

# In the Eyes of the Beholder: Cultural Considerations in Interpreting Children's Behaviors

*J*aviero loves coming to his Head Start program. However, he is not able to do many things independently. For example, he holds back and waits for the teaching assistant to help him eat during lunchtime and then dress him to go outside for outdoor play. Javiero is also not fully toilet trained. His teacher notes that Javiero's grandmother is very attentive to him when she comes to pick him up, being quick to clean and pack his bag for him. When encouraged to let Javiero get ready himself, his grandmother is quick to respond that she loves to take care of her baby. His teachers feel that he needs to be evaluated for potential delays.

*At circle time, Eloni refuses to look up at the teacher when she asks him a question. He rarely initiates contacts with adults even though he seems happy and plays appropriately with the other children at preschool. His teacher is concerned that he is too shy and withdrawn. She consults with another preschool teacher who points out that based on her experience with this family, she believes that Eloni is showing respect for the teacher by not looking her in the eye; he is behaving properly as he has been taught in his community and valued by his family.*

*Destiny's teacher, Miss Amanda, describes her as a "little*

*live wire."* She observes that Destiny usually sasses back when asked to put the toys away, and Destiny often interrupts the other children and bosses them around in the play area. Miss Amanda makes an appointment to talk with Destiny's mother about this troubling aggressive behavior and the need to develop a behavior plan. Destiny's mother is a bit taken aback and indicates that she wants Destiny to be able to stand up for her rights and take care of herself.

Javiero, Eloni, and Destiny all display behavior that is of concern to their teachers, leading them to ponder referral for further evaluation and the need for planned interventions. Yet, the families of these children are proud of them and cannot understand why the teachers want to single their child out for additional behavioral assessments and supports. No one is right or wrong in these scenarios. Rather they are interpreting the same behavior through different lenses. For early education teachers, an important charge is to help children grow and learn with a strong focus on facilitating social-emotional development. This includes supporting behaviors that contribute to

## **Amber Friesen, PhD**

San Francisco State University

## **Marci Hanson, PhD**

San Francisco State University

## **Katrina Martin, PhD**

UNC Carolina Institute for Developmental Disabilities

DOI: 10.1177/1096250614535222

<http://yec.sagepub.com>

© 2014 Division for Early Childhood

“  
The term diversity can be applied to variety of dimensions within a child and family's life including racial and ethnic differences, languages, socioeconomic structure, family structure, and ability level (p. 2).  
”

. . . the developing capacity of the child from birth through 5 years of age to form close and secure adult and peer relationships; experience, regulate and express emotions in socially and culturally appropriate ways; and explore the environment and learn—all in the context of family, community and culture. (Yates et al., 2008, p. 1)

In supporting this growth, early educators identify and intervene in behaviors that are seen as challenging this development. This can include behaviors that interfere with a child's ability to learn and participate meaningfully in classroom activities, harm others, and/or put that child at risk for later school failure (Brown, Odom, & McConnell, 2008; Kaiser & Rasminsky, 2011).

Many families are likely to have similar goals for their children's social-emotional development; they may place emphasis on different behavioral expectations for young children. While behavior outside established norms might be deemed challenging and problematic in the early childhood classroom, it may be accepted and encouraged within a child's family or community context, such as in the cases of Javiero, Eloni, and Destiny. For example, while some families may focus on children's overall happiness and abilities to socialize and play well with others, others may emphasize politeness and showing respect to elders, advocating and standing up for one's self, and/or doing one's best to learn new academic skills. Consideration of a child and family's cultural practices and values is key for early educators to make respectful and informed decisions regarding behavioral supports and interventions (Division of Early Childhood, 2010; Santos, Cheatham, & Duran, 2012).

