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### **Sociological Perspectives on Socialization**

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#### Introduction

Scholars of sociology, anthropology, psychology, and Education alike are interested in socialization. This phenomenon influences individual and collective development as well as the reproduction of status hierarchies and structural inequalities. Socialization is the multifaceted process through which individuals learn and internalize cultural norms, codes, and values. This process enables entry into and sustained membership in one or more social groups. Individuals develop social and cultural competencies through (1) interaction with other individuals and social institutions and (2) response to their macro- and micro-sociocultural contexts. Socialization does not occur in a vacuum: this process operates in social locations that both afford and constrain interaction and opportunity. In turn, social expectations for individuals coming of age are not uniform. Correspondingly, the mechanisms and outcomes of socialization vary across geographical space, sociocultural context, and sociohistorical time. Additionally, socialization processes may vary within a society, depending on the power and status of their subgroup identities. Many members of society additionally navigate the at times competing influences of the dominant culture and marginalized subcultures. Much scholarly attention has focused on the socialization processes of childhood and adolescence. However, adaptation to and internalization of social norms, values, and behaviors continues throughout adulthood. Individuals experience identity, Family, educational, and career changes and transitions alongside members of their generational cohort. As a result, their social roles may shift and change over the life course. Socialization facilitates processes of inclusion and participation of diverse individuals and groups in society. At the same time, socialization contributes to the stabilization of social order, which can include reproduction of existing stratification by race, gender, and social class. Processes of socialization continue to shape generational cohorts and intergenerational dynamics as well as across various social institutions. In summary, socialization prepares individuals for membership in society and is associated with the stability and maintenance of society writ large.

#### **Overviews and Methods**

Socialization is the dialectical process through which individuals exchange, adapt to, and internalize the norms, beliefs, behaviors, and values of a shared social group over the life course. Perez-Felkner 2013 details how, from an early age, individuals engage in the processes of socialization through trying on different social roles and adapting to specific social contexts. Focusing on adult socialization, Lutfey and Mortimer 2006 notes that as individuals' social competencies develop, their socialization contributes to the stability and reproduction of the social order. While King 2007 and other works critique the methods of social scientists to isolate facets of the socialization process and generalize about their contributions, empirical and theoretical approaches vary. Perez-Felkner 2013 details the variety of methodologies used to study socialization among children and adolescents, with examples from classic and recent empirical studies.

King, Michael. 2007. The sociology of childhood as scientific communication. Childhood 14.2: 193-213.

This article identifies limitations in the logic of sociological inquiry in understanding generalizable social facts about children and their socialization process.

Lutfey, Karen, and Jeylan T. Mortimer. 2006. Development and socialization through the adult life course. In *Handbook of social psychology*. Edited by John Delamater, 183–202. New York: Springer US.

Reviewing the history of socialization as a concept and its general processes, this chapter focuses on the socialization within the adult life course, defined as the time after the completion of secondary or postsecondary Education. The authors focus on how the temporality and heterogeneity of individual biographies impact socialization processes, such as new role acquisition and life experiences, after the transition to adulthood.

Perez-Felkner, Lara. 2013. Socialization in childhood and adolescence. In *Handbook of social psychology*. 2d ed. Edited by John Delamater and Amanda Ward, 119–149. New York: Springer.

Focusing on processes of socialization within early life, Perez-Felkner reviews theoretical approaches to socialization, methods of studying socialization, and how Contexts Of Socialization produce myriad outcomes that reproduce social inequalities.

### **Textbooks and Anthologies**

As the process of socialization concerns scholars across social science disciplines, key reference works in this area have been established in sociological, psychological, and anthropological fields. In sociology, Clausen 1986 is a seminal text from the life course perspective, examining socialization from childhood through late in life. Many anthologies focus on particular stages, notably on childhood, as with Corsaro 2017 and Handel, et al. 2007. This bibliography attends to ongoing socialization processes across the life course. Additionally, Grusec and Hastings 2015 is among the many works that take an intentionally interdisciplinary approach when crafting anthologies.

#### Clausen, John A. 1986. The life course: A sociological perspective. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

This accessible textbook reviews the theoretical and research developments over the last century of socialization scholarship through a sociological lens. While many sections of this text lay important theoretical groundwork for understanding socialization across childhood, adolescence, adulthood, and late adulthood, discussion of empirical work remains out of date.

#### Corsaro, William A. 2017. The sociology of childhood. 5th ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Focusing on socialization processes within the context of childhood, Corsaro builds the argument for understanding children not only as recipients of socialization processes, but as active contributors to cultural production. As children participate in society and the socialization process they operate as agents in their own development, their community, and greater society. At the same time, children and their development are constrained by childhood and other social forces.

#### Grusec, Joan E., and Paul D. Hastings. 2015. Handbook of socialization: Theory and research. 2d ed. New York: Guilford.

Approaching socialization from an interdisciplinary standpoint, this handbook reviews how socialization processes are shaped by biological systems, psychological processes, and societal contexts and experiences. Emphasizing socialization as a bidirectional mechanism produced by a variety of contributing factors and interactions, the authors review recent research developments that place more traditionally sociological understandings of socialization within psychological and biological constraints.

Handel, Gerald, Spencer Cahill, and Frederick Elkin. 2007. *Children and society: The sociology of children and childhood socialization*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Using a symbolic interactionist lens. Handel and his coauthors organize theoretical perspectives and recent research on socialization

processes in childhood that lead to adaptation to society and the development of the self. Identifying childhood as a social contruction and reviewing the history of childhood throughout Western society, the authors examine various societal institutions that shape socialization, and cover how this process varies across inequalities in social class, race and ethnicity, gender, and neighborhood.

#### Theoretical Foundations of Socialization

Contemporary understandings of socialization have been shaped by the development of key theoretical frameworks over the last century. The socialization process has been examined across disciplines and cultures. While individuals are socialized to adapt to life in specific cultures, Fiske 1992 and works by subsequent psychologists argue the process of socialization does not meaningfully vary across cultures; social relationships occur in similar forms around the globe. While many of the seminal socialization theories focused on unidirectional models of influence, interactive models have found empirical and theoretical support by demonstrating that socialization processes can be bidirectional, as in Grusec 2011. Grusec and Davidov 2010 and Grusec 2011 model the interpersonal dimensions of socialization, which primarily occurs in relationships. As early as the classic study Thomas and Znaniecki 1918, sociologists studying socialization have focused on not only micro-relationships but also on how cultural distinctions factor into the socialization process, such as immigration, diversity, and social mobility.

Fiske, Alan P. 1992. The four elementary forms of sociality: Framework for a unified theory of social relations. *Psychological Review* 99.4: 689–723.

Fiske argues that four primary forms of social relationships occur across cultures: communal sharing, authority ranking, equality matching, and market pricing. Social life is structured through these relational models, with the aim of facilitating social life and functioning within a given society.

Grusec, Joan E. 2011. Socialization processes in the family: Social and emotional development. *Annual Review of Psychology* 62.1: 243–269.

Grusec argues that while adults tend to be seen as the agents of socialization (e.g., parents, teachers) and children the objects of socialization, research indicates there is a bidirectional rather than strictly hierarchical interplay in this process.

Grusec, Joan E., and Maayan Davidov. 2010. Integrating different perspectives on socialization theory and research: A domain-specific approach. *Child Development* 81.3: 687–709.

