal infections), respiratory infections, eczema, cuts and bruises, bone fractures, eye diseases, toothaches. These conditions account for malnutrition and for feeling unwell much of the time. All drinking water in Deh Koh is polluted with parasites, according to administrative officials. Eating dirt is as much a part of children’s expected behavior as is whining…Geophagy has diminished somewhat but is so common still that it is taken to be just one of the bad habits children will eventually outgrow.” (Friedl 1997: 131)
Peek-a-Boo


“After the first four or five months, the baby is handled in a relaxed and supportive manner that may seem gentle but also at times unemotional, almost apathetic. From this point on, mothers do not establish eye contact with their nursing babies regularly as they do with postnatal infants. Toddlers are nursed quickly, without overt emotional expression either from the mother of from the child.” (Broch 1990: 31)


Keep quiet…Don’t stimulate…

“Schiff commented that Ganda children seemed to be lacking in curiosity, and active exploration of the environment, as a result of the childrearing practices employed there. At Ibadan, in Western Nigeria, Durojaiye found a significant correlation between the frequency of responses of mothers to their children’s questions and the same children’s intelligence quotients. This is due to the fact that, in African families, children are expected (Sinha 1995: 113) to be seen and not heard. The verbal interaction between the parent and child in minimal.” (Sinha 1995: 114)


“According to local conventional wisdom, a baby does not have its senses until it is three months and ten days old…A baby who, to my understanding, is happily moving arms and legs lying in its mothers lap may be said to be tired and strapped back into a cradle—a happy (rahat, at ease) baby is quiet in voice and body.” (Friedl 1997: 100)
Playing with Dolls


“…one of the most innovative -- and controversial -- anti-poverty programs in America. This modest community-based nonprofit is one of six neighborhood partners in the experimental Opportunity NYC program, which pays poor people -- mostly single moms -- for a broad range of health, education, and work-related activities, everything from taking their kids to the dentist to getting a new job to attending parent-teacher conferences.”

“A project of Bloomberg's Center for Economic Opportunity, Opportunity NYC is funded entirely by private philanthropies and is modeled after Oportunidades, a successful Mexican program that also uses "conditional cash transfers" -- the social-science term for welfare payments conditioned on "good behavior." Small-scale cash-transfer programs have been tried before in North America: During the 1990s the Canadian Self-Sufficiency Project and Minnesota Family Investment Program offered cash to single parents on welfare who found full-time work. But Opportunity NYC exceeds the scope of those experiments by including rewards for education and health goals as well. Since its September 2007 launch, the New York initiative has paid $10 million to 2,400 families living at or beneath 130 percent of the poverty line -- about $22,000 for a family of three. The typical participating family earned just under $3,000 during Opportunity NYC's first year.”

“In April the city published initial results of the trial, which is the largest-ever controlled test of conditional cash transfers in the United States. There have been some notable successes: Only 43 percent of families had a bank account when they enrolled in the program; now over 90 percent of the families have accounts, a requirement for receiving the payments. And families have been very successful at earning the rewards for annual doctor's visits ($200 per family member) and good school attendance in the lower grades ($50 per child every two months). Yet for a program modeled on the idea that intergenerational poverty is, at least in part, a "behavioral" problem that can be modified through free-market incentives, there have also been challenges … Because of child-care problems and low skills, only about 3 percent of Opportunity NYC single moms have been able to find or maintain part-time work while taking a skills-building course, even though the city will pay them $3,000 to do so. Dovetailing with the larger Bloomberg school-reform agenda, the program emphasizes academic achievement. Yet according to the contractors who administer Opportunity NYC and are studying its results, children in the program have not done particularly well on standardized English and math tests or on the New York state Regents examinations required to earn a high school diploma -- perhaps a result of low-performing, segregated neighborhood schools or poverty-related education deficits dating back to infancy or even to a lack of prenatal care.”

Children have little need or desire to play with dolls or to play mother, father, and child. Bonerate children are integrated into many daily household chores; they look after babies and toddlers.” (Broch 1990: 110)


“South London with a sample of working-class women expecting their first babies.” (Hubert 1974: 40)

“Within our society girls and women do not come into close contact with newborn babies. The relative isolation of the nuclear family, at least in terms of dwelling place, means that each woman rears her newborn infant from scratch.” (Hubert 1974: 46)

“Like the doll in the mothercraft class, the baby is often thought of as something that lies still in the crook of its mother’s arm during its bath, and unprotestingly lets itself be dressed up in all the pretty clothing. There was sometimes the explicit idea of the baby as a doll: ‘it will be like having a doll again…something to dress’ one woman thought. Another said that the baby was a terrible shock to her ‘always eating or drying’ and she too had thought it would be like having a doll. Many mothers expressed similar emotions. Instead of a quiet, undemanding, doll-like baby, the new mother is often presented with a squalling, starving animal whose needs are both unpredictable and apparently insatiable…Those who were attempting to breastfeed have the worst time, with a very few exceptions, since they found that each feed took ages, and since they did not know how much milk was being taken, they tended to go on and on with each feed more often than necessary since crying would be attributed to hunger.” (Hubert 1974: 47)
Toddler Rejection


“Weaning is accomplished by mother and baby living apart. Either the baby may be placed with a neighbor or relative, “like its grand-mother or an aunt,” and left there two or three days, or it may be left in the care of an older sister at home while the mother visits a few days away from home. If the child is not weaned when it is again with its mother, it is separated from the mother once more.” (Hilger 1957: 30)


“Infants are gradually being lured from her by the attractions of a multi-aged group.” (Konner 1975: 116)

“The group will care for, protect, and teach the infant, in the bargain, during the course of play. This makes for a relatively easy transition from mother-dependence to wider sociality.” (Konner 1975: 116)


(Cassidy 1980) Uses term “benign neglect” to explain toddler rejection...


“We were also impressed by the apparent discontinuity between the indulgence of infants and rather harsh treatment afforded children after they became mobile (beginning at about two or three years old).” (Howard 1973: 117)

“…as children become increasingly mobile and verbal, and acquire the capacity for making more insistent and aggressive demands, their attention-seeking behavior is apt to be seen as an attempt to intrude and control. It is therefore an assault on the privileges of rank, for only the senior-ranking individual in an interaction has a right to make demands. By responding harshly parents are therefore socializing their children to respect the privileges of rank...Although some writers have referred to this altered parental behavior as “rejection,” I regard such a characterization as inappropriate.” (Howard 1973: 119)

“Any space at home is open to children unless or until men, boys, or, to a lesser degree, women, demand it for their purposes (Friedl 1997: 12) …Young children may fall asleep anywhere.” (Friedl 1997: 13)

“By the time a child is weaned it has mastered a Deh Koh toddler’s most effective survival strategy: *bune gereftan*, whining with perseverance (Friedl 1997: 120)…Toddlers grab pieces of sugar whenever they can get their hands on an unwatched sugar bowl (Friedl 1997: 123)…Between two and four years of age a child is said to be weak and pesky…A *girvaru* or *vasveru*, [is] a habitually dissatisfied child who whines and throws tantrums excessively….A mother said about her three-year-old *girvaru*: “Three times she got wacked today already, twice by me, once by her sister, but she doesn’t give up—only when her brother beats her does she stop her whining…Adults and elder siblings likely will deny any request, interfere in any activity, foil any intention a toddler may initiate or express.” (Friedl 1997: 124)

“Most young children in Deh Koh look unkempt and dirty. Fear of the evil eye has decreased markedly in Deh Koh over the past twenty years, but a grimy, “ugly” young child still is taken to be safer from the evil eye that a clean, healthy-looking one…Especially little girls, whose hair is not cut at all or is left to grow longer than boys in any case, easily look “like a broom,” strands of hair tousled, matted, and forever in their eyes (Friedl 1997: 130)…Ali, age two, cut her hair with a pair of scissors she found unattended; two-and-one-half-year-old Behrokh, on wobbly legs, was chasing chickens across the verandah with a long knife in her hand; Daud, eighteen months, had his moth full of tiny glass beads one day, from a box his sister had forgotten to squirrel away.” (Friedl 1997: 136)

No toddler rejection…

“Children were seen with 5-month-olds about 29% of the time and with 3-year-olds 62%. However, time spent with adults did not change significantly with the age of the child. Adults were observed in contact with 5-month-olds about 18% of the time. This figure rose to 26% for 3-year-olds.” (Tronick 1992: 572)

“It may be that Efe children, given their own early extensive social experience, are as sensitive as adults are or are at least far more sensitive than children without as much early interactive experience.” (Tronick 1992: 575)
Her Brother’s Keeper


“The cradleboard serves several purposes, one of which is to insure correct posture as the child grows. … A baby in its cradle relieves the mother of its care while she is busy. …even a young child can be assigned to tending a baby, if the baby is in a cradleboard. The child will play with the baby, talk to it, or rock it, by moving the weight of the cradle alternately from one foot to another. … The cradleboard provides a means of transporting the baby on its mother’s back when she walks a short distance.” (Hilger 1957: 25)

“It is nursed tied in its cradleboard, resting on its mother’s arm, sitting on its mother’s lap, or standing near its mother.” (Hilger 1957: 30)


“These continued indulgences are under the impersonal ministration of an older sibling or foster sibling, usually a girl.” (Barnett 1979: 6)


Hierarchy in peer group can be harmonious or conflictive. Play where older siblings tease and frustrate their charges, provoking them to cry, following which they embrace, sooth and comfort them, in the process, deceiving adults who might not have seen Part A.


As San have become sedentary farmers and birth rate has shot up, infants now cared for by sibs. Sibcare was absent from San foraging culture.


Sib caretakers are quite directive towards charges, assert their superior authority.

**Idea that there is a trade-off between sib and peer socializing. Having to care for younger sibs may lessen opportunities to interact with peers.**

“The caretaker knows too well that there is no excuse for allowing his charge to cry. The first adults who observes the scene will scold him publicly…Children are no angels, and sometimes when they believe they are unseen they purposely tease their charges…It also seems to make a difference to the caretaker if he has to look after his own sibling or a child from a different household. The youngest children receive somewhat rougher treatment from their own siblings than from other caretakers. One day I observed two children, a boy and a girl, who were looking after their younger siblings. They moved to the edge of the village where the toddlers were teased until they started to cry, to the great amusement of the caretakers. They continued to trouble their charges for a while before they picked them up. Then they returned, hugging the crying youngsters and showing all the villagers how kindly they tried to comfort them!” (Broch 1990: 81)

“Both girls and boys are entrusted with the care of younger children.” (Broch 1990: 82)
Playing On the Mother Ground


“[Children are] usually be found playing around the spot where their fathers are working or gossiping.” (Barnett 1979: 6)


“Men mal means in the camp, village, or quarter, depending on context. Together with men tu, in the house, it is contrasted with ve sahra, outside, in the open…all the open places where children are likely to congregate and to play are ve sahra. Garden, vineyard or orchard, field, hill, tape or tell, mountain, and at the river, qualify as biabun, a term connoting deserted places from simply uninhabited space to lonesome, dangerous wilderness. Children ought not to play biabun because they might get lost or meet discomfort and danger. Literally, biabun means a place without water (Friedl 1997: 5)...Toddlers are...kept from coming to grief in the streets by whoever is nearby. Despite the vigilance, toddlers are hurt...by falling off a flight of stairs or a verandah. Railings or other toddler-proof safety features are unknown.” (Friedl 1997: 129)
**Going to Grandma’s Place**


Kako tribe, agriculturalists.

“Throughout my fieldwork in a provincial town in East Cameroon I followed the life of Marie-Lucie…The grandchildren call her *maman* and their biological mother *tantine* (‘aunty’).” (Notermans 2004: 6-7)

“From weaning onwards, children get used to a hierarchical relationship with their mother that disallows public expressions of mother’s emotional and physical commitment to the children. There is no play, no talk, no cuddle; the relationship is one of authority and obedience. In this way children learn to be emotionally independent of the mother and to fit in a wider network of kin who care for them.” (Notermans 2004: 15)

“Women put a high value on the contribution of grandmother’s food to the unborn child, more than on the contribution of the biological father’s sperm as women mostly do not live with their husband but with their mother during pregnancy. It is especially through food that grandmothers may appropriate their grandchildren before delivery.” (Notermans 2004: 19)


“‘The grandchild loves the grandmother more than his own mother and father because the grandmother is always there,’” we were told. “We love our grandchildren better than our own children.’” (De Laguna 1965: 8)


“The "Growing up in Australia" report is the first comprehensive national study of Australian children over time, Macklin said. More than 10,000 families with children took part in the study, which started in 2004. It showed that children aged from 3 to 19 months had higher learning scores if they were cared for by family and friends—including grandparents—as well as their parents.” (Anon/Rueters 2008: online)

"This new study demonstrates just what a critical role grandparents play in the development of children," Federal Families, Housing and Community Services Minister Jenny Macklin was quoted by Australian media as saying.” (Anon/Rueters 2008: online)

**Study finds that grandmothers make strategic investments, are not equally supportive of all grandchildren. Also fathers don’t matter…**


“Here, we review the evidence for whether the presence of kin affects child survival rates, in order to infer whether mothers do receive help in raising offspring and who provides this help. These 45 studies come from a variety of (mostly) natural fertility populations, both historical and contemporary, across a wide geographical range. We find that in almost all studies, at least one relative (apart from the mother) does improve the survival rates of children but that relatives differ in whether they are consistently beneficial to children or not. Maternal grandmothers tend to improve child survival rates as do potential sibling helpers at the nest…Paternal grandmothers show somewhat more variation in their effects on child survival. Fathers have surprisingly little effect on child survival…” (Sear 2008: 1)
Life with(out)Father


“Data…were drawn from a subsample of youth from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 Cohort (NLSY97)…between the ages of 12 and 16 in the first wave…purposive oversampling of poor and minority youth (Coley 2009: 812).”

“Three behaviors were considered: frequency of sexual intercourse…number of partners….and frequency of unprotected intercourse.” (Coley 2008: 813)

“Results found [that] youth who engaged more regularly in activities with their families and had fathers who were more knowledgeable about their friends and activities thereafter reported lower average levels of sexual risk behaviors in comparison to their peers with less engaged parents.” (Coley 2009: 822)

“…fathers appear to respond to their adolescents’ growing engagement in problem behavior (violent, criminal, and substance use behaviors) with more, rather than less engaged parenting, … particularly pronounced among African American families.” (Coley 2009: 823)

“Results suggest that parenting, particularly paternal knowledge and family activities, may be more protective for girls than for boys…Consistent father coresidence was linked with higher average paternal knowledge.” (Coley 2009: 824)


“Fathers play a minor role in all this child service. They do not assume the responsibility for rearing their children. They are fond of them, but theirs is the affection of the bystander. They want children and are obviously proud of them as they grow out of helplessness. They are conscientious providers. They are gentle and patient with the very young. They amuse them and are amused by them. They often tend them when their wives are working and there is no older sister in teh household, or during that part of the day when the girls are in school. Yet none of this is the man’s job. They involve themselves only when and to the degree that it pleases them. Feeding, bathing, pacifying, and loving—these are for women. The male attitude is something like the zoo visitor: young animals, almost any little living thing, evokes yearning and compassion. As it grows older it loses this appeal and becomes just another animal, sometimes an ugly one. In any event, it is not the spectator’s responsibility.” (Barnett 1979: 7)

“Men spent most of their free time in the club houses. They slept there and kept their personal articles there.” (Barnett 1979: 32)
Forest foragers from Orinoco Delta

“Warao fathers frequently cradle babies in their arms and sing to them, especially when the infant has become a hiota and is able “to see and to laugh and to cry real tears.” Sometime toward the end of this stage, the father may made a toy basketry rattle which he puts into the infant’s grasping hand.” (Wilbert 1976: 316)

“This toward the end of the first year of life, the crawling, and eventually walking, infant is difficult to confine to the small platform of the stilt house. Babysitting him becomes a full-time chore and parents become very inventive in discovering ways and means to keep their enterprising child in safely. The landing place with its bobbing boats exercises an irresistible attraction for the child. He wants to play with the other children. Like them, he wants to jump in and out of the moored boats. The father, seeking to keep the youngster contented in the house, carves small toy boats out of light sangrito wood.” (Wilbert 1976: 317)


“There is little evidence that any male kin, whether matrilineal or patrilineal, and including fathers, affect child mortality rates.” (Sear 2008: 277)

“Even relationships between genetically related individuals may be characterized by competitive, rather than cooperative, interactions. Maternal grandmothers will be striving to maximize their reproductive success by spreading their investment over all their children and children’s children. In situations such as this Malawi context, where resources are scarce and where a (Sear 2008: 287) fixed-resource-base will become diluted as it is shared among more offspring, women must allocate their resources carefully in order to maximize their total production of offspring and grand-offspring. This resource allocation may come at the expense of certain grandchildren, in this case apparently female grandchildren, who will create greater competition for resources within the family than male grandchildren.” (Sear 2008: 288)

“This study finds rather little evidence that fathers matter for child survival (Sear 2008: 290)...Other studies have also found limited evidence that the father makes much difference to the survival of children.” (Sear 2008: 291)


“Six percent of a 5-month-old's time, and 9% of a 3-year old's time, was spent in contact with the father.” (Tronick 1992: 572)

“The Aka and Bofi foragers have higher fertility rates than nearby farming groups and have often commented to me that the reason that they (Aka and Bofi women) are able to have many children is because their husbands help with the children, unlike the farmer husbands (Fouts 2008: 305)...Father direct care and involvement declines gradually after infancy, as toddlers need less or different types of care than infants, and then increases around 3 to 4 years of age (although not to the levels of infancy) owing to increased vulnerability during the weaning process.” (Fouts 2008: 308)

**Role of father...**


“The most substantial source of the continuing reciprocity between a man and his child is the father’s original creation and nourishment of the child, from conception almost to maturity. The father does not receive any direct reward for this; when the boy is old enough to do useful work, he leaves for his mother’s brother’s hamlet. They receive, *gratis*, a full grown, well-fed, new working member; or in the case of a girl, a new sister who will eventually replenish their number herself...The central political rule of Uduk society: *A boy’s primary political duty is to defend the life of his father.*” (p. 150) more specifically the obligation to support one’s fathers in battle.” (James 1979: 151)


“One often sees fathers playing with their young children, watching over them, feeding them, bathing them, cuddling them to sleep. A man may take his five-year-old boy visiting with him when he goes to call on friends.” (Geertz 1961: 106)

“It is only during this period of the child’s life lasting from about the end of his first year until he is about five years old that he is permitted to be close to the father. After that he may no longer play next to his father, or trail along with him on visits, but must respectfully stay away from him, and speak circumspectly and softly to him...While mothers are described as “loving” (*trisna*) their children, fathers are expected only to “enjoy” (*seneng*) them.” (Geertz 1961: 107)


“With the vast diversity of behavior potential in humans, many fathers are fully capable of substituting for mothers even when caring for small children.” (Eibl-Eibesfeldt 1989: 233)


“Fathers are not allowed to hold the infant for more than a few minutes until after their third month. Before that it is said to be too fragile to be submitted to clumsiness. They then lift it up
eagerly on retuning home in the evenings, place it astride the hip, rock it from side to side, and
croon to it while the wife cooks the evening meal. Mushy foods, at first premasticated yams and
bananas, are given at about the sixth or seventh month. The mother or father sits with the baby
on the knees and pushes the pap into its mouth with a finger.” (Hogbin 1969: 31)

“…men perform the bulk of their toil at a distance, in the forest or out at sea. A father would
therefore find a small boy, who would have to be watched, something of a nuisance.” (Hogbin
1969: 39)
Professional Child-Minders


“Noble children had wet nurses.” (Lipsett-Rivera 2002: 56).


“Bowlby’s (1951) highly influential monograph presented an extensive body of data in support of his thesis that institutional upbringing almost always led to dire consequences…Later studies, including our own, have shown that these conclusions were too sweeping. We have been able to show that the level of language development depends very much on the characteristics of the institution: in the best residential nurseries the children we studied were not only healthy but intellectually normal, linguistically advanced, and exposed to a near-normal range of general experiences.” (Tizard 1974: 146)

“A major area of difference between the nursery and home children lay in their relationships with their caretakers. Most of the home two-year-olds showed a marked preference for their mother; they tended to follow her about the house, and to be upset if she left the house without them. However, few of them were disturbed if she left the room. Such relationships result from a close family structure where the mother is the principal if not the sole caretaker and is almost always accessible to the child.” (Tizard 1974: 147)
New Metaphors for Child-Rearing


“The patriarchal family was the basic building block of Puritan society…Male household heads exercised unusual authority over family members…Childrearing manuals were thus addressed to men, not their wives.” (Mintz 2004: 13)

“The Puritans regarded childhood as a time of deficiency, associating an infantile inability to walk or talk with animality, and considered it essential to teach children to stand upright and recite scripture as quickly as possible. Both were associated with morality and propriety. To prevent infants from crawling, they dressed young children, regardless of sex, in long robes or petticoats and placed them in wooden go-carts, similar to modern-day walkers.” (Mintz 2004: 16)

Use of guilt…
“The dominant view was that play was a sinful waste of time…By building up a child’s awareness of sin, parents sought to lead children along the path toward salvation.” (Mintz 2004: 19)

“Puritan mothers did not divide reading and religion. Children were expected to learn to read by listening to others read aloud and then by memorizing the Lord’s Prayer, psalms, hymns, catechisms, and scripture passages….As in England, parents brought primers, catechisms, and horn books to teach their children to read.” (Mintz 2004: 21)

“The newfound significance of children for the future republic put primary responsibility for securing the social order and preserving republican values on two institutions: the home and the school. Dr. Benjamin Rush a signer of the Declaration of Independence expressed the conviction that social stability depended on proper parenting and schooling in particularly ringing terms. “Mothers and school-masters plant the seeds of nearly all the good and evil which exists in our world,” he declared. The conspicuous emphasis on the maternal role in shaping children’s character was novel. Although mothers had always been responsible for the day-to-day care of young children, earlier childrearing literature had been addressed to fathers as the ultimate caregivers. As late as 1776 the Scottish Presbyterian president of Princeton, John Witherspoon, had begun his volume of childrearing advice with “Dear Sir.” But after the Revolution, ministers and other moralists invested mothers with primary responsibility for inculcating republican values and virtues in the young and teaching them to be responsible and patriotic citizens, reflecting a growing recognition of young children’s vulnerability, malleability, and educability. The emerging view was that children’s character was shaped in their earliest years, when the young were mostly in their mother’s care.” (Mintz 2004: 71)
The "Great" Transition
“In the first case, the parents may tell themselves: *It was those Mozart quartets we played in utero that primed her for success*... How much credit, or blame, should parents really claim for their children's accomplishments? The answer, it turns out, is a lot — but not for the reasons that most parents think.” The U.S. Department of Education recently undertook a monumental project called the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, which tracks the progress of more than 20,000 American schoolchildren from kindergarten through the fifth grade. Aside from gathering each child's test scores and the standard demographic information, the ECLS also asks the children's parents a wide range of questions about the families' habits and activities. The result is an extraordinarily rich set of data that, when given a rigorous economic analysis, tells some compelling stories about parenting technique. (Dubner 2005: online)

A child with at least 50 kids' books in his home, for instance, scores roughly 5 percentile points higher than a child with no books, and a child with 100 books scores another 5 percentile points higher than a child with 50 books. Most people would look at this correlation and draw the obvious cause-and-effect conclusion: A little boy named, say, Brandon has a lot of books in his home; Brandon does beautifully on his reading test; this must be because Brandon's parents read to him regularly. (Dubner 2005: online)

But the ECLS data show no correlation between a child's test scores and how often his parents read to him. How can this be? Here is a sampling of other parental factors that matter and don't:

- **Matters**: The child has highly educated parents.
- **Doesn't**: The child regularly watches TV at home.
- **Matters**: The child's parents have high income.
- **Doesn't**: The child's mother didn't work between birth and kindergarten.
- **Matters**: The child's parents speak English in the home.
- **Doesn't**: The child's parents regularly take him to museums.
- **Matters**: The child's mother was 30 or older at time of the child's birth.
- **Doesn't**: The child attended Head Start.
- **Matters**: The child's parents are involved in the PTA.
- **Doesn't**: The child is regularly spanked at home. (Dubner 2005: online)

Culture cramming may be a foundational belief of modern parenting but, according to the data, it doesn't improve early childhood test scores. Frequent museum visits would seem to be no more productive than trips to the grocery store. Watching TV, meanwhile, doesn't turn a child's brain into mush after all; nor does the presence of a home computer turn a child into Einstein.

Now, back to the original riddle: How can it be that a child with a lot of books in her home does well at school even if she never reads them? Because parents who buy a lot of children's books tend to be smart and well-educated to begin with — and they pass on their smarts and work ethic to their kids. (This theory is supported by the fact that the number of books in a home is just as
strongly correlated with math scores as reading scores.) Or the books may suggest that these are parents who care a great deal about education and about their children in general, which results in an environment that rewards learning. Such parents may believe that a book is a talisman that leads to unfettered intelligence. But they are probably wrong. A book is, in fact, less a cause of intelligence than an indicator. (Dubner 2005: online)

The most interesting conclusion here is one that many modern parents may find disturbing: Parenting technique is highly overrated. When it comes to early test scores, it's not so much what you do as a parent, it's who you are.

It is obvious that children of successful, well-educated parents have a built-in advantage over the children of struggling, poorly educated parents. Call it a privilege gap. The child of a young, single mother with limited education and income will typically test about 25 percentile points lower than the child of two married, high-earning parents. (Dubner 2005: online)

So it isn't that parents don't matter. Clearly, they matter an awful lot. It's just that by the time most parents pick up a book on parenting technique, it's too late. Many of the things that matter most were decided long ago — what kind of education a parent got, how hard he worked to build a career, what kind of spouse he wound up with and how long they waited to have children.

The privilege gap is far more real than the fear that haunts so many modern parents — that their children will fail miserably without regular helpings of culture cramming and competitive parenting. So, yes, parents are entitled to congratulate themselves this month over their children's acceptance letters. But they should also stop kidding themselves: The Mozart tapes had nothing to do with it. (Dubner 2005: online)

Council on Contemporary Families (CCF) http://www.contemporaryfamilies.org/

Largest study on lesbian parents in the US finds children healthy and happy; national study following families for 22 years.

Papers Published In *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry* and *Journal Of Lesbian Studies*

This 22-year study has been following planned lesbian families with children conceived by donor insemination since 1986. The results released today are based on interviews that were conducted when the children were 10 years old. The NLLFS confirms the findings of over 40 other studies on the children of lesbian and gay parents, and supports the positions of all major professional associations on the well-being of children growing up in lesbian and gay families.

The NLLFS finds that although the parents' sexual orientation doesn't harm children, discrimination does; the researchers report that the adverse effects of discrimination were significantly reduced when the parents, schools and communities encouraged an appreciation of diversity.

"The findings of our research conclude that children raised in lesbian parent households are healthy, happy, and high-functioning," said Dr. Nanette Gartrell.

“This study shows for the first time an interaction effect with father’s SES, with professional and managerial fathers making more difference to child IQ scores when they invest than unskilled fathers do. High-SES fathers may have more skills to enrich and improve the environment of the child’s development than low-SES fathers do.” (Nettle 2008: 421)

“High SES fathers seem to be more efficient in embodying human capital in their children than low-SES fathers are. This gives a powerful potential explanation of why low-SES groups are characterized by low paternal effort. The returns to effort are low, and therefore men have no incentive for higher effort. The study pursued outcomes further into adulthood than previous research has. Paternal involvement does not just have a temporary effect in early life. Instead, cohort members who had received high paternal involvement were more upwardly mobile than those receiving low involvement, and the difference was still detectable at age 42.” (Nettle 2008: 421)


“There are also potential repercussions in the lay literature. Increasingly, the idea has become fashionable that our infants are little scientists. Brand new parents call me, and I am sure they call many of you, to ask when they should begin with the flash cards. Apart from the specter of these infant scientists threatening our job security, I fear that if these characterizations are overblown, as more qualified renditions appear, they will either be ignored because they are insufficiently sensational.” (Haith 1998: 176)
Chapter Five: Making Sense
The Matsigenka are a small-scale, egalitarian, family-level society. As a social group, they have historically survived in isolated extended family compounds in the Amazonian rainforest and more recently have been brought together as small communities by Protestant missionaries, all the while continuing to subsist on fishing, hunting, and subsistence horticulture (mainly manioc, bananas, and sweet potatoes).” (Ochs 2009: 394)

“Once infants are able to sit up and move around, they are discouraged from crawling or being active. The movements of older babies are restrained by the caregiver. … Infants and young children are embedded in the middle of guotidian activities where they are positioned to quietly observe and learn what others are doing.” (Ochs 2009: 395)

“A great deal of children’s play imitated the activities of adults. Thus, girls might play house, the “mother” shutting her “adolescent daughter” away in a special puberty hut; or older children might indulge in sexual games.” (De Laguna 1965: 14)

“Children learned a great deal by listening to the older people talk, especially when the old men gathered in the sweathouse to bathe and chat. Then the children might sit outside and listen to their stories.” (De Laguna 1965: 15)

“The Warao are a South American Indian tribe that has dwelled in the Orinoco Delta.” (Wilbert 1976: 303)

“My informants consistently assured me, the process is actually a matter of imitation and copying, not of teaching. Explained one expert canoe maker: “Nobody teaches a boy how to
make a paddle or a canoe.” When asked why not, he replied, “Because he is a boy. Boys learn from watching.”” (Wilbert 1976: 318)

“The canoe maker insists on having boys present when boats are being made. … Whereas adults may not engage in verbal instruction, they definitely require the presence of the learner when the opportunity for visual learning and instruction through demonstration presents itself.” (Wilbert 1976: 318)

“This work is carried out within the confines of the village and the children have been watching the craftsman for weeks. The boys are called frequently to the site to observe the process, although they are not permitted to touch the tools, not only to forestall the child’s damaging the hull but also to avoid provoking the spirit of the tool.” (Wilbert 1976: 323)


“…using the “virtual arrowhead” experimental task. In this task, participants played a computer game in which they designed a technological artifact (an arrowhead) either by individual trial-and-error learning or by copying successful fellow participants… allowing participants to preferentially copy the designs of successful models resulted in significantly improved performance relative to individual learning controls, suggesting that this copy-successful-individuals cultural learning strategy is significantly more adaptive than individual learning.” (p. 351)…It is predicted that making cultural learning periodic through the season will favour the emergence of “information scroungers”—participants who forego lengthy and costly individual learning and instead consistently free-ride on the individual learning efforts of other participants (“information producers”) in the group.” (Mesoudi 2008: 353)


“…at least amongst non-kin, successful or attractive models might set an “access cost” that others must pay in order to gain access to their knowledge…In the present experiment, cultural learners pooled their individually acquired knowledge to produce artifacts that were, under certain conditions, functionally better than artifacts produced by individual controls, indicative of cumulative cultural evolution.” (Mesoudi 2008: 353)

“Some theoretical models suggest that cultural learning would be hampered by the emergence of free-riding information scroungers, the present study suggests that people avoid this by flexibly switching between individual and cultural learning, only copying others when they are doing poorly.” (Mesoudi 2008: 361)

“If a child wants to stay up late there is usually no objection from the parents, and at the shadow plays the children sit all night in front of the screen, watching and napping alternately.” (Geertz 1961: 103)


“When children have gained motor control, their world gradually widens. They are no longer guarded by child tenders wherever they go, and their trips away from the home become longer…(Broch 1990: 71)small bands of youngsters roam about inland, visiting adults working on the swiddens…Children seem content to sit around adults when the latter are working. The children sit quietly, just watching, for an hour or so.” (Broch 1990: 72)


“Cultural systems will be treated as extensions of the power to learn, store, and transmit information.” (Mead 1964: 31)

“Children accompany their parents and participate in adult activities that involve little skill. No attempt is made to develop skills—the emphasis is rather on the easy, pleasant identification with the activities of adults.” (Mead 1964: 57)

“So the social structure of a society and the way learning is structured—the way it passes from mother to daughter, from father to son, from mother’s brother to sister’s son, from shaman to novice, from mythological specialist to aspirant specialist—determine far beyond the actual content of learning both how individuals will learn to think and how the store of learning, the sum total of separate pieces of skill and knowledge which could be obtained by separately interviewing each member of the society is shared and used.” (Mead 1964: 79)
The hierarchical system of chiefs is often described by Samoans as the crux of their culture... This valued domain of knowledge entails a wide range of intricate concepts and practices pertaining to notions such as power and authority, ritual practices, respectful and deferential behaviours, and complex genealogical relationships linking different descent groups... In contrast to the two earlier examples, knowledge of the chief system entails understanding a complex and abstract conceptual system as well as the associated practices and rituals. (p. 45)

Observations and testing revealed that Samoan children as young as six years of age begin to demonstrate some level of implicit learning regarding these notions. They begin to pick up the distinctive features characterising people of rank and authority without any explicit instruction. This was particularly the case for distinctive behavioral aspects of common ritual events associated with chiefs that children could readily witness. Thus, for example, we observed that a majority of children from six years of age demonstrate an implicit understanding of the orator chief’s ritualised postures and gestures using his symbols of office (i.e. fly whisk and staff) while giving a formal speech. They also demonstrate some understanding of ritual gestures during kava ceremonies – kava is a ritualised drink served to chiefs during their meetings. They also showed imitation of the distinctive intonation contours of the public announcement of ceremonial gifts and large social events.

Testing and interviews with older children revealed that a majority had knowledge of many aspects of the basic concepts underlying the chief system. A multiple choice test of the basic set of conceptual knowledge of the chief system and its local manifestations were given to all of the seventh and eighth grade students (N = 46) at a local primary school. A majority of the students tested demonstrated a broad understanding of many basic concepts, including the two types of Samoan chiefs, the identity of the ceremonial attendant of the highest ranking chief in the village, the responsibilities associated with the social role of a chief both in the family and in the village, and the order in which the beverage kava (piper methysticum) is ritually served at village meetings of chiefs, a practice that indicates the relative rank of the chiefs present.

The relative amount of knowledge of the chief system demonstrated by children is revealing, as this domain of Samoan social life is both highly valued and very restrictive in terms of
participation and explicit instruction. Participation in the meetings of chiefs and in the various chiefly duties at various village events is strictly limited to title holders. While non title holders may observe these activities from the periphery, under no circumstances would a non title holder be able to participate as a chief in these proceedings. The village’s untitled men’s association (*auumaga*) attends to the village chiefs during the meetings, (p. 45) and family members will attend to chiefs on other occasions. Yet these activities are largely parallel to and distinct from the chief’s activities. Again, learning about the various aspects of the chief system occurs through observation and overhearing adult discussions of it. With absolutely no exception, children do not participate in the activities of chiefs but rather remain on the periphery while their activities are enacted. (p. 46)

First, children’s learning of these three cultural domains does not occur as the child moves on a gradient from peripheral to full participation as the [Vygotskian] participatory learning paradigm suggests. Rather, participation seems to be ‘binary’ in that the social actor is either a full participant or a peripheral one. Second, rather than participatory learning, we see observational learning employed by children in acquiring these different skills and understandings. In some instances, emulation and experimentation on one’s own or as part of a group seem to play a secondary role in this process of learning. Third, both in terms of Samoan parental belief and practice there is relatively little use of active scaffolding in teaching these activities, even with regards to the conceptually complex and culturally valued knowledge of the chief system. (Odden and Rochat, 2004:46)

Authors argue that imitation or social learning is insufficient in any model of cultural transmission. This is so because many aspects of culture that are observable at any given time may—due to cultural change—have become maladaptive. Hence, learners must also display evidence of competency in filtering out maladaptive traits. This sounds a lot like Earnest Hemingway’s famous “crap detector.”


We have shown that, if cultural traits can turn maladaptive owing to environmental change, genetic evolution of social learning leads to the accumulation of both adaptive and maladaptive culture—which soon halts the genetic evolution of imitation. But culture can remain adaptive, and imitation abilities continue to improve, if maladaptive traits are continuously filtered out. Thus the evolution of adaptive filtering may have been at least as important as the evolution of imitation for the origin of human culture (p. 134).

**Culture as information**


“The rigid distinction between social and psychological phenomena that British social anthropology took from Durkheim was not matched by the parallel, North American tradition of cultural anthropology. The founder of this latter tradition, Franz Boaz, consistently adopted the
position that the patterned integration of culture, as a system of habits, beliefs, and dispositions, is achieved on the level of the individual rather than having its source in some overarching collectivity, and is therefore essentially psychological in nature.” (Ingold 2000: 159)


Peru
“The Wanka household ceramic tradition has endured for nearly seven centuries in the Upper Mantaro Valley... Wanka ceramic manufacturing technology and the family basis of production have persisted. (Hagstrum 1999: 269)

“The household’s tool kit is basic; the tools are homemade and simple enough to be widely available. …I measured the structural complexity of individual implements in the inventory by counting their constituent technounits (Hagstrum 1999: 284)… The plow is the only special-purpose farm tool. With four technounits each, the plow and the kiln are the most complex tools in the inventory. Both of these tools are shared among households. Even the humblest household has a complete set of pottery-making tools, which the exception of a kiln.” (Hagstrum 1999: 285)

“All other pottery tools are made from common household items, such as stone slabs (from a local outcrop), pebbles, and cobbles… Multipurpose tools are used in farming, pot making, and housekeeping… The farmer-potter tool kit reflects the generalized household economy. Overall, the tool kit is simple and easily obtained. Many tools are found or scavenged objects, some are homemade, and few are bought.” (Hagstrum 1999: 287)… The portability of farmer-potter tools bespeaks economic flexibility, insofar as household space is used for several activities.” (Hagstrum 1999: 289)

Exploration and Play with Objects


“Three-year-olds frequently practice cutting wood and grass with machetes and knives. When three-year-old Julio wandered too close to a cliff and rolled several feet down the ravine, his mother washing clothes nearby scolded him for being careless.” (Ochs 2009: 395)


“At about six years of age boys are presented with a toy machete (machetico), made from a worn-out machete blade, cut to child’s size.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 34)

“Doll play is the commonest recreational activity pursued by children of two to five years. The nature of such play depends to a large degree on available raw materials, and dolls from sections
of plantain raceme or corn cob, with holes for eyes and wooden sticks for limbs, are commonly presented to children by their parents.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 36)


“A common toy among the Cuna is a small wooden canoe with a paddle, carved by the fathers or other member of the household. While playing, an older child will invariably show a younger child the correct seating and paddling procedure.” (Hatley 1976: 84)


Critical German Perspective…
“(“She plays nicely, but does not have eye contact with the baby”) and the exclusivity of attention (“The mother holds the baby nicely on her body, but direct her attention too often to other targets”). Object play is another asset of early care, because stimulating the senses and the cognitive system in general are considered crucial by this 29-year-old married Berlin mother.” (Keller 2007 p. 127)

Critical Nso perspective…
“The Nso women agreed that “the Germans can show a very bad example of child care.” (Keller 2007 p. 121)

Nso accelerate motor development, Germans, intellectual…
“Object stimulation was rare in both settings. … In fact, rural Gujarati women believe that a 3-month-old baby cannot understand toys and see their advantage mainly in distressing a fussy or crying baby.” (Keller 2007 p. 203)


“Children who are not yet able to swim well are not allowed to paddle a dugout canoe in deep water. Children usually learn to swim around the age of five. Because the beach cannot be seen from the village, young children are not allowed to bathe except in the company of older caretakers.” (Broch 1990:60)

“…dangerous to children younger than approximately six years is collecting coconuts. Children of this age are not allowed to climb the palms. When kepala lingkung one day saw a four-year-old boy at the top of a palm, he ordered him down at once. Later he summoned all the villagers and told them that if parents did not manage to keep an eye on what their children did, the parents would be punished…This does not mean that children are kept away from everything that might hurt them. A generally practiced deference to the desires of toddlers and older children in the choice of play objects permitted them frequently to handle sharp knives, large parangs, sharp pieces of scrap iron, and fires.” (Broch 1990:61)
**It’s Only Make-Believe**


“They put so much practice time on make-believe canoe rides that by the age of three all children, boys and girls alike, know how to maneuver a canoe perfectly…It is truly breathtaking to observe a three-year-old child push off and paddle a canoe across an enormous river in full control of the craft.” (Wilbert 1976: 318)


“Children’s pretending to be a fierce animal such as a shark or a tiger, which is so common in other societies, was never observed in Maing Tuu.” (Broch 1990:103)

“Once I observed five girls engaged in the imitation of a female possession-trance ritual. The girls, all between four and seven years of age, were dancing and acting out the various roles of the ritual experts. They put the most elaboration into the act of walking on or stamping out imaginary embers. This play took place just a few days after a real possession-trance ritual had been conducted in a neighboring village.” (Broch 1990:107)


“Various items serve instead of the valuables that the grownups use—tiny pebbles instead of dog’s and porpoise teeth, the long flowers of a nut tree for strings of shell discs, and rats or lizards for pigs. When first the youngsters pretend to keep house they make no sexual distinction in the allocation of the tasks. Boys and girls together erect the shelters, plait the mats, cook the food, and fetch the water. But within a year or so, although they continue to play in company, the members of each group restrict themselves to the work appropriate to their sex. They boys leave the cooking and water carrying to the girls, who, in turn, refuse to help with the building.” (Hogbin 1969: 38)


“Among the Balinese, children are encouraged to imitate the theatrical and artistic aspects of life.” (Mead 1964: 67)
The Age of Reason


“Parents are seldom uneasy about their children or ask what they are doing; they take it for granted that children can look after themselves. As soon as they have discharged their duties—but not before—they have unrestricted freedom and can do what they like. Many parents even go so far as to let their children decide, even if they know that their decisions are unwise or hasty.” (Danielsson 1952: 121)

“A typical case was that of Rari, a little girl of four. She had a serious attack of influenza and a high temperature, for which we had prescribed sulphatiazole. When we came to see her again her parents declared that we must give her some other medicine, as the child could not keep the sulphatiazole down…what we had been told was not true. The little girl was simply spitting out the sulphatiazole because she did not like the taste. The parents naturally preferred telling us a lie to making the wretched child take the medicine. Compulsion and corporal punishment are absolutely taboo in the bringing up of children in Polynesia.” (Danielsson 1952: 122)


“The idea that this is “my child” or “your child” does not exist [among the Yequana]. Deciding what another person should do, no matter what his age, is outside the Yequana vocabulary of behaviors. There is great interest in what everyone does, but no impulse to influence—let alone coerce—anyone. The child’s will is his motive force.” (Gray 2009: 507)


Study showing that “7-year-old Vezo [Madagascar] children have a relatively coherent conception of both human and animal death…by approximately 6 years of age, Vezo children understand the biological process of species fixation ‘and] by age 7, Vezo children have mastered several key components of the biology of the life cycle. They claim that death brings virtually all processes—whether connected to the body or the mind—to a halt. [This occurs despite children’s frequent exposure to deeply held and clearly articulated Vezo belief in an afterlife.] (p. 733)

Knowledge is not freely transmitted to children:
In West Africa, d’Azevedo (1962a), notes that the critical importance (true also for Central Africa) of secret societies such as the Poro and Sande that initiate practically all boys and girls, respectively, into membership. Political authority in such societies is maintained by rituals which are supported on a web of hidden and allegedly dangerous and powerful knowledge only available to older, elite members of the community. Her argues further,

“Gola Wealth and power are derived from knowledge, an those who possess the one are believed to have the other within their grasp. All who are able to establish authority over others and who prosper are believed to own some secret knowledge which explains their good fortune.”
(d’Azevedo 1962b: 29)


“In Kpelle society secrecy separates elders from youth. It supports the elders’ political and economic control of the youth (p. 193)

“Since Kpelle elders stake privileged claim to knowledge of *sale* [esoteric knowledge and medicines] and [local] history, they have the greatest concern in sustaining the barriers and boundaries which protect their knowledge from encroachments. The youth learn to honor these boundaries through secret society training which imbues them with fear and respect for the elders’ ownership of knowledge and their prerogatives over its distribution…(p.199) Kpelle elders' rights to knowledge, however, are impressed on the young by the frightening experience of secret society initiations and the persistent threat of beatings, poisonings, etc., for breaking the secrecy oath…The threat of physical punishment creates an atmosphere of fear which is more important than the actual knowledge taught by the *zoo-na* (pl. of *zoo*) to the young initiates of the Poro and Sande 'bush schools'….while the young may acquire some knowledge in these societies, they usually know the most important practical skills, such as farming techniques, before joining. In many ways, the young learn little that they did not already know. Rather, initiation intensifies respect for the elders and their apparent knowledge of the mystical powers of the secret society.” (Murphy 1980: 200)


*This study carefully documents the apprenticeship in which Mende (Sierra Leone) children attempt to become a Muslim wise man or shaman. The “Master” does everything possible to prolong the apprenticeship during which novices are virtual slaves. Children are held back, learning to read and write very gradually, and fed small morsels of the
Qur’an and various and sundry rituals and formulae. This insures their continued servitude and their inability to compete with the “Master.”

The following illustrates vividly the perils associated with storing information in people and, then, restricting access to those who are mature.


“It is essential to remember that the rite is performed approximately once every ten years in Bolovip; until its next performance the initiator and other Bolobip seniors may have the opportunity, if they so choose, to attend at most 4-5 other variants of the corresponding rite in neighbouring communities. Meanwhile it is difficult for anyone to create and define the highly guarded, reluctant social situation in which the Mafomnang is discussed—rites are for doing, at the appropriate occasions, not for idly chatting about. Thus, the whole rite would appear to be lodged in one person’s safekeeping, hedged by fearful taboos, represented by secret thoughts and a few cryptic concrete symbols during the long years of latency. When time comes around again, the leader of Mafomnang has the personal responsibility to recreate it, since there is a secret residue of its performance which he shares with no one.” (Barth 1987: 25)

“When the ritual leader of the Baktaman decided to perform the sixth degree initiation during my residence there in 1968, he had to set aside several days to try to remember and reconstruct in his mind just how it was to be performed. He turned to a few intimates for help and discussion.” (Barth 1987: 26)

“Recreation of an initiation after the interval of about ten years since its last performance seems to depend in part of remembering that performance in detail, in part on remembering the instructions and secrets previously communicated by elders in rare and highly charged moments of revelation of sacred truths.” (Barth 1987: 27)


“The father’s ethnobotanical knowledge is not associated to a man’s skills (Reyes-Garcia, et al 2009: 283).”

“From a young age Tisimane’ [Bolivian rainforest foragers/horticulturalists] girls are expected to perform household tasks and accompany mothers and other relatives to agricultural fields. Such close interaction could facilitate the transmission of ethnobotanical knowledge and skills from the older to the younger generation. In contrast, Tisimane’ men are reluctant to take young children to the forest with them because of the dangers of the forest for young children and because children might make noise, thus spoiling the hunting opportunities. This could result in boys having fewer opportunities to directly interact with and learn from their fathers (Reyes-Garcia, et al 2009: 283).”

“During the first two years of life, Kogi children are prodded and continuously encouraged to accelerate their sensory-motor development: creeping, walking, speaking. But in later years they are physically and vocally rather quiet. A Kogi mother does not encourage response and activity, but rather tries to soothe her child to keep him silent and unobtrusive.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 277)

“Inquisitiveness by word or deed is severely censured, especially in women and children.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 283)


**Gapun village, Sepik Region..**

“*Save* is a metaphor often used in Gapun to mean social sensitivity and solidarity.” (Kulick 1993: 44)

“*Save*, the knowledge that one sometimes must “suppress hed’ (*daunim hed*), compromise and fulfill social obligation even if one doesn’t’ want to, is the existential quality which villagers consider most clearly separates adults from children. Adults, have or should have, *save*. Children don’t…Children can be taught certain things, like the names of objects and of relatives, but *save* itself is not taught: *save*, in the villagers’ view, ‘breaks open’ inside the child, like an egg. Children begin to show evidence of *save* when they start, at between about twenty to thirty months, to use language by themselves to engage others in verbal interactions. Villagers thus view language used in inter- (Kulick 1993: 44) actions with others as both an indication and a result of *save* ‘breaking open’. This conceptual tie between verbal interaction and *save* suggests that villagers see language as one of the chief means through which an individual can express his or her social competence.” (Kulick 1993: 45)


“This study of natural indicators of cognitive development is based on observations of a sample of boys and girls aged five to eight years in each of two Guatemalan villages. The thesis of the study is that there are natural indicators of differences in specific aspects of cognitive development.” (Nerlove 1974: 265)

“The degree to which children engaged in self-managed activities (either voluntary or involuntary) entailing the following of an exacting series of sequences was associated with success at a formal test of analytic ability; and the degree to which the children engaged in
voluntary social activities was shown to be associated with success at a formal test of language ability. These associations in turn support the idea that adults and other children can (if they observe these and other natural activities) make reliable judgments of cognitive abilities and that these judgments differentially affect the ways in which children are socialized in the culture.” (Nerlove 1974: 266)

“To what degree do the older members of a community make effective use of the talent available to them. An unintelligent person could not become a successful singer in…Navajo culture …to what extent are Navajo children discouraged in subtle ways from considering such an option when they probably lack the native ability to take it and to what extent are they encouraged if they have the capacity to become singers. Is there a "track" system of education to be found in nonliterate and simple societies?” (Nerlove 1974: 293)


“The importance of the cultural context of competence is also shown in studies with Australia Aborigines. [Aboriginal] Intelligence was most often seen as independence and helpfulness …Asking questions is considered neither intelligent or desirable.” (Keats 1995: 275)

“In the Thai culture the quality of respect is uniquely valued. Children are encouraged to learn *krengjai*. Academic achievement without *krengjai* is not regarded as worthy. *Krengjai* incorporates a somewhat more cognitively complex concept then is usually understood in Western notions of “respect.”… *Krengjai* is at the heart of the elegant system of Thai interpersonal relationships; it is also reinforces hierarchical distinctions…For the Thai, desirable intellectual performance includes effective social performance as an essential component.” (Keats 1995: 277)

“There are few opportunities to develop problem-solving skills or independent critical thinking.” (Keats 1995: 277)…Thai studies have shown strong class differences, not only in school performance, but also in achievement motivation and moral development, in each case favoring the higher socioeconomic classes.” (Keats 1995: 275)


“A mother when nursing her little boy will often pat him gently on the penis, or, if she is bathing him, affectionately rub it. A baby’s erection is received with pleasure and more ruffling. Little girls’ genitals seem to receive less attention, yet even then get an occasional playful pinch. An infant’s handling of the genitals receives no attention; but when a little boy receives trousers (at the age of about four or five) there begins a steady teasing to teach him modesty of dress, and girls receive this treatment even earlier. I observed no genital manipulation by children over five or so; and no sexual play between children.” (Geertz 1961: 102)
“Obviously, the practice of children and adults sleeping together in one bed involves a good deal of physical intimacy…The facts of sexual intercourse seem to be successfully hidden, at least form the conscious awareness of children, in spite of the fact that is seems to be carried on in the same bed, or at least in the same room, as the children.” (Geertz 1961: 103)

“The child before he is five or six is said to be durung djawa, which literally means “not yet Javanese…It implies a person who is not yet civilized, not yet able to control emotions in an adult manner, not yet able to speak with the proper respectful circumlocutions appropriate to different occasions. He is also said to be durung ngerti, “does not yet understand,” and therefore it is thought that there is no point in forcing him to be what he is not nor punishing him for incomprehensible faults.” (Geertz 1961: 105)


“Many of the differences between our treatment of Simeon and villagers’ treatment of their children revolved around beliefs about child development. We were anxious to teach Simeon as much as we could, and we encouraged him to find out about new things—to be active, to explore. We taught him words for things outside (e.g., the stars, the names of herbs), while village parents mainly concentrated on teaching words for things inside first: most important kinship terms. Our inquiries into developmental markers, for example, at what age a child was expected to walk or talk, were considered odd and we continually answered with a polite “When they walk, they walk. When they talk, they talk.” Rapid development, while desirable from a Western perspective, was a source of worry and concern for villagers. For one thing, a child who was quick to develop was susceptible to the evil eye, which might result in boils on the child’s skin or stammering. The latter concern might occur as a result of some remarking, “Oh, how well he speaks.” Another concept that affected notions of child development was ayashu, or fixed life span. If children develop too quickly—by acting with maturity greater than their years—families suspect that their life span will be short.” (Nitcher 1987: 74)

“A third notion that mediated ideas of development was prakrti, constitution. If a child was lethargic from malnutrition, parents would often assume is was the child’s constitution to be “that way.” Many villagers had never seen a child as active as Simeon, and it was generally assumed that this was a result of his inherited constitution. Even Simeon’s curiosity was interpreted as constitutional; after all, weren’t his father and mother always asking questions and constantly moving here and there?” (Nitcher 1987: 74)

“Villagers had few notions of the child as an individual with a will of his or her own. Instead, they viewed a child as a source of entertainment.” (Nitcher 1987: 74)

“Adults subjected Simeon to constant teasing, offering him something to play with and then, moments later, asking for it back, citing a kinship term: “I’m your mothers’ brother, mava, can’t I have it now?”…We came to understand that teasing a child and then observing the response was a way villagers could evaluate a child’s character and personality.” (Nitcher 1987: 75)

“The German mothers valued autonomy significantly more than relatedness and the opposite was true for the rural Nso mothers.” (Keller 2007: 105)


“Typical Bonerate children are defined as being bodoh (stupid)—that is, they have no wisdom or knowledge of social norms and values. By implication they are not responsible for their misdeeds and behavior, and you cannot demand much from them (p. 15)… Because they have not developed a mature mind of their own, children are generally not punished (p. 73)… When children violate moral standards or cultural norms of conduct; they are excused with reference to the general fact that children are bodoh. Just as Bonerate people cannot define precisely the onset of childhood, which comes after an introductory stage that lasts through infancy and babyhood, they have difficulty describing the boundaries between childhood and adolescence and between adolescence and adulthood. These transitions are stages rather than fixed points. In most instances adulthood begins with marriage, but the full status of adult membership in the village is normally not granted until the first child is born to a couple.” (Broch 1990:15)

“Parents say children have their individual speed of development, and there is no reason to worry if a child does not toddle around at an early age. He will let go when ready.” (Broch 1990:31)
The Decision to Teach Our Children


“If a child does not walk when about two years old, it is helped to learn to do so. A 2-year-old boy was given such help during an interview. His mother supported him under his armpits while his 5-year-old sister swung one of his legs forward and then the other.” (Hilger 1957: 28)

“Parents take notice of a child’s first laugh and first words. … Nothing is done to assist the child in developing early speech. “If we knew of anything to do, we would do it for my brother. He is older than 2 years and can speak only a few words.”” (Hilger 1957: 28)


**In numerous studies of children’s social learning in Mexican village settings, the authors note:**

In these cases, an expert’s intent to instruct was not necessary for these children to learn through observation, though repeated opportunities to observe and interest in learning the activities, as well as engagement in them (even if discouraged), were essential (Paradise 2009: 117) … Where children participate in a wide range of family and community activities, conversation and questions between children and adults usually occur for the sake of sharing necessary information, and adults rarely focus conversation on child-related topics in order to engage children in talk. Talk supports and is integral to the endeavor at hand rather than becoming the focus of a lesson (Paradise 2009: 118).

The expectation that learners will avoid asking questions may also be based on a respect for the ongoing endeavor, avoiding interrupting and constraining the expert’s activity. Questioning by children may signal immature self-centeredness and rudeness (rather than signaling curiosity or valued inquisitiveness) (Paradise 2009: 121).