The purpose of this article is to consider the role of cultural diversity in how young children's behavior may be interpreted and deemed challenging within early education settings. First, we examine the growing diversity of young children and their families in the United States. Second, we discuss the role of a family's culture in creating behavioral expectations for young children. Last, we include questions and strategies for early educators to consider as they strive for effective, culturally sensitive, and respectful strategies to support children's social-emotional development.

## Diversity of Young Children and Their Families

The adage that no two children are alike has never been more appropriate when considering the current population of the United States. In 2011, there were 73.9 million children living in the United States, 1.5 million more than in 2000 (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2012). Within this growing population, there is great diversity. The term *diversity* can be applied to a variety of dimensions within a child and family's life including racial and ethnic differences, languages, socio-economic structure, family structure, and ability levels. It is important to note that there are not certain children, families, or groups of people that are diverse; rather the population is diverse, and as individuals we all vary on many dimensions. While we cannot fully capture the richness of the diversity that early educators may see within their classroom, in the following we describe certain aspects of diversity

found in the current population of the United States.

In terms of racial and ethnic demographics, the U.S. Census Bureau (2011) identified this national distribution: Whites, non-Hispanics (63.7%), Hispanics/Latinos (16.2%), African Americans/Blacks (12.2%), Asians (4.7%), American Indians and Alaskan Indians (1%), and Native Hawaiians/Other Pacific Islanders (<1%). It is projected that by 2023, less than half of all children will identify as Whites, non-Hispanics, and by the year 2050, 39% of children are expected to identify as Hispanics/Latinos (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2012).

Diversity can also be considered in terms of the languages spoken by a child and his or her family. As many as 381 languages other than English are spoken within homes in the United States, the most common languages being Spanish and Chinese (Shin & Kaminski, 2010). In 2010, 22% of children spoke a language other than English in their home, up from 18% in 2000 (Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics, 2012). In 2011, Head Start reported that approximately 30% of the 1,142,000 children and pregnant

women served were from families that primarily spoke a language other than English at home ("Head Start Program Facts," 2011).

The socio-economic status of a child's family also influences the expectations and priorities a family holds and is therefore another important type of diversity when considering behavior. In 2011, 21.9% of individuals younger than 18 in the United States were growing up in poverty, defined as US\$22,350 per year for a family of four (DeNavas-Walt, Proctor, & Smith, 2012; U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2012). Growing up in poverty can effect all aspects of a child's development and can affect their future success in school and life (Duncan & Magnuson, 2011; Hanson, 2013b). The gap between those living "with" and "without" continues to grow within the United States. In 2008, the richest 10% of U.S. households received 48.2% of the nation's total income, while the bottom 90% of households had the largest single-year drop in income since 1938 (Children's Defense Fund, 2011).

Early educators have the opportunity to work with young children and their families that are likely representative of the growing diversity within the country. In the following section, we contemplate the role of a family's cultural context in creating behavioral expectations for young children.

## The Role of Culture in Fostering Behavioral Expectations for Young Children

The complexity of individuals' cultural diversity influences the



“  
An understanding of  
parental views is essential  
for other caregivers  
and educators in order  
that they can jointly  
support the child's  
early learning, including  
social-emotional  
development.”

perceptions, interactions, and priorities they hold as important. Within their families and community, young children learn and develop, adopting the cultural expectations of these contexts. Super and Harkness (1986, 2002) describe the concept of the “developmental niche” that includes all the components of the child’s “culturally constructed” environment. These interacting subsystems include the physical and social setting in which children grow and learn, the customs and practices in the care settings, and the parents’/caregivers’ views (or ethnotheories) of the child and of development.

An understanding of parental views is essential for other caregivers and educators in order that they can jointly support the child’s early learning, including social-emotional development. Harkness and colleagues (2010) note that these “parental ethnotheories” or parents’ cultural beliefs/models manifest implicitly and are often taken for granted. These views influence how parents help their children grow up and become members of the family’s community. These researchers documented considerable variation in parental beliefs and child-rearing practices even among groups of mothers from five different cultures. For example, mothers assigned differential importance to their children’s early learning. While American and Korean mothers were more likely to talk about the importance of providing stimulation to prompt brain development and learning, Spanish and Italian mothers emphasized the significance of social interaction.

