Learning From Latinos:
Contexts, Families, and Child Development in Motion

Bruce Fuller
University of California, Berkeley

Cynthia García Coll
Brown University

Two generations ago, Latino children and families were often defined as disadvantaged, even "culturally deprived," by psychologists, social scientists, and pediatric researchers. Since then, empirical work from several disciplines has yielded remarkable discoveries regarding the strengths of Latino families and resulting benefits for children. Theoretical advances illuminate how variation in the child's culturally bounded context or developmental niche reproduces differing socialization practices, forms of cognition, and motivated learning within everyday activities. This review sketches advances in 4 areas: detailing variation in children's local contexts and households among Latino subgroups, moving beyond Latino–White comparisons; identifying how parenting goals and practices in less acculturated, more traditional families act to reinforce social cohesion and support for children; identifying, in turn, how pressures on children and adolescents to assimilate to novel behavioral norms offer developmental risks, not only new opportunities; and seeing children's learning and motivation as situated within communities that exercise cognitive demands and social expectations, advancing particular forms of cognitive growth that are embedded within social participation and the motivated desire to become a competent member. This review places the articles that follow within such contemporary lines of work. Together they yield theoretical advances for understanding the growth of all children and adolescents, who necessarily learn and develop within bounded cultural or social-class groups.

Keywords: cultural psychology, developmental theory, Latino children

A half-century ago, Latino families were set in stark relief against the White middle-class mainstream. The fixed personality traits of "Mexican" children allegedly stemmed from the (equally uniform) practices and cultural traits of their parents, typically cast as harmful deficits when compared with Whites. Scholars helped to legitimate popular conceptions of "culturally deprived homes" that turned out children who saw themselves as "more externally controlled," and took on fixed personalities infused with "mistrust, shame, and doubt" (D. Hunt, cited in Bettelheim, 1964, p. 2).

Families in New York's Spanish Harlem were adrift in what Oscar Lewis (1966) called a "culture of poverty," beset by uncaring parenting and moral decay. Out west in Los Angeles, the infamous zoot suit riots only confirmed that Latino teenagers faced the same inevitable fate of Black youths. Being raised in *el barrio* was just like growing up in the ghetto.

Yet after two generations of eye-opening research—unfolding alongside waves of Latino immigration and swells of upward mobility for many—much has been learned about child development inside Latino families. This review sets in context the articles that appear in this issue, framed by philosophical and scientific shifts witnessed in the academy and across American society since the 1960s. We emphasize how psychologists, pediatric researchers, and social scientists have described or built fresh explanatory accounts regarding the social structure of and features of individuals within diverse Latino families, how parents reproduce heritage practices that offer social cohesion for children and uneven adaptation to novel contexts and organizations, and the consequences for children's social and cognitive development, including how psychologists have come to see learning as situated in particular contexts, leading to provocative questions about the situational or universal causes and mediating processes of child development.

The roots of this revolution stem from the 1960s as well. While influential psychologists were embedding Latino families in the overarching culture of poverty, others were beginning to question the fixed nature of personality and the invariant traits of bounded and static "cultures." Bloom (1963) began to argue that children's early experience trumped the influence of allegedly fixed intelligence at birth. Freud and Erikson were losing ground to developmentalists who empirically detailed how parenting practices—varying among social classes, not only between ethnic groups—shaped children's "cognitive modes" and social-emotional growth (e.g., Hess & Shipman, 1965; J. M. Hunt, 1961).

A generalized Latino commitment to family obligation and respectful conformity, which contradicted developmental assumptions of individuation and autonomy under Anglo ideals, would soon be tied to corresponding learning styles of children (Laosa,

1980). The tacit focus of psychologists and social scientists remained on mounting a case that mean differences served to distinguish Latino and White children (or their parents), as opposed to examining individual or subgroup differences within complex populations.

But the presumably fixed and universal traits of individuals or their shared culture were beginning to yield to evidence on the plasticity of development and learning as a function of the multiple contexts—within and outside the family—in which Latino children participate and confront social groups that press particular cognitive, linguistic, and social-participatory demands (Ogbu, 1981; Zigler & Trickett, 1978). Risk factors were now understood as reproduced (or evolving) within economic and social contexts; they were no longer seen as properties of the individual child or family. This shift to dissecting the child's setting, along with the role of racism and class inequalities in conditioning parenting practices, has come to offer a more complete causal account of truly exogenous factors that shape child development (García Coll et al., 1996).

