

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE SOCIOLOGY OF CHILDHOOD

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### Overviews of the Field

The sociology of childhood emerged in the 1980s as an effort to expand social, historical, and cultural understanding of children, childhoods, and age categories and relations. The field (which has close ties to the history and anthropology of childhoods) breaks with the assumptions of developmental psychology, and "socialization" frameworks, which cast children primarily as the next generation's adults, reproducing the social order. A schematic contrast of assumptions underlying each approach:

#### **Developmental Psychology**

Roots in biology; naturalizing of the child; tendency to universalize and to work within epistemological and methodological traditions associated with positivism.

Children framed in terms of a-historical "becoming" (adults-in-the-making), e.g. in theorizing stages of development and in viewing the present in terms of likely outcomes or "endpoints."

Starts with the individual and moves out to social and historical contexts, often in ways which sociologists find inadequate.

Tied to professional practice, e.g. child therapy, testing, pedagogy; -- tradition of making normative judgments

#### **Sociology of Childhood**

De-naturalizing of age and age relations; emphasis on the social construction of childhood (tied to constructionist views Of family, gender, race. Tendency to work within interpretive traditions of social research.

Attention to children as actors in the present and in historical, contingent time. Emphasis on children's agency and voices.

Starts with the social and moves from there to individuals. Emphasis on social relations, contexts, meanings, social structure.

Anchored primarily in the world of research -- cautious about making non-native judgments; action focused on politics and policy rather than intervention at the individual level.

*An aside about my softening attitude to this divide and about responsibilities for bringing (reconstructed) theories of individual development ("the ways in which persons change over time ") into more fruitful conjunction with sociological approaches:*

The "individual vs. society" dichotomy distorts both developmental psychology and the sociology of childhood, and more relational approaches are needed to transcend this disciplinary divide. After two decades of working from the tight-hand column, and lengthy discussions with various colleagues who are coming out of developmental psychology, I've come to believe that the sociology of childhood would be enriched if we attended more closely to several issues, which also would usefully be revisited by developmentalists if they attended more fully to sociological, historical, and cultural perspectives:

1. Sociologists work with anemic conceptions of "the individual" (e.g., as a placeholder in social structure, a role-player, a rational chooser); our analysis of "the social" would be enhanced by fuller understanding of "persons," with attention to individuality as well as shared patterns, and to the range and depth of human emotions (see Briggs, "Mazes of Meaning", below and Nancy Chodorow's forthcoming book, *The Power of Feelings*). We need to develop better conceptualizations of the mutual constitution of persons and contexts, and of the linked ways in which they change.
2. Sociologists pay remarkably little attention to persons changing over time, and to the ways in which these changes may not only reproduce, but also change social contexts and institutions. Under the auspices of the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on Pathways Through Middle Childhood, I am working with Hanne Haavind, a developmental psychologist, and John Modell, a social historian, to unfold some of these lines of argument.

### **Conceptual Overviews**

Allison James, Chris Jenks, Alan Prout, *Theorizing Childhood*. (Polity Press, 1998). A recent stocktaking and overview of the field; emphasizes social theory; excellent chapter on working children.

Allison James and Alan Prout, eds., *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*, 2nd ed. (Falmer Press, 1997). The authors' introductory chapter has been an influential statement. Includes an interesting article by Martin Woodhead on "Psychology and the cultural construction of children's needs" (some of the other chapters are mentioned elsewhere in this bibliography).

Chris Jenks, *Childhood* (Routledge - "key ideas" series, 1996). Philosophical overview of various ways of thinking about children by a British sociologist.

Diana Leonard, "Persons in their own right: Children and sociology in the UK," in Lynne Chisholm et al, eds., *Childhood, Youth and Social Change: A Comparative Perspective* (Falmer, 1990). Especially insightful re children and families, e.g., asking about the organizing effect of the occupation (and personality) of the household head on the lives of his/her children (e.g. the geographical location of parents' work may locate children in highly institutionalized environments such as army bases). Discussion of children's work and patterns of consumption.