“A little girl took her mother’s sharp ulo without permission, and cut her finger, her paternal (?) aunts, to whom she appealed for help, at first refused to bandage the cut, telling her she would die.” (De Laguna 1965: 12)


“Men do not introduce their sons to the sea, the economic domain of the Puluuan male, nor do they urge and coach them toward an eventual mastery of it. They prefer other men for fishing companions and pay little attention to the boys who straggle along observing and learning as the opportunity offers. It is the same with the making of a net, or the carving of a bowl, or the
construction of a house. If a boy wants to learn these things, he goes to a man who is especially competent in them. Equally crucial is the failure of the older men gradually to expose and explain to their sons the intricacies of Palauan political scheming, prestige competition, and social controls. All that the maturing youth can do is watch and listen, and sometimes to ask questions. He soon learns, however, that there are taboo areas, whole sectors of life that are so completely closed to him that even self-instruction is impossible.” (Barnett 1979: 9)

**In the book, I identified only a single case (Puluwat navigation) where there was evidence of formal instruction in the village. Since, I’ve found three more, the transmission of food taboos to children in Central African (Ituri area) farming communities (Auenger 2000) and the two that follow:**


“The traditional Kwara’ae equivalent of formal school is called *fa’amana’anga*, “shaping the mind” (literally, causative + think + normative). A general term for teaching, fa’amana’anga also refers to a formal, serious-to-sacred context in which direct teaching and interpersonal counseling is undertaken in high rhetoric. Fa’amana’anga involves abstract discussion and the teaching of reasoning skills through question-answer pairs, rhetorical questions, tightly argued sequences of ideas and premises, comparison-contrast, and causal (if-then) argumentation. Regularly held sessions begin in early childhood (18 months in some families), become increasingly elaborate and formal, and continue throughout life. Session leaders may be family (parents), descent group seniors, or an invited elder or knowledge specialists. Sessions focused on children are usually led by their parents.” (Watson-Gegeo 1992: 13)


“The Kogi of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in northeastern Columbia are a small tribe of some 6,000 Chibcha-speaking Indians.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 265)

“The economic basis of Kogi culture consists of small garden plots. … A few domestic animals such as chicken, pigs, … Slash-and-burn agriculture is heavy work, and the harsh, mountainous environment makes transportation a laborious task…Behind the drab façade of penury, the Kogi lead a rich spiritual life.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 266)

“The Kogi are a deeply religious people and they are guided in their faith by a highly formalized priesthood. Although all villages have a headman who nominally represents civil authority, the true power of decision in personal and community matters is concentrated in the hands of the native priests, called *mámas*. These men, most of whom have a profound knowledge of tribal custom, are not simple curers of shamanistic practitioners, but fulfill priestly functions, taught during years of training and exercised in solemn rituals.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 271)
“Kogi priests are the products of a long and arduous training, under the strict guidance of one or several old and experienced mámas. In former times it was the custom that, as soon as a male child was born, the mama would consult in a trance the Mother-Goddess, to ascertain whether or not the newborn babe was to be a future priest.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 272)

“Ideally, a future priest should receive a special education since birth; the child would immediately be separated from his mother and given into the care of the máma’s wife, or any other woman of childbearing age whom the mama might order to join his household as a wet nurse.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 273)

“If for some reason, a family refused to give up the child, the civil authorities might have to interfere and take the child away by force. It was always the custom that the family should pay the máma for the education of the boy, by sending periodically some food to his house, or by working in his fields.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 273)

“The full training period should be eighteen years, divided into two cycles of nine years each, the novice reaching puberty by the end of the first cycle.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 273)

“A máma punishes an inattentive novice by depriving him of food or sleep, and quite often beats him sharply over the head. …Children may be ordered to kneel on a handful of cotton seeds or on some small pieces of a broken pottery vessel. A very painful punishment consists of kneeling motionless with horizontally outstretched arms while carrying a heavy stone in each hand.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 278)

“The novices are made to repeat the myths, songs, or spells until they have memorized not only the text and the precise intonation, but also the body movements and minor gestures that accompany the performance.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 279)

“Between the end of the first nine-year cycle of education and the onset of the second cycle, the novice reaches puberty…During the second cycle, the teachings of the master concentrate upon divinatory practices, the preparation of offerings, the acquisition of power objects, and the rituals of the life cycle. During this period, education tends to become extremely formal because now it is much more closely associated with ritual and ceremony.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 280)

“The Kogi are fully aware that any intellectual activity depends on linguistic competence and that only a very detailed knowledge of the language will permit the precise naming of things, ideas, and events, as a fundamental step in establishing categories and values. In part, linguistic tutoring is concerned with correctness of speech.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 281)

“Moral education is, of course, at the core of a priest’s training. Since childhood, a common method of transmitting a set of simple moral values consists in the telling and retelling of the “counsels,” … These tales are a mixture of myth, familial story, and recital, and often refer to specific interpersonal relations within the family setting.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 283)

“The entire teaching process is aimed at this slow, gradual, building up to the sublime moment of the self-disclosure of god to man, of the moment when Sintána or Búnukasé or one of their
avatars reveals himself in a flash of light and says: “Do this! Go there!”…To induce these visionary states the Kogi use certain hallucinogenic drugs.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 285)


“Rachel [describes] learning to make woven waist mats (lavalavas), a process which began when she was thirteen. In the initial phases of her learning her parents made her begin by herself several of the many steps in the manufacture of lavalavas from hibiscus and banana fibers. When she got into difficulties they laughed at her and then finished the job themselves…Rachel continued her learning—how to dye the fibers, set up the loom, weave, and so on. “Whenever I complained of being tired of learning these different kinds of work all the time (Gladwin 1953: 414) they would speak to me sternly; then I would just work on, afraid they would beat me.” Finally when she was seventeen Rachel made her first lavalava (Gladwin 1953: 415).

When it came time for Rachel to learn to make [a] basket…her father took her over to his mother’s house in order to have her teach Rachel this skill [but she] …was indignant that they should be teaching Rachel so much when she was so young. When her father insisted that his mother make a basket she did so; but she did it rapidly and refused to answer Rachel’s questions… Gladwin and Sarason 1953: 414)


“The [Trukese] do not have any training of children in our sense.”(Bollig 1927: 96)


“No formal instruction is practiced among the !Kung, with the possible exception of certain kinds of religious teaching and what might be called an occasional hunting school. Learning to gather comes from the children's observation of the more experienced women.” (Marshall 1958: 286)


Western Finnmark and northern Troms counties in Norway/reindeer herding “The child imitating or performing an adult chore does so out of boredom and inspiration. He is not instructed before starting a project, nor does he solicit help. Others may even be unaware of the project underway.” (Anderson 1978: 194)


“The pilpil is a child of five or six years of age. For these children there is no direct
indication of formal attempts to train them in skills or inculcate them with morals. …Rather, the “good child” is merely described as healthy, strong, and happy. Conversely, the “bad child” is sickly, maimed, and violent in temperament. … the subsequent category, pilontli (boy), suggest that few overt attempts at instruction were made until a child reached this stage. The “good boy” is “teachable, tractable—one who can be directed. The good-hearted boy (is) obedient, intelligent, respectful, fearful; one who bows in reverence. He bows in reverence, obeys, respects others, is indoctrinated.”” (Berdan 1976:244)


“For the Nso women, clearly the developmental domain that is to be accelerated is motor development and the major tool used to achieve this goal is a special Nso practice of body stimulation: lifting the child up and down in a vertical position. (p. 119)…The Nso also practice for motor milestones when they place infants in vessels or let them practice walking.” (Keller 2007: 120)

Accelerate independence, reducing labor of child care…

“Body stimulation is another highly valued parenting system in Gujarati villages. One domain of body stimulation is baby massage. In a study on baby massage in the Nandesari area, Abels (2002) reported that the interviewed women referred to the health of the baby and to the effect of body massage making babies strong; it is good from the bones, the blood can move freely and the veins are separated. Moreover, 24% of the statements in the massage study referred to strong legs so that the infant learns to walk quickly. Another domain of body stimulation is infant standing.” (Keller 2007: 122)

“Q: And is it essential to walk early? A: Is it essential? It is good for him to walk early than crawl…Except early walking, there are other beneficial developmental consequences of the standing practice as a 32-year-old illiterate mother of six pointed out: “If we make a child stand like this, his legs will be stronger. He passes urine and he digests milk easily. It is good for the child to make him stand.” (Keller 2007: 123)…A standing baby also makes less work for the mother…Q: So while defecating is it essential to make the child stand? Do you feel so? Why? A: This is because the clothes do not become dirty.” (Keller 2007: 124)


“You might remember that we talked about the widespread practice among African peasants (at least in the past): to dig a hole in the ground of the field they are working in and sit their toddlers into these holes. In this way mothers who had no older girls or a niece to do the babysitting task could supervise their little children while working and prevent them from causing damage. I wrote a few sentences about this practice in my first (German) article about Bamana children which I am sending you as attachment.” (You will find this example on page 106 Polak 1998: 6)

“…in an important sense, Inuit do not socialize their children…In our society we see a child as an essentially empty vessel which, through the complementary acts of teaching and learning, is gradually filled with the knowledge and strategies which make it possible for it to cope with a complex social universe. Inuit, by way of contrast, see a child as already whole having a personality fully formed at birth in latent form. All of these he will manifest and use in good time with but little assistance. In…the Inuit image of infants, children and adolescents as social actors, endowed as they are with already well formed social personalities.” (Guemple 2979: 39)

“The acquisition of any new skill by a young person is always celebrated. Whenever a girl catches her first salmon trout or sews her first pair of socks, and whenever a young boy kills his first goose or traps his first fox, the community is given notice of the growing competence of the child.” (Guemple 2979: 45)

“Children are allowed to explore the world using what skills they can muster; and there is remarkably little meddling by older people in this learning process. Parents do not presume to teach their children what they can as easily learn on their own.” (Guemple 2979: 50)


“When looking at these studies…one gets the feeling that parent-to-offspring accounts of transmission could be partially fictional, a research artifact due perhaps to an over-reliance on interviews during fieldwork, some preconceptions about craft learning in informal contexts, and the emphasis put by the artisans themselves on “tradition” and “heritage,” especially when confronted by foreigners.” (Gosselain 2008: 153)


“Children are not living their lives in a social vacuum. Their adult relatives grant whatever privileges and duties their childhood is based upon (p. 11)...adult members of the society evaluate child activities as proper conduct for various developmental stages. The adult community grants its children permission to do certain tasks and prohibits them from doing others because parents and community members share many goals for the children. On the other hand, healthy children are seldom constrained by rules, norms, and parental goals and wishes to a degree that immobilizes them in complete obedience to all cultural demands.” (Broch 1990:12)

“This is unsatisfactory as a theory of how cultural knowledge persists over time. In particular, there is a conspicuous lack of attention—in standard social theory generally—to information as a distributed resource (Thompson 1995). Recognition of this simple fact has many ramifications. I will concentrate here on three. First, it urges us to identify the agents behind cultural transmission. Second, it implies not everyone has equal access to cultural knowledge, which in turn suggests that intra-cultural variation may be significant. Third, by emphasizing the need for beliefs and values to spread, it forces attention on the psychology of information acquisition, since only internalized knowledge is likely to be further transmitted. (Aunger 2000: 446)

“…responsibility for indoctrinating the young may be distributed throughout the local community.” (Aunger 2000: 447)

“…cultural knowledge is not just transmitted information but the internalized derivatives of others' social inputs. This internalization depends on the entire personalities of each individual: cognitive, evaluative, and affective. Through this process, some cultural information acquires emotional and directive force, and thus determines an individual's behavior….Other anthropological research has shown, however, that the nature of culture acquisition is also determined by the social context in which transmission occurs…much knowledge is implicit, and can only be acquired through practice…For information to become embodied knowledge, the individual must engage in the everyday use of that new knowledge, so that feedback from experience can produce understanding. Thus, over time, socialization (or FAX theory) has given way to an emphasis on the active filtering of cultural inputs (internalization), which in turn has been replaced by activity-in-context as the dominant paradigm (Aunger 2000: 448) within which the reproduction of social systems is understood. The picture has become progressively more complex as new types of considerations have been added. The unit of analysis has advanced from the abstract group, to the passive individual (the recipient of culturally transmitted information), to the actively appraising individual (internalization theory), to the socially situated individual, to a cluster of behaving individuals (novices, experts, and their tools) within a field of practice. The notion of culture itself has followed these changes in perspective—going from being a bucket poured into empty mental reservoirs, to the product of an active engagement between individual minds and a circulating complex of knowledge. Individuals are seen as gaining access to this knowledge within a specific social context and incorporating it in their own inimitable fashion.” (Aunger 2000: 449)

“…few take a life-span perspective; in particular, cultural learning among adults is almost universally ignored. This is because socialization has traditionally been presumed to end at adolescence. However, significant changes in social roles and self-perceptions continue into adulthood, as individuals enter new social arenas.” (Aunger 2000: 449)

**Transmission of food-taboos…**

“In fact, results from the pattern of correlations between members of households and within villages in the study population suggest the degree of non-parental transmission is insignificant in this belief system, at least during the early years of life when most food avoidances are acquired. Thus, it is true that parents are important figures in the maintenance of these cultural traditions. This may be particularly the case for aspects of culture that are closely tied to personal identity, such as food avoidances. Some avoidances are also linked to a norm that such beliefs
should be acquired specifically from parents. However, even here, it is possible to see a discrepancy between norms and practice: especially as individuals age and come under the influence of people outside their close family, they continue to learn about their culture, obliterating to some degree the traces of knowledge acquired earlier from parents.” (Aunger 2000: 450)

**Farming villages in the Ituri Forest…**

“These people live in small, clan-based villages of under thirty individuals, situated along a single dirt road. Gardens are quite small, and food is supplemented through exchanges of garden produce for meat captured by the forager group with whom each clan has a traditional relationship. Avoidances against consumption primarily concern the forest-dwelling animals obtained through these economic exchanges…Over three hundred different types of reasons for avoiding foods were reported by this population. (Aunger 2000: 452)… Homeopathic Taboos. For example, "**Kelikofu** [a type of hornbill] is bad for parents of children to eat, for when a child is sick, it shakes just as the bird, when comes out of its hole [in a tree trunk], is cold and shakes. (Aunger 2000: 453)

“…the Ituri people themselves have a normative model that these beliefs should be vertically transmitted…the rule is that parents should transmit these beliefs to their offspring of the same gender…when a child reaches about seven years of age ("when the child begins to have some sense"), the same gender parent begins to opportunistically present the child with samples of a particular food item, with instruction that this item cannot be eaten. Often, some rationale is also provided, such as: "My parent did not eat this food; neither can you. **It is our tareta [restriction].**" The parent repeats these instructions, with or without the benefit of an example of the food item, while impressing on the child the necessity of continued transmission ("**This is our tareta; you must not let your child eat this food or it will become sick**"). The child remembers these avoidances throughout life, and at the appropriate point in his/her own children's lives goes through the same instructional process with them. Thus, each individual should avoid those foods that his/her same-gender parent told him/her not to eat; this parent was in turn taught by his/her own parent. (Aunger 2000: 453)

**Has data that suggest self-report of cultural transmission may inflate vertical transmission from parents to offspring…**

“Intra-cultural variation in belief among individuals known to share specific households or villages is used to infer where people learn cultural beliefs about the edibility of foods.” (Aunger 2000: 468)

“…analysis presented here and elsewhere suggests there are three phases in the normal life course of social learning with respect to food taboos in the Ituri. The first phase is one of cultural innocence, during roughly the first ten years of life, when all foods are viewed as potentially edible because no social restrictions have yet been placed on them; personal preferences rule behavior. Children are simply considered too naive and thoughtless to bother trying to socialize. (Aunger 2000: 470)… In Phase Two, occupying approximately the next decade of an individual's life, the first phase of transmission takes place, largely from parents. Becoming culturally competent takes time; many individuals do not acquire a full complement of taboos
until well into their twenties…The third and final life history phase consists of a longer, but less intense period of cultural transmission —this time with significant extra-familial inputs. This largely constitutes relearning or changing one type of knowledge for another…Perhaps the most interesting general result of the present analysis is the greater cultural variation within households than between households from the same village. This suggests that variation in the pattern of transmission between households generally blurs smaller-scale structures or belief-clusters. This is an indication that, as individuals get older, they look not just to parents and sibs but to those outside the household for cultural models.” (Aunger 2000: 471)


**In numerous studies of children’s social learning in Mexican village settings, the authors note:**

“In these cases, an expert’s intent to instruct was not necessary for these children to learn through observation, though repeated opportunities to observe and interest in learning the activities, as well as engagement in them (even if discouraged), were essential (Paradise 2009: 117) …Where children participate in a wide range of family and community activities, conversation and questions between children and adults usually occur for the sake of (Paradise 2009: 118) sharing necessary information, and adults rarely focus conversation on child-related topics in order to engage children in talk. Talk supports and is integral to the endeavor at hand rather than becoming the focus of a lesson (Paradise 2009: 118).

The expectation that learners will avoid asking questions may also be based on a respect for the ongoing endeavor, avoiding interrupting and constraining the expert’s activity. Questioning by children may signal immature self-centeredness and rudeness (rather than signaling curiosity or valued inquisitiveness) (Paradise 2009: 121).
The Importance of Good Manners


“When elders speak, children either listen or are expected to be, and usually are, busy in a quiet way at play or work…Children are trained not to pass in from of persons.” (Hilger 1957: 51)


[My] 1978-79 study of Samoan children’s language development and socialization documented caregivers routinely prompting infants to notice, accommodate, and anticipate needs of others. Infants were held face outward to witness activities and interactions nearby. Toddlers were fed facing others and prompted to notice and call out to people.” (Ochs 2009: 397)

“Children are taught to give and to share.” (Hilger 1957: 52)


Parents and other close family members routinely instruct small children who their kin are and what to call them, such as (p. 158) when the children newly encounter those kin during visits. The parents say they do this so that the children will know the visitors as relatives rather than strangers.” (Stasch 2009: 159)


Survey of A-A parents, lower to lower-middle class. 92% valued “Good Manners”, “Obedience” vs 50% valued “Intellectually Curious.”


“The Warao are a South American Indian tribe that has dwelled in the Orinoco Delta.” (Wilbert 1976: 303)

“The name Warao designates specifically a single person and generically the entire tribe. The word derived from wa, “canoe,” and arao, “owner.” The Warao are owners of canoes. In this society, therefore, to become an expert canoe maker is tantamount to becoming a man, and the worst one can say about a man is that he is wayana, “without canoe.” (Wilbert 1976: 303)
“Behavior offensive to the canoe, or rather to the spirit of the canoe, called Masisikiri, can occur as early as during a child’s infancy. …The child first learns to refrain from urinating or (worse still) defecating in or near the canoes. The toilet training of small children, I found, is not severe among the Warao, and nobody gets upset if the child soils the house.” (Wilbert 1976: 335)

“Girls are taught to say away from large dugouts, especially as long as the canoes are new, lest their actions, even their mere presence, cause damage, sickness, and death to themselves or to their kin. Boys too must behave properly around a large canoe. Besides the restrictions pertaining to bad odors they have to learn a series of other taboos related to boat making and boat ownership.” (Wilbert 1976: 335)


“Parents also claim to be ashamed of their children’s public behavior…They would allow the children to be chastised by others, to even join in the chastisement themselves.” (p. 54)

“The activities that make up Baining social life are preeminently processes of producing social actors. Whatever their own cultural limitation, they aware that they are the agents of their own creation: as they say, “they make themselves.” For the Baining, then, human agency, as the capacity for willed, consciously directed activity, is the central quality of human social life that links the complementary aspects of social persons as the products and producers of one another, and their shared social world. As this implies, the Baining, do not conceive of this capacity or its products, their conventional forms of activity and personal (Fajans 1997:282) identity, as “natural.” (p. 283)


“By the time a child is around two years old, it also has learned to use smiles and coyness to get approval….A few years later, a blank, unsmiling face will be a sign of a well-mannered child, especially a girl, and laughter a sign of potentially loose morals.” (Friedl 1997: 120)

“A smiling young child is rare, a special delight. Young children do not seem to find much to smile about,” said Hurijan, healer of children’s ailments. “And this is better so,” she added. “Life isn’t funny anyway.” Besides, a very sweet young child is in danger of becoming spoiled (nazeli)…may get used to (amukhte vabi) to indulgences so much that it will grow up to be ill-mannered and lazy, foul-mouthed.” (Friedl 1997: 121)


“The same kind of learning by being pushed and pulled through a simple pattern of motion occurs in the acquisition of the speech forms of respect…I have often seen children little more than a year old, barely able to stand, go through a polite bow and say an approximation of the high word for good-by…Just as she keeps saying the proper term over and over for him…the
mother always refers to various adults by the polite term that the child should use until he automatically falls into the pattern. Politeness learning is highly emphasized by the *prijaji* (people of aristocratic value orientation), and a *prijaji* child of five or six already has an extensive repertoire of graceful phrases and actions.” (Geertz 1961: 100)

“*Isin* may be translated as “shame, shyness, embarrassment, guilt.” A child even as young as three begins to *ngerti isin*, to “know *isin*” which is thought to be the first step toward growing up. (p. 111)... As they grow older *isin* is taught them, first by mobilizing the already established *wedi* reactions, later by playing on developing self-esteem by deliberate shaming. The two-year-old, silent in fear that the strange visiting man will, as his mother had warned, bite him if he makes a noise, is not unrelated to the four-year-old who, stiff with shyness, hides behind his mother…The result of the inculcation of *isin* in children is that at any formal public occasion, such as a wedding or a club meeting, they are exceedingly quiet and well-behaved and will sit docilely at their parent’s side through hours and hours of formal speeches.” (Geertz 1961: 113)

“The nature of discipline and the canons of obedience thus change as the child grows.” (Geertz 1961:114)


“Babies are drilled daily on their terms for relatives.” (Guemple 1979: 43)


**In spite of cases in the ethnographic record where adults teach children kin and politeness terms, the world’s authority on language socialization, Elinor Ochs, cautions:**

“Overwhelmingly, however, language socialization transpires *implicitly* as members of a social group recurrently involve children in language-mediated activities, where children are positioned to attend to the sequential orderliness of language practices and ways in which language is conventionally used to index expected stances, actions, identities, and ideologies.” (Ochs 2008: presentation)


“…adults deny providing any formal education in kinship reckoning, although informal education clearly consists of overheard conversations among adults. Adults may clarify for one another the identity of a specific *luntangho*, or stranger/guest, by repeating his or her clan name and origins, including kin associations with locally known consanguineal or affinal relations.” (Beverly 1993: 239)

“Alfred may not have had scholarly teachers, but … heard and learnt by heart many English poems. Such poems contained within them not only teaching on the proper character and behavior of a nobleman, but also the history of the people. In a society that was still largely illiterate, the important skills to develop for adulthood were retentive memory, and a thorough knowledge of the history of feuds, kinships and land claims.” (Crawford 1999: 146)

“Boys, as in the later medieval period, must have learnt how to behave in company as part of their education. Children, noble and otherwise, crop up in the sources as servants of noblemen, although one aristocratic child placed in service with Abbot Benedict objected to this method of education: “A noble born child held light before [Benedict’s] table, and began to take offence that he had to serve him in such mean things. The saint, through God’s Spirit, soon perceived his pride, and, severely reproving him, said, “Brother, bless they heart”, and ordered the light to be taken from him, and him to set; and he related to his brothers the pride of the child in detail.’ Even Alfred, champion of schooling and literacy taught ‘virtuous behaviour’ as well as literacy to the sons of his household and visitors. As in the latter Middle Ages, learning the skills of service and noble behaviour were of paramount importance in the education of the nobility.” (Crawford 1999: 147)


“Childhood, the second phase, starts at an approximate age of five years. In this stage the world becomes wider, for children are free to roam about. At this phase youngsters also get their first assigned chores, such as carrying water and taking care of younger children. This is also the period when play activities dominate much of the child’s time. At the same time tentative, informal instruction begins to be offered by adult villagers. Late childhood and early puberty, the third phase, starts about the time of circumcision. Today physiological puberty sets in somewhat earlier than the social ritual…for the boys. At this time interaction between boys and girls is beginning to be more formalized. Both are more involved in various household chores such as agricultural work, fishing, and cooking. By now youths should also have developed a more formal understanding of social positions within the community. They become more attentive to their physical appearance and may often appear shy in situations where they were previously unconcerned.” (Broch 1990: 28)
Fostering Conformity and Altruism


“Guara children are never physically punished while learning: instead they are always reprimanded with such admonitions as “if I fall sick or die you must be able to care for yourself” or “what if [I fall sick or die and] you aren’t old enough o have a wife?” or “who will care for the younger children?”…Children are shouted at for failure to perform assigned chores of for dallying when sent on errands.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 36)


“Ridicule, a common recourse in training Ulithian children.” (Lessa 1966: 95)


“Ridicule, by contrast, is undoubtedly the most frequently used form of disciplining. It is a technique used by many people of all ages, both sexes, and in any and all occasions. Teasing is not only the most common form of ridicule and discipline…” (Hatley 1976: 85)


“Parents generally exhort the child to be cooperative…Sharing is stressed by giving bits of food and toys to the baby and by eliciting gifts of these same items from it. This “drill” is reciprocity goes on continuously…The effort to maintain a cheerful, positive universe continues throughout this period.” (Guemple 1979: 43)


“To assess compliance with request, the mother asked the child to bring three objects to her and to bring her three objects to place or person.” (Keller 2007: 235)

“Figure 8.4 shows a Cameroonian Nso toddler following the request immediately. The Costa Rican toddler needed several reminders from his mother (see Figure 8.5). The Greek toddler shown in Figure 8.6 did not obey the request at all. A Nso toddler complies completely and immediately. A Costa Rican toddler needs reminders. A Greed toddler does not follow at all.” (Keller 2007: 238)

“The effects of mother’s education within the second generation indicated that the more highly educated mothers were more likely to use the categories “Feeling Good about Oneself,” “Psychological Independence,” and “Self-control” and less likely to use the category of “Respectful” towards others and towards family members. These results are consistent with former research on socialization goals and SES, which shows that “obedience” becomes less important and “independence” more important as mother’s education increases.” (Citlak 2008: 63)


“A toddler presented with a piece of fruit is told to give half to “So-and-so,” and should the order be resisted, the adult ignores all protests and breaks a piece off to hand to the child’s companion.” (Hogbin 1969: 33)

“The elders begin by telling tales of the giants called umou that are supposed to inhabit the remote mountains. These beings, they say, are ready to pounce on naughty boys and girls and carry them off to a cave, where the bodies are cooked and eaten.” (Hogbin 1969: 34)

“Some reference may also be made to any stranger who has recently passed through the village. “You saw that dark-skinned man going by yesterday evening?” Mwane-Antu reminded Mbule. “Well, where he lives they buy little boys. The big basket he had over his shoulder is for popping them in. If you don’t stop your games for a bit and fetch my pipe from the house, as I’ve told you to do twice now, I’ll offer you to him when he returns.”” (Hogbin 1969: 34)
Fostering Aggression


Gapun village, Sepik Region…
“From the moment of birth, babies in the village are treated as stubborn, big-headed individualists. Pre-verbal infants are frequently shaken lightly, by their mothers and chastised playfully that their heds are too ‘strong’ and ‘big’, and that they ‘never listen to talk’. When children begin to make babbling noises and sounds, these are commonly interrupted by caregivers as expressions of anger or dissatisfaction. Thus a baby cooing softly in its mother’s lap is likely to suddenly shaken and asked: ‘Ai! Yu belhat long wanem samting? Ah?’ (Ai! What are you mad about? Ah?) Similarly, a child’s first word is… [taken to mean], approximately, ‘I’m getting out of here’. This word, which adults attribute to infants as young as two moths, reflects the village notion that children are born with hed, and they will go where they want and do what they want, regardless of the wishes of anyone else. In anyone but small children hed is officially condemned. Village rhetoric uses the term hed to mean egoism, selfishness, and maverick individualism.” (Kulick 1993: 42)
Socializing Gender


“Around the age of six to seven years, [Matsigenka] boys start accompanying father to hunt, fish, and plant in the gardens, while the girls remain close to their mothers.” (Ochs 2009: 396)


Summary: DeLeon describes a Tzotzil boy growing up in a largely female family eagerly applying himself to the learning of various household skills, including tortilla making, embroidering and weaving. This occurred in spite of the fact that he was systematically discouraged and reprimanded for his involvement in female tasks. Cited page 117 in Paradise, Ruth and Rogoff, Barbara (2009). Side by side: Learning by observing and pitching in. Ethos, 37: 102-138.


“Little girls learned how to cook, not only from helping their mothers, but also because they were given toy pots and dishes to use.” (De Laguna 1965: 14)

“Little boys were given small bows and arrows with blunt heads to play with and thus learned to shoot.” (De Laguna 1965: 14)

“They might have small canoes which they learned to paddle.” (De Laguna 1965: 14)

“Boys were also taught to cook. In Yakutat today, there are a number of little boys who are just as reliable and competent in caring for small siblings, cooking and washing dishes, and in performing (14) other domestic tasks, as are little girls” (De Laguna 1965: 15)


“The Guajiro are a cattle-herding tribe who inhabit the arid, windswept Guajira peninsula in northwestern South America. They have a matrilineal social organization, and a strongly developed social class system.” (Watson-Franke 1976:193)

“At the age of about five, the activities of life begin to separate boys and girls. Girls stay close to their mothers and other adult female relatives, while the boys start going out to the pastures with
the men. … At about age ten, boys and girls are often sent to live with other relatives.” (Watson-Franke 1976:194)


“He now has donned clothing and therefore has attained the age of five or six. Boys wear a long grass like garment made of hibiscus bast that is shredded and made to hang down over the genitals and the buttocks. Girls abandon their nakedness by putting on a bulky “grass” skirt made of shredded coconuts leaflets. Children fidget a lot when first they put on clothing and must be trained through scoldings, warnings, and rewards to keep from discarding them.” (Lessa 1966: 98)


“Now the big adult world where things get done has become an uncontrollable mystery. The six- or seven-year-old child no longer knows how to manipulate it, and he is more often told than asked what he wants. Up until this time few restraints are placed on children. Boys go without clothing entirely; girls are covered about the age of three with a loose dress.” (Barnett 1979: 6)

“A tighter rein is held on girls form the beginning. More work is expected from them, hence there is more to keep their minds off themselves. They get less attention, have fewer whims.” (Barnett 1979: 7)


“When you are young girls, I say you will stay with mama you will go everywhere with mama you will be about the house while mama is working

Little girl, when I have brought you up, you (will be) always with me, helping me, cooking food, sweeping the house.” (McCosker 1976:44)

**part of same song, but a later verse.**

“we are girls who cannot do what boys do, we stay in the house to work” (McCosker 1976:44)

“With the onset of menstruation, the *patoja* becomes a *seniorita* or *muchacha*. For a male, the age of *muchacho* begins when he can fulfill tasks and earn what a man does. This fact is reinforced by the notion that a man ought to be interested in women only when he has the capacity to support one. And too, a woman should not attempt to be joined to a man without knowing the principles fundamental to running a household, particularly making tortillas.” (Nerlove 1974: 272)

Girls are more often found playing in home environments—houses or patios—than are boys. The more mature and active boys who are not yet involved in work with their fathers are quite independent and participate in play that may take place quite far from their homes, like bathing in the river or picking fruits. (Nerlove 1974: 274)

It is interesting that the imitations and even the social role play of girls most frequently involves the mundane daily routine work of their mothers, whereas little boys rarely imitate masculine work, most of which takes place in distant fields. Rather, they imitate activities that only few men perform, such as riding a horse or playing the marimba. In our society too, particularly in urban and suburban settings, the opportunities for children to view masculine work are limited and, indeed, the father's work may be completely outside the child's sphere. (Nerlove 1974: 275)


“According to the texts left by Spanish missionaries and indigenous informants, the Aztecs had very definite ideas regarding the proper upbringing of children. Parents, midwives, and the community at large socialized children to become productive members of society who knew their place.” (Lipsett-Rivera 2002: 55)

“Midwives greeted a baby boy with war cries, separated him immediately from his mother to indicate his future as a warrior, and gave his umbilical cord to an experienced soldier for burial far from home. In the first weeks of the boy’s life, priests pierced his lower lip to prepare him for the warrior’s lip plug (Lipsett-Rivera 2002: 55)…Girls pierced on the other hand, were destined for domestic tasks. The midwife would bury a baby girl’s umbilical cord in a corner of the house because domestic enclosure was her destiny. Gifts presented to newborns at their naming ceremony had symbolic importance: for girls, a broom and a spindle, for boys, weapons.” (Lipsett-Rivera 2002: 56)

“Boys also went to the temple at five years of age, to learn about religious doctrine and to begin to serve gods. Girls began to be initiated into the work of the Aztec household. Boys had more freedom to roam about.” (Lipsett-Rivera 2002: 56)


“[Deh Koh is a] village in the high mountains of southwest Iran…The people of Deh Koh are Lurs, speak Luri, and are Shi’a Muslims.” (Friedl 1997: 1)
“The more mobile, cheeky children—not all are like this, of course; there are shy and meek homebodies, too—are well informed of goings-on in Deh Koh, a source of intelligence for their relatively house-bound elder women relatives at home. Girls are considered much better at such intelligence gathering than are their brothers, but their movements never (Friedl 1997: 7) reach as far as do those of their brothers. Their radius of movement shrinks rapidly, for propriety’s sake, just at the age when they become really good at observing and reporting.” (Friedl 1997: 8)

“Rarely is a girl seen lingering in the street by herself. Girls stick to their neighborhoods. (Friedl 1997: 5)...Girls tend to play in small groups, games that require little space.” (Friedl 1997: 11)

“In groups, boys between the ages of three and twelve are expected to never be far from sholug, noisy pandemonium, from being wild and without manners, fuzul.” (Friedl 1997: 17)

“Our elder daughter, at five, wanted clarification from us about the consequences of her playing with the neighbors’ four-year-old son and his slingshot: was it true that she would turn into a boy, as his mother had said? Mahmud, two, wanted to help his mother wash clothes. She quickly rinsed the subs off his arms and scolded him: “Do you want to turn into a girl?! Go away!” (Friedl 1997: 142)

“Although people say that bad behavior of children under the age of reason (about nine for girls, twelve for boys) most likely is not sinful.” (Friedl 1997: 207)...An eight-year-old boy who misbehaves an disobeys is only “naughty” (fuzul); a fifteen-year-old acting this way would be called vellou, a moral lightweight; at twenty years of age, he would be called rotten, dirty, and crazy, and be the despair of the dishonored family.” (Friedl 1997: 208)

“Girls reason (aql) develops faster than that of boys. This explains why girls study harder and get better grades, why they are more responsible and not vellou, and also why they can do a lot of housework and study at the same time, if need be.” (Friedl 1997: 297)


“Megan was given special treatment because she exemplified the Fijian concepts of wacece (cheeky or spirited) and yalo kaukauwa (a strong, solid, demanding spirit). Fijian socialization is designed to produce persons who understand their places in the social hierarchy based on age, gender, and rank. However, when a child resists this process and do not display the general childhood awkwardness, such behavior is encouraged.” (Turner 1987:105)

“I did not like some aspects of her Fijian socialization. For instance, the personality traits that earned Megan regard for her self-confidence also brought her criticism; they were more acceptable for a boy than for a girl. Thus she was labeled viavia levu and viavia tagane, respectively, “someone who wants to be bigger” (i.e., higher in rank or age) and “a female who wants to act like a male and assume the masculine gender’s privileges.” (Turner 1987:106)
“After about the sixth year, the child gradually begins to enter the world outside the intimacy of the nuclear family. Little girls are introduced to the world of buying and selling. Little boys are given freedom to run with their gang through the town. Many children are placed in other families during this period.” (Geertz 1961: 116)

“When they are five or six years old, the distinction of sex which was first evidenced in their different costumes begins to affect their conduct more noticeably... By the age of eight or nine the division between the boys’ world and the girls’ is complete.” (Chapman 1971: 31)

“The adolescent is held to full account of his conduct. No longer are lapses excused, in moments of parental indulgence, because he is too young to understand. For boys are some allowances may still be made for the natural high spirits of their age, but for girls the restrictions on conduct are very rigid.” (Chapman 1971: 34)

“Children love to play on the beach and in the water where they swim, dive, and splash water at each other. Boys and girls mingle freely, most of them naked. But some, especially the older girls (from nine to twelve year old) who have been circumcised wear skirts or sarongs.” (Broch 1990: 102)

“When they are about ten to twelve years old, a gender role differentiation gradually develops.” (Broch 1990: 79)

Summary: DeLeon describes a Tzotzil boy growing up in a largely female family eagerly applying himself to the learning of various household skills, including tortilla making, embroidering and weaving. This occurred in spite of the fact that he was systematically discouraged and reprimanded for his involvement in female tasks.

“Among the Manus, boys and girls are treated very much alike until they reach the age of betrothal, at about ten years.” (Mead 1964: 57)


“The proverb: “Boys and girls at the age of seven should not be allowed to sit in the same room.” The strict application of these rules resulted in severe restrictions on women while relative freedom was allowed for men.” (Shon, 2002: 142)


“As children approach adolescence, the separation of sexes in recreation becomes more pronounced. Daughters accompanying their mothers to launder and bathe, where they engage in conversations about daily affairs with their elders or peers.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 37)
Parent-Child Conversation


Baby Talk is a language socialization practice concomitant with a child-centered habitus. It is a widespread practice but not prevalent where situation-centered caregiving practices routinely encourage children to pay attention to unsimplified communication and social life (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984, Pye 1992). Although Baby Talk registers generally display exaggerated affect, Baby Talk registers are characterized more by lexical and phonological than morpho-syntactic simplications. Infants both in speech communities with Baby Talk (e.g. Marathi, Japanese, Hebrew) and without Baby Talk (e.g. Samoan, Kaluli, Qu’iche Mayan) become competent speakers and members, thereby challenging the status of simplified input as a requisite for language development.


“All children were from middle class homes, and 89% of the parents classified their children as European American.” (Haden 2009: 120)

“…12% of the children’s mothers had some college education, 50% had a college degree, and 38% had an advanced degree.” (Haden 2009: 120)

“The structure of mothers’ earliest conversations about the past with their young children, especially the ways in which mothers’ and children’s contributions to these conversations change as children make dramatic gains in their skills for verbally recalling events…The high eliciting mothers posed many open-ended questions that invited their children’s participation in the memory conversation.’ (Haden 2009: 127)

“That mothers in the high eliciting group continued asking many more questions and making more confirmations than did low-eliciting mothers over the one-and-a-half year period of study, suggesting that their children were being provided with cumulatively more opportunities for the verbal recall of past events than were children of mothers in the low-eliciting group. Such opportunities for putting an experience into their own words may help children to represent an event in detail, facilitate their use of language to retrieve the experience at a late date, and lead over time to the learning of more general memory search and retrieval routines.” (Haden 2009: 128)

“Children of high eliciting mothers showed higher standard scores than children of low-eliciting mothers, suggesting that maternal elaborative reminiscing may lead to more advanced verbal abilities.” (Haden 2009: 129)

“Asking a child his opinion in Luo [Kenya] society is a rare event and requesting him to be a playmate with an adult is even less common.” (p. 127).

**Study showing the genesis of Basil Bernstein’s elaborated vs restricted codes vis a vis social class…**


“Pricilla is the first daughter of a housemaid and a butcher. The family lives on the outskirts of Sao Paolo—Brazil’s largest city—and includes the child, her mother and father, the grandparents, two adolescent uncles and a sister born within the period of the research project, all living together in the same house. The dynamics of the family is wholly embedded in its community. In all the recordings there are often relatives, friends, and neighbours present, but mainly and regularly other children from the neighbourhood. Although the adults can read and write, we did not observe any reading or (Rojo, 2001, p. 63) writing activity in this family.” (Rojo, 2001, p. 64)

“Helena is the youngest child of two college professors (philosophy and linguistics)” (Rojo, 2001, p. 64)

“…Helena, who has been going to nursery and preschool since she was 8 months old. Writing and reading activities occur frequently in this family, and involve all literacy domains including reading and telling stories to the children.” (Rojo, 2001, p. 64).

“…Helena’s process. Her language construction is based mainly on narratives and fairy tales.” (Rojo, 2001, p. 64)

“…the adults stop asking Pricilla to tell about lived experiences and engage mainly in instructing and regulating the child’s current action.” (Rojo, 2001, p. 71)

“Pricilla did not have the opportunity to co-construct reports that are disjoint from the actual world.” (Rojo, 2001. P. 72)

“In Pricilla’s sample the main objects under construction were action, its normalization and the interactive pattern order/obedience, games focus on reporting, projecting or telling current actions and experiences, or on reporting (‘reading’) stories or fairy tales previously heard.” (Rojo, 2001, p. 76)

Refers to baby talk as “deep culture.”


“Adults experience the early vocal productions of their offspring as eminently important. Vocalizations, like gazes and smiles, are interpreted as signs of positive affect that consistently elicit attachment behaviors.” (Keller 1988: 427)


“Among the opportunities afforded by mealtimes are those for child development and socialization. Mealtimes provide special potential or fostering development, first, because they are a context in which children are a captive audience, at least for the few minutes it takes them to eat. In addition, mealtimes provide opportunities for parents to model, coach, monitor (Larson 2006: 3), and control children’s behavior, as well as opportunities for children to be apprentices in meaningful activities.” (Larson 2006: 4)...In families with children ages six to eleven, 80 percent reported a shared meal on four or more days, and 55 percent reported a shared meal on six or seven days.” (Larson 2006: 5)

“The television is on at dinnertime in many families: 63 percent of eight to eighteen year olds in a recent national survey said the television is “usually” on during meals.” (Larson 2006: 6)

“Using large-scale samples that bridge social classes and ethnic groups, researchers show that older children and teens who eat a greater number of family meals each week have more nutritious diets... an independent association between teens’ eating more family meals and having a lower likelihood of engaging in extreme weight control behaviors, such as use of laxatives and self-induced vomiting.” (Larson 2006: 11)


“Researchers have noted that when there are elevated levels of chaos in the household, there is a reduced ability to understand and respond to social cues. We conclude that communication and commitment during mealtimes operate synergistically with the overall commitment to mealtime routines, lending itself to either the clear and direct exchange of information...There is increasing evidence to suggest that chaos in the environment is related to poor socioemotional functioning....We also proposed that mealtimes form part of the symbolic foundation of family life. (Feise 2006: 85)

“Until World War I years, many poorer urban white workers were also unable to adopt the middle-class model of family mealtimes…As a result, turn-of-the-century middle-class observers would note with dismay that in the lower-class houses they visited, proper family meals were unheard of, and food was simply left on a bare table for family members to grab when they could…These observations soon concluded that home economics could be the perfect medium to win the “dangerous classes” to the cause of proper domesticity. This new discipline was originally aimed at middle-class housewives left with no domestic help by flight of wage-earning white women from domestic service into expanding manufacturing and clerical sectors.” (Cinotto 2006: 23)

“The traditional American family meantime is a recent creation…It was a minority group—the Victorian middle class—that invented the family mealtime mystique in America. Yet the actual implementation of that original ideal has historically been more exception than the rule.” (Cinotto 2006: 32)


“Mealtimes vary widely across social classes and race in amount and style of talk.” (Snow 2006: 52)

“Dinner table conversations offer rich opportunities for extended discourse, in part because talk is (at least in the families we studied) part of what is meant to happen at the dinner table. In other words, these families shared a cultural norm that mealtimes are family time, that mealtimes last more than just a few minutes, that pleasant conversation involving all the family members is appropriate, that all the family members should be present, and that every member of the family (p. 54) should contribute to the conversation. (Snow 2006: 55)…The kind of talk that normally occurs at mealtimes provides rich information to children about the meanings of words, and thus constitutes a context for learning vocabulary embedded in all the other kinds of learning that are going on…[We] showed that mealtime was a more richly supportive context for the use of rare words in informative contexts than toy play or even book reading.” (Snow 2006: 63)…In [one] segment of a longer mealtime conversation, Rosalyn is getting the practice in making future plans and describing those plans to others.” (Snow 2006: 52)

“The more children are exposed to extended discourse during mealtime conversation, the more chances they have to acquire vocabulary, understand stories and explanations, and know things about the world. Because these are capacities that are drawn on heavily in school but are typically not much attended to in preschool or primary classrooms, children who have had the chances to acquire them at home have an important advantage in pursuing academic success.” (Snow 2006: 64)
“Comparing American families with Norwegian families of similar social class, we found that the American families produces less narrative talk than the Norwegians (16 percent versus 31 percent of utterances) and more explanatory talk (22 percent versus 12 percent of utterances). Even the youngest children in the two groups of families fit the pattern; Norwegian preschoolers asked more questions than evoked narrative responses, whereas American preschoolers asked more often for explanations.” (Snow 2006: 57)


Summary: Study followed a group of 74 three-year-old children for two years. Home visits audiotaped the language used during storytelling, playing, and eating. Mothers interviewed about family activities. Dickenson et al. found that those children who were engaged in various conversations with adults were more likely to do well on measures of literacy. These gains held up through the early years of elementary school.
Chapter Six: Of Marbles and Morals
Marbles

PEANUTS

This is how we play marbles, Rerun. First, we draw a big circle or ring...

Then we each put some marbles in the ring...

Now, because you're a beginner, we won't play for keeps. We'll just play for fun...

Do you understand what that means?

If I win, it's fun. If I don't win, it's no fun.
Play with Objects


“The favorite pastime of boys 11 to 15 years of age was spinning tops. Every boy owned a top and the cord with which he spun it—in all probability he had made both.” (Hilger 1957: 101)

“Most Araucanian children had a few toys, if any, in the early days; only a few have them today. … Dolls were not commonly part of the Araucanian child’s life. … School boys had made their own playthings. They molded marbles of clay, wove balls of cochayuyo, and whittled tops out of wood. A 15-year-old boy made himself a bullroarer (runrun) or a pop-bottle cap.” (Hilger 1957: 105)

“A child learned to make playthings by observing other children doing so. When a boy wove a ball of cochayuyo, smaller boys sat around him concentrating on what he was doing; when an older boy whittled a top, they got close enough to see, even lying on their stomachs in order to see better each step in the making.” (Hilger 1957: 106)


“In side alleys too narrow for cars to negotiate, boys play “truck” by turning short sticks between their hands in front of them, a little to the left, a little to the right, as their steering wheels. They make “brrr” noises as they hurtle themselves downhill, four or five together, scaring all life in the small space just as cars and trucks do on the wider streets.” (Friedl 1997: 4)


“Rmcúal village north of the Namtha River in northern Laos…” (Tayanin 1991: 11)

“Unmarried men sleep in the common-house, and boys gradually move down to sleep there, perhaps as early as at the age of 5 or 6 years. From that age on, a boy spends many hours every day in the common-house, and there he will listen to the talk while the men work on parts of their traps or while they weave baskets. It is there more than in any other place that he will learn about his own culture, and it is also there that he will hear the folk tales told and retold. Almost every day the boy spends in the common-house, he will hear the older boys and the men speak about animals and hunting.” (Tayanin 1991: 14)

“Small boys are in many ways encouraged to play at hunting. As boys everywhere they like throwing pebbles and sticks, and for them the aiming is a preliminary exercise for shooting. They also catch grasshoppers for baiting the fishing rods.” (Tayanin 1991: 15)

“During the play the boys begin to try to build their own traps. They also like to build models of bigger traps, such as spear-traps. Model-building is quite prominent among the plays of Kammu boys, and they often build tiny models of houses and barns and of the tools used in actual work.
The grown-ups also like to fabricate models for the children to play with. The first knife a Kammu boy gets is most probably one made of bamboo or hard wood.” (Tayanin 1991: 15)

“It is probably the age between 12 and 16 which is most decisive of a boy’s future as a hunter. At that age it will be know whether he has the keen eyesight and the steady hand required to become a good shot.” (Tayanin 1991: 16)


“At about six years of age boys are presented with a toy machete (*machetico*), made from a worn-out machete blade, cut to child’s size.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 34)

“Doll play is the commonest recreational activity pursued by children of two to five years. The nature of such play depends to a large degree on available raw materials, and dolls from sections of plantain raceme or corn cob, with holes for eyes and wooden sticks for limbs, are commonly presented to children by their parents.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 36)
Blowing Off Steam


“Children love to play on the beach and in the water where they swim, dive, and splash water at each other. “(Broch 1990: 102)


“…it starts mixing with other youngsters, it imitates them and is soon diving and swimming below the surface.” (Hogbin 1969: 32)
Constructing the Dominance Hierarchy


Discusses children's agency within the peer culture, including the flaunting of adult norms…

"…power is viewed as a central concern of children's peer cultures from early on." (Kyratzis 2004: 627)


Girls in this classroom articulated a series of moves to strengthen alliances, including praising and inviting each other home and conforming to another's attempts to elaborate a game, and two girls could indicate a relationship by excluding a third party (Berentzen 1984: 77). Girls try to have the right things (e.g., dolls) and "secrets" to enhance the possibility for forming alliances. A girl's current alliance partner is praised, while all the other girls are criticized." (Berentzen 1984: 80).


“Those in the peer group who, during gossip events, displayed "proficiency in repeatedly (a) depicting the deviant character of others and (b) soliciting audience support for particular versions of events positioned them as leaders…(these boys) legitimate their power while subordinating the interests of others" (Evaldsson 2002: 219).


“…gatekeepers were expert at using the dominant gender ideology as a basis for marginalization …They manipulated others in the group to establish their central position and to dominate the definition of the group's boundaries" (p. 49). Weak boys, and girls who were lacking in the accoutrements of high socioeconomic status and attractiveness (e.g., overweight girls), were derided by the ringleaders and rendered the subjects of gossip, rumor, and en face derision (Adler 1998: 50)

Children heighten their peer group status by projecting views in opposition to parents, teachers and the dominant society.