Recent discoveries reveal the resilient strengths of Latino parenting, even among families in poor neighborhoods, along with risk factors that undercut children's healthy development. The provocative question has emerged of whether acculturation to mainstream norms actually erodes the cultural assets and protective factors that benefit immigrant children (García Coll & Marks, 2009). Consider the recent finding that first-generation Mexican American mothers display the healthiest prenatal practices of any ethnic group, including Whites, as shown by strong nutrition and negligible use of alcohol and tobacco during pregnancy (Fuller et al., 2010). Or take Crosnoe's (2007) finding that children of Latino immigrants enter kindergarten with social skills and emotional well-being at levels that equal those of Anglo youngsters. It is well known that as second-generation adolescents break from family obligations or conform to peer norms in some neighborhoods, their school performance often begins to decline, compared with first-generation children (Fuligni, 2001; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002). These recent lines of work—advanced by the articles appearing in this issue—are sparked by productive collaborations across disciplines. They have exposed the limitations of normative and ethnocentric psychologies, still rooted in practices of middle-class Anglo families and a neoclassical conception of how the individualized child matures, irrespective of particular contexts.

Studies of Latino children continue to illuminate a widening range of home and peer settings that animate children's learning and social–emotional growth within the (porous) developmental niche. These human-scale contexts are lent order by the family's cultural heritage, home language, race, and social class. Comparative studies of parenting between ethnic groups have illuminated how children learn to become competent in colorfully different ways, mobilizing distinct sets of tools, symbols, language, and forms of participation. The involvement of parents in their child's early schooling, for instance, reflects a complex mix of heritage views regarding which adults are to explicitly teach the child, home language, and bicultural capital, as well as the practices of teachers and schools as they variably invite participation (García Coll et al., 2002).

As Herder (1966) postulated, "to be a member of a group is to think and act in a certain way, in the light of particular goals, values, pictures of the world" (p. 195). We now understand that the child's socialization—along with corresponding cognitive demands that signal competence—occurs within a particular group and bounded community. This is a remarkable conceptual shift from just a generation ago, when socialization was defined as the "habits, values, goals, and knowledge" that enable children to fit into a broad, ill-defined "society" (Maccoby, 1980, p. v). Still, social membership in groups is neither singular nor static for children and adolescents: They must learn to efficaciously adapt to situated norms and cognitive demands, whether those demands are pressed inside preschools, encountered when integrating with peers, or confronted in civic and economic settings (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Parents, too, confront a variety of contexts and external actors, which they attempt to buffer or adapt to. Latina mothers adapt their parenting practices, for instance, to how benign or threatening they view the environment to be, including neighborhood safety and racial discrimination (Johnson, Jaeger, Randolph, Cauce, & Ward, 2003; Sheinberg, 2003). As the child moves outside the family, starting with child care and preschool settings, she confronts both risks and the promise of wider learning opportunities. Inside the home, parents tacitly structure daily activities in which the child is apprenticed, observing and mimicking the norms and behavioral scripts that ensure a motivating sense of competence and membership.

Studies of Latino families continue to detail a textured structure of activities, routine forms of social participation, and cognitive demands. According to activity theorists (largely disciples of Vygotsky), everyday activity structures range from a steady dinner hour to sitting together with a book to regular church attendance (Hardway & Fuligni, 2006; Tudge, 2008; Weisner, 2002). Activities may include didactic teaching and formal performances in White middle-class families, but tacit learning through observation and mimicry of behavioral scripts is more frequently observed, invoking actions and symbols that demonstrate how the child becomes a credible member of the group (Rogoff, 2003). In turn, how researchers conceive of development and cognitive growth is now embedded in the particular structures of participation or alienation experienced by the child—a key discovery to which we will return.

Parents' culturally bounded practices—often penetrable and in motion over time—begin to shape the "practice-related mental states" of children (Shweder et al., 1998, p. 877). That is, the study of Latino children presses the question of whether the individual's cognitive schema and motivated actions can even be separated from the tacit norms, discourse conventions, and daily routines—the social media—through which development and learning occurs. "Thinking depends on features of the context, not just on the mental activity of brains" (Correa-Chávez & Rogoff, 2005, p. 7); culture in mind, as Wertsch (1985) puts it.