Julia Brannen and Margaret O'Brien, eds., *Children in Families* (Falmer, 1996). Papers from an International Sociological Association conference designed to bring the sociology of childhood into fruitful conjunction with the sociology of families (a field where children's perspectives have been surprisingly absent). Useful introduction by the editors, focusing this challenge.

Jens Quorstrup, ed., *Childhood Matters* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1994). Essays by European sociologists who collaborated in a comparative study of childhoods (see

IV below). Among the papers: Judith Ennew, "Time for children or time for adults?"; David Oldman, "Adult-child relations as class relations"; and Ivor Frones, "Dimensions of childhood."

Enid Schildkrout, "Age and gender in Hausa society: Socio-economic roles of children in urban Kano," in Jean LaFontaine, ed., *Sex and Age as Principles of Social Differentiation* (Academic Press, 1982), pp. 109-137. An inspiring study of children as social participants who transport food and textiles between markets and households, and thereby facilitate the income-generating labor of adult female kin who are in purdah and avoid public places. The author poses a question-- what would happen to a particular social arrangement [other than its long-term extinction] if there were no children? -- which rivets attention on children's agency in sustaining institutions like purdah.

R. Stainton-Rogers and W. Stainton-Rogers, *Stories of Childhood & Shifting Agendas of Child Concern* (London: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992). The authors review different ways in which children and childhood have been and are "knowledgeed into being," e.g., by the stories of developmentalism, history, biosociology, constructionism, and discourses of "child concern" (e.g., about sexual abuse).

Barrie Thorne, "Re-visioning women and social change: Where are the children?" *Gender & Society*, 1 (1987): 85-109. Yer humble bibliographer's initial foray into this conceptual terrain, critiquing theories of socialization, calling for research on children as actors in a range of institutions.

William Corsaro, *The Sociology of Childhood* (Sage, 1997). The first textbook rooted in "the new sociology of childhood"; bridges to developmental approaches more than James and Prout, e.g., in Corsaro's theory of children's play and interaction as "interpretive reproduction." Gives overview of sociolinguistic and other empirical studies of children interacting with one another.

Arlene Skolnick, ed., *Rethinking Childhood* (Little Brown, 1976). Out of print, alas; a pioneering collection which traces earlier roots and which bridges to developmental approaches (e.g., Ruth Benedict's 1930's article "Continuities and Discontinuities in Cultural Conditioning"; Erik Erikson; Roger Barker's ecological psychology; Urie Bronfenbrenner; Mathew Speier's classic critique of "the adult ideological viewpoint" in studies of childhood; historical work by Joseph Kett and J.H. Plum; Berger and Hackett on the decline of age-grading in rural hippie communes; John Newson and Elizabeth Newson on cuiltural aspects of childrearing in England.

Robert Coles, *Migrants, Sharecroppers, Mountaineers* (Little Brown, 1971); *Privileged Ones* (Little Brown, 1977), *Children of Crisis* (Little Brown, 1977); *The Moral Life of Children* (1991). Coles, a psychiatrist began writing about children with an initial book (*Children of Violence*) based on interviews with African American children who integrated schools in the south. He has been a pioneer in bringing forth diverse children's experiences and voices, situated in specific social, economic, historical contexts and in conjunction with the voices of their parents.

The trappings of a new subfield: The Sociology of Childhood just became a full-fledged research section of the International Sociological Association, after several years as a working group. The American Sociological Association has a relatively

new research section on The Sociology of Children [note use of "children" rather than "childhood," the term preferred in Europe] *Childhood. A Global Journal of Child Research*, published by Sage, with editors from 4 countries, based at the Trondheim, Norway Centre for Child Research, is now in its 5th volume (I recently agreed to be the U.S. editor- glad to provide information). Even older is a JAI series (one issue a year), *Sociological Studies of Child Development*, edited by Peter Adler, Patricia Adler, and Nancy Mandell.