Attention to cultural influences is essential when considering the developmental milestones one expects and values in young children

such as appropriate behaviors. Spicer (2010) used survey methodology to examine racial and ethnic differences on several dimensions including families’ parenting beliefs and understandings of children’s milestones. The findings revealed differences between Whites, African Americans, and Hispanics/Latinos groups with respect to parenting behavior such as enforcing rules, comforting the child in distress, talking about feelings, understanding child emotions, and encouraging child persistence. Differences across groups also were found regarding social-emotional developmental expectations regarding behaviors such as turn-taking and controlling their anger. Likewise, cultural differences were noted on skills parents believed were essential for school readiness such as the ability to show respect for adults, and the ability to sit still and pay attention.

The findings of these studies demonstrate how culturally laden expectations and understanding regarding child development can be. Similarly, it exemplifies how varying notions of appropriate and challenging behaviors can be constructed. Consider the examples of the three children at the beginning of this article. While Javiero’s lack of self-help skills may be seen as indicative of a lack of self-awareness and independence within the early education classroom setting, this same behavior is likely to meet the expectations of his family and community for young children to demonstrate dependence on their caregivers. Eloni’s lack of both verbal and non-verbal communication with adults may be viewed as signs of disengagement or lack of confidence but viewed as a demonstration of respect and

**Table 1**  
**Cultural Considerations When Observing "Challenging" Behavior in Young Children**

Observed "challenging" behavior	Cultural considerations
Demonstrates lack of independence and self-help skills	Family and community may value dependence behavior in young children and desire to help the child through these activities rather than expect independent behavior.
Makes only limited or no eye contact particularly with adults	Eye contact with teachers and adults may be considered disrespectful and inappropriate for a young child.
Rarely expresses own opinion or speaks up	Children may be expected to "be seen and not heard"; they may be discouraged to speak out and voice their own opinion.
Uses an aggressive communication style (e.g., sassing, angry words, inappropriate words) or uses physical aggression (e.g., pushing or shoving aside) when dealing with a problem	Children may be encouraged to be independent and learn to fend for themselves.
Rarely shows interest in "academic" activities such as looking at books, drawing, or writing	Child may have had limited exposure to books and print materials in the home. Verbal communication may be valued rather than reading or writing.
Does not share with peers	Sharing toys and materials may not be expected of a child at a young age or the child may have had limited experience with peers and/or an environment rich in resources like toys and manipulatives.
Does not participate appropriately in classroom routines like lining up to go outside, passing the dishes during lunchtime, or sitting quietly on the carpet to wait a turn during circle time.	Classroom activities and routines may be unfamiliar to the young child. Some of the behavior within these routines may not be expected of the child at home.
Does not sit still or pay attention	The child may be expected to entertain him or herself and encouraged to initiate their own activities rather than follow directions or sit attentively.
Is unable to describe feelings and is reluctant to do so	Sharing emotions may not be valued by the family and instead viewed as something to keep private.
Does not show persistence when a task is difficult	Family may value assisting child in completing tasks and encourage the child to ask for help when needed.

authority within his family. Destiny's family may value the ability to speak one's mind and self-advocate; however, these behaviors may be interpreted through the lens of the classroom personnel as aggressive and disrespectful in that context. Some cultural considerations regarding common "challenging" behavior that may be observed in early childhood settings are outlined in Table 1.

It is important to note that not all members of a cultural or ethnic group share all values and beliefs even though they may hold many customs and practices in common. Likewise, these beliefs and values are best understood as a continuum of orientations

that is dynamic and contextual, rather than a rigid set of notions (Barrera, Kramer, & Macpherson, 2012; Lynch & Hanson, 2011).