It is now known, for instance, that immigrant children's and adolescents' tight identity with their ethnic group often contributes to stronger engagement in school. At other times, when their primary reference group is made up of disaffected peers, their racially or ethnically cast identity may yield negative effects (García Coll & Marks, 2009; Rumbaut, 1994). Note that cultural psychologists no longer see the "minority child" as bringing fixed abilities or personality traits into a benevolent organization, like a preschool or elementary classroom. The child's motivated learning and experience of social participation is now seen as learned or

modeled across multiple contexts and early institutions. Parents certainly attempt to maintain stable activity structures in the home, such as socialization goals and normative behavior that stem from cultural heritage or novel forms in the surrounding community. But the Latino child, at times acculturating more rapidly than his parents, gains some degree of agency, negotiating layers of context that reach from the home to school and with peers. The child's developmental niche after toddlerhood extends into contexts over which parents may exercise limited control. The role of even young children in translating and negotiating novel contexts for their non-English-speaking parents offers one compelling example (Love & Buriel, 2007).

Next, we turn to four theoretical or empirical advances that inform our understanding of learning and development within culturally bounded contexts. These breakthroughs stem from the work of psychologists, pediatric researchers, and social scientists. They help to frame the new work that appears in this issue—ranging from how Latino children formulate their identity to socialization practices in the home to the cognitive and social assets that children bring to school.

Diverse Latino Families

Demographers and epidemiologists have detailed over the past decade various differences among Latino subgroups by national origin and social-class membership or generational status, home language, and related indicators of acculturation. One puzzle that has emerged is labeled the *epidemiological* or *immigrant paradox*. Health and pediatric researchers first revealed that several maternal practices and birth outcomes are quite strong for immigrants, then decline among second- and third-generation Latinos. Immigrant Mexican women, for instance, engage in healthy prenatal practices and breast feed their babies at higher rates than mothers in other ethnic groups. They give birth to healthy babies, although subgroup differences are apparent even after taking social class into account (Escarce, Morales, & Rumbaut, 2006; Kimbro, Lynch, & McLanahan, 2004). The infant mortality rate for Mexican newborns was lower than for Whites in 2000, yet the rate for babies of Puerto Rican descent was higher compared with Whites (National Center for Health Statistics, 2003).[1]

The immigrant paradox, first seen as favoring first-generation children across a range of developmental and school outcomes, is proving to be more nuanced: weak or strong depending on national origin, heritage beliefs and practices, and the specific reference group with whom adolescents (and parents) come to identify. Still, these paradoxical findings emphasize the power of children's sociocultural histories and local contexts, moving away from the study of individual differences in how children grow or learn with little regard for particular and multiple settings.

The social structure of Latino families varies across subgroups. The share of families that remain intact, headed by two parents, is comparable between Mexican American and White families but dips lower for families of Puerto Rican descent. Marital and cohabitation rates are declining among second- and third-generation mothers for most Latino subgroups, especially those in poor neighborhoods (Landale, Oropesa, & Bradatan, 2006). The early cognitive growth of children tends to lag behind when raised in larger families. This disadvantages toddlers and preschoolers in Mexican American homes, where an average of 2.4 children

resided in 2003, compared with 2.0 children in White and all other Latino families (Fuller et al., 2009).

Recent work illuminates how parenting practices and cognitive demands placed on young children differ among Latino subgroups. One study found that an index of mothers' preliteracy practices was almost half a standard deviation higher in the homes of English-dominant Latina mothers (often middle class), compared with the homes of Spanish-dominant mothers (Fuller et al., 2009). Galindo and Fuller (2010) explore class disparities in this issue, finding that social competencies of Latino children from poor families, as rated by kindergarten teachers, are significantly lower than for those from middle-class Latino homes, although variability in social skills within both subgroups predicts growth in learning during the kindergarten year.

Apprenticing for Competence: Parenting Goals and Practices

Psychologists and anthropologists have discovered much about the socialization goals and practices of Latino parents, which many times depart from those enacted by White parents. Investigators have linked these group differences to cultural heritage and contemporary acculturation. Much work remains in capturing the linkages between socialization goals and everyday parenting practices and how these differ between younger children and adolescents. This genre of work has emphasized the ethnotheories that parents hold that manifest ethnically bounded socialization goals as well as the cultural models or behavioral scripts they follow, often situated in daily activities.

Qualitative studies of parental goals, for instance, have repeatedly shown how families try to nurture a child who is *bien educado*, one who displays good manners, proper comportment, and respect for adults. Compliance with the authority of parents and the primacy of the family's interest (*familismo*) have surfaced as additional socialization goals, derived from the heritage culture (Hagunseth, Ispa, & Rudy, 2006; Parke & Buriel, 1998). Cultural models of parenting have been viewed as tacit schema or behavioral scripts, reproduced across generations, or contested and adapted to novel norms and practices as parents and children acculturate (Berry, 1980; Holloway & Fuller, 1997).