### **The History and Anthropology of Childhoods**

Philippe Aries started it all with *Centuries of Childhood* (Vintage, 1962); other very useful books include Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child* (Basic, 1985), on the turn-of-the-century shift, with child labor laws and compulsory public schooling, from a view of the child as economically useful, to "economically useless but emotionally priceless"; and John Gillis, *A World of Their Own Making* (Basic, 1996), a cultural history of the Western family "imaginary," including the sentimentalization of protected and domesticated childhoods.

Now, a century later, "the nature of the child" is again being contested, in part as the result of processes of globalization-- first and third world childhoods juxtaposed in cities like Los Angeles; images of street children, child soldiers, child prostitutes challenging Western images of the innocent, domesticated, schooled, and protected child, even as Disney and Nintendo become global in scope. The entry of more and more mothers into the paid labor force and challenges to the ideology of the traditional nuclear family with mothers caring for children full-time, has also led to increased anxiety about and attention to the nature of childhoods.

Sharon Stephens, ed., *Children and the Politics of Culture* (Princeton, 1995), includes an excellent introduction exploring the current crisis of representation of childhoods. The editor and many of the other authors are anthropologists; among the topics: the disappearance of childhood in contemporary Japan (Nortna Field); the examination war in South Korea (Hae 'oang Cho); the "inner child" obsession in the US (Marilyn Ivy); youth in South Africa (Pamela Reynolds; Njabulo Ndebele); children of the Turkish migrant diaspora in Germany (Ruth Mandel).

Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Carolyn Sargent, eds., *The Cultural Politics of Childhood* (Univ. of California Press, 1998), a collection of essays by anthropologists who have studied children/childhoods in the US, Ecuador, Japan, Israel, Canada, Portugal, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Jamaica, South Africa, England, Croatia, Brazil, Mexico. Central themes: negotiating parenthood and childhood; child survival; children and violence.

Note that anthropological studies of children and childhoods go back to Margaret Mead (e.g. Mead and Wolfenstein, eds., *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures* (1955), Erik Erikson and the culture and personality tradition; also the comparative studies, more positivist in nature, reported in Beatrice Whiting, ed., *Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing*; also see Jean Briggs, below.

### **Structural (Macro and Comparative) Approaches to the Study of Childhoods**

This approach has been most extensively theorized by a Danish sociologist, Jens Quortrup (see his article on "A voice for children in statistical and social accounting"

in James and Prout; Quortrup's introduction to *Childhood Matters*; and his essay in *Childhood as a Social Phenomenon* (Eurosial Report 47, Vienna), where Quortrup lays out basic premises, e.g.:

--Childhood is a particular and distinct form of any society's social structure, e.g., in contemporary western societies adults define children by placing them in schools and legally situating them as minors; childhood is sociologically speaking not a transient phase, but a permanent social category (whose organization changes historically and varies from society to society) --Childhood is an integral part of society and its division of labor and, like adulthood, it is shaped by macro forces such as political decisions and economic forces.

--Childhood is a classical minority category, subject to both marginalizing and paternalizing tendencies

--Children are co-constructors of childhood and society

Quortrup directed a cross-national research project on "Childhood as a Social Phenomenon," under the auspices of the European Centre for Social Welfare Policy and Research (Vienna), which resulted in national reports on children in Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Italy, England, Scotland, Israel, the US, Canada. (Reports include statistics on child populations; children's migration; children and parents' employment; childhood economies, including children's own money; dwelling conditions by age groups; children's activities, e.g., school work, paid work, daily duties at home, organized leisure, public day care; the legal status of children; children's health; distributive justice; children at risk.)

Other examples of research on childhoods from a macro perspective:

Donald Hernandez, *America's Children: Resources from Family, Government and the Economy* (Russell Sage, 1993).

Steven Kennedy, Peter Whiteford and Jonathan Bradshaw, "The economic circumstances of children in ten countries," in Brannen and O'Brien, eds., *Children in Families*.