“… white working-class British adolescent boys displaying themselves as tough through telling stories about smoking, standing up to their fathers, throwing knives, etc. Participation
frameworks of conversational stories as told in friendship groups could be manipulated in ways that help communicate gender identities (e.g., males interrupting, challenging, and insulting a teller to project masculinity…Preadolescent and adolescent teens resist dominant ideologies of the adult culture, including gender, through mocking and animating others during collaborative stories with friends." (Adler 1998: 639)

It is not clear that this preoccupation in the peer culture with opposition to the dominant culture reaches beyond contemporary, urbanized society. The authors do not acknowledge this limitation and do not, therefore wrestle with why this should be so. If we take Wills' classic *Learning to Labor* as a starting point, we might look at the highly competitive and ranked character of youth culture. Youth are drawn into competitive sports, beauty contests, music recitals and prizes, preoccupation with fashion trends, the ranking inherent in the disposable income available to the young, to say nothing of competitive entry to exclusive schools—increasingly including public schools. As many opportunities as there now are to be judged a "winner" there are vastly more chances to be declared a "non-winner."…


“Once they were walking they became the responsibility of older kids, and they became part of the crowd scene, unspecified. Gypsies were rough with their children (not their babies); or so I felt. They were always shooing them away, yelling at them, and smacking them, and the children didn’t appear to be much bothered by any of it. It wasn’t cruel or unusual; it wasn’t frightening. Even play was rough, such as Jeta’s constant yanking and tweaking of all the little boys’ penises. They simply had a different style, and mostly it was okay: the kids were tougher than our two, they had to be (o chavorro na biandola dandencar, the saying goes—“the child is not born with teeth”).” (Fonseca 1995: 44)
Gamesmanship

“Results revealed independent contributions of population density, variation in paleoclimate, and temperature variation to the prediction of change in hominid cranial capacity (CC). Although the effects of paleoclimatic variability and temperature variation provide support for climatic hypothesis, the proxy for population density predicted more unique variance in CC that all other variables. The pattern suggests multiple pressures drove hominid brain evolution and that the core selective force was social competition.” (Bailey, 2009: 67)
The Playgroup


“Maing Tuu children do not play alone. … most commonly they form play groups of from five to ten or more participants.” (Broch 1990:42) “Sometimes playgroups are formed of member of the same sex. Generally this division is more frequent among the older children….All children of the village are seldom together at the same time. The play groups split up and rearrange themselves, although some children tend to be best friends and stick together most of the day.” (Broch 1990:72)
Learning One’s Culture


“A teacher told of preadolescent boys playing getting drunk, becoming intoxicated, and then having a fist fight. “This is exactly what they see them men do at every fiesta, at threshing time, and when a ruka is built.” (Hilger 1958: 106)
The Moral Lessons in Folklore


“Generally, traditional stories in Chuuk are told as allegory by older people...to younger people. The tales can be a means of opening a discussion of important social values, particularly those about relationships within the immediate family and local matrilineal segment. The tales also contain histories of Chuuk places and some of the relations among the politically powerful on the islands in the region. From a local point of view, these tales represent valuable knowledge, and adults do not always share them easily. Often, parents tell the stories when they feel their children are ready for them because they have shown love and obedience.” (Lowe 2007: 153)

“Like many successful stories that people tell and retell, a striking feature of the stories of Nemwes and Oon is how they share an emotional narrative structure. Each story tells of a loving and protective relationship between the good parent and the child, where the parent is sensitive to the child's desires or needs and acts to satisfy them. Then, either out of necessity (e.g., Oon) or the child's desire for exploration (Nemwes), the good parent and child are separated and the child encounters a threat to his or her life.” (Lowe 2007: 155)

“While most of the stories include a loving, sensitive parent (equally likely a father or a mother), some stories also include insensitive parents and even parents who are dangerous or cruel.” (Lowe 2007: 163)


“There are a number of folk tales centering on the evil stepmother theme, the most well known being the story of “Brambang Abang and Bwang Putih,” which are the names of two little girls (Humorous names, meaning “Red Onion” and “White Garlic”). Every child knows this story.” (Geertz 1961: 37)

“When Bawang Putih grew up, she became a very good person, whereas Brambang Abang grew up stupid, unable to do anything useful, because all she had done all her life was play.” (Geertz 1961: 43)
How Culture Shapes Children's Play


“There is very little child culture among the Baining. There are only a few games that seem indigenous to the area. In general children seem merely to run and chase each other out doors. This sort of general exuberance is not appreciated by adults in the society, as the quotes (p. 91) above indicate. Informants over forty years old describe how they were punished as children for playing. Their parents would take a piece of bone or thorn and pierce either the septum of the nose, the sides of the nose or the ear loves. Children were then supposed to keep a long pointed object in these apertures so that whey they engaged in some sort of active game or rambunctious activity, the bone, thorn, or whatever was in the hole would interfere with the play, and perhaps hurt.” (Fajans 1997: 92)

“The Baining do not consider that children learn from play. Parents do not make toys for their children. They do not give them miniatures of adult objects such as spears, baskets, tools, etc. They rarely play with their children either in a verbal or active way (although they are generous, loving, and physically in touch with them frequently). Other children of age eight or nine were seen on several occasions playing with a 3 1/2 –year-old. Their “game” consisted of calling the names of things and people for the younger child to repeat…Parents proceed from the principle that children learn from work. Consequently they teach children to work in the garden as soon as they show the interest and capability.” (Fajans 1997: 92)

“The Baining… regard children’s play as the antithesis of proper social activity. It stands outside the realm of social behavior.” …“The Baining suppress spontaneous play by children. (Fajans 1997: 168)

Play in contemporary, bourgeoisie culture…

“Children like to run, they like to move around. For young children running, jumping and laughing are in many ways equivalent to talk (or conversation) among older children and adults.” (Corsaro 1086: 233)

“In early infancy children through participation in everyday play routines with caretakers develop basic communicative skills and a sense of agency….Later in the infancy period children begin to initiate and take a more active role in interactive processes with adults…Children come to see themselves as ‘children’ who are different from ‘adults.’” (Corsaro 1986: 250)

“Children from middle-class homes in each city were more often observed in pretend play than were children from working-class backgrounds.” (Tudge 2008: 152)

“The Luo children in Kisumu were far less likely then children from the other cities to be observed playing with objects that have been designed for use by children…Luo children were observed playing with Vaseline containers, bottle tops, an old oil bottle, a tube of toothpaste, old cassette tapes.” (Tudge 2008: 153)
**Suppression of Play**


“the Kogi of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in northeastern Columbia are a small tribe of some 6,000 Chibcha-speaking Indians.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 265)

“Play activity is discouraged by all adults an, indeed, to be accused of “playing” is a very serious reproach. There are practically no children’s games in Kogi culture.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 278)


“The Guajiro are a cattle-herding tribe who inhabit the arid, windswept Guajira peninsula in northwestern South America. They have a matrilineal social organization, and a strongly developed social class system.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 193)

“Play, or any behavior associated with idleness, is discouraged.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 194)


“Bernard de Gordon, a physician in fourteenth-century Montpellier, described early childhood (*pueritia*) as ‘the age of concussion’, on the grounds that ‘in that age they begin to run and jump and to hit each other’. Children were free to roam around the street and the countryside for much of the time. The American Lucy Larcom wrote that children in her neighbourhood during the 1830s enjoyed the privilege of ‘a little wholesome neglect’. At the same period Olivier Perrin reported that in Brittany once children could walk they were left very much to themselves until the age of 7 or 8.” (Heywood 2001: 97)


“*Sheruni*, a stretch of wooded land along a stream to the south of Deh Koh, is taken to be inhabited by potentially dangerous djinn, and to be avoided (p. 5)...The map children construct for moving around in the village includes not just alleys, footbridges, staircases, and narrow channel-crossings, but any natural or manmade feature that can be climbed over, jumped across, squeezed by... (Friedl 1997: 7)...Any space at home is open to children unless or until men, boys, or, to a lesser degree, women, demand it for their purposes.” (Friedl 1997: 12)

“Parents proceed from the principle that children learn from work. Consequently they teach children to work in the garden as soon as they show the interest and capability.” (Fajans 1997: 92)

“The Baining…regard children’s play as the antithesis of proper social activity. It stands outside the realm of social behavior…The Baining suppress spontaneous play by children. In the Baining view, children are characterized by their initial asociality. This “naturalness” is expressed in their lack of control over bodily functions, their inability to hear (and therefore understand) what is told them, their inability to work (which result in playing instead), and their stealing of food (which illustrates their fundamental ignorance of important social relations). The play of children is contrasted to the work of adults, especially the activities of gardening, cooking, and giving food to others. Play is not considered the work of children; eating and learning to work are.” (Fajans 1997: 168)


“Bonerate parents are not much concerned about how their children play. They rarely direct or stage play activities for their children and seldom make or find toys for them. Their notion of “bad play” would be what they regard as dangerous play, and they try to keep their youngest children from such activities as paddling dugouts or climbing tall coconut palms.” Broch 1990: 101)

“Children were never observed to complain of having nothing to do or to seek advice from their parents with regard to play activities.” (Broch 1990: 101)
Parent-Child Play

“The mothers were all married and in their late 20s or early 30s (M030, SD02.60). The majority of them had some college education (88%) and did not work outside the home (81%).” (Sung 2009: 432)

“Mothers and their toddlers were observed and videotaped during floor play at their home once for 20 minutes. Mothers were asked to play with their child as they normally would, with the age-appropriate toys provide by the researcher.” (Sung 2009: 432)

“Maternal following of child (p. 434) attention was related to more advanced expressive vocabulary development and frequent symbolic play.” (Sung 2009: 435)

“During play, Western mothers tend to follow or maintain their toddlers’ attention…By contrast, Korean mothers in the present study were likely to engage their toddler’s attention by introducing a new object and/or activity. This preference in directing toddler’s attention is similar to that of Chinese-immigrant mothers…Korean and Chinese cultures emphasize interdependence among individuals. Obedience, compliance, self-restraint, and cooperation are highly valued virtues. Individuals are encouraged to restrain personal desires to maximize dyadic outcomes and/or enhance the benefits and interests of the group…Korean mothers’ preference for directing child attention may reflect these cultural values; they believe that taking initiatives in directing child attention may encourage child compliance and maintain the interpersonal relationship… Joint attention with the caregiver is a primary social context for early language development.” (Sung 2009: 436)


“The mother was reading a story about a postman who delivers the mail to famous fairy tale creatures. The child recognized the picture of the cow jumping over the moon from a well-known nursery rhyme, and interestingly, he related it to a television show.” (Vandermaas-Peeler 2009: 93)

“The mother linked the current play activity to a past event they experienced together, a visit to a children’s museum. She reminded the child of what they usually do at the museum, and made suggestions for a pretend play in the current context as well. Later in the play she asked the child, (Vandermaas-Peeler 2009: 93) “What does Mommy do when I put mail in the mailbox that the postman needs to pick up? Remember?” By reminding her son to put the red flag up on the pretend mailbox, she used the play as a context to teach her child about the world.” (Vandermaas-Peeler 2009: 94)
“…middle-class parents’ use of guided participation to create a zone of proximal development during play with their preschool-aged child. They found that the majority of parents’ teaching in pretend play consisted of sharing conceptual knowledge about the world.” (Vandermaas-Peeler et al 2009: 95)

“It was a highly-educated sample, with 80% of mothers having college or graduate degrees.” (Vandermaas-Peeler 2009: 96)

“Parental guidance during literacy play activities was provided at a high level by these middle-class, highly educated mothers.” (Vandermaas-Peeler 2009: 107)

“Guidance provided during play, on the other hand, was more likely to be focused on maintaining the activity, with parents making frequent suggestions for what to play or how to do an activity.” (Vandermaas-Peeler 2009: 108)

“In her classrooms, children wrote a story and acted it out with classmates every day. Paley provided an opportunity, through guided participation, for shared experiences with writing, telling and playing stories, sometimes in the context of fairy tales, but often just from the children’s own imaginations.” (Vandermaas-Peeler 2009: 109)

Comments re Vivian Paley, the legendary pre-school teacher at the University of Chicago Lab School. The authors are suggesting here that Paley was more proficient than their subjects at getting children to construct sophisticated, original narratives or playlets. See Wiltz & Fein (1996)…


“Parents of children aged 3 to 6 years ($n = 24$ children in each group) kept daily logs of their children’s activities and companions for a week. Results show that parents in both groups spent similar amounts of time in play activities with their children, although the Euro-American parents did more pretend play and the Asian parents did more constructive play. However, Asian parents spent far more time on preacademic activities with their children such as learning letters and numbers, playing math games, and working with the computer. The cultural differences among parents are mirrored to a lesser extent by patterns of participation of siblings, friends, and babysitters with the target children.” (Parmar 2008: 163)

It is evident that these parents had already assigned themselves the role of teacher for their young children and were intent on helping their children to be successful in school and life through direct teaching activities. (Parmar 2008: 172)…Euro-American parents, but not the Asian parents, were also involving their young children in household chores - an early form of training for responsibility. (Parmar 2008: 173)

“Young children develop the habit of pretending by hearing and taking part, from their first year on, in pretend interactions with the significant people in their lives….Mothers’ participation is important to young children’s development of interest and skill in pretend. Research findings looking at children from the ages of 12 to 30 months suggest that children incorporate pretend elements from their joint play with their mothers into their own play.” (Katz 2001: 58)

“When mothers play with their young children, they essentially “teach” role playing by modeling the behavior and talk that is typical of particular activities, such as when a mother tends a baby or when workers construct a building. Also, research suggests that children pretend more and that their play sequences are longer, more diverse, and more complex when they engage in pretend play with adult caregivers, usually their mothers, than when they pretend alone. Moreover, children as young as 19 months can continue pretend play, either gesturally or verbally, that their mothers have started.” (Katz 2001: 59)

“This pattern of relationships establishes that skill with the extended discourse of pretend talk in the preschool years in related to the language and literacy skills that are important for children in kindergarten.” (Katz 2001: 71)


**Survey shows that parent-child play is an extremely rare and recent phenomenon, found almost exclusively among elite bourgeoisie families…**

“The International Association for the Child’s Right to Play, would like to take the parent-child play movement around the entire globe. Founded in 1961, the organization has campaigned through the United Nations to define children’s opportunity to play as one of the fundamental human rights. At their 2005 annual meeting, attendees were welcomed by the President of the Federal Republic of Germany with these words: ‘Children at play not only require the understanding of adults but also their active support and participation. Parents must find the time to play with their children. …I am especially happy when adults regard the noise (Lancy 2007: 279) of playing children as the music of the future. [International Play Association 2005]’ This statement is tantamount to a condemnation of the child-rearing beliefs and behaviors of three-fourths of the world’s parents and is completely unjustified by either the experimental literature in child development or, especially, the ethnographic literature. There are plentiful examples throughout the ethnographic record in which mother-child play is not valued, and these should not be viewed as signs of deficiency or neglect. Parents in these societies can, when pressed, cite numerous reasons why playing with children might not be a good idea. As a final caution, we must be wary that efforts to promote parent-child play are not driven by the desire to use play to (Lancy 2007: 280) ‘civilize the irrational natives’ (Sutton-Smith 1993:27).”
The Adult Management of Play

A story like the following suggests a blurring of the distinction between chattel and cherub.


“Family who lost son, 8, in motocross accident tries to focus on the good times … Saturday wasn’t the first time 8-year-old Logan Emerson had misjudged this particular jump on Rocky Mountain Raceways’ motocross circuit.” (Renzhofer 2009: B1)

“Logan went over a berm and hit a plywood deflection wall. The child suffered internal injuries and later died at Primary Children’s Medical Center.” (Renzhofer 2009: B1)

“The Emersons also are shocked and hurt by critics who wonder why an 8-year-old was competing in motocross at 1 a.m. ‘We’ve been at these Friday night races since he was 4. You can’t protect someone 23 hours a day,’ Rocky Emerson said. ‘Keeping them in their bedroom, that’s not a way of life.’” (Renzhofer 2009: B2)


“When schools hire coaches to teach children how to play, it shows just how much we've destroyed childhood. The Conservatory Lab Charter School in Brighton is paying $23,500 to the national nonprofit Playworks to engage children in old-school activities like jump rope, hula hoops, four square, capture the flag, circle dodgeball, and kickball…”

“‘It is an extraordinarily sad commentary on our society that we have to give kids adults to teach them how to play,’” said Boston College psychologist Peter Gray, who this year published an article in the American Journal of Play exploring how play and humor were critical to the development of hunter-gatherer societies…All cultures until modern times played in age-mixed groups, where younger kids learned skills from older kids and older kids learned to be nurturing and caring,” Gray said. “This is how kids educated themselves. This is how kids learned to assert themselves while not antagonizing other people.’”

“[Boston Public Schools] take away health classes and physical education classes, and then you wonder why kids are walking around with 56 percent body fat.”

“The study, which included researchers from Harvard and Boston University medical schools, said their findings mirror others that strongly suggest that fit students are better motivated and have better self-esteem and display less stress. They wrote that “a convincing trend of evidence indicates a supportive role for physical fitness on school performance.’”

“You can say the same thing about play. Studies linking childhood play to adult development are powerful enough to have the American Academy of Pediatrics stating that self-directed play is important for children to learn how to be “free agents, not pawns in someone else’s game…”
particular, the academy recommends that a significant portion of that play not be run by adults. Child-driven play builds “individual assets children need to develop and remain resilient.”

“In his article, Gray said, “Play, first and foremost, is what a person wants to do, not what a person feels obliged to do.” He says self-directed play is important for children to learn how to be “free agents, not pawns in someone else’s game.”

The double-speak in the following is breath-taking. Basically the author is arguing that play is too important to be left under the control of unsophisticated children…


“In the Reggio Emilia approach, play arises from children’s inner needs, questions, and interests, for example long- and short-term projects that can be (Wood 2009: 169) initiated by the children or adults. Teachers are co-constructors: they play and work with children, developing and extending themes and interests by listening, observing, talking and documenting children’s learning journeys. In the atelier, or art studio, the children work with the atelierista on projects that involve authentic materials, resources, tools and activities. There is an emphasis on inquiry, discovery, problem solving, symbolic representations and knowledge construction. Teachers have a key role in designing the learning environments in order to support educative encounters, communication and relationship, and to extend children’s working theories and conceptual understanding. Choice and interdependence are encouraged in a richly resourced learning environment, with opportunities for children combine, explore and play with ideas and materials. Group projects, rather than free or spontaneous play activities, are the main contexts for learning. The revised version of Developmentally Appropriate Practice positions play as a highly valuable developmental activity. In the original version the commitment to play and free choice was interpreted to imply child-centered permissiveness, with adults adopting a predominantly non-directive and facilitative role. This led to an inadequate distinction between teachers following children’s needs and interests (which may be narrow and repetitive), and teachers stimulating these needs and interest in relation to a broad and balanced curriculum.” (Wood 2009: 170)

“Knowing when and how to intervene, and for what purposes, were problematic issues, and the teachers were concerned about spoiling role play through inappropriate or ill-timed interventions…As a result of their involvement in the study, the teachers changed their theories, or practice, or sometimes both, and recognized that play provides opportunities for teaching and learning.” (Wood 2009: 174)


Parents teach siblings how to play together

“The third phase begins when the younger child achieves active mastery of language between his-her 19th and 18th month. It can now talk to the elder sibling and thereby create new qualities
of interaction. The behavior of the parents changes strikingly. They seem no longer to consider it a major obligation to mediate between the children. Rather they leave it more and more to the children… The following are three short scenes from our material which demonstrate different interaction strategies of parents to establish contact between children.” (Schütze 1986: 136)


“As adults we frequently take for granted the ability to construct activities jointly with another person. Arriving at a mutual focus by soliciting a partner’s attention or by joining into an ongoing activity, seems rather straightforward. But to many young children, especially those who have interacted primarily with attentive caregivers who shape almost any response on the part of the child into a common frame, the actual process of how to negotiate joint activities is a major obstacle. The caregivers in our study are instrumental in the successful negotiation of the peers’ joint activities and the organization of peer play. The mothers are not directly involved in the play of (p. 88) the children. Instead they encourage their children to play with or next to each other. They closely monitor their children’s activities. The mothers assist their children by suggesting ways that the children could use their communicative resources for the purpose of negotiating shared activities. Initiation. One of the primary kinds of strategic assistance the mother give to the children concerns the initiation of joint peer play. The mothers continually point out to the children various way in which a child could attempt to work out a common activity. Three major types of suggestions are made by mothers, namely that:

(1) Child 1 SHOW Child 2 her activity
“Show Jackie your new book”
(2) Child 1 OFFER that Child 2 could participate
“Tell Jackie she can play too”
(3) Child 1 INSTRUCT Child 2 how to participate
“Tell Jackie how that works” (Budwig 1986: 89)

“The children rarely attempt to join in each other’s activity without the mother’s prompting.” (Budwig 1986: 89)

“Our discussion has focused on some ways in which the mothers have contributed to the initial organization of a joint activity between the children. But ne the children are successful at finding a mutual focus, the mothers still play a significant role in making sure that such focus in maintained. It is not the case that the children merely need assistance in initiating joint activity. The children also require support to help insure that previously established joint focus is maintained.” (Budwig 1986: 90)

“In summary, the mothers exert much effort to make the children recognize each other’s point of view. The peers often lack awareness that they could use their existing communicative resources in order to establish and sustain a shared activity. The mother-child dyad functions as a unit. Each mother tends to team up with her own child. (Budwig 1986: 91)…Why do the caregivers
put so much effort into helping their children organize joint activities?...Caregivers feel it is important that children at this age begin to interact with age-mates. They may be preparing their children for school situations, where many of their interaction will involve peer play.” (Budwig 1986: 92)


“A Northern Ireland Commissioner for Children and Young People (NICCY) was established in 2003, whose principle aim is “to safeguard and promote the rights and best interests of children and young persons…The author was commissione d…to consult with children and young people to inform this Northern Ireland report. Consultation meetings were held with 132 children and young people, aged eight to twenty-five, from twelve groups across Northern Ireland.” (Haydon 2008: 419)

“Most children and young people felt that having safe places to play in their communities was a right they did not enjoy: “There are not enough places to play.” “…Some areas don’t have parks or youth clubs. No play area.” “There’s no after school activities and places to play.” “There’s fuck-all to do. That’s why kids are out on the streets.” (Haydon 2008: 430)...Children and young people wanted more parks and a range of community-based activities such as clubs, trips to the cinema or bowling, outdoor activities and drop-ins.” (Haydon 2008: 431)

**Note the “moral” implications…**


“…suburban 8th graders’ involvement in different activities along with their perceptions of parental attitudes toward achievement. Results indicated negligible evidence for deleterious effects of high extracurricular involvement per se. Far more strongly implicated was perceived parent criticism for both girls and boys as well as the absence of after-school supervision. Low parent expectations connoted significant vulnerability especially for boys. (Luther 2006: 583)

“On average, girls and boys in this sample spent between 7 and 8 hr/week on structured extracurricular activities (range 0 to 20 hr/week). In terms of reasons for this involvement, enjoyment was mentioned for almost 5 hr/week on average, beliefs in benefits for the future for approximately 2.5 hr, and pressure from adults for 1.5 hr/week on average. In absolute terms, therefore, these early-adolescent children did not report pressure from parents as underlying inordinately high involvement in extracurriculars.” (Luther 2006: 592)

“Supporting prior evidence with younger suburban children…the present results show that even among eighth graders the absence of adult after-school supervision does not necessarily foster self-sufficiency…but instead can increase risk for delinquent behaviors. (Luther 2006: 593)

“‘When I’m in the city, I miss my horses,’” the boy, Munkherdene, 13, said. “‘When I’m in the countryside, I miss my friends and games. I really miss my PlayStation.’” (Wong 2008: A10)

“Such is the life of a city slicker turned child jockey in the wilds of Mongolia. Horse racing is becoming an industry across the same Central Asian steppes where Genghis Khan and his warrior hordes once galloped. Children as young as 5 ride in races that can be dangerous, with hundreds of horses thundering across the open plain at once, running at speeds approaching 50 miles per hour.” (Wong 2008: A10)

“Horse racing is among what Mongolians call the “three manly sports” (alongside wrestling and archery), but female jockeys have started to appear. Munkherdene and his father Enkhbayar spend their summers traveling across the country from race to race, sleeping in the family’s richly appointed traditional tent, or ger, one that cost thousands of dollars and elicits approving looks from passers-by. The family owns more than 100 horses…the father [takes] Munkherdene…during the summers, teaching him to ride and care for the animals.” (Wong 2008: A10)

“Enkhbayar said. “But I let my son start racing three years ago. It’s important to have him inherit the knowledge of horses from me. He’ll continue to train horses.” On Tuesday night, while munching on sheep organs, Enkhbayar was weighing whether to let his son race this weekend….“If I place in the top five, I’ll be so happy,” Munkherdene said. “Maybe I’ll cry.” Prize money can be big by Mongolian standards…1,000,000 togrog, or $870. Prizes at smaller, more select competitions can be even larger—a sport utility vehicle, for instance…Enkhbayar had other hopes. Next year, he said, his 4-year-old son would start learning to ride.” (Wong 2008: A10)


“Teenagers in Greenwich, CT, undertook a project to convert a vacant lot into a very professional looking (wiffle) ball field and hold regular games, complete with spectators. However, their initiative was met with a barrage of opposition from neighbors, and City Hall.” (Applebome 2008: online)

“After three weeks of clearing brush and poison ivy, scrounging up plywood and green paint, digging holes and pouring concrete, Vincent, Justin and about a dozen friends did manage to build it — a tree-shaded Wiffle ball version of Fenway Park complete with a 12-foot-tall green monster in center field, American flag by the left-field foul pole and colorful signs for Taco Bell Frutista Freezes.” (Applebome 2008: online)

“But, alas, they had no idea just who would come—youthful Wiffle ball players, yes, but also angry neighbors and their lawyer, the police, the town nuisance officer and tree warden and other
officials in all shapes and sizes. It turns out that one kid’s field of dreams is an adult’s dangerous nuisance, liability nightmare, inappropriate usurpation of green space, unpermitted special use or drag on property values, and their Wiffle-ball Fenway has become the talk of Greenwich and a suburban Rorschach test about youthful summers past and present.” (Applebome 2008: online)


“…parents I met are very concerned about the adult lives of their children. The majority of the parents explain that they have their children involved in these activities to help ensure that they will be successful later in life. One pageant mom explains, “I just want to see my daughters go somewhere—go somewhere in life. I didn’t. I ended up having kids right away. I’m stuck at home now. I’m doing this for them.” (Levey 2009: 204)

“…every single pageant mom talked about competitors winning prize money in child beauty pageants… CBP provides an opportunity to win cash prizes and possibly start a college savings fund…Children can also win cruises and Disney vacations.” (Levey 2009: 204)

“The idea that pageants can teach children specific skills that will help them be successful was brought up literally hundreds of times in interviews with pageant mothers, as mentioned. There are eight major skills mentioned by moms (in decreasing order of frequency): learning confidence, learning to be comfortable on stage and in front of strangers, learning poise, learning how to present the self and dress appropriately, learning to practice, learning good sportsmanship, learning how to be more outgoing, and learning to listen…” (Levey 2009: 206)

“Even mothers who don’t envision a career in entertainment for their daughters still see CBP as teaching their daughters how to best use their beauty for financial gain. One mom, whose six-year-old daughter’s ambitions at a pageant were to become both a dentist and a doctor, said, ‘Obviously if the child looks like Barbie, and my daughter does, I mean there are some obvious attributes, I tell her to exploit it. I tell her you’re gorgeous, exploit it. Use it everywhere you can. Use it in your life.’” (Levey 2009: 209)
Chapter Seven: His First Goat

“Children begin to have certain duties at the age of three. The Raroians’ view is that the children, like all the other members of the family, ought to make themselves useful, and they give even quite small children astonishingly heavy and difficult tasks. Children of four or five are sent regularly to fetch water from the large communal tank; many of them do as many as ten trips a day with their gallon bottles. Others are set to grate coconuts, wash up or to do other kitchen work. A girl of eight washes, irons and cooks, while a boy of the same age helps make copra or is sent out fishing.” (Danielsson 1952: 121)

As a result of the children beginning to work and take responsibility at an early age they make strikingly rapid progress, and when only ten or twelve both boys and girls have nothing more to learn—they can do everything that grown-ups can do.” (Danielsson 1952: 122)

“For a boy or girl on Raroia everything is different. They are at home from an early age in the limited world which the village and island form. The choice of a profession is no problem, as specialization is unknown and a boy continues to make copra like his father and grandfather before him as a matter of course, while it is equally a matter of course for a girl to become a mother and housewife.” (Danielsson 1952: 123)

**The Chore Curriculum**


“From the time a child gives evidence of comprehending an order, it is trained to obey—the mother recognizes this when she has sent a child some place to carry out her bidding, and the child has done so.” (Hilger 1957: 52)

“Praise and rewards were seldom given in their childhood days. “To give a girl recognition for what she was, or did, was not our custom; the very fact that a parent was satisfied with her and with what she did, was enough reward. If a boy’s conduct was outstanding, he was rewarded by being sent to a cacique with an important message, or with words of comfort to a family in which a death had occurred.” (Hilger 1957: 77)


“…insubstantial dwellings in which the full range of household activities do not seem to have occurred. The current interpretation is that these represent field houses analogous to those recorded historically for the Zuni. Portions of the household, perhaps the elderly or older children may have resided at these sites during critical seasons and undertaken important tasks such as chasing predators from crops. Historically, this has been a chore for Pueblo children.
Late ceramics are not generally found at field house sites, suggesting that during the Turkey Hill Phase this survival strategy was abandoned, perhaps because it was deemed too dangerous for small groups, or especially vulnerable members of the household, to spend time isolated and unprotected. If field houses were no longer part of the subsistence strategy, yet the population was more concentrated, the logical outcome was a longer walk to at least some of the fields utilized by each household. It is hard to assess whether or not children would have been encouraged to work fields located far from the village but, when violence was perceived as a threat, it seems likely that they at least did not do so unaccompanied. Thus, a reduction in the use of field houses to serve dispersed fields plus the need for each household to rely on some fields located farther from the village may have decreased children’s agricultural contributions. Water and wood collection, two other tasks commonly allocated to children, would also have become much more difficult and less likely to be assigned to children.” (Kamp 2009: 77)


“Between eighteen and thirty months of age, depending on its physical ability, the child begins to act independently as a messenger…Carrying water and firewood are the first daily chores regularly performed. Seven- or eight-year-olds fetch water in the morning, enough for the whole day. Each afternoon they must collect one day’s supply of firewood.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 31)

**Broad survey of ethnographic literature on learning to hunt**


**General picture is one where learning to hunt spans at least the first two decades of life, e.g.**

“..5-year-old Waorani boys are expected to be proficient enough with a blowgun to be able to hit targets of fruit of leaves consistently …Despite the early start, a Waorani boy does not become truly effective with the blowgun or lance until his late teens.”

(MacDonald 2007: 391)

**Not until early teens are boys considered sufficiently forest-savvy to accompany adults, earlier, they hunt with older siblings and peers.**


“…the semi-settled Penan Benalui hunter-gatherers of the mountainous interior of East Kalimantan, Indonesia (Central Borneo).” (Puri 2005: 1)

“Hunters prefer to go alone because the technique of stalking arboreal prey requires silence and great patience, two traits that children have great difficult in meeting. Practice sessions with children and young adults can take place at any time during the day and may be combined with
other kinds of activities, such as forest-product collecting. During these times there is less pressure on hinters to remain silent, so that questions can be answered and advice offered. Once children understand the basic principles of using weapons and the strategy being employed, including the many kinds of non-verbal communication used in a silent stalk, then they can accompany their teachers and eventually strike out on their own.” (Puri 2005: 233-4)

“If the hunter is travelling with a child or companion, he will motion for them to hide and wait and then he will begin to quietly stalk the animal.” (Puri 2005: 236)

“As might be expected, Penan hunters do not have explicit terms for the categories of knowledge... Instead, when asked what one must know in order to hunt, hunters usually narrate a prototypical hunt. They mention the tasks required, the factors they assess before and during a hunt, and in many cases, they mimic the actual behaviours involved in killing the animal. Through additional questioning and the posing of hypothetical situations, experienced hunters reveal an abundance of detailed information for specific contexts, again without mention of generalized categories of knowledge. Only when, questioning hunters about learning and teaching did implicit categories of knowledge forms emerge, usually associated with different levels of accomplishment and experience as a hunter.” (Puri 2005: 280)

“Penan children pass through three general stages in learning to hunt, which can be labeled ‘parental,’ ‘peer,’ and ‘individual.’ These categories are based on the dominant source of knowledge about hunting during each stage. Parental learning involves fathers, uncles, and other elders teaching young boys and occasionally girls too…Peer learning occurs in groups of young hunters, from roughly fourteen years old until late teens or early twenties; afterwards, boys start to hunt alone. Individual learning takes place as adults, who often prefer to hunt alone.” (Puri 2005: 280)

“Fathers begin to take young boys hunting when children are four or five. By nine or ten they will be frequently accompanying uncles and other adult males. By then, they know most of the important animals’ names and their behavioral characteristics, and have heard hundreds of nightly tales of hunting adventures from their elders…prohibition on speaking in the forest [hence] fathers are reluctant to talk and explain…in the forest…At this early stage, a child’s education is more concerned with forest survival techniques. On excursions in the forest and while at home, adults emphasize general skills such as geographical orientation, marking a trail, lighting a fire, sharpening a knife or spear, cutting and preparation of rattan, building a shelter, what to do if hurt or lost….After all, as several hunters commented, there is only so much you can teach children in order for them to start. Much of their expertise will be gained through trial and error experience in play or while actually hunting, not by direct instruction. (Puri 2005: 281)

“Mimicry is a favourite activity of Penan… practicing their bird and animal calls. Play is a very important means of acquiring skills, which parents encourage by making smaller-sized weapons, such as spears and blowpipes, for children to practice with.” (Puri 2005: 282)

**Learning Fishing on Samoa**
Various forms of individual and communal fishing are very common in Samoa, as they are throughout the Pacific. The three most common methods of individual fishing in the village in which we worked were spear fishing, line fishing and thrown-net fishing. For each of these methods, children from 6 to 12 years of age frequently accompanied the adults or adolescents who were the primary participants. On many occasions the accompanying children carried woven palm frond baskets into which the captured fish are placed. With line fishing, children may be asked to gather hermit crabs, which can be used to bait the fishing hooks. But the child’s participation in the actual fishing is strikingly limited. Fishing line, nets and spears are limited in number, so that there is little opportunity for the child to fish simultaneously with adults where the adults might supervise the child’s actions. On the numerous (approximately 50) occasions on which children were observed fishing, only once did an adult allow the accompanying child to use the adult’s line, net or spear while he supervised their efforts. Of course, with spear fishing there are strict limits on observation as there was frequently only a single spear and set of goggles, so that the child would simply wait on the shore while the adult fished in the lagoon.

The observational and interview data suggest that learning how to fish occurs by observing the actions of an adult or more experienced adolescent at close proximity on several occasions, regardless of the fishing method employed. Older children (generally 10 years or older) would then borrow the adult’s fishing equipment and attempt to go fishing on their own without any adult supervision. Thus, there is observation coupled with emulation and experimentation by the child or a group of children, which eventually resulted in fishing skill acquisition. Several of the older children observed (10–12 years of age) were moderately skilled fishermen who could successfully capture fish via one or more of these methods. When asked how they learned to do so, each indicated that they had at first observed the actions of a skilled fisherman and then had repeatedly tried to imitate their actions on their own, and with some practice began to successfully catch fish. (p. 45)

Unusual case of parents teaching subsistence skills


“The curriculum, or content and structure of learning situation, created for the children of Guara is influenced by the biophysical characteristics of the Orinoco delta. Inhabitants of the region have adapted to the biophysical environment by developing a mixed food procurement system, comprising cultivation, animal husbandry, fishing, and hunting. Each of these activities has been consciously organized to embrace the training of children in the complexes of tasks necessary to perform that particular activity. Before analyzing the particular mode of adaptation of Guareños, it is necessary to examine the biophysical environment of Guara island.” (Ruddle and Chesterfield 1977: 9)
“Almost from the time of a child’s first utterance, fathers show the day’s catch and repeat the
name of each species taken. (p. 32) *Arenca* and various kinds of *bagre*, common fish caught
daily, can be identified by children of three, and altogether it takes about five years for children
to master the names of the useful, nondomesticated, local fauna: “six-year-olds know the names
of all animals and can recognize them in the wild…A mother begins to train her three-year-old
about animals by familiarizing it with ducks and chickens, ever-present and easily cared for
animals. In the evening a child is offered a piece of manioc or plantain and told to imitate its
mother who is throwing food to the waiting birds. A hesitant child is helped, though most young
children cheerfully undertake this task and usually learn it in one day.” (Ruddle  and Chesterfield
1977: 33)

“…children accompanying their parents to the conuco. While the man makes holes with his
digging stick, and his wife places seeds carefully in each hold, the child follows, using the feet to
push the earth back over the maize…A highly developed cultivation system, including both
shifting and permanent fields minutely adapted to the peculiar hydrologic regime of the deltaic
environment, is operated on the Isla de Guara. In this system, 105 monocultural, conuco, and
dooryard-garden species…” (Ruddle  and Chesterfieldlge 1977: 71)

“Not only do islanders perform their own cultivation tasks with great care, but they also
thoroughly train their children in the art of cultivation. From eighteen months of age, children
begin to learn to identify plants. Training in plant identification and harvesting for home
consumption continue in the growing site. Introduction to the sowing and planting of crops
occurs when a child is about six years of age. An observation season or two is followed by
training in the simpler tasks of planting. By the time a boy is ten or eleven, and has received his
own conuco, he is trained in commercial harvesting. When a boy is big and strong enough to
work his on conuquito, that little field becomes his training ground for digging and interplanting
techniques. Plants are anthropomorphized and the need for a boy to be careful with those in his
conuco is stressed. Similarly, the first tasks for boys learning to cut and burn are those of
fetching, carrying, and slashing, which build on previously acquired skills. The system of
training a young cultivator is laid out with precision.” (Ruddle  and Chesterfield 1977: 77)

“On Guara, almost one-eight of the total labor input into cultivation and complementary
activities is devoted to educating the upcoming generation.” (Ruddle  and Chesterfield 1977:
126)


This eagerness appears in the involvement of a four- or five-year-old Mazahua girl who learns as
she spends hours, days, and weeks seated beside her mother or other women emulating and
helping at an onion stand in the marketplace in México (Paradise 1985). She
trims onions. She tirelessly practices tying them into bunches with or without success. She
arranges them carefully on a piece of plastic laid out on the ground, fanning away insects
patiently during long stretches while seated on the ground beside the onions. She ties pieces of
plastic above them to keep them from the direct sunlight. When, eventually, in the form of an
abandoned piece of cardboard, an opportunity to put together her own small stand presents itself,
her excitement is unmistakable and she quickly takes the initiative in finding an appropriate spot and setting it up. (Paradise 2009: 113)


“Nothing is more cheering for a Huaorani parent than a three-year-old’s decision to join a food gathering expedition. The young child, whose steps on the path are carefully guided away from thorns and crawling insects, is praised for carrying his/her own oto (a basket mad of a single palm leaf hurriedly woven on the way), and bringing it back to the longhouse filled with forest food to “give away,” that is, to share with co-residents.” (Rival 2000: 116)

“Although Huaorani material culture is minimal, there are a few elaborate artifacts, such as the blowpipe. These objects are difficult to make. … For example, a boy willing to help with the making of a blowpipe starts by sanding the surface of a nearly completed one. While he learns to make more difficult parts, he receives a small blowpipe for hunting practice. In (Rival 2000: 116) this fashion, he acquires simultaneously the art of making and the art of using the full-size blowpipe.” (Rival 2000: 117)


“When old enough to leave camp by himself, usually around eight years of age, a boy started hunting small game…A boy's first prey was usually some small creature such as a bird or lizard…he probably learned more about this sort of hunting while with others of his own age on miniature hunting parties when he and his companions set forth armed with slings and small bows and arrows to hunt what they could. By the time boys were twelve, they were hunting quail, rabbits, squirrels, and wood rats, all of which could be used for food. At puberty the average boy was an accurate shot and knew all there was to know about hunting small game. When the occasional quail drives were held, old and young of both sexes joined, but boys were particularly active. Hunting large game such as deer was a very serious undertaking, and it was not until after puberty, at fifteen or sixteen, that a boy was taken out on his first deer hunt by his father, uncle, maternal grandfather, or some other relative. Occasionally, several youths accompanied a large hunting trip. They fetched wood and water for the camp and looked after the horses, at the same time gaining experience by being with skilled hunters. They received the less choice portions of the kill when the meat was divided—such as part of the liver or front leg. Boys learned much of what they ultimately would know about hunting from observation without direct instruction” (Goodwin and Goodwin 1942: 475).


“As late as the nineteenth century, the majority of children in the West were encouraged to begin supporting themselves at an early stage. The age of 7 was an informal turning point when the offspring of peasants and craftsmen were generally expected to start helping their parents with the little tasks around the home, the farm or workshop.” (Heywood 2001: 37)

“The simplest and earliest task for which children are given actual responsibility is the running of errands, transporting objects to or from people's homes or going to a local shop for a few cents' worth of goods. Considerably more difficult are the errands to the maize fields or other errands that require the child to go outside the community. Selling various items in the community may range in complexity from approximately the status of an errand to the cognitively complex task of soliciting buyers from anywhere in the community and of making change. Children may engage in the caretaking of a younger sibling.” (Nerlove 1974: 276)


**Village in E. Central Sudan…**

“In a typical morning or afternoon a youngster selling water made at least one trip for his or her own family and returned to the well four to eight more times to fill a pair of five gallon jerry-cans and hawk them in the village. Each pair sold for the equivalent of about twelve cents, and children generally contributed their earnings to their households… Ten-year-old Sami, the middle child of three and the oldest boy in his household, went in search of firewood almost daily. … Sami’s father was not a tenant and earned an extremely modest living primarily from the sale of charcoal he produced.” (Katz 2004: 14)


“When children are from five to six years old they are delegated their first chores of importance in the daily activities of the household. They are by now regarded as old enough to be significant contributors, able to assist in a variety of different tasks. The assignments are, however, always adjusted to their physical age and mental maturity, as interpreted by their parents. The children are still not regarded as capable of heavy work such as most agricultural labor, netfishing, and other activities that require physical strength.” (Broch 1990: 79)

“Many different goods are bartered in Miang Tuu. Most of these items are natural products, such as fish, turtle eggs, fruit, and mildly fermented cassava (*tape*)… Mothers engage their sons and daughters between the age of seven and twelve years to barter the goods. … Boys and girls carry what they have to sell on small trays placed on their heads. While they walk around the village, they cry out the name of the product and its price. Those who want to buy call on the young traders. The wife in a household that lacks children of the right age summons her neighbor’s son or daughter to do the selling.” (Broch 1990: 84)

The following is a wonderful example from Mexico of a young girl learning to market. I would note her youth and, also, the considerable length of time in which she can learn these skills…

This eagerness appears in the involvement of a four- or five-year-old Mazahua girl who learns as she spends hours, days, and weeks seated beside her mother or other women emulating and helping at an onion stand in the marketplace in México. She trims onions. She tirelessly practices tying them into bunches with or without success. She arranges them carefully on a piece of plastic laid out on the ground, fanning away insects patiently during long stretches while seated on the ground beside the onions. She ties pieces of plastic above them to keep them from the direct sunlight. When, eventually, in the form of an abandoned piece of cardboard, an opportunity to put together her own small stand presents itself, her excitement is unmistakable and she quickly takes the initiative in finding an appropriate spot and setting it up. (Paradise 2009: 118)


“The men may also allocate plots to their sons and speak of the growing yams as their own harvest.” (Hogbin 1969: 39)

“At the age of ten the boy makes an occasional fishing excursion in a canoe. To start with, he sits in the center of the canoe and watches, perhaps baiting the hooks and removing the catch, but soon he takes part with the rest. In less than a year he is a useful crew member and expert in steering and generally handling of the craft. At the same time, I have never seen youths under the age of sixteen out at sea by themselves. Often they are eager to go before this, but the elders are unwilling to give permission lest they endanger themselves or the canoe. Most fathers have allocated at least one pig to the son by the time he is about eight; moreover, they insist that he accept full obligation to gather and husk coconuts each day so that the animal can be fed in the evening. Usually the child is at first keenly interested, but after a time he may have to be scolded severely to make him attend to his duty.” (Hogbin 1969: 39)
All Work And No Play?


“The territory occupied by the Araucanians (in what is now Chile) when the Spanish first entered it probably extended from the Andean uplands to the Pacific and from the southern tip of the Island of Chiloé to the river Choapa.” (Hilger 1957: 4)

“A child’s eyesight is keen. So are its powers of observation.” (Hilger 1957: 50)

“Going along a path, they will trace the steps of tiny insects that have gone that way, also; I can hardly see them. When we look for anything outdoors, children find it immediately. Their sense of hearing is just as keen.” (Hilger 1957: 50)


Today in the east of Morocco, where tourists come to admire the sand dunes of Merzouga, some young girls make their traditional dolls with a frame of reed not so much any longer to play with them, although they still use them for their doll play, but for selling them to tourists. So doing these dolls change from children’s toys to tourist objects.


“Separating work from play is often problematic.” (Broch 1990: 83)


“Saddiq and Mohamed let the animals graze, joining two friends who had met them along the way to play shedduck, a game in which players hop holding one leg behind them, madly attempting to knock down their opponents while remaining standing.” (Katz 2004: 6)
Productivity and Proficiency


“One of the findings of this study is that a hunter’s age is a significant influence on his subsistence production. … This importance is due largely to the ability of early-born males to help provision younger siblings. This study finds that early-born males produce more meat than later-born males. They also provide significant amounts of food to their parent’s larders.” (Collings 2009: 370)


**Analysis of complexity in H&G, is there a trend?**

“There is no directional trend among hunter-gatherer societies. Numerous examples reveal complexity coming and going frequently as a result of adaptive necessities.” (Rowley-Conwy 2001: 64)


“Kogi material culture, it has been said already, is limited to an inventory of a few largely undifferentiated, coarse utilitarian objects, and the basic skills of weaving or pottery making—both male activities—are soon mastered by any child.” (Reichel-Dolmatoff 1976: 281)


**Incompetent hunter scares seals off from breathing holes…**

“Boys at the age of ten begin to be taken along on hunts, not to hunt themselves, but to participate by handling the dogs while the adult male crept slowly up on a seal, if it were spring hunting, or stood stoically by the breathing hole in winter, waiting for the sound of an animal…Young Inuit males worked to the point where they would finally be allowed to make the kill.” (Matthiasson 1979: 74)

“As mentioned earlier, in the traditional Inuit family young children were given a degree of personal freedom which would probably shock even the most permissive southern parent. In the case of boys, it may well have been intentional on the part of the parents, for they were aware that they were socializing children who would become hunters in one of the most demanding and
often dangerous environments on the face of the earth. Young girls were also given almost unlimited freedom.” (Matthiasson 1979: 76)


“Miang Tuu children are eager to help their parents in various ways. Both girls and boys beg their father for permission to come along on fishing expeditions. Children also wish to participate in agricultural work and the gathering activities on the beach. One day permission is granted, but the next day a similar request is refused…Children’s help is often a burden that prevents the adults from doing effective work.” (Broch 1990: 83)

“Children often reduce the output of their parent’s fishing activities. When the children are excited and eager to help, they soon forget that they have to be careful and watch their movements to avoid frightening the fish away.” (Broch 1990: 85)

“Adults say that labor in the fields is too strenuous for children because it is physically hard work, and also the strong heat from the sun exhausts children quickly.” (Broch 1990: 85)
Learning Crafts


“The Telefol expectation, and by and large the fact, is that every woman and all girls over the age of eight to ten years, regardless of individual temperament, will participate in bilum manufacture, and achieve competency in the basic looping techniques necessary to make the principal form of bilum…There is no formal system for the transmission of bilum looping skills. The transmission of technology, like the transmission of other aspects of culture in traditional societies is accomplished through observation…Basic looping technology is absorbed steadily from the time a daughter first sits in her mothers lap and is able to observe her mother’s hands constantly working.” (MacKenzie 1991: 100)

“When the right rhythmic motions become automatic and are integrated into the unconscious, one is said to have achieved the ‘feel’ of the craft. The reason why Telefol men do not acquire this competency is simply because they are removed from the realm of women’s activities at an early age.” (MacKenzie 1991: 101)

“Meta, a young woman from Eliptamin talked about the way in which she acquired looping skills ‘Before, when I was little I didn’t know anything. I used to watch my mother. I’d watch her making her bilum. One day I saw her put the bilum she was working on safely in the rafters while she went to the garden to work. I’d been watching her hands carefully and wanted to try myself, so I took her bilum. But I didn’t really know how to loop. I was only pretending to loop and I messed up her looping. I saw I’d done it al wrong and was frightened and put her bilum down. Then I ran away at top speed (givim sikisti) to hide in the bush. Later, when my mum came back is was really hard work for her to undo what I had done and she wanted to hit me.’” (MacKenzie 1991: 102)

“The practice of learning through observation and mimesis leads to a remarkable cultural conformity, for each daughter follows exactly the motor habits and bodily motions of her mother, elder sisters, other women of her hamlet, and indeed all Telefol women. There is only one culturally correct way to move your hands in each stage of the spinning and looping process and these intrinsic rules are absorbed and assimilated as a fundamental part of the learning process. Conformity is valued over individual elaboration, because it is a means of confirming one’s tribal identity vis-à-vis other Min groups.” (MacKenzie 1991: 103)

“While it is compulsory for every adolescent girl to (MacKenzie 1991: 103) master the principal techniques, and be able to construct an aam bal men [mouth-band bilum]; only older girls begin to learn those elaborated technical variations which will improve the quality of their product by making it stronger e.g., the reinforced looping techniques alik man, afek men, and alaang men. Married women, as they grow older, progress to learn one by one, the fuller range of open-looping techniques, and some of the tight looping techniques...” (MacKenzie 1991: 104)
“There are very few women, who know the full repertoire of traditional looping techniques and bilum construction processes. This is because few have the occasion or the impetus to master every looping variation.” (MacKenzie 1991: 104)

“A girl who is strongly motivated to acquire further looping knowledge must convince an elder female relative by her initiative, enthusiasm and previous achievement, that she is capable of learning a new technique. If the elder custodian considers the girls ready to proceed she will accept the string which the novice has prepared and efficiently begin looping. After initial close observation the aspiring looper will take over, and in the course of completing the bilum will master the new techniques. However, the double bind is that if the older women are too convincing in their deceptions, and successfully perpetuate the myth that the techniques are ‘too hard,’ the possibility is that they will fail to transmit their knowledge at all, and aspects of looping technology will be lost. Today, most young women accept unquestioningly that certain traditional techniques are too hard, and since there are no pressure on girls to be competent in all techniques…many of the younger Telefol women…are satisfying their enthusiasm and curiosity with their women friends at the Telefol station, who have migrated in from other areas of PNG…Telefol women have been quick to master the non indigenous techniques; favoring the Central Highland method of working multicolored designs into the fabric of the bilum.” (MacKenzie 1991: 106)


“Among the Telefol people of central New Guinea, and indeed throughout this region, one of the most ubiquitous and multifunctional accessories to everyday life is the string bag or *bilum*. It is made by means of a looping technique from two-ply string spun from plant fibres. Children are introduced to the techniques of *bilum* making from a very early age. All young Telefol children, both boys and girls, help their mothers and elder sisters in preparing fibres for spinning. Boys, as they grow older, do not go on to master fully the skills of looping, for the simple reason that they are soon removed, by the conventions of their society, from the sphere of women’s activities. Men have no need to make their own bags, as these are willingly supplied to them by women, who thus maintain an effective monopoly on *bilum* making. Girls, by contrast, remain close to their mothers and other female relatives, and continue to develop their skills, quietly and unobtrusively following in their mothers’ footsteps.” (Ingold 2000: 154)

“It seems, then, that progress from clumsiness to dexterity in the craft of *bilum*-making is brought about not by way of an internalization of rules and representations, but through the gradual attunement of movement and perception.” (Ingold 2000: 156)


Women weave.
…females usually begin learning weaving techniques around 9 or 10 years of age but may start as early as 6 years of age. Initially, they learn table weaving and flat-weaving techniques. Once these have been mastered, they go on to learn the more complex technique of pile weaving. Most interviewees were initially taught how to weave by their mothers. Only 2 of the 62 weavers interviewed reported learning technical skills from someone other than their mother. In both cases the skills in question were pile-weaving techniques and were taught by an aunt. The transmission of weaving techniques involves little explicit verbal instruction. Rather, mothers teach mostly through a mixture of demonstration, participation, and intervention. This requires a high degree of coordination between the activities of the mother and daughter. Initially, girls help their mothers prepare small quantities of wool using a spindle and practice knots on miniature looms. Once they have learned the basics of wool preparation and loom use, they graduate to assisting their mothers with their projects. While assisting their mothers, girls learn the techniques required to manufacture textiles, including setting up the loom and warp, creating patterns from knots, and fastening the sides and ends of a piece. Over time, girls gradually assume responsibility for weaving increasingly large and complex sections of the textile until they have memorized every detail of its production. Girls generally continue to work as assistants to their mothers until they reach adolescence. At this stage, most girls have mastered a more or less complete repertoire of techniques and are in a position to start working on their own projects. According to the interviewees, weavers rarely, if ever, learn new techniques after they gain independence. Thus, the acquisition of weaving techniques is dominated by mother-to-daughter vertical transmission… Once a weaver begins to work on her own projects she often learns designs from women other than her mother. More than half (35 out of 59) of the interviewees reported that they regularly compared and exchanged weaving designs with older sisters, aunts, sisters-in-law, and/or friends. Many women said that, for a reasonably skilled weaver, it is easy to memorize new designs just by looking at them.” (Tehrani 2009: 289)

“The acquisition of weaving techniques is dominated by vertical inter-individual transmission, while the design repertoires of individual weavers are built up through a combination of vertical, oblique, and horizontal inter-individual transmissions.” (Tehrani 2009: 290)


“The Warao are a South American Indian tribe that has dwelled in the Orinoco Delta.” (Wilbert 1976: 303)

“The name Warao designates specifically a single person and generically the entire tribe. The word derived from wa, “canoe,” and arao, “owner.” The Warao are owners of canoes. In this society, therefore, to become an expert canoe maker is tantamount to becoming a man, and the worst one can say about a man is that he is wayana, “without canoe.” (Wilbert 1976: 303)

“For hunting and fishing purposes the Warao rely mainly on the lance, harpoon, bow and arrow, and hooks…By far the most complex and most developed item of material culture is their dugout
canoe. The canoe is the floating house of the traveling family and essential to their livelihood because most life-sustaining activities in the Delta require transportation by water. The Warao trade with it, sleep, cook, eat and play in it. Eventually a man is even buried with a canoe.” (Wilbert 1976: 312)

“My informants consistently assured me, the process is actually a matter of imitation and copying, not of teaching. Explained one expert canoe maker: “Nobody teaches a boy how to make a paddle or a canoe.” When asked why not, he replied, “Because he is a boy. Boys learn from watching.”” (Wilbert 1976: 318)

“The canoe maker insists on having boys present when boats are being made. … Whereas adults may not engage in verbal instruction, they definitely require the presence of the learner when the opportunity for visual learning and instruction through demonstration presents itself.” (Wilbert 1976: 318)

“The son of Winikina chief was only nine years old, yet he had to perform several minor tasks connected with canoe building. … The paternal teacher is most understanding. He takes the relative physical immaturity of the apprentice into consideration and is forgiving if the attention span of the child is not very long, owing to the many distractions offered by a jungle environment.” (Wilbert 1976: 319)

“This tolerance is not shown toward an adolescent, though. At the age of fourteen a boy ceases to be a child. He can handle an axe and machete and now should participate more and more intensively in the actual production of a canoe. Otherwise he will be called lazy by his father and warned against growing up incapable of taking care of his future family.” (Wilbert 1976: 319)

“They spend most of their time learning how to make hammocks and other tasks traditionally considered to be women’s work. A young girl is especially dangerous to the canoe maker since she may unwittingly step into the dugout during menstruation. That would offend the patroness of canoe makers and provoke her devastating wrath. Boys of fourteen, in contrast, make a decisive entrance into the world of canoe makers. One day the youngster will leave the settlement, axe in hand, to return with a piece of sangrito wood from which he carves his first paddle. When next the father goes into the forest to make a dugout, his son, now neburiatu kabuka, will accompany him as assistant…Excavating the trunk is work permitted the apprentice only after several seasons of experience. He is placed between the two adults and may excavate only the deeper layers, not the top ones. The first opening and the alignment of the various square excavations is a delicate procedure and must be performed by an experienced craftsman.” (Wilbert 1976: 319)

“This work can be executed in part by the young apprentice, as can the next step of scooping out a third layer of wood…The young apprentice cuts manaca palms to prepare a 2-m-wide corduroy road across the swamp from the work place to the river. He is joined in this task by the women and children, who come to help by first placing the poles and then pushing the hull out of the forest into the nearest river.” (Wilbert 1976: 322)
“A seventeen-year-old neburatu has usually advanced far enough in his apprenticeship that he may go out alone or with a brother or friend and try his luck with his first canoe.” (Wilbert 1976: 322)

“By the time a neburatu thinks of marriage he has participated as an apprentice in the work crew of his father for four seasons.” (Wilbert 1976: 322)

“Many a neburatu prides himself on owning his own boat by the time he marries and on having mastered the rudiment of the technology involved in boat making. Of course, his would not yet pretend to be a full-fledged moyotu, “boat maker.” For that a man needs more practice and, above all, a dream vision to receive his call to office.” (Wilbert 1976: 322)

**Note the “strategic” instructions…**

“Again there in not much verbal instruction between father and son, but the father does correct the hand of his son and does teach him how to overcome the pain in his wrist from working with the adze.” (Wilbert 1976: 323)

“After several seasons of helping his father with the more menial tasks that accompany this third stage of the production process (maintaining and directing the fire, scraping off the charred parts, and the like), the apprentice himself is eventually permitted to step into the boat and insert the cross-beams to spread the hull. The father still determines the right temperature of the water and he indicates how far up a particular cross-beam must be pulled to reach the maximum point of tolerance, but he remains on the ground and directs the operation from either end of the hull.” (Wilbert 1976: 324)

“Groups occasionally from one-sex gangs and roam through the territory giving expression in various ways to adolescent *Sturm und Drang*. Whether such reactions are culturally conditioned or natural, adolescent male and female Warao do not make their parents happy.” (Wilbert 1976: 325)

“To be accepted by the bride-to-be’s father is quite another. Crucial for the latter (Wilbert 1976: 326) decision is the bridegrooms’s ability to handle the tool of a man. Does he know how to prepare a garden, hunt, fish, build a house? Above all, does he know how to make a canoe? If he is accepted by his in-laws, the young man’s father –in-law may ask him to manufacture a dugout for him, …with the birth of the first child the adolescent’s Haburi-behavior terminates. He has successfully entered the world of adults.” (Wilbert 1976: 327)

“A Warao embarked upon the career of master canoe maker engages in a learning process from which he emerges as a technician of the secular as well as the sacred aspects of his profession. He achieves the former during adolescence and early adulthood, but he commences a voluntary vision quest only as a mature individual.” (Wilbert 1976: 346)

“Grater boards have a special place in community, history, and socio-political relations in the northwest Amazon for several reasons. First, the (Chernela 2008: 130) Baniwa are the sole producers of graters in a vast area that encompasses numerous Native American language groups. Second, the graters are a necessary item in the daily preparation of food. Third, the grater boards move through the region via exchange networks that follow marriage alliances.” (Chernela 2008: 131)

“All males must learn to carve and design the boards since no specialized artisans perform the role for others. Boys must learn the craft of grater-board making from their fathers and must be ready to complete a board when they marry, because making the board is the first act of marriage…The act of teaching is itself a religious act, one that connects the son to his father, to the patriline, to the ancestor, and to the place in which creator Ínapelikuli is depicted in stone. Moreover, it embodies that boy’s preparation for marriage, since it is in that context that he will make a board and offer it to his wife. The learning process reproduces and transmits several types of knowledge: historic and cosmological information contained in the elements of style; the domination of the father over the information.” (Chernela 2008: 145)


Children began to learn practical skills through games and also through imitating their elders. There seems to have been a great deal of individual variation in the amount of… instruction given. Thus one woman recalled, “I go with my mother all the time. She showed me how to weave baskets… I do one row; she does the next; I do the next. That’s why I learn so quick.” … Another woman, however, said, “As the only girl, I had to learn to do all kinds of things. My mother didn't want to teach me, but I watched and learned." This was the child who took her mother’s ulo without permission and cut her finger, because she was so anxious to learn how to slice seal fat. Another recalled how eager she was to learn how to cut fish for smoking and how she nearly wept over those she spoiled. (de Laguna 1965:14)

Note another example of parents repulsing children who would treat them as teachers…


“During the time [Marie, a Navajo girl] spent at home she hovered as persistently as a goat about her mother's loom, sitting as near her mother as possible when she was weaving, now before the loom now behind it when her mother was away from it…ungraciously repulsed, Marie was, if possible, more fascinated by the looms and their equipment.” (Reichard 1934: 38)

“[Marie] filched small quantities of the undyed yarn she herself spun, giving her white and grey. Red and black she stole from her mother as she did her warp…carried the loom about...each time she brought the sheep home...she had to carry it with her...for it was not likely her mother would
order her to herd in the same direction twice in succession.” (Reichard 1934: 41)

Marie becomes an expert weaver, working largely on her own. She “graciously” teaches the author how to weave...

