We are convinced that learning begins at inception and continues throughout life. Although this approach is frequently termed cradle to grave, we believe that learning precedes birth as babies become familiar with sounds heard frequently during pregnancy, including the sound of their mother’s voice. Hepper (1996) had a group of mothers relax after their evening meal and another group keep busy. He found the group who relaxed tended to watch a popular Australian television programme, Neighbours, which aired at around 6.30pm on most evenings. After birth, mothers in the relaxation group were able to settle their babies more easily when they played the Neighbours theme tune. Babies in the busy mothers’ group showed no reaction to this tune. Hepper (1996) concluded that, prior to birth, babies in the relaxation group had learned an association between the Neighbours theme tune and relaxation. From birth onwards, babies are interactive processors of information. Some learning is incidental, effortless and undirected, whilst other learning is effortful, purposeful, directed, creative and reflective. For example, you might settle down to show a toddler how to put a jigsaw together (directed learning) but find their attention drawn to (incidental learning) an activity at the writing table. By the end of the session, the child might be able to tell you that ‘S is a snake, a slithering snake’ but have no clue how to put the jigsaw together. This situation reflects the sheer complexity of human learning. It suggests that learning can be affected by situational factors such as the presence of others, background noise, or internal factors such as tiredness or level of interest. Once learned, however, most information is permanently remembered. Examples of permanent skills...
acquired in early childhood include walking, talking, riding a bike and reading and writing. Simply Stated, learning is the acquisition of knowledge and skills (David et al., 2011).

For more than 2000 years, philosophers, academics and educators have attempted to explain and define human learning. The Greek philosopher Aristotle (384–322 BC) believed that learning develops through repetitive exercises. According to Aristotle, the State must be charged with responsibility for instilling virtue, habits, nature and reason into children and for ensuring they became citizens of benefit to society. Almost a hundred years later, Socrates (470–399 BC) described learning as a process of remembering. He believed that all knowledge exists within the human soul before birth but, perhaps due to the trauma of birth, the soul forgets all it previously knew. Through a process of questioning and inquiry, termed Socratic dialogue, the soul recovers some aspects of knowledge.

In contrast, Locke (1632–1704) argued against the existence of innate ideas (formed before birth), describing the child’s mind as a tabula rasa or blank slate. Consistent with Aristotelian philosophy, Locke believed that knowledge is acquired through experience, repetition, training and virtue. He emphasized the importance of enjoyable learning and insisted that teaching should begin in early childhood. Locke’s assertions were radical for their time but were shared by a number of influential thinkers including, amongst many others, Pestalozzi (1746–1827), Froebel (1782–1852), Dewey (1859–1952) and Montessori (1870–1952). Whilst each offers a unique insight into children’s learning, importantly for our discussion these philosophers and educators have a shared belief in the importance of educating the young child.

Rousseau (1712–1778), for example, argued that education should follow the child’s natural growth rather than the demands of society. His emphasis on the innate development of human nature became the primary philosophical basis for many alternative movements in education. In the early 1800s, the Swiss humanitarian Pestalozzi opened schools for orphans, based on Rousseau’s principles. His work inspired educators in Europe and America. Froebel, a teacher at Pestalozzis school, later became famous as the founder of the kindergarten concept. Montessori shared Froebel’s belief that children should be taught social skills and empathy. While Froebel used creative and imaginative play to achieve his goals, Montessori employed real-world experiences
such as cleaning a room, caring for animals, building a toy house or making a garden to develop these skills.

Dewey shared with Montessori and Froebel the notion that education should be child-centred, active and interactive; and that education must involve the child’s social world and community. Influenced by the teaching philosophies of the early pioneers in the field of early childhood education, Dewey emphasized the importance of experiential learning and the process of teachers and children learning together. The teachings of the founding fathers and mothers of early childhood education are explored in greater detail in Chapter 2 where their unique contributions are highlighted. Similarly, the topic of experiential learning is given a more thorough analysis in Chapters 4 and 5 of this book as we explore the theories of Piaget (1896–1980) and Vygotsky (1896–1934).