Chiaro Saraceno, "The Social construction of childhood: Child care and education policies in Italy and the United States," *Social Problems* 31 (1984): 351-363. Italy and the US differ in extent of government intervention and the criteria used to single out groups with particular needs, resulting in differences in the perception of a normal child's experiences and in definitions of social rights. Families in the two countries employ different resources and encounter unique limitations in defining and satisfying their children's needs.

Judith Ennew, an anthropologist at the University of Cambridge, has organized a cross-national team of researchers who are developing a comparative political economy of "children out of place" (their term for "street children" and "working children"); this includes the use of participatory methods and an emphasis on the children's experiences. (See special issue of *Childhood*, vol. 3, no 2, May 1996.) This approach links the positioning and experiences of particular groups of children (e.g., those living on the streets in Johannesburg or working in factories in Bangladesh) with economic and political structures and changes; families, parents, schools are in the picture but the portrait is much larger, children are at the center, and there is a focus on political advocacy sensitive to the children's situated and

variable contexts. Related references: Jo Boyden, "Childhood and the policy makers: A comparative perspective on the globalization of childhood," and Benno Glauser, "Street children: deconstructing a construct," both in James and Prout, *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*.

Also see Roger A. Hart, *Children's Participation: The Theory and Practice of Involving Young Children in Community Development* (Earthscan Publications, 1997) for information about community-based development projects involving children as active participants.

## **Social Construction of Childhoods**

### **Studies of children's worlds, in the interactionist and ethnographic traditions**

Berry Mayall, ed., *Children's Childhoods: Observed and Experienced* (Falmer, 1994). Empirical studies of British children in school, home and urban environments; their use of television and talk about their viewing; and discursive construction of childhood in adult society (e.g., the "child's best interest" and "dependence" - including research on children's understandings of such constructs).

Berry Mayall, *Negotiating Health: Primary School Children At Home And School* (Cassell, 1994). Takes the accounts of 5 and 9 year-olds in London as starting points for studying how their health is maintained, promoted, damaged and restored at home and school; explores teachers' caring work, the lay health care system of the school, and interactions between parents and teachers on behalf of children.

There are many ethnographies of children's daily lives and interactions in schools, e.g., Philip Jackson, *Life in Classrooms*; Barrie Thorne, *Gender Play*; William Corsaro, *Friendship and Peer Culture in the Early Years* (preschool); Vivian G. Paley's books on a kindergarten class.

Valerie Polakow Suransky, *The Erosion of Childhood* (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1982) is a marvelous comparative ethnography of preschools in Ann Arbor with different philosophies, daily practices, and, in effect, different constructions of what children need (practices often depart from stated beliefs).

Joseph J. Tobin, David Y. H. Wu, and Dana H. Davidson, *Preschool in Three Cultures: Japan, China, and the United States* (Yale, 1989). An ethnographically based comparison.

Children's interactions in neighborhoods (a much smaller literature), e.g., Marjorie Harness Goodwin, *He-Said-She-Said: Talk as Social Organization Among Black Children*; [this terrific book is also an example of a flourishing tradition of sociolinguistic research done with children- with a skew towards studying children's arguments; another example, Douglas Maynard, "On the functions of social conflict among children," *American Sociological Review*, 50 (1985): 207-223].

Ethnographic research on children in public places (e.g., their status as non-persons): Spencer Cahill, "Childhood and public life: Reaffirming biographical divisions," *Social Problems* 37 (1990):390-402; "Children and civility: Ceremonial deviance and the acquisition of ritual competence," *Social Psychology Quarterly* 50 (1987): 312-321.

Research on children's folklore and play, starting with the Iona and Peter Opie , who initiated a tradition of taking children seriously and recording their rituals, lore, and games; Brian Sutton-Smith has done extensive writing on children's folklore; a detailed review of studies and theories of children's play:

### **Geographies of childhoods**

Roger Hart, *Children's Experiences of Place* (Irvington, 1979). A pathbreaking, close-up study of children's uses and experiences of space in a New England village -- hideouts; spatial ranges; dangerous and comforting places; boys had twice the spatial range of girls of the same age.