## Implications for Early Educators

Carlson and Harwood (2000) refer to culture as a "shared knowledge." Beliefs and behavior expectations are often assumed and unspoken; at times, they may not even be conscious. Yet, we all have distinct sets of assumptions that are derived from our background and experiences. The following discussion includes questions and strategies for

educators addressing these different perspectives while working with young children and their families, and assessing children's behavior.

### **Strategies for Working With Families From Diverse Backgrounds**

Early educators can engage in a variety of practices to ensure that they are considering alternative meanings of child behavior. They want to consider a variety of questions and strategies when working with families from diverse backgrounds. These include expanding their self-awareness, listening to the family's perspective, gathering information about a cultural belief, acknowledging different expectations, and coming to agreements on goals.

#### ***Expanding self-awareness***

An essential, ongoing practice is expanding one's self-awareness in terms of the values, personal inclinations, and behavior styles that influence an individual's thoughts and actions (Gonzalez-Mena, 2008). In considering a child's behavior, stop and ask a variety of questions. What are the behavioral expectations for how a child should

act in this situation or context, and why is this the case? Consider whether the child is exhibiting a critical behavior. For example, is the child hurting someone? Is there really a problem? Furthermore, consider what types of beliefs are guiding ideas about children's development and how these may differ from this family or community. A number of studies have contrasted the ages at which children from different cultural backgrounds typically achieve developmental milestones (Carlson & Harwood, 2000; Spicer, 2010). This variation does not need to be problematic but it likely will be if there is limited awareness of these differences.

#### ***Listening to the family's perspective***

Glean from the parent(s)/caregivers what their values and expectations are. This may be done through an informal interview using open-ended questions. Information also may be obtained from the family member's storytelling or from a cultural guide in the community (such as a visiting nurse, healer, spiritual leader, elder, community leader) who works with the child's family and community. It may be helpful in speaking with the family to ask them to verbally walk through a "typical day in the life of their child." In addition, educators may want to ask families about their expectations for children this age (e.g., feed themselves, independently toilet, be polite, enjoy their childhood and rely on their caregivers). Asking families to describe their hopes and dreams for their child can provide a rich source of information. Further useful strategies for communicating with





families representing diverse perspectives can be found in Barrera et al. (2012).

***Gathering information on cultural beliefs related to child-rearing, discipline, and expectations for early child development***

Consider ways to meaningfully learn about other cultural perspectives. Lynch (2011) suggests four ideas, including (a) learning through books, the arts, and technology; (b) talking, socializing, and working with individuals from that culture that can guide and mediate learning; (c) participating in the daily life of another culture; and (d) learning the language of another culture. It is likely that family members can suggest resources, activities, and individuals that they value or feel are good representatives of their culture. Furthermore, reading books related



to developing cultural competence (e.g., Lynch & Hanson, 2011) and searching online and reliable community sources related to different cultural groups could uncover rich resources.

***Acknowledging different expectations***

Misperceptions may ensue as families move from their native or culture of origin and interact with a new environment (Lynch, 2011). This may be the case for many immigrant families in the United States who are often faced with quite different philosophies and rituals after moving to a new country. For instance, early childhood programs in the United States often promote independence and value children's learning to care for self, play with other children, and openly express feelings and opinions for themselves. Children in the United States are often included in family decision-making such as deciding where to have lunch or prioritizing family activities (e.g., going to the park). This may be in sharp contrast with expectations and practices in other countries where the adults make these decisions for the child and family.