“Marie sits by my side watching carefully lest I make a mistake. We don't talk much, except about the points of weaving... Besides, Marie does not "tell" when teaching. She "shows." The Navaho word for "teach" means "show." (Reichard 1934:21)
Apprenticeship


Apprentices aged between 19-21.
“…the minimum ‘quality’ of potential apprentices, namely that they should not be the children or villeins or serfs.” (Barron 2007: 49)

“They are quite clearly not adults and their period of ‘adolescence’ is extended from twelve years, on occasion, to twenty-four and, sometimes, even longer. Throughout this time, the youth was expected to remain not only celibate, but chaste, and to be under the complete control of his master and denied access to taverns or to dicing.” (Barron 2007: 50)

“The master did not apparently own his apprentice as a chattel, although he did own the term of apprenticeship. The master could make over the unfulfilled part of his apprentice’s term to someone else.” (Barron 2007: 50)

“It is likely that conditions for apprentices would be harsh.” (Barron 2007: 51)

“Apprenticeship indentures allowed the master or mistress to chastise the apprentice when necessary, and a certain amount of beating seems to have been a regular part of children’s upbringing.” (Barron 2007: 51)


“Apprenticeships were not to be granted unless the parents brought a bill, signed by two justices of the peace, testifying to the value of their property…Apprenticeships, however, tended to be an institution for young people of some status and money…The period of service involved was a long one, usually of seven years or more, and many employers demanded a payment before it began…It became common to define the terms of an apprenticeship in a written indenture…He promised to learn in a humble manner…He was not to absent himself unlawfully from his master’s service…He agreed not to patronize taverns or whores, engage in dice-playing or games at his master’s expense, commit fornication or adultery with any women of John’s household, or marry without his master’s agreement. He pledged himself to obey all the lawful and reasonable orders that his master gave him, and undertook, if he broke any of the terms of the indenture, to make appropriate amends or to double the term of his apprenticeship.” (Orme 2003: 312)...Many London apprentices, it was said, joined in the Peasants’ Revolt: a general uprising against authority, resulting in looting, paying off personal scores, and the murder of aliens… (Orme 2003: 321).”

“Some insight into how such a boy or youth might be trained comes from the French hunting treatise La Chase by Gaston count of Foix, which was translated into English as The Master of Game by Edward Duke of York early in the fifteenth century. A lord’s huntsman is advised to choose a boy servant as young as seven or eight: one who was physically active and keen
sighted. This boy should be beaten until he had a proper dread of failing to carry out his master’s orders. He was to sleep in a loft above the one-storey building where the hounds were kept, to intervene in case they fought at night. He was to learn all their names and colors, so as to recognize them, and to carry out menial tasks. These included cleaning the hounds kennel each day. Replacing the straw on which they lay, and giving them a fresh supply of water. He was to lead them out to take exercise and relieve themselves every morning and evening, comb them, and wipe them down with wisps of straw. In addition, he was to learn to spin horse-hair to make couples or leads for the hounds, to speak carefully, and to use the technical terms of hunting, so loved by its devotees. As time passed, such experience would turn a boy into a skilled practitioner.” (Orme 2003: 315)


“Two kinds of specialists, morimen and karamokos, use powers explicitly derived from their knowledge of Arabic writing to earn income, gain prestige, and recruit apprentice learners. Morimen are specialists who use their mastery of Arabic texts that are believed to have ritual efficacy to help clients in a (Bledsoe 1986: 209) multitude of traditional or modern concerns: to pursue love affairs, cure barrenness, divine the future…” (Bledsoe 1986: 210)

“A moriman uses his command over Arabic writing, which is widely regarded as the literal word of God, to obtain God’s assistance. A moriman evokes a verse’s power by writing it on paper, rolling it and tying it with string or putting it in an amulet pouch…In order to keep their knowledge and skills secret, karamokos are said to avoid teaching during midday hours, and morimen work their most powerful magic at night in dim candlelight and prefer black ink for writing charms and making *nesi*, which appears as a black liquid.” (Bledsoe 1986: 210)

“...simply writing or reciting the appropriate words or even understanding their meaning or—indeed—their deepest ritual powers is not sufficient for most mori magic to work. The moriman must know in addition the specific prayers and/or sacrifices that are associated with the particular verses and the uses to which they will be put.” (Bledsoe 1986: 210)

“A moriman who learns the necessary magical texts and has acquired the appropriate blessing from his own teachers and assistance from a janai can gain considerable wealth an power...Some Morimen become full-time magical specialists and well-paid advisors to chiefs and high officials in national government.” (Bledsoe 1986: 211)

“Among the most important ways of benefiting from Arabic literacy is to teach it. In traditional Arabic education, a karamoko teaches ‘Arabic learners’ (*mori gaa lopoisa*), usually as young children from the ages of five and up, in exchange for their labor and for gifts (*saa*-‘sacrifices’, from the Arabic *sadaqah*—‘voluntary offering’) from their parents or sponsors at various stages in the learning progress. Parents of the students may also give girls to the karamokos (as do many clients of a successful moriman), with the understanding that they become his wives eventually. In many cases the students live in the karamoko’s household and work on his farm under strict discipline for many years, making it advantageous for the karamoko to draw out the learning process as long as possible. A poorly behaved, disrespectful students cannot hope to
gain the more important knowledge held by the karamoko, although gifts from parents or sponsors can strongly influence him. As with mori magic, the idea of ‘blessings’ reinforces the karamoko’s monopoly. Without blessing one cannot succeed. Consequently, the karamoko only bestows blessing upon respectful, obedient and hardworking students who have demonstrated their merit over many years. Arabic learners ‘buy blessing’ not simply for good scholarship but more particularly for working on the karamoko’s farm and enduring severe discipline. They generally work longer hours at domestic chores or in the fields than they spend studying Arabic. Instruction takes place in the early morning and late afternoon or evening; the middle of the day is for the learners’ daily tasks. Even the youngest students must perform house chores, deliver messages or scare birds away from crops. The students are often fed so poorly that the must beg for food. Many people admire the children for what they are doing and feed them readily, but others look down on them, for they are usually poorly clothed, ragged and dirty. The learners also endure severe and frequent beatings for alleged intransigence or failure to learn...Suffering and hardship are not simply unavoidable accompaniments of learning. ḡbale (‘hurting, suffering’) is seen as essential to gain the knowledge one seeks.” (Bledsoe 1986: 212)

“If one is too comfortable and well fed, one will be lazy and will not be motivated to learn.” (Bledsoe 1986: 213)

“Arabic learners learn mainly by rote memorization. They start with the alphabet and then memories portions of the Qur’an. The karamoko or an advanced student recites a verse, and the learners practice until they can repeat the lines perfectly on their own. Then they go on to the next verse. They learn writing by repeated copying on wooden slates (walas), imitating what the teacher writes. Many karamokos forbid students to see the actual Qur’an or to write on paper until they have first memorized several surahs (sections of the Qur’an). Hiding the Qur’an from beginning students (and often from non-Muslims) is paralleled by efforts to hide its meaning...Understanding the meaning of the words, then, is another skill that is carved into highly discrete spheres of achievement. Initially the karamoko only teaches the pronunciation and graphic representation of Arabic words, withholding their meaning from the students until they have memorized the entire Qur’an.” (Bledsoe 1986: 213)

“The ritual magical potentials of certain passages of the Qur’an comprises an entirely different realm of knowledge. Students must learn new meanings of the same texts whose literal meaning they may have learned before. Despite allusions in the text to its possible ritual uses, full knowledge of these uses depends on how specialists have construed the verses’ meanings and powers. The whole process may take years, and many learners drop out, having gained only enough knowledge to participate in prayers in the local mosque.” (Bledsoe 1986: 213)

“Only the most advanced and trusted students learn what are allegedly the important secret meanings behind the most sacred Qur’anic verses and other texts (Hadith, Kitaba, etc.) Eventually a few may earn the privilege of copying the karamoko’s most secret and powerful texts that he received from his own teacher. He tells the student, ‘If you behave properly, I will give you this book to copy so you can do many things.’ This knowledge helps the obedient student to establish himself eventually, if he desires, as a moriman or karamoko.” (Bledsoe 1986: 214)
“When a child first goes for instruction, the karamoko writes a Qur’anic passage on the learner’s hand with black ink (lubei). He then puts salt on the hand and the learner licks it all off, swearing obedience to his new master. A karamoko may also ‘swear’ students upon a specific verse in an open Qur’an not to seduce his wives or to leave before he is satisfied with their performance. So although students who are practicing writing sometimes make a ritual potion with the written words and wash their faces with it for better understanding and to gain ‘cleverness,’ they must exercise caution; the karamoko warns the that if they try to employ texts for mori magic without his permission, this will turn against them and make them go crazy.” (Bledsoe 1986: 214)

“Although a karamoko gains blessings from God for teaching others, he gains more practical benefits from having students…In the past, tutelage under a karamoko was connected explicitly to slavery.” (Bledsoe 1986: 215)

“Even today in Sierra Leone, many people compare the karamoko’s treatment of Arabic students to slavery, and explicitly link slavery to the strategic control of meaning and literacy. One karamoko explained: Alphas [karamokos] who know [the meaning of the texts] but don’t teach with meaning…don’t want to teach the children quickly so that they will learn and understand quickly. If they do teach the meaning, they [the students] will leave their karamokos without working for them for many years. The karamokos feel the Arabic learners are their slaves, so if they should teach them with meaning and dispatch them, they will no longer have people to perform their domestic work.” (Bledsoe and Robey 1986: 216)

“The alleged need for students to suffer and ‘buy blessings’ increases the karamoko’s profit from judiciously revealing privileged knowledge. In effect, the longer he can delay giving up secrets, the more he benefits. Although he does impart some important secrets, he may withhold completely what he regards as his most powerful ones to maintain a competitive advantage over former students. Students can never be certain what knowledge is being withheld or how much is left to gain. With very famous karamokos, older students may marry (assisted by their karamoko) and build independent household nearby, but many continue working part-time for their master in hopes of obtaining his most valuable secrets.” (Bledsoe and Robey 1986: 216)

“the literate few use their knowledge as a resource to control the labor and loyalty of the less literate. This practice of converting ‘wealth into knowledge’ into ‘wealth in people’ is sometimes specifically compared by the Mende to patterns in the Poro and Sande societies, wherein elders manage monopolies of knowledge that is cast as secret and dangerous to control the labor of youths and gain payments from parents during initiations.” (Bledsoe and Robey 1986: 217)


“Ulpian provides this discussion: If a master wounds or kills a slave while training him, would he be liable under the *lex Aquilia* for criminal injury?...A shoemaker has a pupil who is a freeborn boy, under his father’s authority (‘*ingenuo filio familiae*’), who is not following instructions satisfactorily, and he strikes at his neck with a shoe-last, knocking out the boy’s eye. So Iulianus says that there is no valid action for injury because the shoe-maker struck the boy not
with the purpose of causing him injury, but with the purpose of reminding and teaching him.” (Rawson 2003: 194)


“When looking at these studies—once again, mine included—one gets the feeling that parent-to-offspring accounts of transmission could be partially fictional, a research artifact due perhaps to an over-reliance on interviews during fieldwork, some preconceptions about craft learning in informal contexts, and the emphasis put by the artisans themselves on “tradition” and “heritage,” especially when confronted by foreigners.” (Gosselain 2008: 153)

“When asked about the identity of pottery producers in southwestern Niger, most individuals answer that “pottery is the work of Bella women”…” (Gosselain 2008: 156)

**Learn from kin…**

“In southwestern Niger, as in most other parts of sub-Saharan Africa, learning is not a particularly visible process. One is seldom confronted with situations where knowledge is explicitly transmitted from a teacher to an apprentice. When asked about the origin of their skill, however, most potters explain that they learned it from a single person, in a particular place, and at a particular time…This “single person” is reported to be the biological mother in about one-half of the cases.” (Gosselain 2008: 158)

“The majority of the potters interviewed learned the craft at the age of six to twelve, in the village where they were born or raised.” (Gosselain 2008: 158)

“Some interesting elements must be highlighted about this participatory story. First, most people do not view it as actual learning, even though it provides them with most of their skill. They simple “give help,” without aiming to acquire or master specific knowledge. Second, the tasks are usually undertaken communally…Third, there is no particular order in what apprentices learn, and no necessary coincidence with the actual ordering of pottery chaîne opératoire.” (Gosselain 2008: 160)

“People consider to be the actual learning phase: mastering the shaping technique. Up to then, the apprentice assists in several operations and has a playful relationship with shaping but does not really try to make vessels. If the apprentice is sufficiently “motivated” and “gifted” (two notions that crop up constantly [Gosselain 2008: 160] in interviews), the teacher redirects the game toward the acquisition of expertise and adopts a more active role with her pupil. There is clearly a shift in status at this stage, which some Bella, Songhay, and Zarma teachers signify by giving the apprentice a miniature model of a terra-cotta pestle used for pounding clay. To help the apprentice overcome her difficulties, the teacher now works alongside the apprentice, correcting her errors and movements and, quite often, holding the apprentice’s hands s that the later can physically sense the correct movements and hand positions.” (Gosselain 2008: 161)

“Among the thirty-six potters who were interviewed, only four were apprentices. A significant diminution of the number of apprentice has been observed over the past twenty years. Indeed, pottery is losing its exclusivity for utilitarian vessels, and according to potters’ statements, not enough income is being made for it to be worth maintaining. Consequently, most Dii girls born into the potter “caste” do not grow up to become potters.” (Wallaert 2008: 187)

“[Historically, to]…have an ungifted apprentice or potter in the family is a disgrace, and every potter is required to reach a certain level of expertise in order not to depart from the rest of the potter families.” (Wallaert 2008: 187)

“Among the Dii, apprenticeship starts during childhood, around the age of seven, and lasts between five and eight years, with an average of four hours of training per day during the dry season and tow hours per day during the rest of the year. The length of apprenticeship corresponds to the physical, psychological, and social maturation of the child. As long as apprentices work with their mothers, they will not benefit from any sales they make. The mothers will collect all income and return it to their husbands, who are the official redistributors of wealth. This practice prevents an apprentice from ever becoming a technical or economic competitor to her mother, who holds the sole pottery-making authority within the household.” (Wallaert 2008: 188)

“Stage One lasts two years. The young girl, usually a seven-yare-old, helps by fetching clay, water, or wood. According to mothers’ statements, during this period the child is learning the value of work and building the motivation necessary to assume such physically tiring activity…No formal instruction during this stage. She instead learns through observation and is allowed to play with pieces of clay only to sense the texture of the raw material.” (Wallaert 2008: 188)

“The child is discouraged from asking any questions, and verbal communication does not serve as an incentive to learning. State Two begins around age nine and lasts for approximately one year. The apprentice is now discharged from some domestic duties to focus on pottery making. She is asked to shape miniature models with no decoration. Some are fired and sold or given to family, friends, or other children, while others are just thrown away before firing. Here again, the mother does not welcome questions. The child usually sits next to her (Wallaert 2008: 188) mother and watches her work. The mother does not seem to pay any attention to what the apprentice is doing as long as she seems to work on her projects. The mother will intervene only to redirect the attention of the child and make comments like “Pay attention to what you do,” “don’t be so lazy,” “Don’t waste the clay,” “Watch what I do.” So, what is really involved here is a reconstructive observation-imitation process as the child makes miniatures by interpreting the method used by her mother to make full-sized pots. The process illustrates the ability of the child to integrate the shaping pattern and to adapt it on another scale to her own work. It also implies
the use of a trial-and-error technique, because the child has to figure out by herself how to interpret the model correctly.” (Wallaert 2008: 190)

“Stage Three begins at age ten, when apprentices shape small cooking pots rather than miniatures, usually with little decoration. They make partial rather than full designs…The apprentice still works from clay kneaded by her mother, who declares that it prevents wasting precious material…Initiative and trial and error are now forbidden; every gesture must follow the mother’s patter. Corporal punishments (spanking, forced eating of clay) are used to ensure that rules are respected, and verbal humiliations (Wallaert 2008: 190) are very common. Mothers interpret mistakes in technical form as proof of social disorder and defects in morality, and as a challenge to their authority. Good behavior is rarely noticed, but errors are always pointed out in public. This treatment puts a lot of pressure on the apprentices, who tend to be quite nervous when working in their mothers’ company.” (Wallaert 2008: 191)

“We asked each apprentice to shape a series of five rather standard, plain cooking pots, and we recorded the time needed to do so. When the apprentices did this task alone, they managed to handle it in about the same time as their mothers, but when they were asked to perform the same task in front of their mothers and a few other potters from the same village, the time necessarily for the shaping drastically increased.” (Wallaert 2008: 191)

“Motivation built on social comparison would be associated with closed abilities and a strict reproduction of patterns, while that built on mastery goals would tend to produce more individualistic practices and a greater openness to innovation. To get a clearer view of the mother’s impact on her apprentice’s work, we asked apprentices to shape a bottle, a model they had not yet learned to make. All apprentices refused to attempt this task, because they were not sure they could succeed. They seemed to refuse new challenges they had not been trained for.” (Wallaert 2008: 191)

“Stage Four begins on average when the apprentice reaches age fourteen. During the following year, she makes a greater variety of models, she works form clay she prepares herself, she handles the whole shaping process and takes care of the pre- and postfiring treatments on her own, and she learns to shape the collar of a bottle. This stage is considered to be the most difficult to accomplish. The apprentice is now capable of describing every stage of the making process, but she still does not handle the firing by herself. The apprenticeship, at this stage, continues to be focused primarily on observation and imitation and shows very little use of language as an educative incentive. The mother intervenes only to correct major mistakes.” (Wallaert 2008: 191)

“Stage Five takes place when the child reaches age fifteen and lasts for only a few weeks. The apprentice learns to handle a firing on her (Wallaert 2008: 191) own, although she may still need the advice and assistance of fellow potters for many years to come. The end of apprenticeship is marked by a celebration that implies that the apprentice is capable of making every type of vessel; she must be engaged to a future husband and must have gone through initiation. All the potters of the village and their families are invited to witness the debut of the new potter. During the ceremony, the apprentice receives a set of tools from her mother and is fed by her like a small child. The father confirms the status of the newborn potter by spitting beer on her face, as he
does on the newly circumcised boys or on the ancestors’ altar. This particular moment, when the parents praise the young potter, seems to be the only one that promotes positive feedback. As some potters say, she learned through pain and difficulties to cherish the value of her tie with elder fellow potters.” (Wallaert 2008: 192)


“Research on ceramic technology…among the Asurini do Xingu, an Amazonian indigenous population inhabiting a village in the margins of the Xingu River, Pará, Brazil.”

The learning process of pottery making starts early in life, and, in my different visits to the village through the years, I witnessed girls and less skilled young women being trained by the older women. Learning the process of forming the vessel body is one of the hardest stages, and the novice has to produce many vessel miniatures, performing all stages of vessel production, including firing and painting. It is difficult for the young potters to master the stern rules associated with the Asurini forms. It is easy to identify pots made by inexperienced potters—the vessel body is often poorly made or the smoothing of the surface is too rough, the rim is very frequently irregular and the resin was not well applied, leading to small mistakes and rough patches.” (Silva 2008: 235)

“The teaching–learning structure of knowledge on ceramic production is characterized by observation, by the young potters, of the work done by the more skillful potters. Beginning when the girls are very young, they are given practical instruction in the production of the vessels, which include how to work with all the raw materials and instruments related to this activity. Furthermore, they are encouraged to produce miniatures of the traditional ceramic vessels.” (Silva 2008: 247)

“From what I could observe, the learning process happens through visualization and manipulation of the material. The miniature seems to be the most common didactic tool, and teaching with miniatures is also used with other crafts, such as making sleeping hammocks. As with other ceramist populations, the teaching of vessel production is extremely controlled, and it requires constant verbalization and demonstration from the instructors relating to the techniques, as well as on the results to be reached in each one of the productive stages.” (Silva 2008: 235)

“In addition, it is also necessary for them to know how to select and process the raw material and how to manufacture their own working instruments. One stage of production that requires experience, for example, is the moistening of the clay to make it workable. If the clay gets too moist, the coils will stick in their hands, production will be much more difficult and irregularities will be found in the vessel’s form.” (Silva 2008: 235)

“In conclusion, the ceramic learning process is long and complex, and, for this reason, it is mostly the older women who master this knowledge. Child rearing gets in the way of the learning process, therefore women are taught the craft very early, before they become mothers. Skill in this activity is reached only with the passing of years, and it is usually the older women,
around 50 years of age or more, who are considered the best potters in the village.” (Silva 2008: 236)

“These technological rules, however, do not prevent the women from exercising their individual creativity when producing their vessels. All of them said that they could recognize their own vessels from those of the other potters. According to them, the recognizable traces are found on the rims, base and body. This recognition relies on very subtle categories that, many times, are difficult for the potters to verbalize. I could never identify these differences, and even the potters themselves often found it difficult. This is the reason why it is common for them to carefully store their vessels separately, inside their houses or attached structures, so that they would not get mixed up with vessels made by other women of the same domestic group.” (Silva 2008: 238)

As has been observed in other ethnographic contexts, the more control the instructor has over the novice during the process of learning and creation of a material item, the more similar the objects they produce will look (Pryor and Carr 1995: p. 280; Roe 1995: p. 51). Thus, among the Asurini, where there is a high level of control in the ceramic learning process, one can in fact observe similarity not only in the objects but also in the procedures used to produce them. The teaching and learning process is so tightly controlled that the Asurini pots are unmistakably different from those of other cultural groups.” (Silva 2008: 247)


“Nowadays, the Asurini women have abandoned the traditional usage of most of the ceramic vessels previously used to serve food and store and transport liquids. These have been replaced by several types of industrialized objects such as aluminum pans, plastic jars, plates, cups, bowls and Thermos bottles. Thus, their production has become restricted to vessels to sell to tourists outside the village.” (Silva 2008: 241)


“None of the women weavers of nomadic-style tribal rugs and flat weaves used locally has young apprentices; their skills and products are considered old-fashioned.” (Friedl 1997: 4)

In the book, I note how many anthropologists fairly quickly acquire proficiency in native crafts after a short apprenticeship. Here is the other side of the coin:


“…the New Guinea native who asks the European to “teach” him to make paper or glass. The European has great difficulty in explaining that although he uses paper and glass—although he in fact claims possession of the higher technological culture in which people know how to make
paper or glass—he himself is totally unable to carry out and so to teach the process.” (Mead 1964: 51)
Becoming a Navigator
Milk Debt


Documents drastic shift in Marseilles from before and after the plague (1348). After the plague much younger children are employed than before. Also, children’s wages were lower.


“In 1536, an act ‘for the punishment of sturdy vagabonds and beggars’ made local authorities, in towns and parishes, responsible for gathering alms to finance the relief and support of the poor. They were empowered to take control of children aged between five and fourteen who were living ‘in begging or idleness’, as long as they were not suffering from some major disease or sickness. The children were to be handed over to substantial farmers or master craftsmen to learn to work, ‘by the which they may get their livings when they shall come of age’. A set of clothes was to be given them when they entered service. Any young person aged between twelve and sixteen who refused such work, or left it, might be arrested, whipped with rods in public, and sent back to service, as often as was needed.” (Orme 2003: 91)


“The Matsigenka constantly recount folktales in which animals, plants, and other agents punish Matsigenka people for being lazy, stingy, and angry.” (Ochs 2009: 395)

“Those who are disobedient or lazy are punished by being bathed in hot water or rubbed with an itchy inducing plant. Family and community members use various strategies to ensure children’s contributions and participation in household tasks including public shaming. Additionally folk stories, involving peranti (lazy) characters who suffer dire consequences for their behavior, are told purposely (Ochs 2009: 395) to indicate disapproval and instill a sense of fear and shame in children who require reminders of the tenants of Matsigenka collaboration.” (Ochs 2009: 396)

“Parents did not get involved in homework activities. Adults and children alike regarded children of non-Matsigenka Peruvian teachers as lazy, incompetent, and too talkative. The sons of the mestizo teachers, they reported, noisily interrupt [their parents] with “Escúchame!” (Listen to me!), demand food, but do not help in any way.” (Ochs 2009: 296)


“Indian Hindu children are also considered gifts from God…The fusion between mother and infant is central and starts, according to the Vedas, during the prenatal period where the fetus is considered to be chetan—conscious of having a soul…The mutual relationship is strengthened
by *matri-rina*, or indebtedness toward the mother. This implies a lifelong relationship with the mother that includes the duties to protect and nurture the mother.” (Keller 2007: 110)


“…that children, in eating food that parents have grown and given them, literally sap the parents of their strength. When Aminguh talks of aging fast after having children, he is speaking in literal terms.” (Leavitt 1998: 193)
Little Buckaroos
Poverty and Children’s Labor


An estimated 70,000 children from Nepal and Bangladesh work as bonded labourers in coal mines in Jaintia Hills of Meghalaya state in India. Mine shafts, as shown in one news video, are nothing but crude holes, narrow in diameter, dug into the hills, hence they’re called “rat mines.”

Every day, truck loads of coal cross the Indian border to Bangladesh. The vehicles return with children, who are lured into the mining industry with the promise of better wages and living conditions. In most cases the children are purchased by middlemen or abducted and sold by gangs in Nepal and Bangladesh to the mining mafia in Meghalaya.

The price for a child varies from 50 to 75 US dollars. The children have to work for free, as their work is considered as repayment of the debt they owe, which is nothing more than the price at which they were bought.

Human skeletons were recovered beneath a pile of coal in a mine in Jaintia Hills. They were the remains of children who lost their lives due to collapse of the mine shafts or in other accidents during the mining operations. The investigation also revealed that such deaths are common in the mines and the dead bodies buried in undisclosed graves near the mines, often under piles of earth.

Working hours are long, often from day break to nightfall without rest. They have no means to communicate to the outside world, much less to their families. The only tools the children have to extract coal or limestone are shovels or pickaxes. There are no medical facilities available near the mines.

Not all children are boys. There are considerable numbers of girls who have been bought by the mine owners. Instances of sexual abuse are rampant. It is also reported that some children are trafficked further from the mines to the cities for prostitution.

The overwhelming number of children brought from Nepal and Bangladesh also indicates the living conditions for children in these countries. In most cases children have reported that they were sent to the mines after their parents accepted money from middlemen engaged in child trafficking.

1. Excellent survey of Brazilian social and economic history which has seen economic transformations that marginalize landless, uneducated workers. And the poor are stigmatized.

2. Poor are made scapegoats for all sorts of social problems. Good general introduction to poverty as a way of life.

“In Brazil, over six million children between the ages of 10-17 and 296,000 children between 5 and 9 are working….Children produce much of what Brazilians eat, wear, and sleep in…The cacao, gems, minerals, soybean, and grape industries have all required the use of cheap (children’s) labor.” (Keny 2007: 2)…800,000 children who harvest crops with their families in the United States [in 2005].” (Kenny 2007: 3)

“Life histories show that parents started working at the same age as their children. According to Bete, age 41, and mother of seven, “When I was eight years old I was already working in other people’s kitchens, just as my mother had done before me. Now, my kids are growing up with the same routine, working to help me“….The market for maids is saturated…If your employer dismisses you, they can always get someone else.” (Kenny 2007: 31)

“Malnutrition also stunts children’s growth. I was always shocked when what I thought were 10-year-olds turned out to be 15-year-olds.” (Kenny 2007: 30)

Economic activity…
“Approximately 45,000 children work in lixões (garbage dumps) in Brazil. In Olinda, the dump is located in Aguazinha, a few kilometers from the city center. The city produces approximately 700 tons of trash per day. In 1994, about 200 people lived in the lixão and depended on urban residue to survive (the number has since increased to 350) (Kenny 2007: 65)…The children in lixão would talk about “quando en caï no lixão” literally, “when I fell into the garbage,” to describe their move to the dump. They are ashamed to tell people where they live: “People think we are filth…Kinds hold their noses when we walk by. Kids don’t want to play with us, because they think our toys are from the garbage.” (Kenny 2007: 66)…Children described their work as scavengers as superior to begging: “It is better to pick garbage than to steal or beg. If I steal, I might be arrested. If I begged, I would never know how much I could earn. Any kind of work is better than being a bum.”( Kenny 2007: 67)…Tourists frequently offer food, but the kids prefer money. “I just want money. It’s easier to divide than food. That way I can buy what we want, and still come home with some money. When there’s nothing to eat, my mother sends us out to beg. My father will kill us if we don’t go out and bring something home.”” (Kenny 2007: 68)

“Children also age out of particular ways to earn money.” (Kenny 2007: 70)

“Kids were encouraged to find others to feed them, which had the effect of reducing their domestic consumption.” (Kenny 2007: 75)

“Guias (tour guides) range in age from 6 to 26. Girls also work as guias, but males dominate as guides. Work as a tourist guide is a status job, primarily because it does not involve physical labor, there is contact with foreigners, and the income is significantly better than vending or other waged work…Younger guides received no formal training. They learn by listening to other
guides, or they make up information as they go along. Many perceive that the gringos (referring to any foreigner) who hire them don’t know if they are providing misinformation.” (Kenny 2007: 75)

“In the last 20 years, school attendance has increased, and child labor has declined in Brazil. The Bolsa Escola (school scholarship) is a conditional cash grant program started in 1996 that gives mothers approximately US$6 per month per child (ages 6-15, up to three children) as long as the children maintain 85 per cent attendance (Kenny 2007: 109)…Some schools provide children with a cesta básica. However a number of parents complain that the baskets contain foodstuffs of extremely poor quality, things they “would not purchase for themselves if they had the money.” Essential items such as toilet paper, sanitary napkins, toothbrushes, and toothpaste are not included.” (Kenny 2007: 110)
Plus ça Change
Chapter Eight: Living in Limbo

“…one of the reasons the cognitive-control system of adults is more effective than that of adolescents is that adults’ brains distribute its regulatory responsibilities across a wider network of linked components. This lack of cross-talk across brain regions in adolescence results not only in individuals (p. 57) acting on gut feelings without fully thinking (the stereotypic portrayal of teenagers)… when asked whether some obviously dangerous activities (e.g., setting one’s hair on fire) were “good ideas,” adolescents took significantly longer than adults to respond to the questions and activated a less narrowly distributed set of cognitive-control regions…. To the extent that the temporal disjunction between the maturation of the socioemotional system and that of the cognitive-control system contributes to adolescent risk taking, we would expect to see higher rates of risk taking among early maturers and a drop over time in the age of initial experimentation with risky behaviors such as sexual intercourse or drug use. There is evidence for both of these patterns…(p. 58)


“…Lewis Binford’s (personal communication) description of adolescents in Eskimo band society. It seems that a number of Eskimo bands who until then had lived a nomadic hunting life, were settled about 15 years ago into large permanent villages. Adolescents aggregated into destructive roving peer gangs who had evidently come to present a serious social problem.” (Konner 1975: 117)


“When boys and girls reached the age of 14 or 15, they were automatically inducted into a formal organization composed of their peers.” (Barnett 1979: 9)

“Entering a club was quite a different matter. It was required by tradition and it entailed many obligations the most important of which was community service.” (Barnett 1979: 9) “Each male occupied a club house.” (Barnett 1979: 32)

“The labor force represented by clubs was also controlled by village or district chiefs. A club or a combination of more than one could be called upon to build or repair a street or public building.” (Barnett 1979: 33)

“The young men’s clubs operated as a police force. When a regulation was announced by the chief’s, one or more of the clubs were designated to enforce it.” (Barnett 1979: 33)

**Forest foragers from Orinoco Delta…**
“Groups occasionally from one-sex gangs and roam through the territory giving expression in various ways to adolescent *Sturm und Drang*. Whether such reactions are culturally conditioned or natural, adolescent male and female Warao do not make their parents happy.” (Wilbert 1976: 325)


“Individual hamlet groups practiced swidden horticulture, frequently moving their hamlets when they moved their gardens.” (Fajans 1997: 16)

“Adolescents described by the Baining as “big,” although already productive workers, are not yet responsible for their own family or household. They are called upon to contribute to collective work parties, where a big job is done in one day.” (Fajans 1997: 93)

“At this period of their life, youths do not want to marry and assume the responsibilities of a spouse and parent. “As for me, I say I don’t want to marry. I want to roam. I want to work on a plantation. I want to stay like this [as I am now]. I will work on a plantation: I will work, I will find money and I will wander. I will work, then later I will marry [adolescent male] [or] I do not want to get married I am still small. Later! Our parents speak, but we do not want to. They talk in vain. I do not like men. I still do not want to. I still do not know about gardens. I do not know how to work yet [adolescent female].” (Fajans 1997: 94)


“The daily life of adolescent boys is marked by an unfamiliar (by Bonerate standards) amount of leisure and a remarkably high level of passivity. They sit around chatting in the village.” (Broch 1990: 145)

“Some days the boys of this age complain that there is little for them to do in the village. They become restless and want to get off to sea. They share daydreams about how they will return to the village rich in money and goods.” (Broch 1990: 46)


“We began our study of [18] neighborhoods, teen parents, and multigeneration families in the summer of 1989 in a medium sized, predominately African American northeastern city.” (Burton 1998: 9)
“As the six o’clock hour approached, small-drug transactions heightened, and the local “audience” of unsupervised children and teen observers grew. Eric, a fourteen-year-old middle school student remarked:

You ought to be out right now. This is when all the peeps [people] is hangin’. You learn about the streets now…It’s good for a young brother to know the streets. You see everybody, styling and profiling. All the peeps see you. If you want to be seen, this is the time to be out.” (Burton 1998: 16)


“According to Santillán, ages sixteen to twenty were collectively called cocapalla (coca harvester); he tells us that the youth of this category were expected to reap the state-owned coca crop.” (Dean 2002: 43)

“To the Andean, “age’ was not so much the sum of years as an evaluation of physical attributes, that “age was not counted in years as an evaluation of physical attributes, abilities, and dexterity. Cobo 1983 [1653]:194) confirms this, saying that “age was not counted in years, nor did any of them know how many years old they were. [For the census] they were accounted for on the basis of duty an aptitude of each person.” The two major ceremonies for Andean children marked weaning and puberty—the two most important stages of growth that, significantly, commemorated the increasing independence of the young individual. Weaning, celebrated by the haircutting and first naming ceremony, marked the first stage of the child’s physical independence. The puberty rites and second naming ceremony celebrated the age at which the child became a significant contributor to the local economy. The giving of a new name signaled an important reclassification of the individual and his or her significance to society.” (Dean 2002: 44)


“Twenty-five Marines have died in motorcycle crashes since November -- all but one of them involving sport bikes that can reach speeds of well over 100 mph, according to Marine officials. In that same period, 20 Marines have been killed in action in Iraq.” (Shaughnessy 2008: online)


“It thus appears that the brain system that regulates the processing of rewards, social information, and emotions is becoming more sensitive and more easily aroused around the time of puberty. What about its sibling, the cognitive-control system? Regions making up the cognitive-control network, especially prefrontal regions, continue to exhibit gradual changes in structure and function during adolescence and early adulthood.” (Steinberg 2007: 57)
“In one recent study, when asked whether some obviously dangerous activities (e.g., setting one’s hair on fire) were ‘‘good ideas,’’ adolescents took significantly longer than adults to respond to the questions and activated a less narrowly distributed set of cognitive-control regions” (Baird, Fugelsang, & Bennett, 2005). (Steinberg 2007: 58)


“Ireland suffered from the activities of gangs of lawless young warriors, operating outside the boundaries of the community (the tuath). Fosterage for freeborn males in Ireland would finish at fourteen years old, but thereafter the boys were in social limbo. They lacked the wealth to establish their own families, so they joined the fian, ‘an independent organization of predominantly landless, unmarried, unsettle, and young men given to haunting, warfare, and sexual license outside the tuath.’ At around twenty years of age, often on the acquisition of an inheritance through the death of older male relatives, a young man would finally join the group of married property owners.” (Crawford 1999: 162)
Creating Warriors


“Roundtree (1989) provided a more extensive description of the huskanaw ceremony relative to Powhatan boys, who were trained from early in life to be stoic warriors who could withstand multiple hardships. Boys were initiated from 10 to 15 years of age… After a series of impressive violent acts directed toward the initiates (which were more aggressive in appearance than in actuality), boys experienced a series of abductions. Ultimately, the boys were held deep in the forest for several months by older, initiated men, who subjected the boys to beating and forced them to ingest an intoxicating but dangerous plant (possibly jimsonweed).” (Markstrom 2008: 161) Roundtree, Helen C. (1989) The Powhatan Indians of Virginia: Their Traditional Culture. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

[California] Atsugewi boys underwent a puberty celebration when their voices changed. They endured a variety of challenging activities, including whipping and gargling with sand. Yana boys also were whipped with bow strings and would have their ears pierced and possibly their septums perforated. Foothill Yokut boys were strengthened though nightly swims in the winter. At age 12, Cahto boys were put in a dance house for the winter and were warned about dangers and instructed to be good.” (Markstrom 2008: 168)

Moritz, Mark (ND) Disentangling honor psychology and pastoral personality: An ecocultural analysis of herding outlines of FulBe children in West Africa, unpublished paper. The Ohio State University.

Pastoral society, N. Cameroon…

“Peer-peer aggression is frequent during herding. FulBe fight with sticks, knives, and/or bow and arrow. Boys are taught and encouraged from a very early age to fight with sticks and they practice the art regularly among themselves; they challenge each other with insults and spar with their herding sticks. When they encounter other young herders during herding, they will challenge them and engage in stick fights…Young boys who are insulted but fail to retaliate may be beat by older family members. Most FulBe men of twenty-five have been in at least one serious fight and everybody has scars from stick fights. Blows are directed at the head and can be fatal. Men continue to engage regularly in fights until age 30. These practices have given FulBe men a reputation for unrestrained and easily provoked aggression of which they are very proud. This socialization in stick fights is institutionalized in a rite of passage called soro…that marks their subsequent transition to manhood. Twice a year, at the onset and the end of the rainy season, some nomadic FulBe clans come together for celebrations such as name giving festivals, dances, and the soro. The soro is a test of manhood, courage, and resistance to pain in which a candidate has to show no reaction whatsoever while he is severely beaten with a stick by a tester.” (Moritz ND: 23)
“Through repeated participation over a period of a couple years in the soro a young FulBe becomes a man. FulBe men cannot marry unless they have successfully participated in the soro [which] takes place in the afternoon when FulBe gather around the candidates. Girls of marriageable age form the inner ring of the audience circled around the young men, and the rest of the clan in the outer circle. When young candidates come forward they stand motionless, either with their hands clasped over their heads or with a mirror in their hand. The tester, armed with a tough branch of tamarind, then circles around the candidate, feinting at him, until suddenly he lets a blow come home. The candidate must take these blows without so much as the flicker of an eyelid. “In fact, to assure himself that he has not shown any sign of emotion, the individual being beaten holds a mirror to his face throughout the contest”. The blows can be cruel, leaving great weals, or even open wounds which produce large scars of which the FulBe are very proud. Accidental disembowelment has been known. When candidates fail the test, they are seized by the girls, their kilts torn off and substituted with girls’ kilts, and made to sit with the children. Failure to successfully participate in the contest leads to humiliation by relatives, social disgrace, and a distinct disadvantage in obtaining wives. To pass the soro is to establish a reputation of courage and strength which indicates the ability to defend the family herds, which is essential when men marry and start their own family herd. In fact, men that pass the soro are given cattle by their patrilineal kin.” (Moritz ND: 24)


“When FulBe Mare’en boys start herding at age five or six, older male relatives become responsible for their socialization and also, significantly, for their discipline; since cattle are essential to a family’s survival any negligence must be punished, and the adult disciplinarians are commensurately powerful figures in the boys’ lives. When they are old enough to herd, boys no longer sleep with their mother but next to the corral in order to control, if necessary, cattle frightened by prowling hyenas and lions. At this stage of life they also no longer eat with their mother and sisters but with the men. Through explicit instruction, listening to conversations, and observation they learn about the general dietary needs of cattle, which types of grasses appeal most to cattle, the characteristics of each animal, the dominance hierarchy in the herd, and the genealogy of the herd.” (Moritz 2008: 111)

“At the same time, early contact with their father and other male role models allows boys to form a realistic image of the appropriate male behavior at a relatively young age. From their male role models FulBe Mare’en boys also become more socialized into a hierarchical social structure of dominance and submission. Boys also learn to exercise dominance over other people. They are taught and encouraged from a very early age to fight with sticks and they practice the art regularly among themselves; they challenge each other with insults and spar with their herding sticks.” (Moritz 2008: 112)

“Freedom from adult monitoring may also be an important factor in the socialization of young FulBe boys since they have the opportunity to explore, follow their own impulses, and satisfy their curiosity. In comparison with youths from agricultural populations, for example, boys in herding societies have relatively more same-sex contact with peers. Cross-cultural research has shown that these peer dyads are characterized by a high proportion of both sociability and
aggression. When FulBe boys are alone in the bush dominance struggles and peer assaults are a recurrent event and appear to be motivated partly by a strong need to prove their masculinity.” (Moritz 2008: 112)


“The age at which a child reached theoretical adult status was still twelve years old.” (Crawford 1999: 42)

“Turning to the semantic evidence, far from drawing distinctions between ‘child’ and ‘warrior’, the difficulty lies in disentangling these concepts. Although *cild* was frequently used to mean ‘child’, it also had the connotation of ‘young warrior’, a confusion of terms that can hardly be coincidental…Here, there can be no equivocation about he meaning of *cniht* – he is a boy, specifically stated as not being fully grown to adulthood even by Anglo-Saxon terms, yet the writer has no doubt that his audience will accept his presence in the thick of battle, fighting by the side of the war leader. Wulfmaer may be a boy, but he is no novice. He is a seasoned warrior.” (Crawford 1999: 160)


“The drinking of blood apparently functioned as an initiation rite. Eduardo, a seventeen-year-old from Kuito, recalled: “I drank blood on the day I finished my military training, in the swearing-in ceremony. We all had to drink two spoons of blood each. They told us that this was important to prevent us from being haunted by the spirits of the people we might kill…Echoes of traditional religious beliefs and practices are audible in these testimonies. Militia commanders deliberately used features of local peacetime initiation rituals in the initiation of recruits into violence in order to make boys soldiers fearless and to mystify the taking of life. Herbal medicines were sometimes given to recruits in order to enable them to fight courageously and protect them from death during combat.” (Honwana 2006: 62)

“Together with strenuous physical exercise, manipulation of weapons, and the imposition of strict discipline, these practices represent a powerful ritualized initiation into a culture of violence and terror. However, while initiation may have transformed some boys into strong and fierce combatants it did not facilitate their social transition into responsible adulthood.” (Honwana 2006: 63)

“It was very hard to kill, and then look at all the dead bodies.” (Honwana 2006: 65)
Sexuality


“Evidence from the anthropological record indicates that in most human societies, parents control the mating access to their offspring. Based on these data, a model of sexual selection has been recently proposed, whereby along with female and male choice, parental choice constitutes a significant sexual selection force in our species. This model was found to provide a good account for the mating patterns which are typical of foraging societies. By employing data from the Standard Cross Cultural Sample, the present study aims at examining whether society types are made and two model-derived hypotheses are tested. First, it is hypothesized that male parents exert greater decision making power in agropastoral societies than in hunting and gathering ones. Both hypotheses are supported by the results presented here. The evolutionary implications of these findings are also explored.” (Apolstolou 2009: 39)

“Mating patterns between foraging and agropastoral societies appear to be different in at least two ways: in agropastoral societies men have more decision making power over marriage arrangements than women, and parents exercise more control over the mating decisions of their male offspring. These differences can be explained by the wealth produced in each society type: more male-controlled wealth is produced in agropastoral societies than in hunting and gathering ones, which in turn provides men with more power over their offspring’s mating decisions.” (Apolstolou 2009: 46)


“Sexual difficulties and repressions are quite unknown…On moonlit nights the young people used to assemble in some glade in the palm forest for singing, dancing and amorous games.” (Danielsson 1952: 123)


At a later stage the young man, not yet with a beard grown, freed from supervision, rejoices in horses and dogs and the grassy, sunny field of the Campus Martius; as impressionable as wax, he is easily influenced to vice, sharp with any who reprimand him, slow to see what will be beneficial, prodigal with money, high-handed, full of desires, and swift to leave aside the objects of his desire.” (Rawson 2003: 137)

“Athletic contests, where competitors performed naked, were deemed unsuitable for women and girls, who were denied access while such contests were in progress. Indeed, there was a body of opinion at Rome that athletics and gymnasia sports had a corrupting effect on participants. They were associated with excessive leisure for young men, and nakedness and close bodily (Rawson 2003:329) contact were thought to lead to improper relationships (i.e. homosexuality).” (Rawson 2003: 330)

“An early marriage is sought for her especially if she begins to show a marked interest in men, for her parents are concerned that she does not build a reputation for loose morals…In traditional families, the problem was solved by marrying daughters off before puberty, even as young as nine or ten. These little girls would move into their husband’s home, to be brought up by him and the mother-in-law, and it would be her new family’s concern, no longer her parents’, to keep her away from other men.” (Geertz 1961: 56)


“The years when adolescence visit the dormitory can be considered a transitory period between childhood and adulthood. This transitional period ends with marriage when young people turn into responsible members of the village community.” (Hardenberg 2006: 73)
Coming of Age


“The restrictions on the girl were not really lifted until she married. Mothers watched their little daughters carefully from the time they were twelve years old, anticipating the first fateful stains. These little girls had been warned what to expect and that they should promptly report it.” (De Laguna 1965: 20)

“During this period she thirsted and fasted, sitting as immobile as possible her fingers laced together with string.” (De Laguna 1965: 20)

“The girl’s dolls were all given to her paternal cross-cousins. The girls also performed magical exercises during the first eight days. She rubbed a hard stone around her lips and face eight times, and this, too, was buried under a stump. “This makes your tongue and face heavy, so you can’t gossip.” (De Laguna 1965: 20)

“Girls who had been confined “can hardly walk or stand when they come out.” However, the girl was not yet really free, for the mother exercised a strict chaperonage over her daughter until the latter married, even accompanying her to the latrine. This period of supervision did not usually last long, since a girl was considered marriageable as soon as her puberty seclusion was ended, and the prudent or aristocratic parents too pains to marry her off promptly.” (De Laguna 1965: 21)

Modern initiation rite...


““Youth Challenge,” is a National Guard run program (http://www.ngyep.org/site/) to rescue inner city dropouts. Takes aimless young men who are flunking school and subjects them to rigorous discipline. The normal adolescent pleasures of drugs, alcohol and sex are prohibited. Many are turned away because of felony convictions and many drop out or are thrown out for violations but it does seem that a significant number who complete the program become sober, hard-working citizens completing their GED, staying employed, joining the armed forces.” (Eckholm 2009: online)

““But for the right person, Youth Challenge seems to work. Branden Williams, 22, of Augusta finished the camp at Fort Gordon in 2005. “I was headed down the wrong path, skipping school, doing drugs,” he said. “Youth Challenge changed my life totally.” “All my friends are either locked up or dead,” Mr. Williams said, “and that’s where I would have ended up.” He decided he needed to do something radical after he was stabbed eight times on a school bus.” (Eckholm 2009: online)

“The Guajiro are a cattle-herding tribe who inhabit the arid, windswept Guajira peninsula in northwestern South America. They have a matrilineal social organization, and a strongly developed social class system.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 193)

“When the girl reaches puberty her life changes drastically. She is isolated from society and kept in seclusion for about two to five years depending on the socioeconomic position of her family.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 194)

“The hut is small with a very low entrance so that a woman can enter only by crawling on her knees, and it has no windows. But informants added, sometimes with a concerned smile, that there were usually some peepholes in the hut through which the men attempted to get a look at the girl.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 195)

“The next step is very important and involves cutting the girl’s hair. Customarily someone other than the girl’s caretaker will cut her hair. The woman who does this gives the girl advice on how to behave herself in the future: “At this moment I will cut your hair. You will lose all your hair, the hair of your childhood. So this does not exist anymore. New hair will grow, the hair of a woman. This hair of yours will be cut now because all the world touched it when you were a child. You are not a little girl anymore. Don’t laugh like little girls do; your life will change now. Now you must take responsibility.” If the girl cries she will be severely criticized for her childish attitude and reminded of her new status as an adult woman who must exercise self-control.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 197)

“The products that the girl weaves during the encierro are sold by her family. The money or the animals received for the weavings become the girl’s property. Frequently the interested clients are young men who show their interest in the girl in this way.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 204)

“The mother is usually the one who decides the length of the encierro. After a period of time ranging from two to five years the girl it told that she is ready to leave.” (Watson-Franke 1976: 204)


“The boy’s kufar is much the less elaborate and important. It comes about when he begins to show secondary sex characteristics and is marked by three elements: a change to adult clothing, the performance of magic, and the giving of a feast. All this occurs on the same day. The boy changes from the long grass-like hibiscus “skirt” to the banana fiber breechclout of men. This is followed by a rite performed by one of the parents, or any relative of friend knowing the (Lessa 1966: 101) formula.” (Lessa 1966: 102)
“The *kufar* for girls is much more prolonged and important than that for boys, having two aspects, one of which signifies the physiological coming of age and the other the sociological attainment of adulthood.” (Lessa 1966: 102)

“As soon as the girl notices the first flow of blood she knows she must immediately repair to the women’s house.” (Lessa 1966: 102)

“It is after the several liaisons that come before marriage that a boy and girl discover that they have a deeper interest in one another than one based on sexual relations alone.” (Lessa 1966: 105)

“The initiation of marriage negotiations, then, arises out of the probings so freely permitted young people.” (Lessa 1966: 105)


“An adult female mentor, and not necessarily the girl’s mother, often performs various actions related to both instruction and physical manipulation to shape the initiate.” (Markstrom 2008: 76)…The adult female mentor is perceived as possessing the power to reshape and remake the girl into her image.” (Markstrom 2008: 77)

“She also presents a certain sort of danger due to the power attached to her earliest menstrual cycles. Some cultures, such as many of the Subarctic, required pubescent girls to be in seclusion, sometimes up to 2 years, and, when in public, they wore a large hood or bonnet that shielded their face from others.” (Markstrom 2008: 79)

“Rituals performed at the event of physiological puberty are designed to advance maturation in other domains of development, such as the psychological, social, and emotional selves.” (Markstrom 2008: 80)

“…purposes of the Navajo Kinaaldá…celebration, recognition of reproductive capability, instruction on social roles, tests of physical endurance, performance of rituals to develop desired physical and character traits, to develop strength…” (Markstrom 2008: 80)

“Schlegel and Barry (1980) in their examination of data from the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample on initiation ceremonies…reported that across all world areas and for girls, fertility was the primary focus, followed by responsibility and then sexuality…[they] defined responsibility as “impressing upon the initiate the importance of taking adult duties, usually productive ones (1980, p. 78).”” (Markstrom 2008: 82)


Many rites were painful…
At San Juan Pueblo, girls and boys of age 10 and older experienced a finishing rite in which the two sexes were separated and whipped by the head kachina… (Markstrom 2008: 131)

“Maricopa girls were secluded at puberty in circular huts…In addition to seclusion at first menses, a wide range of pubertal events occurred in the non-Pueblo Southwest…Yuma girls who were to lie in a shallow pit heated with stones…Girls of the Southwest were required to perform tests of physical endurance and industry. The Yavapais practiced a variety of arduous rituals in connection with girls’ coming-of-age experiences. For 4 days, girls had to rise in the morning prior to others and bring in water and firewood and engage in other tasks.” (Markstrom 2008: 131)

“The Havasupai girl was required to run to the east at sunrise and the west at sunset…Fasting from various food and liquid items also was common…The Cocopa girl was required to have her back walked on by a female relative…Tattooing of the pubescent girl occurred.” (Markstrom 2008: 132)

“Her mother and other female relatives visited her daily to remind her on matters of cleanliness, keeping a good temper, and being industrious…Serrano girls were instructed on how to be good wives.” (Markstrom 2008: 135)

“The Athabascan groups of the California cultural area had special puberty schools where both boys and girls might be instructed. Coast Miwoks had doctoring specialists, one who sang over girls at menses.” (Markstrom 2008: 135)

“Tlingit girls, for whom confinement could last for 2 years; during this time they were supervised by female relatives who also taught them traditions of the clan…The initiate’s grandmothers would rub a stone on her mouth eight times and then the stone would be buried. The purpose of this rite was to prevent the girl from becoming a gossip…Tlingit girl’s seclusion could be spent in a dark hold under a platform of a house.” (Markstrom 2008: 1450)

“Teslin pubescent girls were to remain quiet and subdued but were also to stay engaged with industrious tasks in order to ensure that they would be industrious in adulthood.” (Markstrom 2008: 149)

“Wasco, Wishram, and Cascade boys would present to the elders their first catch of fish or results of a successful hunt. Among the Cayuse, Umatilla, and the Wall Walla cultures, a family ceremony would be held and elders would be given the products of boys’ first kill of game or fish.” (Markstrom 2008: 171)

“Gwich’in boys were “thrown out” of their parental lodge and sent to live with other boys in a special lodge where they would live until marriage (Slobodin, 1981).” (Markstrom 2008: 173)

“In addition to the taboos against eating meat, fish, or berries, Carrier girls were prohibited from even toughing men’s objects.” (Markstrom 2008: 182)

**Apache coming of age=Sunrise Dance. Families must raise money, find sponsors, services of medicine man, etc. pp. 209-248. Contrast with Rodeo Queen—seems like an “anti-coming of age” ceremony…**

**Mend the error of her ways…**

“The belief in the pubescent’s malleable quality at this time of the life span compels that she be shaped and influenced in ways that will determine the course of the remainder of her life.” (Markstrom 2008: 262)

“If a girl did not experience the puberty ceremony, it was thought that she would be unhealthy and face a short life.” (Markstrom 2008: 263)

“Great expenses of time, money, and energy on the part of the initiate family are evident, such as with the Apache Sunrise Dance.” (Markstrom 2008: 341)


**Basil = 4th century…**

“Basil suggests the age of about sixteen or seventeen to be an age that “possesses the fullness of reason” or “the age of full intelligence.”” (Alberici 2007: 198)


**Forest foragers from Orinoco Delta…**

“To be accepted by the bride-to-be’s father is quite another. Crucial for the latter (Wilbert 1976: 326) decision is the bridegrooms’s ability to handle the tool of a man. Does he know how to prepare a garden, hunt, fish, build a house? Above all, does he know how to make a canoe? If he is accepted by his in-laws, the young man’s father –in-law may ask him to manufacture a dugout for him, …with the birth of the first child the adolescent’s Haburi-behavior terminates. He has successfully entered the world of adults.” (Wilbert 1976: 327)


“Spinning, weaving and sewing were the activities that defined the gender. The neutral Old English *man* was given masculine gender by the addition of a weapon to *weampan*, while the female compound was created by the addition of weaving: *wifman.*” (Crawford 1999: 167)
“A girl enters adolescence with her first menstruation, a boy with his circumcision ceremony…Girls—who from childhood have been given serious responsibilities around the home—have a very short adolescence and, by the age of fifteen may already have a child…Circumcision is only a boy’s first step toward maturity, the period of irresponsibility continuing usually until after his twenty. Since he cannot marry until he can support a wife, he continues to live at home even though he is working.” (Geertz 1961: 120)


“Circumcision was arranged for three or four boys at the same time. Their age would range from six to fifteen years.” (Broch 1990: 110)

“Girls are usually “circumcised some years earlier than boys, that is, at from six to twelve years or an approximate average of eight years. … Arranging the ceremonies is expensive. This is another factor that affects the parents’ decision about when their daughters should be circumcised. Food has to be provided. The rituals last for two days, during which all villagers are fed three times. Special costumes are rented, and a ritual leader is hired.” (Broch 1990: 130)