Cindi Katz, "Growing girls/closing circles: Limits on the spaces of knowing in rural Sudan and US cities" in Cindi Katz and Janice Monk, eds., *Full Circles: Geographies of Women Over the Life Course* (Routledge, 1993). A comparative study showing that in both the Sudan and the urban U.S. shifts in the configuration of households can have dramatic effects on children's access to environments; restrictions on girls' mobility is rooted in social codes which control access to the female body; girls' relative lack of experience with the environment compared with boys is a form of deskilling with enduring implications. Children in rural Sudan had more extensive immediate world than their counterparts in many urban areas in the US.

Lia Karsten et al, *Building Identities: Gender Perspectives on Children and Urban Space*, concluding report of International Conference held in April 1995 in Amsterdam. Topics include the gendered use of space and time; children on the move; children's experiences of neighborhoods and schools; the society of street children; urban planning and children's participation.

### **Research on children's uses of time**

Elliott Medich et al, *The Serious Business of Growing Up: A Study of Children's Lives Outside School* (Univ. of Calif., 1992). Based on a survey of fifth graders in Oakland; useful information.

### **Empirical studies of children as participants in processes of caregiving**

(Not just as receivers, but also as givers of care and as focal to chains and processes of care and interdependence; note the value of honing abstract concepts through situated and concrete empirical research).

Nfiri Song, "Helping Out': Children's labor participation in Chinese take-away businesses in Britain," in Brannen and O'Brien, eds., *Children in Families*. A terrific ethnographic study of children's contributions to a family business, and how they conceptualize it- "helping out" as opposed to "work" implies willingness to contribute one's labor, without clear boundaries; children sometimes accepted payment because they realized it was one of the only things their parents could give them- parents had little time to take them on family outings. Gets at ambivalence and tension.

Jean Doyle, "Helpers, officers, and lunchers: Ethnography of a third-grade class," in *The Cultural Experience*, ed. by Spradley and McCurdy. "Helpers" (e.g., "door captains", "lavatory captains," 64 messengers") are examples of institutional practices to enlist children in cycles of care and control.

Marianne Gullestad, "Children's care for children," ch V of *The Art of Social Relations* (Scandinavian Univ. Press, 1992). On the "passepike," Norwegian girls ages 9 to 15 who regularly, for a fee, take care of a small child between 3 and 5 o'clock in the afternoon -- an institutionalized role within the larger activity system of childcare. Includes an analysis of "chains of care" which also includes mothers, grandmothers, mother's female friends.

Bluebond-Langner, M. *The Private Worlds of Dying Children* (Princeton, 1978). A study of terminally ill children in a leukemia ward and the ways they made sense of the hospital context; even when they understood their own fate, the children didn't reveal it to their parents, since they saw how worried they were and didn't want to burden them further.

Alan Prout, "Sickness as a dominant symbol in life course transitions," *Sociology of Health and Illness* 11(1989): 336-59. Includes a discussion of how boys and girls respond to the illness of their peers-- girls with care and concern, e.g., visiting sick friends at home; boys understanding illness as competitive weakness. Also by Prout, "'Off school sick': mothers' accounts of school sickness absence," *Sociological Review* 36 (1988): 765-789. Interviews used to examine the process of mothers negotiating sickness claims with children, categorizing children as "pretending," "upset," or "really ill" [note that children have their own experiences of this process.] And "'Wet children' and 'little actresses': Going sick in primary school," *Sociology of Health and Illness* 8 (1986): 111-136. How school staff handle children's claims on sickness and staffs' typifications of child-rearing practices of parents.

Pia Christensen, "The social construction of help among Danish children," *Sociology of Health and Illness* 15 (1993): 488-502. An ethnographic study of Danish primary school children during episodes of sickness and minor accidents; includes a discussion of how children give help to others. Also discusses time and tempo; children and adults may work with different temporal frameworks.