It is, however, theories of learning which form the central foci of this book. The last century witnessed a significant shift away from philosophical propositions to the development of a range of empirical theories of learning; each claims to explain the origins of some aspect of learning. Before considering influential educational theories of learning, it seems appropriate at this juncture to define the word theory. In common usage, the term can be used to denote a set of statements or principles devised to explain a group of facts or phenomena, especially one that has been repeatedly tested or is widely accepted and can be used to make predictions about natural phenomena (Dorin et al., 1990).

**Definition**

A theory is a set of statements or principles devised to explain a group of facts or phenomena.

According to Woollard (2010, p. 472), a theory is “an unproven conjecture or hypothesis that gives a tentative insight into a complex situation through to a well established explanation of that complex situation”. Darwin’s theory of evolution, Maslow’s (1943) Hierarchy of Needs and Gardner’s (1983) Theory of Multiple Intelligence are examples of frequently referenced theories. Arranged in a five-stage hierarchical pyramidal format, Maslow, for example, posits that lower order physiological needs must be met before higher order needs can be satisfied. The first level in the hierarchy concerns basic physiological needs such as water, air, food and sleep; the second is about the need for safety and security; the third involves belongingness, love and affection; the fourth relates to the need for esteem, personal worth, social recognition and accomplishment; at the fifth level, the summit
of the hierarchy, is self-actualization. According to Maslow, very few people reach this level but those who do enjoy moments of profound happiness and find deep fulfillment as they achieve their full potential. Maslow’s theory provides a useful tool for understanding the factors that impede or progress learning. Nevertheless, it is unsurprising to find that even popularly known theories are the subject of criticism. Maslow’s theory, for example, has been heavily criticized for its lack of scientific rigour and for failing to acknowledge contradictory aspects of human nature. Moreover, it is unidirectional and fails to take account of individual priorities. By way of example, 18-month-old Kevin is a quiet child who rarely cries. Small for his age, Kevin is frequently hungry and sometimes searches for food in the bin. Kevin has learnt that it is better to go hungry (biological need) than to risk the slap that comes when he cries. Even at this young age, Kevin has learnt to prioritize his safety needs (level 2) over his biological need for food (level 1).

In essence, the theories included in this book will provide the reader with a general rule or principle about some aspect of learning. Each theory has strengths and weaknesses. We aim to highlight both and, where appropriate, to compare and contrast them. It is not our contention that one theory is superior to another, or that any single theory holds the key to learning, or even that any of the theories discussed are sufficiently developed to explain all aspects of human learning. On the contrary, we hope to engage the reader in a level of critical reflection that may cause them to accept or reject aspects of each theory. We believe that by studying the content of each chapter, examining the tables included and completing the tasks provided, the reader will develop a greater insight into the complexities of children’s learning.

Chapter 3 introduces the theories of Pavlov (1849–1936), Thorndike (1874–1949), Watson (1878–1958) and Skinner (1904–1990). Each explored an aspect of learning underpinned by the principles of stimulus–response. For that reason, they are typically referred to as behaviourists. A branch of psychology, behaviourism remained a dominant force in education for more than a hundred years. Although it lost prominence in the 1970s, behaviourism continues to have an influence on pedagogical practice in twenty-first century classrooms. Behaviourists believe that all behaviour, no matter how complex, can be reduced to a simple stimulus–response association. They focus on measurable outcomes rather than on introspective processes (imagery, feelings and thoughts, etc.).

In the course of his experimental research with dogs, the physiologist Ivan Pavlov noted that dogs salivated when the laboratory technicians entered the room. Further research revealed the dogs had made an association between the technicians (neutral stimulus) and food (stimulus) and this caused their drooling response. Termed classical or Pavlovian conditioning, the theory was developed
further by Watson who demonstrated classical conditioning in humans using young boys known as Little Albert and Little Peter.