“The novices have to control their emotional expression at least during the public parts of the ritual. …Children are not responsible for most violations of social rules and norms, and they are not thought able to control their emotions. Adults are by definition capable of not getting carried away by emotional display. …during circumcision rituals the novices are (Broch 1990: 137) formally introduced to the ideal standards of conduct to which adults should conform. … An aspect of malu behavior involves shame and respect for others in interaction. Individuals therefore must know their social position. After circumcision boys and girls are supposed to gradually pay more attention to these matters.” (Broch 1990: 138)

“Also the context of task assignments to the initiated girl and boy involve new dimensions. They are now given more assignments and after a while they are supposed to contribute more to the needs of their households. The actual tasks may not differ from those they previously were involved with.” (Broch 1990: 138)


“This is the first full length account of the Uduk people of the Sudan, who live uneasily between the northern and southern regions of the country, in the borderland close to the Ethiopian frontier.” (James 1979: preface)

“…subsistence way of life, based today on hoe cultivation of sorghum and maize, hunting and fishing, and the rearing of a few domestic animals. Hunting was probably far more important in the past than it is today.” (James 1979: 4)
“First marriage takes place at an early age, often soon after puberty, and is entered with a sense of spice, adventure, and competition, especially among the young men. Tales are told for years afterwards with great relish, of the hazardous courtship expeditions of one’s younger days, when a boy went “weasel-crawling” (ya leheny, to go as a weasel, i.e. secretly to steal) to exchange endearments with his sweetheart through a small hole in the wall of her hut...A bold lover may creep into the girl’s hut to continue the flirtation in greater comfort, but all the time there is the danger that her relatives will wake up, and beat the boy or chase him far out of the hamlet. When he eventually arranges to elope with her, they spend a few days in a friend’s hut, as secretly as possible.” (James 1979: 136)

“The boy begins to build the hut, and when it is completed brings his bride to live in it. A beer party is held (this should be, but is not always, at the boy’s father’s hamlet), and there may be dancing; and the central element in the ritual is the anointing of the new couple with red ochre (which often marks the completion of a rite of passage, and at the same time suggests health and strength). The wife returns to her own hamlet for the birth of her first child, and after a few weeks a double ceremony is held, with beer and sacrifices at the wife’s and the husband’s hamlets, and the child is conducted in a formal procession from its birthplace to its father’s home.” (James 1979: 137)


This supervision intensified as a girl approached puberty. Although she may have enjoyed some liberties roaming about the village as a young child, with the approach of puberty a girl was required to stay close to home and was barred from going out at all in the evening. For girls attending school, such restrictions sometimes meant end to her education, especially where continuing might require traveling long distances...An extreme example of the sheltering of girls was the traditional practice called coul plup, or “entering the shade.” Coul plup occurred at first menses and involved seclusion of the young girls in a darkened room. This period of seclusion usually lasted from three weeks to three months, but in some cases it was longer.” (Smith-Hefner 1993: 145)

“The longer a girl stayed in seclusion, the more desirable she became and the greater the bride price she could demand.” (Smith-Hefner 1993: 146)...A family’s name has been sullied because of a daughter’s misbehavior; the family may be obliged to forgo receipt of a bride price. Since bride price among Khmer in the United States typically averages between $3000 and $6000, the economic consequences of such a disaster are painfully real.” (Smith-Hefner 1993: 149)


“In Angola, among the Tchokwe’, children are identified through the roles they assume; they are even named according to their occupation (p. 41) and roles. For example, tchitutas are girls and boys around the age of five to seven, whose role is to fetch water and tobacco for the elders and take messages to neighbors. Kambumbu are children (especially girls), seven to thirteen years of age, who participate active in household chores and help parents in the field or with fishing and
hunting. *Mukwenge wa lunga* (boys) and the *mwana pwo* (girls), around the age of thirteen, have to pass the rites of initiation. In Mozambique, young girls become wives as early as thirteen or fourteen years of age and become mothers soon after; they are introduced to the roles and responsibilities of married life and motherhood.” (Honwana 2006: 42)


“Amish grant freedom to adolescents to stray from strict lifestyle. They do this so that the adolescents may freely choose between joining the world or withdrawing for eternity into the closed Amish society. For example, adolescent permitted cell phone until they begin instruction to permanently join the church. Then they pass it on to someone younger. 95% elect to join the church.” (Korbin 2008: presentation)

This is a reversal of the prevailing pattern where societies typically impose restrictions on male adolescents, often via painful initiation rites…
Adolescence and Social Change in Traditional Societies


Globalization of youth culture=fashion

*Fashion*=youth culture transcends culture and class

“Contemporary socioeconomic changes have made fashion increasingly associated with youth.” (Cole 2008: 101)

“Today, however, people unequivocally associate youth with fashion.” (Cole 2008: 101)


“In recognizing the agency of youth (or children, or women, or the poor and oppressed), anthropologists are engaged in an act of liberation, or restoring to those who seem powerless their individual rights to act effectively upon the world.” (Durham 2008: 151)

“The idea of apathy invoked by these youth program officers and youth wing members is related to specific ideas of agency, or potential agency. These assessments—that youth were not voting, that they were not joining political parties, that they were politically uneducated and politically uninterested. … Independence and leadership are not, however, the forms in which most youth in Botswana find their agency in society.” (Durham 2008: 157)

“The sense in anthropology that agency is fundamentally oppositional, standing against structure, hegemony, and routine…We easily find youth agency, then, in the burning of public government buildings in Botswana.” (Durham 2008: 165)

“…young people sitting on benches, their heads resting on their hands, “listening intently” and showing a “positive attitude”…the listening of children and senior men, is an important form of social action in Botswana and does not necessarily signal passivity or subordination.” (Durham 2008: 171)

“A person’s life is not organized around increasing independence and self-determination, but around increasing interdependencies and the kind of mutualities that come with effective sentiment, in which older people have more effective, powerful, and determining roles.” (Durham 2008: 171)

“The riotous youth of Mmankgodi, torching buildings and tormenting government officials…express a sense of anger, found elsewhere in Africa, that young people are being
thwarted in their search for opportunities and advancement by greedy elders holding on to wealth, jobs, and appropriate support.” (Durham 2008: 173)


“Growing up in a culture that prized well-behaved wives, Cho believes she can help young Chinese women find their way as individuals. ‘I hope that being on a Chinese cheerleading team means equality and opportunity. Whoever works hard and performs well can be a cheerleader,’ Cho explained. ‘It’s not about perfect women or big chests or tiny waists & I hope that cheerleading can help Chinese women to find themselves.’” (Kent 2008: online)


“A child who does not grow up under the protective “shadow of parents” (zir-e say-ye pedar va madar) is supposedly heading for delinquency. Only the shadow of an elder (say-ye yek bozorgtar) can guarantee one’s wellbeing. Tarbiyat kardan in Persian is used for both educating and punishing. Iranian schools are not very different from military bases imposing harsh discipline and punishment.” (Khosravi 2008: 26)

“Iranian law legitimates the father’s total authority over his child. In the process of tutoring punishment is justifiable even if it results in the (Khosravi 2009: 26) death of the child.” (Khosravi 2008: 27)

“…the morad/morid relationship is a generational hierarchy that allocates power to the elders, a system that schools youngsters into total obedience to the patriarch. Morad is the master and morid the disciple. The master is also called pir (old) in Sufism. To find the right path in life, one needs a master, a pir. A person with out a pir is “like a wild tree that bears no fruit.” The Sufi master not only is a teacher, but is himself the goal (morad literally means goal), a beloved role model for living. The disciple loves his master and devotes a large part of his life to serving him.” (Khosravi 2008: 27)

“The Parent-Teacher Association (Anjoman-e Ulia va Murabian), a government organization with a “caring mission,” publishes books for parents on how youth should be disciplined and how to counter “Weststruckness.” (Khosravi 2008: 28)

“Since backstage culture is officially stigmatized as “cultural crime,” a large part of young people’s everyday life becomes unlawful. Attorney Kambiz Nourozi believes that ‘the majority of Iranian youth are in a mental state of considering themselves as ‘criminal.’ Consequently, notions like ‘illegality’ and ‘criminal behavior’ do not carry the same meaning for Iranian youngsters as they might do elsewhere.’ Iranian youths are branded as law-breakers in their trivial everyday life. A large part of their daily practices are classified as unlawful” wearing a T-shirt or a shirt of a color inappropriate for the occasion (e.g., a red one during Moharram), eating ice-cream on the street during Ramadan, playing illicit music in the car, showing more hair or
skin than is allowed, or just being in the wrong place at the wrong time (e.g., in front of a girl’s house at 4 p.m. when the girls stream out).” (Khosravi 2008: 125)

“Today’s generation is perhaps the most rebellious generation in the modern history of Iran. They are believed to show disrespect for social and ethical norms, particularly sexual ones (nasl-e biband o bar). Having grown up with Islamic mass media and been educated in Islamic schools, they criticize and reject not only political Islam but also Islamic traditions in general, which were unquestionable for their parents’ generation.” (Khosravi 2008: 126)

“The younger generation in Iran is the most Americanized generation in the whole region. The systematic anti-American propaganda, particularly by IRIB, over the past two decades has backfired and converted Iranian youngsters into America fans.” (Khosravi 2008: 127)

“The internet has become an alternative space for Iranian youth.” (Khosravi 2008: 157)

“The fascination with non-Islamic Iranian culture among young Tehranis is articulated in different forms. One of them is the growing appeal of Zoroastrianism. Asserting that the “real” religion of Iranian is Zoroastrianism, young people identify themselves with the religion rather than with “Arab” Islam. The lure of the pre-Islamic Persian identity is also demonstrated in “pilgrimages” to the sites of antiquity.” (Khosravi 2008: 167)

“Small figurines of Ahouramazda, the Zoroastrian God, have become a popular necklace pendant among young people.” (Khosravi 2008: 267)


Rural, agrarian native Indians from southern Andean region of Chile. In transition as children go to school but continue to contribute critical labor inputs to family subsistence. Children speak Spanish predominantly, learning English in school but rarely use native tongue.

Discusses concern of parents and grandparents that children are not learning their language and culture. So the father takes the extraordinary step of trying to teach his 4 daughters.

“We are Mapuche, we speak Mapuche!” I often heard statements like these, that affirmed the need to speak Mapudungun, but there seemed to be a discrepancy in the expressed wishes to learn and the actual interest in learning. When asked who would teach them, the girls answered that their parents would, but in the occasions where the parents made an effort to teach them, the girls always seemed to find something more interesting to do. The youngest often felt the desire to ride the bike at that precise moment while the older girls just took off in different directions claiming they were busy. Both parents are bilingual and especially Don Artemio takes time to explain the language to the girls. He often put on different tapes with language courses and made
the girls repeat the words after the tapes. The tapes went through the basics as for example, the numbers, the colours, the kinship terms, topography etc. The girls often sat and listened to the tapes for a while, but soon they got bored and wandered of. When the father pointed out that it was not he who needed to learn as he already knew, the girls often mumbled something about, “taking classes some other day…” (p. 60-1)

… 15 year old boy, has been brought up by their grandmother, who mostly speaks Mapudungun. He has an almost perfect understanding of the language, and has therefore no trouble communicating with the grandmother but he usually answers her in Spanish. It is very seldom he speaks Mapudungun at all…The fact that he did not want to speak it was attributed to his age where “You’re supposed to feel embarrassed over almost everything”. (p. 65)

“On one occasion Ayelen was given instructions in Mapudungun by her grandmother. The girl did not understand any of it and just stared at her grandmother clearly bewildered and confused. The grandmother repeated what she had said but the girl still seemed a bit lost. As no one of her sisters was around she had to fend for herself and it was not going very well at all.(p. 67)

The schools have taken to give the children education in Spanish and catholic faith and it was therefore up to the parents to teach the children “the Mapuche way”; the Mapudungun and the ancestral religion. [The daughters] have managed to create their own version of the two different religions as they combine parts of both. This is done in an unconscious way as they actually never seem to reflect over the fact that they are indeed mixing two religions.(p. 69)


Kamea tribe, Gulf Province.

"Until recently, initiation was also a necessary precursor to marriage. It was inconceivable for an uninitiated youth to take a wife. The men's cult taught men how to behave in the presence of women and how to avoid being contaminated by the polluting sexual substances of their brides-to-be. Within the contemporary context, it is up to the boy himself to decide whether or not to participate in the ceremonies. On the basis of my research (p. 42) I estimate that approximately 30 to 40 percent of the boys will choose to undergo full initiation rites, meaning that they will sport a pierced nasal septum as an adult. It is important to note, however, that this does not give an entirely accurate picture of where things stand. A truncated form of initiation is emerging wherein boys are taught all the secrets of the men's cult and are shown the bullroarers (mautwa) but refrain from having their noses pierced. This is done, I was told, in order to hide the men's cult from the local missionaries, who have been relentless in their campaign to put an end to the initiation practices since they first began to work in the region during the 1960s. Because these men do not embody any visible sign of their changed status, it is difficult to know how many have participated in this abbreviated system of rites." (Bamford 2004: 43)

“Sri Lankan industrialists and managers share these assumptions about women and men with their counterparts around the world. In conversations with me they invoked all three of these concepts (nimble fingers, patience, and obedience).” (Lynch 2007: 26)

“A significant reason that the garment industry in the 1990s was targeted toward women employees was because the government needed men to enlist to fight in the war…The Sinhala expression gāni, juki, pīrimi tuwakku sums it up: “Juki for women, guns for men.” I heard this point, in different words (“women work in garment factories, men work in the army”).” (Lynch 2007: 27)

“Colombo is perceived by many Sri Lankans to be a corrupt, morally degrading space, and this perception is symbolized by the position of Juki girls. Of the thousands of factory workers in Colombo, by far the most work in the garment industry. These women generally have migrated from their villages, and so they live in boarding houses away from their parents. They are frequently seen walking in the streets, going to movie theaters and shopping, and socializing with men…In illustration of the usage and negative connotation of the word, when prospective grooms advertise for spouses in Sinhala newspaper marriage proposals, they sometimes disqualify garment factory workers with the phrase “no garment girls” or “no Juki girls.” (Lynch 2007: 107)

“Village factory women are assumed to be “good” because they are living in their villages.” (Lynch 2007: 155)


“In Paraíba, despite efforts by community members encouraging youth to connect to their “African” ancestry, young people wanted to leave the mountains, learn to use computers, learn foreign languages, and travel. They did not see “traditional” activities, such as making clay pots to sell, as economically viable or desirable. Despite stereotypes of being “rooted to the land,” these contemporary youth covet jobs in the city and leave with no intention of returning.” (Kenny 2007: 113)

Child soldiers…

Mozambique…
“Male labor migration to the diamond and gold mines of Witwatersrand and Kimberly in South Africa began in the mid-nineteenth century. For generation after generation, young men left home to find work and earn money to marry. According to local tradition, “You become a man after having been in South Africa.” Men remained away from home for long periods, generally for eighteen months at a time. Some migrants eventually returned permanently. Others created second families in South Africa while sending remittances home.’ (Honwana 2006: 81)
“Many adults in Mozambique and Angola mentioned that communities in the aftermath of war are still dealing with the serious disruptions the wars caused in the life course of young people. Beyond the massive killings and material destruction, beyond even the transformation of particular children into merciless killers, the wars left a deep moral crisis. Because children were abducted from their homes and school to fight, the initiation rituals and systematic preparation of young people to become responsible adults ceased. A whole generation was seriously affected.” (Honwana 2006: 43)

“Although nine-year-old Paulo was less likely than seventeen-year-old Pitango to have been involved in combat, his family took measures to prevent his being involved in combat, his family took measures to prevent his being afflicted by spirits of the dead. Perhaps his age made him more vulnerable, even though it had delayed his military training. Traditional chiefs (sobas), healers, and diviners (kimbandas), and elders (seculos) in Angola described and explained the rituals used in their regions to purify and reintegrate returning soldiers. A kimbanda in Uige, Angola, explained the procedure for welcoming home a former boy soldier.” (Honwana 2006: 112)


**Estrangement from traditional culture…**

“The exaggerated discipline of the guerrilla camps left little room for male adolescents to develop concepts of autonomy and control. They were not given a chance to practice and learn how to be campesino adults, dedicated to subsistence agriculture. They were also not given a chance to learn socially acceptable use of alcohol or tobacco, as these were prohibited. They had not learned how to be adults in peace time, yet they were also not prepared to return to the role of the child, as they had assumed adult responsibilities during the war.” (Dickson-Gómez 2003: 344)

Additionally, government forces labeled all campesinos, and especially adolescent campesinos, as violent "subversives" who would destroy the Salvadoran family and state, a negative label given more weight by the government's genocidal campaign against campesinos. The stigmatized role of guerrilla soldier and the lack of preparation for a new, adult peacetime identity has led many youth to choose the negative identity of the "irresponsible" and "violent" marero (delinquent/ gang member). This is in sharp contrast to the role of "protector" of the family assumed in earlier years. (Dickson-Gómez 2003: 345)


In the West children are often viewed as innocents in need of nurturing guidance and protection, but “soldiers, in contrast, are associated with strength, aggression, and the responsible maturity of adulthood. The paradoxical combination of child and soldier is unsettling (Honwana 2006: 3)...Are they then victims to be rehabilitated or agents of their own futures as a result of their experience?...Children affected by conflict—both girls and boys—do not constitute a
homogenous group of helpless victims but exercise an agency of their own find[ing] themselves in an unsanctioned position between childhood and adulthood.” (Honwana 2006: 4)


“She contends that since children were accustomed to agricultural work, white farmers could buy children’s labor from their fathers. Secondly, older children took migrant labor as an opportunity to leave rural homesteads where seniors had rights over their work. Thirdly, she suggests that when African farmers lost boys to colonial capitalists, girls’ participation in labor-related activities increased.” (Grier 2006: 481)

“At the start of colonial rule, the wage labor of young Africans in the settler economy was perceived by African seniors as [a] potential source of accumulation. For African youth, Grier claims, wage labor became (Grier 2006: 418) an opportunity to gain some independence from patriarchal control. She also speculates that the introduction of a Head Tax payable by every African man over eighteen-years-old was received by African youth as an alternative route to senior status, and more generally that children “used towns, mines, and even mission schools as avenues though which to work out alternative constructions of African childhood.” (Grier 2006: 482)


“The traditional culture of the Inuit did not recognize adolescence as a special period of maturation. So far as I have been able to determine, there is no word for it in the Inuit language…Inuit society was devoid of anything resembling an initiation ceremony for either sex, other than social recognition of a boy’s first kill, or of any other special way of marking the transition. A boy became a man, and a girl a woman. Little note was taken of the transition.” (Matthiasson 1979: 72)

“The intrusion of Euro-Canadian agencies into the lives and world of the Inuit has changed all this (Matthiasson 1979: 72).…Children whose parents at the same age were already hunters or wives now continue to carry their books to school daily, awaiting the time when they can step into the “real” world of adulthood.” (Matthiasson 1979: 73)

“One of the more serious aspects of this discontinuity from land life to hostel living has been…a discontinuity in the use of discipline as a socializing technique.” (Matthiasson 1979: 76)


“Sri Lankan industrialists and managers share these assumptions about women and men with their counterparts around the world. In conversations with me they invoked all three of these concepts (nimble fingers, patience, and obedience).” (Lynch 2007: 26)
A significant reason that the garment industry in the 1990s was targeted toward women employees was because the government needed men to enlist to fight in the war... The Sinhala expression gâni (the ‘a’ needs a line between it and the dots) juki, pirimi tuwakku sums it up: “Juki for women, guns for men.” I heard this point, in different words (“women work in garment factories, men work in the army.”) (Lynch 2007: 27)

Colombo is perceived by many Sri Lankans to be a corrupt, morally degrading space, and this perception is symbolized by the position of Juki girls. Of the thousands of factory workers in Colombo, by far the most work in the garment industry. These women generally have migrated from their villages, and so they live in boarding houses away from their parents. They are frequently seen walking in the streets, going to movie theaters and shopping, and socializing with men... In illustration of the usage and negative connotation of the word, when prospective grooms advertise for spouses in Sinhala newspaper marriage proposals, they sometimes disqualify garment factory workers with the phrase “no garment girls” or “no Juki girls.” (Lynch 2007: 107)

“Village factory women are assumed to be “good” because they are living in their villages.” (Lynch 2007: 155)

Social change and agency...

“The initiation system that traditionally cultivated the Bikhet aspects of men is no longer in place.” (Leavitt 1998: 177)

“The most significant event of the revival was the revelation of the men’s cult secrets during church services. Many said that men had been so shamed by the public airing of their cult activities that it was utterly impossible to conduct initiations. The Tambaran, they said, was dead.” (Leavitt 1998: 178)

“There was also a sense among youths that they, as villagers “from the bush,” would never really be able to make significant contributions to the new social world. No one from the village of Bumbita had ever done well enough in school to be admitted into high school, and that situation seemed unlikely to change.” (Leavitt 1998: 178)

“The term for adolescent males in Bumbita Arapesh is ounohi. It applies to the period of time from the development of secondary sexual characteristics to the time when a young man marries, usually in his twenties. While the term itself no longer applies after marriage, people felt that a man is not fully mature until he has children. Thus for the Bumbita male, adolescence begins as a category of physical development and ends with a change in social status.” (Leavitt 1998: 186)

“His spiritual development is radically incomplete...the Bumbita do not hold that a boy’s physical development will be hampered if he is not initiated into the Tambaran; rather, the
primary effect will be on his ability to produce thriving and abundant crop of yams, an ability intimately connected with spiritual, and masculine power.” (Leavitt 1998: 186)

“Dangers of men to women, by contrast, come almost entirely from the powers created in them traditionally through their Tambaran initiations or through their involvement with the magical arts (Leavitt 1998:186) of curing or sorcery.” (Leavitt 1998:187)

“A primary tool that men use is magic—to enhance the growth of their crops, to lure pigs into their nets, to practice sorcery, to attract women, and more recently, to insure success in gambling games with playing cards. Performing magic lies almost exclusively within the domain of men, and it is intimately associated with the Bumbita conception of what men are.” (Leavitt 1998: 188)
Adolescents as Students and Consumers


“Japan has emerged in the new millennium as a competitive producer of cutting-edge “cool” goods in the tough market of global youth culture, a market long dominated by the United States.” (Allison 2008: 180)

“Most ten- to fourteen-year-olds return home after dark (the average time it 8 p.m.), eat alone, and are involved in exam preparation (44 percent attend cram school). Members of today’s generation are “amenbo kids,” children who, like water spiders, attach easily, but superficially, to multiple things…unsure that even hard work at school will guarantee job security as adults (as it once did for their parents), they (particularly girls) are absorbed in the immediacy of the present. The study calls teenage girls today the “sugar generation” for their attachment to immediate pleasures.” (Allison 2008: 181)


“Driven by information technologies and media, these social changes have helped provide children with new degrees of control over the information they encounter. New technologies have allowed them to engage this information on their own time schedules in isolation from adult supervision…In this new private space children use their access to information and media productions to negotiate their own culture…This conflict between the empowerment and new agency that many children sense in the context of the new childhood versus the confinement and call for higher degrees of parental, educational, and social authority of the ideology of innocence has placed many children in confusing and conflicting social situations.” (Kincheloe, 2002: 78)

The prolongation of childhood …


“2.3 million men and 1.5 million women in the United States between 25 and 34 years old still lived in their parents’ houses. That is 12.5 percent of men and 7.9 percent of women of this age group…an interesting phenomenon is children’s changing expectations for successful independent living.” (Di 2002: online)

“Authors interviewed co-resident adult children and asked if they were living at home because they could not afford to establish their own households or because they did not want to forego their parents’ standard of living. They found that the adult children they interviewed were willing to forego some independence and tolerate some restrictions in order to have more luxuries. As
the luxuries of the older generation have become necessities of the younger, the minimum level of earnings necessary for independent living may have risen. Our model results demonstrate strongly that young adults’ personal income is the major factor that constrains them from independent living.” (Di 2002: online)

Chapter Nine: How Schools Can Raise Property Values
A Tale of Two Lincolns


“Affluent parents who moved [during the study] did so in whole or in part so that their children could attend the local schools in their new towns, pulling out of Oakland neighborhoods for the express purpose of pulling their children out of Oakland schools.” (Pugh 2009: 182)

“It would not be overstating the case to say affluent parents in Oakland organized their lives to some degree around the matter of where their children would go to school. Parents talked of spending thousands of dollars on enrichment and camps and tens of thousands on private school...(Pugh 2009: 190) …For upper-income parents, pathway consumption often started by choosing either private schools or what are essentially “private neighborhoods.”” (Pugh 2009: 191)

“…Dorothy told me, in anticipation of her plans for Olivia’s middle school, that although they valued diversity enough to try the public schools to “see if they are good enough,” at the same time “we’re not going to sacrifice our kids’ education for a principle like that.” “I spent a day in the public school classroom and thought, ‘I…I don’t have to send my kid here.’ said Adrienne, an investment counselor. “ (Pugh 2009: 191)

“Differences could be polluting… “They were in fights almost every day,” said Janet, who quickly transferred her sons to Arrowhead. “I mean, physical fights.” Difference could threaten the innocence of children shielded from the experience of poverty. In this way, my informants echo the feelings of a San Francisco woman quoted in the local newspaper: “People say, ‘Don’t you want her to see the real world?’ I say, ‘Not yet!’”” (Pugh 2009: 195)

This tale is rapidly becoming internationalized:


“A shift toward class-based identities, particularly among the middle class, as parents with different means, knowledge, and aspirations, make school choices that increasingly separate children by social class.” (Brison 2009: 316)

“A growing number of urban indigenous Fijian adults with secure professional jobs differentiate themselves from less prosperous relatives…by distancing themselves from local traditions through such measures as joining evangelical churches that locate individuals squarely with an international Christian community…This is part of a more general shift toward self-definition in an international “middle-class” culture defined by modernist values centering around self-discipline, individual achievement, and consumption of international products. Such parents send their children to multiethnic preschools to encourage them to speak English, believing that this will help them succeed in primary school and in later careers. This choice, in itself, indexes a
greater emphasis on individual success than on preserving indigenous communal culture.”
(Brison 2009: 316)

The Rise of Schooling


“…pueritia, up to the age of twelve for girls and fourteen for boys…was the time for education, with fathers having responsibility for sons, and mothers for daughters. Education for the vast majority of the population did not mean school; it meant a gradual initiation into the world of adult work, whether through a formal apprenticeship, or simply through carrying out more and more skilled tasks within the home or on the land…a mark of the fact that this was an initiating and learning stage [was] that children in it were not held to be fully criminally responsible.”
(Cunningham 1995: 35)

“In the cathedral schools of the middle ages, Ariès argues, ‘as soon as he started going to school [probably between the ages of nine and twelve], the child immediately entered the world of adults. … school began to replace apprenticeship as a means of socialization.’
(Cunningham 1995: 35)

“There is evidence of age-grading in schools, so that adults and children were sepa-(Cunningham 1995: 35)rated, and children themselves put in different classes according to age. And thirdly, there was an imposition of discipline by teachers. Together these changes began to forge the modern linkage between childhood and school, and to create a separate world of childhood. … ‘the scholastic life’ as pointing to the nineteenth century rather than the seventeenth century, far less the middle ages, as the period in which the most fundamental change occurred.”
(Cunningham 1995: 36)

“Erasmus [in the early 16\textsuperscript{th} century] placed considerable emphasis on early education…It was a much greater crime, he claimed, to neglect early education (Cunningham 1995: 43) than to commit infanticide. Erasmus made great play with the time and money people spent on training their dogs or horses compared with the neglect of their children. And he believed that nature had implanted in children the seeds of a desire for knowledge, and a power of memory greater than at any other age. But they needed to be shaped: ‘The child that nature has given you is nothing but a shapeless lump…’Erasmus compared a child to wax, to be moulded while it is soft. Anslem in the twelfth century had also used the wax image, but he has described young children as like wax which was too nearly liquid to mould into shape; one had to wait until the time of *adolescentia.*”
(Cunningham 1995: 44)

“…he had written that ‘a constant element of enjoyment must be mingled with our studies so that we think of learning as a game rather than a form of drudgery, for no activity can be con-
(Cunningham 1995: 44)tinued for long if it does not to some extent afford pleasure to the participant…‘Schools’, he lamented, ‘have become torture-chambers; you hear nothing but the thudding of the stick, the swishing of the rod, howling and moaning, and shouts of brutal abuse.’”
(Cunningham 1995: 45)
“God gave us ‘children to be raised in the ways of religion’, and to neglect that was ‘more than simply a venial sin’.” (Cunningham 1995: 46)…the family should be a nursery of both church and state, training the young for service.” (Cunningham 1995: 47)

“…a pious, disciplined, obedient, and teachable child?” There we have it, the model child of the Protestant Reformation.” (Cunningham 1995: 48)

“The increasing privacy and comfort of upper- and middle-class family life was part and parcel of this focus on the individuality of the child. The community and the extended family lost their role as arbiters of moral issues…The move towards a more child-oriented society was challenged at every stage, and never completed.” (Cunningham 1995: 62)

“In the sixteenth-century Castile, both boys and girls helped to collect firewood, to herd livestock, to assist with ploughing, to collect or destroy aphids or worms on the vines, and to rear silkworms…schooling tended to be concentrated in the winter months, when it was difficult to find ways in which children could contribute to the family economy.” (Cunningham 1995: 83)

“What could schooling offer to the lower classes of Europe in the early modern period? First, religious education. This was the main motivation for the foundation of schools in the sixteenth century.” (Cunningham 1995: 101)

“A second reason why parents may have encouraged or forced their children to attend school may be described as secular. Schools taught reading…[3rd reason]…parents may have sent their children to school is that the school could provide a convenient child-minding service.” (Cunningham 1995: 102)

“At an age when the child clearly interfered with the productivity of the parents, particularly if the mother had to try to find work outside the home, it might be worth paying out a small weekly fee to have the child looked after…Attendance at school was normally intermittent and irregular. In rural areas schooling might well be confined to the winter months.” (Cunningham 1995: 103)

Alternative =run free in the streets.

“[Schooling was,] in early modern England, a repressive regime, governed autocratically, sustained by corporal punishment and tempered only by the master’s mildness, incapacity, or financial dependence upon his pupils. Children were likely to look for any means of subverting or escaping from such regimes.” (Cunningham 1995: 105)

Note similarity to Village Schools. 1. Instruction in foreign tongue and punishment for speaking in native tongue. 2. Rote memorization without true literacy or understanding. 3. Lack of appropriate desk. 4. Corporal punishments for infractions and failure to perform adequately.

“…the basic prayers in Latin. This made learning to read a different process from today for many children, because it was in an unfamiliar language. Pupils would learn to recognize words and pronounce them, but they could not understand the meaning without being told. Chaucer’s picture of a school in the ‘Priestess’s Tale’ depicts two pupils at this stage of learning…singing the praise of the Virgin, [a] younger boy, through listening, learns the first verse by heart. He asks [an] older pupil what it means, by this boy is not sure…He explains the defect in his knowledge thus, “I learn song; I know but little grammar (Orme 2003: 266).


“Most pupils probably began to read, sing, or memorise psalms without fully knowing their meaning. …Only later, as they learnt Latin grammar, syntax, and vocabulary, would they come to understand what they read. …Latin shared little in common with the languages of the British Isles. It had to be learnt as a foreign tongue.” (Orme 2006: 28)

“Why did children learn their first texts in Latin rather than English, which would have been easier to understand? The answer is that the immediate goal of teaching the alphabet was to enable pupils to read prayers—a not inappropriate goal in a Christian society where prayer-books and service-books were the commonest kinds of books…The practice of making children do their earliest reading in Latin, rather than English, meant that…Beginners at school learnt to recognize words and pronounce them, but they could not understand what they read unless they were told.” (Orme 2006: 59)

Some masters tried to control discipline on the benches by appointing one or more boys to the post of custos. They had the duty of reporting their colleagues for speaking English or other misdemeanours.”(Orme 2006: 145).…In 1484 the grammar master of Southwell Minster was charged with letting his boys speak English, not Latin, in school.” (Orme 2006: 148)

“Some of the pupils are characterized as lazy or negligent. They are punished by beatings with a whip or rods. A culprit is ordered to take off his cowl, presumably to strip, and two assistants are used to hold him down while he is thrashed.” (Orme 2006: 45)

“Pictures of schools at work show the master in his chair, never walking about. He sits grasping the birch—a bundle of twigs—that formed his badge of office, and once or twice a boy is shown standing before him to be examined. Boys came to him, not he to them, just as the lord of a household sat and was approached by his retainers. The master gave a lesson or issued commands from his chair, and periodically called out boys to be questioned or examined, the process known as ‘apposing.’ The birch was used to punish indiscipline and inability to answer. It was the favoured tool of English schoolmasters.” (Orme 2006: 144)

“We also hear of the ferule, a wooden rod employed for hitting the hand; its striking end was pierced with a hole that raised a blister. This appears to have been used for minor offences, and (Orme 2006: 144) references to it are rarer than those to the birch. Some masters tried to control discipline on the benches by appointing one or more boys to the post of custos. They had the
duty of reporting their colleagues for speaking English or other misdemeanours. How often the birch was applied is hard to say, but it was probably a common penalty.” (Orme 2006: 145)

“Parents, of course, might not wish to teach their children, or might have insufficient time for the task. When that happened and some other suitable (Orme 2006: 61) person had to be found, the clergy were an obvious choice, especially for boys.” (Orme 2006: 62)…By the fifteenth century…parish clerks [are] teaching groups of boys.” (Orme 2006: 63)

“Seven was a suitable age to start school, since it was viewed as the point of transition from infancy to childhood. At this age boys were believed to become more fully male in gender, capable of looking after themselves, and eligible to be tonsured as clerks. It was an appropriate time for them to move from care by women to rule by men.” (Orme 2006: 129)

“The children of serfs (or villeins, as serfs were known in England)...faced a legal bar to their schooling, since lords of manors insisted that their villeins’ children could not be educated without their permission.” (Orme 2006: 131)

“The pictorial sources usually show the pupils sitting around the master on simple forms (meaning benches), holding books on their laps...The boys would therefore have lined the room, looking inwards, often (as pictures show) without desks in front of them on which to rest books or writing materials. [they were to] use their knees for a table.”” (Orme 2006: 139)

“Schooling was considered to deliver two main qualities virtue and learning. Virtue meant religious knowledge, pious observances, and moral values.” (Orme 2006: 159)

“Learning Latin, with the bonus that you also learnt to spell and write French or English, equipped you for a wide range of careers. You could live or work as a gentleman, a cleric, a lawyer, a merchant or tradesman, a yeoman farmer, or a secretarial clerk.” (Orme 2006: 159)

“This period from 1200 to 1500 and even later, then, was one of relative obscurity for English schoolmasters. We can see why this was so. Their limited numbers, their geographical isolation, and their modest economic importance all told against them.” (Orme 2006: 185)


“Ben Johnson was born in 1572. …Elizabethan classrooms were big drafty spaces, often converted from chapels; they were noisy and dirty, freezing in the winter, and dark at both ends of the school day.” (Lyon 2009: 22)

“Elementary school teachers were largely untrained and, as historian David Cressy notes, many ‘were little more than child-minders. … Teaching methods consisted mainly of repetitive oral drills.” (Lyon 2009: 23)

**Consensus of opinion that early education was so harsh and boring that it was loathed by students.**
“Johnson later commented of one schoolmaster that he spent his days ‘sweeping his living from
the posteriors of little children.’ … Beatings were common, and the slightest infraction was
likely to incur the use of a birch rod or a ferrule, a sort of rules used to whack the outstretched
palms of the miscreant.” (Lyon 2009: 24)

“Education was one way to lay claim to being a gentleman.” (Lyon 2009: 25)

Bai, Limin (2005) Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China.
Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press.

“Wrapping newborns in swaddling clothes was a traditional practice.” (Bai 2005: 2)

“[Chinese characters here] one of the most common words for children. One interpretation for
the early form of this character emphasizes the two arms of a new-born child but not two legs, as
Chinese scholars generally agree “that the undivided line downwards suggests that enwrapping
swaddling clothes confining and concealing the infant’s legs.”” (Bai 2005: 2)

“Expressions such as “Your intelligence is at a child’s level” were often used to pour scorn on an
adult’s intellectual inferiority. An adult’s naivety or poor judgment was also regarded as childish,
and all uneducated people were seen as ignorant as a child.” (Bai 2005: 5)

“The foetal environment was believed by the ancient Chinese to have a significant impact not
only on the developing foetus but also on the child’s temperament and moral status after birth
and in its later life. This idea is know as “foetal education” (taijiao).” (Bai 2005: 9)

“Foetal poisoning was no doubt a serious threat to children’s lives and health, so the theory of
foetal education often urged pregnant women to be cautious about their diet and lifestyle. This
theory also laid the foundation for serious concerns about the physical and moral qualities of wet
nurses.” (Bai 2005: 10)

“Don’t allow it to see strange things. …adopted by later generations of medical advisers. On the
surface this advice seems only to place stress on giving the infant on a tranquil and protective
environment.” (Bai 2009: 11)

“It was not until the seventh year that the child was considered to have passed the most
dangerous period, so the word dao was used to express grief over the death of a child at this
age.” (Bai 2009: 17)

“The ancient Chinese also believed that in this year the child developed well… in its emotional
progress, namely that it began to show shame and embarrassment. So this became another
meaning of the word dao.” (Bai 2009: 17)

“Evidently in ancient China it was at this stage that the child began to be treated as an actual
social being, with confidence in its physical, intellectual, and emotional maturity. Before this
age, according to Zhou law, the child did not have legal responsibility for any wrongdoing.” (Bai
2009: 17)
“In the Han and thereafter that in the Zhou dynasty the sons of emperors and their aristocratic children started their schooling at eight. In this ideal, aristocratic childhood children were under the system of protection and teaching (baofu) from the moment they were born.” (Bai 2009: 19)

**Word book=5000 characters**

“In both pre-Han and Han times, the study of Chinese characters (named xiaoxue, or lesser learning) was the focus of the elementary education curriculum. Wordbooks, which emerged to teach basic literacy skill, were therefore the earliest form of traditional Chinese literacy primer.” (Bai 2009: 21)

“At the beginning of the Song the court valued Confucianism highly and ordered school to be founded in every county and prefecture. Local taxes were used to fund the schools and, according to Lu You (1125-1210), ordinary people at the time regarded educational taxation (xueliang) as a burden and their complaints were heard everywhere.” (Bai 2009: 24)

“Lu You called village schools dongzxue, or winter schools, because sons of farmers were sent there only in winter.” (Bai 2009: 25)

“Cunshu, meaning “textbooks used in village schools,” then emerged as a new type of wordbook to teach farmers’ children basic literacy skills.” (Bai 2009: 25)

“The essence of Wang Yangming’s proposal was to keep children “happy and cheerful at heart.” Wang Yangming also disapproved of the curriculum of formal education in the Ming. At the time, children were forced to “recite phrases and sentences and imitate civil service examination papers” every day. Wang Yangming sharply pointed out that this hampered children’s development.’ (Bai 2009: 50)

“During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries…social mobility was especially evident not only in the fact that many merchant families went into the bureaucracy, but also in the phenomenon that some old gentry families were involved in commerce. Class distinction thus became less significant. Economic affluence allowed more people to participate in education, and education was associated with social reform.” (Bai 2009: 50)

“Manners in school…In pre-modern China the authority of a teacher in school was equal to hat of parents at home; sometimes the task of instruction was taken over by children’s fathers or other elders of the family.” (Bai 2009: 75)

“In pre-modern China, training in table manners also had a place in elementary education.” (Bai 2009: 76)

“Not all texts on rituals and good manners were devised directly for children. Some of them were actually intended for teachers who were expected to teach children basic etiquette at the beginning of schooling. This type of teaching manual existed as early as the Song.” (Bai 2009: 78)
Strong suggestion that teaching began in school and went home.

“The first six parts of Lü Kun’s Rituals for Nourishing Children were devoted to instructions about how to care for and nourish children before they started their schooling, and included such things as the way to handle a crying infant. There were also suggestions that parents should not fee young children elaborate food but simple (Bai 2009: 78) food; and they should dress youngsters not in silk or fur but in plain clothes; and should not let young children slap anyone’s face or swear at other people. However, the text did not elaborate on rituals as other manuals did. Instead, it focused on issues concerning reading and writing, such as how to make ink, how to use a brush, and how to write characters.” (Bai 2009: 79)

“Pupils were required to be filial to parents at home. If they were not, their fathers and elder brothers could report them to the schoolteacher, and they could be punished.” (Bai 2009: 85)

“Confucian proper children and childhood prodigies seemed never to have been attracted to ordinary children’s play.” (Bai 2009: 115)

“As early as in the Song, Chinese officials were aware of children in poverty and then then government “was the first ever in Chinese history to officially take on the responsibility to establish orphanages.” (Bai 2009: 153)

“Few abandoned children survived, as the institutions were often short of resources, for example, one wet-nurse had to look after several infants and was not able to provide all of them with enough nutrition. Therefore, some scholar-officials, such as Peng Yunzhang of the Qing, advocated the reform of the system. He suggested that this kind of institution should be abolished and financial support should be offered to those poor parents who would then be able to nurse their own children instead of abandoning them to institutions. According to him, the number of abandoned children was increasing.” (Bai 2009: 153)

“While peasant children had to join the labour force at an early age, youngsters from elite families received an education that aimed to implant Confucian moral values.” (Bai 2009: 159)

“Peasants did not see any financial gains from the basic education their children received, and few children could reach a level that would make them successful in the civil service examinations, due either to financial difficulties or to the lack of ability. This is why Lü Kun was worried that peasant parents would refuse to send their children to school, and that without a basic Confucian education the children of the poor would not be lawabiding subjects.” (Bai 2009: 164)


“Quintilian believed that learning through play was to be cultivated from an early age. He had argued that from the earliest years some forms of learning should be encouraged. The young child had a retentive memory, so take advantage of it, he said: aphorisms, famous sayings, and selections from poetry could all help children retain moral principles. Again, it was the constant presence of the nurse which helped develop elementary ethics and literacy. But, he said, he was not ignorant of age differentials (acetates); so the very young should not be pressed too hard or
asked to do real work. ‘For our highest priority must be that the child, who cannot yet love learning, does not come to hate it and carry beyond the early years a fear of the bitterness once tasted.’ (Rawson 2003: 127)

“Elementary education was carried out in the home in a child’s early years.” (Rawson 2003: 157)

**Original Helicopter parent NOT a parent!...**

“Quintilian emphasizes the importance of group learning, for its pedagogical and socializing benefits, in his lengthy discussion of schools versus private tutors. He addresses the two main arguments against schools: a child’s morals are especially at risk at a young age in the company of many other children, and a teacher who has to divide his time amongst a number of children cannot give the individual attention to one which a private tutor (Rawson 2003:162) can. He admits that there is evidence of bad influence on boys at schools, but argues that such influences can occur at home too (from tutor, household slaves, or over-indulgent parents). A trustworthy chaperone (usually a *paedagogus*) is recommended to accompany the child to school and remain with the child there.” (Rawson 2003: 163)

“Competition was intense at these festivals…Composition and delivery of Greek and Latin prose and verse were appropriate preparations for future orators, and those boys who had ambitions for future public life looked to prizes in these competitions to spur them on their way.” (Rawson 2003: 327)


“At age twelve, boys went to the *telpocalli*, or House of Youth, where their instructors taught them civic responsibilities and how to soldier. Girls went to a separate school where they were taught womanly arts such as weaving and how to do the complex featherwork so valued in ancient Mexico. Both boys and girls also learned their history, traditions, and religious practices. Boys and girls of the nobility could also enter a separate school, the *calmecac*, which destined them for the priesthood. Their curriculum included reading and writing the pictographic language of the region, prophecy, and the intricacies of the ritual calendar.” (Lipsett-Rivera, Sonya 2002: 57)


**From List of Illustrations…**

Joost van Geel, *A Visit to the Nursery*  
Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, Rotterdam

**Both schooling and education by the parents at home…**

“By the seventeenth century education, at least on the primary level, had become widespread. In the Netherlands, as in most Protestant countries, the primary purpose of education was to impart religious fundamentals and therefore was a matter which the church and state supervised closely.
To properly educate a child to take his place in society as a worthy adult was a fundamental duty at the time of not only parents but the community as well. As a result this was a period of relatively high literacy. The Dutch Republic seems to have been the only country in Europe in the seventeenth century to successfully advocate and enforce a system of universal education. The schooling of everyone including peasants, was a matter of Dutch pride.” (Durantini 1979: 91)

**Scenes of mothers reading with children at home…**

“It was thought that the human child, like the bear cub, was, in its original state, an unruly, untamed, ill-shaped entity until the exertions of adults “licked” or “beat” the child into its proper shape—either by the tongue (lessons) or by physical violence…In *The Village School* in Dublin the boy again is being punished for mistakes in his lessons, as witnessed by the crumpled sheet of paper covered with blots an scribbles lying on the floor between the teacher and pupil, and placed directly beneath the hand the boy holds out for the blow from the ferule.” (Durantini 1979: 120)

“Physical punishment was regarded as an essential pedagogical tool from Antiquity. Until the sixteenth century is was accepted almost unquestioningly as an inevitable facet of the schoolboy’s life…It is in the sixteenth century England, as public schools increased in number and learning became more widespread, that we find a new concern about the conditions under which schoolboys labored. Humanist writers believed that children profited most when they experienced learning as a pleasant activity. Physical discipline made them fear and loath it…Brinsley, who began to teach in 1590s …laments that children are afraid to come to school and wish to leave as soon as possible because of the severity and frequency of the whippings.” (Durantini 1979: 125)

“In each instance we find a teacher seated at a desk before which stands a small group of pupils. Instruction is achieved by individual study and recitation. We typically find one child reading aloud a passage from a book which the teacher indicates with his stylus. The teacher often holds a switch or ferule in his free hand, just in case the child should make a mistake.” (Durantini 1979: 133)

“The Dutch unruly school scenes continue this tradition of questioning and criticizing the education at hand. The disorder continues to be characterized by degrees of chaos or improper behavior by both the teacher and the students. The disorder usually occurs in peasant schools. One of the most violently unruly versions of this theme is Pieter de Bloot’s *Raucous School*. Here we see a large figure, with a pen stuck in his hat, brandishing a broom at a group of children who have been knocked on the floor. Other children seemingly battle or try to protect themselves with a wooden bench. In the doorway in the center is a laughing old man, while on the left other children try to read. The uncontrolled, topsy-turvy nature of the scene is most strikingly (p. 153) expressed by this tumultuous activity. Other details, such as the ferule in the hat of the child on the left and the book and switch on the floor suggest disorder. In this instance the traditional symbols of authority and punishment are in the wrong hands or go unused. They are instead ineffectively replaced by the broom, a tool of housewives and maids.” (Durantini 1979: 154)
“The children misbehave by fighting or mocking the teacher, who, in turn, may be unable to control the situation or else is ignorant of it...The master of the disorderly school theme is Jan Steen who repeated it several times around 1670. Although he continues to depict a very large room with numerous active figures, he is able to focus upon the very essence of the subject: that the lack of vigilance on the part of the teacher leads to chaos and provides the opportunity for all sorts of impermissible actions.” (Durantini 1979: 154)


“Early modern Sweden provides the outstanding example: inspired by the Protestant Reformation, a Church Law of 1686 stipulated that children and servants should ‘learn to read and see with their own eyes what God bids and commands in His Holy Word’. The onus was on parents to do the teaching, and on Lutheran priests to hold regular examinations in reading and the catechism. The example of parish of Skanör reveals 58 per cent of the population able to read in 1702, and 92 per cent by 1740. Everywhere in the West the churches took it upon themselves to instruct young people in the Christian faith, by means of sermons and catechism classes. The very wealthiest parents in medieval and Renaissance Europe often hired a private tutor to teach their children at home.” (Heywood 2001: 159)

“Incompetent or immoral tutors were as thick on the ground as good ones.” (Heywood 2001: 160)

“If the school came to loom increasingly large in the lives of young people, it did so in an extremely long-drawn-out process (p. 161)... the seventeenth century stands out as a period of waning enthusiasm for popular schooling after the surge of interest during the sixteenth century. At the very end of the period, the early stages of the Industrial Revolution in their turn began to undermine working-class schooling in various parts of Western Europe.” (p. 164)

“About 1880 Aurelia Roth struggled in her Bohemian village with long hours grinding glass, often having to miss her lessons. I didn’t get much time to learn and still less to play’, she wrote, ‘but it hurt me the most if I had to skip school.’ During the same period, Fritz Pauk described the classroom as a welcome relief from heavy work on the farm, but admitted that there was not much to learn at his little village school beyond the catechism and ‘innumerable Bible passages.” (Heywood 2001: 167)

“The underlying problem for teachers was always boredom in the class. The traditional method of teaching children to read was to drill him or her first in the letters of the alphabet, secondly in syllables, and finally in recognizing words. The children spend a few minutes with the teacher individually going over their work, while the rest were left to their own devices. The result was generally anarchic, prompting hard-pressed teachers to lay into their restless and unruly charges in an attempt to maintain some control.” (Heywood 2001: 167)

“It was, however, at this very moment that modern childhood was invented. Confined at first to the urban middle class, and initially limited to the years from birth to thirteen or fourteen, modern childhood was to be free from labor and devoted to schooling… Middle-class parents sheltered their children from the workplace and economic struggles and kept them in school and the family home longer than in the past. As a result, the stages of middle-class childhood were more carefully delineated, and passage through these stages became more predictable.” (Mintz 2004: 76)


“The idea that school should interest children was considered a radical new pedagogical philosophy in the United States of the 1840s… It contradicted schoolmasters’ prior assumptions that only a sense of duty or the master’s cane would motivate their learners. Yet it had become important to maintain students’ interest at least in part because the interested student was an attentive student.” (Anderson-Levitt 2002: 82)

Studies suggesting that impact of widespread public schooling on intelligence and cognitive development was enormous. However, since 1970, there has been a leveling or decline in intellectual growth beyond Elementary School…


“For the past few years, we have been experimenting with the use of a “natural experiment” (designated “school cutoff”) that permits assessment of the influence of a culturally valued learning experience (i.e. schooling) and circumvents some, if not all, of the serious biases found in other research… In essence our methodology involves selecting groups of children, who just make versus miss the designated cutoff for school entry. By selecting children whose birthdates cluster closely on either side of the cutoff date, we can effectively equate two groups of children chronologically on some target psychological skill or process.” (Morrison 1996: 163)

“Clearly, the cognitive skills of children change in important ways during this age period. Further, as our research documents, one salient environmental change, namely going to school, is respon-(Morrison 1996: 180)sible for major and, in some instances, unique shift to those cognitive skills.” (Morrison 1996: 181)


“As figure 1 showed, Full Scale IQ gains in America are impressive. I am a grandparents and a member of the WISC generation who were aged 5 to 15 when they were tested in 1947-1948. (Flynn 2007: 18) Let us put our IQ at 100. Our children are essentially the WISC-8 generation who were 6-16 when tested in 1972 and, against the WISC norms, their mean IQ was almost
Our grandchildren are the WISC-IV generation who were 6-16 in 2002 and, against the WISC norms, their IQ was almost 118. We can of course work backward rather than forward. If present generation is put at 100, their grandparents have a mean IQ of 82. Either today’s children are so bright that they should run circles around us, or their grandparents were so dull that it is surprising that they could keep a modern society ticking over.” (Flynn 2007: 19)

“In either event, the cognitive gulf between the generations should be huge. Taking the second scenario, almost 20 percent of my generation would have had an IQ of 70 or below and be eligible to be classed as mentally retarded [MR]. Over 60 percent of American blacks would have been MR. Anyone born before 1940 knows that all of this is absurd.” (Flynn 2007: 19)

“The huge Raven’s gains show that today’s children are far better at solving problems on the spot without previously learned method for doing so.” (Flynn 2007: 19)

“Between 1972 and 2002, US schoolchildren made no gain in their store of general information and only minimal vocabulary gains. Therefore, while today’s children may learn to master pre-adult literature at a younger age, they are no better prepared for reading more demanding adult literature.” (Flynn 2007: 20)

“In other words, today’s schoolchildren opened up an early lead on their grandparents by learning the mechanics of reading at an earlier age. But by age 17, their grandparents had caught up. And since current students are no better than their grandparents in terms of vocabulary and general information, the two generations at 17 are dead equal in their ability to read the adult literature expected of a senior in high school…From 1973 to 2000, the Nation’s Report Card shows fourth and eighth graders making mathematics gains equivalent to almost 7 IQ points. These put the young children of today at the 68th percentile of their parent’s generation. But once again, the gain falls off at the twelfth grade, this time to literally nothing.” (Flynn 2007: 21)

“My hypothesis is that during the period in which children mastered calculating skills at an earlier age, they made no progress in acquiring mathematical reasoning skills. (Flynn 2007: 22)

“The Wechsler-Binet rate of gain (0.30 points per year) entails that the schoolchildren of 1900 would have had a mean IQ just under 70…To make our ancestors that lacking in problem-solving initiative is to turn them into virtual automatons.” (Flynn 2007: 23)

“The solution to this paradox rests on two distinctions that explain in turn the huge and therefore embarrassing gains made on the Similarities subtest and Raven’s. The first distinction is between pre-scientific and post-scientific operational thinking. A person who views the world through pre-scientific spectacles thinks in terms of the categories that order perceived objects and functional relationships. When presented with a Similarities-type item such as “what do dogs and rabbits have in common,” Americans in 1900 would be likely to say, “You use dogs to hunt rabbits.” The correct answer, that they are both mammals, assumes that the important thing about the world is to classify it in terms of the categories of science.” (Flynn 2007: 24)
**Bush Schools**

**Resistance to indigenization:**


“The Xikrin and the Karipuna are both very enthusiastic about school…The schools they support and value are not part of the “differentiated Indigenous education” that is so highly regarded in contemporary Brazilian politics…it seems to be exactly the distance from their own learning processes and knowledge that leads them to value these experiences of schooling.” (Tassinari 2009: 150)

“The Indigenous demand for various levels of education has involved their claim to early childhood education.” (Tassinari 2009: 163)
Village Schools


“Children are not required to go to bed at any particular time—toddlers may be seen in the street at a time when most people are sleeping, and may themselves fall asleep on the sidewalk in front of the house. School attendance is supposed to be compulsory, but parents only occasionally send a child to school and attendance is very irregular. Some ten-year-olds are still in the first grade and cannot yet read.” (McCorkle 1965: 74)


Research in Arizona with native children.

“What most disturbed us was that many kids know few of the basic facts about the desert that can only be learned first-hand and not through the media…Roughly a quarter of the Indian kids weren’t sure whether the aromatic creosote bush, known to them as “greasewood,” smelled stronger after rains than cactus did, even though older generations of Indians claimed that creosote gave their homeland its distinctive smell.” (Nabhan 1994: 91)

“In certain Inuit communities, the impairment to vision known as myopia became commonplace with the first generation exposed to books and audiovisual media in the schools…No longer exercising their eyesight to read the rich and subtle landscapes of the north country, they did not receive the visual stimuli required to fully develop their eyes during critical stages in their early development.” (Nabhan & Trimble 1994: 89)


“As observers, in both detail and precision, the Aivilik continually amazed me. Again and again, they saw what I did not. A seal on the ice was known to them long before I could see it, even when the direction was indicated. Yet my eyes are 20-20. Standing at the floe edge they could tell at a glance whether it was a bird or seal, a seal or square-flipper and the children would continue to watch long after it had disappeared from my view…” (Carpenter 1973: 26)


“We are not convinced that children, or adults for that matter, spontaneously construct uniquely biological causal mechanisms for their everyday experience. No study that we know of has demonstrated that children or adults—without the benefit of science education—make use of such causal mechanisms to explain or reason about biological phenomena.” (Au 1999: 357)
“Children and adults do not seem to construct uniquely biological causal mechanisms for their everyday experience. If inclusion of domain-specific causal devices or mechanisms is crucial for determining whether a set of folk beliefs qualifies as a fold theory, then most children and probably even adults do not develop a “folkbiology” unless given science input.” (Au 1999: 396)


“…rural Sierra Leoneans, the targets of some of the earliest educational experiments in West Africa, have used their own cultural framework to reinterpret the meaning of the new schools and learning philosophies that the colonial government and missionaries imposed on them…the Mende have situated formal education within local authority structures of obligation and mystical agency. They maintain that, since valued knowledge is a key economic and political commodity, teachers, as its proprietors or 'owners', can demand for imparting it compensation from those who benefit from it (p. 182).”