Elise Boulding, "The nurture of adults by children in family settings," in Helena Lopata, ed., *Research in the Interweave of Social Roles: Women and Men*, vol. 1 (1980): 167-189 (Jai Press). Boulding interviewed U.S. college students about memories of having given aid and nurturance to their parents. Discussion of empathy as the basis for child-adult relations.

### **Growing up as a social process**

("Needs" and "rights" as socially constructed, negotiated, shifting over life course/biographical and historical time.)

Hanne Haavind, a Norwegian developmental psychologist, has developed a relational perspective on the process of growing up, with empirical research on parents' balancing of demands and protection, and children's negotiations of autonomy. She seeks to transcend the "individual vs. context" dichotomy and normative assumptions which obscure multiple trajectories of development, and she gathers detailed data through "life mode interviews" with children as well as adults (she found that 4 and 5 year-old Norwegian children tend to think they are changing by themselves, whereas their parents talk about varied strategies for "developing" their children. Among her articles: Hanne Haavind and Agnes Andenaes, "When parents are living apart: Challenges and solutions for children

with two homes," in Amlaug Leira, ed., *Family Sociology, Report no. 5*, Institute for Social Research, Oslo.

Ann Solberg, "Negotiating Childhood: Changing constructions of age for Norwegian children," in James and Prout, *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*. On children's active negotiation for greater autonomy; "social age" (when a child seems and feels older or younger).

Julia Brannen, "Discourses of adolescence: Young people's independence and autonomy within families," in Brannen and O'Brien, *Children in Families*. A study of young people's transition from childhood to adulthood in Britain; different social constructions of adolescence held by parents and by their 16 year-old children, and negotiations between them. Parents' worry taken as a sign of caring.

Pat Allatt, "Conceptualizing parenting from the standpoint of children: Relationships and transition in the life course," in Brannen and O'Brien, *Children in Families*. On micro-transitions within the domestic domain in children's uses of time, access to money, allocation of space, transfer of responsibilities; children's concern with the principle of fairness re parent treatment of siblings.

Robert Dingwall et al., *The Protection of Children: State Intervention and Family Life*, (Blackwell, 1983). A detailed empirical study of the interactions of health workers, social workers, teachers, doctors, police, and judges as they handle reports of family ill-treatment of children in England.

**Psychoanalytically-inspired research on the "constitution" (deep emotional shaping) of children through intense social relations with parents and others, in specific cultural contexts.**

Jean Briggs, *Inuit Morality Play: The Emotional Education of a Three-Year-Old* (Harvard, 1998). An inspiring example, which weaves a dialectic between culturally shared "ways of being" and the unique nature of "persons" (and which reaches to children's subjectivities and actions). Also see Briggs, *Never in Anger: Portrait of an Eskimo Family* (Harvard, 1980). And for an evocative conceptual statement, "Mazes of Meaning: How a Child and a Culture Create Each Other," in W.A. Corsaro and P.J. Miller, eds., *Interpretive Approaches to Children's Socialization* (Jossey-Bass, 1992).

[See Nancy Chodorow for further references.]

David Sibley, "Families and domestic routines: Constructing the boundaries of childhood," in Steve Pile and Nigel Thrift, *Mapping the Subject* (Routledge, 1995). (Uses object relations theory to examine the ways children experience the contexts of home, including objects as well as spaces and social relations.)

**The discursive construction of various types of children and childhoods**

Valerie Walkerdine, *Schoolgirl Fictions* (Verso, 1990). Walkerdine theorize the discursive regulation of children, e.g., "the child" of progressive pedagogy -- implicitly a boy who is "developed" via the work of women (mothers and teachers of young children), leaving girls in a contradictory position; the discourse of the sexualized schoolgirl, whose childhood is a sign of her enticing eroticism (one of the author's great phrases: "gender is a fantasy and fiction which is lived as fact.") In an analogous vein, Frigga Haug (*Female Sexualization: A Work of Memory*) and

her collaborators in Germany developed a technique they call "memory work" -- sharing memories, photos, personal writing -- to uncover childhood experiences of eroticized embodiment, e.g., in experiences of hair and legs.