Skinner extended Watson’s stimulus–response theory to explain more complex forms of learning. He believed it was possible to use the principles underpinning animal experimentation with infants and children. He coined the term Operant conditioning to explain the influence positive and negative reinforcers have on shaping and maintaining the child’s behaviour. Skinner’s theory continues to exert a direct and profound influence on education and is particularly evident in the reward and punishment systems teachers use to shape and maintain pupil behaviour. Star charts, praise, positive feedback and circle time are examples of popularly used positive reinforcers whilst time out is a negative reinforcer. The work of the social learning theorist Bandura (1925 to present) is included by some theorists in discussions on behaviourism (Woollard, 2010). Although he employed the experimental methods favoured by behaviourism, Bandura’s inclusion of imagery, mental representations and reciprocal determinism (the child influences and is influenced by their environment) marked a radical departure from traditional Behaviourist approaches. For that reason, his work is discussed in Chapter 6 alongside Bronfenbrenner’s (1917–2005) social learning theory.

Chapter 4 considers the constructivist theory of learning. Though they continue to co-exist, this theory offers a considerable departure from that of behaviourism. Constructivism views learning as an active, constructive process with the child engaged at every stage. Rather than focus on measurement, cognitive theorists use observations and discourse analysis (interviews) to explain the development of internal cognitive processes. The term ‘cognition’ refers to internal mental processes and cognitive development to the acquisition of ‘knowledge in childhood.’ Cognitive constructivism is based on the work of the Swiss biologist and naturalist Jean Piaget. Whilst working with the French psychologist Alfred Binet (the inventor of the first intelligence test), Piaget became curious about the structure of the child’s mind. From an analysis of interviews with children of differing ages as they solved problems and his observations of the process, Piaget concluded that older children think in a very different way from younger children. It wasn't simply that older children knew more but that their thought processes had undergone some form of maturational (age-related) change. Piaget continued to study child development for several decades before positing the theory that intellectual development occurs in four distinct stages. Each of these stages is described in detail in this chapter with their advantages and shortcomings discussed.

Chapter 5 extends the concepts introduced in Chapter 4. Vygotsky, a Russian developmental psychologist, developed many of the concepts outlined by Piaget to incorporate the child’s social environment. He stressed the fundamental role of social
interaction in the development of cognition. Vygotsky believed that each child is born with a basic set of unlearned cognitive functions such as memory and attention that facilitate high-level learning. Since from their earliest moments children are absorbing the rules and mores of their culture, Vygotsky believed that learning can precede understanding; whereas Piaget believed that development precedes learning. According to Vygotsky (1978, p. 57):

"Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interspsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological)."

Both Piaget and Vygotsky believed that young children are curious and actively involved in their own learning and in the discovery and development of new understandings/schema. However, Vygotsky placed more emphasis on social contributions to the process of development, whereas Piaget emphasized self-initiated discovery. These points will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 6 where the zone of proximal development, role of culture, social factors, language, peers and educators are explored in detail.

Chapter 6 explores the social learning theories of Bandura and Bronfenbrenner. As previously discussed (see Chapter 3 above), Bandura's social learning theory has its roots in behaviorism. Whilst sharing the experimental approaches of his contemporaries, Bandura argued that to exclude thinking from any theory of learning would be like reducing "Shakespeare’s literary masterpieces to his prior instruction in the mechanics of writing" (Bandura, 1978, p. 350). Social learning theory advocates that individuals, especially children, imitate or copy modelled behaviour from personally observing others, the environment and the mass media. Reflecting the central tenets of traditional behaviourism, Bandura believed that behaviour can be shaped and maintained by reinforcement. He extended this theory to include two aspects of indirect reinforcement termed vicarious and self reinforcement. Vicarious reinforcement or observational learning occurs when a child witnesses the effects of an event and stores it in memory. By way of example, pre-school children refused to wear their seatbelts after watching the children's cartoon character Peppa Pig and her brother George sitting in the back seat of a car without seatbelts. Following complaints from parents, the producers rectified the problem (BBC News, 2010). This example serves to indicate that, consistent with Bandura's theory, the relationship between viewers and television is reciprocal, with each reacting and shaping the other.