Recent work situates parents' socialization goals and practices within variably firm activity structures—the everyday routines in which children participate, largely but not exclusively located in the home. This line builds from activity theory, as derived from Vygotsky (1978), emphasizing how children acquire the necessary tools, language, and rules of social participation via taken-for-granted (but unevenly reinforced) activities with adults. This frame, advanced by cross-cultural studies of family practices, sees the child as acquiring the cognitive understandings and symbols that allow the child to become a credible member of the family (Cole, 1996; Tudge, 2008).

Activity structures can enhance or constrain a variety of cognitive skills. For example, Latino mothers report reading with their

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[1] Infant mortality rates for Black, Mexican, Puerto Rican, Central and South American, and (non-Latino) White infants equaled 13.6, 5.4, 8.2, 4.6, and 5.7 per 1,000 live births in 2000, respectively (National Center for Health Statistics, 2003).

toddlers or preschools less frequently than White mothers (Bradley, Corwyn, Pipes McAdoo, & García Coll, 2001). Livas-Dlott et al. (2010) detail in this issue how this activity competes with other routines, such as watching television, playing, and helping to prepare meals, among Latino 4-year-olds.

Cognitive demands aside, the form and regularity of daily activities serves to nurture a motivating sense of competence and belonging for the child, advanced by the emphasis placed on *personalismo* by many Latino parents (Cauce & Domench-Rodríguez, 2002; López, Correa-Chávez, Rogoff, & Gutierrez, 2010). Remaining engaged in family activities—as teenagers do when they attend family dinners or contribute to household chores—advances intersubjective understanding between parent and child of how obligation to the household's interests trump one's own preferences. Here, too, subgroup differences come into play: The particular social constructs, symbols, and cognitive tools required to participate meaningfully depend upon the language in which parents and children enact daily activities (García, 1983). Note how activity theory is also useful in understanding the child's socialization within White families. But how learning and social development occurs—through what forms of participation and infused with what particular cognitive skills—may be culturally distinguished.

In turn, the degree of normative cohesion reflected in activity structures helps to predict children's engagement and performance in school. The strength of adolescents' ethnic identity may operate in similar fashion. Umaña-Taylor and Guimond (2010) show in this issue that when parents highlight features of ethnic heritage and the family's primacy and fathers express greater warmth, adolescents report stronger membership in their ethnic group. In turn, this can boost achievement, depending on their affiliated group's norms regarding school engagement (Fuligni, Witkow, & García, 2005; García Coll & Marks, 2009).

Child Development in Layered Contexts: Neighborhoods and Reference Groups

Psychologists have long argued that "intelligence and the ability to learn are functions of the dynamic interaction between the individual and the relative richness of his early environment" (J. M. Hunt, cited in Steward & Steward, 1973, p. 329). The study of Latino families continues to specify social and psychological mechanisms through which the interaction of person and context unfolds within culturally bounded settings. This includes theoretical accounts and evidence regarding (a) how groups or formal organizations, operating outside the household, push into the child's developmental niche to condition or mediate parental effects; (b) how the family selects into social units (neighborhoods, churches, preschools, and peer groups) that diversify the settings in which children are raised; and (c) the extent to which multiple contexts operate differently for children and adolescents in shaping their cognitive or social development.

These efforts to specify how multiple contexts yield developmental effects are rooted largely in ecocultural theory, emphasizing how the social norms, language, and material facets of the developmental niche are shaped by the family's cultural heritage and novel norms and economic forms in the surrounding community (Harkness & Super, 1983; Weisner, 2002). The family seeks to raise their child in secure and culturally familiar ways, while adapting to the social ecology in which the developmental niche is situated. The study of Latino families has advanced ecocultural theory by illuminating how persisting heritage practices or language inside the homes of immigrants are confronted by novel norms and economic exigencies in the family's new surroundings.