With a focus on parent-child relationships, this work connects research on the four categories of social relations with cognitively oriented research on domain specificity in information processing. Their integrative study points to the interplay between relationship domains (e.g., protection, group participation), with consequences for understanding socialization mechanisms (e.g., confidence in protection, firm sense of social identity) and outcomes (e.g., compliance, prosocial behavior).

Thomas, William I., and Florian Znaniecki. 1918. *The Polish peasant in Europe and America: Monograph of an immigrant group*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

A classic, five-volume text, this is one of the first comparative studies of immigration as well as the first to investigate acculturation in the United States, research of continued relevance. Thomas and Znaniecki detail the lives of Polish peasants in Europe and those who emigrated to the United States, and intergenerational socialization experiences among the latter group. Then and now, children of immigrants negotiate ethnic discrimination and socioeconomic hardships. These challenges continue in the present for immigrants and their children, who may navigate multiple forms of socialization within marginalized communities and the broader society.

### Stage Theory

Stage theories delineate what may be characterized as typical or at times ideal steps children make toward adult development. These theories describe stages of development, often segmented into idealized phases of "normal" development. In their developmental theories, most scholars include descriptions of the milestones within each stage as well as indicators of transitions from one stage to the next. This scholarship tends to frame individuals' socialization as a linear process through which young people develop understandings of themselves and the social world. Freud 2009 uses individuals' psychosexual development as a lens into the socialization process. Erikson 1950 analyzes the socialization process using psychosocial framing. Piaget 2000 summarizes Piaget's theory of cognitive development, in which individuals become less egocentric, learning about the existence and perspectives of others. While both highly cited and critiqued, most famously in Gilligan 1982 on gendered grounds, Kohlberg 1963 illustrates the process of socialization as conventions that are learned but nonetheless subject to individuals' independent reasoning and resistance.

#### Erikson, Erik H. 1950. Childhood and society. New York: Norton.

Building from Freud's psychosexual stage development theory, Erikson outlines eight psychosocial stages of development, each defined by a central conflict, through which individuals relate to themselves and others from infancy to late life. Within mature adulthood, individuals may engage in generativity, the socialization process of caring for and transmitting social norms to the subsequent generation.

Freud, Sigmund. 2009. Instincts and their vicissitudes. In *Foundations of psychological thought: A history of psychology*. Edited by Barbara F. Gentile and Benjamin O. Miller, 353–369. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Freud's work with patients in a psychological clinical setting led to his development of psychosexual stage development theory. Freud connects individual development to stages defined by sexual fixations, including oral, anal, phallic, latency, and genital stages. Although this text has received criticism from methodological and feminist fronts, elements of psychosexual theory continue to influence social understandings of development among the general public. Originally published in German as "Triebe Und Triebschicksale," *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse* in 1915.

#### Gilligan, Carol. 1982. In a different voice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

In response to Kohlberg 1963 and other work on stages of moral development that exclusively focused on young men, this text identifies processes through which moral socialization processes, and the way in which these processes are measured, are gendered. Gilligan 1982 explains that cognitive and behavioral development of both men and women do not differ based upon moral *capability*, but by socialization processes that facilitate the production of an authoritative, masculine ethic in boys and a service-oriented, caring ethic in girls.

Kohlberg, Lawrence. 1963. Moral development and identification. In *Child psychology: The sixty-second yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part 1.* 277–332. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Kohlberg investigates how individuals reason through situations of moral ambiguity. These stages of moral development begin with "amoral" children mirroring the moral codes of their caregivers, with the possibility of reaching the highest stage: an internal set of universal moral principles independent of social conventions.

Piaget, Jean. 2000. Piaget's theory. In *Childhood cognitive development: The essential readings*. Edited by Kang Lee, 33–47. Malden: Blackwell.

Piaget presents an additional developmental theory which focuses on cognitive, logical, and moral growth in the individual, from an egocentric perspective in infancy to a nonegocentric perspective in adolescence.

### Systems of Socialization and Power

Scholars have developed theories for conceptualizing how layers of power and privilege in society constrain and influence human development. Bronfenbrenner 1979 describes the ecological systems theory of human development, which centers a child within layers of influence that shape the child's adaptation to their environment, later updated in Bronfenbrenner 1986. Foucault 1979 vividly details how societal power structures operate through systematic mechanisms of discipline and social control, such that individuals are socialized under the invisible threat of observation by those in positions of power. Bourdieu 1984 examines the process through which individuals are molded by their habitus: embodied behaviors and preferences developed through exposure to cultural materials associated with social class. Du Bois 1994 depicts the inner strife resulting from racial hierarchy and control among black Americans in the early 1900s, having a double self, with differential advantages and status. Collins 2000 illustrates how young black women's socialization for survival in a racist society often involves mothering from a wider net of relatives and fictive kin. Relatedly, Spivak 1988 illustrates that power and status can be so tightly withheld that subjugated subgroups might have little opportunity for social mobility or meaningful integration.

### Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Through his study of aesthetic tastes and preferences, Bourdieu identifies that individuals develop preferences and aesthetic choices through class-specific socialization processes designed to symbolically define and order social classes, as well as signify membership in a particular social class.

# Bronfenbrenner, Urie. 1979. The ecology of human development: Experiments by nature and design. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory visualizes how children are socialized by forces spanning local and global contexts. The microsystem includes parental and sibling relationships, peers, and classroom. The mesosystem level includes the relationships between a child's immediate Family and teachers, extended family, and other resources. The exosystem level includes the socialization influences of the child's community, society. Finally, the macrosystem includes the influence of greater Sociohistorical Contexts.

# Bronfenbrenner, Urie. 1986. Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives. *Developmental Psychology* 22.6: 723–742.

In a study of family socialization, Bronfenbrenner adds a chronosystem layer to the ecological systems model to account for individual and cohort effects over time.

# Collins, Patricia H. 2000. *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* New York: Routledge.

In this canonical work defining black feminist thought, Collins examines how black women socialize their children for survival in a racist society, teaching them to navigate multiple intersecting oppressions while also teaching them to confront oppression with self-reliance and emotional strength. Socialization for young black women often involves receiving mothering from a diverse set of women relatives and fictive kin, both "bloodmothers" and "othermothers." Originally published in 1990.

#### Du Bois, William E. B. 1994. The souls of black folk. Mineola, NY: Dover.

Du Bois and his concept of double consciousness as experienced by marginalized racial and ethnic minority groups continue to influence subsequent decades of theory on the tension young people experience as they navigate the distinct socialization processes associated with the dominant culture and holding a marginalized and inferior social status. Originally published in 1903 (New York: Penguin).

#### Foucault, Michel. 1979. Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison. Translated by A. Sheridan. New York: Vintage.

Foucault's classic text provides historical context for the development of disciplining and norm-enforcing processes in society. Notably, it describes the justice system as a central system of social control, including the emergent observational technology developed for use within the prison system: the omnipresent and all-seeing panopticon. Foucault argues that individuals in modern society adapt to societal norms not because of the threat of physical violence, but through their fear of disciplinary consequences while under constant societal surveillance.

Spivak, Gayatri C. 1988. Can the subaltern speak? In *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. Edited by Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman, 66–111. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Spivak's foundational essay on subaltern status motivated new scholarship from feminist, postcolonial, and South Asian scholars on the relationship between power, mobility, and socialization.