Similar themes inform Bronfenbrenner's Ecological model of child development. Bronfenbrenner acknowledged the role of media, technology, culture and society
on childhood development. Like Bandura, Bronfenbrenner believed that technology has the potential to change and even damage society (Henderson, 1995), and that the child influences and is influenced by their environment. Bronfenbrenner was one of the first psychologists to adopt a holistic perspective on human development. His ecological model of development comprises five interrelated systems each containing the roles, norms and rules that powerfully shape development. Bronfenbrenner recognized that not only is it necessary to understand how the family or school influences human development, but broader influences as well.

Chapter 7 considers Bruner’s (1915-present) discovery Learning theory of constructivism. Bruner was influenced by Piaget’s ideas about cognitive development in children. During the 1940s, his early work focused on the impact of needs, motivations, expectations (mental sets) and their influence on perception. Like Piaget, he emphasizes action and problem solving in children’s learning, but like Vygotsky, he underlines the role of social interaction, language and instruction in the development of thinking. To achieve this goal, he devised the concept of scaffolding. Whilst the term scaffolding is most closely associated with Bruner, it was coined by Wood, Bruner and Ross (1976) to describe the type of support children need to achieve the zone of development. Though a psychologist by training, Bruner became a prominent figure in education and wrote several influential and highly regarded texts for teachers including The Process of Education (1960), Toward a Theory of Instruction (1966), The Relevance of Education (1971) and The Culture of Education (1996). The final section of this chapter includes a detailed review of constructivist and social constructivist theories drawing out similar and disparate threads.

Chapter 8 examines children’s learning through the lens of a newly evolving paradigm variously referred to as the new social studies of childhood and the new sociology of childhood. The origins of this theory can be traced to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), which was ratified in the UK in 1999. The UNCRC established children’s rights to provision, protection and participation and changed the way children were viewed by many social and developmental researchers (Corosa, 2004). In challenging the objectification of children, the UNCRC heralded a well-documented shift away from research being conducted ‘on’ to research being conducted ‘with’ children (Porter and Lacey, 2005). This shift in emphasis and ideology has become known as the new social studies of childhood and the new sociology of childhood. Critical of traditional approaches to research on children’s learning, proponents of the social studies of childhood reject the empirical methods favoured by behaviourists and critique Piaget’s explanation of universal age-related competencies. Advocates of this newly evolving paradigm share the natural methods of enquiry favoured by Piaget and embrace key concepts of the socio-constructivist and ecological
theories. This chapter seeks to explore this contemporary theory with reference to more traditional approaches to children’s development and learning.

The final chapter of this book offers a departure from theory (Chapter 9). It is written especially for people who work with or care for young children and who would like to enhance children’s learning. Consideration is given to the challenges inherent in creating a learning – teaching environment where children play together in creative, investigative and problem-solving ways, where they take ownership of and responsibility for their own learning, and where emotional and imaginative needs are met (Broadbent, 2006, p. 192). In addition, the role of the adult as a facilitator of learning is explored with reference to the theories of Vygotsky, Bronfenbrenner and Bruner. Practical examples from practice pepper and inform this chapter which seeks to demonstrate the dynamic relationship between theory and practice.

**Exercise**

Before reading further, consider which theorist best explains how children’s learning develops. As you read each of the following chapters, we would ask you to continually review your decision and to consider whether the information provided has changed or strengthened your initial view.

**RECOMMENDED READING**


A useful resource, this book concentrates on children in the 0–3 age range. Fabian and Mould cover a breadth of material, including the stages of child development, development and learning, and policy and practice.


This interesting and challenging text offers an in-depth study of children’s thinking and learning. The developing brain and language and communication are discussed through the lens of thinking and learning. Limited to cognitive theory, it offers students an insight into the developing child.
REFERENCES