Parents may exercise some degree of agency in selecting into certain neighborhoods or housing arrangements. But this is constrained by their social-class position and the supply of institutions that support children's health and development, set by political–economic forces that individual families cannot control (García Coll et al., 1996; García Coll & Marks, 2009). Indeed, the learning trajectories of immigrant children are shaped not only by parenting practices but also by the quality of the schools they attend. And schools vary in levels of racial integration, the intensity of surrounding neighborhood poverty, and the prevalence of violence—factors that help to explain the achievement of Latino students in the findings presented by C. Suárez-Orozco et al. (2010). Cultural practices that may support alternative modes of competency (e.g., focusing on social–emotional growth, not literacy skills) may fail to prepare the child and adolescent for the demands encountered in these high risk environments. A major question for future work is how to identify the crucial developmental competencies that allow for local membership and family cohesion while preparing adolescents for the wider society and labor market.

In addition, young Latino children may benefit more from preschool than peers from other ethnic groups, but the scarcity of high quality preschools is most severe within low-income Latino communities (Fuller, 2007; Loeb, Bridges, Bassok, Fuller, & Rumberger, 2007). Racial dynamics within neighborhoods also shape the extent to which parents prepare their children for or protect them from discrimination and harsh treatment (Johnson et al., 2003). A significant share of poor Latino parents move into middle-class neighborhoods, likely seeking healthier environments for their children.[2]

How peers shape the development and school engagement of adolescents is another field in which Latino studies are contributing to theory. These effects appear to be conditioned by neighborhood dynamics and wider racial formations. Ethnic enclaves and strong family bonds may encourage first-generation adolescents to achieve in school and to construct an identity that is insulated from the disaffected identities of peers in poor communities who struggle in uninspiring schools. But these protective factors tend to decline in strength for second-generation adolescents when their parents remain in poor communities, where risky behaviors and disengagement from school predominate (García Coll et al., 1996; C. Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2002; Zhou, 1997).

This influence of reference groups is conditioned by cultural and racial histories. One recent study found that Cambodian middle schoolers who reported stronger identification with their ethnic community outperformed their counterparts who held weak ethnic identity. However, for Dominicans who were phenotypically

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[2] In an analysis of birth-cohort data from the national probability sample of the Early Childhood Longitudinal Study, our colleague Sunyoung Jung (personal communication, S. Jung, January 10, 2010) has found that about one sixth of Latino families who fell below the federal poverty line in 2003 were residing in zip codes with median household incomes that exceeded the national average (the top two quartiles).

Black and attending predominantly White schools, the pattern was reversed. Identity is shaped further by youths' social or political commitments, as detailed by Diemer et al. (2010) in this issue. Again, developmental pathways can not be theoretically defined without considering the multiple contexts that children and adolescent must negotiate.

Learning and Development in Particular Settings

By observing the multiple home and neighborhood contexts in which Latino children are raised, new theoretical frameworks have emerged for how we account for human learning and social development in culturally bounded settings. A half century ago, normative psychology assumed that the newborn entered the world with fixed intelligence, acquired firm personality attributes, and entered benevolent educational institutions—a tidy neoclassical system for being socialized into an Anglo-centric cultural and economic mainstream. Individual differences were of great interest, not the particular settings or social groups in which children were nurtured. But as John and Beatrice Whiting wrote, "If children are studied within the confines of a single culture, many events are taken as natural, or a part of human nature" (cited in Cole, 1996, p. 2).

As cultural psychologists and social scientists observe child rearing and learning in bounded groups, we have discovered the varying socialization goals and cognitive demands placed on them. We have also discovered that cultural boundaries are permeable and mutating over time—especially as immigrant parents and their children enact heritage norms and practices and import novel cognitive tools and representations acquired through new social ties. So, children's learning and social cognition are shaped by how they are expected to participate—whether contributing to household chores, taking care of younger siblings, negotiating preschool, or going to work in adolescence to bolster the family's economic stability. Learning is motivated in part by the child's desire to feel competent in particular family or organizational settings, normatively structured around set social roles, tacitly learning what is required to become an efficacious member. As a toddler, this may involve sitting with one's mother to look through a picture book or indirectly observing how an older sibling is setting the dinner table. What is learned and the cognitive processing required stem from the structure of everyday activities and how the child is supposed to participate, a line of theory that is further advanced by López et al. (2010) in this issue.

Research with Latino children and families does not suggest that the physiological workings of the Latino child's mind or underlying cognitive maturation in a Piagetian sense differ from others. The cognitive processing capacities of Latino infants, not surprisingly, appear to equal those of other groups (Fuller et al., 2010). But differing mentalities do emerge as Latino parents bring forward their "cultural products of prior human activity" (Cole, 1996, p. 34) and blend heritage and novel practices in raising their children, at times struggling to negotiate quite foreign surroundings.