Bronwyn Davieg, *Frogs and Snails and Feminist Tales* (Allen & Unwin, 1989). Combines poststructuralist theory with ethnography in a preschool, to study the ways in which children make sense of feminist children's books; *Shards of Glass* (1993) is a sequel, reporting on interactions with children urging them to speak and write in ways which will disrupt the male/female dualism.

Leslie Margolin, *Goodness Personified: The Emergence of Gifted Children* (Aldine, 1994). A historical and ethnomethodological study of a discourse and set of practices relating to "gifted education," which has propagated social inequality among children. Shows experts have helped to create the very realities they study, and (in a more Foucaultian vein) another example of the reification of types of children.

Joel Best, *Threatened Children: Rhetoric and Concern about Child-Victims* (Chicago, 1990). Analyzes the contemporary image of threatened children (child abuse, incest, molestation, sadism, pornography) and the rhetoric of experts and the media which raises public anxiety. (The effects on the positioning and experiences of children include a striking diminishment in their spatial autonomy.)

There is also a literature on representations of children and childhood in art and in popular culture. An engaging essay which elaborates and also takes on Afies regarding representations of children in European art: Peter Fuller, "Uncovering Childhood" in Martin Hoyles, ed., *Changing Childhood* (1979).

On popular culture, Ellen Seiter, *Sold Separately: Parents and Children in Consumer Culture*, (Rutgers, 1993); Stephen Kline, *Out of the Garden: Toys and Children's Culture in the Age of TV Marketing*, (Verso, 1993); and Lynn Spigel, "Seducing the innocent: Childhood and television in postwar America," in W.S. Solomon and R.W. McChesney, eds., *Ruthless Criticism* (U of Minn., 1993).

Henry Jenkins, ed., *The Children's Culture Reader*, (NYU Press, 1998). A collection of previously published articles (by historians, anthropologists, sociologists, folks in cultural studies and literature) organized under the topics of childhood innocence; childhood sexuality; child's play; family in crisis; children at war; popular culture and the family; freedom and responsibility; the permissive family.

### **Methodological reflections**

Anne Solberg, "The Challenge in child research: From 'being' to 'doing,'" pp 53-65 in Brannen and O'Brien, *Children in Families* (see 1). A thoughtful series of reflections on the difficulty of seeing children's work; "ignorance of age" as a research technique; and interviewing children by approaching them as equals (vs., e.g., Nancy Mandell, "The least-adult role in studying children," *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 16 [1988]: 433 -467.)

Gary A. Fine and K. L. Sandstrom, *Knowing Children: Participant Observation with Minors* (Sage, 1988). Useful review of literature; see Solberg for astute criticisms of some of their assumptions.

Michele Moore, Judith Sixsmith, and Kath Knowles, *Children's Reflections on Family Life* (Falmer Press, 1996). The authors quote extensively from open-ended interviews with English children, living in diverse family circumstances, talking about their daily experiences of family life. Includes useful reflections on the challenges and ethics of gathering children's accounts of their personal lives.

John Modell, "The Uneasy Engagement of Human Development and Ethnography," in Richard Jessor, Anne Colby, and Richard Shweder, eds., *Ethnography and Human Development*, (Chicago,1996). An insightful essay on the tensions between "the characteristic scientism of American work in child development" and the interpretive approaches used by ethnographers. Modell, who has long bridged these terrains, discusses some of the lures and tensions which emerge when ethnographers and developmentalists dialogue with one another.

An international bibliography in the sociology of knowledge. Ca. 1000 entries.Â Language and Literature in Society: A Sociological Essay on Theory and Method in the Interpretation of Linguistic Symbols, with a Bibliographical Guide to the Sociology of Literature. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. 262 p.â€Neither much methodology nor accurate facts on specific types of society: philosophical considerations on the social dimension of literature as a symbolic activity. Makes use of noncritical, essentialistic categories: "Literature as magical art," "Literature as make-believe," "Democratic society" (the author's basic sociolog...