“The necessity to work for and compensate teachers comprises the backbone of a fundamental cultural theory of child development, aptly summarised in the Sierra Leonean maxim 'No success without struggle'. This maxim implies that, in order to 'develop' (as the notion of social and economic advancement is translated into English), children cannot simply learn knowledge through intensive study: they must earn it (if necessary, through tolerating hunger, beatings, and sickness) from those who legitimately possess it, through proper channels of social recompense (p. 191).”

“Successful children, therefore, are not free to enjoy unencumbered the rewards of their success; rather, they should bring benefits to their investors, rewarding them in proportion to the amount that the investor contributed to their eventual success (p. 191).”

“…before their new knowledge and skills can bear fruit, children must display gratitude to their benefactors through labour, remittances, and unquestioning loyalty. Only after benefactors have testified to the children's worthiness will God finally bless them, thus rendering efficacious the knowledge they have learned and allowing them to advance. The blessings that young people earn from benefactors at each career step will produce further 'development'…Since blessings legitimate rights to certain domains of knowledge, how children learn—that is, through earning blessings—is as important as what they actually learn. Children who did not earn knowledge through blessings may find their knowledge a liability rather than an asset. Those who display a precocious fund of knowledge are either ignored or regarded with acute suspicion (p. 192)”

“Although rural people may politely agree with the Western view that 'civilised' knowledge should be imparted freely, they regard schools as gateways through which a few privileged children pass, to gain control over powerful knowledge—in this case, knowledge of the outside cosmopolitan world and its mysterious technologies and lucrative opportunities (p. 193).”
“[Teachers] use their proprietorship over 'civilised' knowledge to make ends meet. Hence, by contrast to the Western ideal, which assumes that teachers facilitate learning and freely dispense knowledge, rural teachers become knowledge brokers for valued knowledge of the cosmopolitan world. They write the most glowing letters of recommendation for scholarships for the most submissive students rather than the best scholars, a phenomenon by no means restricted to Sierra Leone. To loyal students they dispense information on how to survive in the modern system: how to dress for interviews, make contact with powerful bureaucrats, and fill in confusing application forms. (p. 194)… Students, of course, face a handicap in that the political weight of a school usually support the teachers. Those who are openly hostile to or insult their teachers run the risk of receiving poor grades or of being expelled (p. 195).”


“In the national to education system, the new status of schoolteacher in the local community is essentially a transformation to the traditional identity of zoo [secret society leader]. Both are knowledge brokers—of civilized and country knowledge, respectively. …School registration and other fees, with often end up in the teacher’s pockets; resemble the zoo’s initiation and ‘coming out’ fees. As in traditional ‘bush schools’ [of the secret societies] moreover children in government or mission schools are frequently treated as a source of labor. … Because the parents realize the importance of civilized education..., they seldom complain about the practices, especially since the teachers control the grade promotions of their children…Similarly, school teachers sometimes use their positions to obtain labor and money from students and parents as well as student labor on their farms and in their households.” (Bledsoe and Robey 1986: 218)


“At Warm Springs one has the sense that both consciously and unconsciously visual reception is given priority as a general mode of learning. …productive competence in the form of physical activity conveyed in the visual channel is the primary way in which Indian children demonstrate both comprehension of what they have received and the mastery of new skills.” (Phillips 1983: 62)

“Older Indian children engage in a great deal of intentional learning through watching others. They will stand by the side of older adults while the latter cook, sew, or chop wood. While they are not frequently exhorted to do this, old women recall being urged by their elders to watch adult activities so they would learn. There is considerably less in the way of the verbal explanation of how to do something before it is attempted that is so common in Anglo middle-class families.” (Phillips 1983: 63)

**Compare with Japanese classrooms where children’s behavior isn’t affected by teacher’s lack of attention or absence.**

“Interaction between children can occur at almost any time during official classroom interaction, but it flourishes wherever the teacher’s attention is not focused. When she is engaged in interaction with a small group or a single student, those students outside her
involvement, whose attention should be focused on desk work, are most likely to become engaged in interaction with one another, than (90) those within her encounter. Yet even within her encounter those who are not being directly addressed or attended to by the teacher are more likely to become involved with one another than those being directly addressed...Teachers, who wish to sustain a controlled and orderly classroom, rather than one which is relaxed and casual, endeavor to minimize the amount of interaction between students.” (Phillips 1983: 90-1)

“Indian students’ behavior as listeners differs from that of Anglo students in ways that hold true for both first and sixth graders. The Indian students do not look at the teacher as much of the time as non-Indian students do. Their gaze is away from the teacher’s face more of the time that she is speaking. They also spend more of the time that the teacher is speaking gazing at one another. Indian students also provide fewer of the back channel signals that Anglos typically rely upon for evidence that their talk is being attended to. The Indian students nod in agreement with what the teacher is saying less than the Angle students. The contribute fewer expressions of enthusiasm such as ‘Yay,’ ‘O boy,’ and clapping when the teacher announces plans to carry out activities like story reading, free time, and field trips, that the children are thought to particularly enjoy.” (Phillips 1983: 101)

“...defining Indian children as inattentive is partly due to cultural differences in signaling attention. It is also partly due to the fact that Indian children really do pay less attention to the teacher and more to their peers. And finally, it is also due to the fact that the type of attention Indians devote to their peers is culturally different from that of Anglos students.” (Phillips 1983: 103-4)


“The demand for a school that “teaches well,” and “moves forward” is heard on both sides of the Brazil-French Guyana border, where the local groups of the Wayãpi Amerindians are located.” (Macedo 2009: 170)

“...teachers have knowledge and power. The authority of the teachers is based in their control of the school and of written papers found there, and more specifically on their control of the knowledge transmitted—the French and Portuguese languages and the concepts connected to these languages and to the Brazilian and French worlds. They control the activities and work done in classrooms, the space and time, the material goods and tools. For the Wayãpi, knowledge is power, knowledge and power are ideas expressed by one term, which occupies the same semantic field. Those who are knowledgeable, the old men…” (Macedo 2009: 181)

“When I asked a Wayãpi from French Guyana why he sent his son to school he replied, “So he can come to know much, much more than me.”” (Macedo 2009: 184)

Atran, Scott, Medin, Douglas and Ross, Norbert (2004) Evolution and devolution of

...studies among Lacandon Maya also indicate intergenerational knowledge loss. Formerly, Lacandones lived in dispersed settlements, moving with the agricultural cycle. Their way of life changed dramatically in the 1970s when the regional state authorities induced them to settle in fixed village sites and take up a sedentary life of cultivation and wage labour. For the younger generation, village life has led to a loss of interest in and knowledge about the rainforest. Older Lacandones still conceive of the natural world in terms of a richly textured model of ecological interactions. In this they are guided by cosmological knowledge and an ability to make minute observations; for younger Lacandones these capacities are severely degraded. These generational differences are also reflected in agricultural practices (for example, little crop diversity and a focus on cash crops). (p. 415)


“The Americans emphasize mass education and attempt to put all students through at least six grade. Progress is slow, for there are few textbooks in the Pulauan language and the village teachers, who are only beginning to speak English, lack materials upon which to draw from their own learning.” (Barnett 1979: 8)


“The rapid expansion of primary schools to meet development goals has been one factor in the decline of quality instruction since the late 1960s. This decline has apparently occurred in both boarding and the village schools. Since independence in 1978, expatriate teachers have increasingly been replaced by local teachers, many of whom do not have a command of Standard English, the language of instruction.” (Watson-Gegeo 1992: 17)

“A major impact of the pattern of schooling in the Solomons has been to support a growing class of division among islanders and a growing inequity between urban and rural areas. The poor quality of teaching and the lack of resources in most rural schools guarantee that few children will pass the examinations for admission into secondary school. Those who do are most often channeled into a vocational rather than an academic secondary school. The majority who fail their exams return to the village, work on the plantations, or seek low-level jobs in town, often with a strong sense of defeat. Children of the urban elites attend well-endowed urban public or private schools, thereby guaranteeing that the elite group will perpetuate itself in the next generation.” (Watson-Gegeo 1992: 20)


Ghana. Mixed farming=women; Herding=men…
“Most men keep one or more sons out of school, so they can keep cows away from growing crops (nowadays these cowherds are called cow boys). Youths who have not been to school are much less likely to leave the village in adulthood. This ensures the father of their labor as adults because even after they marry he can delay freeing them to farm separately for several years…Because few children understand much of what is taught in school—and thus most conspicuously fail—many boys today are eager to escape schooling to the freedom of the herdboy’s life. Further, there is a lack of suitable role models because the few educated men from the village have not prospered.” (Goody 2006: 245)

“A recent review of basic education concluded that rural school are so poor (the few teachers come irregularly and teach badly) that in terms of schooling there are in fact two Ghanas, one for the urban elite and a different one for everyone else. The literate elite send their children to private schools, beginning with prekindergarten day nurseries. “Everyone knows” that this is necessary to get children into a “good” kindergarten, which is necessary to get the child into a “good” primary school, and so on through each step on the educational ladder up through university. In private schools, and even in some government primary schools, children are tested to be sure they can already read and write before they are accepted into first grade. Private tutoring—evenings, weekends, and during vacations—grows increasingly important as children reach post primary levels, with the accompanying regime of examinations. The child-rearing strategies of elite parents, like those in the West, are clearly focused on educational success.” (Goody 2006: 258)

“Empirically, very few children complete primary school with basic literacy skills. Nationally, fewer than 10% meet basic norms for reading and mathematics. Scores are dramatically lower in rural areas. When parents see that (p. 258) children consistently fail, they question whether attending school provides any advantages for adulthood.” (Goody 2006: 259)


“What does a state hope to gain from providing schooling to children of itinerant herders in the remotest areas of the nation, and what to the herders hope to achieve by sending their children to school?” (Juul 2008: 152)

“Nonetheless, the promotion of formal education has had limited success in the Ferlo. While the veranda of the health clinic is full of elderly gentlemen in large turbans and ladies in colorful dresses and large golden earrings waiting or the nurse, the school rooms tend to be far quieter and in some cases even empty. In other cases children in blue and white school uniforms, struggling to follow what is happening at the blackboard; occupy a few of the school benches and tables. Although most of the local pupils speak Fulani as their mother tongue, the teacher, who usually comes from another region, seldom masters this language, and schoolbooks, if available, are written entirely in French. Hence, basic skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic are taught in either French or Wolof (one of the six national languages of Senegal, spoken by 70 percent of the population).” (Juul 2008: 153)
“These herders depend heavily on the manpower of their children...Childhood consists of hard labor and many hot hours spent alone with the animals in a vast landscape of grasslands and busy shrubs. It is from the practice of herding and the lived experience of coping with a highly variable environment that the Fulani child is expected to acquire basic skills for his future success.” (Juul 2008: 156)

“It was therefore surprising to find that although the situation in the borehole schools remained largely unchanged, a number of small, private schools were being established on the initiative of particularly wealthy, but also very mobile families in their (wet-season) encampment. What did these pastoral families hope to gain from hiring a private teacher and providing some secondhand school desks? And why was the formal system, provided by the Senegalese government, unable to fulfill what this alternative and unofficial educational system apparently managed to accomplish?” (Juul 2008: 157)

“At the age of fifteen, a boy is expected to be able to carry out the same tasks as a grown-up herder, and thus to take over the herding tasks of his father and older relatives so that the older family members can engage in what Paul Riesman calls “socio-political work.” (Juul 2008: 158)


“In reality, the child spends a very large part of his childhood in the bush separated from his parents. In contrast to the camp, which is mainly the space of adults, the bush is the space of children—a space for learning but primarily a “free” space for play and dreaming...Having a successful career as a herdsman and building up a large herd is not so much a question of acquiring skills as of having struck it lucky.” (Riesman 1974: 159)

“The great reluctance of the nomadic tribes to send their children to school prompted the colonial administration to set up a quota system whereby each tribe was required to send a number of children of high rank to attend school, a system that was know locally as “educational tax.”...Traditional chiefs “substituted” the children of lower-ranking relatives, often kidnapped to meet the schooling quota, for their own children.” (Riesman 1974: 163)


“At a time of religious revival across the Muslim world, Algeria’s youth are in play. The focus of this contest is the schools, where for decades Islamists controlled what children learned, and how they learned, officials and education experts here said. Now the government is urgently trying to re-engineer Algerian identity, changing the curriculum to wrest momentum from the Islamists, provide its youth with more employable skills, and combat the terrorism it fears schools have inadvertently encouraged. It appears to be the most ambitious attempt in the region to change a school system to make its students less vulnerable to religious extremism.” (Slackman 2008: A1)
There is a sense that this country could still go either way. Young people here in the capital appear extremely observant, filling mosques for the daily prayers, insisting that they have a place to pray in school. The strictest form of Islam, Wahhabism from Saudi Arabia, has become the gold standard for the young.” (Slackman 2008: A1)

“The schools are moving from rote learning — which was always linked to memorizing the Koran — to critical thinking, where teachers ask students to research subjects and think about concepts. Yet the students and teachers are still unprepared, untrained and, in many cases, unreceptive.” (Slackman 2008: A1)

“But the call to jihad still tugs at Malek. In his world, jihad, or struggle, is a duty for Muslims… Four years ago, Amine Aba, 19, one of Malek’s best friends, decided it was time to take his religion more seriously, to stop listening to music, to stop dancing, to stop hanging around with Malek…” (Slackman 2008: A1)

**Compare Morocco…**

“The young men focused on trying to pass their exams, because Algiers is full of examples of those who have not. More than 500,000 students drop out each year, officials said — and only about 20 percent of students make it into high school. Only about half make it from high school into a university. A vast majority of dropouts are young men, who see no link between work and school. Young women tend to stick with school because, officials said, it offers independence from their parents.” (Slackman 2008: A1)

“Algeria’s young men leave school because there is no longer any connection between education and employment, school officials said. The schools raise them to be religious, but do not teach them skills needed to get a job.” (Slackman 2008: A1)

**Culturally adapted schooling…**


“Although the tribal school had successfully added the teaching of Ojibwe language and culture to the curriculum, this did not necessarily produce any greater academic success than the counterpart public school, which did very little Ojibwe language and culture teaching. For example, there were no more students going on to two- or four-year colleges. Grades attendance, and test scores were not significantly better. No students gained Ojibwe language fluency for either the tribal or the public school’s Ojibwe program. However, self-esteem, self-confidence, community empowerment, and dropout prevention are all rightful successes that culture-based school does claim, and they were observed, although not quantified.” (Hermes 2005: 46)

“Some students and staff discussed how they perceived the teaching of academic subjects to be at odds with teaching culture. This became an identity dilemma for some students, as they interpreted academic success as tantamount to assimilation.” (Hermes 2005: 46)

Paradox that failure = "resisting assimilation," yet neither the students nor the parents make any special efforts to immerse themselves in cultural traditions. That is, half-hearted
engagement with schoolwork is much less likely to lead to culture loss than the simple erosion of culture through the preferential importation of foreign technology, foods, entertainment and life-styles...


One consequence of the failure of public schools serving indigenous communities to prepare students for successful adaptation to the modern sector may be “mission creep.” If schools are failing at the original mission, perhaps a new one, such as preserving indigenous languages, can be added to their brief?


The notion that children from indigenous societies and from at least some minority subcultures within developed countries do poorly in school because of a clash of cultures is extremely popular. So, too is the corollary notion that to enhance the success of these populations, the curriculum content, teaching methods and teaching staff should be drawn largely from the child’s natal culture. Several large-scale applications of this theory, notably for native Hawaiian and Navajo children, have been undertaken. I expressed (Lancy 1993: 42-3) considerable doubt about the success of claims made on behalf of these programs some years ago. What follows is a more recent and thorough review of the literature on culturally adapted schooling which finds little basis for continuing to subscribe to this theory...

At a more profound level, the reader will, by now, have been persuaded that learning culture is what children do best. Children are far and away more facile at figuring out how other cultures work than their elders! Indeed, the very rare occasion when children teach those older than themselves occurs during rapid social change or following immigration and the children serve as culture brokers or interpreters for their older, slower-to-adapt kin. The idea that children en masse are unable to penetrate the culture of schooling, as opposed to struggling with specific aspects of schooling such as reading and arithmetic, just does not seem very credible...


“There is weak evidence that sociocultural characteristics of students and teachers have in impact on reading and literacy outcomes One fairly consistent finding across a number of studies in that language-minority students’ reading comprehension performance improves when they read culturally familiar materials. However, the language of the text appears to be a stronger influence on reading performance: Students perform better when they read or use material in the language they know better. The influence of cultural context is not as robust.” (Goldenberg 2006a: 256)

“McCarthy (1993) describes a program, whose origins were in collaboration with the KEEP program (see Vogt, Jordan, & Tharpe 1987), “that was designed to tap the language and literacy strengths of Navajo bilingual learners” (Goldenberg 2006b: 183). The classrooms used pedagogy and curriculum associated with whole-language literacy approaches (e.g., children’s literature, authentic reading and writing experiences, cooperative learning, and language experience). To this extent, there was nothing unique to Navajo culture about the program. The primary cultural accommodation, in addition to use of the Navajo language in the classroom, was the content selected for the thematic units studied (e.g., wind, sheep, and corn), all of which are prominent in Navajo daily life. Students engaged in academically challenging tasks and learned basic and advanced literacy skills by studying such topics produced more favorable learning environments and enhanced literacy outcomes. McCarty reports rising scores on both locally developed and nationally standardized tests at the school, although it is difficult to link the curricular and instructional changes she describes with those changes in scores. The KEEP collaboration began in 1983 and lasted 5 years. Thereafter, a Title VII grant supported continued development and adaptation of the KEEP model with the Navajo children. The achievement data McCarty reports are for spring 1990 to spring 1991, when the Grades K-3 children in the Navajo language arts program achieved gains of 12 percentage points in locally developed literacy programs. During the same period, McCarty reports, Comprehensive Tests of Basic Skills (CTBS) percentile scores “more than doubled in reading vocabulary” (Goldenberg 2006b: 191). McCarty also presents examples of children’s writing, indicating the sorts of written work they were producing in the language arts program. McCarty’s claims of program effects are plausible, but the absence of a strong evaluation design, primarily a comparison group, attenuates her claims. The study’s design makes it difficult to determine whether the language arts program had an effect on children’s literacy outcomes, leaving moot the question of whether culturally accommodating curriculum materials had the hypothesized effect on literacy achievement.” (Goldenberg 2006b: 283)


“A study by Trueba et al. (1984) is comparable to the KEEP study… in that it attempted to make productive changes in classroom practice on the basis of data about children’s homes and communities. The researchers did not begin with an a priori conception of culture. Rather, the goal of the project was to discover aspects of bilingual Latino junior and senior high school students’ home and community experiences that could inform instruction and then work with teachers to design modules incorporating that information into the writing curriculum. Lessons, discussions, and writing assignments were built around people and events in the community, such as functional writing assignments experienced by the students (paying bills or answering school-related queries for parents), low rides, a murder that had recently occurred, and a cheating survey the students had conducted. Pre- and post analyses of the students’ writing showed that
the Latino students had improved, although modestly (SD= .35), during the intervention, but were still below the district mastery level. Two design problems weaken the conclusions we can draw from this study. First, there was no comparison group, so it is impossible to interpret the growth in student writing scores; student writing and other academic skills are expected to improve over the school year even without a special intervention. Second, whatever growth in writing skills occurred could very well have been due to the students simply writing more and receiving more writing instruction. The authors report that, because writing is not part of the ESL curriculum, this was the first time some of the students had been asked to write in English.” (McCarty 1993: 293)


“Goldberg and Gallimore (1991) studied a predominately Hispanic elementary school with a transitional bilingual program, where first- and second-grade children’s reading achievement (in Spanish) improved substantially over a 2- to 3-year period as a result of several changes in the school’s early literacy program. One of these changed involved increased parent and home involvement in children’s beginning literacy development. Whereas in previous years no systematic attempts had been made to involve parents in helping their children learn to read, teachers began sending books and other reading materials, including home work and other assignments designed to promote literacy. The authors report that parents were willing and able to help their children progress in early reading development, but that school staff tended to underestimate their potential contribution. The authors claim that the increased home and parent involvement helped improve early reading achievement from around the 30th national percentile to the around the 60th.” (Truba 1984: 296) Goldberg, Claude and Gallimore, Ronald (1991) Local knowledge, research knowledge, and educational change: A case study of early Spanish reading improvement. *Educational Researcher* 20(8): 2-14.
Schooling and Children’s Work


“There had to be a reason to justify paying for a child to learn in a classroom rather than helping with household tasks or earning money from work.” (Orme 2003: 306)…So although many went to school, some stayed for only short periods and others (the majority, it seems) did not go there at all. Most medieval people therefore learnt through hard work rather than at school. Even literary skills such as keeping accounts and writing them up, which could be acquired from specialist teachers, must often have been mastered ‘on the job’ as an apprentice or a trainee clerk in a household. The process of learning to work starts early in life for even young children take pleasure in copying adults and helping them with tasks. This was so in the middle ages. We have seen how small girls followed their mothers in cooking or drawing water, while small boys were attracted to their fathers’ work with tools and animals. Coroners’ inquests and cases of trespass and damage show how older children gradually became involved in doing such tasks themselves. Already before they were seven, when they were still infants in medieval parlance, they might be given simple household duties such as looking after younger siblings or fetching water from the well…A lad as young as seven could be given a (Orme 2003: 307) simple agricultural job such as bird-scaring or herding geese. Working with larger and more valuable beasts—sheep, pigs, cows, oxen, or horses—needed greater strength or experience.” (Orme 2003: 308).

Interesting the conflicts between school and work (and family care) show up in contemporary US among adults:


“The conventional wisdom is that students leave school because they aren’t willing to work hard and aren’t really interested in more education,” said Jean Johnson, executive vice president of Public Agenda. “What we found was almost precisely the opposite. Most work and go to school at the same time, and most are not getting financial help from their families or the system itself.”

“…many have dependent children.”

“The top reason the dropouts gave for leaving college was that it was just too hard to support themselves and go to school at the same time. Balancing work and school was a bigger barrier than finding money for tuition, they said.”
“Frankie Barria, a 24-year-old former student from New York City, described the stops and starts of his educational journey. “When I started college, I was living on my own at age 19,” Mr. Barria said. “My mom had left. Usually the bird leaves the nest, but in my case, the nest left the bird.” Mr. Barria first enrolled at City College, but found it “unbelievably hard” to do well in school and maintain his job, so he left school. Later, he completed a semester at Kingsborough Community College, but stopped when his job became too demanding. Eventually, he enrolled at Medgar Evers College, but did not finish even one semester. “Having a roof over my head and food to eat was more important,” he said.”

“Asked to rate 12 possible changes, the dropouts’ most popular solutions were allowing part-time students to qualify for financial aid, offering more courses on weekends and evenings, cutting costs and providing child care. The least popular were putting more classes online and making the college application process easier.”

Hilary Pennington, a Gates Foundation education official, said two big factors associated with degree completion were going straight to college after high school and enrolling full time.


“Attending school full time, even for a short period, is a luxury most families cannot afford, as it means a loss of earnings. It interferes with domestic tasks, such as child care, cleaning, cooking, doing errands, fetching water, sweeping, and washing clothes, or is at odds with peak work hours. In order to optimize earnings, children may attend school on alternate days, or one is sent one day and another on a different day. Many attend school diligently the first few weeks, only to drop out after the first month.” (Kenny 2007: 87)

“Those who have managed to complete some schooling do not necessarily have an advantage. Those with little or no formal study and those who have completed four years of schooling “substitute” for each other, meaning they compete equally against each other for the same jobs, and there is little differential in earnings (Kenny 2007: 88)…The children I met attended school sporadically and then stopped completely. Edna, a beggar, would cringe when she saw other 10-year-olds on the streets and say, “I feel ashamed, I have to put my head down. I can’t look at them. I see the kids of the tourists, rich Brazilians, staring at me. They look so nice, all dressed in nice clothes.” She dropped out of school (Kenny 2007:88) after she failed the last exam. … “Besides, I’m too hungry to go to school.”” (Kenny 2007: 89)


Possibility that schooling erodes traditional culture because schooled individuals contribute less to kin and community…

Education is not valued very much by most families. If a child has learned to read and write it is generally viewed as more important for him to leave school to help his parents with the tasks of the field and the household…In infancy and early childhood, weaning is gradual; walking, talking and toilet training are not pushed. Social norms are not very important until a child goes from being a chiriz (less than 6 years old) to a patojo (over 6 years old) when the responsibilities of life are said to begin for both sexes. (Nerlove 1974: 271)


E. Central Sudan…
“Howa’s economy was rooted in agriculture and animal husbandry. Most men in Howa cultivated sorghum on a largely subsistence bases, supplementing it with sesame they sold to passing traders or pressed into oil and marketed to meet their limited needs for cash.” (Katz 2004: 23)

“The Suki Project embraced a nearly 1,600 square kilometer swath of central eaters Sudan between the Blue Nile and the Dinder River. Approximately 7,500 tenants were enlisted in the project to cultivate cotton and groundnuts on ten feddan (4.2 hectare) allotments. Their irrigated cultivation, geared to the export market, disrupted and largely displaced the dryland cultivation of the staple food crop, sorghum, and sesame produced for the domestic and international markets. The project also disturbed the pastoralism that had characterized the region.” (Katz 2004: 29)

“The Suki Project meant that almost all of the dryland fields and much of the pasture and wooded land in the vicinity of the village were cleared, graded, and divided for the irrigated cultivation of cotton and groundnuts for the world market. This change all but precluded cultivation of the staple food crop, sorghum, severely reduced wooded areas nearby, and sharply curtailed the grazing land available to the small herds of goats, sheep, and cows held by villagers. Independent cultivators became farm tenants, no longer producing grain for household consumption but cultivating cash crops for international exchange.” (Katz 2004: 33)

“It appeared that the economic diversification that characterized wealthier household led them to employ their children more intensively than others in the village (Katz 2004: 65)… Indeed, Talal, who was a regular water seller Howa and the oldest child in his family, had withdrawn from school midyear in part to provide this income for his family and in part to work with his father in the fields and at other tasks.” (Katz 2004: 14)

“Although I found extremely low rates of school enrollment in Howa (42 percent among boys between sever and twelve; 4 percent among girls of the same age), I also found low rates of absenteeism. Once a family made a commitment to send their child to school, they appeared to
respect the restriction that attendance made on him or her, and did not interfere by demanding that they child work during school times.” (Katz 2004: 66)


“The study conducted in a multicaste village in Karnataka State, South India. Nestled in the hills and valleys on the slopes of the Western Ghats.” (Ullrich 1995: 67)

“The Havik Brahmins are the dominate caste politically, ritually, and economically. They comprise approximately one-fourth of the total village population. Their primary source of income is areca nut (betel nut) cultivation. Although the Haviks of Totagadde are dominant economically, few are wealthy (p. 169)…The numerous changes in Totagadde Havik society since 1964 may be interpreted as an effort to retain power in a society which is changing from ascribed status to achieved status. By endorsing changes that may be inevitable, the Haviks have maintained their position. Encouraging education, taking advantage of economic opportunities, and suggesting intercaste cooperation all serve to keep the Havik dominant and respected in Totagadde.” (Ullrich 1995: 177)

“Parents have perceived their own interests to be in encouraging their sons and daughters rather than in opposing them…Members of all castes attend (Ullrich 1995: 177) the local school and may travel by bus to town. In 1964, when there was no bus, religious restrictions required Havik Brahmins to purify themselves ritually after a return from town, but in 1987, Havik Brahmins disregarded the pollution incurred from sitting next to non-Brahmins in a bus.” (Ullrich 1995: 177)


“Almost all of the persons contacted in the favela are recent migrants from rural underdeveloped areas of the country (mainly from the northeastern states), born and raised on farms or in very small villages. São Paulo is the biggest and the richest city in the country (located in the Southeast, the most developed region of the country) and, consequently, one of the most attractive poles for rural migrants.” (de Oliveria 1995: 247)

“Children are put to work very early. It is virtually the rule for children from 12 years old on to do some kind of job to contribute to the family income (one can see children as young as 8 working in exchange for money). Given the proximity to the rich neighborhood and the type of interaction between the rich and the poor population, the children very often find jobs as “junior maids.” They are usually paid very low salaries (something like a third or fourth of the minimum wage), and may even not be paid at all, getting a meal a day or some used pieces of clothing once in a while. They are hired to wash cars, clean the garden, and possibly help the other maids with some small tasks inside the house. This type of job may be part time, allowing the child to go to
school during the day. When not sent to work, children are supposed to do a lot at home, helping the mother with housework and child care or even substituting for her when she has to go to work.” (de Oliveria 1995: 260)

“The subjects tended to characterize intelligent people as those who are able, basically, to “make things,” to create concrete products with their own hands: build a house, do woodwork, do mechanical work, paint, make objects in straw, ceramics, and so on…Intelligent people are also seen as interested in learning and able to learn easily and quickly; they can learn by themselves, by observing other people, or from an explanation given by someone (de Oliveria 1995: 263)…Virtually all of the subjects made a clear distinction between intelligence and school acquired abilities: A person may be intelligent without having gone through school. …Schooling was mainly seen as a process that enables people to deal with the demands of modern complex life, through the transmission of the basic literate capacities.” (de Oliveria 1995: 264)

“People who have had school training are more able to find better jobs (both because they are formally qualified and because they know things such as how to take a test, how to fill out a form, how to use a time clock)…Schooling was said to be more necessary in the city than in the country (de Oliveria 1995: 264)…Schooling, seen as a process that enables people to deal with the demands of modern complex life, is perceived as conferring status on the people who pass through it. School seems to have a value in itself, independently of the eventual benefits it may give to the students in terms of knowledge acquisition and of formal qualification.” (de Oliveria 1995: 265)

Moroccan government policy has been to emphasize Arab culture, history and geography to erase ethnic differences among the population and diffuse tension between religious and secular realms. But, the net effect has been to perpetuate the urban elite who send their children to western-oriented French speaking private schools, thus advantaging them in the competition for places in coveted and, ultimately lucrative, university programs like business and engineering...

Moroccan government policy has been to emphasize Arab culture, history and geography to erase ethnic differences among the population and diffuse tension between religious and secular realms. But, the net effect has been to perpetuate the urban elite who send their children to western-oriented French speaking private schools, thus advantaging them in the competition for places in coveted and, ultimately lucrative, university programs like business and engineering...


“Memorizing, especially memorizing the Qur’an, is a “divine gift” that separates Muslim schools from commoners . Education (ta’lim) was synonymous with memorization (hifz). This strong cultural and social belief in the organic relationship between the Qur’anic text and its memorization facilitated the acceptance of colonial and postcolonial educational policies.” (Boum 2008: 205)

“Students from rural areas such as southern Morocco end up majoring in geography, religious studies, and Arabic language and literature. These choices limit their access to higher spheres of political power and decision making.” (Boum 2008: 206)

“Since independence in 1956, the nationalist Istiqlal party, headed by its leader Allal al-Fassi, spearheaded an educational movement of Arabization whose main objective was to manufacture
a new national homogeneity based on Arab-Islamic identity (Boum 2008: 213) …Students find themselves deficient largely in languages when they reach the university where scientific subjects are taught in French instead of Arabic.” (Boum 2008: 214)

“Urban private schools implemented a different educational policy where French and other foreign languages are preponderant compared to Arabic. Accordingly, the largely urban: middle [class] and upper [class] families who are dissatisfied with the public educational system, enroll their children in private schools or in the French “missions” to guarantee them good mastery of the French language and better job prospects.” (Boum 2008: 214)

Anthropology of Childhood: Page 317 discussion of Moroccans with education, unable to find white-collar jobs…note that in visit to Casablanca in May, 2008, I encountered a massive public demonstration by degree-holding individuals who were unemployed. Note also that the riots throughout Greece in December, 2008 had, as their root cause, the inability of the Greek economy to absorb educated workers…


“The study of Bonerate children is so fascinating. Here, both parents and children see few possibilities for the future that they cannot handle within their familiar cultural adaptation. This is particularly true of Miang Tuu residents who even by Bonerate islanders are seen as an isolated village community. The village has no school….All possible means for earning a livelihood at Bonerate, as this is understood by the villagers, are represented within the local community.” (Broch 1990: 13)
Parents as Teachers


“Sir Thomas Elyot, the author of *The Governor*, a famous book on education published in 1531, described those using baby-talk as ‘foolish women.’ He criticized the custom as ‘a wantonness.’” (Orme 2003: 131)

“‘Nursery rhymes’ first occurs as a phase in the early nineteenth century.” (Orme 2003: 134)…Nursery rhymes’ also conveys, in our own times, a sense of quality and respectability. The term arose in a period when people were beginning to collect and publish rhymes for adults to use with children, or for children to read for themselves.” (Orme 2003: 135)…To describe something as a children’s rhyme or song in the middle ages, then, we need to establish its connection to children. This is not easy to do…Very little material is labeled ‘for children.’” (Orme 2003: 138)

“Since at least the early eleventh century, Church leaders emphasized the duty of fathers and mothers, as well as clergy, to teach children the basic Christian prayers.” (Orme 2003: 204)…Critics of society, on the other hand, felt that too many parents failed in this respect. They laid blame for social problems on the fact that children had not been brought up to respect God and to keep the laws.” (Orme 2003: 205)

“There is evidence that children learning to read were made to decipher the Paternoster as their first piece of prose after learning their basic letters.” (Orme 2003: 205)

“Every child today, at about the age of five, must start to learn to read and write. ‘Must’ is a recent verb in this respect. School attendance did not become compulsory in England until 1880.” (Orme 2003: 238)…There were always some children in medieval England, and after about 1200 several thousands of them, learning to read in schools or at home.” (Orme 2003: 238)

“How did people learn to read, and children in particular? In the case of the Latin needed by clergy, scholars, and administrators, the process was a difficult one. It required formal teaching by a Latinist with access to books: grammars, vocabularies, and reading texts. From the moment of its reintroduction to England, Latin was normally learnt in a special environment, a school.” (Orme 2003: 240)

“It is reasonable to envisage gentlemen- and gentlewomen-in-waiting, clergy (friars, chaplains, or nuns), and merchants or their clerks, all teaching reading to children or young people, though evidence of the fact is hard to find.” (Orme 2003: 242)

[My] 1978-79 study of Samoan children’s language development and socialization documented caregivers routinely prompting infants to notice, accommodate, and anticipate needs of others. Infants were held face outward to witness activities and interactions nearby. Toddlers were fed facing others and prompted to notice and call out to people.” (Ochs 2009: 397)

“Although [Samoan] school teachers praised a child, family members rarely issued praise.” (Ochs 2009: 398)

Even with gradual acculturation and adaptation to public schooling, villagers “teaching” still looks quite different from that of fully acculturated, and educated mothers.


“…study that illustrate the role of division and (division of) responsibilities of parents and children when setting up to build a market stand….Thirty Mazahua parents and 15 teachers from the village primary school were asked to teach a child how to build a roof over a market stand.” (Paradise and de Haan 2009: 193)

“Role switching is a common and frequent part of how adults and children set up and define their tasks. This is true for the observer-performer balance as well as for the balancing between less and more responsible roles or roles that involve less and more expertise (p. 195)The role switching between observer-performer, as well as between marginal and central performer, permitted children to gradually gain more expertise while throughout being fully involved and sharing responsibility for the activity. It is the “being close” to the expert in a “same identity” role (instead of being a student), which probably explains the self-motivating and effectiveness of this way of “organizing” learning.” (Paradise and de Haan 2009: 196)

“The emphasis is not on how an individual performs but, rather, on what gets accomplished. This kind of reciprocity in favor of a collective effort is not so much a question of negotiating, or of bargaining turn taking, as it is an impulse to participate as fully as possible. It appears to reflect a social orientation growing out of an awareness of belonging to, participating in, and being part of a social entity.” (Paradise and de Haan 2009: 196)

“Mazahua children’s interaction practices at school…Children are rarely allowed to take the initiative in ways in which Mazahua children are accustomed.’ (Paradise and de Haan 2009: 200)


Agency…

“While the household usually went to sleep early and rose at dawn, children were not put to bed at regular times when exciting events were taking place.” (De Laguna 1965: 9)

“Two tasks were constructed that reflected everyday activities for both parent-child and teacher-pupil pairs. The tasks, a construction task and a math task, were related to marketing.” (de Hann, 2001, P. 182)

“The two tasks were explained to the parents and teachers without the presence of the child in their pair. The parents were asked to teach the tasks to their child in such a way that the child would learn to perform them.” (de Hann, 2001, p. 183)

“It is clear that the parent-child pairs start from a completely different organization of this teacher-learning situation then the teacher-pupil pairs. (The posttask interviews provided evidence that both parents and teachers interpreted the situation as a teaching-learning situation.).” (de Hann, 2001, p. 191)

“Parents did not introduce the activity to the child or explain about the role they were supposed to fulfill as if the child did not know anything about this. Nor did they explicitly and regularly check the child’s understanding of the task.” (de Hann, 2001, p. 191)


“Greensboro. What is immediately clear is that within both ethnic groups, middle-class children were involved in more lessons, overall, than were working-class children. Moreover, middle-class children from each ethnic group were about twice as likely to engage both in academic lessons and in lessons about the world as were working-class children.” (Trudge 2008: 153)

“It should also come as something of a surprise to those who have been accustomed to thinking of White middle-class children in the United States as having far more didactic lessons than all other children to see that children in Obninsk and Tartu, from both middle- and working-class homes, had the same, or more, academic lessons as did their counterparts in Greensboro and far more total lessons (Trudge 2008: 162)...Children in Obninsk, Tartu, and Oulu were as likely (or more so, in the latter city) to engage in conversation as were the middle-class White children in Greensboro...The research into Finnish and Estonian children’s and adolescents’ propensity to talk has featured recording conversations during mealtimes.” (Trudge 2008: 168)

“The middle-class children in Kisumu engaged in less work than did children in many other groups.” (Trudge 2008: 169)

“Children whose parents at the same age were already hunters or wives now continue to carry their books to school daily, awaiting the time when they can step into the “real” world of adulthood.” (Matthiasson 1979: 73)

“As mentioned earlier, in the traditional Inuit family young children were given a degree of personal freedom which would probably shock even the most permissive southern parent…Young girls were also given almost unlimited freedom (Matthiasson 1979: 76)…It is not uncommon for a mother in an isolated settlement to send her child to school and then go to bed herself, having been up all night visiting with friends and relatives. She is often loathe to make sure that her child goes to bed early, because she does not want to impose her will on his or her own decisions.” (Matthiasson 1979: 77)


“For Navajo, early autonomy and non-interference with their children was desirable, where as adult supervision over children and adolescents was a strong value among the Anglo…Navajo emphasis on both autonomy and consensus, and it entailed egalitarian rather than hierarchical authority relations. Authority relations were egalitarian among Navajos as opposed to hierarchical among Anglos. This had serious implications for how Navajo parents interacted with their children.” (Dehyle 1993: 39)

“Unlike the Anglos, who experience a period of adolescence and dependence, the Navajo, have little or no time “in-between” when the individual was neither a child nor an adult. Social and physical maturity occurred simultaneously. Young Navajo individuals, who were viewed in the school district and the larger Anglo society as immature adolescents or teenagers were seen as adults by their parents.” (Dehyle 1993: 39)…“For many Navajo parents this translated into “Non-interference” for their children who chose to leave school. For many Anglo parents and school officials, this translated into “lack of support” or “neglect.”” (Dehyle 1993: 40)


“[School counselors and teachers] insist that such statistics do not begin to reflect the problem of chronic truancy and absence among Khmer girls. Khmer parents and community leaders voice similar concerns.” (Smith-Hefner 1993: 137)

**Compare to Navajo/Inuit…**

“They expect teachers to use physical punishment…Parents also admit that they have little understanding of the educational system in the United States and say that they can do little to help their children do well in school because of their own lack of English skills.” (Smith-Hefner 1993: 139)

“…an important cultural focus on the autonomy of the individual, and by the belief that children come into the world with inherent talents and predispositions and cannot be pushed far from their intended trajectory.” (Smith-Hefner 1993: 139)
“Those who come from poor rural backgrounds cannot understand why police and the courts protect a misbehaving child rather than support a parent who is trying to change the child’s ways.” (Smith-Hefner 1993: 149)


Madison and Alternatives were not typical of the schools that black students attend. They were both small schools with all-black populations, and Alternatives was a Christian school. These factors undoubtedly made the children’s experiences different from those of other black students, most of whom attend large public schools with at least some children from other racial or ethnic backgrounds.” (Tyson 2002: 1182)

“Most of the children in this sample were from middle-class families, but there were a fair number of children from working-class families, especially at Alternatives. As a group, though, the parents in the sample had higher education, higher family income, and in some cases, high occupational status than the average African American adult …These factors surely played a role in fostering pro-school and pro-achievement attitudes among the students. It is also likely that these factors influenced teachers’ perceptions and treatment of the students.” (Tyson 2002: 1183)

“I also found evidence, not presented here, that parents provided assistance with homework and school projects and generally placed heavy emphasis on school achievement. Many of the parents also had access to resources that could facilitate their children’s school success. For example, some parents were able to hire tutors for their children when necessary or to purchase supplemental educational materials, and some were able to call on family members or friends who were educators for help with specific problems. Many of the parents also appeared comfortable dealing with school personnel and making demands of the school.” (Tyson 2002: 1183)
An Educated Woman


“Venezuela’s swift transformation into a modern, oil-rich, industrializing, urban country…the disruptions caused to families, communities, and entire regions as the country became increasingly urban and mobile, its economy and workforce decreasingly agricultural…” (Hurtig 2008: xiii)

**Newly prosperous.**

“…my stay in the Venezuelan town of Santa Lucía, a prosperous agricultural town and municipal capital of over 12,000 inhabitants. Santa Lucia is situated at the northernmost end of the Venezuelan Andes.” (Hurtig 2008: 1)

“Much like familiar scenarios in other small farming regions of Latin America, it seems that the inability of poor rural men to hold up their end of the patriarchal bargain had the ironic effect of partially freeing poor women from the strict patriarchal norms imposed on their bourgeois counterparts.” (Hurtig 2008: 53)

“A woman of “good family” was supposed to have received schooling but was not meant to study for a career. That would imply that her husband wasn’t adequately supporting her. She could only enrich her mind if it was for the purposes of domestic arts and activities.” (Hurtig 2008: 53)

“…students, and not their parents, who integrated education and civics, linking their goals to “become someone” or to “make something of themselves” with the primary intentions of helping their families, establishing families of their own, and serving their nation.” (Hurtig 2008: 82)


“Although the gross enrollment rate in primary school has increased by 4% in the past three years from 85% in 1997 to 89% in 2000, only 68% of those enrolled in grade one reach fourth grade and only 34% go on to secondary school” (Mungai, 2002: 30)

“Though the high cost of schooling affects boys as well, girls from poor families are disadvantaged because of the social belief that educating boys is crucial since they are future heads of households, and, therefore they have to provide for their families…The costs associated with schooling are much higher for girls than for boys. This is due in part to the cost of the girls’ uniform. Boys are more likely than girls to go to school in torn clothes” (Mungai, 2002: 30-1)

“There are still students who have to walk long distances to attend school. Research conducted in many African countries shows a correlation between distance from school and late entry of girls into school, frequent and prolonged absenteeism, and dropping out.” (Mungai, 2002: 34)

**In Sri Lanka/Culture clash…**

“The landlady was very cordial to us, she scolded the servant girls for not doing their work when she found them playing with Simeon. We discovered that they had been instructed not to play with Simeon whether or not they had work. The girls were servants, we were told, and playing would lead to bad habits. Their life was one of work.” (Nichter 1987: 84)

“We indirectly approached the landlady about the fact that the girls did not attend school. The landlady took the attitude that she and her daughter were doing a great social service by taking in the orphans. The children, she stated, did not want to learn reading and adding. Anyway, they were cared for and would always have a home (Nichter 1987: 84)...Simeon decided that the adults were wrong and that children needed to play. He introduced a game of hide-and-seek, began learning Sinhala phrases to whisper to the girls, and began sneaking them pieces of candy...The landlady was informed and soon came running, irate. Had we no control over our son?” (Nichter 1987:85)


“The Chagga more than others suffered from the ill effects of “too much schooling.” Some villagers and teachers asserted that “reading and writing too much” could drive students to the brink of hysteria (Stambach 1998: 497)...According to three Chagga teachers from an all-girls boarding school, girls can suffer the ill effects of schooling if they are not given opportunities to socialize with young men... ‘They were absolutely kicha,’ said another. When asked for an explanation, the third elaborated, ‘The girls were starving for men. They were forced to stay inside the school for so long that they eventually went completely mad.’...Girls must be with boys at this age. Without boys, girls can go crazy.” (Stambach 1998: 502)
Bedtime Stories as Cultural Capital


“This brief adds to the body of knowledge by using data from a nationally-representative sample of infants born in the year 2001 to examine multiple sociodemographic characteristics that may be associated with developmental disparities at 9 and 24 months of age. We examine developmental outcomes in three domains: cognitive development, general health, and social-emotional development.” (p. 1)

“Income disparities in cognitive (receptive vocabulary, expressive vocabulary, listening/comprehension, matching/discrimination, early counting/quantitative) outcomes emerge at 9 months and represent small to moderate effects. In many cases, the disparities are more distinct at 24 months.” (p. 4)

“Infants in lower-income families are less likely than infants in higher-income families to be in excellent or very good health at both 9 and 24 months.”

**Disparities by race/ethnicity are more pronounced among 24 month olds, with toddlers from racial/ethnic minority backgrounds scoring lower than their white peers on the cognitive assessment.**

Large effect sizes are seen in all comparisons of the scores for the measures of cognitive development between white and non-white toddlers: American Indian and Alaskan Natives are almost one full standard deviation lower than whites ($d = -.91$), Hispanics are about three-quarters of a standard deviation lower than whites ($d = -.72$), blacks are almost two-thirds of a standard deviation lower than whites ($d = -.60$) and Asians are two-fifths of a standard deviation lower than whites ($d = -.40$). (p. 8)


“Only about a quarter of the 2009 high school graduates taking the ACT admissions test have the skills to succeed in college, according to a report on the exam that shows little improvement over results from the 2008 graduating class.”


After three decades of decline, the amount of time spent by parents on childcare in the U.S. began to rise dramatically in the mid-1990s. Moreover, the rise in childcare time was particularly pronounced among college-educated parents…We argue that increased competition for college
admissions may be an important source of these trends. The number of college-bound students has surged in recent years, coincident with the rise in time spent on childcare. The resulting “cohort crowding” has led parents to compete more aggressively for college slots by spending increasing amounts of time on college preparation.


“At its top levels, the American system of higher education may be the best in the world. Yet in terms of its core mission — turning teenagers into educated college graduates — much of the system is simply failing.”

“Among rich countries, only Italy is worse. That’s a big reason inequality has soared, and productivity growth has slowed. Economic growth in this decade was on pace to be slower than in any decade since World War II — even before the financial crisis started.”

“[From their book entitled Crossing the Finish Line], the first problem that Mr. Bowen, Mr. McPherson and the book’s third author, Matthew Chingos, a doctoral candidate, diagnose is something they call under-matching. It refers to students who choose not to attend the best college they can get into. They instead go to a less selective one, perhaps one that’s closer to home or, given the torturous financial aid process, less expensive…In effect, well-off students — many of whom will graduate no matter where they go — attend the colleges that do the best job of producing graduates. These are the places where many students live on campus (which raises graduation rates) and graduation is the norm. Meanwhile, lower-income students — even when they are better qualified — often go to colleges that excel in producing dropouts.”

“It’s really a waste,” Mr. Bowen says, “and a big problem for the country.” As the authors point out, the only way to lift the college graduation rate significantly is to lift it among poor and working-class students. Instead, it appears to have fallen somewhat since the 1970s…Money is clearly part of the answer. Tellingly, net tuition has no impact on the graduation rates of high-income students. Yet it does affect low-income students. All else equal, they are less likely to make it through a more expensive state college than a less expensive one, the book shows. Conservatives are wrong to suggest affordability doesn’t matter.


“Young people with compromised spoken language skills also commonly have difficulty establishing and maintaining satisfying relationships with peers (Davis and others 1991). Evidence suggests that language skills play an integral role in mediating relationships with others.” (Snow 2008: 16)Davis, Abbie D. Sanger, Dixie D., Moris-Friehe, Mary (1991) Language skills of delinquent and nondelinquent adolescent males. Journal of Communication Disorders, 24:251-266.
“The young offenders displayed significant difficulties with a diverse range of language tasks, whether they required abstraction, the ability non-literal material or the ability to formulate a story and convey this via spoke discourse. Difficulties on the sentence repetition task reflect impoverished auditory processing and formulation skills (Snow 2008: 24)…the school failure experienced by high-risk youth may be attributable to inadequate preparation for the transition to literacy in the early years.” (Snow 2008: 26)
"Dry Cleaner" Parents and "Helicopter" Parents


Study which looked at clusters of autism cases to look for an association with prenatal environmental exposures. Only associated variable was high parental education. This suggests that parents with high education are more aware of their infant’s cognitive functioning and better informed about disabilities and programs to mitigate them.


“More and more parents call campus housing about air conditioning problems in residence halls, provide their supposedly grown children with daily wake-up calls, edit their papers, attend career fairs to promote their kids to potential employers, and even sit in on their job interviews. How is that helping students to develop into responsible, decision-making adults?” (Merriman 2007: B19)

“Survey respondents also noted that parents are increasingly concerned for their children’s safety, and that they have simply always taken care of things for their children and see no reason to change that behavior.” (Merriman 2007: B19)


“In Wilton—a middle- to upper-middle-class “historic” suburb of a large Midwestern city that has long been a favored residential spot for the area’s professional class. It has a quaint downtown where the Wilton Inn and various hops and restaurants border the Village Green. It also has well-maintained parts and libraries, two country clubs, and an expansive public recreation center. At the time of the study, approximately 60 percent of adult residents had a bachelor’s degree or higher (the U.S. average is 24.4 percent). Of its population of approximately 50,000, nearly half of employed adults were in managerial and professional occupations, and just over a third were in technical, sales, and administrative support…” (Demerath 2008: 275).

“Permissive parenting styles, intensive involvement with electronic and commodity culture, and extensive experience in “democratic” classrooms with “student-centered” pedagogies, all share the characteristic of deferring to students’ experience and judgement, and thereby according them significant authority. We mention this here because the authority that students in general attributed to themselves was a prominent theme in the study as a whole.” (Demerath 2008: 275)

“Discourses of “excellence” and “success” imbued the community and school…Various kinds of cultural capital were also visibly displayed in the school. The capacious commons area had flags
from nations around the world draped from the ceiling. … Throughout the school’s hallways, framed artwork adorned the walls, and classical music emanated quietly from speakers.”
(Demerath 2008: 276)

“The committee that guided that founding of WBHS decided early on in its deliberations that “the achievement of each student is important and should be recognized.” It was this philosophy that led the school to develop so many forms of what we have come to call “technologies of recognition.” In the commons could be seen the WBHS Hall of Fame; framed photos of National Merit Finalists; members of the Socratic Society…” (Demerath 2008: 276)

“The school had another way of recognizing students that bordered on credential fraud: school policy dictated that all students who graduated with a 4.0 GPA or higher were “valedictorians.” The high school class of 2000 had 28 valedictorians, the class of 2001 had 41, the class of 2002 had 42, and the class of 2003 had 47—10 percent of the class…One teacher of both enriched and regular classes said, “Our job is to get these kids into the best college they can possibly get in to.”…Students and parents in WBHS generally evinced a keen awareness of being in competition with others…Parental bragging about children’s accomplishments was commonplace, as was posting AP test results on refrigerators, and discussing the colleges to which children were applying and gaining admission.” (Demerath 2008: 277)

“Students demonstrated fairly sophisticated consumptive identities as early as ninth grade: One had set up a mutual fund from her previous summer’s earnings, and another watched the stock channel regularly to keep up with his investments.” (Demerath 2008: 277)

“One of the striking characteristics of the high-achieving students in the study was the extent to which they saw themselves as ongoing projects. {they evinced} strong beliefs concerning the role of effort in determining life chances, the role of the self in developing confidence, becoming effective self-advocates, and precociously circumscribed aspirations….Throughout the study there were many examples of how students attempted to exert control over their educational experiences, including routinely questioning their teachers’ authority, critiquing how instruction was delivered, judging the utility of what they were learning, and attempting to personalize relationships with their teachers.” (Demerath 2008: 277)

“Some of us, like think really far ahead. You know, like, if I don’t do this assignment, then my grades are going to go down and my GPA’s going to fall, and then I can’t get into the college I want, or whatever.” …When asked on the survey what they wanted their “future life to be like,” Most students responded with great specificity, both in terms of their expectations, and their strategies for realizing them…Students at WBHS seemed most animated when discussing evaluative criteria or their own accomplishments.” (Demerath 2008: 282)

“Students seemed aware of the value of developing the sorts of people skills desired as cultural capital in the corporate world. A notable feature of the student culture was the degree to which students from different social locations and groups got along, supported, and even socialized one another in school. Students seemed to value being able to move fluidly between groups—proclaiming with pride that they had different kinds of friends…. [their] “adult handling skills”
…enabled some students to develop potentially exploitable relationships with other people—including their teachers and counselors.” (Demerath 2008: 284)

“An AP social studies teacher characterized the school culture as a “business culture.” …It would not be an exaggeration to say that most of these high-achieving students lived hyperscheduled lives.” (Demerath 2008: 285)

“Female students had higher GPA’s than the male students and were more immersed in the school’s competitive routines.” (Demerath 2008: 285)
Pattern very closely resembles Gibson’s “accommodation without assimilation.” Chinese don’t want their children to become American. Creates enormous tension because the Chinese kids want to “fit in” and not stand out as nerds or academically excellent students.

Teachers match their expectations to parents, very demanding of students.

Dominican families don’t invest as much in education and teachers lower their expectations to match. They hold lower expectations for Dominican kids.