### Symbolic Interactionism

Socialization is often understood as a unidirectional process of imparting knowledge and social codes to new members of a social group. However, individuals may also reflect, react, and engage actively within the socialization process. Mead 1934 provides the theoretical foundation of symbolic interactionism and illustrates the dialectical processes of meaning making and development of the individual through everyday life and interactions. Blumer 1986 builds upon this work; he argues communication, interpretation, and constant comparison of the self to societal expectations are critical processes that shape individuals' socialization. Vygotsky 1980 asserts that social learning necessarily precedes individual learning and development.

#### Blumer, Herbert. 1986. Symbolic interactionism: Perspective and method. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

In his theory of symbolic interactionism, Blumer contends that social interactions, rather than direct transmission of social norms, shape processes of meaning making and socialization. Framing development as an interpretive process, individuals make sense of their social world through interaction and communication with other social actors.

Mead, George H., ed. 1934. *Mind, self, and society: From the standpoint of a social behaviorist.* Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

Providing the foundation for symbolic interactionist theory, Mead identifies that the self is not a static entity, but a social process continually generated through an individual's daily interactions with and interpretations of the social world.

Vygotsky, Lev S. 1980. *Mind in society: The development of higher psychological processes*. Edited by Michael Cole, Vera John-Steiner, Sylvia Scribner, and Ellen Souberman. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Grounded in a psychological perspective, Vygotsky contends that the socialization of children begins with, and occurs through, social interaction, and that it is through reflection on social experiences and interactions that children then develop intrapsychologically,

producing consciousness.

### Social Reproduction and Inequality

Socialization processes achieve the integration of individuals into social groups and greater society. Bourdieu 2000 suggests socialization fosters social reproduction, the reproduction of social hierarchies, and intergenerational transmission of social inequality. Dannefer 2003 studies how differential socialization experiences across marginalized identities—such as class and race and ethnicity—can sort individuals into life-course trajectories that produce cumulative advantages and disadvantages. Bourdieu 1984 (cited under Systems of Socialization and Power) argues individuals are socialized to adopt preferences and tastes associated with their socioeconomic status, forming cultural capital that can translate into increased opportunity structures and preferential treatment. Bussey and Bandura 1999; Hughes, et al. 2006; and Stockard 1999 illustrate how social inequalities are reproduced across generations, through parents' transmission of values, norms, and expectations to their children.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2000. Cultural reproduction and social reproduction. In *The structure of schooling: Readings in the sociology of education*. Edited by Richard Arum and Irenee R. Beattie, 55–68. Mountain View, CA: Mayfield.

Building upon his conceptualization of habitus, Bourdieu constructs the argument of how social reproduction, the reinforcement of existing status and class hierarchies in society, is achieved through the aggregation of socialization processes. As individuals are introduced to specific tastes and preferences through class-specific socialization processes, individuals display these preferences to others to signify social location. In turn, these behaviors transmit inequalities in access, resources, and opportunities across generations, reinforcing patterns of societal stratification by social class.

Bussey, Kay, and Albert Bandura. 1999. Social cognitive theory of gender development and differentiation. *Psychological Review* 106.4: 676–713.

Reviewing the social cognitive theory of gender role development, the authors identify how social experiences, motivational factors, and self-regulatory mechanisms operate interdependently to co-construct gender identity and gendered behavioral expectations across the lifecourse.

Dannefer, Dale. 2003. Cumulative advantage/disadvantage and the life course: Cross-fertilizing age and social science theory. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B* 58.6: S327–S337.

Focusing on scholarly developments within the field of social gerontology, Dannefer reviews the operation of cumulative advantage/disadvantage (CAD), a process through which inequality gaps widen through the attainment of advantages and disadvantages across the life course. Dannefer links CAD with differential socialization experiences, which in turn continue to reproduce inequalities for disenfranchised social groups.

Hughes, Diane, James Rodriguez, Emilie P. Smith, Deborah J. Johnson, Howard C. Stevenson, and Paul Spicer. 2006. Parents' ethnic-racial socialization practices: A review of research and directions for future study. *Developmental Psychology* 42.5: 747–770.

The authors review recent literature on the transmission of racial and ethnic identity, perspectives, values, and information between parents and children, which can (1) influence the development of resiliency and coping skills and (2) shape social, educational, and career outcomes.

Kohn, Melvin L., and Carmi Schooler. 1983. Work and personality: An inquiry into the impact of social stratification. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Kohn and Schooler demonstrate that while working-class children are socialized to practice behaviors that conform to society and expectations, middle-class children are socialized to practice autonomy and independence. In turn, an individual's class location can produce differential workforce outcomes by way of socialization.

Stockard, Jean. 1999. Gender socialization. In *Handbook of the sociology of gender*. Edited by Janet Saltzman Chafetz, 15–27. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.

Stockard traces the historical development of several lines of gender socialization theory, underscoring the multidimensionality of analytic approaches used to theorize the process of gender development. Stockard identifies key linkages between contemporary theories and psychoanalytic theories and calls scholars to continue investigating the connections between gender socialization and gender stratification, in tandem, across the life course.

### Life Course Theory

Elder, et al. 2003 studies how social pathways guide individuals through trajectories—sequences of roles and experiences—that feature transitions and turning points and require socialization to new norms, values, and expectations. O'Rand and Krecker 1990 presents a psychological life-span perspective that focuses on patterns associated with individual age and the maximum duration of life, and the life cycle perspective centers on stages, maturation, and generational reproduction. Elder 1998 and Settersten 2009 unpack the sociological approach of life course theory, demonstrating how the theory accounts for Sociohistorical Contexts, the economy, the polity, and temporal ordering of life events within individual and group development.

#### Elder, Glen H., Jr. 1998. The life course as developmental theory. Child Development 69.1: 1–12.

Elder reviews his work on the generational cohort that experienced the Great Depression during childhood alongside other studies that helped to establish the life course perspective. Emphasizing that individual life trajectories do not develop in isolation based on age alone, this text illustrates how the individual socialization processes are interdependent upon linked lives and embedded in everchanging historical time.

Elder, Glen H., Jr., Monika K. Johnson, and Robert Crosnoe. 2003. The emergence and development of life course theory. In *Handbook of the life course*. Edited by Jeylan T. Mortimer and Michael J. Shanahan. New York: Kluwer Academic / Plenum.

This handbook chapter reviews life course theory as a means for understanding personal and sociohistorical factors in intergenerational socialization processes. After a review of the development of life course theory, the authors establish a set of principles that structure the theoretical framework of life course theory. Describing human development as a lifelong process, the authors contend that socialization within human lives is constrained by specific sociohistorical and temporal contexts.

O'Rand, Angela M., and Margaret L. Krecker. 1990. Concepts of the life cycle: Their history, meanings, and uses in the social sciences. *Annual Review of Sociology* 16:241–262.

O'Rand and Krecker present clarification about the life cycle perspective's analytic significance and interdisciplinary utility, emphasizing its three main definitional features of stages, maturation, and generation.

Settersten, Richard A., Jr. 2009. It takes two to tango: The (un)easy dance between life course sociology and life-span psychology. In *Special Issue: Linked Lives and Self-Regulation. Lifespan - Life Course: Is It Really the Same?* Edited by Michel Oris, Catherine Ludwig, Anik de Ribaupierre, Dominique Joye, and Dario Spini. *Advances in Life Course Research* 14.1–2: 74–81.

Comparing the theoretical approaches of life-span psychologists and life-course sociologists. Settersten illustrates the tensions within

research on the study of socialization and social change.