***Coming to agreement on goals***

When priorities and goals differ between professionals and families, it may be useful to "bring alternative perspectives to the table" and be receptive to alternatives or compromises (Barrera et al., 2012). Facilitating dialogue can foster an openness to appreciate the other partner's notions and priorities. Educators may wish to provide family members with information on curricular goals and early

education perspectives, and describe why certain behaviors are perceived challenging in terms of influencing the child's adaption and interaction in the educational environment. For example, it is important for Javiero to learn to put on his coat himself so he can independently go outside and takes responsibility for his own belongings. On the other hand, educators must listen to families to learn what their priorities are for their children, and why this is important to their family and community. In the case of Javiero, his grandmother may share how it is a sign of love and care when adults help younger children. As a team, the early educator and family will need to discuss if there are specific self-help behaviors that are essential for Javiero to learn within the classroom setting before moving on to kindergarten (e.g., toileting) and which behaviors the family feels are important acts of care for them to



demonstrate to Javiero (e.g., helping with his backpack).

### Strategies for Assessing Children's Behaviors

In acknowledging the importance of supporting young children's social-emotional development, early educators require expertise in identifying children's behaviors that are challenging within early education settings. It is likely that all would agree that extreme forms of behavior that cause physical harm, such as biting or hitting, would be unacceptable. However, there are other types of behaviors that may be interpreted differently and require greater cultural sensitivity and interpretation (see Table 1). Early educators may want to consider the following strategies assessing children's behaviors including, choosing appropriate screening and assessment tools, encouraging family collaboration, creating a comfortable assessment environment, and sharing assessment results.

#### **Choosing appropriate screening and assessment tools**

Early educators are required to use screening and assessment tools to measure progress or identify concerns that conform to program requirements or government initiatives. However, many screening and assessment tools used to evaluate young children's behavior do not extend beyond the mainstream culture's constructs of appropriate social-emotional development, and may not account for the cultural perceptions or beliefs that may motivate certain



behavior (Hanson & Lynch, 2014). It is important to select screening and assessment tools that evaluate children's social-emotional development in a culturally sensitive manner. If the use of a formal, standardized measure is required, ensure that the instrument is available in the child's preferred language and when appropriate, involves the services of an interpreter. Professionals and families from the child's cultural community can review the instrument and offer suggestions on its strengths and shortcomings. For example, if the assessment requires the child to complete a task alone, engage with an adult, or obey a set of directions, this may conflict with behavioral expectations the child experiences at home, as the case for Javiero, Eloni, and Destiny. Thus, it is essential to consider multiple ways to gather information about a child's behavior, including more informal measures such as observations, interviews, and checklists. For more information, a research synthesis completed by Yates and her colleagues (2008) on a variety of screening and assessment tools related to social-emotional development has been made freely available on the website for The Center for Social and Emotional Foundations for Early Learning (CSEFEL; [http://csefel.vanderbilt.edu/documents/rs\\_screening\\_assessment.pdf](http://csefel.vanderbilt.edu/documents/rs_screening_assessment.pdf)).

### ***Encouraging family collaboration***

Striving for meaningful communication and collaboration with families is essential to encouraging their participation regarding their child's development (Hanson, 2013a). In all interactions,

ensure that the family can easily understand what is being shared, again using interpreters or translated materials if needed. It is important to take time with families to discuss the purpose of screenings and assessments. Ask questions and provide ample time for the family to share information about their child's behavior at home. Whenever possible, involve families in the assessment through home visits/ observations, family interviews, or family checklists. This includes learning about a family's routines, and what activities are both enriched and challenged by their child's behaviors and skills (McWilliam, 2012). This discussion will not only give information about how the child behaves in the home environment but also provide insight into what a family values.

### ***Creating a comfortable assessment environment***

Most people have likely felt the anxiety that comes with assessments and having someone evaluate abilities. Take time to consider how to create an assessment environment that puts both the child and family at ease and in turn, provides the most reliable information (Hanson & Lynch, 2014). Strive to conduct the assessment in a setting that is natural and familiar, whether it is in the home or in the early childhood classroom. Throughout the assessment, be approachable and open about what is occurring and assure the family that what is observed and learned will be shared afterward.