“It is a sweltering August night in suburban New Jersey and a group of women stand fanning themselves on the sidewalk of a strip mall. All of them are Indian and their Bengali and Punjabi accents [most of the children were of Indian parentage] punctuate the rhythm of their conversation. Voices rise and fall as the women compare notes on their children—whose babies are already talking, toddlers are already reading, and children are already doing algebra. They wait just outside a door marked “Kumon,” an after-school learning center that their children attend to supplement their schoolwork. One woman’s seven-year-old daughter pushes the door open. She holds a certificate out and excitedly hands it to her mom, interrupting the conversation. The little girl clings to her mom’s thigh, smiling, as her mom reads the certificate aloud, declaring that her daughter has advanced to the next math level. The other women murmur congratulations and the mother walks off with her daughter, proudly carrying the child’s backpack that contains her new, more difficult, homework.” (Levey 2009: 195)

“Kumon is a highly standardized program… similar to other Asian private institutes that give children after-school instruction to prepare for state examinations. Kumon has been extremely successful and it is now the world’s largest after-school education program with over 1,300 centers in North America alone…The Kumon method is fairly simple. It is based on the premise that by breaking things into manageable units and drilling those units every day through practice, a child will progress. There are two set curricula, one devoted to mathematics and one devoted to reading, and students can choose to do only one or to do both…Children typically go to their neighborhood center twice a week and spend about 20 minutes per subject matter with an instructor in a group setting. When they enter the center they drop off their homework (daily
assignments that take 15-20 minutes to complete)...leaving their parents to stand outside, run errands, or wait in their cars.” (Levey 2009: 202)

Besides sticker rewards, Kumon has developed programs, such as an “Advanced Student Honor Roll” and “The Kumon Cosmic Club,” which reward students for their progress in the program or for reaching a high level relative to their age*...Kumon requires a high level of parental involvement. ASL requires parents to make sure that children complete their homework and then the parents must check the homework in a master book they received when paying tuition...Kumon is providing books and worksheets, but not much instruction....when the child walks into a “lesson” to be evaluated or take a test, it is as much about how the parent has prepared the child to succeed as it is about the child’s own abilities.” (Levey 2009: 202)

“...none of the ASL parents talked about these prizes in interviews. The lack of attention to these prizes indicates that the parents are not interested in the short-term rewards that their children can gain by participating in ASL. Rather, they simply are small prizes to please the children and not an end goal, since the ultimate goal is much more esoteric—an elite education.” (Levey 2009: 205)

“...ASL parents think children need to be learning...skills and...acquiring capital at a young age. A mom explains, ‘He is more attracted to his work now. He knows that he is supposed to work. He’s going to be in first grade now, so I always tell him that you have to work more hard so you can be like a very successful person in your life.’” (Levey 2009: 209)


“Second generation Punjabi students, together with those who had arrived in Valleyside [CA] as small children, in spite of facing cultural, linguistic, and social differences in school, did quite well academically. Recent immigrants fared far less well. Although most recent arrivals persisted in school through 12th grade, they never broke out of a remedial track.” (Gibson 1987: 282)

“This [Anglo] student was absent 10 days his senior year, 4 less than the typical senior in our Valleysider sample. He also worked close to 40 hours a week in the family business, played two varsity sports, and participated in a (Gibson 1987: 287) variety of social activities both in and out of school. He was far from lazy. His senior year, however, he deliberately took the minimum course load. One of his four classes, senior English, required homework, and this he was taking because the college of his choice required it. Senior year, he explained, was “kick back time.” (Gibson 1987: 288)

“The ability to get along in society was stressed by teachers as well as parents, many of whom placed social criteria for success ahead of academic ones. In defining a successful high school experience, teachers avoided ascribing success to intelligence or academic achievement. Academic achievement, some said, was based largely on innate ability, and was no necessary predictor of adult success. Valleysider parents agreed. More important, teachers explained, were social skills and a sense of self-worth. For them, the nonsucceeder was not the one with poor
academic skills. It was the student who could not “fit in,” who did not “feel part of it,” and who did not value man of the things that other students enjoyed at school.” (Gibson 1987: 289)

**contrast with Navajo, Inuit.**

“Adolescence, from the Punjabi perspective, is a time when young people need especially strong parental supervision and guidance. Teenagers, parents explained, naturally “question everything,” including their parent’s values, but they lacked the maturity to make wise decisions for themselves.” (Gibson 1987: 290)

“Most parents had little understanding of the American system of education. Few were able to help with homework or course selection. Newer arrivals, moreover, simply had no time to get involved in school matters. Their entire lives were consumed by the myriad problems of adapting to life in America and by the realities of sheer economic survival. Even long-term residents had little knowledge or what their children were actually doing in school and whether or not they were progressing satisfactorily (p. 292)…Punjabi youngsters realized that if they themselves got out of line their parents might well arrange an early marriage or put them to work in the fruit orchards.” (Gibson 1987: 293)
Examination Hell


“This includes Sunday hours for everyone.” (Benjamin 1997: 32)

“Like other observers, I was struck by the easy, relaxed discipline, the quick pace, and the high degree of student participation in these classes. The students seemed to be engaged, active, lively, and anything but downtrodden.” (Benjamin 1997: 39)

“Since Japanese neighborhoods are less economically segregated than those in many other countries, there is usually a wide range of socio-economic backgrounds represented in each classroom.” (Benjamin 1997: 40)

“The teachers job is teaching, not classroom management (Benjamin 1997: 43)… One of the most startling sights for me the first time I saw it was what happens when a student gives an incorrect answer. Other students immediately raise their hands, calling out loudly, “Chigaimasu!” That’s wrong!” One of those who called out would then be chosen to give another answer… Teachers routinely and emphatically refrain from giving either positive or negative evaluations of students’ answers to questions or other responses to academic material. Those responses are evaluated, but only by other students. (Benjamin 1997: 45)… Teachers are not available arbiters of correctness, because they fail to act as judges. Another is that one’s peers are reliable guide to academic correctness. If one’s peers are capable of being reliable authorities, then one is oneself likely to be reliable… Ellen reported at supper that her teacher had been absent that day. To my routine query about what the substitute teacher had been like, she replied that there was no substitute. I asked somewhat anxiously how they had managed and what had happened, and she replied, “Oh, Kuroda sensei wrote on the board what we were supposed to do, and sometimes a teacher looked in the room.” There were no riots, and they did their work, she said.” (Benjamin 1997: 48)

“Juku are private, commercial tutoring schools.” (Benjamin 1997: 50)

“They divide children by achievement levels and provide remedial help for those who are falling behind, additional practice for those who are keeping up, and accelerated or enriched programs for the academically advanced… High schools are ranked by the test achievement levels of their entering students, which in turn are directly linked to the university entrance success or the employment success of their graduates.” (Benjamin 1997: 50)

“In Japanese classrooms each *han* includes five to eight children… Both social and academic activities are carried out with *han* groups as the basic work unit… The foremost goal is to make each group heterogeneous in terms of personalities, abilities, previous friendship patterns, and previous *han* groupings.” (Benjamin 1997: 53)
Self defeating behavior of freeloading within groups…

“For us independence is hard to achieve but desirable; for the Japanese integration is hard to achieve but desirable.” (Benjamin 1997: 68)

“There is so much to learn and so little time, that vacation is an unwelcome intrusion into a serious business. Teachers feel this way about all children; individual parents feel that because everyone else is working full time, vacation or not their children must work equally hard not to miss out and fall behind the competition.” (Benjamin 1997: 98)
Nerds, Jocks, Fluff Chicks, Breakers and Homeboys


“An interesting account is presented by Nathan Caplan of the University of Chicago (1965) who has been working in an inner city slum project with young adolescents on a job training program. He was impressed by the number of what he called “near misses” in this program. Generally, results of this job training program had been rather poor. They hadn’t been nearly as successful as they hoped to be when they started. However, he also observed that during the six to eight months job training many of the boys seems to be doing very well. They were (Sears 1967: 39) enjoying the training, were showing up regularly, were learning and apparently, getting along fine. However, in quite a large proportion of cases, at the very end of the training—often when the boy had had an interview with the employer, had been employed, and was ready to go to the job—these boys went into what he called “blotto.” They did something outrageous; shot a policeman, or did something equally terrible which effectively shut them out from a successful future.” (Sears 1967: 40) (Caplan, Nathan (1965) Working paper on action research with youth in slum settings. Social Science Research Council Conference on Socialization for Competence. Mimeo.)

“Another phenomenon was what he called the “near miss.” The boys would work well almost up to the end of the training, then for some reason they wouldn’t show up anymore.” (Sears 1967: 40)


“Status and power in a clique were related to stratification, and people who remained more closely tied to the leaders were more popular.” (Adler 1998: 60)


“A popular video on YouTube shows Kellie Pickler, the adorable platinum blonde from “American Idol,” appearing on the Fox game show “Are You Smarter Than a 5th Grader?” during celebrity week. Selected from a third grade geography curriculum, the $25,000 question asked: “Budapest is the capital of what European country?” Ms. Pickler threw up both hands and looked at the large blackboard perplexed, “I thought Europe was a country.”” (Cohen 2008: B1)

“Not only are citizens ignorant about essential scientific, civic and cultural knowledge, she said, but they also don’t think it matters…Eggheads, nerds, bookworms, longhairs, pointy heads, highbrows, and know-it-alls have been mocked and dismissed throughout American history.” (Cohen 2008: B9)

“The survey covers a sample of more than 90,000 junior and high school students from 175 schools in 80 communities around the country.” (Fryer 2005: 4)

“Among whites, higher grades yield higher popularity. For Blacks, higher achievement is associated with modestly high popularity until a grade point average of 3.5, when the slope turns negative. A black student with a 4.0 has, on average, 1.5 fewer same-race friends than a white student with a 4.0. Among Hispanics, there is little change in popularity from a grade point average of 1 through 2.5. After 2.5, the gradient turns sharply negative. A Hispanic student with a 4.0 grade point average is the least popular of all Hispanic students, and has 3 fewer friends than a typical white student with a 4.0 grade point average.” (Fryer 2005: 4)

“‘Acting white’ is more salient in public schools and schools in which the percentage of black students is less than twenty, but non-existent among blacks in predominantly black schools or those who attend private schools. Schools with more interracial contact have an ‘acting white’ coefficient twice as large as more segregated…” (Fryer 2005: 5)


Group of 6, 14- and 15-year-old freshmen first- or second-generation Chinese Americans...

“For Lisa, the grade was more important than an evaluation of her work. It was a reflection of who she was. She did not consider herself to be a C student, an “average” person. The thought was unacceptable. The other Chinese American students, likewise, considered earning grades to be a serious, personal matter. There was a strong consensus among the information that they had to be successful in school in order to fulfill their future plans.” (Goto 1997: 74)

“The Chinese Americans positioned themselves as normal people. Like nerds, the informants wanted to be academically successful, and like popular people, they enjoyed having a network of friends. However, they did not want to achieve so highly or become so popular as to draw attention to themselves.” (Goto 2997: 78)

“One obvious manifestation of race awareness was the tendency of the Asians and other students to congregate in racially homogeneous groups…A more important factor, however, had to do with the students’ conceptions of biculturalism. These individuals tended to view Chinese and American cultures as distinct domains. Like the Punjabis…they believed they could move back and forth between cultures, maintaining their Chinese identity and dealing with non-Asians as necessary. Doing so required them to follow different social norms, depending on whether they were in all-Asian or heterogeneous peer groups.” (Goto 2997: 79)

“In questioning the primacy of school knowledge, Matthew and others were beginning to challenge the institution’s authority. This questioning may have led some of the focal students to emphasize with home boys and their opposition to the institution.” (Goto 2997: 80)
“As Matthew explained, “It’s not so much what you learn in class as the whole school life—the atmosphere.” In questioning the primacy of school knowledge, he and others were beginning to challenge the institution’s authority. This questioning may have led some of the focal students to empathize with homeboys and their opposition to the institution (Goto 2997: 80)…Matthew, in particular, was ambivalent about presenting himself in different ways to different people. He recognized the hypocrisy of claiming membership in groups with opposing beliefs. “I mean I don’t get good grades,” he commented, “I (Goto 2997: 80) started school; I tried not to talk on either side of people. I tried to be myself…Matthew explained, “Most (other Chinese Americans) are following their parents. In a way, they’re more Asian, cultural-wise. They keep closer to their own culture. I’m thinking now that I’m in America, maybe I should change.” (Goto 2997: 81)


**Paradox: conforming to adult expectations leads to greater agency…so high achievers are invited to participate in extra curricular, honors classes, but “trouble makers” that are anti conformity loose agency, eventually becoming “lowlifes.”…**

“Because academic achievement and peer-group membership are interconnected, I refer to high achievers and low achievers as ‘school kids’ and ‘street kids’ respectively.” (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 630)…Many of the high achieving school kids are found in the academic elite programs such as honors and college preparatory…Scholars Program. This was a rather small and very selective college preparatory program, comprised of about 35 students per-grade…In honors and advanced placement courses in English, social studies, sciences, and mathematics…The scholars were taught by the best teachers in the school and tended to develop close relationships with them. As a result of this physical and social segregation, the scholars comprised a tight-knit group which spent time together in the classroom, in program-related activities and outside of school (p. 631)…For example, the scholars not only exceeded the C-average grade requirement for participation, but they also had access to highly selective extracurricular activities such as the Anchor Club and the Key Clubs.” (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 632)

“While some students may have sought these opportunities out of their own interest or skill, for most kids, participation was a matter of luck: someone recruited them or they were on the ‘right’ academic track.” (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 632)

**Hierarchy: ‘scholar,’ basketball team,’ ‘gang,’ ‘lowlife’…**

“Participation in extracurricular programs was rare among the low achievers…Many just assumed that they had to have a C average to even try-out, unaware that the school waved that requirement when students showed significant talent. Jerry was recruited to play basketball even though he was failing some classes. When Jerry’s gang membership became obvious from his participation in gang-related fights at school, he was immediately dropped from the team. Ironically, basketball, by keeping him busy after school, may have been the only thing that could have saved him from diving more deeply into the gang.” (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 633)

Who has greater agency? School or street kids?...
“Students would purposely misbehave is class so that the teacher would send them to the social service program office or to the detention room, where they would join their friends. As one street kid said, detention room was not punishment but rather, ‘it was fun. I liked it. Everybody was always in there. You already knew who would always get into trouble. You had to do your work. I felt more comfortable with them. There were two [teachers]. One security guard, then a teacher that would explain the things that you had to do. You would get more done in there than in the actual classes’…Carrying a lower academic load and lacking participation in extracurricular activities gave them more disposable time to hang out in the hallways with other street kids, to start trouble, and to be present when trouble started.” (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 634)

“At Hernandez High, school kids sought popularity or to be known by others because of their academic, social, or athletic abilities. By contrast, street kids sought respect, a different form of popularity that is based on deference and fear…This is accomplished through dominance over others through verbal or physical intimidation.” (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 635)

“Life in the hallways of Hernandez High School was difficult to navigate because ‘at Hernandez you can’t talk to people and expect them to be nice. If you look at somebody, they’ll say, “What you’re looking at?” You can’t look at anybody’ (Marisol). Intentions could be—and were often—misinterpreted and resulted in verbal or physical harassment. Students had to learn how to respond quickly to threats by stepping up to the challenge or by finding a way out of the challenge. Not to lose face, aggrieved youth who apply the cod of the street must rise to the challenge by reacting quickly and violently. Not to do so will only mark them as weak and invite further victimization…decent’ youth are particularly in danger of being victimized repeatedly because ‘decency or a “nice” attitude if often taken as a sign of weakness, at times inviting others to “roll on” or “try” the person. To be nice is to risk being taken for a sissy, someone who can’t fight, a weakling, someone to be rolled on’…‘street’ youths trying to establish a reputation begin by challenging less threatening opponents (such as ‘decent’ kids) (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 635)…Kids learn fast that in order to protect themselves they must project an image of ‘street.’ This can be accomplished by adopting the ‘street look’ in their appearance, style and speech.” (Flores-Gonzalez 2005: 636)

Two examples of peer pressure and cliques working in favor of academic success…

“Chicanos and Cholos, those who were of second and subsequent generation, did not see a connection between school success and success as adults. Rather, they perceived academic success as being white or “rich honkie” and thus incompatible with the Chicano or Cholo identity.” (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 345)

“Social class may have an effect on the relationship between academic success an ethnic identity…Middle-class Mexican Americans in a small town in Texas were not ambivalent about their ethnic identity and school success…instead, they “felt good about being ethnic and were succeeding in school…What set these students apart from other Mexican students was that while they participated in the oppositional culture, they had learned mainstream communicative competencies. (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 345)
“Black high achievers in a predominately middle-class high school experienced pressure to act middle class, with no distinction being made between “being black” and being a “model student.” They did not seem to equate academic success with “being white” but, rather, with “being middle class,” something they already were or hoped to become. By contrast…black high achievers in a working-class school experienced pressure to conform to peer images of “blackness,” which involved rejection of “whiteness.” Because peer pressure to be “black” was strong, may black high achievers had to pursue academic success the “back way.” That is, they could be “model students” as long as they continued “acting black,” “being bad,” “joining cheating networks,” and distancing themselves from whites. Hemmings’s findings point to the significance of school context and social class in shaping high-achieving involuntary minority approaches to academic success.” (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 346)

“…a high school in Chicago, which I name Hernández High School. The school had 2,600 students, of which 55 percent were Puerto Rican…Most students came from low-income families (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 346)…The students did not fare well academically; they did poorly on college entrance examinations and other standardized tests. The school’s graduation rate was very low, about 35 percent (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 347)…The high achievers were not a homogeneous group but, rather, constituted small peer groups, the most visible being the scholars, the athletes, and the “church boys and girls.”” (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 348)

“…at Hernández High School. … The high achievers did not report being accused of being “un-Puerto Rican” or “acting white” for getting good grades. Even those who belonged to the Scholars’ Program were not viewed as less Puerto Rican than students in the general education program. Quite the contrary, many said that the scholars, along with the athletes, occupied the top level of the peer social hierarchy…The high achievers, however, seemed to be particularly “immune” to peer hostility. In particular, the Puerto Rican high achievers established a status in school that somehow “immunized” them from peer hostility. They became what I call “schoolboys and –girls” and were recognized as such by peers.” (Flores-González 1999:349)

See Navajo students (Dehyle 1992) who said that attention and treating them well seemed to be more important…

“The scholars enjoyed high social and academic ranking as well as benefits because of the special attention they received from the staff. Other high achievers, like Ana, who were not in the Scholars’ Program, were sometimes bothered by the attention the scholars received, which only emphasized the staff’s neglect of students in the general education program.” (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 351)

Compare to those who harass teachers for good grades, transfer to schools with lower standards, or drop out of school altogether. Why?...

“Although some studies find no relationship between extracurricular participation and grades,…at Hernández High School sports often translated into good academic standing. While not necessarily academically outstanding, athletes had to maintain good grade academic standing in order to participate in sports (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 353)…African American high achievers often become “unblack” by downplaying African American culture and reinforcing an identity as “Americans.” By contrast, Puerto Rican high achievers and low achievers at Hernández High
School did not seem to encounter conflict between being Puerto Rican and American.” (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 354)

“Low achievers often shared the high achievers’ views on hard work and motivation as necessary for success. They believed that when people are determined to work hard and succeed, nothing can stop them…Although the low achievers believed in the work ethic, they did not practice it. They generally did just enough to get by in school. Their attendance and grade records show their lack of effort in schoolwork (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 356)…Many Puerto Rican low achievers shared similar views about “lowlifes,” plus the added fear of becoming “lowlifes” themselves, especially those who had dropped out of school. They were afraid that the dropout identity would become a self-fulfilling prophecy and they would end up becoming “lowlifes.” (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 357)

“As Jenny said, “After awhile you get sick if being home, and I was like, ‘Man, what am I gonna do with myself.” I can’t always be at home.'” Dropouts who returned to school pointed to those who remained out of school as “lowlifes.” Low achiever Diana commented about her boyfriend, “He dropped out his sophomore year. He need to get a GED [General Equivalency Diploma]. He needs to get a life if you ask me. He’s 20. He just bums around ‘cause there’s nothing else to do when he should just get a job. I always tell him.”” (Flores-Gonzalez 1999: 357)


Contrast with Ogbu…
“A few middle group kids are chided, primarily by top group kids, for being too compliant with adult values. Those thought to study all the time and to brag about their grades are called “brains.” Those thought to follow all the rules with which adults structure their social action are called “goody goodies”…These named and unnamed low group kids are known for socially inappropriate action: bragging, acting too shy, or telling and laughing at jokes their peers do not think funny.” (Canaan 1987: 387)

Lowest ranking NOT non-conformist…
“Of the two cool subgroups, jocks are the more positively distinguished. Jocks act as their teachers and administrators think they should in school. … Moreover, on weekends, jocks drop conformity with adult values…In contrast, freaks are considered cool primarily because they party both on the weekend and during the week (Canaan 1987: 389)…However, band fags in general are considered less cool than jocks or freaks, because they have chosen playing a musical instrument over joining an athletic team.” (Canaan 1987: 390)

“Brains” are also evaluated ambivalently by their peers. Though less scorned than weirdos, brains are looked down upon, because they do not either in or out of school, defy adult expectations. Also, brains are considered narrower in interest and actions because they seem to study so much. As one high school girl observed, “That’s all there is to them…They have no
other, no other facets to their personality. They just have a mind and that’s it.”” (Canaan 1987: 390)

“The main thing you have to do [to be popular] is know all the gossip…” (Canaan 1987: 395)

“To the contrary, high school kids maintain that cliques no longer exist and they dislike using labels.” (Canaan 1987: 399)
“Many college students have bills that mom and dad don't pay. They have groceries to buy, kids to take care of, and cars to keep running. And they drop out because they have to work—more than any other reason”

“A report on the survey findings, (Johnson, Rochkind, Ott, and DuPont 2009) With Their Whole Lives Ahead of Them.”

“The survey's findings build on a growing body of research showing that part-time students—who account for close to 40 percent of undergraduates in the country—and those who have to work generally fare worse than do their full-time counterparts.”
“According to the Department of Education, between 1991 and 2003 the average adult’s skill in reading prose slipped one point on a five-hundred-point scale, and the proportion who were proficient—capable of such tasks as “comparing viewpoints in two editorials”—declined from fifteen percent to thirteen.” (p. 134)

“Twelfth graders seem to be taking after their elders. Their reading scores fell an average of six points between 1992 and 2005, and the share of proficient twelfth-grad readers dropped from forty per cent to thirty-five per cent. The steepest declines were in “reading for literary experience”—the kind that involves “exploring themes, events, characters, settings, and the language of literary works.”” (Crain 2008: 135)

“In August, scientists at the University of Washington revealed that babies aged between eight and sixteen months know on average six to eight fewer words for every hour of baby DVDs and videos they watch daily. A 2005 study in Northern California found that a television in the bedroom lowered the standardized-test scored of their graders. And the conflict continues throughout a child’s development. In 2001, after analyzing data on more than a million students around the world, the researcher Mica Razel found “little room for doubt” that television worsened performance in reading, science, and math….that fifty-five per cent of students exceed their optimal viewing time by three hours a day, thereby lowering their academic achievement by roughly one grade level.” (Crain 2008: 138)


“Economic mobility, the chance that children of the poor or middle class will climb up the income ladder, has not changed significantly over the last three decades…The researchers found that Hispanic and black Americans were falling behind whites and Asians in earning college degrees.” (Eckholm 2008: A14)

“The study highlights the powerful role that college can have in helping people change their station in life. Someone born into a family in the lowest fifth of earners who graduates from college has a 19 percent change of joining the highest fifth of earners in adulthood and a 63 percent chance of joining the middle class or better. In recent years, 11 percent of children from the poorest families have earned college degrees, compared with 53 percent of children from the top fifth.” (Eckholm 2008: A14)

Orellana, Roxana (2008) 12% of schools are ‘dropout factories.’ The Salt Lake Tribune, October 30th, (A2)

“‘Dropout Factories,’” a high school where no more than 60 percent of the students who start as freshmen make it to their senior year. That dubious distinction applies to more than one in 10 high schools across America.” (Orellana 2008: A2)

“As black students move through elementary and middle school, these studies show, the test-score gaps that separate them from their better-performing white counterparts grow fastest among the most able students and the most slowly for those who start out with below-average academic skills.” (Viideo 2008: 1)


“Children educated under the Soviet system, ‘while usually ahead of American students in knowledge of their subjects, are much less likely to be able to think for themselves and to have their own opinions.’ When asked to give their own opinion, Russian children and adults alike might feel more comfortable quoting a famous author or politician than coming up with their own words. Children are raised to fear authority figures from the very start. In school, children are given themes of what to draw and methods of how to draw. During my fieldwork in Russia, I encountered numerous occasions when children were even scolded for trying to be creative.” (Fujimura 2005: 40)
A three year study, funded by The Heinz Endowments, of over 10,000 preschoolers from low-income families has shown a good preschool education dramatically improves a child’s ability to learn. Children who do not participate in preschool education and given the opportunity to socialize with other children quickly fall behind; by Kindergarten they can be as much as a year and a half behind their peers. In the study 27 percent of the children who received special education in the preschool years no longer needed special education once they reached Kindergarten because of their early-education experiences. The Chairwoman of The Heinz Endowments, Theresa Heinz, stated that the study's results should “end the debate” in government about whether spending tax dollars on preschool education was worth the investment. State and federal funding are needed to support preschool education.

**Plus ça change…**


The concept of ‘raggedness’ was a key one in nineteenth-century British charitable discourse, as it defined not only a physical state but an educational and moral one. Free schools set up for very poor children were grouped together in 1844 into the Ragged Schools Union, and raggedness was often used as visual and verbal shorthand for children who were assisted by charities such as the Church of England Waifs (Rose 2008: 136) and Strays Society…(Rose 2008: 137)

Articles with titles like *School or Gaol* (1870) appealed to the self-interest of middle-class ratepayers by presenting state expenditure on education as saving future expenditure on prisons…A smaller group of articles highlighted the power of the school system to transform ragged and wayward individuals into ordered groups, engaged in productive labour…the term ‘waif’ was not neutral, since it characterised the children as homeless and parentless…This was a key aspect of [the] fundraising rhetoric…( Rose 2008: 138)

One reason for the stress on physical raggedness in the discussion of poor children was its visibility as an index of deprivation. For this reason, raggedness was a prominent feature of the images accompanying charitable appeals. (Rose 2008: 139)


“94% of 3-6 year-olds enrolled in public pre-school or Day-Care. Emphasis of pedagogy is to foster cooperation and social relations, how to get along n a group, collaboration, rather than
preparation for academic instruction. Refers to this as “civilizing” the child. When asked how this philosophy squares with the philosophy of granting “agency” to children, her reply was: “Yes, they are given agency but they must learn to use it in the proper way.” (Gulloy 2008: presentation)


“4th grade inner city vs middle-class neighborhood. Children AND teachers characterize children as “wild” or “calm.” Migrant children classified as “wild,” Danish, “calm,” girls calm, boys wild. Teachers use scolding and guilt to civilize the kids.” (Gilliam 2008: presentation)

From: David Lancy
To: Eva Gulløy

Thank-you again Eva for your thoughtful answer to my question re Agency. That was an interesting session and I was sorry to have to leave early to catch my flight. If I may impose, I have a second question. In the US, it is widely believed that providing universal or near-universal pre-school from age 3 would do much to close the gap between poor, immigrant and/or children of color and the mainstream. Obviously, you have achieved this lofty goal. Has it solved this problem (which I realize is much more recent in Denmark)? From Gilliam’s paper about "wild" and "calm" children, I suspect it has not.

David

From: Eva Gulløy
To: David Lancy

I have worked quite a lot on exactly the question you raise. The short answer is that universal pre-school attendance does not in itself solve distinctions or make a smooth integration of immigrant children. It is also in Denmark widely believed that universal attendance in pre-school is the way to solve social distinctions, but several ethnographic analyses show that this is not necessarily the case. Rather, it depends on the educational offer, the way teachers regard their task and classify the children and the ways children themselves regard each other. In an environment so loosely structured as Danish pre-schools generally are, it is up to children themselves to choose their playmates and decide how to spend their time. Their social preferences seem to some extent to reflect social and cultural distinctions in the wider society as they often choose to be with those who resembles themselves the most especially in language use and linguistic style, in references and experiences for example with play rules and possession of or use of toys. However, there are examples of institutions actually working with and overcoming such preferential patterns and in these cases it seems like the institution actually functions as the social equalizer it was intended to be.

I hope you can follow this rather sketchy answer.
Best regards,
Eva
Chapter Ten: Suffer the Children
Mother's Choices
Children as Breadwinners


“Many labeled “street” children actually move in and out of homelessness, or work on the street during the day or on weekends, but are “attached” to families in some way…Fierce loyalty to family is often coupled with brutal consequences for not earning their keep. I often wondered why they did not just leave, or keep what they earned for themselves.” (Kenny 2007: 3)


“In many households in low-income communities or urban Brazil it is children who “put the food on the table,” as Bete opined. They are the primary income earners where regular, lucrative employment for unskilled adults is scarce or absent. In families with several children, the income they generate can be significant. Despite Bete’s comment, however, the economic contributions of children yield no power or authority over resources, and in practice they are never really looked upon as the “head of household.” The social category of “child” means they have no jural rights over others nor are they called upon as sources of information about the family and household. They are described as assets, or spectators of the adult world (Kenny 1999: 375)…The children are well aware of the limits of their “freedom” and exercise very little real control or individual “choice” about how earnings are spent or distributed…The social and material pressure to provide an ideal childhood obligates parents to frame their children’s work as temporary despite the fact that they are chronically dependent on the income they produce.” (Kenny 1999: 379)

“Fofao was “given” to his aunt as an able-bodied worker for waged and domestic work after his mother remarried and his uncle died…Many poor children are not too far afield from shifting to the street as a permanent home. Street children can actually eat more and better than they would at home (Kenny 1999: 381)…It is naïve to assume that if children are not working on the street, than they are home or in school, where they are quarantined from the “depravity” of urban, adult life (Kenny 1999: 382)…Living with one’s family can be one of the riskiest locations for a child…where abuse is more abundant than food (Kenny 1999: 384)

“Sometimes more than their parents, they acquire a certain amount of power or confidence in identifying and navigating the social world beyond the domain of the home or the employer’s home. One mother felt paralyzed when confronted with the bureaucracy of the local health clinic or municipal office, was unaware where things were located, and rarely ventured beyond the entrance to the favela, despite its proximity to local public institutions. These children hop on buses and ride them for free, know that hustling counts and is rewarded economically, and spend the better part of the day in urban, informal labor market, amid the dangers, excitement, sights, sounds, and stimuli of life.” (Kenny 1999: 379)

“Few of the children working on the street in Port-au-Prince were actually born there. Most have made their way to the capital from the countryside... Few street children in Port-au-Prince are orphans. Most have living kin, often in the capital, and some even maintain a certain degree of contact with those relatives... Most of my street-child informants have siblings who continue to live at home, and these siblings are almost always enrolled in school. Ancillary school fees (for books, uniforms, and other supplies) are sufficiently high as to prohibit most poor households from sending all of the family’s children to school, despite the fact that primary education is free and compulsory for all children in Haiti. As a result poor families are compelled to make painful decisions about which children will attend school and which will be turned out onto the street to work and thus contribute to the household income... Customarily making over three times the national daily wage through street labor, children who are displaced from the household are relied upon by kin to act not only as their own breadwinners but as breadwinners for the rest of the family as well. Once on the street, children experience a sense of freedom that they do not enjoy in the home, and increasingly spend less and less time within the fold of the family... Street children in Port-au-Prince continue to maintain many of their familial bonds, most often through continued, albeit sporadic, economic support of their natal households... Jean-Paul, personally carries gifts of money to relatives in his natal home of Montruis several times a year, so that he can maintain his right to return home should he ever wish to do so.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 109)
Children without Parents


“The Tibetan Children’s Village has been active for over thirty years and has branches throughout the Tibetan refugee settlements. It houses and educates more than six thousand children…This efficient school for refugee orphans…Children stay in bunk rooms and are looked after by houseparents. The children have relationships with people of all ages, grandparents, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters: it’s truly like a big family. The Tibetan Children’s Village is an inspiring model for other refugee communities that are trying to provide sound education and care for their children.” (Maiden 1997: 152)


In this young woman’s short lifetime she has lived thus far with her family of origin – a mother and father with a brood of eight children. She has also resided at different times with various elder siblings and their children. She later lived in Ayacucho’s main orphanage, Puericultorio…(Leinaweaver 2007: 377)… Paty’s movements within the Ayacuchano context reflect an understanding of childhood where children are indeed agents…many of the young people with whom I spoke during my fieldwork had a conception of themselves as either engineering or actively consenting to their relocations (Leinaweaver 2007: 378).

Child orphaned at age 8….luckily she and her unmarried siblings were taken in by adult married siblings. However, a new orphanage was built so some of the children were shifted to the institution. Paty was shifted from sibling to sibling, was neglected so she chose to move to the orphanage…Paty enters the orphanage, where, she recalls, she is immediately and generously fed – ‘When I was little I ate a lot and my siblings didn’t want me in their houses because I ate so much, they had their own kids, and they didn’t have money to cook any more.’ (p. 385)… Why might a young person choose to move to an orphanage when other possibilities were available? Paty’s evaluation points to her own desire for material comforts. (Leinaweaver 2007: 388)


“While Lucas recognizes that his mother did not have many options, he also recognizes that she, because of the trauma she had suffered, was not able to make effective decisions or care for her children as well as she needed to under the circumstances. All the young adults expressed this feeling of greater responsibility for their older and traumatized caretakers, as well as some resentment over the adult responsibilities that they were obliged to assume too early in their lives. Many youths in their descriptions of why they chose to join the guerrilla seemed to reverse roles with the adults in their families as they took on the adult responsibilities of protecting their families and providing economically for them.” (Dickson-Gómez 2003: 335)

“Goals and sense of power and competence. In their respective focus groups, the child heads of households (CHHs) and the eldest children in AHHs drew and discussed what they supposed they would be doing in five years’ time and the things they saw as helping or hindering that. In the CHH group, the children were slow to respond as if they had not thought about long-term goals. Apart from one who said ‘I will be in the grave’, others eventually gave such largely unattainable goals as:

‘I will be in Parliament.’
‘I will be having my own home…

By contrast, children in the AHH group responded quickly with the following more attainable sorts of goal:

‘I want to be a soldier.’
‘I want to be a policeman.’
‘I want to be a teacher.’ (Donald 2005: 26)

“…the child heads of households…gave a personal response to scenarios designed to reveal their role and approach to giving/receiving emotional support and conflict resolution within the family…Their responses generally showed both emotional sensitivity and maturity in terms of recognizing distress and dealing with it…Conflict resolution: In a food-sharing scenario (as a possible source of conflict), [they]were unanimous in saying that no matter how little food was available, it was shared. In fact, two child heads of households described going without food so that younger ones could eat.” (Donald 2005: 27)

The social networking strategies that children in CHHs demonstrate “with both adults and peers constitute important elements of resilience: materially, emotionally, and scholastically…. Particularly for heads of CHHs, the strengths of empathy, sensitivity to the needs of others, effective conflict resolution and emotional support are critical in their circumstances.” (Donald 2005: 28)


“One boy interviewed was told by his father that he was not allowed to spend the night at home if he did not return with a bottle of vodka. Suffering due to their parents’ addictions, many children simply run away.” (Fujimura 2003: online)

“When not confronted by the powerlessness he feels at the loss of a loved one, Kolya (*12 years old*) feels strong and intelligent. He feels he is the man with the solutions for his family. In describing his life before Moscow, when he lived in a shack with no running water and no heat, he is adamant that he understands how to save money and live better than his mother.” (Fujimura 2003: online)

“Each year, over 10,000 children are apprehended entering the United States unaccompanied by parents or legal guardians and without valid immigration documents, according to the Department of Justice…The 1989 Convention of the Rights of the Child, signed but not ratified by the United States, recognized that all children under the age of 18 require special care and protection. Most importantly, it requires states to address the needs of unaccompanied children the same extent that is satisfies the need of native children.” (Uehling 2008: 8)


“Unaccompanied children have existed in virtually every past war, famine refugee situation, and natural disaster. Unaccompanied children are also present in present-day emergencies. (Ressler 1988: 3)…Unless special assistance is provided, unaccompanied children are dependent upon the charity of others, which can fall short of even minimal care and protection…When an unaccompanied child has been located, his identity may be uncertain, the whereabouts of his family and their intentions at the time of separation may be unknown, and the current responsibility for the child may be ambiguous…Administrators or agency staff must choose what care should be provided for the child and by whom.” (Ressler 1988: 4)
“During the course of the Sierra Leonean war, many thousands of girls and women, just like Aminata, were abducted from their home areas when rebels or other fighters attacked and looted. An overwhelming majority of these girls and women also suffered physical abuse, frequent rapes, and pregnancy as a result. Some were used as forced labor, and some were forced to witness or to participate in the killing of relatives. A majority of abducted girls and women were also subjected to forced marriage, becoming so-called bush wives, and some also became rebel fighters.” (Coulter 2009: 3)

“It is clear that frustrated and marginalized youth played a major part in the conflict.” (Coulter 2009: 42) “As in most of Africa, education has historically been the prerogative of the elites, who have in turn exploited it and thereby further increased rather than reduced educational and other inequalities.” (Coulter 2009: 43)

“Most of my informants were very young when they were abducted; only a few had married and had children. When they returned home after the war they were mature women, and many had also become mothers but had never been married. As I will discuss later, the ambiguous position of these young women—they were neither girls nor fully women according to cultural convention—created many problems for them, their families, and communities.” (Coulter 2009: 57)

“My informants came from rural farming backgrounds, although few young people were interested in pursuing the hard life of farming and had other dreams.” (Coulter 2009: 65)

“Aminata said that they were ‘injected with substances to make us strong and brave.’ They were given marijuana, cocaine, and something she calls kubeyara.” (Coulter 2009: 108) “Drugs were used on a daily basis and included heroin… Many of these young children, girls and boys belonged to the Small Boys Unit and Small Girls Unit, which were often sent out on dangerous missions and are known to have performed some of the most violent killings and mutilations.” (Coulter 2009: 109)


“The youthful enthusiasts of 1212 were, as they (Dickson 2009: 319) said, running “to God” (Aad Deum). Implicitly, they were running away from home and family because of God’s cause, the crusades. In addition, they were running away from their negative peasant identity and towards a boundless, but vivid and exciting, vision of themselves… Socioeconomically, they belonged to the involuntary dirt-poor. By taking the cross, however, they joined the spiritual élite.” (Dickson 2009: 320)

“Street children…a centuries-old problem…behaved like ‘tribes of lawless freebooters’…” (Cunningham 1995: 145)

“In England Mary Carpenter in the 1850s set out an agenda of the utmost simplicity. Children, she said, needed love; without it, ‘they are not longer children’. Young offenders, therefore, must be treated with consideration for ‘the nature of the child, as a child. We must not treat him as a man’. …the offender must ‘gradually be restored to the true position of childhood…he must…be placed in a *family*’…childhood must be one of dependence and protection within the bounds of a family.” (Cunningham 1995: 146)


“During December a boy-bishop was selected in large churches to preside over the religious festivities of St Nicholas Day (6 December) and Childermas—the feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December). These days, or one of them, involved ‘role reversal’ in church. The adult clergy took the lower seats in the choir, and the boys replaced them in the upper ones. The boy-bishop led the services, blessed the congregation, and sometimes preached a sermon. After their duties in church the boys toured the neighbourhood begging for money, some of which was used for feasting.” (Orme 2006: 157)


“New York also has a new law that calls for underage prostitutes to be sent to rehabilitation programs instead of juvenile detention.” (Hoag 2009: online)


**Kenny describes a veritable flood of foreign researchers studying street children…**

“Although the intent may be to “give them a voice” (as if the kids are waiting patiently for the researchers to come), the returns, according to them, are grossly unequal (p. 16)…My initial intention to carry out what I believed to be “action-research” (to deliver appropriate public health information) was quickly reconfigured by the children I met. AIDS, for them, was the least of their worries. Acquiring food, money, and immediate safety were their primary concerns. Even providing condoms proved to be problematic. One evening I accompanied outreach workers to distribute US-donated condoms to street kids. Before leaving, we decided to test a few. Our fingers penetrated all them easily, and the rubber disintegrated in our hands. When we checked the fine print on the box, we noticed an expiration date of three years earlier…What kind of “meaning” or action could I take that would effectively minimize their suffering or change their situation, besides band-aids of food and money?” (Kenny 2007: 17)
In spite of their economic success and contributions to the household economy, children—within the family—remain low status, lacking agency…

“Dalva came into the house from outside, where she had just taken a bath. Her mother began to tease her about her budding breasts…She’s becoming a moça now. I have to take her off the street and keep her home with me. Maybe I can get her a job working as a maid…Regardless of her work and responsibilities, Dalva seemed to have little authority or rights.” (Kenny 2007: 71)…“Dalva’s sexualized status increases the possibility of pregnancy, which would redirect her earnings toward her own offspring. Her mother frames this dilemma by saying, “Dalva does not want to work anymore,” meaning Dalva is gradually keeping more of her own earnings for herself…According to Dalva, she started to have “more of a say in things,” undermining her mother’s authority and decisions making concerning how money was spent…A few months later, she announced, “My life is better now. No one tampers with my stuff.” (Kenny 2007: 72)

“Reinaldo, 12, started working at age 6, “tomando conta dos carros” (taking care of or watching cars) outside restaurants and bars in the Cidade Alta and on the main road along the coast. His earnings helped support his infirm mother and six siblings. His father was in prison for murder.” (Kenny 2007: 76)

“It was unclear to me what “rites of passage,” social markers, or milestones would mark her transition to adulthood (Kenny 2007: 71)…Their earnings did not seem to provide them with any special status or increased access to resources…Many parents were unsatisfied with their children’s earnings. Bete would complain that the money her son earned selling newspapers was insufficient. “It does not help much. He doesn’t have to pay rent here, you know,” and she often thought he lied about his earnings in order to keep more for himself (Kenny 2007: 73)…Although the kids referred to themselves as “heads of the household,” in practice there appeared to be little increase in autonomy, power, or decision making. Food was given for good behavior and withheld as punishment, and more and better food was systematically directed toward adult males.” (Kenny 2007: 74)

““The best thing that ever happened to me is to become an adult and manage my own life.” – Jorge, age 12”” (Kenny 2007: 63)

In bourgeoisie society, children granted agency…

“In the US, it is generally considered “healthy” for children to have their own bedroom, or share a bedroom with another sibling. Privacy is normal and expected. In the favelas, privacy is an aberration. Dwellings are crowded and indoor space is scarce. Houses are close together, windows are low, and anyone passing by can look in. Domestic arguments can be overheard by everyone.” (Kenny 2007: 7)

Pastimes….

“On Sundays, poor youth from the surrounding area flock to the Cidad Alta to dance, flirt, and drink. There is also a large market for loló on Sundays, as it is a cheap, effective, and readily available intoxicant. The night would often start with youth sniffing loló and slam dancing to Brazilian rap music, until a fight would break out. This would send everyone scattering, for fear of being shot, which would result in airborne tables and chairs. Beer bottles would be broken and used as makeshift weapons. Rocks and bricks would also start flying. The police would then
descend, throw all the young men up against the wall, lift their shirts to see if they were armed., hit a few of them, check their documents, and haul a few away. After the police had left, the music, dancing and loló-sniffing would continue.” (Kenny 2007: 83)

“The young women who have sexual relationships with foreign tourists do not have fixed prices for “services,” do not identify as sex workers, and do not describe what they do as an “occupation.” Sexual relationships with foreigners are just one strategy among many for dealing with poverty, as well as the desire for travel and other material goods. It is often one of the only available economic niches open to poor females…As one young woman said, “I don’t have anything else to lose, and besides, I earn more than a teachers does here…When I provided disposable cameras to some of the young girls I know and asked them to take photographs of daily life in the favela, they took photographs of each other naked instead...The girls were puzzled and disappointed when I refused to show the photographs to foreign males looking for a Brazilian “girlfriend.” (Kenny 2007: 85)

“The young women …insisted they were treated better by foreign males, as local men were “machistas” and expected them to be servile and feminine, without any financial benefit. In many ways, these girls/women were using the global process of tourism to garner resources in the short term, with the hope that additional opportunities, such as travel, education, and work, would be forthcoming.” (Kenny 2007: 86)

Paradox of agency: granting street kids “agency” means they can steal, gang warfare, fail to pay bus fares, mugging, breaking and entering, prostitution, glue sniffing, loitering, “harassing” passersby, with impunity. Withdrawing agency means confining them to the domestic domain of families that have failed them. Local solution: kill them…

“Merchants feel that (Kenny 2007: 102) street youth are a nuisance, that their presence interferes with business, and wish that they would just “disappear”: “Business is slow, because of them. They are all thieves. They make violence. They rob and kill. That is why you should take every one of them and kill them, one by one.” They are outraged that Brazilian law protects minors from being tried as adults: “They just get away with crimes.” These kids need to be taught about law and order,” a police officer told me….According to one shop owner, “Nobody wants kids to get killed. The problem is that there is no other solution. If they are arrested, the courts just let them go and they are free to steal again…Those who defend the position of minors are portrayed as attacking the rights of “decent” people.” (Kenny 2007: 103)

Non-functional families…

“Hecht (1998) found that young street dwellers in urban Northeast Brazil do not adopt the label “street kid” until they sever all ties—emotional, physical, and economic—with their mothers. Cutting ties with one’s mother means they have adopted “bad” (street) behaviors and have failed to live a righteous life. Even then, identity as a street child shifts based on the context, usually the “street kid” label primarily with adults and social welfare agents, and “wild one” with one another.” (Kenny 2007: 99) Hecht, Tobias (1998). At Home in the Street. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

“Whenever I asked kids why they were living on the street, they inevitably said things were “bad at home, so I left.” (Kenny 2007: 100)
“The Brazilian Constitution (Article 227) states that “it is the duty of the family, society, and state to assure children and adolescents, with absolute priority, of the rights to life, health, food, education, recreation, and professional training, culture, dignity, respect, freedom, and family and community life, in addition to safeguarding them from all forms of neglect, discrimination, exploitation, violence, cruelty and oppression.” (Kenny 2007: 109)

“Interventions that have been less successful are those whose primary goal is to reinsert a “lost” or “stolen” childhood, a notion based on an idealized image of family and home as nurturing environments underpinned by stable relationships.” (Kenny 2007: 110)

Paradox of children’s agency…
“Open discussion on children’s rights as workers is difficult because it nervously leans toward condoning the exploitation of children. Policies that would mandate benefits for child workers would effectively abolish the distinction between adult and child workers. Yet at a March 1997 meeting on child labor sponsored by the International Labor Organization (ILO), a number of children challenged the ILO representative during a panel discussion. While the sponsors advocated for the elimination of child labor, the children advocated for transformation, not abolition. Policies that prohibit children from working in one arena usually mean that they have to search for work somewhere else anyway. The children said they wanted better wages and hours, jobs with health and accident insurance, and unemployment compensation. Like other workers, they are tired and want paid leaves. They want vehicles for channeling grievances about their work, someone to complain to if people do not pay, or if they are harassed. They want to be recognized as laborers and expose exploitation. They want to be invited to conferences, and participate in the planning and policies that are made on their behalf.” (Kenny 2007: 112)

Again, a catch 22. Why should manufacturers provide these benefits to children when they don’t provide them to their adult employers? The primary advantage of hiring children, who have distinct liabilities as employees, is that they are willing to work for very low wages. Providing children with benefits nullifies this advantage…


“In many households in low-income communities or urban Brazil it is children who “put the food on the table,” as Bete opined. They are the primary income earners where regular, lucrative employment for unskilled adults is scarce or absent. In families with several children, the income they generate can be significant. Despite Bete’s comment, however, the economic contributions of children yield no power or authority over resources, and in practice they are never really looked upon as the “head of household.” The social category of “child” means they have no jural rights over others nor are they called upon as sources of information about the family and household. They are described as assets, or spectators of the adult world.” (Kenny 1999: 375)

“The children are well aware of the limits of their “freedom” and exercise very little real control or individual “choice” about how earnings are spent or distributed.” (Kenny 1999: 379)
“The social and material pressure to provide an ideal childhood obligates parents to frame their children’s work as temporary despite the fact that they are chronically dependent on the income they produce.” (Kenny 1999: 379)

“Sometimes more than their parents, they acquire a certain amount of power or confidence in identifying and navigating the social world beyond the domain of the home or the employer’s home. One mother felt paralyzed when confronted with the bureaucracy of the local health clinic or municipal office, was unaware where things were located, and rarely ventured beyond the entrance to the favela, despite its proximity to local public institutions. These children hop on buses and ride them for free, know that hustling counts and is rewarded economically, and spend the better part of the day in urban, informal labor market, amid the dangers, excitement, sights, sounds, and stimuli of life.” (Kenny 1999: 379)

Fofao was “given” to his aunt as an able-bodied worker for waged and domestic work after his mother remarried and his uncle died.” (Kenny 1999: 381)

“Many poor children are not too far afield from shifting to the street as a permanent home. Street children can actually eat more and better than they would at home.” (Kenny 1999: 381)

“It is naïve to assume that if children are not working on the street, than they are home or in school, where they are quarantined from the “depravity” of urban, adult life.” (Kenny 1999: 382)

“Living with one’s family can be one of the riskiest locations for a child...where abuse is more abundant than food.” (v384)


“While homeless children are aware of the consequences of crime, they are also aware that, by playing into the hands of adults, by allowing themselves to be committed to shelters and orphanages, their quality of life is diminished to the extent that it is it worth taking the risk and joining those living on the streets. Many homeless children are not willing to accept help from shelters, which offer little to no emotional comfort and little more than a roof, bedding, and mediocre food: “I earn more on the streets, get better stuff…” Instead, they use the shelters in times of dire need, returning many times, but always leaving again.” (Fujimura 2004: online)

“Thus, one may come to see these children’s lives not as “pathological,” but as signs of resiliency. Until we recognize the hidden power of homeless children, they will remain, in a sense, at war with the adult world in which they live. Adults, whether from western charity organization or hired by the Russian government, nurture this war, by rounding up homeless children and trying to force them to grow up in prison-like institutions (Fujimura 2004: online) ...They need to be seen as extremely able and empowered by their experiences, while simultaneously being marginalized by the world in which they live.” (Fujimura 2004: online)

**Failure to relinquish agency to authorities can lead to incarceration...**
“If a prisoner is at the low end of the totem pole, he becomes the “girl” for those higher in rank. Youths are thus likely to be raped in prison.” (Fujimura 2004: online)


**Ayacucho…highland town in Peru…**
Among rural-to-urban migrants in Peru, the concept of “improving oneself” (*superar*) refers to the process of overcoming poverty through dedicated efforts at self-improvement. This individual effort is situated as a moral act, occurring within a relational web of persons who should also benefit. It is described as a family project and a moral imperative for young people, and they internalize their role in this group effort. The concept is the economic, social, and moral foundation of the kinship strategy of child circulation, a practice in which children grow up outside of their natal homes. “Improving oneself” is a reason for relocating children into the homes of better-off urban relatives, as well as the justification for placing children with less-well-off rural relatives so that a parent can pursue the same goal…. In child circulation, young people (ranging from approximately 4 to 18 years old) from small villages and towns are sent to live with city-based relatives. In this migration of the young, children provide assistance in the home of the receiving family, who in turn provide for their care and upbringing (Leinaweaver 2008: 60).