#### Socialization Over the Life Course

Socialization occurs not only during childhood and adolescence, but throughout all phases of adult life. Mannheim 1952, Neugarten 1974, and Neugarten and Datan 1996 illustrate how social pathways are at times individual and generational, linked by sociohistorical influences and networks of shared relationships. Elder 1975 and Handel 1990 emphasize how socialization processes may be distinguished from one another by their temporal ordering within the life course, which may determine their magnitude of influence on individuals' development and adaptation.

#### Elder, Glen H., Jr. 1975. Age differentiation and the life course. Annual Review of Sociology 1:165–190.

This essay reviews the theoretical contributions from three traditions of research on age and development: lifetime, social time, and historical time. While lifetime focuses on the aging process from birth to death, social time spans the sequencing of social roles and patterning of experiences, and historical time places individuals within cohorts that simultaneously experience social events across the life course.

#### Handel, Gerald. 1990. Revising socialization theory. American Sociological Review 55.3: 463-466.

Handel emphasizes the critical importance of the temporal ordering of Family and peer-group socialization practices within childhood. While family and peer-group socialization processes may occur simultaneously, he argues that most cultural routines and practices are first learned through early family socialization processes, often through nonverbal communication.

# Mannheim, Karl. 1952. The problem of generations. In *Essays on the sociology of knowledge*. By Karl Mannheim, 276–322. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

This seminal essay defines the generation, or cohort, as a group that experiences simultaneous socialization processes throughout historical time. Individuals are socialized within this "generational location," reflecting and making meaning of social events that occur in sequence across the lifespan.

# Neugarten, Bernice L. 1974. Age groups in American society and the rise of the young-old. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 415.1: 187–198.

This article analyzes the impact of the changing distribution of age groups within Western society in the latter half of the 20th century, impacting the societal expectations of social roles and behaviors in middle adulthood and later life.

# Neugarten, Bernice L., and Nancy Datan. 1996. Sociological perspectives on the life cycle. In *The meanings of age: Selected papers of Bernice L. Neugarten*. Edited by Dail A. Neugarten, 96–113. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

This chapter bridges scholarship within role theory, social stress theory, and Life Course Theory to understand how Sociohistorical Contexts impact life transitions. Notably, it demonstrates the importance of "three dimensions of time": (1) the individual's chronological life time, (2) social time as relating to age, and (3) historical time as experienced relating to historical, political, and economic conditions which are experienced by cohorts of individuals.

#### Childhood and Adolescence

Processes of socialization vary across the life course. Childhood and adolescence are at times conceptualized together in distinction from adulthood, but Corsaro and Fingerson 2006 and Hall 1904 consider the distinctions between these stages with respect to socialization. These distinctions are both sociocultural and biological, as adolescence is traditionally marked by and begins with the onset of puberty. While early research on this life stage characterized children and adolescents as passive recipients of socialization from adults, Eder and Nenga 2006 reviews recent research that emphasizes adolescents' agency and collective action in shaping their socioemotional development.

Corsaro, William, and Laura Fingerson. 2006. Development and socialization in childhood. In *Handbook of social psychology*. Edited by John Delamater, 125–155. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. New York: Springer US.

After reviewing psychological theories of human development that address intraindividual processes of learning and growth in children, Corsaro and Fingerson attend to methodological approaches and review relevant contexts, identities, and peer interaction settings that are relevant for research on the socialization of children.

Eder, Donna, and Sandi Nenga. 2006. Socialization in adolescence. In *Handbook of social psychology*. Edited by John Delamater, 157–192. Handbooks of Sociology and Social Research. New York: Springer US.

Eder and Sandi review various theoretical approaches to understanding adolescent socialization and organize recent research on contexts that shape the establishment of adolescent peer cultures that host socialization processes in the second decade of the life course.

Hall, Granville S. 1904. Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion, and education. New York: Appleton.

This foundational text on adolescence reviews the social scientific processes that shape this critical period of transition between childhood and adulthood. While much of its material on racial and ethnic differences in socialization is outdated, this early work outlines how social institutions such as Family, gender, and social location shape processes of socialization for young people as they reach adulthood.

### Transition to Early Adulthood

Arnett 2000 argues that emerging adulthood is a transitional phase that exists in cultures that afford individuals in the late-second and early-third decades of life with space for independence and exploration. Erikson 1950, cited under Stage Theory, and Erikson and Coles 2000 explain that as individuals move from adolescence to adulthood, the core developmental tasks shift from the self to others; for young adults, this takes the form of intimacy in relationships, including friends and romantic partnerships. Considerable attention has been paid to "successful" transitions to adulthood, from the nonindustrialized societies studied in van Gennep 1961 to highly industrialized societies such as in the contemporary United States, especially but not exclusively within the domains of schooling and career. Indeed, even the residential status of young adults can serve as a meaningful social signal of adulthood: Settersten 1998 highlights that the ability to achieve independence is not only sociohistorically but socioeconomically constrained, and Holdsworth 2000 emphasizes that it is also highly culturally variant.

Arnett, Jeffrey. 2000. Emerging adulthood: A theory of development from the late teens through the early twenties. *American Psychologist* 55.5: 469–480.

Arnett argues that the developmental period that occurs between ages 18–25, which he terms emerging adulthood, is categorically different from the dependency of adolescence and the responsibilities of adulthood. During the uncertain and volitional period of emerging adulthood, individuals explore possibilities of future life trajectories and are socialized to develop skills in independent decision making, self-responsibility, and financial literacy.

#### Erikson, Erik, and Robert Coles. 2000. The Erik Erikson reader. New York: Norton.

Traversing several of Erikson's classic books and essays, Erikson and Coles present an edited reader that draws particularly on Erikson's *Childhood and Society* and *Young Man Luther* to explain the transition to adulthood in Erikson's framing. In particular, Erikson and Coles explore the challenges and strengths of the transition to adulthood period, from identity crises to their potential resolution and transitions to the next stages of life.

#### Holdsworth, Clare. 2000. Leaving home in Britain and Spain. European Sociological Review 16.2: 201-222.

Holdsworth compares the northern and southern European patterns of transitioning from the parental home, demonstrating how cultural norms shape socialization processes. Socialization in the Family context, together with available family resources and employment experiences, influenced decisions about leaving home for the study subjects.

# Settersten, Richard A., Jr. 1998. A time to leave home and a time never to return? Age constraints on the living arrangements of young adults. *Social Forces* 76.4: 1373–1400.

Settersten investigates demographic patterns of moving out of one's childhood family residence, an expected transition that plays a key developmental role in early adulthood socialization. While respondents overwhelmingly identified the social expectation that individuals should leave home for purposes of self-development between the ages of 18–25, they perceived returning to live at home as an event that is more temporally flexible and determined by individual circumstances without age constraints.

#### van Gennep, Arnold. 1961. The rites of passage. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press.

A seminal text originally published in French as *Les rites de Passage* in 1909, van Gennep focuses on the rites of transition between childhood and adulthood, which exist across cultures. Social actors prepare children for and lead these ceremonies which hold crucial importance to the successful transition to adulthood in each society. Notably, van Gennep introduces the term "liminality" to illustrate the ambiguity and potential danger experienced by individuals at the threshold of adulthood, transitioning between stages.