### ***Interpreting and sharing result***

When analyzing and interpreting the results of the

“  
As we strive to support  
young children and  
families from diverse  
backgrounds, it is  
essential that we  
acknowledge that many  
“challenging” behaviors  
are only such “in the eyes  
of the beholder.”  
”

screening or assessment instrument, early educators can reflect on their personal expectations and cultural norms (Gonzalez-Mena, 2008). Be considerate of what the results reveal and if any cultural bias may be present. Give weight to what the family has shared, seeking to understand why the child behaves in a certain way in those circumstances. Share the results with the family in a clear and caring manner. In discussing goals for instruction and intervention, be explicit as to why certain behavior may be important to foster within an early childhood setting. As a team, plan how to go forward, striving for ways to encourage a child's behavior in both the classroom and home setting.

## Conclusion

Given the increasing diversity of families within the United States, early educators have many opportunities to work with children and families from diverse backgrounds. It is likely that these encounters will include children such as Javiero, Eloni, and Destiny, who at first glance, exhibit behavior that educators may consider worrisome and “challenging.” However, many child responses, such as those highlighted in Table 1, may be rooted in a family's cultural beliefs about children's social-emotional development. While commonly deemed problematic in early childhood settings, some child

behavior may be encouraged and hold different meanings in that child's family and community.

As adults, we have come to understand unwritten rules and codes of certain behavior. For instance, in some cultures it may be appropriate to touch one another on greeting, even kiss others on the cheek, whereas in other cultures, this physical contact with a stranger or persons of unequal status would be deemed highly inappropriate, especially if a woman initiated it. In the same manner, it is important for to understand the meaning of young children's behavior. At times, the influence of our values, beliefs, and priorities may shade our perspectives on the function, meaning, or appropriateness of behaviors we observe. Using questions and strategies such as the ones described in this article may assist educators to effectively work with families in identifying concerns in a culturally sensitive manner.

The sequence and developmental progression observed within young children is in many respects “hardwired” by genetics. However, particularly in the area of social-emotional development, there is wide latitude for interpretation regarding the meaning of behavior and expectations in the child's larger social context. As we strive to support young children and families from diverse backgrounds, it is essential that we acknowledge that many “challenging” behaviors are only such “in the eyes of the beholder.”

## Authors' Note

You may reach Amber Friesen by e-mail at [afriesen@sfsu.edu](mailto:afriesen@sfsu.edu).