Becoming educated is perhaps the heart of improving oneself; Sarita told me that she moved to Ayacucho from her small community “because of my studies, so I could improve myself (*superarme*), in search of *la superación.*” The kind of education referred to here is a superior public-school education; small towns have significantly inferior schools or none at all. Such an education will ideally set young people on the road to acceptance into university (a cutthroat and competitive process) and a coveted contract as a (Leinaweaver 2008: 63) public employee. (Leinaweaver 2008: 64)

…the morality of improving oneself…though worded in terms of self, is clearly a family project, and…young people…come to realize that their own potential is often all the family can depend on to get ahead. This realization, or coming of age, shapes their life experience. As they act upon this realization, their agency, often so elusive, can be recognized and documented. (Leinaweaver 2008: 72)

**Street Kids…**

“Widespread similarities among street children prompt one to ask “Why so?” Without doubt the phenomenal growth of the international economy with demands of the global economy for competitive prices has served to pressure local markets for cheap labor, often including children as laborers.” (Kilbride 2000: 3)
Not sure I buy this explanation entirely. It may apply in China but Kenyan street kids aren’t employed in the "global economy," they are employed in a pick-up local economy guarding cars, carrying groceries, selling candies, sex work. Aside from tourism, not a large employer of children, Kenya is not a major player in the global economy. What HAS changed in Kenya in the last 2-3 decades has been a massive increase in the population. Indeed, Kenya’s population growth is the highest in the world. There are just too many kids to feed and employ in the village economy…

“Street children and their families are by and large products of massive urban migration into Nairobi…Just as it is useful for street children as members of the working poor, it is also insightful to conceive of them as a component of the growing numbers of the world’s homeless population (Kilbride 2000: 6)…Virtually all writers concerned with African children report family breakdown as the immediate precipitating push factor that prompts a child to leave home directly for the streets.” (Kilbride 2000: 5)

**Multi-step process**…overpopulation and environmental degradation in rural areas forces urban migration…squalid living conditions in city undermine family cohesiveness …and children go into the streets. Sometimes the process skips the middle step…children go directly from rural village to urban streets…

**Social structure**…
“The idiom of marriage is used to characterize long-term, committed relationships between street children and their mates. The term “husband and wife” is used frequently by partners (Kilbride 2000: 79)…Some children, while not being in any way biologically related, established themselves as sibling pairs on the streets (Kilbride 2000: 82)…The use of “fictive” sibling kin terms socially constructed among street children serves to resemble biologically based interdependent family relationships.” (Kilbride 2000: 83)

**Girls are more useful in village**…
There are currently many more programs for boys than girls. This is not surprising since there are many more street boys than street girls.” (Kilbride 2000: 138)

**Economic activity**…
“Many of the street children in our study were extreme resourceful in their adaptive strategies such that their lives and attitudes were seemingly mature beyond their chronological years. We were stuck by the sense in which many street children were psychologically “invulnerable.”…Begging styles typically include not only verbal requests but also holding a hand out, pouting, exaggerated smiling, and less frequently, threatening gestures with the face and hands…Our observations have revealed that street children successfully beg from a full range of givers…Street boys report that children can beg up to the age of 14 years, when they no longer look “innocent (Kilbride 2000: 70)…Many people no longer give money but only food, since it is now knows, as we shall see, to be common for street (Kilbride 2000: 70) boys to exchange money for glue instead of using the requested money for food of clothing.” (Kilbride 2000: 71)

**Pastimes**…
“Nairobi street boys and girls inhale glue, but in the present context it is significant that the
reasons they gave us were similar to what street children reported in Brazil, including making
life better by dulling hunger, by helping to forget problems, and by giving courage to face danger
(Kilbride 2000: 74)…Kenyan street children are preoccupied as much if not more with fears of
police harassment and negative reactions to them from the public as they are from any sense of
being “homeless” or without food.” (Kilbride 2000: 77)

Public attitudes…
“Some people told Michael that street children should be arrested, having in their view mainly
escaped from jails as criminals. One man told him, “The street children are the most dangerous
people in the society as they take a lot of drubs. They can steal from or even kill innocent
people….Overall, however, the prevailing public view is one of fear, stigma, and avoidance.”
(Kilbride 2000: 79)


Pushed out by families…pulled by street culture…
“Children looked to the street for fulfillment of needs that were unmet in the home. For the
children, managing for themselves was an escape from home, where the parents were unable to
provide for all. Street children also encountered less regular abuse and a greater variety of food
to be gained from the street, strong friendships, and the satisfaction they got from being able to
manage for themselves without having to put up with strict parental discipline…While the
children’s accounts have been taken at face value in this study, they can also be seen as part of
the children’s retrospective attempt to rationalize why they came to live and work on the street
rather than live within the family home.” (Evans 2004: 70)

Two aspects in rejecting adult norms and supervision. 1) The lure of the peer culture 2)
Pragmatic benefits in…
“‘Home,’ for Peter, was characterized by a lack of food, clothing, opportunities for education,
love or care, and indeed, familial ties with his alcoholic mother had already become tenuous long
before Peter stayed on the street. Thus, spending longer and longer periods of the day on the
street with a friend in search of food appeared increasingly attractive and preferable to staying at
home…Sixty-nine per cent of the boys and girls who participated in individual interviews and 60
per cent of the children whose homes I visited cited being beaten by adults as the immediate
reason they left home (Evans 2004: 74)…Most of the children said that they received corporal
punishment from members of the immediate household—mothers, fathers, step-parents,
grandmothers, older brothers, aunts, uncles, and cousins.” (Evans 2004: 75)

Families economize by ejecting members…
“Boys are particularly at risk of abuse, neglect and harassment from step-mothers who resent the
inheritance rights they have over their own children (Evans 2004: 81)…Juma’s ‘father’ had four
wives, two of whom had left him (including Juma’s mother) and 23 children…When Juma’s
father chose to de-emphasise the relationship, due to demands on scarce resources, tensions, and
conflicts of interests with his other more favoured wives and children, Juma’s mother and her
children were marginalized.” (Evans 2004: 83)
“Tensions around time-use between parents and children begin to surface as soon as children express a preference for recreation (playing) rather than performing jobs assigned to them by adult family members.” (Evans 2004: 76)


Urban decay…
“Sudden increase, over ten years (1983-93), in the number of young people on the streets of Caracas.” (Márquez 1999: 1)

“I focus primarily on approximately fifteen youngsters between the ages of nine and eighteen who I had met on the boulevard. I soon realized that I needed to move beyond the boundaries of the boulevard, for these young people were constantly traveling all over the city. Several of the younger ones, who were known as chupapegas (glue sniffers), spent time with their families in the barrios, bathed in Bellas Artes area (on the west side), looked for glue and money in places such as Catia (p. 9) boulevard in the industrial western section, wee invited twice a week to the house of a wealthy philanthropist, and were arrested and taken to police headquarters or to the facilities of the National Institute for the Welfare of the Minor (INAM).” (Márquez 1999: 10)

“In many ways my fieldwork was structured by my own fear and by what risks I was willing to take.” (Márquez 1999: 12)

“Popularly known as la Calle Real de Sabana Grande, my sisters and I, sitting in the back seat, looked out at the plethora of jewelry, clothes, and shoe shops. When I was in high school in the early 1980s, Sabana Grande was transformed into a boulevard.” (Márquez 1999: 35)… But unfortunately, the boulevard is now overcrowded and dirty, and visitors, merchants, and police call it “out of control.”… Crime has moved to all the commercial establishments in the area. Not one business has been able to escape the group of undesirables called hampa… The shop owners feel unprotected, since many consider the police to be accomplices of (Márquez 1999: 37) the situation and say that when the police are around it is “only to rip us off” (es paramatraquear)… The media portray Sabana Grande as filled with garbage, criminals, prostitutes, street children…” (Márquez 1999: 38)

Younger cohort…
“It appears that those ragged-looking youths are drinking soda from the cans, but frequently visitors and locals know they are actually breathing shoe glue. They are also conspicuous for their dirty clothes, which are often too big for them. On the boulevard they are known as the chupapegas (they are sometimes called huelepegas, which also means glue sniffer) (Márquez 1999: 39)… The chupapegas are the youngest people living on the boulevard. Most of the ones I met were between the ages of ten and fifteen, but there are even younger ones… They are looked upon as very young marginals and delinquents—too young to be so terrible, to have so much freedom to “do as they please.” … In some ways the youngest street people on the boulevard embody innocence, vulnerability, and dependency, traditional Western ideals of childhood.” (Márquez 1999: 40)
“The places where chupapegas sleep are called *caletas*. Caletas are often more enclosed than a bench or the open streets—a corner in an empty lot, an abandoned house, or some odd area in a metro station that offers a bit of privacy.” (Márquez 1999: 44)

“Glue is a child’s drug, whereas adolescents move on to harder drugs and consequently harsher drug effects, as well as more problems related to drug distribution and violence.” (Márquez 1999: 41)…He was ten years old, always dirty and high on glue. Gomita experienced sudden mood swings: one moment he was talkative and smiling and the next he was quiet or aggressive…He was also very clever at playing the “poor child” when confronted by an adult…They were always hanging out together, playing video games and sniffing glue. The boys’ addiction to glue was very strong…Shoe glue is very easy to obtain, for it is sold cheaply in hardware stores or by shoe repairmen on the streets.” (Márquez 1999: 42)

“Chupapegas experience a normal, congenial erotic attachment that they do not view as homosexuality. Both physical intimacy and sexual exploration are common among them (Márquez 1999: 44)…The youngsters often fight among themselves—they can fight ferociously over a pair of shoes or a sleeping space, for example—but they also share food and in other ways take care of one another (Márquez 1999: 45)…The chupapegas’ favorite activity, other than sniffing glue, is playing video games.” (Márquez 1999: 46)

**Street appearance and identity…**

“It is not good strategy to be too clean; the chupapegas think people give them more money or food when they look dirty. They also believe that being dirty can save them from being taken to police headquarters, because when they smell horrible the police do not want them in their patrol cars…in front of a pizzeria. They would go in groups and first ask for soup. If they did not get it, they would start jumping around and screaming. The waiters would grow tired of this and finally give them food.” (Márquez 1999: 47)

“On the boulevard when the young person is known to be involved with drugs, to be a troublemaker, or to interact aggressively with others, he is considered a malandro…They are usually clean and try hard to wear brand-name clothes, such as fancy Nike sneakers…Wanting to look good or “tener plata para levanter jevas” (to have money for women) are powerful motivations for stealing. If malandros or monos get into trouble, they are not treated as lightly as the chupapegas are. Police are rougher on them and do not let the go as easily. If they are over eighteen, they may be sent to jail…They would not be seen as “street children” causing mischief, but as malandros committing serious transgressions. They have outgrown their cute rascal image.” (Márquez 1999: 53)

**Rejecting legal but insufficiently rewarding pursuits…**

“He quit a job at a bakery after only a few days, because he had to work ten hours a day to make the equivalent of 25 dollars a week, when he could make that or more in one day on the streets…He also worked with an NGO for a brief time but found the routine of picking up paper for recycling very boring and skipped work whenever he felt like it.” (Márquez 1999: 56)

“The reason for abandoning their jobs in the formal economy is related …to their inability to cope with tedious routines, rules, and schedules…From an economic point of view it does not make much sense to them—as it does not for many youngsters in Spanish Harlem—to work hard and regularly for the same amount of money they could make in a few hours stealing (Márquez 1999: 57)…Wilson had attended school until the third grade, but unlike Edison, he was not interested in further schooling. He seemed mainly interested in a *pinta* (outfit), with nice sneakers, Chicago Bulls insignias, and so on.” (Márquez 1999: 59)

**Learning to hustle…**
“…I have met several older people (twenty to forty years old) who, though they do not live on the boulevard anymore, still go there to organize illegal activities. Many of these older people play the role of a teacher. They interact with the younger boys on the boulevard or in a shared caleta, and they teach the chupapegas the tricks of the streets: how to get more money while begging, how to break into cars, how to make master keys…Often men who are too old to be protected by juvenile laws recruit youngsters to do their dirty work for them.” (Márquez 1999: 64)…What happened after you joined the group? Well, Pechundio and Leroy taught us how to do things. Leroy was great at stealing caletas, breaking into cars with fake keys, and injecting water into security systems of expensive cars.” (Márquez 1999: 67)

**Children pushed out into the streets…**
“…Mothers are generally the focal point in family relations…One of the major transformations of family dynamics occurs when the mother (Márquez 1999: 97) either dies or for other reasons is unable to care for the children…In other cases the mother lives with her children but is unable to take care of them because of drug and alcohol addiction or because of work. These young people realize that in order to survive they must leave…For most of the youngsters I met, the move to the streets came when their mother lived with a man different from their biological father. In those situations, the child’s relationship with his new stepfather becomes progressively unbearable, so that he is, at best, made to feel he is a burden to the family (Márquez 1999: 98)…After Edison stole an electric piano to buy drugs, his father kicked him out (Márquez 1999: 101)…Prince came to the boulevard one day by chance and ended up staying. Life there appeared more promising than at home in the barrio with his grandmother.” (Márquez 1999: 111)

**Paradox of children’s agency.** Granting them “agency” means they are legally responsible for the crimes they commit, in which case, they are confined to prison, e.g. with zero agency. Denying them agency means treating them as irresponsible children needing adult protection. However, in these care facilities they feel they lack the freedom they deserve… “This discussion shows that the youngsters are fully aware of the sanctioned opinion that defines them as minors not entirely capable of being responsible for their actions…They know that being
younger than eighteen gives them, if nothing else, a certain impunity; they know that regardless of the nature of their crime, most often they will not be treated as adult prisoners. After they turn eighteen, whatever their offense, they will no doubt be sent to adult jail, where the conditions are harsher and there is little chance of escape (Márquez 1999: 111). Focusing on practical preventive solutions—are about the age of responsibly and whether it should be lowered from eighteen to sixteen. Some participants in these debates want to reconsider whether the illegal acts of Caracas children and adolescents should continue to be called transgressions instead of crimes, whether children who kill should be considered delinquents.” (Márquez 1999: 117)

“Although Los Chorros is designed as an evaluation and reeducation institution, it does not fulfill either of those functions; the staff there does not even teach the youngsters to read and write. As far as INAM staff is concerned, the young people at Los Chorros do not need more than a bed and food three times a day. In other words, the staff feels it is doing the young a favor by letting them stay there and by protecting them from poverty… The rejection and mistreatment of youngsters at INAM centers is nothing new. These practices are not the product of a recent deterioration of social relations caused by the current socioeconomic crisis.” (Márquez 1999: 156)

“The daily routine is boring, and the youngsters often wish for more interesting things to do… According to the staff, employing the boys in this way is not only good discipline; it also keeps maintenance costs down. Here again the logic seems to be that, after all, they are taking care of young marginals, murderers, and drug addicts whom nobody else wants, so the boys should be grateful for whatever they get (Márquez 1999: 172). The young people at Carolina watch hours of television, smoke cigarettes, do drugs, drink alcohol, play dominos, produce chucos (homemade weapons), and fight. In their everyday social relations, there is a high degree of physical violence.” (Márquez 1999: 173)


Summary: Documents cases where very young children are horrifically abused and family members turn a blind eye. Cites studies in India where every second child is abused in some fashion—usually by parents.


**Much less criminal activity in small town…**

“Contact with the street children was at first problematic. Attempting to engage them in the centre of town was difficult as I was soon mobbed by children and crowds of onlookers. As such I came to the stadium on the fringes of town as a quiet, sheltered place to meet and talk to the children.” (Davies 2008: 311)

“The chokra of Makutano are a well-defined group. The public as well as the children themselves have clear ideas of who the chokra are, and what defines them as chokra; they do
not attend school, they scavenge, beg, steal or work for their food, they sniff glue, and they are dirty and unclean.” (Davies 2008: 314)

**Loss of culture…**
“The children come from a range of ethnic backgrounds, most notable Turkana (17), Luyia (12) and Pokot (8). As far as I have been able to ascertain, these ethnolinguistic identities do not play a significant role in the formation of the children’s identities. Rather, the children argue that the group is for them their ‘family.’ Most of the children only have very partial knowledge of their ‘ethnic’ languages and traditional customs (particularly as the urban and refugee families from which they primarily come have also been isolated from these traditional customs). The languages and practices of the group itself thus form the primary mode of socialization.” (Davies 2008: 315)

**Street social structure and socialization…**
“The street children in Makutano recognize a single leader *kichwa* (a Swahili term meaning ‘head’)…The *kichwa* regularly arranges small jobs for the other children, doing things such as fetching water, sweeping shops and verandas, and running errands. In this way, most of the children have built up a network of relations with local employers and perform certain tasks for them on a regular basis. The *kichwa* further acts as an arbitrator and an organizer in a variety of situations. He possesses contact with the local police and is able to argue for a certain degree of respite from police harassment…The principle of ‘chumship,’ … dyadic relationships are essential to becoming a *chokrra*. The dyad aids the process of integration into the group.” (Davies 2008: 316)…These dyadic friendships involve a younger child forming a close personal attachment to an older, more established street child.” (Davies 2008: 317)

“Often younger children are more able to earn money through begging or being given jobs as they are seen as more innocent and less threatening, while older children have more contacts and provide jobs, knowledge and protection. The dyads also involve the mutual sharing of foodstuffs, sleeping together and playing games together. There appears to be a strong degree of affection between pairs including hugging and holding hands and a recognition by both parties of a special relationship. They are also essential at times of illness as the group, and particularly peers, regularly provide and care for each other when sick.” (Davies 2008: 317)

“There are enjoyable activities (sharing of food, games, etc.) through which children gradually learn the ways of the group and become part of it. Given the parental/home status of many of the children (i.e. few are ‘truly’ homeless or completely orphaned), this likely often occurs over a period of time in which the children ‘test the waters’ before becoming fully integrated. Moreover, as the older child may benefit both materially and psychologically from these dyadic relationships, they may actively participate in the creation of new street children.” (317)

**Economic activity…**
“There is a market for very basic informal labour in Makutano, which the street children appear to have cornered…Further sources of income include scavenging, particularly for discarded plastic bottles and charcoal, which can be sold, and for foodstuffs on market days (Monday and Friday). At the *matatu* (taxi/bus) stop, and at the market, money or gifts of food can also be obtained in return for carrying luggage. Furthermore, market days lead to a massive increase in
demand for errand boys and many enterprising children are able to obtain a fair wage (20-30 Ksh) on these days (Davies 2008: 318)…Begging is very rarely utilized as a source of income as few townspeople are willing to hand out money.” (Davies 2008: 319)

“Children know the restaurant employees well and have formed special relationships with them, ensuring that leftovers are reserved for them and that they come at the right time each day to pick them up. Attending church each Sunday is a further resource of a good meal (Davies 2008: 318)…Food bought with money is also considered private and, though often shared it is distributed at the discretion of the owner. On the other hand, food scavenged, in particular restaurant leftovers, are considered communal property and will be shared with whoever is around and wants to help themselves.” (Davies 2008: 319)

When considered alongside the lives of other, family-based, poor urban children, it may be clear that the street children’s standard of living is significantly better.” (Davies 2008: 326)

Street Children’s territory….
[The children’s “territory”] “…consists of Makutano’s central mud road, lined by the backs of the town’s central commercial buildings…The area is hidden, private fact of Makutano, characterized by rubbish, open sewers, mud, and crime. This area is in every way a dirty, polluting, even dangerous area to most inhabitants. To the children, however, the value of this territory is reversed. To them it is their home, it is a safe, reassuring area buffered away from the dangers of (Davies 2008: 320) the adult world…The children of Makutano have actively and creatively used space to construct a world, which is partially beyond the adult ‘gaze,’ beyond adult supervision…The townspeople have conceded this area to the children and seem unconcerned about taking it back. They have created for themselves an uncontested space. The orientation of the commercial buildings within the town ensures that private business and the disposal of waste will be conducted in this area and therefore that it is a liminal space, both public and private. Adults could take this space back but to do so would result in moving the children to a more visible spot and precipitate a need to actively engage with their problems.” (Davies 2008: 321)

Street culture…language…
“The children utilize a distinct range of *sheng* (slang) terms that are not commonly understood by the general public, including other local teenagers and children. The terms naturally relate to subjects of particular interest to the children such as: *gaga* or *biere* (glue), *tenje* (radio), *fogo* (to be overly intoxicated), *tungi* (to box or beat), *beba* (former street children), and *bondo* (new street children).” (Davies 2008: 323)

Street culture…dress…
“The street children also generally conform to a certain style of dress…The children often appear dirty because most tend to wear large coats that are more difficult to clean…They allow the children to conceal belongings such as money, radios, dice, cards, pots of glue, and even food…The coats further act as a symbol of identity and cohesion. The street children do not look like normal children.” (Davies 2008: 323)…Shorts, sandals and jumpers (rather than coats) are the normal attire for other children.” (Davies 2008: 324)
Pastimes…
Gambling games are both the children’s favorite pastime and one of their strongest incorporative elements...The games are actually organized so that no child ever loses much money.” (Davies 2008: 324)

“Sniffing glue is an integral part of the lives of the children.” (p. 324)...Those who indulge too frequently or who become overly intoxicated are regularly ridiculed by the other children and often have their glue removed from them...Individuals do not go so far as to create overt conflict with mainstream society.” (Davies 2008: 325)


Economic activity…
“Young men cluster in groups according to distinctions in the work they are doing, forming discrete occupational geographies that make up the nodal points in the networks of the urban economy...a group of unlicensed hawkers trying to flog anything from razor blades to children’s toys. Just on from them may be a group of money changers, a clutch of young men with bundles of bank notes who make their money by breaking down their customer’s larger notes into smaller bills for a commission. This is the territorialized world of the bayaye, spaced out by different occupations, each with their own variations and crossovers, but each with their own piece of the street. Each individual has wider networks of social relations beyond and along the street, but it is at these congregational points that a loose affinity is created...One such demarcated zone is Nakasero market, a popular fruit market in central Kampala that has a long history of young men acting as guides for buzungu (white people)...Simply described, the bayaye act as intermediaries between the customer and the vendor, leading the way to the market stalls and the surrounding shops and kiosks...There is a history in Africa of ‘pilots’...delinquents fending for themselves by stealing, gambling, acting as guides to sightseers, or directing European sailors and soldiers to prostitutes.” (Frankland 2007: 43)

Street aristocrat…
“One of the more successful of the Nakasero bayaye, Peter, still carried the shopping bags for one particular expatriate family...But the most important part of his relationship with this family, and the reason why he did many of the other things, was the pusher-punter arrangement he had with the son. This young expat was a heroin user and it was through the dealing of ‘brown sugar’ that large sums of money could be made. Through this and his other drug related ‘friendships’, Peter had been able to buy a house in a relatively comfortable suburb of the city as well as a motorbike.” (Frankland 2007: 45)


Social ties…
“The feeling of being part of a street group can be so emotionally deep that some children simply refuse to accept opportunities to leave the street for fear of losing their friends. Children are more likely to leave the street when this process is a planned strategy that involves friends and peers.” (Conticini 2007: 83)

Economic activity...
“Children involved in the sex market were likely to earn from 150 to 400 Taka per night, while beggars often reported earning less that 30 Taka per day. Well-established porters reported a salary between 50 to 70 Taka per day while newcomer porters did not earn more than 30. These differences in earned income were significant because of the taxes/bribes that street children have to pay. These taxes/bribes are usually levied by mastaans (mafia members), matabbars (community leaders), police (Conticini 2007: 85)…’Money-guards’ were friends, elder brothers/sisters, shopkeepers, social workers, NGOs, protectors and relatives. As insurance for reducing the risk of losing all their savings, it was common to find children depositing their money with two or three people at the same time.” (Conticini 2007: 86)…When children are ‘addicted’ to street life—meaning they cannot conceive of themselves out of the street—they do not save and tend to spend all of their earnings, living on a day-to-day basis.” (Conticini 2007: 87)

Maintaining ties with natal community...
“Remittances to their original household are also an important aspect of financial management. Particularly at the beginning of their street life some children will send a considerable part of their savings home and in many cases this money represents an important source of additional income for the family. Remittances from working children can contribute up to 34% of the household income…Remittances were used as a form of informal ‘health insurance’ and when seriously sick some children would return home to get medical treatment. Other reasons for sending money were mainly linked to a feeling of guilt for having left their household and a sense of responsibility to contribute to the (Conticini 2007: 87) household’s income, especially when there were younger siblings in the family.” (Conticini 2007: 88)

Pastimes...
“Despite long working hours, participant children valued playtime as a very important part of their daily activities….Sexual activity and drug consumption which, in many cases, are deemed game activities.” (Conticini 2007: 88)

Push-pull of family vs street society...

“During in-depth interviews, informants were asked to describe a typical day for a working street youth (menino trabalhador) and a homeless street youth (menino de rua). A 15-year-old boy described a working street youth’s day as follows: ‘If he's in school, he goes to school and when classes end, he buys peanuts and asks his mother to roast them. Then, he goes to the soccer field or plays cards until 5:30, when he goes out to sell [the peanuts] and gets home at 4:00 A.M.’…Homeless youth spend their days very differently: ‘When we go to sleep it's about 5 in
the morning; we wake up around 2 or 3 in the afternoon. You wake up, get up, wash your face, if you have (Campos 1994: 321) money you have breakfast, go out to steal, then you start to sell the stuff and the money all goes on drugs, because in the street it's all drugs! …Then, you get high, you're all set, then you come down and sleep.’ [Male, 16] (Campos 1994: 322)

I myself came to the street when I was 6, when my mother died. I would walk around the street; then I met up with the boys and stayed with them. [Male, 17] …I couldn't stand to live at home anymore. My mother liked to hit us, she wouldn't let us go out, we didn't have any freedom…my mother wouldn't let us stay home one single day, we had to work. She was alone, she had separated from my father. [F., female, 22] (Campos 1994: 323)

Social structure and socialization…
“Nearly two thirds of the street-based youth belonged to a turma (group or gang), with more street- than home-based boys belonging. The qualitative materials reveal that the turma is a close-knit group that provides youngsters with support, companionship, and protection. Group solidarity is enforced by various mechanisms. Members of a turma create a private language using code words, gestures, and letter substitutions. New members have to steal and prove their willingness to abide by group norms, and norm breakers are punished, with the ultimate punishment being (Campos 1994: 323) the ronda (“circle”), a ritual involving violence, torture, and gang rape (Campos 1994: 324)…The turma is an important survival mechanism; untempered by adult controls, however, gangs set up a strict code of loyalty and honor, punishing norm breakers harshly and allowing no recourse to a higher authority.” (Campos 1994: 328)

Economic activity and pastimes…
Home-based youth were more likely to be street vendors and street-based youth to engage in work requiring no capital, such as washing cars or collecting paper to sell. Not surprisingly, girls were more likely to work in domestic settings than boys. Most street-based youth (75%) and some home-based youth (14.8%) engaged in illegal survival activities… Street-based youth were more likely than home-based youth to report lifetime and current use of alcohol and drugs, and lifetime injecting drug use.” (Campos 1994: 325)


“Public primary school education is free and compulsory for children between the ages of seven and thirteen. Despite this constitutional provision however, there are simply too few public schools to make this aspiration a reality for settled children, let alone for street children. Public schools are not obligated to admit “illegitimate” children and few in fact do, effectively barring any child without proper documents (that is, nearly all street children) from matriculating into the school system. Access to primary education through the parochial schools is sharply limited by tuition.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 47)

Over 250,000 children are working as unpaid domestic servants in Haiti, and the number of children on the street is Haiti is on the rise each year. The cost of education is paramount among the primary causes for child displacement in Haiti…Families, often mothers, are forced to work a
bitter calculus to determine which children are to go to school and which are to be sent into the street to labor or beg and ultimately to fend for their own welfare.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 49)

**Social structure…**

“Children living in the street comport themselves one way to the adult citizen-passerby and quite another way to an agent of one of the police quasi militaries (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 41)…Street kids do think in classificatory categories about the children with whom they share the pavement. The primary distinctions between groups of kids are age and sex—*ti timoun* [little kids] are distinguished from *gwo timoun* [older kids] and *tifi* [little girls] are distinguished from *tigason* [little boys]. There are also status distinctions that street children make between one another based on lifestyle. There are those children who are known to be sexually active and those who are not…The most observable distinction made between groups of street kids by street kids is between those children who are drug addicts and those who are not.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 42)

**Street culture dominated by males…**

“The street in Haiti is very gendered terrain, with boys outnumbering girls by a ratio of around four to one (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 38)

“The term *timoun lari*—street child—is one that first relates to a given child’s relationship to the street, not necessarily to their legal age or whether they actually sleep on the street full time (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 73) …the street…as the primary site of acculturation…Street children relate to the street as the site of their individual physical development (through puberty and adolescence) as well as an acculturative institution central to their social and cultural development.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 74)

**Family ties…**

“The decision to stay on the street is made even easier when the child’s natal home is physically abusive, which is somewhat common (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 49)…“Bèl Marie shares what she has generously with other children on the street, especially five-year-old Ti Amos who as adopted her as a surrogate older sister…Each night, Ti Amos follows Bèl Marie and the other girls with whom she sleeps to their meeting place at the entrance to the cemetery. There they gather together the day’s take of food and money so that it may be shared. She tells me they often stuff glue after eating to help them *bliyè lamizè-nou* [forget their misery] and go to sleep.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 65) …At the end of each day, street children convene with their *zanmi* at their *baz fouaye* [home base] to pool their money and their food so as to ensure that everyone has something to eat in the evening.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 119)

**Pastimes…**

“By far the most commonly abused drug among them is also the cheapest to acquire: *siment*, a cobbler’s glue, the vapors of which are inhaled through the mouth and nose (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 42).…Marijan [marijuana] is both relatively cheap and easily assessable.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 45)

**Economic activities…**

“By and large the day-to-day activities of most street children are wholly consumed with work and their economic well being is far too tied up in social obligations to their peers for most to
participate in addictive self-indulgence (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 46). The money that street children make working or begging on the pavement in Port-au-Prince is substantially higher than that paid by a minimum wage job (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 49). The considerable wages that they can make through their labor affords many street children the advantage of eating with a degree of regularity that can be almost twice that of the general adult population.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 118)

“When asked the question, “What sorts of things do you have that are your own?” most children begin their list with their clothes, specially their shoes if they own a pair. Food is invariably second if not first on the list, followed in almost all cases by “ljann’m” [my money]. Despite the widespread notion of currency ownership, money is almost invariably shared as a collective resource among zanmi. When I asked eight-year-old Ti Amos the questions, “Do you own money?” he replied with the sharp admonition that “m’pa kapab posede lajann’m!” Tout lajann se lajann pèp!” [I can’t own my money! All money belongs to the people!].” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 118)

Violence in street kids’ society…

“It was Blak-Lovli a fifteen-year-old street boy from the Portail Léogâne section of Port-Au-Prince, who first told me about the “sleeping wars,” rather matter-of-factly; when I asked him when he found it most difficult to sleep on the street. He told me that he found sleep difficult when he was preoccupied with the worry that older boys might drop a cinder block on his head while he sleeps. I asked him why an older boy would want to do such a thing and that is when he explained the brutal, ritualized violence of the sleeping wars. He explained how the best protection from being hurt by an enemy was to hide oneself when sleeping. This was the same conversation in which Blak Lovli instructed me in how important is was to wash one’s mouth before sleeping on the street, otherwise rats and roaches would come to eat from there at night. He pointed to a small scar on his upper lip that he said was a rat bite.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 34)

“Lagè domi, the ritualized sleeping wars in which children exchange plastic burns and rock blows with one another in the dead of night, while the respective participants in the war are sleeping…The lagè domi…is considered by street youths to be a final solution to long-festering animosities that repeatedly emerge in the form of verbal insults and antagonisms and street scuffles…many of the wars end at best in a serious wounding and at worst with the fatality of one of the protagonists involved.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 130)…The final violent act is usually a blow to the feet, knees, or legs while the victim sleeps, though sometime the head or chest will be targeted. The wounds inflicted are intended to be profoundly brutal.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 131)…Nadès received a slash to the bottom of his feet, which he avenged by burning the foot of his tormentor with molten plastic. Gito stomped Samwel’s chest with his foot, but then himself suffered the agony of a large block dropped onto his legs. Blak Lovli suffered plastic burns to his feel during the course of his sleeping war, which he avenged by dropping a chunk of concrete onto the head of his victim.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 135)

“They are maligned as a social menace by Port-au-Prince citizens who are both frustrated and panicked [by] … an intensification of civil crime in the capital—much of it gun and drug violence perpetrated by youth gangs…The recruitment of street children by gang lieutenants for the commission of violent crimes, though hardly the norm, is not unheard of.” (p. 52)
One of the very rare cases of collective action by children that led to social change, albeit of short duration…

“The Lafanmi Selvai orphanage began in the mid-1980s as the nationalist vision of Jean-Bertrand Aristide.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 145)…Over the course of 1990 and 1991, amid tumultuous social and political upheaval, government violence against citizens, and systematic antidemocratic terror, Lafanmi Selavi emerged as a political safe haven for street children who had become active, participatory agents of democratic change in the days leading up to Aristide’s unprecedented election to the Haitian presidency in December 1990.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 147)

“Launched in 1996 Radyo Timoun [Children’s Radio] accelerated the development of Lafanmi’s reputation as a political institution and facilitated a broader dissemination of its agenda throughout the country. A low-frequency, all-children’s radio station broadcast from the main compound in Pacot, the station provided Lafanmi’s street children with a voice in national debate surrounding poverty, literacy, democratization, and children’s issues (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 154)…By the summer of 1999 Lavanmi Selavi resembled nothing like what is had been during the height of its professionalism and charity in 1995. It was clear that little financial investment was being devoted to educational program and facility upkeep and some children remarked that living in Lafanmi was not much different than living on the street.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 158)…The morning following the start of the uprising, the cooks and some of the staff arrived at the orphanage compound for work but were barred entry by the youths inside. After successfully turning away the staff, the boys resumed their rock-and bottle-assault on the surrounding neighborhood form within the walls of Lafanmi… On Aristide’s orders the riot troopers fired tear gas into the facility on the afternoon of the siege and stormed the compound wearing gas masks and riot gear and wielding batons and automatic weapons. Over twenty youths were arrested.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 160)…Today Lafanmi Selavi is no longer an orphanage, an outreach, a clinic, or a school. But it does still broadcast both Radyo Timoun and TeleTimoun as media outlets for Aristide’s political propaganda. Though no street children live at the compound, a handful of youths, maybe a dozen all, work at the stations, maintaining the illusion that “Children’s Radio” and “Children’s Television” are still for and by street children.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 162)

An oft-repeated refrain in the literature on Street Kids is that their “agency” is really quite limited…

“While I as much as anyone else would like to see the numbers of street children dramatically reduced, a decade of work with Haitian street children has convinced me of at least one certainty: while few children would choose to live on the street, those who do demand recognition of their power to act, both in their own interests and in (and sometimes against) the interests of others. But the agency of street children in Port-au-Prince has always been and continues to be mitigated by the structural conditions in which they live, and perhaps never before in Haitian history have their rights to self-determination been more threatened than now.” (Kovats-Bernat 2006: 183)
“In many countries, there are street children who travel, but the number in Colombia is particularly high. According to reliable sources, 70% of the street children in Cartagena come from Medellín or Bogotá. Both boys and girls learn to travel when they are very young – very often at the age of 6-7 – and many have been travelling for years. Although they are aware of their environment and understand the politics and ecology of their country, it is very difficult to assist them because they never stay in the same place long enough. Because they fear being kidnapped, middle class Colombians fear travelling by land. The guerrillas and the paramilitaries put up roadblocks and kidnap whomever they are able to. Street children are the only ones who can travel and get to see their beautiful country. I met one boy who travelled from the Amazon River as far as the Caribbean Sea.” (Anon/NGO 2002: online)

Child soldiers…

Long-term psychological impact…
It will be argued that early war experiences required a developmental adjustment that profoundly changed the personality and worldview of these young adults…The data reported in this article were gathered between 1996 and 1997 in a "repopulated" community in rural El Salvador and include a series of interviews with young adults who had essentially grown up in the guerrilla camps (Dickson-Gómez 2003: 328)

“Unresolved grief and fantasies of revenge were experienced by all the young people who lived as children in the guerrilla camps, although these reactions were perhaps more severe in the young people who became soldiers because they spent more years in the camps. Becoming a soldier, however, created additional conflicts not faced by Lucas, who did not join the guerrillas. In acting out revenge, the youths encountered a crisis in identity. As the young man quoted above put it, after joining the guerrillas he was "no longer the same person, but already someone else." (Dickson-Gómez 2003: 342)

Social structure and socialization…
“…these gangs are made up of ex-guerrilleros or ex-soldiers... Violence takes a huge toll on gang members, and hundreds are killed or wounded every year…Young people say that they turn to gangs in search of the respect, solidarity, and support that they have been unable to find in family, community, work, or schools. (Dickson-Gómez 2003: 332)


“The paradoxical combination of child and soldier is unsettlling. Children at war find themselves in an unsanctioned position between childhood and adulthood. They are still children, but they are no longer innocent; they perform adult tasks, but they are not yet adults. The possession of guns and a license to kill remove them from childhood. But child soldiers are still physically and psychologically immature; they are not full adults who are responsible for themselves.” (Honwana 2006: 3)
“Children affected by conflict—both girls and boys—do not constitute a homogenous group of helpless victims but exercise an agency of their own.” (Honwana 2006: 4)

“Boy soldiers are both victims and perpetrators. The processes in which they become involved transform them from children into something else—not quite soldiers, but rather child soldier, and oxymoron that generates an ambiguous association of innocence and guilt. Although these boy soldiers cannot be considered fully responsible for their actions, they cannot be seen as entirely deprived of agency either.” (Honwana 2006: 69)

“In Mozambique, girls and young women played a variety of roles in warfare. They served as guards, carriers of ammunition and supplies, messengers, spies, “wives” and sexual partners, and sometimes as fighters on the front lines. They were used to domestic labor and performed (Honwana 2006: 78) tasks such as carrying water, searching for firewood, cooking, cleaning, and other daily chores. Sexual violence and abuse was a fundamental feature of their experience of captivity.” (Honwana 2006: 79)
Over-Protection


Fourteen-year-old Laura Dekker of Utrecht, The Netherlands has been placed under the guardianship of child protection authorities until next July (2010) to ensure that she cannot set off to fulfill her dream of sailing solo around the world. If she were to complete the voyage she would become the youngest person on record to do so. The youngest on record is a 17-year-old British sailor Mike Perham however, 16-year-old Australian Jessica Watson set out to break his record just this month (October 2009). Laura’s parents are both veteran sailors. Her father supports Laura’s goal, but in September her mother felt Laura was too young and that her safety measures were inadequate. Judges in the case said they were confident that Laura was emotionally ready for the trip, but also questioned the safety precautions and Laura’s ability to continue her schooling while at sea.

Laura’s experience sailing solo includes trips on Dutch rivers close to the coast and has one single solo voyage to England and back. Laura’s father stated, “They say she has not got much experience of solo round-the-world sailing. That is a bit weak. How do you get experience? By doing it.” (Corder 2009: online)


“The medical literature looks nothing like the popular literature. It shows that breast-feeding is probably, maybe, a little better; A couple of studies will show fewer allergies, and then the next one will turn up no difference. Same with mother-infant bonding, IQ, leukemia, cholesterol, diabetes. “The studies do not demonstrate a universal phenomenon, in which one method is superior to another in all instances,” concluded one of the first, and still one of the broadest, meta studies, in a 1984 issue of Pediatrics, “and they do not support making a mother feel that she is doing psychological harm to her child if she is unable or unwilling to breastfeed.”” (Rosin 2009: online)

“Given what we know so far, it seems reasonable to put breast-feeding’s health benefits on the plus side of the ledger and other things—modesty, independence, career, sanity—on the minus side.” (Rosin 2009: online)


“Japanese parents realistically do not worry about their children being kidnapped, accosted, or molested, either by adults of by older children. They do not worry about their children doing inappropriate activities when they are not under close supervision, and children seem welcome in stores and snack shops. They get modest allowances to spend as they please, usually on food and toys. Japanese parents also seem not to worry about their children getting hurt in traffic.” (Benjamin 1997: 35)
“A lot of this play was more unsupervised than many American children enjoy these days. Because of the physical safety of children in Japan and because they are generally welcome in public places, children are free to come and go as they please, without adults feeling they need to know just where the children are at every minute.” (Benjamin 1997: 92) “Sam’s favorite play activity was fireworks, sold in many stores in Japan and intended for children to use—even the school only recommends that they are careful in doing so. These fireworks include not only sparklers, but also bottle rockets, fountains, and other delights forbidden to nearly all American children. Almost every night of the summer one can hear and see fireworks going off in Japanese neighborhoods.” (Benjamin 1997: 93)


Contrast US vs Japan…

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Everyone participates, no exceptions…
“Sports Day at Okubo Higashi was set for a Sunday with the expectation that many parents would attend. During the month of September, sometime every day at school was spent in preparing for this even, and four full days were scheduled for the whole school to practice together (Benjamin 1997: 97)...There was one relay race for the teachers, and all of them participated. There was a tug-of-war for parents.” (Benjamin 1997: 101)

“Fighting is another form of misbehavior that Japanese teachers want to stop in the long run, but as a matter of policy they refrain from stopping fights, not because they don’t recognize what’s going on, but because they know that fights between children are about real issues and they feel children can learn to handle them only with experience….When fights and disputes become the
subject of class meetings, as they often do, the details of what went on are not glossed over, but described in full. Efforts by classmates to intervene are talked about, the resolution of the fight is commented on.” (Benjamin 1997: 179)


“About 1 in 26 children had food allergies last year, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention reported Wednesday. That’s up from 1 in 29 kids in 1997…A couple of decades ago, it was not uncommon to have kids sick all the time and we said, ‘They just have weak stomach’ or ‘They’re sickly,’…Parents today are quicker to take their kids to specialists to check out the possibility of food allergies.” (Staff/SLTrib 2008: A6)


“…welcome a statistic from the UK, where it was shown that whereas in 1971, 1000 children were killed in traffic, in 1990 this figure was reduced to around 300. Indeed, this was the result of conscious efforts to protect children. However, as found in a study from (p. 7) 1970 and replicated in 1990, the number of children who were allowed access to the city without adult company was reduced accordingly. The share of children who were allowed to (1) cross the road alone, (2) go to leisure places alone, and (3) use buses alone had decreased dramatically during the 20 years.” (Qvortrup 2005: 8)


Original Article:
“I left my 9-year-old at Bloomingdale's…Was I worried? Yes, a tinge. But it didn't strike me as that daring, either. Isn't New York as safe now as it was in 1963? It's not like we're living in downtown Baghdad…Anyway, for weeks my boy had been begging for me to please leave him somewhere, anywhere, and let him try to figure out how to get home on his own. So on that sunny Sunday I gave him a subway map, a MetroCard, a $20 bill, and several quarters, just in case he had to make a call…No, I did not give him a cell phone. Didn't want to lose it. And no, I didn't trail him, like a mommy private eye. I trusted him to figure out that he should take the Lexington Avenue subway down, and the 34th Street crosstown bus home. If he couldn't do that, I trusted him to ask a stranger. And then I even trusted that stranger not to think, "Gee, I was about to catch my train home, but now I think I'll abduct this adorable child instead.” (Skenazy 2008: online)

“Long story short: My son got home, ecstatic with independence… Half the people I've told this episode to now want to turn me in for child abuse. As if keeping kids under lock and key and helmet and cell phone and nanny and surveillance is the right way to rear kids. It's not. It's debilitating — for us and for them.” (Skenazy 2008: online)
Everyone reminds her of/talks to her about the potential danger of child abduction and other dangers to her child.

“These days, when a kid dies, the world — i.e., cable TV — blames the parents. It's simple as that. And yet, Trevor Butterworth, a spokesman for the research center STATS.org, said, “The statistics show that this is an incredibly rare event, and you can't protect people from very rare events. It would be like trying to create a shield against being struck by lightning.” (Skenazy 2008: online)

“The problem with this everything-is-dangerous outlook is that over-protectiveness is a danger in and of itself. A child who thinks he can't do anything on his own eventually can't.” (Skenazy 2008: online)

See also…

http://freerangekids.wordpress.com/


“…North London consisting of mixed rented and owner-occupied state and private housing….There is rarely any presence of children as a group on the street….The ethnographic evidence of Jay Road supports the general contention that contemporary childhood worlds are shifting to the domestic sphere. Parents, wary of the lack of control they can assert over their children who are playing in public, limit or entirely disallow their children’s participation in outdoor play in the immediate area. Unlike the socializing that children take part in at school (beyond the gaze of neighbors and parents), in the locality there is a pronounced fear of children being seen “getting in with the wrong crowd (Clarke 2008: 255)…Any group of children playing in or around Jay Road is viewed as “alien” and a potential threat to the residents’ safety and comfort.” (Clarke 2008: 256)

“The use of toys as a means of bringing children in “from the street” and managing “extraordinarily powerful [child/parent] discourses” have a strong historical precedent. But it is across the range of housing and social groups on Jay Road that the contradictory expectation of contemporary care giving are experienced (Clarke 2008: 256)

Unintended consequences: parents cultivate consumerism in their children to prolong their childhood—e.g. buying them stuffed animals at 10 and PJs with innocent characters—Care Bears. But what if the children become crass materialists? See examples…Whack-a-mole.

“Although the latest merchandizing offshoot might be eagerly sought after as a birthday present at one moment, its appeal quickly wanes as the style and age association becomes a source of social embarrassment within the broader peer group, as described by ten-year-old Shelly, “I got some annoying pajamas for my birthday—I got Care Bear pajamas [laughing] from my aunty! I
pretended I liked them when she was there but then I got my mum to take them back [to the shop]…While homemade goods are understood as encapsulating a thoughtful gesture, they are the most likely items to be pilloried as inappropriate gifts…Eleven-year-old Philip was much happier with his Auntie’s (Clarke 2008: 257) gift because he informed her exactly what brand of microscooter to buy: “I wanted a Huffy because they’re the best at the moment and so I gave her the product code number and price and everything in case she got it wrong. (Clarke 2008: 258)

On the other hand, parents stress about buying the “right” things for their children. Even worse [is] a child who demands gratification with stuff or one who is disdainful of relative’s largess is a child who seems indifferent.

“But the (Clarke 2008: 258) most distraught parents are not those whose children show a preoccupation with consumer goods but rather those whose children express minimal or negligible interest in contemporary toys or games.” (Clarke 2008: 259)

“Even though Helen and Jim live on a limited income, shopping for their children’s ideal gifts remains paramount. Despite financial restriction, they are keen to see their children enjoy the anticipation involved in daydreaming about, and then excitedly opening, their presents in a manner that constitutes a “normal” family Christmas.” (Clarke 2008: 259)

Birthday parties bring peer pressure and censure into the child—consumer culture. The child’s gifts from family members are subject to peer critique. Birthday parties also represent “safe” social gatherings for children and their peers because attendees are screened by parents.

“Birthdays and birthday parties are the most prominent means by which stages of childhood and children (and their mothers) is expressed in British (Clarke 2008: 261) culture.” (Clarke 2008: 262)

“Eight-year-old Andrew, for example, has an extensive collection of samples of designer aftershave ranging from Gucci to Issey Miyake, which he keeps as prized objects, in a miniature papier-mâché portable model of an Egyptian sarcophagus he made or a school history project (Clarke 2008: 263)…[His mother] Makes frequent excursions to West End shops of London in order to persuade shop assistants in cosmetic departments to hand over free samples.” (Clarke 2008: 263)


“In Wilton—a middle- to upper-middle-class “historic” suburb of a large Midwestern city that has long been a favored residential spot for the area’s professional class. It has a quaint downtown where the Wilton Inn and various hops and restaurants border the Village Green. It also has well-maintained parts and libraries, two country clubs, and an expansive public recreation center. At the time of the study, approximately 60 percent of adult residents had a bachelor’s degree or higher (the U.S. average is 24.4 percent). Of its population of approximately
50,000, nearly half of employed adults were in managerial and professional occupations, and just over a third were in technical, sales, and administrative support… (Demerath 2008: 275).

“Permissive parenting styles, intensive involvement with electronic and commodity culture, and extensive experience in “democratic” classrooms with “student-centered” pedagogies, all share the characteristic of deferring to students’ experience and judgment, and thereby according them significant authority. We mention this here because the authority that students in general attributed to themselves was a prominent theme in the study as a whole.” (Demerath 2008: 275)

“Discourses of “excellence” and “success” imbued the community and school…Various kinds of cultural capital were also visibly displayed in the school. The capacious commons area had flags from nations around the world draped from the ceiling. … Throughout the school’s hallways, framed artwork adorned the walls, and classical music emanated quietly from speakers.” (Demerath 2008: 276)

“The committee that guided that founding of WBHS decided early on in its deliberations that “the achievement of each student is important and should be recognized.” It was this philosophy that led the school to develop so many forms of what we have come to call “technologies of recognition.” In the commons could be seen the WBHS Hall of Fame; framed photos of National Merit Finalists; members of the Socratic Society…” (Demerath 2008: 276)

“The school had another way of recognizing students that bordered on credential fraud: school policy dictated that all students who graduated with a 4.0 GPA or higher were “valedictorians.” The high school class of 2000 had 28 valedictorians, the class of 2001 had 41, the class of 2002 had 42, and the class of 2003 had 47—10 percent of the class…One teacher of both enriched and regular classes said, “Our job is to get these kids into the best college they can possibly get in to.”…Students and parents in WBHS generally evinced a keen awareness of being in competition with others…Parental bragging about children’s accomplishments was commonplace, as was posting AP test results on refrigerators, and discussing the colleges to which children were applying and gaining admission.” (Demerath 2008: 277)

“Students demonstrated fairly sophisticated consumptive identities as early as ninth grade: One had set up a mutual fund from her previous summer’s earnings, and another watched the stock channel regularly to keep up with his investments.” (Demerath 2008: 277)

“One of the striking characteristics of the high-achieving students in the study was the extent to which they saw themselves as ongoing projects. [they evinced] strong beliefs concerning the role of effort in determining life chances, the role of the self in developing confidence, becoming effective self-advocates, and precociously circumscribed aspirations….Throughout the study there were many examples of how students attempted to exert control over their educational experiences, including routinely questioning their teachers’ authority, critiquing how instruction was delivered, judging the utility of what they were learning, and attempting to personalize relationships with their teachers.” (Demerath 2008: 277)

“Some of us, like think really far ahead. You know, like, if I don’t do this assignment, then my grades are going to go down and my GPA’s going to fall, and then I can’t get into the college I
want, or whatever.” …When asked on the survey what they wanted their “future life to be like,” Most students responded with great specificity, both in terms of their expectations, and their strategies for realizing them…Students at WBHS seemed most animated when discussing evaluative criteria or their own accomplishments.” (Demerath 2008: 282)

“Students seemed aware of the value of developing the sorts of people skills desired as cultural capital in the corporate world. A notable feature of the student culture was the degree to which students from different social locations and groups got along, supported, and even socialized one another in school. Students seemed to value being able to move fluidly between groups—proclaiming with pride that they had different kinds of friends…. [their] “adult handling skills” …enabled some students to develop potentially exploitable relationships with other people—including their teachers and counselors.” (Demerath 2008: 284)

“An AP social studies teacher characterized the school culture as a “business culture.” …It would not be an exaggeration to say that most of these high-achieving students lived hyperscheduled lives.” (Demerath 2008: 285)

“Female students had higher GPA’s than the male students and were more immersed in the school’s competitive routines.” (Demerath 2008: 285)


“Campaign for a Commercial-Free Childhood, which says roughly 1,400 of its members and supporters have contacted 24 leading toy companies and retailers to express concern about ads aimed at kids. “Unfortunately, I will not be able to purchase many of the toys that my sons have asked for; we simply don’t have the money,” wrote Todd Helmkamp of Hudson, Ind. “By bombarding them with advertisements…you are placing parents like me in the unenviable position of having to tell out children that we can’t afford the toys you promote.” The Toy Industry Association has responded with a firm defense of current marketing practices, asserting that children “are a vital part of the gift selection process.” “If children are not aware of what is new and available, how will they be able to tell their families what their preferences are?” an industry statement said.” (Cary 2008:A3)

““Parents have trouble saying no,” said Allison Pugh, a University of Virginia sociology professor. She says parents often buy toys to avoid guilt and ensure their children feel in sync with school classmates.”” (Cary 2008:A3)

Allison Pugh is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Virginia, which she joined in January 2007 after completing her Ph.D. at the University of California, Berkeley. Her research interests coalesce around the question of how social inequality shapes cultures of care, including the meanings, processes and experiences of care in families and communities. Her book *Longing and Belonging: Parents, Children, and Consumer Culture* is due out in Spring 2009 from the University of California Press. Based on her dissertation, the project seeks to make sense of explosive spending on children in recent decades. Relying on three years of ethnographic research in three communities in Oakland, California,
Professor Pugh found that children negotiate with their peers which commodities have the power to confer “dignity,” or social belonging. She documented that affluent and low-income parents alike engage in symbolic buying to reconcile their conflicting feelings, ideals and consumer reach.


“Roughly one-third of families with young children in this liberal, highly educated, well-to-do community have obtained a vaccination exemption. Parents will be interviewed regarding their decision not to vaccinate. Speculation has focused on fear of autism, even though vaccines have been specifically ruled out in research on the causes of this rapidly proliferating disorder.” (Barnard 2009: online)
What Have We Learned?


“A 16-year-old girl was accidentally shot and killed Friday night in Provo, police said. She was at a friend's house visiting with a group of other teenagers, including one 13-year-old boy who had a gun, Officer David Moore said Saturday. The boy was playing with the gun, not realizing it was loaded, according to a Provo police department press release. At about 9:15 p.m., the boy pointed the gun at the girl and pulled the trigger. The girl was hit in the head and died. Police haven't determined who owned the gun.” (Anon/SLTrib 2009: online)

Again and again we see, in a conservative, “law-abiding” but gun-saturated culture, a dispute among kids that ends in the destruction of lives...


“Before he was charged with murdering a classmate, Kearns student Ricy Greazer Angilau was a Boy Scout and an athlete...he was in the process of completing his Eagle Scout project—a bus stop bench—and preparing for rugby season, his parents said.” (Alberty 2009: A1, A6)

“My son was never in a gang at all. I don’t know where the gun came from,” Ofa Angilau said. “We don’t have a gun in this house; just because of our children, I don’t believe in having a gun here. Police also don’t know how Angilau got the gun.” (Alberty 2009: A1, A6)

“Angilau is eligible for up to life in prison if he is convicted of first-degree felony murder.” (Alberty 2009: A1, A6)


Apparently, one boy shot another at a golf course because the murder victim was wearing the colors of a rival gang. (Carlisle 2009: A1)


"...11-year-old will be charged as an adult in the case' (Plushnick 2009, A6)

"The weapon, a youth model 20-gauge shot gun, was found in what police believed was the boy's bedroom. The shot gun, which apparently belonged to the killer, is designed for children" (Plushnick 2009, A6)
The gun violence lottery odds have increased, triggered by mass paranoia following the election of Barack Obama.


Based on a surge in gun purchases and concealed weapon permit applications, authorities now estimate that potentially one in every 25 adults in Utah is carrying a lethal weapon (p. A1). And many of the permits being issued are for “special” weapons such as machine guns, sawed-off (short-barreled) shotguns and silencers—normally the choice of professional assassins and drug lords (McFarland 2009: A5).


“States with lax gun laws had higher rates of handgun killings, fatal shootings of police officers, and sales of weapons that were used in crimes in other states, according to a study underwritten by a group of more than 300 U.S. mayors.” (Thompson 2009: A16)

“States requiring gun owners to report their weapons lost or stolen to law enforcement authorities export crime guns at less than one-third the rate of states that do not mandate reporting. Seven states have such a requirement.” (Thompson 2009: A16)

Alberty, Eri and Whitehurst, Lindsay 2009. Teen shot to death near school. Salt Lake Tribune, Jan 22nd, A1

Very common story in US illustrating one consequence of liberal policy on gun sales. (Alberty 2009: A1)
So What Can Be Done?

Children as commodities…

“One of the justifications of inter country adoption has been that it solves the ‘Malthusian’ problem of overpopulation in poor countries and meets the need for children by individuals in countries with sub-replacement fertility (Selman 2004: 268)…Whatever views one may hold about the ethics of intercountry adoption, one thing remains clear—that is can at best provide help for some individual children, never a solution to wider issues of poverty…The amount of money spent by prospective parents in the process of overseas adoption would amount to a huge sum if invested in the improvement of child care services in the states of origin.” (Selman 2004: 270)

More wishful thinking…

“According to the Brazilian Institute for Geography and Statistics (IBGE), there are now a half million NGOs in Brazil. There are high expectations that NGOs will address issues neglected by the state, regardless of their limited capacity to change laws, or implement policies and reforms that hamper elite interests, minimize inequity, or empower the poor.” (Kenny 2007: 27)

More wishful thinking…

“The best way to assist street children is to come into compliance with the International Labour Organization’s principle 138, which requires that every child in the world be provided with compulsory, free, and universal education. In Kenya this ideal has been frustrated through a reduction of public commitment to universal education in place of reliance on “cost-sharing” strategies. The materials needed for school attendance…in Nairobi show clearly that dropout rates speak for themselves about the failure of present policy to achieve anything remotely approaching universal school attendance once available in Kenya.” (Kilbride 2000: 139)

Paradox of high fertility in an environment in which children inevitably suffer.

“This is a place where it is not at all uncommon for children to die of starvation or sores, thirst. Add to this the rampant gun violence and civil terror that has served as the backdrop of everyday life in Haiti for the past half-century, and it becomes immediately apparent that if there is any place in the world in which children have no business growing up, it is in the Republic of Haiti.” (Kovats-Berat 2006: 1)
Guns and street kids

“Interest in guns and weapons in general is strong among young barrio people and those living on the streets. The knowledge these youngsters have about weapons is extensive and precise. They know which weapons are the most effective and which are considered most “masculine.” They can tell you what all the different guns cost and how to obtain them, and they also know what types of armaments police and national guards use and what weapons those authorities sell. For young barrio people, having a gun in their hands can represent ideal manhood. Having or using a gun marks a transition from being an insignificant person or the “good boy” into a “real man.” The gun itself provides not just statues but also the possibility of obtaining the commodities needed to feel important: motorcycles, shoes, clothes, and so on…Especially with guns such as the nine-millimeter, young individuals acquire a sense of power over others (Márquez 1999: 197)...The youngsters I met at the Carolina believed that using guns was the only way for them to gain respect (p. 198)...The young people I studied...had many body scars of all shape and sizes. Most of the scars were the result of gun fights, but some were self-inflicted, partly as a kind of self-protection but also as a reflection of style...Edison has many body scars, which define him, in his own words, as a street warrior, one who has cleverly escaped the police on several occasions.” (Márquez 1999: 203)

Guns and child soldiers...

“The new generation of inexpensive assault rifles, with their lightweight designs, can be carried, stripped, and reassembled by children aged ten years or younger…” (Dickson- Gómez 2003: 328)

Epidemic of gun violence affecting children while courts and legislators continue to rapidly expand opportunities to purchase and carry weapons. The gun violence lottery odds have increased, triggered by mass paranoia following the election of Barack Obama.


Based on a surge in gun purchases and concealed weapon permit applications, authorities now estimate that potentially one in every 25 adults in Utah is carrying a lethal weapon (p. A1). And many of the permits being issued are for “special” weapons such as machine guns, sawed-off (short-barreled) shotguns and silencers—normally the choice of professional assassins and drug lords (McFarland 2009: A5).

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“A man, fearing to be robbed, opened fire on Trick or Treaters with an assault rifle on Halloween. Quickly getting off 30 rounds, he killed a 12-year-old boy and wounded the boy’s father and brother while the boy’s mother waited in their car at the curb.” (Anon/FoxNews 2008: online)


“A game involving toy guns turned tragic Tuesday night when an 11-year-old Iron County girl found a .22-caliber pistol in an unlocked gun cabinet in her home and shot her 14-year-old brother in the neck.” (Bergeen 2008: online)


“While trying it out at a gun show, accompanied by his father. Recoil so strong the gun—firing—flipped out of his grasp and he took a fatal bullet in the head.” (Anon/SLTrib 2008: A8)


“ST. JOHNS, Ariz. -- A man who police say was shot and killed by his 8-year-old son had consulted a priest about whether the boy should handle guns and had taught him how to use them, the clergyman said Saturday. Also killed male friend of the father.” (Fon 2008: online)


“Very common story in US illustrating one consequence of liberal policy on gun sales.”(Alberty 2009: A1)