#### Mid- to Late-Adulthood

Hagestad and Neugarten 1985 and Riley 1987 understand socialization as a process that continues throughout the life-course and is determined by social change and the succession of cohorts as they age. Works by theorists such as Schoon, et al. 2007 focuses on how earlier processes of socialization have later-in-life outcomes. Other works focus on how socialization processes beginning in later years still can have significant impact on individual beliefs, behaviors, and biographies; these include Burton and Bengston 1985; Brown and Rohlinger 2016; Neugarten, et al. 1965; and Schrock, et al. 2005.

# Brown, Robyn L., and Deana A. Rohlinger. 2016. The effect of political generation on identity and social change: Age cohort consequences. *Journal of Women and Aging* 28.2: 96–111.

Brown and Rohlinger review the outcomes of ongoing socialization and support through engagement in The Red Hat Society, a group for aging women that aims to reduce stigma around aging, support aging women's full integration into society, and eliminate stigma surrounding the aging process.

Burton, Linda M., and Vern L. Bengston. 1985. Black grandmothers: Issues of timing and continuity of roles. In *Grandparenthood*. Edited by Vern L. Bengston and Joan F. Robertson, 61–77. Beverly Hills, CA: SAGE.

Burton and Bengston present the experiences and consequences of off-time grandparenthood among women who become

grandparents in mid-adulthood. Relating age-based norms and socialization patterns associated with grandparenthood to the experiences of interviewees, Burton and Bengston explain that socialization processes may shape the patterning of early transition to grandparenthood in subsequent generational cohorts, as well as the norms associated with these roles.

Hagestad, Gunhild O., and Bernice L. Neugarten. 1985. Age and the life course. In *Handbooks of aging*. Vol. 3, *Handbooks of aging and the social sciences*. 2d ed. Edited by Ethel Shanas and Robert Binstock, 36–61. New York: Van Nostrand and Reinhold Company.

This handbook chapter reviews general social process across the life course. Although the authors highlight the importance of chronological age as an "indispensable index," they demonstrate that chronological age does not always correlate with biological, social, or psychological age, in part as a result of individual differences in development and socialization.

Neugarten, Bernice L., Joan W. Moore, and John C. Lowe. 1965. Age norms, age constraints, and adult socialization. *American Journal of Sociology* 70:710–717.

Neugarten, Moore, and Lowe first review the socialization processes that instill age-appropriate expectations through implicit and explicit norms, as well as through interaction with others. They then present findings from original quantitative research that demonstrate that, as respondents increase in age, they report an increase in adult socialization and an increased adherence to, and importance of, existing age norms.

Riley, Matilda White. 1987. On the significance of age in sociology. American Sociological Review 52.1: 1-14.

Riley presents an analytical framework of aging in a social context. This author explores scholarship about aging as a necessarily social process, and then places these pieces in dialogue with literature on how the flow of cohorts structures the stratification of groups and greater society.

Schoon, Ingrid, Peter Martin, and Andy Ross. 2007. Career transitions in times of social change: His and her story. *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 70.1: 78–96.

Adopting a life-course perspective, Schoon, Martin, and Ross investigate socialization, individual identity, social origins, and the development of individual agency from childhood through mid-adulthood as antecedents that determine educational and occupational outcomes.

Schrock, Douglas, Lori Reid, and Emily M. Boyd. 2005. Transsexuals' embodiment of womanhood. *Gender & Society* 19.3: 317–355.

Schrock, Reid, and Boyd present findings from qualitative interviews with trans women and their experiences with bodily gender transformation in adulthood, demonstrating how the embodiment of gender through processes of retraining, redecorating, and remaking the body is linked with generic processes of gender socialization.

#### **Contexts of Socialization**

Socialization may produce development trajectories that vary by social identities and across sociocultural contexts, argue the works van Lier, et al. 2005 and Park, et al. 2014. In a seminal article, Bronfenbrenner 1977 calls for a new research approach focusing on the embeddedness of humans in their environment, arguing they grow and interact with others in various formal and informal social contexts. Schneider, et al. 2010 recognizes that schools function as major sites of socialization, occurring within the organization as well as within students' relationships with school actors; these actors include faculty, students' parents, student peers, and the peer groups

formed among students. The following sections detail specific contexts of socialization relevant for understanding how specific contexts contribute to individuals' social development within societies.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie. 1977. Toward an experimental ecology of human development. American Psychologist 32.7: 513-531.

Outlining his case for examining socialization processes in and across different systems and settings, Bronfenbrenner delivers a set of definitions, propositions, and possible research examples designed to interrogate socialization mechanisms in the multilayered ecological environment.

Park, Heejung, Jordan A. Coello, and Anna S. Lau. 2014. Child socialization goals in Western versus East Asian nations from 1989 to 2010: Evidence for social change in parenting. *Parenting: Science and Practice* 14.2: 69–91.

Using three waves of survey data on parenting goals, Park and colleagues challenge the stereotypical assumptions that Eastern cultures embrace a collectivist socialization pattern while Western cultures embrace an individualist socialization pattern, highlighting class as a key moderating factor.

Schneider, Barbara L., Timothy G. Ford, and Lara Perez-Felkner. 2010. Social networks and the education of children and youth. In *International encyclopedia of education*. 3d ed. Edited by Penelope Peterson, Eva Baker, and Barry McGaw, 705–711. Oxford: Elsevier.

The authors explain the formation and consequences of students' social networks for their developmental and academic outcomes. Written for a broad audience, the article also provides guidance on relevant concepts and methods for network analysis.

van Lier, P. A. C., Frank Vitaro, Brigitte Wanner, Patricia Vuijk, and Alfons A. M. Crijnen. 2005. Gender differences in developmental links among antisocial behavior, friends' antisocial behavior, and peer rejection in childhood: Results from two cultures. *Child Development* 76.4: 841–855.

The authors review cultural differences in gendered antisocial behavior trajectories through childhood socialization in Dutch and French-Canadian culture.

#### Sociohistorical Contexts

Historical perspectives identify how childhood, adolescence, and early life transitions are socially constructed within social and economic constraints. Key texts include Elder 1980, Kett 1977, Mintz 2004, and Pollock 1983. Sociohistorical trends of industrialization, capitalism, and scientific exploration of parenting over the last two centuries have altered the meaning of childhood, particularly among more affluent families and societies. Today, Ariès 1965 and Hanawalt 1995 suggest children are often conceptualized as precious, pure, and in need of intensive care and intensive protection from societal threats. Zelizer 1994 shows how this conceptualization has varied over time, as has the economic value society places on children. Liechty 2003, Nisbett and Cohen 1996, and Nisbett 2003 illustrate how socialization processes vary globally, depending upon geographical and sociohistorical contests.

Ariès, Philippe. 1965. Centuries of childhood: A social history of family life. New York: Vintage Books.

Adopting a historical perspective, Ariès investigates the development of the institution of childhood within Western society from the medieval period to the 20th century. Socialization processes have been shaped by the social construction of childhood as a period of innocence and protection from the harsh realities of adult life.

# Elder, Glen H., Jr. 1980. Adolescence in historical perspective. In *Handbook of adolescent psychology*. 1st ed. Edited by Joseph Adelson. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Utilizing a life course perspective, Elder explicates how youth cohorts are organized and marked by the historical time, and shaped by individual and familial resources and social location. Youth cohorts are sites of socialization and role allocation during adolescence, serving as linkages between childhood life and preparation for future career and Family roles.

## Hanawalt, Barbara A. 1995. *Growing up in medieval London: The experience of childhood in history*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Synthesizing a variety of historical sources originating in the medieval period, Hanawalt describes how young people experienced childhood socialization in 14th and 15th century London, and how adults prepared their children for life and labor through strategic childrening practices.