## References

- Barrera, I., Kramer, L., & Macpherson, T. D. (2012). *Skilled dialogue: Strategies for responding to cultural diversity in early childhood* (2nd ed.). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- Brown, W. H., Odom, S. L., & McConnell, S. R. (Eds.). (2008). *Social competence of young children: Risk, disability, and intervention*. Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- Carlson, V. J., & Harwood, R. L. (2000). Understanding and negotiating cultural differences concerning early developmental competence: The six raisin solution. *Zero to Three, 20*(3), 19-24.
- Children's Defense Fund. (2011). *The state of America's children, 2011*. Retrieved from <http://www.childrensdefense.org/child-research-data-publications/data/state-of-americas-2011.pdf>
- DeNavas-Walt, C., Proctor, B. D., & Smith, J. C. (2012). *Income, poverty, and health insurance coverage in the United States: 2011*. Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2012pubs/p60-243.pdf>
- Division of Early Childhood. (2010). *Responsiveness to all children, families, and professionals: Integrating cultural and linguistic diversity into policy and practice*. Missoula, MT: Author.
- Duncan, G. J., & Magnuson, K. (2011). The nature and impact of early achievement skills, attention skills, and behavior problems. In G. J. Duncan & R. J. Murnane (Eds.), *Whither opportunity?: Rising inequality, schools, and children's life chances* (pp. 47-70). New York, NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Federal Interagency Forum on Child and Family Statistics. (2012). *America's children in brief: Key national indicators of child well-being, 2012*. Retrieved from [http://childstats.gov/pdf/ac2012/ac\\_12.pdf](http://childstats.gov/pdf/ac2012/ac_12.pdf)
- Gonzalez-Mena, J. (2008). *Diversity in early care and education: Honoring differences* (5th ed.). New York, NY: McGraw-Hill Higher Education.
- Hanson, M. J. (2013a). Communicating and collaborating with families. In M. J. Hanson & E. W. Lynch (Eds.), *Understanding families: Approaches to diversity, disability, and risk* (pp. 233-254). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- Hanson, M. J. (2013b). Families living in poverty. In M. J. Hanson & E. W. Lynch (Eds.), *Understanding families: Approaches to diversity, disability, and risk* (pp. 123-146). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- Hanson, M. J., & Lynch, E. W. (2014). Family diversity, assessment, and cultural competence. In M. McLean, M. L. Hemmeter, & P. A. Snyder (Eds.). *Essential elements for assessing infants and preschoolers with special needs* (pp. 123-158). Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Harkness, S., Super, C. M., Bermudez, M. R., Moscardino, U., Rha, J. H., Mavridis, C. J., . . . Zylicz, P. O. (2010). Parental ethnotheories of children's learning. In D. F. Lancy, J. Brock, & L. S. Gaskins (Eds.), *The anthropology of learning in childhood* (pp. 65-81). Walnut Creek, CA: Alta Mira Press.
- Head Start Program Facts Sheet Fiscal Year 2011. (2011). Retrieved from <http://eclkc.ohs.acf.hhs.gov/hslc/mr/factsheets/docs/hs-program-fact-sheet-2011-final.pdf>
- Kaiser, B., & Rasminsky, J. S. (2011). *Challenging behavior in young children: Understanding, preventing, and responding to challenging behaviors* (3rd ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson.

- Lynch, E. W. (2011). Developing cross-cultural competence. In E. W. Lynch & M. J. Hanson (Eds.), *Developing cross-cultural competence-A guide for working with children and their families* (4th ed., pp. 41-77). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- Lynch, E. W., & Hanson, M. J. (2011). *Developing cross-cultural competence: A guide for working with children and their families* (4th ed.). Baltimore, MD: Paul H. Brookes.
- McWilliam, R. A. (2012). Implementing and preparing home visits. *Topics in Early Childhood Special Education, 31*, 224-231.
- Santos, R. M., Cheatham, G., & Duran, L. (Eds.). (2012). *Young exceptional children monograph 14: Supporting young children who are dual language learners with or at-risk for disabilities*. Missoula, MT: Council for Exceptional Children Division for Early Childhood.
- Shin, H. B., & Kaminski, R. A. (2010). *Language use in the United States: 2007* (American Community Survey Reports, ACS-12). Washington, DC: U.S. Census Bureau. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2010pubs/acs-12.pdf>
- Spicer, P. (2010). Cultural influences on parenting. *Zero to Three, 30*, 28-32.
- Super, C. M., & Harkness, S. (1986). The developmental niche: A conceptualization at the interface of child and culture. *International Journal of Behavioral Development, 9*, 545-569.
- Super, C. M., & Harkness, S. (2002). Culture structures the environment for development. *Human Development, 45*, 270-274.
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2011). *Statistical abstract of the United States: 2012*. Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/compendia/statab/2012/tables/12s0012.pdf>
- U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. (2012). *Prior HHS poverty guidelines and Federal Register references*. Retrieved from <http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/figures-fed-reg.shtml>
- Yates, T., Ostrosky, M. M., Cheatham, G. A., Fettig, A., Shaffer, L., & Santos, R. M. (2008). Research synthesis on screening and assessing social-emotional competence. *Center on the Social and Emotional Foundations for Early Learning*. Retrieved from [http://csefel.vanderbilt.edu/documents/rs\\_screening\\_assessment.pdf](http://csefel.vanderbilt.edu/documents/rs_screening_assessment.pdf)