The fundamental cognitive processes through which Mexican children come to understand the subordination of their individual interests to those of the family or how to display being *bien educado* are shared by other groups. Yet it is the particular and tacit nature of cognitive representations and behavioral scripts,

which enable children to become competent members of a bounded group, that has moved how cultural psychologists and some developmentalists think about learning. As Shweder et al. (1998) wrote,

> Most developmental theorists, from Piaget and Vygotsky to Kohlberg, privilege the developmental process of becoming conscious or reflective. [But] much of social behavior is habitual and automatic . . . the difference between participating in the world and consciously deliberating about it. (p. 879)

The counterpoint is that the introduction of decontextualized knowledge results in fresh cognitive challenges and social expectations more typical of middle-class families and institutions. And becoming biculturally agile does appear to advantage Latino children and adolescents (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001; M. Suárez-Orosco, 2004). But this, too, requires distinct cognitive schemas, language, and behavioral scripts that pull from a bounded cultural heritage.

Methodological Developments

The papers in this section vividly display the range of methods that researchers now employ to learn more about Latino children and families. The field has become interdisciplinary in colorful ways. In the papers that follow, you will see the benefits of looking in on Latino communities through different windows, employing various analytic methods. You will see sophisticated quantitative methods that illuminate varying levels of social competencies among Latino subgroups, alongside controlled experimental settings that yield insight on how Latino children often learn inside homes or classrooms through peripheral observation of peers.

Perhaps three methodological advances deployed by scholars focusing on Latino children and other immigrant groups have most inventively advanced how we now investigate child development across various populations. First, anthropologists and cultural psychologists have extended ethnographic methods to understand the emic or subjective ways in which parents think about socialization goals, the cognitive demands pressed on children, and the uneven links between parenting beliefs and daily practices (Harkness & Super, 1983; Rogoff, 2003). Few developmentalists still naïvely cast White middle-class norms regarding socialization practices as somehow universally desirable in all communities. The frontier may lie in understanding how particular contexts may yield situated or more universal forms of cognitive or social–emotional growth.

Second, the small-scale contexts in which children and adolescents develop—with adult intentionality or not—have come to be clearly defined and measured, then related to a variety of child outcomes. A wealth of findings has emerged, for example, on the effects of preschool, including a recent focus on differential benefits experienced by Latino subgroups (Loeb, Bridges, Bassok, Fuller, & Rumberger, 2007). The structure of daily activities is now viewed as a pivotal level of analysis, uncovering a regularized set of cognitive demands and forms of social participation that the child experiences with adults and peers (Tudge, 2008; Weisner, 2002). Similarly, the varying peer groups that influence Latino adolescents among differing immigrant neighborhoods have been described, set alongside family influences, then linked to a variety of outcomes (García Coll & Marks, 2009). The often novel and

dynamic contexts in which Latino families attempt to nurture their children have resulted in a more textured differentiation of the social ecologies of child development.

Third, the advent and use of large-scale data sets by demographers, economists, and sociologists—now working alongside psychologists—has revealed the strength of heritage cultures and associated parenting practices. A generation ago, we didn't know that low-income Mexican American women display robust prenatal practices (Escarce, Morales, & Rumbaut, 2006), or that their children enter kindergarten with remarkably strong social proficiencies (Crosnoe, 2006). National probability samples with sufficient counts of Latino subgroups, along with sophisticated quantitative methods, have yielded such findings, prompting developmentalists to rethink the role of poverty and cultural heritage in shaping children's early health and development.

In short, Latino children are teaching researchers much about the situated dynamics of child development—especially the mechanisms through which particular norms, forms of participation, and requisite cognitive demands are pressed in multiple contexts. Much work remains to understand how Latino parents deploy heritage and novel practices to advance child development, and how their activities and practices differentially shape cognitive and social–emotional vitality. We are just beginning to learn how the multiple contexts of children and adolescents vary across Latino subgroups and how they rival or reinforce the family's influence. Ideally, researchers could capture the processes occurring inside the home—providing children with beneficial cognitive tools and engaging solidarity—and then observe how children carry these into other settings, like schools and peer groups. Some institutions, especially schools, often fail to recognize the social assets with which Latino children arrive, from respect for adults and vibrant social skills to serving their family by getting ahead in school. The articles that follow advance these theoretical accounts and empirical evidence for better understanding human development in culturally bounded contexts—a framework that helps to illuminate the growth of all children.

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