#### Kett, Joseph F. 1977. Rites of passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the present. New York: Basic Books.

Kett reviews how new cultural understandings of adolescence developed across two centuries of American life. Sociohistorical and economic pressures introduced new contexts for adolescents to develop independence and preprofessional skills during the transition between youth and adult life.

### Liechty, M. 2003. Suitably modern: Making middle-class culture in a new consumer society. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Liechty uses ethnography to describe how the introduction of global capitalism shapes the socialization processes of young people worldwide, shifting goals toward Western ideals.

#### Mintz, Steven. 2004. Huck's raft: A history of American childhood. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

This historical text explains how American childhood has changed from colonial times to the present, seemingly goal-oriented, and socially constrained present day. While perhaps not as attentive to power, class, and race and ethnicity as suggested by its title's call back to *Huckleberry Finn*, this book nonetheless illustrates the considerable changes in childhood social contexts over a mere 300-year period.

### Nisbett, Richard E. 2003. The geography of thought: How Asians and Westerners think differently . . . and why. New York: Free Press.

Nisbett explores how Eastern and Western cultural thought processes differ as shaped by how children are socialized. While Eastern thought focuses on holistic overviews and change, he argues, Western thought focuses on categorization of objects. These patterns are reflected in how children learn to analyze the world around them, and have long-term effects on individual and social perspectives.

### Nisbett, Richard E., and Dov Cohen. 1996. *Culture of honor: The psychology of violence in the South*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Nisbett and Cohen illustrate how socialization of both men and women in the southern United States is shaped by the sociohistorical context of herding culture in the rural Appalachians. Socialized to participate in a "culture of honor," men learn to value and perform physical strength and violence to ensure self-protection and the protection of the community. Women help to uphold this pattern by socializing their boys to maintain honor and enforcing their husbands' compliance with this culture of honor.

#### Pollock, Linda A. 1983. Forgotten children: Parent-child relations from 1500 to 1900. New York: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Reviewing four hundred years of history, Pollock investigates whether the evolution of childhood was quite as drastic as previously theorized. Pollock provides details of child-parent interactions and socialization efforts with novel material, revealing a more optimistic and loving picture of childhood during this period.

### Zelizer, Viviana A. R. 1994. *Pricing the priceless child: The changing social value of children*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

First published in 1985, Zelizer richly describes the commodification of children as their ascribed legal and social roles have shifted over time.

### Family

The family is a site of multidirectional socialization processes, in which both parents and children are agents and recipients of socialization. Grusec 2011, Maccoby 1992, and Richters and Waters 1991 describe how, in asymmetrical parent-child relationships, children perceive and interpret parental behavior and interventions and experiment with taking control over their actions and development. Davidov and Grusec 2006 finds that early parental behaviors in reaction to child distress and warmth shape how young people are socialized, which in turn impacts how children empathize with their peers and how they are accepted into peer groups. Some empirical studies, such as Chin and Phillips 2004 and Lareau 2011, demonstrate how embodied and enacted cultural capital transmission within the family context reproduces social status hierarchies.

# Chin, Tiffani, and Meredith Phillips. 2004. Social reproduction and child-rearing practices: Social class, children's agency, and the summer activity gap. *Sociology of Education* 77.3: 185–210.

In their qualitative study of the summer activities of elementary school students, Chin and Phillips underscore the agency of children in the socialization process. Children can leverage "child capital" to intervene in parental decisions about student activities that promote learning, socialization, and development during out-of-school time.

# Davidov, Maayan, and Joan E. Grusec. 2006. Untangling the links of parental responsiveness to distress and warmth to child outcomes. *Child Development* 77.1: 44–58.

Grounded in a psychological approach to socialization, Davidov and Grusec explore how children's social outcomes and acceptance by their peers is predicted by parental responses to their distress and warmth during early childhood.

### Grusec, Joan E. 2011. Socialization processes in the family: Social and emotional development. *Annual Review of Psychology* 62.1: 243–269.

Grusec reviews how parenting, especially parental interventions and parent-child relationships, facilitates socialization within the family context. Socialization occurs within specific domains—namely, protection, reciprocity, control, guided learning, and group participation.

#### Lareau, Annette. 2011. Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life. 2d ed. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

Lareau's qualitative study of US black and white families from varied class backgrounds documents the consequences of the relative structuring of children's leisure time. Economically secure families used "concerted cultivation" strategies to develop children's talents, skills, sense of entitlement, and social position. By contrast, less economically secure families across race tended to use "natural growth" strategies with less oversight over social and skill development. This second edition extends Lareau's original research (2003),

examining the consequences for later life development.

Maccoby, Eleanor E. 1992. The role of parents in the socialization of children: An historical overview. *Developmental Psychology* 28.6: 1006–1017.

Emphasizing the unique asymmetry of parent-child relationships within the family as an arena of socialization, Maccoby identifies how parents facilitate and constrain child development through discipline, authority, and agile reaction to the behavior and needs of their children.

Richters, John E., and Everett Waters. 1991. Attachment and socialization: The positive side of social influence. In *Social influences and socialization in infancy*. Edited by Michael Lewis and S. Feinman, 185–214. New York: Plenum Press.

Richters and Waters review psychoanalytic and contemporary social learning and cognition frameworks of socialization and present a revision of Freud's child-parent attachment model, focusing on early life socialization in infancy and childhood.

#### Friendships and Intimate Relationships

Sociologists have long studied the formation and consequences of peer groups and romantic relationships during adolescence and early adulthood; such studies include Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954 and Bearman, et al. 2004. A pattern identified in Kandel 1978, Lazarsfeld and Merton 1954, and McPherson, et al. 2001, homophily is a phenomenon found to exist among adolescent friendships, and indeed friendship formation in general: individuals choose friends with whom they perceive shared traits, interests, and backgrounds. Joyner and Kao 2005 finds that the tendency of young people to choose same-race friends and romantic partners persists into adulthood, but has lessened slightly with sociohistorical shifts. Carpenter 2010 and Carpenter 2015 find that sexuality and sexual behavior has been explored as a product of, among other forces, socialization processes that continue across the life course. Some research on intimate friendships and romantic relationships, including Kandel 1978 and Bearman, et al. 2004, has focused on deviance, criminal behavior, drug use, and early sexual onset. Nevertheless, studies such as Giordano, et al. 2006 have produced meaningful insights into how these relationships function as sites for socialization, as have recent federal datasets better suited to such analyses.

Bearman, Peter S., James Moody, and Katherine Stovel. 2004. Chains of affection: The structure of adolescent romantic and sexual networks. *American Journal of Sociology* 110.1: 44–91.

This intensive case study examined adolescent romantic and sexual network structures, with an interest in the epidemiology of sexual disease transmission among peers.

Carpenter, Laura M. 2010. Gendered sexuality over the life course: A conceptual framework. *Sociological Perspectives* 53.2 (Summer): 155–178.

Through exploration of three key case studies, Carpenter reviews how accumulation of experiences and engagement in socialization across the life course continue to shape individuals' gendered sexual lives.

Carpenter, Laura M. 2015. Studying sexualities from a life course perspective. In *Handbook of the sociology of sexualities*. Edited by John DeLamater and Rebecca F. Plante, 65–89. New York: Springer.

In this handbook chapter, Carpenter covers the history of socialization and life course research on sexualities and presents a conceptual framework for understanding the development of sexual identity. In particular, she reviews how this process is shaped through the intersection of life course events and various demographic identities and experiences across a range of gender and sexual identities.

Giordano, Peggy C., Monica A. Longmore, and Wendy D. Manning. 2006. Gender and the meanings of adolescent romantic relationships: A focus on boys. *American Sociological Review* 71.2: 260–287.

Leveraging a symbolic interactionist framework and carefully sampled data on 957 adolescents engaged in heterosexual dating relationships (and a more intensively interviewed subset of one hundred respondents), the authors demonstrate how gendered patterns within these relationships can take unexpected forms. Specifically, the boys expressed less relationship confidence while reporting they wielded greater influence over their partners. This study suggests the need for further study of power dynamics within adolescent relationships.

Joyner, Kara, and Grace Kao. 2005. Interracial relationships and the transition to adulthood. *American Sociological Review* 70.4: 563–581.

Following national cohorts of US young adults in the early 1990s and early 2000s, Joyner and Kao demonstrate how while interracial relationships are more common among the later cohort, they remain less common among 22- to 25-year-olds as compared to 18- to 21-year-olds and less likely to persist to coresidential and marriage relationships.

Kandel, Denise B. 1978. Homophily, selection, and socialization in adolescent friendships. *American Journal of Sociology* 84.2: 427–436.

While particularly interested in the relationship between adolescent friendship formation and drug use, Kandel paved the way for further research into sociometric analyses of adolescent relationships, their development, and their consequences.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F., and Robert K. Merton. 1954. Friendship as social process: A substantive and methodological analysis. In *Freedom and control in modern society*. Edited by Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page. New York: D. Van Nostrand.

In a foundational study, Lazarsfeld and Merton examined friendship patterns—specifically, individuals' three closest friends—among residents in two communities as they pertained to attitudes toward racial integration.

McPherson, Miller, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and James M. Cook. 2001. Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology* 27:415–444.

The authors review homophily as a principle that constrains social interactions, relationship formation, and other socialization processes.

#### Education

Parsons 2008 analyzes how education systems serve as agencies of socialization. Perez-Felkner 2015; Perez-Felkner, et al. 2017; and Weidman 1989 emphasize how socialization processes occur within school settings and develop students' cognitive and career capacities with implications for later outcomes. Hidi and Renninger 2006 find that education processes develop interests in young people that motivate and support learning processes, while Kohlberg and Hersh 1977 shows that school actors, activities, and environments shape not only intellectual and academic development, but social, emotional, and moral development. Furthermore, Eccles and Roeser 2011 demonstrated the socializing roles of school and district organizational features and practices. Martin 1998 finds that early childhood education contains "hidden curriculums" of controlling bodily practices that shape them cognitively through gendered socialization. Socialization occurs across the educational life course, including in postsecondary settings. Stombler and Padavic 1997 finds differences in the resistance strategies learned by black and white women who had participated in otherwise similar extracurricular "little sister" programs. As demonstrated in Armstrong and Hamilton 2013, social class also conditions socialization in higher education and its pathways to opportunity.

# Armstrong, Elizabeth A., and Laura T. Hamilton. 2013. *Paying for the party: How college maintains inequality*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Press.

Drawing on their four-year study of over fifty women living in a residence hall at a Midwestern US public university, Armstrong and Hamilton explains the relationship between nuanced differences in women's socioeconomic backgrounds and their pathways through and out of college. In particular, their study highlights distinctions experienced among even the middle- and upper-class students, and how their relative advantages shaped their choices about participation in sorority life, college majors, and life after college.

### Eccles, Jacquelynne S., and Robert W. Roeser. 2011. Schools as developmental context during adolescence. *Journal of Research on Adolescence* 21.1: 225–241.

Eccles and Roeser organize their 2011 review of recent research adolescent socialization in education around key microlevel contexts of schooling: the classroom level, the organizational level, and the district policy level. While teachers' professional qualifications and personal beliefs shape teacher-student relationships and peer interaction, organizational environments and policies also establish and constrain expectations for academic performance, social interaction, and potential for differential treatment.

### Hidi, Suzanne, and K. Ann. Renninger. 2006. The four-phase model of interest development. *Educational Psychologist* 41.2: 111–127.

Hidi and Renniger emphasize that curiosity is a product of interactive socialization, and that the development of learner interest is broken into four key psychological phases that have affective, cognitive, and educational implications. The development of interest is situational and unlikely to occur outside of interaction with others.

#### Kohlberg, Lawrence, and Richard H. Hersh. 1977. Moral development: A review of the theory. Theory into practice 16.2: 53-59.

Despite cultural mores that emphasize the separation of school from church and Family, Kohlberg and Hersh identify the "hidden curriculum" of moral education in American systems of schooling that stresses obedience and discipline.

#### Martin, Karin A. 1998. Becoming a gendered body: Practices of preschools. American Sociological Review 63.4: 494-511.

Through observational studies in a preschool setting, Martin identifies how quotidian interactions among students and their teachers in the classroom serve as key mechanisms of socialization. Martin focuses on how a "hidden curriculum" of controlling bodily practices genders children and shapes their cognitive development. Through processes of dressing children up, formal and informal behavior requirements, controlling their voices, verbal and physical bodily instructions from teachers, and physical interactions between children, the body becomes a key site of gender socialization.

# Parsons, Talcott. 2008. The school class as a social system. In *Schools and society: A sociological approach to education*. 3d ed. Edited by Jeanne H. Ballantine and Joan Z. Spade. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

In this essay, Parsons illustrates how elementary and secondary school systems serve as agencies of socialization. As entry into formal education is typically a child's first experience outside of the family system, the school serves as a place where values are shaped by engagement with teachers and peers.

### Perez-Felkner, Lara. 2015. Perceptions and resilience in underrepresented students' pathways to college. *Teachers College Record* 117.8: 1–60.

Reporting on a three-year case study, Perez-Felkner details (1) the alignment between a school's social organization and explicit college transition goal (2) how this structure could be undermined should students experience negative relationships with their teachers or peers

or both, such that they believe these significant others do not regard them as having high potential, and (3) how these beliefs were associated with students' college transitions, independent of other factors.

Perez-Felkner, Lara, Samantha Nix, and Kirby Thomas. 2017. Gendered pathways: How mathematics ability beliefs shape secondary and postsecondary course and degree field choices. *Frontiers in Psychology* 8:386.

Perez-Felkner and colleagues examine how girls, socialized to associate science careers with men, hold lower ability beliefs about their mathematics skills, which in turn shapes their educational and career outcomes.

Stombler, Mindy, and Irene Padavic. 1997. Sister acts: Accommodation and resistance to men's domination in fraternity little sister programs. *Social Problems* 44.2: 257–275.

Stombler and Padavic explain how extracurricular engagement in a fraternity little sisters program serves as a socialization process that has differential outcomes across racial groups.

Weidman, John C. 1989. Undergraduate socialization: A conceptual approach. In *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research*. Vol. 5. Edited by John C. Smart, 289–322. New York: Agathon Press.

Weidman assesses the effects of components and characteristics of higher education institutions as socializing organizations in an influential and since reprinted chapter. Within his "Conceptual Model of Undergraduate Socialization," Weidman illustrates that resources, background and collegiate experiences, and reference groups vary across student demographics, and that these socializing mechanisms exert influences on students' socialization outcomes, including career choice.

### Community, Neighborhoods, and Work

Neighborhoods and communities physically constrain socialization processes, and their social and economic characteristics shape the shared values and behavioral expectations held by members. For example, Brewster, et al. 1993 identifies that private intimate behavior can be regulated by communities. Willis 1977 finds that preparation for the workforce and specific professions is also closely tied to socialization, including intergenerational transmission of social class patterns, from schooling into the labor force. Entry into particular occupations is shaped in part by processes of socialization. Austin and McDaniels 2006 finds that academic faculty careers are one such example of a field into which significant efforts could be made to prepare future faculty for success in the profession, and Bertrand Jones, et al. 2013 emphasizes how this is especially true for individuals from historically underrepresented groups in the profession. Indeed, Padavic and Reskin 2002 argues that workplaces serve as a key site of gender socialization throughout the life course.

Austin, Ann E., and Melissa McDaniels. 2006. Preparing the professoriate of the future: Graduate student socialization for faculty roles. *Higher education: Handbook of theory and research* 21:397–456.

The authors review extensive research on graduate student socialization for careers in the professoriate.

Bertrand Jones, Tamara, JeffriAnne Wilder, and La'Tara Osborne-Lampkin. 2013. Employing a Black feminist approach to doctoral advising: Preparing black women for the professoriate. *The Journal of Negro Education* 82.3: 326–338.

The authors make the case for leveraging faculty advisors and mentors to more effectively recruit and retain black women in academia, using black feminist perspectives.

Brewster, Karin L., John O. G. Billy, and William R. Grady. 1993. Social context and adolescent behavior: The impact of

#### community on the transition to sexual activity. Social Forces 71.3: 713-740.

In this article, the authors review how social and economic characteristics of the community impact adolescent sexual behavior, including the timing of and use of protection during one's first sexual experience. While a community structure may constrain resources, it also may serve as a site of socialization in which adolescents learn and adapt to social expectations. Socialization in this community structure can include transmission of expectations about normative sexual practices, life-course sequencing of Family formation, and the value and temporal ordering of Education, occupational pursuits, and parenthood.

#### Padavic, Irene, and Barbara Reskin. 2002. Women and men at work. 2d ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge.

Padavic and Reskin review social, historical, and cultural factors that contribute to persistent gender inequalities in the workplace, including processes throughout the life course that differentially socialize women and men for different occupational trajectories and unequal career outcomes.

#### Willis, Paul E. 1977. Learning to labor: How working class kids get working class jobs. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

In a classic but still relevant qualitative study of adolescent boys in Britain, class-specific practices and school disobedience was associated with socioeconomic labor inequality.

#### Traditional and Social Media

Modell and Siegler 1993 finds that media intentionally designed to improve social and cognitive development may not reduce inequalities between groups, unless designed to specifically target disenfranchised groups. McRobbie 1999 shows that popular or mass media has a broad socializing reach, communicating social norms and suggesting idealized consumption behavior. The mechanisms by which mass and–increasingly–niche media can act as socializing influences has been shifting dramatically, perhaps most notably in the domain of social media. Boyd 2014 documents how social media spaces include content from traditional media as well as virtual reproductions of traditional organizations and structures individuals occupy outside of the internet, such as classroom groupings, school alumni organizations, neighborhood clubs, and peers interacting online, with varying degrees of privacy and mediation from other peers and adults. There are well-founded concerns about the potential for bullying and other forms of victimization of vulnerable groups and children. Nonetheless, emerging research suggests social media can also serve as a transformational space allowing marginalized identities and communities to form, as well as corresponding social movements.

#### Boyd, Danah. 2014. It's complicated: The social lives of networked teens. New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press.

Arguing against the social panic about adolescents' social media use, Boyd leverages fieldwork methods to document and examine how young people develop civic and personal identity online.

#### McRobbie, Angela. 1999. In the culture society: Art, fashion, and popular music. New York: Routledge.

This book details the influence of popular culture on society, and in particular on young girls.

Modell, John, and Robert S. Siegler. 1993. Child development and human diversity. In *Children in time and place:*Developmental and historical insights. Edited by Glen H. Elder Jr., John Modell, and Ross D. Parke. Cambridge, UK:
Cambridge Univ. Press.

After reviewing research on health-based, cognitive, and socioeconomic outcomes of child development, Modell and Siegler discuss interventions designed to reduce intergroup differences in developmental outcomes, including the early impact of the Public Broadcasting System's television program, *Sesame Street*. Although this educational television intervention improved average

aggregate developmental outcomes of children exposed to the program, it was not effective at reducing the variance in educational outcomes among socioeconomically disadvantaged children.

### **New Directions in Socialization Scholarship**

The future of socialization scholarship remains vibrant as societies and those within them are constantly adapting to change. Perhaps more importantly, both theories and methodologies have been increasing in their sophistication, allowing for updates and revisions to some theories and investigation of prior theories with limited empirical grounding. Given considerable shifts in educational access from early childhood to higher Education, education serves as an example of how socialization research will continue to grow in the coming years. Notably, new studies on undergraduate socialization, such as Wang 2016, will be important to better understand how prior theories do and do not apply given a broader pool of students enrolling in community colleges, for-profit colleges, online learning, and even residential four-year colleges. Tensions remain about the purpose of education, even as inequality in the socializing experiences of schooling, as noted in Edwards and Few-Demo 2016; Gabay-Egozi, et al. 2014; and Wilkinson and Pearson 2009. Even in a globalized world with increasing cultural homogenization, relationships and institutions continue to be central contexts for social life. In fact, Small 2017 argues that when ideal relationships for social support are not readily present and accessible, adults seem to turn to those with whom they share mere weak ties—acquaintances—for guidance about how to navigate challenging professional situations. Both qualitative and quantitative methodologies have increased their rigor and potential to generate causal inferences, to connect socializing experiences with individual's life outcomes. Emerging research has been capitalizing on these innovations while also increasingly attending to broadening the diversity of socialization research to more accurately reflect human societies.

Edwards, Adrienne L., and April L. Few-Demo. 2016. African American maternal power and the racial socialization of preschool children. *Sex Roles* 75.1–2: 56–70.

This study explains the strategies African American mothers used to mitigate problematic racial messages received by their children in preschool settings, illustrating how Family and school contexts can offer distinct racial socialization experiences.

Gabay-Egozi, Limor, Yossi Shavit, and Meir Yaish. 2014. Gender differences in fields of study: The role of significant others and rational choice motivations. *European Sociological Review* 31.3: 284–297.

In a study of Israeli high school students, the authors found socialization from significant others highly predicts gender-typed course-taking choices.

Small, Mario L. 2017. Someone to talk to. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Small's study of graduate students and two thousand US adults surveyed online reveals a surprisingly high rate of adults—45 percent—seek out personal interaction and advice from those with whom they do not have a close relationship, rather than those with whom they have close ties.

Wang, Xueli. 2016. Educational expectations and progress of community college students: Does socialization matter? *Teachers College Record* 118.5: 1–32.

Despite the seeming robustness of Weidman 1989 (cited under Education) theory of undergraduate socialization, the theoretical model did not consistently predict community college students' educational outcomes.

Wilkinson, Lindsey, and Jennifer Pearson. 2009. School culture and the well-being of same-sex-attracted youth. *Gender & Society* 23.4: 542–568.

Using US national data, the authors find the degree of heteronormativity in school cultures bears consequence on the well-being of young people attracted to others of the same sex, with additional gender-specific effects pertaining to geography and religiosity.

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